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ABSTRACT

The research reported here is an attempt to explore the attitudes of students in high schools and to take a look at the hidden curriculum and its political dimensions. The analysis is divided into an exploration and categorization of different types of schools, a definition of different kinds of attitudes and behavior on the part of students, and an attempt to demonstrate relationships between school political climate and student attitudes and behaviors. Findings show that schools have general bureaucratic patterns of political life and that five different types of political systems can be found. The type of school does seem to make a significant difference in the attitudes of students toward political participation and their political environment. The most uniformly positive attitudes are found in participant schools, showing that students need to share in the responsibilities and activities of an institution in order to establish important political attitudes which will support active citizenship. A political systems questionnaire, general attitude items, and school attitude items used in gathering data are appended. (Author/KSM)

POLITICAL LIFE IN THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM:

DOES IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

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POLITICAL LIFE IN THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM: DOES IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

'Once upon a time, in the city of New York, civilized life very nearly came to an end. The streets were covered with dirt, and there was no one to tidy them. The air and rivers were polluted, and no one could cleanse them. The schools were run down, and no one believed in them. Each day brought a new strike, and each strike brought new hardships. Crime and strife and disorder and rudeness were to be found everywhere. The young fought the old, the workers fought the students, the whites fought the blacks. The city was bankrupt.

When things came to their most desperate moment, the City Fathers met to consider the problem. But they could suggest no cures, for their morale was very low and their imagination dulled by hatred and confusion. There was nothing for the mayor to do but to declare a state of emergency . . .

One of the mayor's aides, knowing full well what the future held for the city, had decided to flee with his family to the country. In order to prepare himself for his exodus to a strange environment, he began to read Henry David Thoreau's Walden, which he had been told was a useful handbook on how to survive in the country. While reading the book he came upon the following passage: 'Students should not play life, or study it merely, while the community supports them at this expensive game, but earnestly live it from beginning to end. How could youths better learn to live than by at once trying the experiment of living?'

The aide sensed immediately that he was in the presence of an exceedingly good idea. And he sought an audience with the mayor. He showed the passage to the mayor, who was extremely depressed and in no mood to read from books, since he had already scoured books of lore and wisdom in search of help, but had found nothing.

'What does it mean?' said the mayor angrily.

The aide replied, 'Nothing less than the way to our salvation.'

He then explained to the mayor that the students in the public schools had heretofore been part of the general problem whereas with some imagination, and a change of perspective, they might easily become part of the general solution. He pointed out that from junior high school up to senior high school there were approximately four hundred thousand able-bodied, energetic young men and women who could be used as resource to make the city liveable again.

'But how can we use them?' asked the mayor. 'And what would happen to their education if we did?'"[1]

Most of us would agree that schools, like cities, are not what they should be. In The School Book, Postman and Weingartner use the fable that is presented above in order to make the point that students should get out of schools into the community, or into the mainstream of political and social life, in order to get a better education, and to contribute to the society at large. For us, the fable presents not so much an illustration of what might be done in education, as a research question about what student attitudes are and what skills students have which could be used by the mayor of the fictional New York City. If the mayor chose to martial 400,000 students in order to support a failing city, what kind of resources would be available to him? Would students be alienated and not be able to contribute effectively to reconstruct the city? Would they have trust and confidence in city officials which would help them in working together to constructively build the world of tommorow?

The research reported here is an attempt to explore the attitudes of students in high schools. The framework within which the research is done is one of exploring the impact of schools on students' attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, we take a look at the hidden curriculum and its particular political dimensions. We attempt to explore and define some salient aspects of that hidden curriculum, and to compare student attitudes and behaviors which exist in different types of schools with different kinds of political characteristics. Our analysis is divided into an exploration and categorization of different

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[1]Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, The School Book. New York: Delacorte Press, 1973, pp. 46-47.

types of schools, a definition of different kinds of attitudes and behaviors on the part of students, and an attempt to demonstrate relationships between school political climate and student attitudes and behaviors. The significance of this exploration lies in the handles that may be gained for understanding the politics of the hidden curriculum of schools and in promoting changes which will contribute to allowing students to be more capable of participating in political life both within and without the school itself.

School Political Life

There has been substantial research which has explored the hidden curriculum of schools. Some of the most notable work has been done by James Coleman.[2] Coleman found, as did others, that peer group interactions between students and the status culture have a great deal to do with what students learn in schools and the kinds of skills they build during the time they spend within the school's walls. Recently McPartland has done some studies which demonstrate that student participation in schools in different kinds of activities outside the classroom do affect both classroom behavior and the kinds of attitudes and skills students exhibit in working in groups.[3]

The question posed in this research is a part of this general research arena, yet, two different dimensions of the hidden curriculum are explored. First, many of the studies which have been done in this area have focused on the individual and looked at the interactions of an individual with his or her

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[2]James Coleman, The Adolescent Society, New York: The Free Press, 1961.

[3]James McPartland, et.al., Student Participation in High School Decisions: A Study of Students and Teachers in Fourteen Urban High Schools. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1971.

environment. This particular study looks at macro-processes or patterns of social and political behavior in schools. Therefore, the study takes a more organizational view while continuing to look at behaviors rather than the rules or formal positions of people in a particular school. Secondly, this study looks at the politics of the hidden curriculum. It will focus on those dimensions of who gets what, when, where, why, and how, and the general, everyday political life of most schools. In both of these ways this study differs from those which have been previously done.

Many readers may first think that the question of the exploration of the everyday political life of a school is a very easy one. The answer is simple -- all schools are bureaucratic. It is true that a great deal of research demonstrates the bureaucratic tendencies of schools.[4] Yet, it is an open question as to whether there is any empirical base in schools for alternative models of political life and whether differences in schools make any difference whatsoever in students' attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, we set out to see whether, indeed, all schools were bureaucratic or whether they took alternative forms. Secondly, we wanted to see whether differences in schools made any difference in student attitudes and behaviors.

We began this study be generating four ideal types of schools: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, participant. The content of these four constructs listed above is not immediately evident. For, it is one thing to talk about four different types of schools, and another thing to: (1) find the basis of comparison across these types by positing central variables which are found in all schools; (2) look at the everyday life of the separate schools and

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[4]One of the best examples of this finding is in Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision-Making. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.

see whether or not the variables are measurable; and (3) gather empirical evidence supporting or offering counter-evidence for any of the four types.

Basically, there was a great deal of conceptual work that needed to be done in order for a framework for viewing different types of schools to be generated. At the beginning of this conceptual work we chose a systems model through which to look at schools. We posited that a political system of the school would have some standard criteria: (1) The system would consist of elements and relationships between them; (2) Some relationships between these elements would imply other relationships; and (3) Changes in any of the relationships would promote system change over time.[5] Based on this systems model, we began to think about the types of elements or characteristics which would classify school political life on an everyday basis.

We chose a definition of political life which can be stated as follows: politics is those activities through which resources are allocated for a system. This meant that political life had two major elements, political resources and political activities. We divided political resources into political influence, political wealth, and political ideology. We determined that influence was a resource reflecting a relationship between leaders and followers in a system, that wealth consisted of information and skills and physical facilities which were available to people acting in an environment. We also determined that one central resource which people used in acting in schools on an everyday basis was ideas, or ideology. Therefore, these three variables constituted the political resource elements of our model.

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[5]Anatol Rapoport, "Some Systems Approaches to Political Theory," in David Easton, Varieties of Political Theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

We also chose four political activities which were central to political life in schools; political decision-making, political leadership, political participation, and political communication. Therefore, we defined seven variables which were important central variables for comparing schools and establishing alternative types to the bureaucratic model.

Basically, we defined four types of political systems: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, and participant. Elite systems were defined as those in which resources were extremely skewed. Influence is held by a few people. Wealth is not distributed among various groups in the school, but again held by a few. Those who had influence and those who had wealth tend to be the same people. The ideology is held by an elite group and dominates counter-ideas from others in the school. It would be a prototypic elite type of system, if school resources were skewed in these directions.

We also determined that decision-making activities would be very closed in an elite system. Only a few would participate in the actual decisions made in the school. There would be few leaders and participation would be very restricted and controlled by those in dominant administrative positions. Communication processes would also have "top-down" information flow and very few people would know what was going on in the system except by announcements over the public address system or handing down of messages from the top to the bottom of the hierarchy. We also felt that there would be considerable coercion going on in schools -- if not through force, then through restrictive rules and limits on the behavior of the majority of people participating in the everyday political life in these schools. This is the ideal model which we tried to operationalize in terms of our variables and measures which could empirically tap whether some schools were more than bureaucratic, but actually demonstrated elite patterns of everyday political life.

Another type of system which we defined was a participant system. This type of system is seen to be the direct opposite of the elite type. Resources are relatively equally distributed. Influence is held by several different types of people in different statuses within the school system. Wealth is relatively equally spread across groups, and ideology is shared by most people within the school. Political activities are generally open to all. Decision-making includes a very inclusive consensus rule for determining what would be done in the school. Leadership is open to many people and many people take part in leading different activities in the school. Communication is shared widely across groups and there was a great deal of information passed between participants in school political life. Thus, participant systems can be conceived as those operating when students, teachers, and administrators all share relatively equal resources and participate fully in the political life of the school. The differences between ideal types of elite and participant systems are highlighted in Table 1 on the following page.

A third type of system which we sketched as an ideal type was a coalitional political system. In coalitional systems, different political resources are held by different groups. Some groups would have influence over others on some issues and not others. For example, for each interest group within the school, there would be domination by that group over others on issues such as the curriculum and not issues such as the budget. There would be skills offered by certain groups and information offered by others. There would also be large differences in the educational philosophy and ideology of various groups within the school. Thus, the distribution of political resources would resemble a classic interest group model, in which different groups hold and use different resources for pursuing different interests.

TABLE 1: TYPES OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

VARIABLES \ POLITICAL TYPES	ELITE	BUREAUCRATIC	COALITIONAL	PARTICIPANT
I. PARTICIPATION				
(Distribution)	Skewed	Stratified	Selective	Even
II. LEADERSHIP				
1) Style	Coercion	Authority	Advocacy	Merit
2) Distribution	High	Medium	Medium	Low
III. DECISION-MAKING				
(Inclusiveness)	Minority	Plurality	Majority	Unanimity
IV. COMMUNICATION				
1) Connectedness	Low	Medium	Medium	High
2) Distribution	Skewed	Stratified	Selective	Even
V. INFLUENCE				
(Use of Position)	Skewed	Stratified	Selective	Even
VI. IDEOLOGY				
(Articulation)	High	Medium	Low	High

Activity in a coalitional system tends to look even in its distribution, but certain types of activities might be dominated by different groups at different times. Decision-making follows a rough majority rule, with different groups coalescing around different issues. Leadership is evenly distributed, but different leaders use different bases and styles for leadership. Participation is relatively even across groups, but different groups dominate for different activities. Political communication is also relatively even, with different groups dominating the information network in a variety of ways. Therefore, the interest group model would hold in a coalitional system in which people were interested in pursuing different goals with different kinds of resources and coalescing together in various ways, depending upon which issues were defined and who had the most stake in how the issues would be resolved.

The final type of system we sketched was the bureaucratic system. This is the one which has been most thoroughly researched by people studying the political organization and climate of schools. A bureaucratic system has a stratified distribution of resources. Increasing influence is given to those higher up in the system, in a kind of pyramidal distribution. Political skills and knowledge are distributed in similar ways. People at the top of the hierarchy hold both influence and wealth. Ideology would not be salient in the system, and a variety of ideologies are held while loyalty to the system was maintained. Activities are stratified so that decisions are made by a larger group than in an elite system and are implemented through participation by more people. Leadership is based largely upon position or status within the system, and information is communicated through a classic bureaucratic funnel. The differences between bureaucratic, coalitional, participant, and elite types are highlighted in Table 1.

Once these ideal types were sketched, the question became one of finding measures and an empirical base for determining whether these types or variants of the types did in fact exist in schools under study. We began to think of ways in which we could operationalize our conceptualization. The elements of the systems became variables in our analysis and we designed measures for each in order to tap into school political life. We designed questionnaire and observation instruments in order to get into the school and find empirical backing for the characterisitcs of school political life on an everyday basis. We chose thirteen schools with which to work, trying to select schools which varied as much as possible according to a preliminary school environment questionnaire.

The questionnaire which was used for the definition of the systems types is included in Appendix A to this paper. The questionnaire was administered to approximately 200 students in each of the 13 schools. Students were selected randomly, either from a list of the entire student body or by random selection of classes in certain subject matter areas. Note that we are only reporting questionnaire data at this particular time. It is also important to note that the data reported in this peice is taken from student responses only and represent only the student's view of the schools' political life. Until this data is matched by the teacher and administrator data which we have gathered, we can draw no conclusive implications from the analysis. However, an initial mapping from the student findings alone is of substantial import and will aid us in surfacing the central relationships between school political life and student attitudes and behavior prior to further study of other dimensions of the data.

One thing we found immediately from looking at the data in its basic raw form is that schools have many characteristics in common, and many of them are underlying bureaucratic characteristics. For example, administrators tended to participate and communicate more than teachers or students. There was a kind of step-functional pattern in which administrators participated the most, teachers the second most, and students the least. We also found that there was little dispersion around certain characteristics. Decision-making, for

example, tended to be done either with a few small groups, or with a majority rule in a larger group situation. Out of these kinds of findings, we generated a basic finding of the study -- that schools do have some characteristics in common in the way political life is carried out at the systemic level. Many of these characteristics resemble the classic bureaucratic characteristics of which have been reported in past research. These characteristics are listed below.

1. Political participation. The distribution of political participation is dominated by administrators. Administrators participate more than teachers, and teachers participate more than students.

2. Political leadership. The distribution of leadership is also dominated by administrators. Administrators tend to take more leadership positions than teachers, and teachers tend to take more leadership positions than students.

3. Leadership style. Leadership style in most schools is based on position and teachers and administrators tend to use their position in leading groups. Students, on the other hand, tend to use bargaining as a strategy to get their way. Therefore, the basic style of leadership among teachers and administrators is based on position. The basic style of leadership among students is based on bargaining.

4. Political decision-making. The rules for decision-making vary across minority to majority rules. In most schools decisions are made by a few people in a few groups or by a majority rule of a larger group.

5. Political communication. The distribution of communication is very similar to that of participation and leadership. Administrators dominate the amount of information on any given issue in any school. Teachers have less information than administrators but more information than students. Students have the least information about important decisions that are made.

These overriding characteristics were true of schools throughout the sample that we studied.

While making these conclusions, we began to think that our reasoning for generating different political types had been faulty. However, underneath

these characteristics we found some important differences among schools. And we began to explore some of the differences underlying these common traits. We found, for example, that there were schools in which administrators had demonstrably more participation than students. There were other schools in which the pattern was not so demonstrably different. In fact, there were some schools in which students tended to participate as much, if not a little more than administrators in some other schools. We also found that while decision-making rules tended to center around majority rule, in most schools, some schools had widely varying patterns. These differences were points of interest for us. And we began to explore the possibilities of the differences.

We began our analysis of these underlying differences among the schools by converting into T-scores the mean of the raw item responses from each school. We used the T-score method in order to standardize the mean scores on student, teacher, and administrator responses to each of the questions. In the example listed in Table 2, the distribution of political participation is converted from means of responses by the students to how much students, teachers, and administrators participate in the political life of the school. These means are converted into T-scores, offering us the opportunity to highlight differences underlying the general pattern across the thirteen schools which we studied. The schools remain anonymous in the table, as they will throughout this paper. The categorizations given to them are the final categorizations of the underlying differences between systems which will be demonstrated later on in the paper.

We then took the T-scores and graphed them as is demonstrated in Graphs 1 and 2. These graphs show the patterns underlying the general bureaucratic pattern in the data. We can see from the two graphs, taken from political

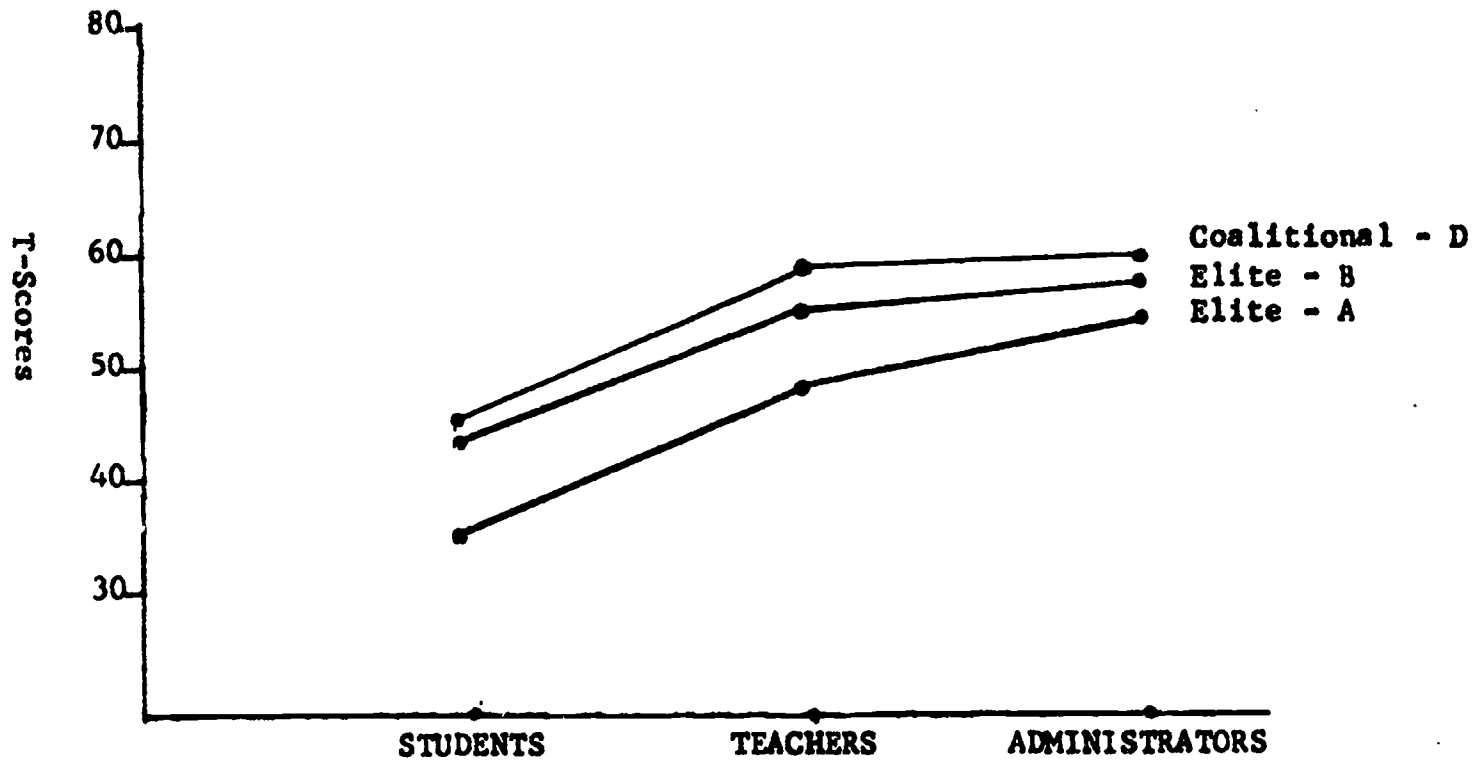
TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

PARTICIPATION / SCHOOLS	STUDENTS		TEACHERS		ADMINISTRATORS	
	Mean	T-Score	Mean	T-Score	Mean	T-Score
Elite - C	4.9	45	5.6	43	7.4	49
Bureaucratic - D	5.2	51	5.6	43	7.3	49
Coalitional - A	5.9	63	5.4	38	7.9	64
Participant - B	5.5	56	5.4	38	6.8	34
Elite - B	4.8	44	6.2	56	7.7	57
Coalitional - B	5.1	49	5.6	43	7.2	47
Coalitional - C	5.2	51	5.4	38	6.4	27
Bureaucratic - C	5.3	52	6.7	71	7.8	62
Bureaucratic - B	5.0	47	6.3	58	7.2	44
Coalitional - D	4.9	45	6.2	58	7.7	59
Participant - A	6.6	75	6.0	53	7.5	54
Bureaucratic - A	4.4	37	6.3	61	7.4	49
Elite - A	4.3	35	6.0	51	7.5	54

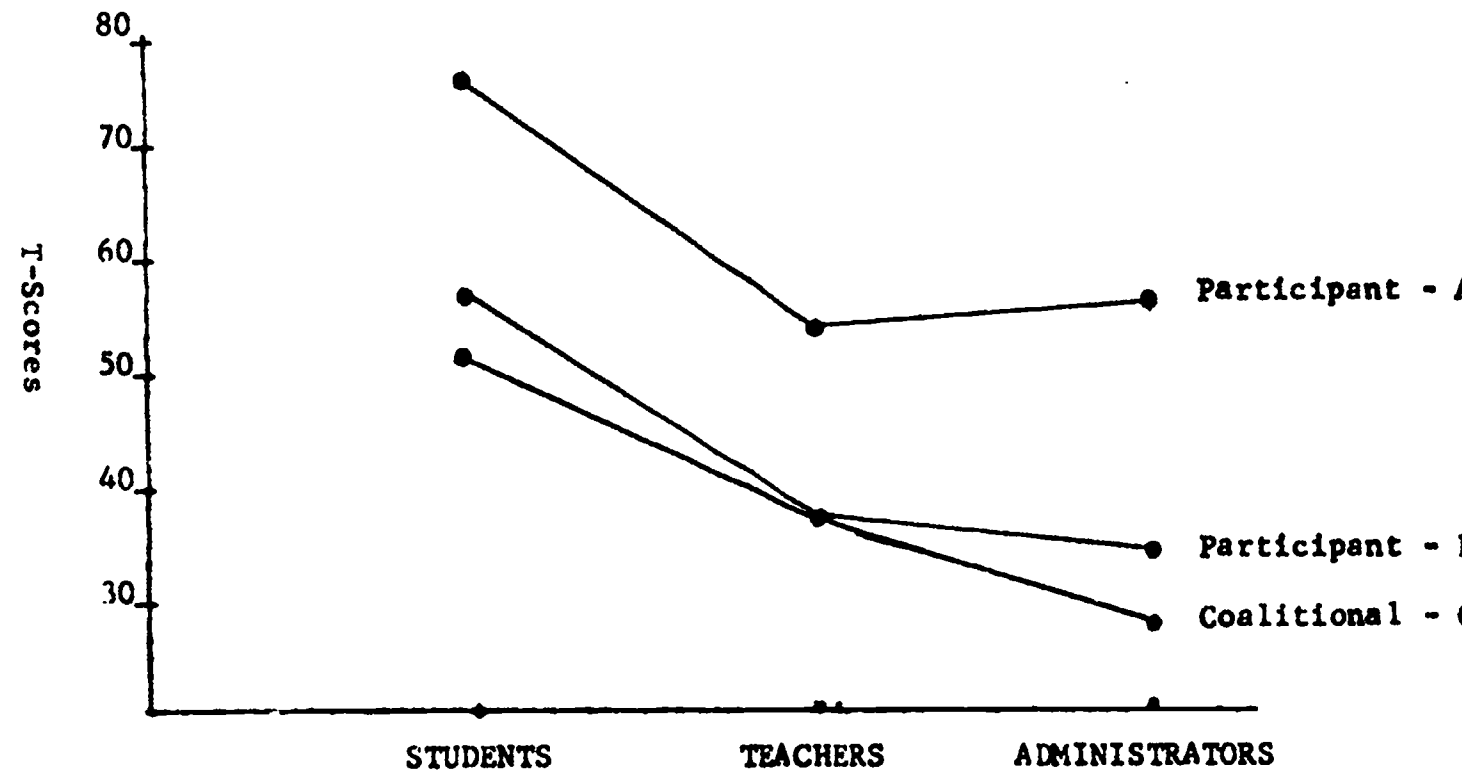
POPULATION MEANS

Students	5.2
Teachers	5.9
Administrators	7.4

GRAPH 1: DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHERS MAJOR ROLE



GRAPH 2: DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: STUDENTS MAJOR ROLE



participation of elite and participant schools, that the schools are indeed quite different on these underlying dimensions. The schools in the elite category at the top of the page show a skewed distribution with teachers and administrators taking the major role in participating in the system. The participant schools shown in Graph 2 demonstrate a strong skewness toward students taking a major role in participating in the system.

The graphs need to be interpreted in terms of a generally administrator-dominant distribution in the raw data, which was converted through the T-scores into standard scales and where underlying differences could be determined. Therefore, it is not correct to say, in the participant schools, that students would actually participate more than administrators or teachers. It is fair to say, however, that of the schools studied, there were schools that showed significant differences in the amount of student participation and that the two schools demonstrated in Graph 2 show considerably higher student participation than most of the schools in the study.

Using the T-scores and the patterns demonstrated by the graphs, we began to explore the four types of political systems underlying the general bureaucratic characterisitcs. Each of these systems is explored in depth below, and the analysis and graphs are presented in Tables 3-7 in the following pages. The linkage between the questionnaire items and the variables used in the analysis is outlined in the chart on the following page. The chart shows

which items were used as a basis for analyzing patterns of resources and activities in the thirteen schools. The tables which illustrate each system type were derived based on these patterns.

Chart 1: Relationship Between Questionnaire Items and Political System Variables

Questionnaire Item	Political System Variable
#2	Participation-- Distribution
#3	Decision-Making-- Inclusiveness
#4	Leadership-- Distribution
#5	Leadership-- Style
#8	Communication-- Connectedness
#9	Communication-- Distribution
#10	Influence -- Use of Position

Note that the "ideology" variable is not used for analysis here. At present, we are in the midst of analyzing the ideology variable based on questions #11, #15, and #16.

Participant Systems

Participant schools have been described with the nearest analogue being a New England town meeting. Determining participant systems by looking at T-scores, the distribution or pattern of participation should put students at a very high level in the participation, leadership, and communication distributions. It should also put them at a very high level of using their position to influence others. High scores by students in these distributions

reflect a comparatively high level of student activity underlying the basic bureaucratic pattern.

In addition to high participation, leadership, communication and influence, the leadership style in the school ought to be based on merit in a participant system. Coercion should be absent from the system and most leadership should be based on respect for individual ideas and experience. Communication patterns should also be well-connected, with most people talking to others across teachers, students and administrators before a decision is made. The decision itself should be made by a consensus rule. Most people should agree with the decision before it is finalized.

Two of the schools in our sample approximate this participant type. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the specific characteristics of these schools. The Participant-A school comes the closest of all the schools in the sample to representing a true participant system. The Participant-B school also displays many participant characteristics. There are real differences between the two schools, but basically they are of the participant type.

Tables 3 and 4 illustrate how each of these two schools rank on the characteristics across participation, leadership, decision-making, communication, influence and ideology. As you can see from the table, Participant-A school exhibits all of the characteristics of our ideal participant type. Participant-B school exhibits some of the characteristics of the participant type and some deviations from what could be viewed as a participant type of school political system.

TABLE 3: PARTICIPANT SYSTEMS

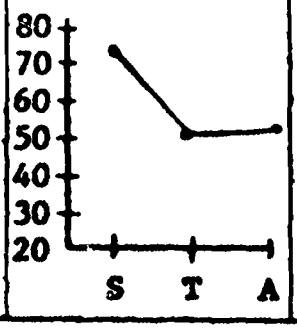
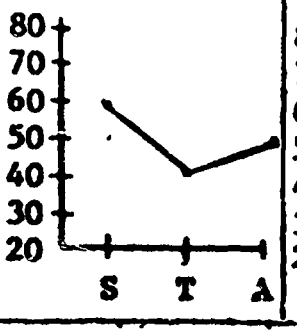
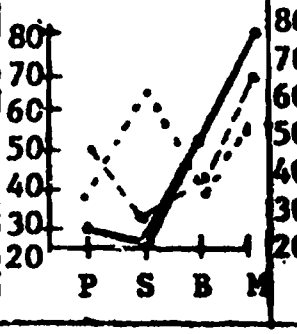
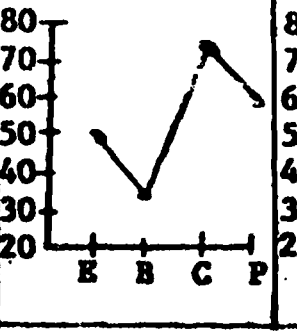
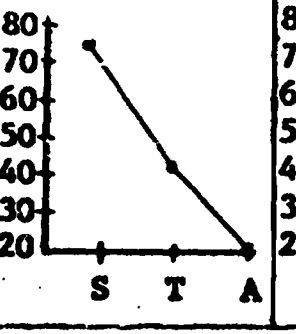
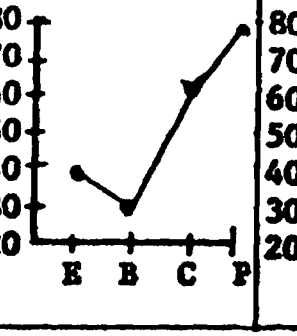
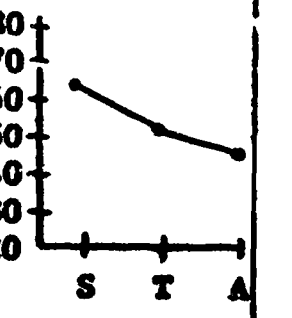
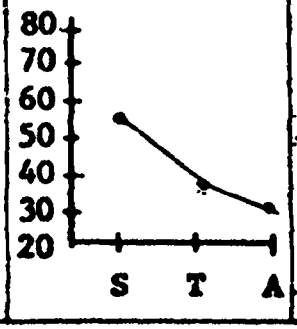
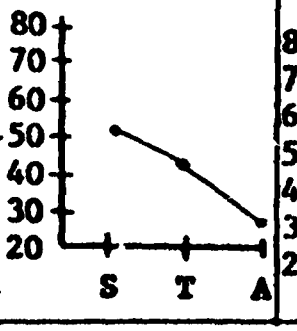
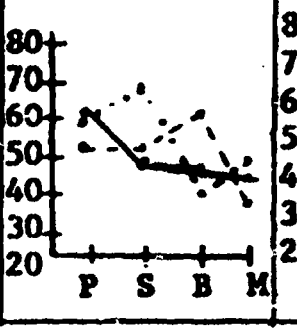
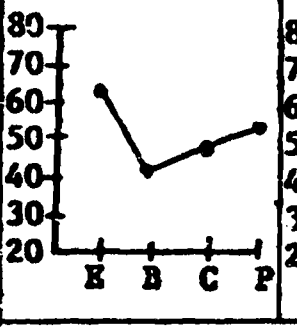
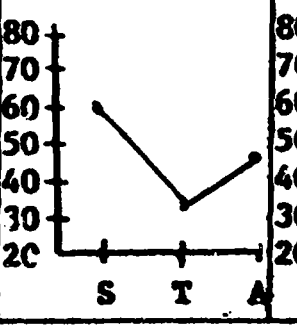
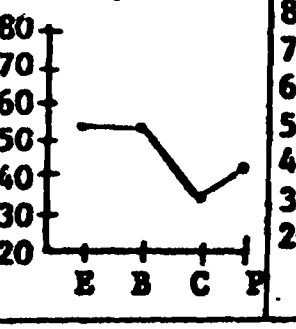
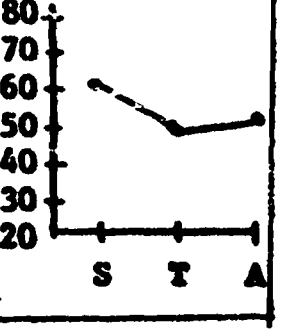
Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION	LEADERSHIP		DECISION-MAKING	COMMUNICATION		INFLUENCE
	(Distribution)	(Distribution)	(Style)	(Inclusiveness)	(Distribution)	(Connectedness)	(Use of Position)
Participant A	Students Major Role 	Students Major Role 	Merit 	Majority 	Students Major Role 	All Groups Share 	Students Major Role 

TABLE 4: DIRECTED PARTICIPANT SYSTEMS

Participant B	Students Major Role 	Students Major Role 	Variety Across Groups 	One Small Group 	Students Major Role 	Funnel Through Groups 	Students Major Role 

S = Students
T = Teachers
A = Administrators

P = Power
S = Status
B = Bargaining
M = Merit

E = Elite System: one-man rule; one group dominates information flow
B = Bureaucratic System: plurality rule; funnel for information
C = Coalitional System: majority rule; information divided among groups
P = Participant System: consensus rule; all share information

The Participant-A school demonstrates what we could call a "participant" political system in a school. Students have a major role in participating in the political life of the school (see column 1, S = Students, T = Teachers, A = Administrators). They also have a major role in taking leadership positions in group activities within the school. Leadership in this school is based on merit (See column 3, P = Power, S = Status, B = Bargaining, M = Merit, __ = administrators; --- = teachers, ... = students). At most times it's ideas and experience that count when it comes to getting something done or not getting something done. The decision-mal ing rule most nearly approximates majority rule (E = Elite system, one-man rule; B = Bureaucratic system, plurality rule; C = coalitional system, majority rule; and P = participant system, consensus rule.) At Participant-A school, people try to get a consensus before any decision is made and, because of the highly articulated ideology, there are very few consistent minorities operating within the system. Communication is shared across groups (E = Elite, one group dominates; B = Bureaucratic, funnel; C = Coalitional, divided among groups; P = Participant, all groups share). Students have a great deal of information about decisions. Students also tend to use their position in the system to influence other people, demonstrating that that student position is not one of the lowest rank on the totem pole, but one which can be used in order to affect what happens in the school. Participant-A school then, is a typical participant system according to our definition.

Participant-B school is not a typical participant system. Students do take a major role in participating in school affairs. They also take some major leadership roles within the school. They have information about issues and that information is shared, although it's normally shared from the top down through a funnel, much like a bureaucratic system. Students also use

their position in the school to affect decisions and to influence others. All of these characteristics seem to resemble those of Participant-A school and other participant type systems. However, Participant-B has an elite decision-rule where a small group of people make the final decision on most school issues. Also, the style of leadership exhibited by that group is not merit-based. Administrators use power or some kind of coercive measure to get people to get organized and do things (solid line under leadership style in graph on page 17).

Therefore, probably the clearest label to put with Participant-B is that of a "directed participant" political system. This means that students participate a lot and do have a say in what's going on in the school. They have information and ideas and can use their influence to get decisions. However, the ultimate responsibility for decision-making rests in a small group and that group tends to be the legal enforcer of the decisions. In most schools, that group would be the principal and vice-principals within the system. Clearly, it's a case where students can do a great deal if they have the approval and backing of a small group of people. We did not test whether or not most student activities were allowed to be carried out or not allowed to be carried out by that small group, but clearly the approval is necessary.

We have seen how our participant system can be divided into two types -- an ideal participant type and a directed participant type. The question remains as to whether or not it makes a difference in student attitudes and behaviors that a school is strictly participant or is of the directed participant variety. The interesting question is whether or not school administrators, in Participant-B's case, must give up their control over decision-making in

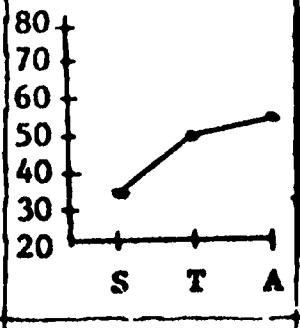
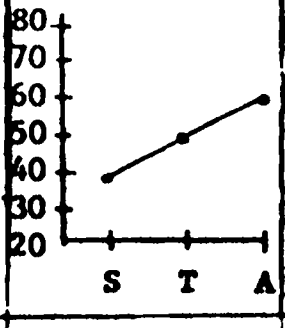
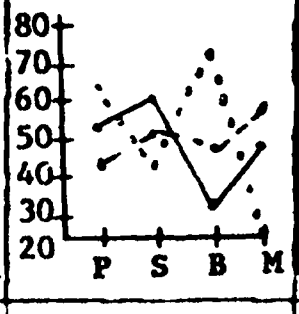
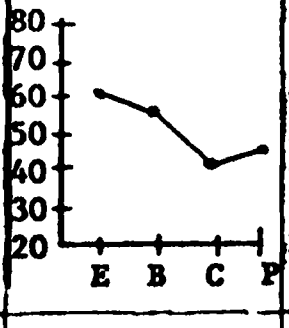
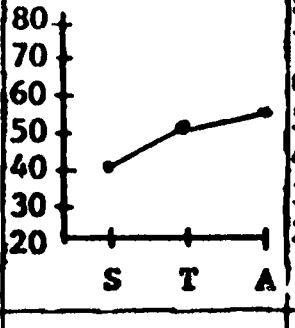
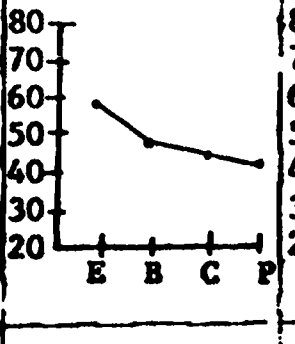
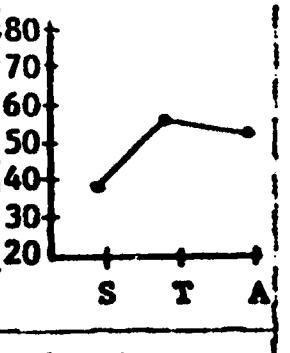
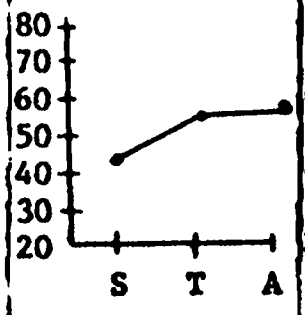
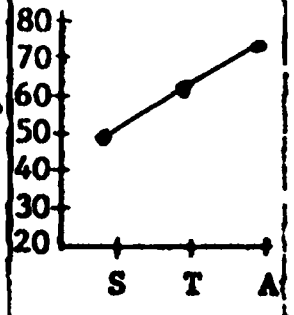
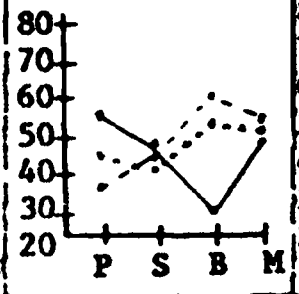
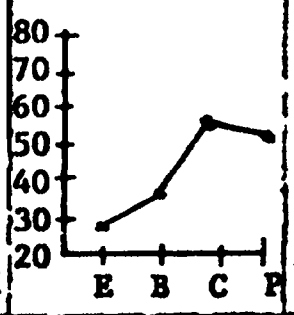
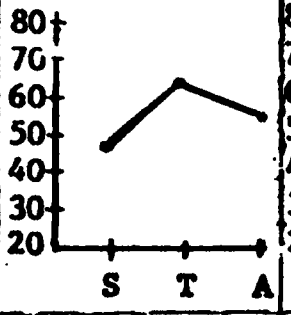
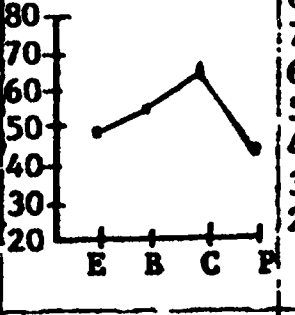
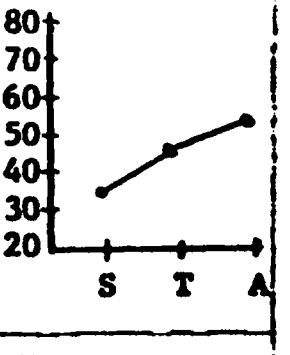
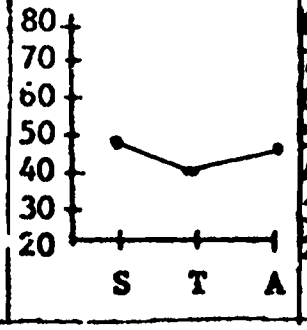
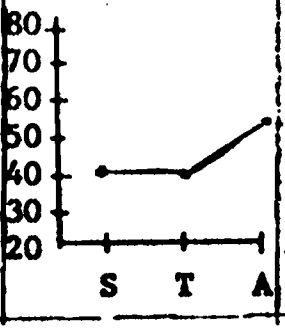
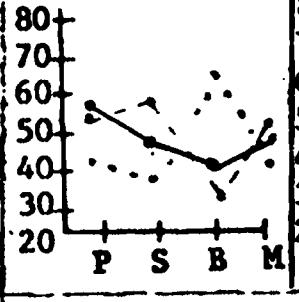
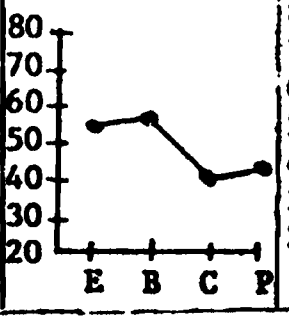
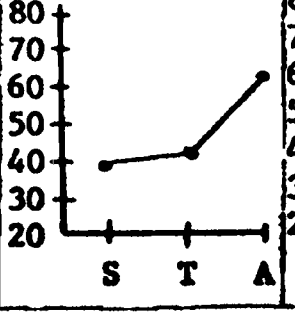
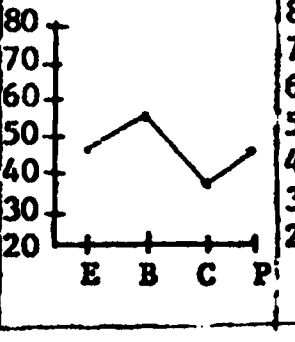
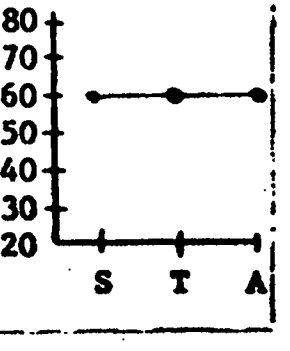
order for student attitudes and behaviors to resemble those of Participant-A, or whether administrators can retain their ultimate control of decisions and still have the types of attitudes and behaviors which are typical of participant systems.

Elite Political Systems

As we have described them, elite political systems should be structured so that administrators have a monopoly on the participation, leadership, communication and influence in the school and demonstrate high scores in our graphic patterns. We should see systems in which the distributions are administrator-dominated on each of these variables. In addition, the base for leadership should be power or coercion or the use of position by administrators at the top of such a system. Decision-making should be done by one person or a small group and one group should dominate communication. Communication would probably not be shared due to the predominance of information held by one group and passed as needed to other groups. A decision-making structure in which administrators and a few advisors participate in most decisions and then those decisions are communicated to whomever they consider to be relevant individuals in a system also supports the elite type of school system. When those decisions are enforced through strict rules or other means of coercion within the school system, then the system is ideally elite.

We have two schools which fall directly into the elite category -- Elite-A and Elite-B. These two systems are illustrated in Table 5. The Elite-C school shares with these schools most of the characteristics of an elite system, but there is a lot more participation in the system than in the other two schools. Table 5 indicates the ratings of each of these three schools on the eight dimensions on which we are classifying school political life. As you

TABLE 5 : ELITE SYSTEMS

Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION (Distribution)	LEADERSHIP (Distribution)	LEADERSHIP (Style)	DECISION-MAKING (Inclusiveness)	COMMUNICATION (Distribution)	COMMUNICATION (Connectedness)	INFLUENCE (Use of Position)
Elite A	Administrators Teachers Major Role 	Administrators Major Role 	Position (Students Bargain) 	One Small Group 	Administrators Teachers Major Role 	One Group Dominates 	Administrators Teachers Major Role 
Elite B	Administrators Teachers Major Role 	Administrators Major Role 	Bower (Students and Teachers Bargain) 	Majority 	Teachers Major Role 	Divided Among Groups 	Administrators Major Role 
Elite C	Even Distribution 	Administrators Major Role 	Power (Students Bargain) 	A Few Groups 	Administrators Major Role 	Funnel Through Groups 	Even Distribution 

can see from the table, elite characteristics are demonstrated generally across all three schools.

Elite-A and Elite-B schools demonstrate an ideal elite type in that the participation, leadership, communication and influence patterns are dominated by administrators, or in some cases, teachers. These people are at the top of the power structure and are clearly monopolizing political activity in each of these schools. In each case, the leadership base is either power or position and administrators are clearly using these bases to exercise leadership over others in the system. At Elite-A school, decision-making is done by one small group and one would expect from the other variables that this small group is a group of administrators. At Elite-B school, one would expect also to have a small group of administrators and/or teachers making decisions, although within that structure, it would probably be a majority rule decision. Therefore, you have a small group making decisions but a majority rule operating within the structure. You also find that at Elite-B school communication is divided among groups. This is probably due to the selectivity of information which is given to the students and teachers. Administrators do not hold all the information, but it is divided out among groups as it is relevant to them. Both of these schools illustrate typical elite types of systems.

Elite-C school shares quite a few characteristics with Elite-A and Elite-B. Its leadership is administrator-dominant. It is also a minority rule system with power as the basis for leadership. Its administrators take a major role in cultivating information and in the communications system. However, at Elite-C school, participation is much more evenly distributed across people in the system and all groups tend to use their position in order of influence others. This signifies a system in which there is more even participation

under an essentially elite structure. Whether or not this difference makes a difference is a major question for analysis.

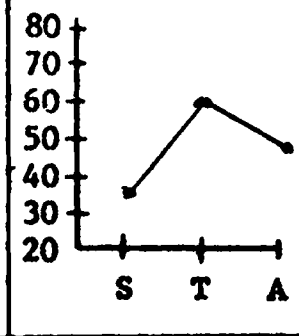
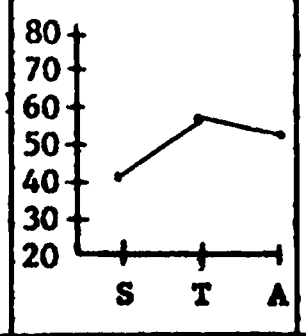
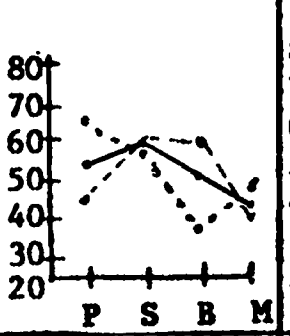
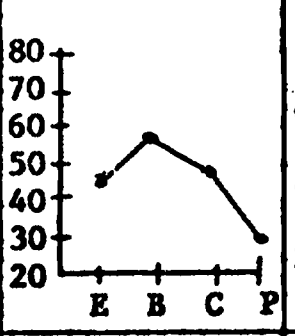
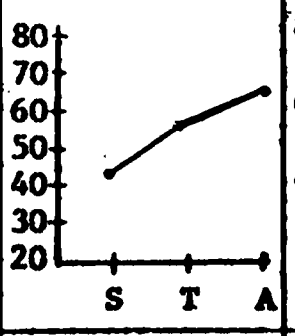
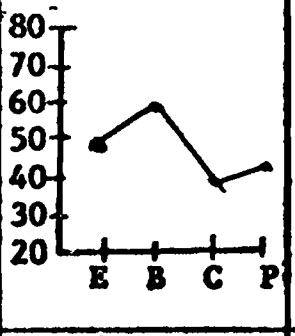
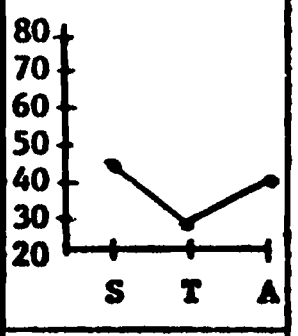
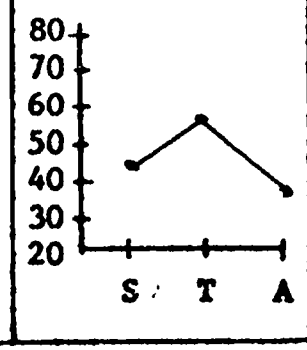
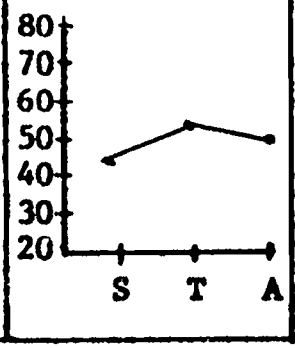
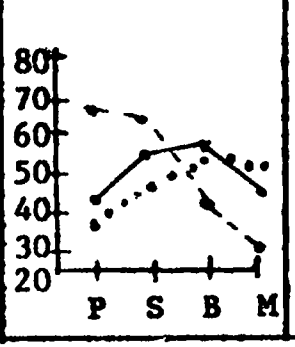
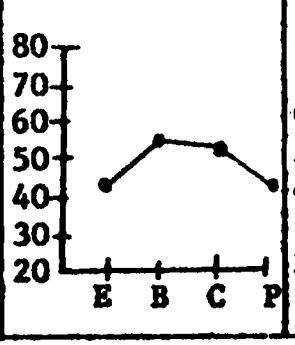
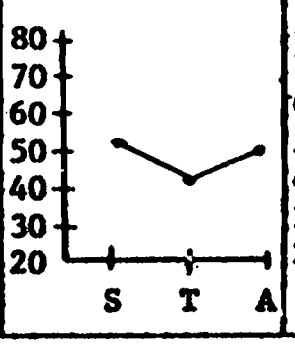
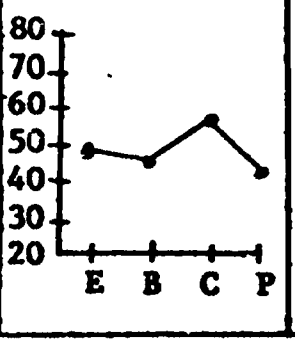
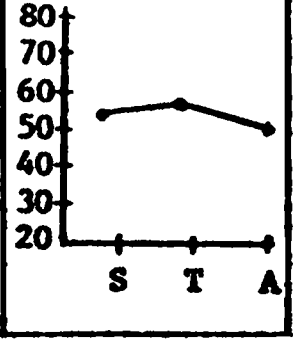
Bureaucratic Political Systems

The underlying participant and elite patterns seem dramatically different from each other. They reflect real differences underlying the overall bureaucratic trend in the data. Some schools reinforced the basic overall bureaucratic pattern in our analysis. We conceived of underlying bureaucratic political systems as administrator and teacher-dominated systems in our analysis. At least some combination of teacher and administrator-dominated distributions would characterize the patterns of participation, leadership, communication and influence. The bases of influence in a bureaucratic system would be either power or position. Other groups, such as students or teachers when administrators are dominant, need to bargain with the power-holders in order to get their way. Decision-making is relegated to a few groups of people at the top of the system and communication is funneled through the system in a chain-of-command manner. This would approximate an ideal bureaucratic system.

There are four schools which fit into the bureaucratic type. The characteristics of these schools are listed on Table 6 on the following page. Table 6 demonstrates that in most cases teachers do dominate the distribution of participation. They also dominate the distribution of leadership and share with administrators in dominating the distribution of communication and influence.

The Bureaucratic-A and Bureaucratic-B schools are the most typical bureaucratic systems in this category. Teachers play a major role in participation, teachers and administrators share a major role in leadership. Power is the base through which leadership is exercised and others in the

TABLE 6: BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS

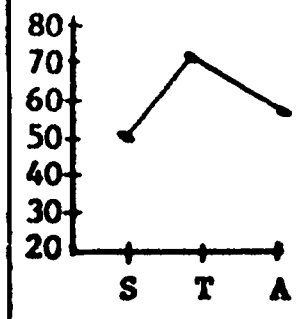
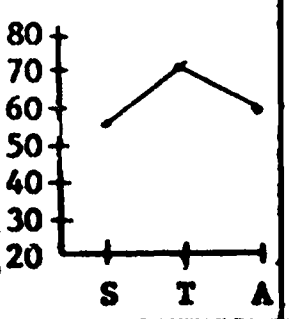
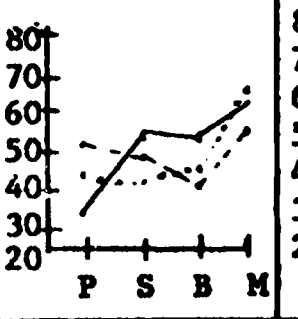
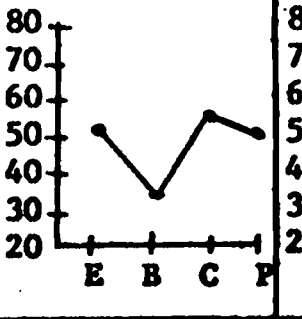
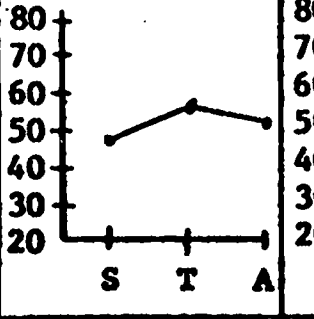
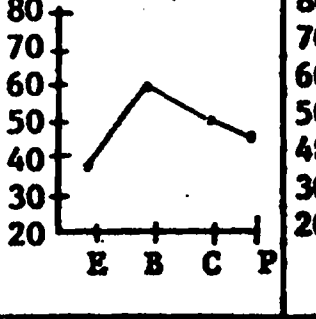
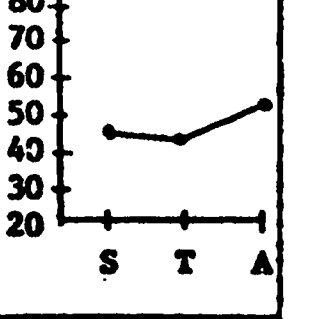
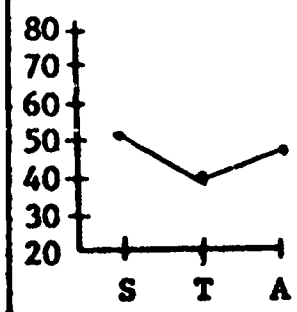
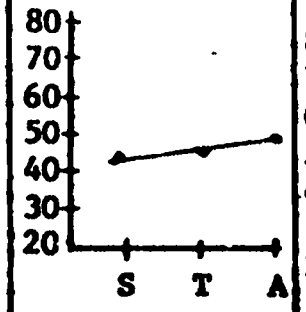
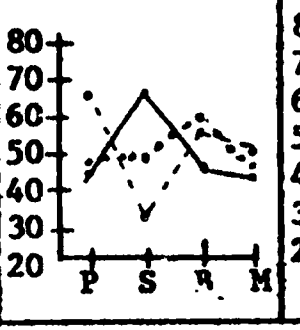
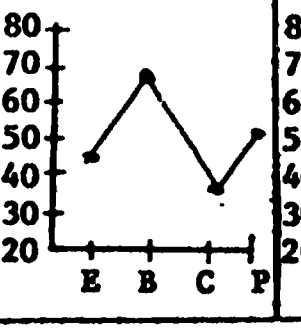
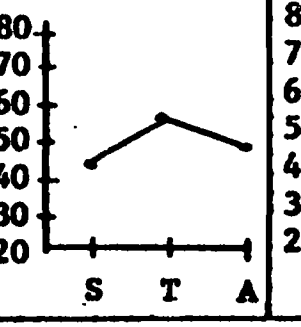
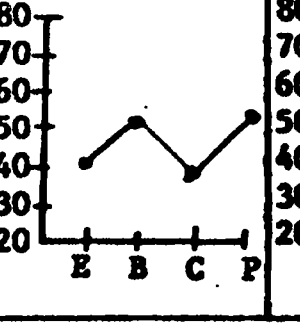
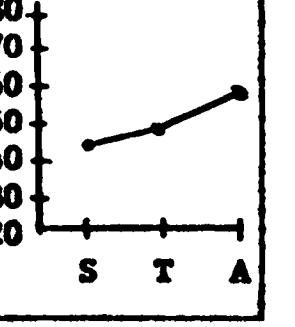
Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION	LEADERSHIP		DECISION-MAKINC	COMMUNICATION		INFLUENCE
	(Distribution)	(Distribution)	(Style)	(Inclusiveness)	(Distribution)	(Connectedness)	(Use of Position)
Bureaucratic A	Teachers Major Role 	Teachers, Administrators Major Role 	Power (Teachers Bargain) 	A Few Groups 	Administrators Major Role 	Funnel Through Groups 	Administrators Students Major Role 
Bureaucratic B	Teachers Major Role 	Teachers, Administrators Major Role 	Power (Admin. + students bargain) 	A Few Groups 	Administrators Students Major Role 	Divided Among Groups 	Even Distribution 

S = Students
T = Teachers
A = Administrators

P = Power
S = Status
B = Bargaining
M = Merit

E = Elite System; one-man rule, one group dominates information flow
B = Bureaucratic System: plurality rule; funnel for information
C = Coalitional System: majority rule; information divided among groups
P = Participant System: consensus rule; all share information

TABLE 6: BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS (CONTINUED)

Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION	LEADERSHIP		DECISION-MAKING	COMMUNICATION		INFLUENCE
	(Distribution)	(Distribution)	(Style)	(Inclusiveness)	(Distribution)	(Connectedness)	(Use of Position)
Bureaucratic C	Teachers Major Role 	Teachers Major Role 	Merit 	Majority 	Teachers, Administrators Major Role 	Funnel Through Groups 	Administrators Major Role 
Bureaucratic D	Even Distribution 	Even Distribution 	Variety Across Groups 	A Few Groups 	Even Distribution 	Shared, funnel through groups 	Administrators Major Role 

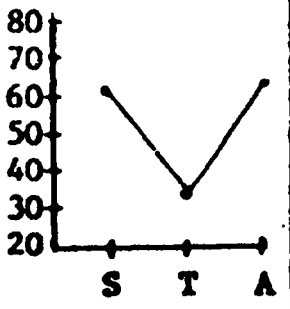
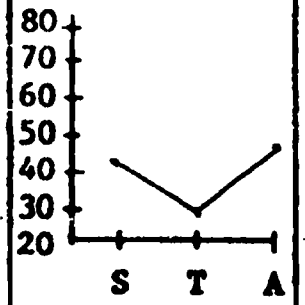
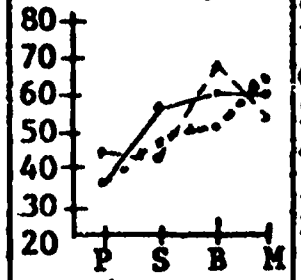
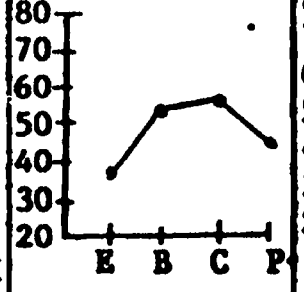
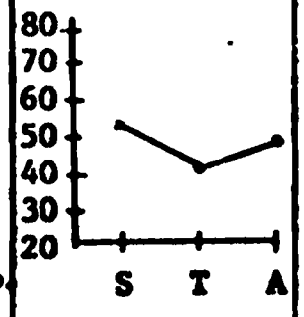
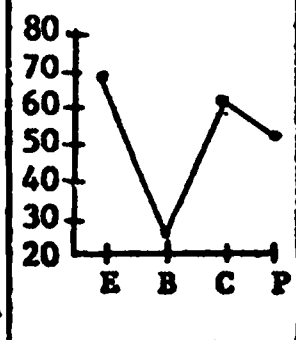
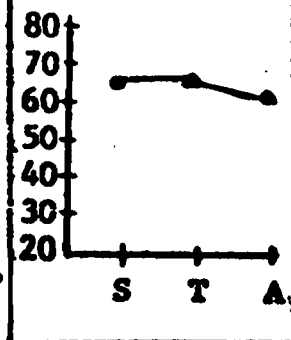
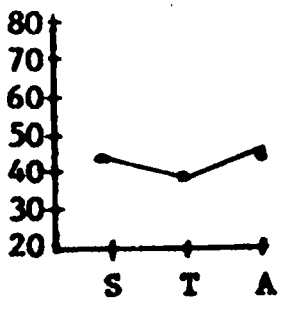
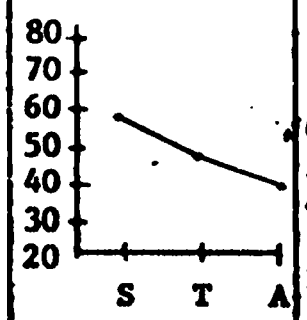
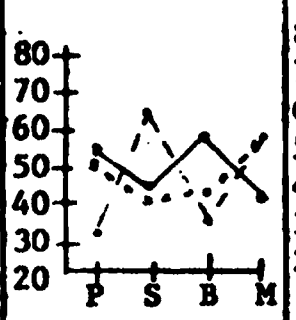
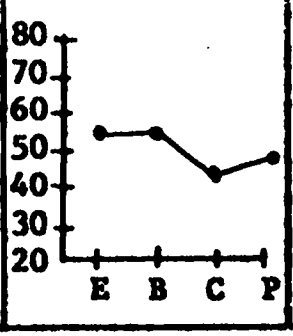
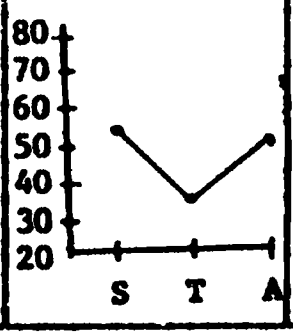
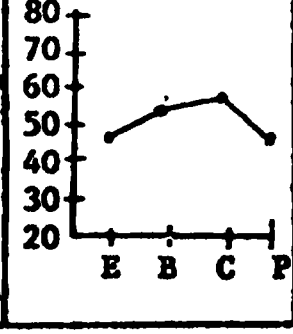
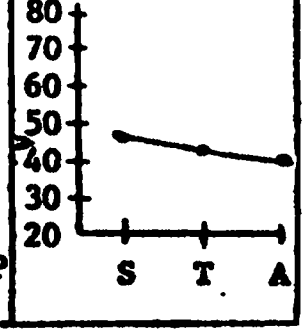
system bargain with those leaders in order to get things done. Decision-making occurs in a few groups and is decided by a minority. Communication is distributed unevenly with administrators taking a major role. Information is channeled at Bureaucratic-A school through a funnel and divided or stratified among groups at Bureaucratic-B school. Influence is either dominated by administrators or there is a relatively even distribution of the use of influence indicating that the stratification in the system is operating. People are influencing each other according to their status in the hierarchy.

Bureaucratic-C and Bureaucratic-D schools are less typical bureaucratic systems, although Bureaucratic-C school fits into the bureaucratic type rather well. Bureaucratic-D school has much more of an even distribution and coalitional characteristic than do any of the other three schools. It has an even distribution in participation and leadership. However, administrators use position and teachers' power as a basis for their leadership. Decision-making is carried out in a few groups and communication is shared through a funnel. Administrators tend to use their position in influencing others in the system. This is a system which we might call a weak bureaucratic system which has some major characteristics of a coalitional form.

Coalitional Political Systems

Coalitional political systems have been described according to a classic interest group model in our research. Various groups participate in the system and bargain with each other over various issues which come up. The groups have different bases for participation and different interests in participating. Therefore, we expect to find different bases for leadership across groups and communication which is group-intensive and only limited between groups. Therefore, we find in Table 7 on the next page coalitional systems which have

TABLE 7: COALITIONAL SYSTEMS

Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION (Distribution)	LEADERSHIP (Distribution)	LEADERSHIP (Style)	DECISION-MAKING (Inclusiveness)	COMMUNICATION (Distribution)	COMMUNICATION (Connectedness)	INFLUENCE (Use of Position)
Coalitional A	Administrators, Students Major Role 	Administrators, Students Major Role 	Merit 	Majority 	Students Major Role. 	Divided Among Groups 	Even Distribution 
Coalitional B	Even Distribution 	Students Major Role 	Variety A-cross Groups 	A Few Groups 	Students, Administrators Major Role 	Divided Among Groups 	Even Distribution 

S = Students
T = Teachers
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P = Power
S = Status
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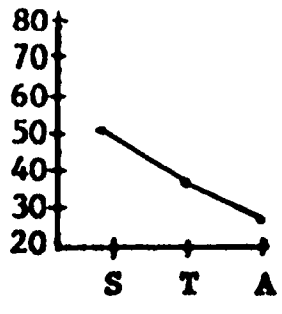
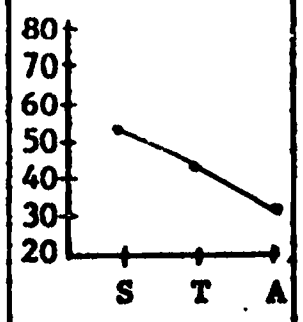
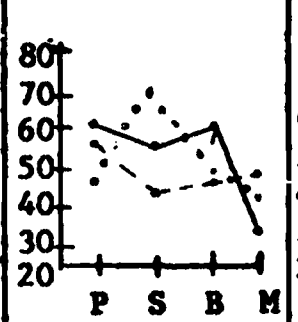
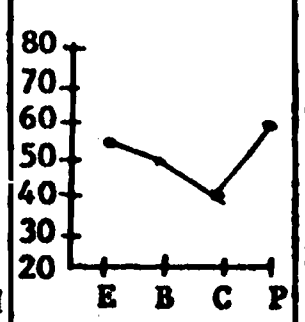
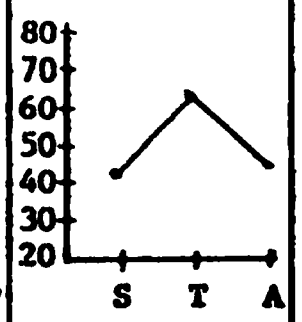
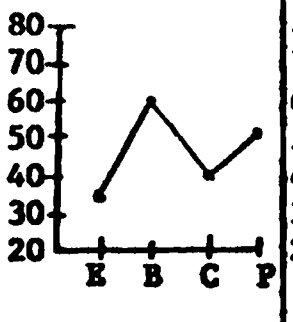
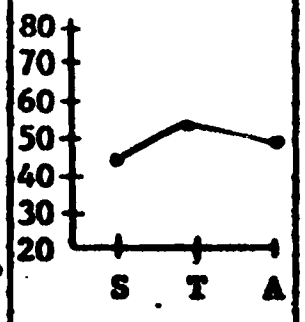
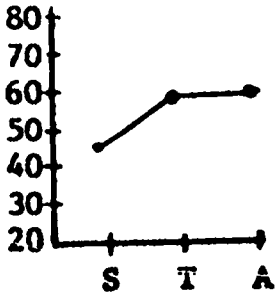
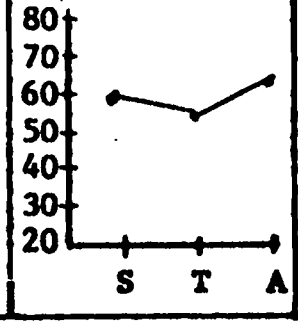
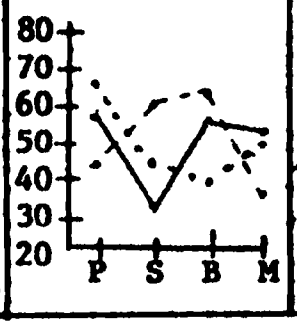
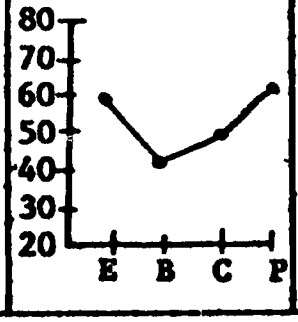
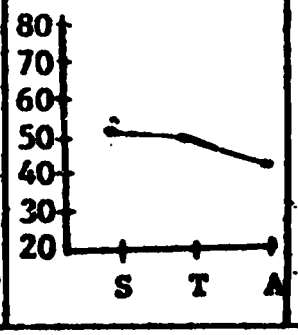
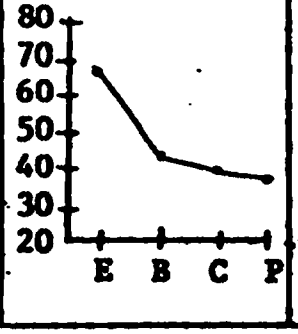
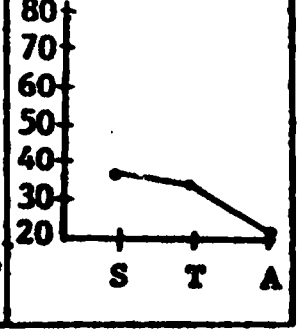
TABLE 7: COALITIONAL SYSTEMS (CONTINUED)

Variables / Schools	PARTICIPATION	LEADERSHIP		DECISION-MAKING	COMMUNICATION		INFLUENCE
	(Distribution)	(Distribution)	(Style)	(Inclusiveness)	(Distribution)	(Connectedness)	(Use of Position)
Coalitional C	Students Major Role 	Students Major Role 	Variety Across Groups 	Everyone 	Teachers Major Role 	Funnel Through Groups 	Even Distribution 
Coalitional D	Administrators Teachers Major Role 	Even Distribution 	Variety Across Groups 	Everyone 	Students, Teachers Major Role 	One Group Dominates 	Students, Teachers Major Role 

an even distribution of participation, leadership, communication and influence across various groups. Indeed, no one group will dominate others. In some cases, however, one group will dominate on one variable and another group will dominate on another.[6] This is also a classic part of the interest-group model where various groups participate more-or-less intensively in a variety of activities and leadership is taken and participation is uneven across groups.

Therefore, we get two types of coalitional distributions. One is that there is an even distribution across groups because groups are equally participating in the system based on different interests. The other is that on various variables, different groups will dominate. Students, for example, will dominate on participation; teachers will dominate on leadership; administrators will dominate on communication. Looking at the table on the preceding page, you can see that this is true of each of the four coalitional systems included in the table. It is also a classic coalitional characteristic that there is a majority rule for decision-making and communication is divided into groups.

Coalitional-A school is an excellent example of a coalitional system. Administrators and students take a major role in participation, administrators and students take a major role in leadership compared to other schools. Students take a major role in communication and there is an even distribution in influence. As you can see, a new group dominates the distribution across the various variables. There is a majority rule and a merit-base for leadership. Coalitional-B school is also a good example of a coalitional system of

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[6]We use the words "dominate" and "major role" here. This usage should be viewed in the context of relative domination compared to other schools.

a different sort. There is a much more even distribution across most of the characteristics in the system, meaning that the coalitions or groups which are participating are more balanced and have more widespread interest than the narrow interests that seem to exist at Coalitional-A school. Coalitional-C and Coalitional-D schools are also clear coalitional systems, but less typical of the pattern than either of the previous schools.

We can conclude from this analysis that there are at least five different kinds of systems operating in the schools in our study. We have a dominant, bureaucratic pattern which is common to all schools in the sample. However, we also have a series of underlying patterns which are demonstrably different in the schools under study. We have actually two types of participant systems, both ideal participant and directed participant. We have one type of elite system, one type of bureaucratic system with some additional variation, and one type of coalitional system. We, therefore, have five distinct types of patterns underlying the basic bureaucratic school political system type. The question remaining is whether or not these types actually have any influence on students' attitudes in the school. Responses to this question will be given in the following sections of this paper.

Attitudes Toward School and Society

This study examined student political and social attitudes toward their own school and toward society in general. Student political and social attitudes are potential outcomes of school systemic political processes. Student responses to part of the "hidden curriculum" of the school -- the organization and processes within which school decisions are made and communicated -- can take the form of positive or negative attitudes toward the school and toward society as a whole.

Attitudes

Four attitudes are included in this research: trust, integration, confidence, and interest. Trust refers to the belief that human behavior is consistent and governed by positive motivations such as principles like justice. A specific application of the concept trust is made in studies which investigate political cynicism.[7] Cynicism is the opposite of trust. Jennings and Niemi, in summarizing cross-sectional school research, suggest that children's trust of national political figures and processes is high in the elementary school years, but this trust erodes during junior and senior high school, and is replaced by increasing cynicism in adult years.[8] Ehman confirmed the high school trust erosion phenomenon with longitudinal data.[9]

Integration refers to the belief that one is connected to one's social environment, and not cut off or alienated from it. Integration, and its opposite, alienation, as well as a related concept, anomia, have been conceptualized and operationalized by Dean, Seeman, and Srole, among others.[10]

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[7]For a discussion of the relationship between personal trust and politics, see Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1956; for the conceptualization and operationalization of political cynicism, see Robert E. Agger, et. al., "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," Journal of Politics, 23;477-506, August, 1961.

[8]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," Howard Educational Review, Vol. 30, Summer, 1968, pp. 462-65.

[9]Lee H. Ehman, "Political Socialization and the High School Social Studies Curriculum," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969, pp. 63-84.

[10]Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review, 26:753-8, 1961; M. Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24:783-91, 1959; Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corrolaries," American Sociological Review, 21:710-16, December, 1956.

Anomia consists of multiple dimensions, including connectedness to social surroundings, or what we are referring to as integration, as well as personal powerlessness and the belief that society is normless. Little research on integration in secondary schools has been conducted, despite the extensive and popular educational writing about alienation of school youth. Ziblatt found that participation in high school activities was associated with feelings of integration in the high school status system.[11]

Confidence is defined as the belief that one's actions can have an effect on political activities. It is analogous to, but more general than, the concept political efficacy. Almond and Verba found in a cross-cultural study that student verbal participation in school classes (and other social settings) was associated with adult feelings of competence to understand and act in the political arena.[12] Political efficacy is a more widely-used concept. Easton and Dennis summarized the research relating to political efficacy, and found early development of this attitude in pre-high school students, as early as the third grade.[13] They suggest that this might offset the growth, during adulthood, of frustration, disillusionment, and rising cynicism with participation in a modern mass political system.

Interest refers to the set of beliefs that predispose one to respond positively toward political situations. An attitude of interest toward poli-

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[11]David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 361: 20-31, 1965

[12]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

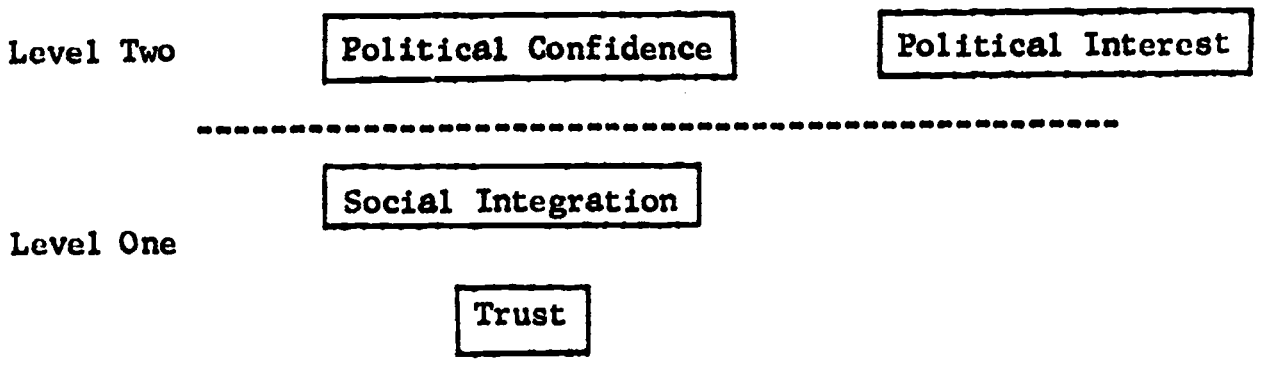
[13]David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, 61: 25-38, March, 1968.

tical activity and situations is a logical base upon which individual political behavior must rest and is another important school-related dimension for study.

Each attitude has been conceptualized as having two referents in this study -- the student's own school and society in general. Although it seems more reasonable that school system variables would be more closely linked to school-related attitudes than to general society-related attitudes, it also seemed important to include the latter attitudes because of their greater relative significance for the political order as a whole.

There should be an implicit structure, or set of hierarchical relationships, between these four attitudes. Trust and integration should be more basic than, and prerequisite to, confidence. Before confidence in one's ability to affect political processes can be established, some degree of trust in others, and a sense of integration with one's social surroundings are necessary. Furthermore, trust should be more basic than integration. Before one can feel a part of one's general social surroundings, some feelings of trust in others are necessary. Interest should be more strongly related to confidence than to the other two attitudes, trust and integration, because the latter two do not necessarily presuppose interest, but confidence does require interest as its basis. Figure 1 shows this hypothesized attitude structure within two levels in the attitude hierarchy.

Figure 1 -- Structural Relationships Between Student General Attitude Dimensions



The attitudes were operationalized by a set of 80 attitude items. In order to determine if the political attitude items represented the same discrete dimensions for which they were constructed, they were factor analyzed. Oblique rotations were used because it was hypothesized that the dimensions of interest, trust, social integration and confidence would be associated, rather than independent, in the attitude structures of the student sample.[14]

All 2,546 student responses on the 80 items were used, and each of the four attitudes was specified by two referents -- the general society as one referent, and the school as the other. Thus, eight, rather than four dimensions, were expected, and the analysis was conducted in parallel: the school-related items were analyzed separately from the general society-related items. The expected dimensions were:

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[14]The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences factor analysis computer program was used. Delta, the parameter used by the analyist to produce a more or less correlated set of factors, was set at +.30 for a moderately oblique solution. See Norman H. Nie, Dale H. Bent, and C. Hadlai Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970, pp. 208-44.

General Society-Related	School-Related
1. General Political Interest	5. School Political Interest
2. General Trust in People	6. Trust in People at School
3. General Social Integration	7. Social Integration Within the School
4. General Political Confidence	8. School Political Confidence

General Society-Related Attitudes

The 40 items for the four general attitudes are listed in Appendix B. Responses were made on a scale of five points: strongly disagree, disagree, uncertain, agree and strongly agree. The factor loadings of the items on the four factors are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 shows that the 10 interest items loaded from .642 to .923 on factor I. In contrast, no item from another group had a factor loading on factor I higher than .287. Factor I, therefore, was judged to tap general political interest. Factor II was identified as general political trust. Although the loadings of the 10 trust items are not as high as the interest items on Factor I, varying from .259 to .542, the non-trust item loadings are quite low on this factor, with only two reaching as high as -.173 and -.171. Factor III was identified as general political confidence. Loadings for those 10 items ranged from .418 to .743, and the highest non-confidence item loading was .211. The 10 general social integration items loaded from .254 to .573 on Factor IV. The highest item loading from any other group was .188. Factor IV was, therefore, identified as representing general social integration. Overall, these 40 items do appear to represent a clear set of four political attitudes toward society in general.

TABLE 8
Factor Loadings of Forty General Societal Attitude Items on Four Factors

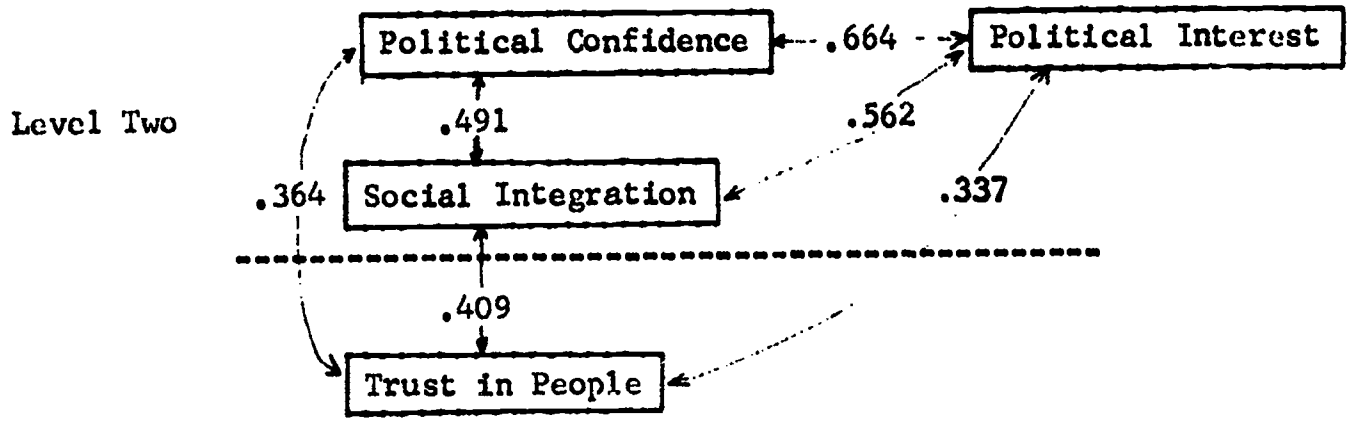
Item Group	Item No.	Factors I General Political Interest	II General Trust In People	III General Political Confidence	IV General Social Integration
General Trust	1	-.129	.504	-.013	-.027
	2	.006	.337	-.078	-.044
	3	-.062	.345	-.002	.188
	4	-.027	.460	.012	-.033
	5	.037	.508	-.023	-.000
	6	.088	.389	-.068	.066
	7	-.058	.259	.211	-.025
	8	.020	.500	-.004	-.042
	9	.012	.542	.027	-.002
	10	-.029	.491	.059	-.046
General Interest	1	.751	-.009	-.065	-.048
	2	.808	-.008	-.022	-.106
	3	.858	-.062	-.133	-.102
	4	.669	.065	-.122	-.062
	5	.701	-.097	.066	-.059
	6	.821	-.096	-.032	-.013
	7	.823	.051	-.078	-.081
	8	.923	-.049	-.038	-.098
	9	.642	-.027	-.013	.053
	10	.730	-.075	.099	-.075
General Confidence	1	.086	-.043	.448	-.014
	2	-.001	-.173	.611	-.027
	3	-.039	.152	.418	.119
	4	.078	-.026	.655	-.005
	5	.070	-.039	.693	-.068
	6	-.092	.067	.478	.098
	7	.250	-.073	.626	-.095
	8	-.094	.030	.529	-.180
	9	.071	-.061	.743	-.066
	10	-.187	.013	.656	.101
General Integration	1	-.144	.131	.079	.484
	2	.287	-.100	.023	.270
	3	.079	-.111	-.025	.492
	4	-.067	.013	-.034	.401
	5	-.000	.150	-.050	.254
	6	-.045	.158	-.001	.481
	7	-.071	-.171	.078	.351
	8	.071	.080	.172	.454
	9	.007	.043	-.012	.573
	10	.267	-.065	-.084	.414

If the previous conceptualization of the hierarchical structure of these attitudes is correct, the intercorrelations between the four factors should reflect this structure. The magnitude of the factor intercorrelations are inverse representations of distance between the factors. The correlation between trust and integration should be higher than between trust and confidence, because the former pair is more closely adjacent in the structure than the latter pair. The correlation between integration and confidence should be higher than between either of these two variables and trust, because it represents a within-level, rather than an across-level, distance.

This structure is confirmed by the intercorrelations between factors presented in Figure 2. The trust-integration correlation (.409) is higher than the trust-confidence correlation (.364), and the correlation between integration

Figure 2

Structural Relationships Between
Student General Attitude Dimensions*



*Figures are correlation coefficients between factors from oblique factor solution described above.

and confidence (.491) is higher than either of the other two, Not only is the predicted structure among these three attitude dimensions confirmed, but the theoretical relationships between political interest and the three attitudes are also supported. The relative distances between interest on one hand, and

trust, integration and confidence on the other, should increase monotonically. As Figure 2 shows, the correlations are: interest-trust, .337; interest-integration, .562; and interest-confidence, .664. Thus, interest also fits the suggested theoretical hierarchy.

In summary, the 40 general attitude items appear to represent four internally consistent attitude dimensions whose empirical interrelationships make theoretical sense.

School-Related Attitudes

The 40 items for the four school-related attitudes are listed in Appendix C. Responses were made on the same five-point scale as used for the general attitude items. The factor loadings of the items on the four factors are shown in Table 9. As was the case for the general attitude items, the two factors representing school political interest and confidence are relatively clear and strong. Factor II, representing interest, has loadings from -.556 to -.895; the highest non-interest item loading was -.285. Factor IV, confidence, has loadings from -.336 to -.630, except for item number 2. This item failed to load very highly on any factor -- its highest loading on any factor was .153, and, therefore, is judged to be a very weak item. This item states: "I am the kind of person whose support for one side in a school decision would hurt more than help it." The wording is confusing, with a kind of embedded double negative with respect to the confidence construct which apparently causes interpretive difficulties for the students. Aside from this problem, these two factors are consistent with the intended dimensionality of the items.

Factors I and III, which should be integration and trust, present a confused picture. Factor I has loadings on the 9 integration within school items ranging from .202 to .598. However, several of the 10 trust items, 1, 4, 5, 6,

TABLE 9
Factor Loadings of Forty School
Attitude Items on Four Factors

Item Group	Item No.	Factors I Integration Within School	II School Political Interest	III Trust in School People	IV School Political Confidence
School Confidence	1	.082	.001	.091	-.475
	2	.153	.001	-.045	-.119
	3	-.063	.022	-.041	-.630
	4	.150	.043	-.060	-.336
	5	.135	.090	-.194	-.550
	6	-.176	-.028	-.189	-.538
	7	-.127	-.037	.099	-.615
	8	-.084	-.027	-.265	-.543
	9	.044	.062	.199	-.506
	10	.072	-.026	-.227	-.492
	11	.149	.043	.174	-.465
School Integration	1	.312	-.191	.180	-.062
	2	.293	-.285	.113	-.028
	3	.507	-.191	.031	.080
	4	.410	-.181	.079	-.086
	5	.250	-.090	.092	-.072
	6	.598	-.061	.131	.023
	7	.202	-.048	-.085	-.088
	8	.421	.140	-.058	-.120
	9	.395	-.255	.023	.053
School Interest	1	.171	-.653	.110	.036
	2	.005	-.808	-.096	.160
	3	-.118	-.715	-.022	.015
	4	-.109	-.627	.017	-.040
	5	-.124	-.895	-.052	.114
	6	-.066	-.770	.076	-.074
	7	.106	-.607	.008	-.010
	8	.149	-.562	.042	.022
	9	-.026	-.556	-.113	-.012
	10	-.129	-.890	-.034	.096
School Trust	1	.632	.054	-.118	.117
	2	.215	-.136	-.423	.051
	3	.254	-.050	-.515	-.024
	4	.266	-.061	-.222	-.036
	5	.337	.035	-.081	.019
	6	.447	.140	-.133	-.046
	7	.083	-.073	-.608	-.062
	8	.456	.071	-.076	-.107
	9	.124	-.040	-.501	-.194
	10	.254	-.014	-.443	-.151

and 8, also load high on this factor. Examination of the trust item loadings on Factor III shows that items 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10 load highest on this factor.

The specific trust items loading on Factor III all contain a common element not present in the other five trust items; trust in the teachers or school administrators is suggested in items 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10, while trust in other students is implied in the others. This suggests that there may be a five-factor, rather than a four-factor solution for these 40 items. To test this notion, the factor analysis was performed again for a five-factor solution. The results are shown in Table 10. As seen there, Factors II and IV, interest and confidence, are nearly identical to the corresponding factors in the four-factor solution.

On Factor I, integration, the loadings of items from the integration items are rather low, ranging from .147 to .493. The major apparent problem is that several integration items also loaded moderately on the trust in other students factor, Factor V. It seems clear that integration within the school and trust in other students are intimately bound together in the students' attitude structures. Factors III and V now represent trust in school adults and trust in other students, respectively. The loadings show clear factors, except for item number 2 in Factor V, where the absolute value of the loadings on the two factors are nearly equal, -.215 and .256. Examination of this item shows there is probably confusion as to whether the "leaders" referred to in the item are students, adults or both. The item reads: "Leaders in my school would like to make it a better place."

Factors III and V do show that the original conception of the attitude "trust in people at school" did not produce a clear empirical fit, and that

TABLE 10
Factor Loadings of Forty School Attitude Items on Five Factors

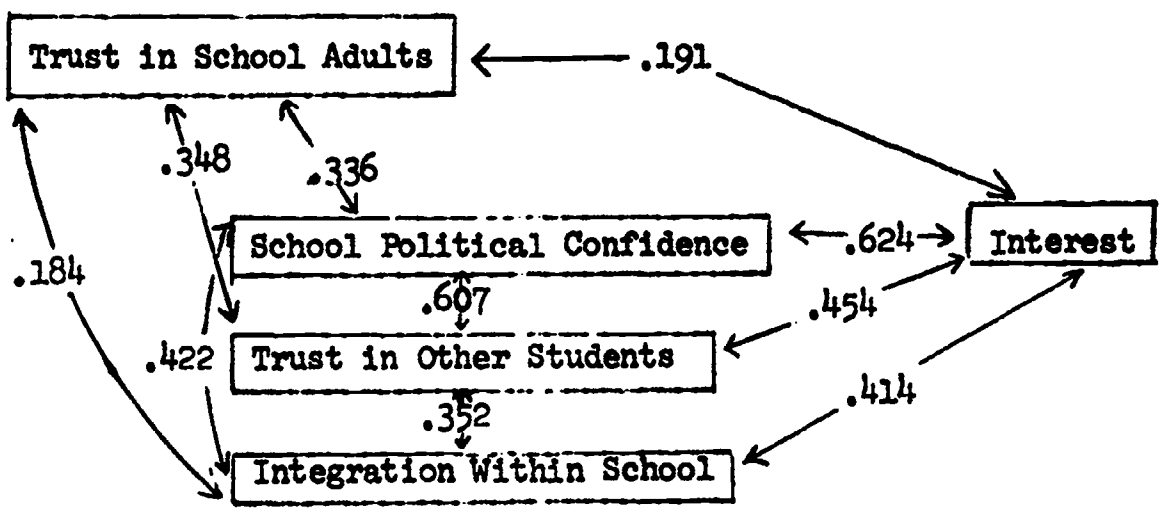
Item Group	Item No.	Factors I Integration Within School	II School Political Interest	III Trust In School Adults	IV School Political Confidence	V Trust In Other Students
School Confidence	1	.081	-.010	.076	-.497	.022
	2	.169	.018	-.102	-.134	-.004
	3	-.056	.013	-.024	-.616	-.013
	4	.210	.070	-.135	-.359	-.051
	5	.114	.110	-.244	-.557	.015
	6	- 122	-.021	-.171	-.519	-.094
	7	-.048	-.052	.119	-.606	-.078
	8	-.088	-.017	-.256	-.524	-.033
	9	-.056	.027	.259	-.508	.141
	10	.072	-.006	-.266	-.493	-.018
	11	.114	.022	.160	-.472	.075
School Integration	1	.287	-.198	.120	-.086	.077
	2	.366	-.272	.020	-.059	-.027
	3	.493	-.167	-.097	.054	.095
	4	.305	-.186	.012	-.110	.156
	5	.215	-.091	.043	-.090	.071
	6	.306	-.089	.088	.005	.380
	7	.256	-.016	-.177	-.112	-.045
	8	.147	.125	-.078	-.123	.327
	9	.202	-.271	-.005	.042	.235
School Interest	1	.252	-.655	.053	.015	-.074
	2	-.004	-.818	-.079	.169	-.026
	3	-.075	-.731	.013	.028	-.080
	4	-.058	-.644	.048	-.030	-.082
	5	-.125	-.925	.004	.135	-.051
	6	.051	-.780	.074	-.077	-.146
	7	.039	-.630	.025	-.004	.064
	8	.128	-.574	.025	.015	.025
	9	-.063	-.569	-.084	.001	.003
	10	-.121	-.920	.022	.117	-.057
Trust in School Teachers/Administrators	1	.115	-.103	-.490	.051	.063
	2	.109	-.012	-.588	-.023	.103
	3	-.168	-.059	-.581	-.030	.190
	4	-.092	-.027	-.488	-.170	.176
	5	.047	.005	-.470	-.142	.186
Trust in Other Students at School	1	.210	.034	-.141	.116	.496
	2	.025	-.068	-.215	-.022	.256
	3	-.120	-.015	.013	.076	.552
	4	-.065	.098	.056	.003	.619
	5	-.022	.028	-.003	-.068	.587

there are five rather than four distinct attitude dimensions in the 40 items under analysis.

The intercorrelations among the five school attitude factors do not present the same structure as did the general attitude dimensions; they are shown in Figure 3, which shows the most parsimonious attitude structure which includes all five dimensions. As can be seen, trust in teachers and administrators seems not to fit well in any position, with very long distance between it and interest (.191) and integration (.184). It is closer to trust in other students (.348) and confidence (.336). The former connection might be expected simply on the basis of a mutual connection with an underlying general trust in people. The connection with confidence suggests that students with higher trust in school adults are less likely to reason that teachers and administrators are arbitrary and unresponsive; therefore, the efforts of students to influence the school social organization are more likely to succeed. The structure might also mean that political confidence is necessary before trust in school adults can exist, perhaps because it is only those with confidence that will engage in school activities in which they will come to view adults in a trusting light. In any case, trust in school adults is clearly at the level two in the attitude structure.

Figure 3 also shows a reversal in the relative position of trust (in other students) and integration. Ordered as shown, all but one of the intercorrelation comparisons among the four attitudes (not including trust in school adults) are parallel to that of the students' general attitude structure discussed earlier. The exception is that the integration-trust correlation (.352) is lower than the integration-confidence correlation (.422), even though the former pair is adjacent and the latter pair is not adjacent.

FIGURE 3
Structural Relationships Between Student
School-Related Attitude Dimensions*



*Figures are correlation coefficients between factors from oblique factor solution described above.

Integration may be lower than trust in other students in the school settings because before trust can be established, a student must feel somewhat a part of the school before he or she can intereact with other students in order to establish a sense of trust. For example, a student moving from a junior high school to a new senior high school, or from one high school to a new one, may at first view everyone with a lack of trust. Slowly, as the student becomes familiar with the physical surroundings and social patterns, a sense of belonging starts to emerge. Instead of hurrying home from a foreign place in which he or she does not feel a part, the student begins to seek out friends and social activities, and learns to trust other students. Without feeling a part of the school, this interaction is much less likely, because the student will tend to minimize contact with the school that is not a positive part of his or her life. It would be much later, as the student begins to take an active part in school activities and decision-making, that trust in school adults would begin to form.

Relationships Between School Systems Types and Student Attitudes

The relationships between general and school-related attitudes were also examined. If the school-related attitudes are in fact a special case of the more general attitudes, then the correlations between the parallel attitudes in this study should be high. In contrast, if the attitudes of students toward school are completely isolated from their attitudes toward society in general, then the correlations should be close to zero.

In order to determine which of these conditions exist, scores for each individual student were computed. Standardized z-scores were derived for each of the nine attitude scales from the factor score weights of all items whose loadings on this particular factor were .10 or more. In this way, all of the items out of the 40 in each analysis which were related to the factor, or attitude, would contribute their weight to the final individual's scale scores, rather than taking only the 5 or 10 items originally intended for that scale. For example, items on the school integration scale which also loaded reasonably high on the trust in students scale (4, 6, 8 and 9) would be used in computing the trust in students scale scores, rather than ignoring the fact that their integration items were also a "part" of the trust in students scale.

The resulting attitude scale scores for the 2,546 students were intercorrelated. The correlations between parallel general and school-related attitudes are substantial, as shown below:

General Political Interest - School Political Interest	.70
General Social Integration - School Integration	.69
General Trust - School Trust in Students	.63
General Trust - Trust in School Adults	.50
General Political Confidence - School Political Confidence	.63

These strong relationships suggest that one possible root of general social and political attitudes are more specific attitudes toward school. The correlations can also suggest support for the opposite of this theory, as suggested by Dawson and Prewitt in their "generalization" theory of political socialization, in which youth are pictured as extending general social attitudes toward specific objects, such as the school.[15] We would argue, on the contrary, however, that students first form attitudes toward school and other institutions of which they are an active part, and then generalize these attitudes outward to the general society. Longitudinal data are needed before this conflict in interpretation can be resolved.

Another interesting idea is sparked by those correlations. The General Trust-Trust in Students correlation (.63) is in the same range as all other correlations except the General Trust-Trust in School Adults correlation, which is lower (.50). This suggests that school adults are perceived as a different group than those in general society; otherwise, the latter correlation should be at the higher level. Apparently, the school-specific activities by school adults evoke a different kind of trust by students because either the nature of those activities or the school context in which they are performed. The following analyses may shed light on this phenomenon.

The relationships between school political system types and student attitudes toward school should show interpretable patterns. By taking the grouping of schools into five system types as explained earlier in the paper, the attitude scale scores of all students in each of the schools in each system type were averaged. The resulting mean attitude scores are on a scale from -1.0 to +1.0, with 0.0 indicating the average attitude score across all 2,546 students. The means are presented in Table 11.

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[15]Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969, pp. 72-3.

Table 11
Mean Attitude Scale Scores for Students
in Five School Political System Groups

Attitudes	Elite	Bureaucratic	Coalitional	Directed Participant	Participant
School Political Interest	.177	-.104	.034	-.213	.047
School Integration	.035	-.063	.030	-.113	.169
School Trust in Students	-.067	-.023	.007	-.058	.255
Trust in School Adults	-.081	-.041	.041	-.227	.365
School Political Confidence	-.019	-.108	.083	-.242	.410
Number of Schools in Group:	3	4	4	1	1

School political interest is highest in elite schools, and lowest in the directed participant school. The bureaucratic schools also have a below average interest level, while the levels for coalitional and participant schools are slightly above average. In the directed participant school the low interest level may be the result of high expectations for effective participation which have not been realized because of the "direction" exerted by teachers and administrators. If this explanation is accurate, then both the school confidence and trust in adults attitudes should also be low, and this is the case. The mean for trust in adults is -.227, and that for school political confidence is -.242; both are the lowest of all the five types.

Following the same pattern is the bureaucratic school group. School political interest is low, as is trust in school adults. Frustration is again a likely explanation, with students learning over a period of time that their actions aimed at influencing school decisions are continually softened by the bureaucratic influence layers. This may lead to less trust in adults at school,

because these are the very people occupying the bureaucratic layers, and may also temper interest in changing school decisions and decision processes.

The high mean score on interest for the elite schools suggests that students in these schools do want to understand a process of decision-making that they respect, and for which they see the outcomes, but do not comprehend. They may also be interested in becoming a part of the elite itself. These same students are only slightly below average in school political confidence, but trust in both students and school adults is definitely low.

The participant and coalitional schools show student attitudes that are all above average, with the participant school students much more positive on all attitudes except interest. Scores on interest are only .047 and .034; in comparison with the elite school student mean of .177 on interest, these are quite low. It might be that because students in participant and coalitional schools understand the decision-making process better than those in other schools, their interest in finding out more is correspondingly less. Familiarity may not exactly breed contempt; perhaps indifference is the result instead.

As might be expected, integration, trust in students and school adults, and school political confidence are all above average for both participant and coalitional schools. Confidence and trust in school adults is strikingly high in the participant school; political action by students, when accomplished with adults rather than in spite of or for adults in school, apparently leads to confidence in students' own ability as well as trust in the adults.

It is interesting that for the coalitional schools, trust in students is lower than trust in school adults; this is the only school type for which this is true. One explanation might have to do with the bargaining nature of the decision-making process which is a distinctive element in the coalitional school. Bargaining might result in a students' beliefs about other students

that these other students deliberately group together against him or her and strike agreements which work against his or her own group's interests.

Attitudes of school integration show only one surprise, that being the above average level for the elite schools. Otherwise, the bureaucratic and directed participant schools have below average levels of integration, and the coalitional and participant schools have above average levels. The elite school level of integration may be explained by reference to the appeal of the elite and the clear, if not well-taken, decision-making authority. Strong, authoritarian leadership often generates loyalty and a sense of togetherness; the small military unit provides an analogous example. This explanation, however, would be more convincing if the trust in school adults attitude were more positive, but this is not the case.

The patterns of school attitude levels for the five types of schools are interpretable, and tend to support the picture of these school types drawn above. The most negative attitudes are found in the directed participant school, in which the seemingly open opportunities for student political participation are matched by non-corresponding elite-oreinted leadership and decision-making patterns. The most positive attitudes are those of the participant school students; trust and confidence dimensions are very clearly positive for these students, just as they are negative for their directed participant school counterparts.

The general societal attitudes were analyzed in the same way that the school-related attitudes have been. The results are almost identical, with two minor exceptions. General political confidence was slightly above average for elite schools, and general trust was slightly above average for bureaucratic schools. Otherwise, the patterns were similar, although the magnitude

of the difference of the means from the overall average of zero was generally smaller for the general attidues than for the school attitudes. This is to be expected, since the school factors should have a greater influence on school attitudes, while for the general attitudes there are other important forces shaping them.

These types of conclusions lead to the following summary of findings. Our study demonstrates that schools have general bureaucratic patterns of everyday political life which can be easily demonstrated. However, underlying this basic characterization, five different types of political systems can be found. The underlying characteristics of schools are not only different, but they seem to make a significant difference in the attitudes of students toward political participation and their political environment. Generally, students in schools with bureaucratic and directed participant underlying patterns of political life tend to have much more negative attitudes toward politics. They are less integrated, trusting and confident than other students. This finding alone suggests that more research needs to be done which searches beneath general characterizations of schools as bureaucratic systems.

There are also a great many policy implications which can be drawn from the analysis. A few can be proposed here, but most depend on further analysis of our data. Generally, for those who desire to influence students toward "active" citizenship in our society, the prospect of supporting a bureaucratic political system and pursuing this goal seems bleak. There is some reason given in the data for the hypothesis that schools are better off "elite" than bureaucratic if school personnel wish to promote student attitudes consonant with citizenship goals. It would also appear that revealed power in an elite system produces far less frustration and negative attitudes than a "directed

participant" model. Moves increasing student participation without real decision-making authority would seem to be unwise.

Clearly, the most uniformly positive attitudes are found in participant schools. Perhaps the best advice generated here is that if active citizenship with healthy supporting attitudes is a goal of a school, then school officials should go "all the way" toward student participation. Remembering the basic bureaucratic pattern, going "all the way" need not be interpreted as turning the school over to the students. If students have a major role to play, a general bureaucratic pattern can continue to be supported. It does mean, however, that students, like anyone else, need to share in the responsibilities and activities of an institution in order to establish important political attitudes which will support active citizenship.

APPENDIX A: POLITICAL SYSTEMS QUESTIONNAIRE

School_____

Name_____

Grade____ 9

____10

____11

____12

Sex ____ Female

____ Male

The School Political Behavior Research Project

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out how you think your school operates on an everyday basis. You should answer the questions based on what you know about your school, even if you aren't sure whether other people will give the same answers. There are no "right" answers to these questions, but you should think carefully about them and give what you think is a factual response.

The questions generally focus on the political activities that go on in your school. Examples of political activities can be found in your school every day. Anytime people make decisions or lead groups or vote on a school issue there is "politics" involved. Therefore, when you answer the questions on the next few pages, think of the informal, or everyday, things people do which involve making decisions and they will count as "political" activities.

It is also important that you think of how political activity is generally carried out in your schoool. Try not to think of just one person or group in your school when you answer the questions. Rather, try to think of how you think most people and/or most groups operate together.

Your name is needed here so that the researchers can match this questionnaire with interviews and other questionnaires you may fill out. No one except the researchers will see the questionnaires and your answers will be combined with other students' answers to form averages. No individual names will ever be mentioned in reports of the study.

Now turn the page and try to answer each question as carefully as you can. We really need to have your responses to all of the questions.

1. Think of your school as a whole. Sometimes decisions are made which affect almost <u>everyone</u> in a school. For example, dress codes, smoking policies, or decisions about new courses affect many students, teachers and administrators in a school. In the following spaces, please list three school-wide decisions which have recently been or are now being made in <u>your school</u>. Please describe each one as clearly as possible.

Decision #1: _____

_____

_____

_____

Decision #2: _____

_____

_____

_____

Decision #3: _____

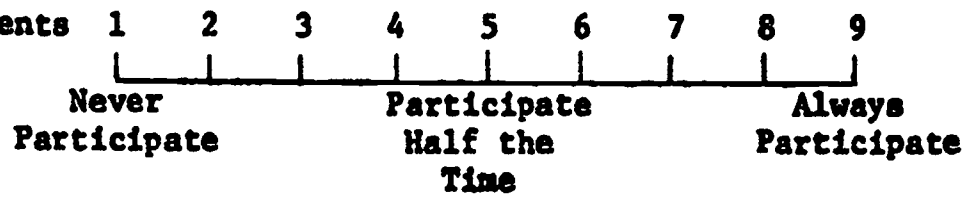
_____

_____

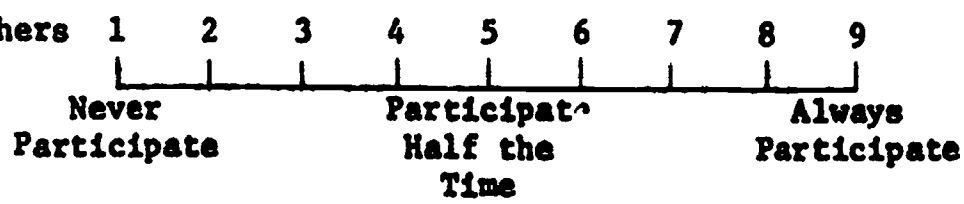
_____

2. Think about the decisions you just described. In general, who usually participates in decisions like these? This question just refers to who is involved, not how much influence they have on decisions. Please circle the point on the line which best describes how much each group usually participates in school-wide decisions in your school.

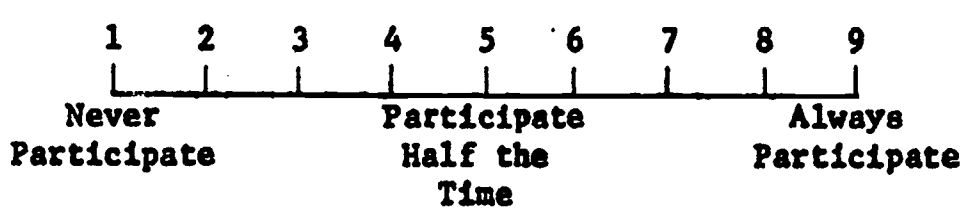
a. Students



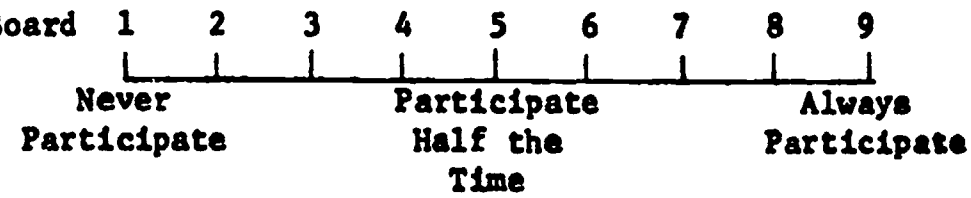
b. Teachers



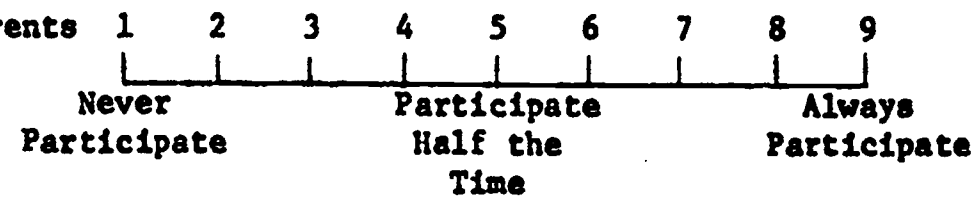
c. Administrators (like principal, superintendent)



d. School Board



e. Parents



3. Please check one answer which best describes how people participate in school-wide decisions in your school.

_____ a. One person or a small group decides. Everyone else follows along.

_____ b. A few groups or small number of people agree. Everyone else follows along.

_____ c. A majority of the people interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

_____ d. Almost everyone interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

4. Of all the students, teachers and administrators in your school, what percent would you say are <u>leaders</u> (they get other people to support or oppose a decision) in school-wide decisions? Please circle one point on the line for each group.

PERCENT OF LEADERS

Students 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Teachers 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Administrators (like principals, superintendents) 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

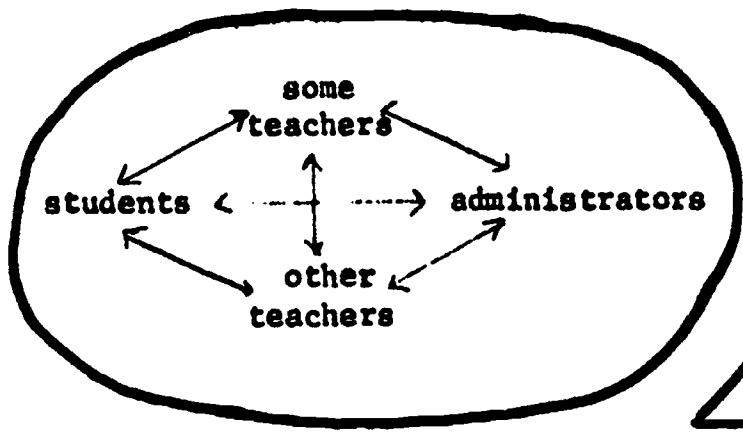
5. Generally, how do these leaders get things done? Please check only <u>one</u> response in each column which <u>best describes</u> leaders in your school.

	Column 1 Students	Column 2 Teachers	Column 3 Administrators
a. They use power, pressure, or force in getting others to get things done.	____	____	____
b. They use the importance of their position, status, or "rank" in getting others to get things done.	____	____	____
c. They bargain with people and groups in getting them to get things done.	____	____	____
d. They have earned the respect of others by example and past actions and use this respect in getting others to get things done.	____	____	____

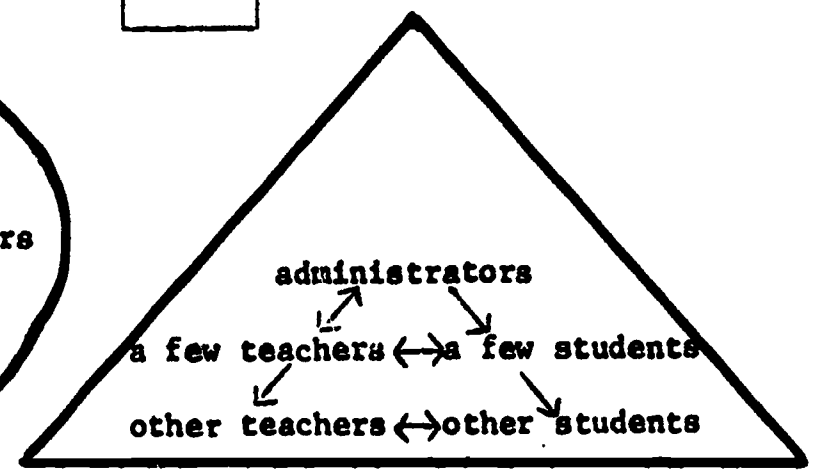
Please be sure that you have checked only one space for students, one space for teachers, and one space for administrators in the columns in question #5.

6. Check the diagram which BEST resembles the way in which groups in your school INFLUENCE each other. In the diagrams, the arrows refer to who influences whom.

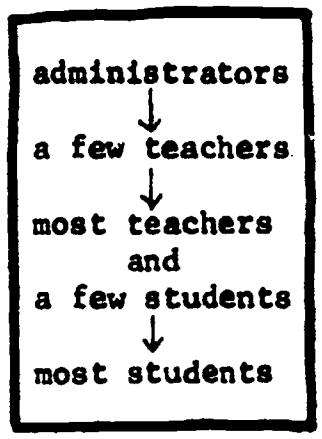
___a.



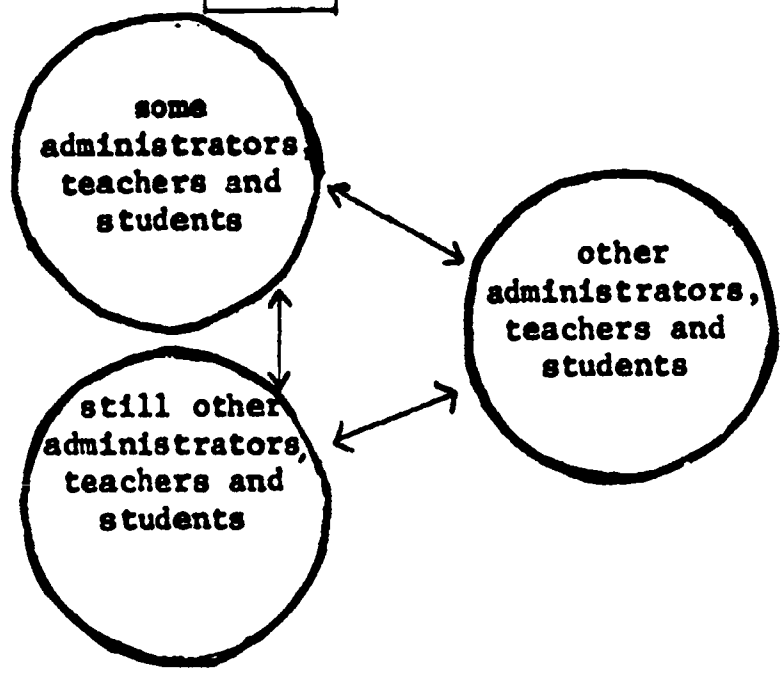
___b.



___c.



___d.



7. Which best describes how influence is used in <u>your</u> school? (Check the <u>one</u> statement that is best.)

__a. Students and teachers do what administrators have decided they shall do and there is little opportunity to change the administrators' minds.

__b. Students and teachers can talk to administrators and maybe change their minds on some things, but administrators still have control over what gets done.

__c. Students and teachers can get the administrators to go along with what they want quite often.

__d. On different issues, students, administrators, and teachers have roughly equal opportunity to get their way.

8. Generally, when school-wide issues arise in your school, how do the different groups in your school find out about them? (Check <u>one</u> response.)

__a. One group makes a decision about the issue and announces it to the school. (For example, the principal makes the decision and tells the school about it.)

__b. Information in your school goes through a "funnel" -- for example, administrators tell teachers about the issue and they tell the students.

__c. Different groups share information about issues that interest them, but they share it among themselves and not with others.

__d. Most groups talk with a lot of other groups.

9. Imagine that information is like money -- different people and groups have different amounts. If there were a total of 100 "information points" about important school-wide decisions in your school, how many points would each of the following groups get? (The points you assign to the three groups should add up to 100.)

Students would get _____ points.

Teachers would get _____ points.

Administrators would get _____ points.

10. Information about school issues can be called a political "resource" because it is used to get things done. Other things are also resources. People use "personality" to get others to like them and to help them do things. People also use their "position" or status as an official or a leader of some type to get things done. In addition, some people have "special skills" (they know how to organize groups or how to present an issue) or they have "money" (i.e. school funds to buy textbooks, or to have a dance). These resources are all found in schools.

Please think about who <u>uses</u> these resources to get things done in your school and <u>check</u> <u>ONE OR MORE</u> boxes which indicate who uses them.

	Personality	Position	Skills	Money
Students				
Teachers				
Administrators				

11. This question asks you to think about how decisions <u>are made in this school</u> and how you think decisions <u>should be made in a high school</u>. Put an <u>X</u> in the box in <u>Column 1</u> that shows how much influence students have in each of these nine kinds of decisions. Put an <u>X</u> in <u>Column 2</u> to show how much influence <u>you think</u> they <u>should have</u>.

<u>Column 1</u> How much influence students <u>do have</u> on these decisions in this school.					<u>Column 2</u> How much influence students <u>should have</u> on these decisions in this school.			
none	a little	a lot	final say	Decisions	none	a little	a lot	final say
				1. How students are assigned to teachers and classes.				
				2. If the school paper or annual is to be censored.				

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Column 1 How much influence students do have on these decisions in this school.					Column 2 How much influence students should have on these decisions in this school.			
none	a little	a lot	final say	Decisions	none	a little	a lot	final say
				3. Rules for students.				
				4. Evaluation of teachers.				
				5. Discipline of students who break rules or behave badly.				
				6. What courses and materials are taught.				
				7. How students are graded.				
				8. How money, materials, and equipment is spread among clubs or groups in the school.				
				9. What will be given up if the school has too little room, money or must save energy.				

Check to make sure you have checked only one box at the left and one box on the right for each of the nine statements.

12. Most activities in schools are carried out in groups. For example, clubs, councils, committees, and even academic classes meet and make plans and decisions. Meetings such as these may be conducted by students, teachers or administrators. Please list up to five groups which you think are most actively involved in planning and making important decisions in your school. Please list the complete name of the group, or at least clearly describe it.

Group 1: _____

_____

Group 2: _____

_____

Group 3: _____

_____

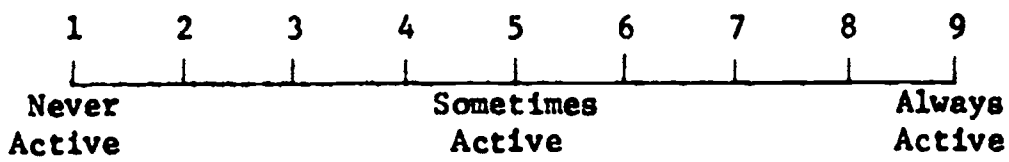
Group 4: _____

_____

Group 5: _____

_____

13. Generally, how would you describe people's participation in the groups you just listed? Please circle one place on the line which best describes how most people participate.



14. Now, please indicate how you personally participate in school groups to which you belong. You will find six statements below. Check as many as describe how you, in general, act in school groups. Remember, you can check none, one, two, three. four, five or all six statements.

__1. I do not belong to any school groups.

__2. I carry out others' suggestions in groups.

__3. I do things on my own that I have learned need to be done in order to help groups work.

__4. I try out new things in the group that I think will be good, without always depending on my experience of working in other groups.

__5. I actively find new groups and situations in which I can influence decision-making.

__6. I actively find ways and reasons for getting groups together in order to influence decision-making.

15. Put an X by the answer that describes how decisions should be made in a high school. We want your opinion about what a high school should be like.

__a. One person or a small group decides. Everyone else follows along.

__b. A few groups or small number of people agree. Everyone else follows along.

__c. A majority of the people interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

__d. Almost everyone interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

16. Put an X by the answer that describes why people should follow leaders in a high school (for example the principal, teachers, club leaders, coaches and other leaders). This is your opinion about the way leaders should operate in a high school.

___a. They follow the leaders because they are afraid of some punishment like being expelled, getting a bad grade, or being made fun of or becoming unpopular.

___b. They follow the leader because he or she has the status, position, or authority to ask others to follow. For example, club presidents, coaches, teachers, etc. should be able to ask others to do things.

___c. They do what the leader decides because the leader bargains with them and offers some special benefits for doing what is asked.

___d. They do what he or she wants because of the leader's past successful actions and the group's respect for the leader.

APPENDIX B

GENERAL ATTITUDE ITEMS

GENERAL POLITICAL INTEREST

Item No.	Item
1	I would enjoy taking a class where politics and government are discussed
2	I am usually interested in political matters.
3	I would be interested in finding out how political parties work.
4	I really enjoy watching the election returns come in on TV.
5	I would enjoy being on a committee nominating candidates for political offices.
6	I think I would enjoy taking a more active role in making political decisions where I live.
7	I enjoy the excitement of political campaigns.
8	I think I would enjoy participating more in political groups.
9	I am not really very interested in what goes on in politics and government where I live
10	I think it would be interesting to run for political office.

GENERAL TRUST IN PEOPLE

Item No.	Item
1	What people tell me and what they actually do are two completely different things.
2	There are a lot of people in politics who don't care at all about what the people think.
3	You can't expect people to be good to you unless it suits them.
4	People usually don't act today like they'll act tomorrow.
5	There are a lot of people who I wouldn't trust.

GENERAL TRUST IN PEOPLE (Cont.)

Item No.	Item
6	What a politician says one day is usually completely different from what he says the next day.
7	If I were in trouble, most strangers would help me out.
8	People are usually fair in the way they treat other people.
9	People usually keep the promises they make to other people.
10	I know lots of people who might act as though they like me one day and dislike me the next.

GENERAL SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Item No.	Item
1	What I do doesn't matter to anyone but me.
2	A person like me needs to know what is going on with other people in the world.
3	What people in other parts of the world do has no influence on what happens to me.
4	There are quite a few people in this world who I care about.
5	I would like very much to be a hermit.
6	The only people who are important to me are my very closest friends and relatives.
7	I can't always do exactly what I want because my actions affect others.
8	I will just do what I want to do, no matter what the law says.
9	What other people do really doesn't make much difference to me.
10	What the government does really doesn't affect me.

GENERAL POLITICAL CONFIDENCE

Item No.	Item
1	A person like me can have quite a bit of influence over the political decisions that affect me.
2	If I joined a political party organization, I would be the kind of member who is able to change people's minds on important issues.
3	Nobody would ever ask me for my advice on how to act in a political situation.
4	People like me can influence political decisions.
5	I am potentially very capable of influence political decisions in a group.
6	I cannot have much impact on how other people vote.
7	I can be very effective in political situations.
8	Although it is not the most popular thing to do, I can often get my way in groups.
9	I am the kind of person who can influence how other people decide to vote in elections.
10	I am the kind of person who just is not able to influence others in a decision-making situation.

APPENDIX C

SCHOOL ATTITUDE ITEMS

SCHOOL POLITICAL INTEREST

Item No.	Item
1	I would like to be more involved in school decisions.
2	It would be interesting to find out how decisions are made in student government.
3	I think it would be interesting to hear the school board make decisions about our school.
4	I would enjoy discussing how the school should spend its money.
5	If I had a chance, I would like to hear someone discuss how important decisions are made in my school.
6	I would enjoy being involved in school decision-making.
7	I enjoy talking with friends about decisions that are made in my school.
8	I would enjoy helping a friend campaign for a school office.
9	I enjoy listening to teachers talk about school problems.
10	I would like to figure out how decisions are made in our school.

TRUST IN PEOPLE AT SCHOOL*

Item No.	Item
1	There is almost nobody in this school I can trust.
2	Most teachers I have had were out to get me.
3	Most teachers don't care about what happens to kids.
4	Leaders in my school would like to make it a better place.
5	Students in my school are nice to new students who enroll.

*NOTE: These 10 items have been regrouped into two groups of five based on the results of the dimensional analysis. Items 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8 now comprise the new dimension, Trust in Other Students at School. Items 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10 comprise the new dimension, Trust in School Teachers and Administrators.

TRUST IN PEOPLE AT SCHOOL (Cont.)

Item No.	Item
6	Students in my school usually keep the promises they make to others.
7	Teachers are usually fair in the way they treat kids.
8	If a student were in trouble, people in this school would help that student out.
9	The principal and other administrators seem to be fair in the way they treat students.
10	This school is run by a group of people who don't care at all about students.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION WITHIN THE SCHOOL

Item No.	Item
1	A person like me needs to know what is going on with other people in the school.
2	It really doesn't matter to me if the Student Council gets some new school rules passed or not.
3	I don't really care about what happens to other people in my school
4	When something important happens in my school, I feel affected by it.
5	What happens with other people in my school has an influence on what I will do.
6	There are a lot of people in this school who I care about.
7	People I never see at my school have no influence on what happens to me at school.
8	Nobody in my school really knows what is happe. .g to me.
9	If I were new at this school, I would want to make some friends and join some activities right away.

SCHOOL POLITICAL CONFIDENCE

Item No.	Item
1	I can have some influence on what goes on in the school groups I belong to.
2	I am the kind of person whose support for one side in a school decision would hurt more than help it.
3	If I disagree with a school rule, I am able to do something to help change it.
4	It seems pretty silly that some people think they can change what the school rules are.
5	There is no way that a student like me can have any say in what goes on around this school.
6	I could get a teacher to listen to my complaint about how a class is run.
7	If I got together with fifteen other students like me, we could have a lot of influence on what rules were made for our school.
8	If I had a complaint about an unfair school rule, I believe that I could get the principal to listen carefully to what I said
9	I can get people at school on my side when I want to.
10	It would be a waste of my time to try to get a rule changed in my school.
11	I feel like I make a difference in the lives of other people in the school.