THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF SELECTED

LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS:
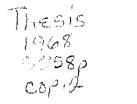
A CASE STUDY

By

ANNE L. SCHNEIDER

Bachelor of Arts

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

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Thesis Approved:

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Thesis Adviser

_____

_____

_____
Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Student political activism on college campuses across the United

States has been increasing in the past several years. A plethora

of right and left wing organizations has accompanied the revival of

youthful political movements. Two such organizations, the Young Ameri-

cans for Freedom and Students for a Democratic Society have been

established on many college campuses, including Oklahoma State

University.

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) is a nation-wide organization

generally considered to be a part of what Daniel Bell calls the "radi-

cal right" or Richard Hofstadter terms the "pseudo-conservatives."[1]

Principles of the organization include the abolishment of the income

tax, the welfare state and the United Nations. The group places a

strong emphasis on property rights and "rugged individualism." The

individuals who belong to Young Americans for Freedom will be called

"right wing" in this paper.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is also a nation-wide

organization with about 7,000 members. The national organization has

no principles binding on local chapters and is a highly de-centralized

operation. Writings by national leaders and others indicate the

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[1]Daniel Bell, ed., The Radical Right, (New York, 1963).

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philosophy of members varies from Mao to Marx, from socialism to a

rather strong liberalism. The preamble of the Oklahoma State chapter

of SDS states:

> Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young
> people of the left. It seeks to create a sustained community
> of educational and political concern; one bringing together
> liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and
> faculty.

"Participatory democracy" is a frequent theme found in writings of

this group, as is "economic democracy." Members and affiliates of

SDS will be called "left wing." Justification for use of the terms

left and right wing will be presented in the methodology section.

There are many questions a researcher might ask himself concerning

organizations such as YAF and SDS, but this research will investigate

the political socialization of student affiliates of the groups in

order to describe the development of their political orientations and

to locate factors which may have been important in the students' adop-

tion of their attitudes toward politics. More precisely stated, the

problem is this: When, how and why have these students adopted the

left and right wing political orientations which they presently hold?

Political socialization refers to the process through which the

individual develops the attitudes and behavior patterns which are

relevant to politics. The political socialization of an individual,

as defined in this paper, means "the learning of politically relevant

social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated

through various agencies of society."[2]

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[2]This definition was used by Lewis Froman in "Learning Political
Attitudes," _Western Political Quarterly_, Vol. 15, (1962), pp. 304-305.

The term political orientation refers to the attitudes, values and beliefs the individual has concerning politics. The orientation of students in this study are either left wing or right wing. No "moderates" have been included.

Research in the relatively new field of political socialization usually focuses on four major questions. One is concerned with what the individual has learned concerning politics. The investigators attempt to determine when this learning process began as well as when different types of content were learned. The societal agents which mediated the learning of political attitudes and behaviors are investigated in order to determine how the process works. Investigation of these agencies often sheds light on the fourth question of why the individual learned what he did.

Virtually all of the studies of political socialization are concerned with what is learned. Hyman reports many studies designed to show how partisanship or ideology is learned.[3] Hess and Easton are interested in what type of attitudes children have toward figures of authority, as is Fred Greenstein.[4] Westby and Braungart's study was specifically designed to account for the learning of left and right wing political orientations.[5]

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[3]Herbert H. Hyman, _Political Socialization_, (Glencoe, Illinois), 1959, passim.

[4]Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Political World," _Midwest Journal of Political Science_, Vol. VI, (1962), pp. 229-246; and Fred Greenstein, _Children and Politics_, (New Haven, Connecticut, 1965).

[5]David L. Westby and Richard G. Braungart, "Class and Politics in the Family Backgrounds of Student Political Activists," _American Sociological Review_, Vol. 31, part II, (October, 1966), pp. 690-692.

Most of the researchers are interested in the age at which indivi-
duals first begin to develop an interest in politics, as well as when
they develop attitudes toward authority figures, political parties or
political ideologies.[6]   Studies on how and why an individual learns
what he does usually center on the various societal agencies which are
deemed important. Agencies studied include the family, religion,
educational institutions and socio-economic background.

Political socialization also involves the study of personality
factors which interact with environment to influence political be-
havior.[7] Personality characteristics studied include alienation,
anomie, dogmatism, authoritarianism, ego strength and others.

Research on the socialization process of individuals who have
adopted left or right wing political orientations could contribute to
several aspects of political theory. Political scientists are fre-
quently interested in the role and function of elements which are a
part of the political system. This involves studies of the function
of political parties, pressure groups, leadership and other types of
political participation. Members of left and right wing groups may
serve as critics for the political system. David Easton and Karl
Deutsch, among others, consider the role of critic to be vital for

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[6]The studies already cited by Hess and Easton and Greenstein all
considered the time element. A study on the political socialization
of political leaders by Hans Eulau et al., "Political Socialization of
American State Legislative Elites," Midwest Journal of Political
Science, Vol. 3, No. 2, (May, 1959), pp. 188-200, and a similar study
by Allan Kornberg and Norman Thomas, "The Political Socialization of
National Legislative Elites in the United States and Canada," Journal
of Politics, Vol. 27, (November, 1965), pp. 761-775 also emphasized
the time element.

[7]Lewis Froman believes personality to be the primary factor.

maintenance of a viable political system. Easton points out that dis-
agreement and ideological cleavage are "not sufficient to threaten
stability and may, indeed, be one of the conditions for self mainten-
ance."[8] Deutsch emphasizes the importance of creativity, criticism,
innovation and "new" information to the viable system. He maintains
that failure of the system may result from overvaluation of established
criteria for relevance or from rigid structures and rigid commitments
of resources.[9] If left and right wing groups do, indeed, serve as
critics, it is of interest to political science to understand how and
why society produces this type of citizen. It is possible that indi-
viduals who belong to left and right wing groups are not political
participants at all, but are withdrawn and apathetic citizens. If this
is true, it would still be useful for political scientists to study why
society produces this type of citizen. This case study will examine
the political participation patterns of selected left and right wing
individuals in order to better understand their role in the political
system.

Students of political socialization are also interested in ascer-
taining when, during his chronological development, the individual
learns the behavior patterns relevant to politics. They attempt to de-
termine when partisan identification begins, when attitudes toward
authority figures begin, when ideological orientation begins and so on.
Information of this nature may contribute to an understanding of the

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[8]Hess and Easton, p. 232.

[9]Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government, (Glencoe, New York,
1963), passim.

political institutions in the system. It is possible that the age at
which various attitudes are learned may be related to the degree and
rapidity of change in the system. Although theory concerning this is
quite underdeveloped, one might hypothesize that behavior patterns
learned at an earlier age are less subject to change. Partisan iden-
tification, if learned early, may influence stability in the party
system. Another interesting, but highly speculative hypothesis, would
be that ideological orientations which are learned late in the life of
the individual may be less stable and less firmly believed. In the
interest of contributing information which may later be used for the-
oretical development, this study will examine the stages of political
socialization.

Political scientists are also interested in why individuals de-
velop left or right wing political orientations. If sources of left
and right wing beliefs can be determined, an explanation could be
attempted of why some nations have large and recurring left and right
wing movements and other nations do not. One might also explain why a
society experiences this during some periods of history and not during
others. It is conceivable that if the function of left and right wing
groups were known, and the factors which produce such movements were
known, the direction of change in a society could be anticipated. This
of course is not possible until a great deal more information is col-
lected and theory is better developed. This study will examine several
sociological and psychological factors which influence the development
of left and right wing political beliefs.

There are many generalizations concerning the sources of left and
right wing orientations. The partisan and ideological orientation of

the parents is thought to have a strong influence on the direction of student orientation. Westby, in a study of left and right wing student activists, concluded that "student activists seem to be expressing ideological positions that, though extreme, are in the main consistent with the political orientation of their families."[10] Russell Middleton, in a study of students from 16 colleges and universities, found that 50 percent of the right wing students were conforming to their parents' ideological positions (as perceived by the students) and about one-sixth of the left wing students had adopted the views of their parents.[11] The family political orientation (as perceived by the student) will be compared to the student's orientation in this study.

Another set of generalizations involves the social class stratification pattern present during the socializing process. Leftist movements were understood at one time to be a product of the lower classes, whereas rightist movements represented an upper class' attempt to protect its position of status and security. Seymour Lipset reported that this pattern has been gradually eroded since 1914 until today the lower class and lower middle class are cited as sources of right wing activity.[12] This would indicate that marginal groups of society facing further loss of status from economic changes seek to buttress traditional institutions and values. Westby's study indicated that the right wing student was a product of the lower middle class (median

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[10]Westby and Braungart, p. 692.

[11]Russell Middleton and Snell Putney, "Student Rebellion Against Parental Political Beliefs," Social Forces, Vol. 41, (May, 1963), p. 379.

[12]Seymour Lipset, Political Man, (New York, 1960), p. 89.

family income of less than $7,000). Left wing subjects in his study were from the upper middle class (median family income of over $12,000 per year).[13] In contrast, a study of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade revealed that it was predominantly an upper-status group.[14] Lipset's study of persons with favorable attitudes toward the John Birch Society showed that its members were better educated and in a higher economic category than a sample of the general population.[15] On the other hand, a study of persons supporting Senator Barry Goldwater for president in 1964 found that he drew about an equal percentage of support from all income groups except one, the lower middle class, which gave him a higher percentage than the others.[16] These studies indicate that the relationship between socio-economic background and political orientation is not clear. Although it would be presumptious to think that a small case study of left and right wing individuals could clear away this confusion, an examination of the socio-economic background of the individuals will be made.

Another group of generalizations revolves around a concept called "status anxiety." Essentially, this means that individuals become worried about their status, as measured by income, occupation,

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[13]Westby and Braungart, p. 691.

[14]Raymond Wolfinger et al., "America's Radical Right: Politics and Ideology," Ideology and Discontent, ed., David E. Apter, (Glencoe, New York, 1964), p. 272.

[15]Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers," The Radical Right, ed., Daniel Bell, p. 431.

[16]Irving Crespi, "The Structural Basis for Right-Wing Conservatism: The Goldwater Case," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 29, (1965), pp. 523-543.

educational level, and then project this anxiety onto the political
scene. There are several variations of this theme.

One of the more complex involves the idea of status inconsisten-
cies. Status consistency is defined by Gary Rush as "the extent to
which an individual's rank position on given status hierarchies are on
a comparable level."[17] Thus, a person who ranked high in income level,
but low in education, might experience anxiety resulting from his am-
biguous status. Both left and right wing political activism has been
attributed to persons in this situation.[18] Richard Hofstadter has
pointed out that status anxiety or inconsistency may be a powerful mo-
tivation for political activism during affluent periods of history.[19]
It is possible that during depressions the economic position or condi-
tion of the individual may be a more important source of left or right
wing behavior. This study will examine the influence of both status
inconsistency and status position.

Another aspect of status anxiety may arise in the individual who
is a second or third generation American. Hofstadter says that upward
mobile children of immigrants may think they need to "prove" their
Americanism and may adopt right wing ideologies to do so.[20] There has

[17]Gary Rush, "Status Consistency and Right-Wing Extremism,"
American Sociological Review, Vol. 32, no. 1, (February, 1967), p. 87.

[18]Ibid., and Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-
Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review,
Vol. 19, (August, 1954), p. 405.

[19]Richard Hofstadter, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," The
Radical Right, ed., Daniel Bell.

[20]Ibid., pp. 91-93.

not been much, if any, empirical evidence to validate this theory.[21]
The ethnic background of students in this study will be analyzed to
provide additional information concerning left and right wing behavior
of second or third generation Americans.

Upward or downward social mobility has also been cited as a con-
tributing factor to left and right wing political behavior. Lipset
reports that in the United States most research indicates "the upward
mobile are more conservative than those who grew up in middle class
homes."[22] In Europe, the upward mobile citizens are "more likely to
vote for left parties than are their fellow countrymen who were born
into the middle class."[23] Lipset says the upward mobile individual in
America tends to identify with the class he is moving into, while the
European still identifies with the class he is leaving. A recent study
by Joseph Lopreato validated these findings and suggested that the
mobile person overreacts to the group he is entering, thereby becoming
even more left or right wing than are the majority of other persons in
that class.[24] Mobility in these studies referred to occupational mo-
bility of the individual as compared to his father, or to the occupa-
tional mobility of the father compared to the grandfather. The case
study of left and right wing student activists will include an examina-
tion of the occupational mobility from grandfather to father.

[21]Bo Anderson et al., "On Conservative Attitudes," Acta
Sociologica, Vol. 8, (1965) pp. 189-203.

[22]Lipset, Political Man, pp. 269-270.

[23]Ibid., p. 269.

[24]Joseph Lopreato, "Upward Social Mobility and Political Orienta-
tion," American Sociological Review, Vol. 32, (1967), pp. 586-592.

Another possible explanation for sources of left or right wing
behavior involves a regional heritage which tends to condition the
individual toward a left or right wing posture. Although there has not
been much research on this, some investigators have commented on the
south— southwest origins of the radical right.[25] The regional back-
ground of grandparents and parents of individuals in the study will be
considered as a possible influencing factor.

One other socializing agent will be analyzed as a possible source
of left and right wing activity. There seems to be a tendency for per-
sons belonging to fundamentalist religions to adhere to right wing
groups. This tendency may be related to a "value crisis" in that tra-
ditional religious values are being challenged and changed. The right
wing attempts to defend these values; the left attempts to change them.
This generalization would indicate that left and right wing activity is
a normal outgrowth of changes in the value structure of society. Poli-
tical theory dealing with this relationship is not extensive, but it
would be of interest to examine the religious affiliations of left and
right wing individuals.

Political socialization involves not only the agencies of sociali-
zation, but the individual himself. Personality may be an important
interacting factor in the process of socialization. Lewis Froman says
the environment affects the personality which then interacts with en-
vironment to produce political behavior.[26] He contends that research

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[25]Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, The Radical Right,
(New York, 1967).

[26]Froman, passim.

should first be directed to understanding the personalities of individuals, and second to the socializing agents in the environment. Although the latter suggestion is not followed in this research, one personality variable, alienation, will be examined. Alienation was chosen as a useful concept for study since it has been cited as a contributing factor to both left and right wing political activity.[27]

A single case study involving a very small number of students in left and right wing groups at one university will not, of course, prove or disprove any of the foregoing generalizations, and this is not the intent of the research. The reason for placing the study within the framework of the theory and generalizations mentioned is to help guide and structure the research as well as to examine whether any of the generalizations mentioned have explanatory power for understanding the political orientations of the individuals involved in the study.

The questions by which the research will be guided are:

1. What are the political participation patterns of individuals in the study?

2. What stages are evident in the socialization process of these individuals?

3. What are some of the factors in the socialization process which may have influenced the development of left and right wing political orientations?

The following hypotheses are proposed. The hypotheses will be numbered consecutively, with H_1 considered in Chapter II, H_2 and H_3 discussed in Chapter III and the remainder examined in Chapter IV.

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[27] J. L. Simmons, "Liberalism, Alienation and Personal Disturbance," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, no. 4, (1964), pp. 456-465; and Gilbert Abcarian, "Alienation and the Radical Right," Journal of Politics, Vol. 27, (November, 1965), pp. 776-796.

H_1 Students who have left or right wing political orientations are critical and active participants in the political system.

H_2 A general interest in politics begins during the early teens.

H_3 Two stages of socialization can be identified: A generalized interest in politics is followed by a right or left wing orientation.

H_4 Left and right wing students are, in general, consistent with the political orientation of their parents.

H_5 Right wing students are more consistent with parental orientations than are left wing students.

H_6 Left and right wing political orientations are related to socio-economic background in the following way: family income of right wing students will be greater than that of left wing; family educational level and occupational prestige level of the left wing group will be greater than that of the right.

H_7 Left and right wing political orientations emerge from anxieties concerning social status. The socialization process involved inconsistencies between three measures of status: the families of right wing students having higher income level but lower occupational and educational levels than the left. The left wing students' families will have lower income levels but higher educational and occupational levels.

H_8 Left and right wing orientations are related to rapid occupational mobility: the right will have a higher upward mobility and the mobility pattern of the left will be predominantly static or downward.

H_9 Left and right wing orientations are related to ethnic background in that second or third generation Americans are more apt to be right wing than left wing.

H_{10} Left and right wing political orientations are related to religious values in the following way: the right is more apt to accept fundamentalist religious values; the left is more apt to reject them.

H_{11} Left and right wing orientations are related to regional political heritage with the right having parents and grandparents predominantly from Oklahoma and bordering states and the left having parents and grandparents from other parts of the United States.

H_{12} Alienation from society is related to left and right wing orientation: the left tends toward alienation but the right does not.

Methodology

The research required selection of identifiable left and right wing students to whom a questionnaire could be administered. The questionnaire was designed to elicit the information necessary to accomplish the purposes of the paper as stated. A statistical analysis of the data will be made to determine the findings of the study.

Selection of Subjects

Members of the right wing were located primarily through membership in Young Americans for Freedom at Oklahoma State University. In addition to actual members of the group, officers and other leaders were asked to name persons they considered right wing. Sixteen students were located in this manner, all but four of them members of YAF. Of the four non-members, three were considered sufficiently right wing to be included in the study. One measured too moderate by the questionnaire and was omitted. Of the three remaining non YAF members, one admitted membership in a secret Tulsa-based neo-Nazi organization. The other two described themselves as "objectivists," followers of Ayn Rand.

The student members of YAF are considered to be right wing, and this again brings up the question of how to define "right wing." For the purposes of this paper, the right wing is considered to be students who agree substantially with certain concepts drawn from the "Sharon Statement" of the YAF; from the John Birch Society Blue Book by Robert Welch and from other sources of right wing literature. This is, of course, a circular definition: "The right wing are those who believe as right-wingers do." Nevertheless, the purpose here is to locate individuals who hold similar political beliefs. This ideology is also

that of other groups, such as the Birch society, YAF and so on. The
belief system could be called "X" or "Y" or any other term one might
assign to it. In this paper it will be called right wing.

Members of the left wing were located primarily by membership in
or affiliation with the local Students for a Democratic Society. These
members were asked for names of others they considered members of the
left wing. Twenty students were selected this way, fourteen of whom
were either members, past members or affiliates of SDS. All but one of
the remaining were considered sufficiently left wing (as validated by
the questionnaire) to be retained in the study.

Definition of left wing is also difficult. For the purposes of
this paper, the term left wing will refer to those who hold certain
beliefs which are also held by leaders and writers for the national
Students for a Democratic Society, and a few other organizations of a
similar nature. Writings by individuals who belong to these organiza-
tions include the "Port Huron Statement," "Toward a Student Syndicalist
Movement," and collections of writings in The New Radicals by Saul
Landau and in The Berkeley Student Revolt by Seymour Lipset.[28] The
beliefs of both left and right are discussed at length in Chapter II.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was devised and administered by the author to
each individual in the study. The interview consumed from one to two
hours. All interviews were completed in a two-week period during the

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[28]Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, The New Radicals, (New York, 1966)
and Seymour Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin, The Berkeley Student Revolt,
(New York, 1965).

fall semester 1967.

The first 39 questions are open-ended political questions. The question was read to the student. He was asked if he agreed or disagreed with it and his answer was recorded. Comments and further explanation were encouraged by the interviewer and recorded.

The questions were carefully selected to distinguish between left and right wing orientations. The topics covered by the questions were selected after careful examination of right and left wing literature. Many of them are direct quotes turned into question form.

In order to code answers, the researcher determined what constituted a right or left wing reply to the questions. A right wing reply was coded "A" and a left wing reply was coded "C". On some questions, however, an "agree" might be a right wing reply, but a "disagree" would not necessarily be a left wing reply. Question 1 is an example:

>It has been said by some that American schools and churches
>have been infiltrated by Communists, Communist sympathizers
>or others who teach the Communist philosophy. Do you agree?

If the student agreed, this was coded "A" for right wing. If he disagreed it was coded "D" (rather than "C"). The code "D" indicated a failure to agree with a right wing question. This could mean the individual was a moderate or a liberal or left wing. Question 12 is similar. The question:

>The great American dream of life, liberty and pursuit of
>happiness has been turned into a nightmare of death, destruction and the pursuit of the dollar. Do you agree?

If the subject agreed, it was coded "C" for left wing. If he disagreed it was coded "E" meaning failure to agree with a left wing statement. In tabulating the results of these questions, the total number of left wing responses were added as were the number of right wing responses.

The subject was then given a score such as "27-2." This would indicate 27 left wing responses and two right wing responses. Responses coded "D" or "E" were simply omitted. On this basis, the subjects were divided into two groups: left wing and right wing.

Part II of the questionnaire consists of various background questions of a political and socio-economic nature.

Part III includes an alienation scale designed by Gwynn Nettler and 19 items from the dogmatism scale of Milton Rokeach. The dogmatism scale was not analyzed in this report as none of the subjects proved to be "dogmatic" according to it. During the administration of the questionnaire, comments by the subjects led the author to seriously question the reliability of the scale for the type of individual being utilized in this study.[29]

After all the questions listed on the questionnaire were administered, the researcher made the following statement:

> I have one further question, if you still have time. Would you mind reflecting on and explaining to me about when you first became interested in politics and about when you began to develop the political philosophy you now have? Also, as you think about this, what were some of the main things you recall as being influential in the development of your philosophy--some of the things which motivated you toward a /liberal, conservative_/ ideology?

The student then began talking about this. If he missed part of the question, such as "things which were influential," the researcher would

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[29]Many of the students were highly suspicious of generalizations or cliches and seemed to disagree with a statement unless they agreed totally with each word in it. They did not seem to respond to the general idea. For example, one of the statements was "There are only two kinds of people in the world: those who are for the Truth and those who are against it." One student commented that there were only two kinds of people--those who recognize the Truth and those who do not. He then "strongly disagreed" with the original statement.

probe on this point. At no time did the interviewer ask specifically
about family or school or any other factor.

The Variables

The first major question for the thesis is to determine the parti-
cipation patterns of individuals in the study. This includes the gener-
al ideological themes of left and right wing persons. The following
factors will also be considered: membership in political organizations;
attitudes toward the political party structure in the United States;
attitudes toward presidential elections (past and future); attitudes
toward other political groups such as the John Birch Society, the
Communist party and Americans for Democratic Action; and the students'
stated expectations concerning their future political participation.
From this the author attempted to determine whether the students were
active or inactive politically. An attempt was also made to judge the
extent to which they performed a role of critic.

Hypotheses two and three both deal with the process of socializa-
tion: the age at which political interest emerged and the stages, if
any, which occurred in the socialization process. Data for this was
drawn from the open-ended question whereby the student described the
development of his political ideas.

Hypotheses four through twelve concern the sources of political
orientation. Hypothesis four involves the relationship between student
political orientation and parental partisanship. Data for this include
students' perceptions of the political party choice of both parents,
students' recollection of who their parents supported in the 1964
presidential campaign, and the students' perception of their parents'

ideology--liberal, conservative, disinterested, and so on. The fifth hypothesis will test whether the left or right are more apt to deviate from parental political orientation.

The social class stratification pattern was determined from three factors: income level of parents, educational level of parents, and occupation of the main wage earner in the family. The social class background of the two groups was compared and, in addition, the background of each group was compared with the socio-economic background of the Oklahoma State University student body. Data for the latter were obtained from a nation-wide research project in which the university participated for the last two years. A questionnaire was given to all incoming students who participated in pre-enrolment clinics at Oklahoma State University in the summer of 1966 and 1967. Thus, the data were primarily for the present freshman and sophomore classes. However, it was felt that since this was the best data available, it could be used to determine the general socio-economic background of the student body.

Determining whether the students' families experienced status inconsistencies involved a rather complex procedure. An attempt was made to use the method suggested by Gerhard Lenski.[30] The attempt failed, however, because of lack of data and the small size of the sample. A full explanation of the failure to adequately test this hypothesis is given on pages 64 and 65.

Occupational mobility was measured by comparing occupations of grandfathers with fathers. The Warner occupational prestige scale was

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[30] Lenski, passim.

utilized for this.[31] A comparison of fathers with sons' or daughters'
occupations could not be made as the students had not yet established
their careers.

The ethnic background of each individual was determined by asking
him where his grandparents and parents were from. If either set of
grandparents or either parent was born in a foreign country other than
Canada, the individual was considered a second or third generation
American.

The tenth hypothesis examines student and parent religious values.
Data for this was obtained from the student.

The regional heritage of parents and grandparents was used to
test hypothesis eleven, that regionalism has an influence on political
orientation. The United States was divided into two main areas:
"local" and "outside." The local area included Oklahoma and states
which border on Oklahoma. All other areas were considered "outside."

Alienation is a difficult concept to measure or define. For the
purposes of this paper, alienation is defined as a psychological state
of the individual. This individual is "one who has been estranged from
his society and the culture it carries."[32] The scale used to measure
alienation was devised by Gwynn Nettler and has been used by political
scientists and sociologists. It was thought that his scale was prefer-
able to those devised by Seeman, Srole and others because the latter
scales often measure political apathy and hopelessness rather than a

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[31]August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, _Social Class and
Mental Illness_, (New York, 1950), pp. 387-397.

[32]Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," _American Sociological
Review_, Vol. 22, (December, 1957), pp. 671-672.

general state of alienation. The author rejected these on the assumption that individuals in the study might be alienated from society and its culture, but probably would not be apathetic nor politically hopeless.

Analysis of the Data

Statistical tests were used where they were appropriate. Comparisons of the two groups were made by chi square analysis, a nonparametric measure. Chi square analysis was chosen because it is especially suited to comparing small samples, and is often used by political scientists and sociologists in case studies with a small number of subjects. The level of significance necessary to accept the directional hypotheses was .05.

It should again be emphasized that this is a case study involving only a small number of individuals at one university. Any findings or generalizations suggested are only suggestions for further research. Findings in this study will not be sufficient to establish valid generalizations. It is believed, however, that a study of the political socialization process of even a small number of individuals will reveal enough information, even though of limited generalizing capability, to make the study worthwhile.

Chapter II of the thesis will analyze the political ideologies and behavior patterns of the left and right wing students to determine what type of participation characterizes individuals in the two groups.

Chapter III will examine the stages of socialization of the individual, as recalled by the individual himself.

Chapter IV will involve the attempt to locate factors which may have contributed to the specific left or right wing orientation

adopted by the individual.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

There are undoubtedly many people in the United States, as in
most societies, who are displeased with some governmental policies or
goals. Many of these individuals never speak of their displeasure nor
make any attempt to bring about changes in the system. These "silent
critics" probably do not have much impact on the political system and
do not perform a positive function within the system so long as they
remain silent.

Articulate and active critics, however, do perform functions
related to stability, creativity and responsiveness of the political
system. The role of critic may be essential to the stable and viable
political system in that critics help insure a continuing flow of in-
puts in the nature of demands to the governing officials. Critics
often point out problem areas and may offer alternative methods of per-
forming certain functions or fulfilling certain goals. This contri-
butes to the creativity and innovation which Karl Deutsch considers
essential for the viable system. If a system is to be responsive, a
characteristic considered essential by Robert Lane,[1] it must have some
individuals who perform the role of critic. Lane says a system is

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[1] Robert Lane, _Political Ideology_, (New York, 1962), pp. 439-459.

responsive if it keeps open the channels through which grievances can be heard, has effective working machinery for doing something about the grievances and uses the machinery for this purpose.[2] The responsive system requires that the public be able to translate frustrations into articulate grievances, and grievances into demands. These demands must then be presented in an effective manner.[3] To aid responsiveness, creativity and stability, the critic must articulate his demands and present them. The latter requires some degree of active participation in the political system.

Thus, if members of the left and right wing student groups at Oklahoma State University are to perform these functions for the political system, they must (1) be able to articulate their criticisms and (2) be active participants in the system rather than withdrawn and inactive. The first portion of this chapter will describe the political attitudes of members of the left and right wing groups. These attitudes will show whether they are articulate critics of the system as well as what they criticize. The second portion will describe the participation patterns of the students. To avoid a too long and tedious discussion of attitudes, only the major political and economic themes of the left and right will be discussed. The chart on page 25 shows left and right wing agreement with selected questions from the questionnaire. A full copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

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[2] Ibid., p. 457.

[3] Ibid.

TABLE I

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ATTITUDES OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Question Number	Left	Right*	Question Number	Left	Right
1. Communists have infiltrated American schools and churches.	4	12	10. Earl Warren should be impeached.	0	7
2. This infiltration is extensive.	0	5	12. The great American dream of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness has become a nightmare of death, destruction and pursuit of the dollar.	17	0
3. Private property is necessary for freedom.	12	14			
4. Private property is necessary for internal strength of a nation.	9	15	13. The U.S. should escalate the war in Vietnam.	0	14
5. Business should be required to give equal employment opportunities to Negroes.	18	2	14. Poverty is a result of the basic injustice of the economic system.	13	0
			15. Welfare programs should be ended.	3	12
6. A more democratic type of government would be desirable.	15	3	21. Places of public accommodations should be allowed to exclude Negroes.	2	11
7. The United Nations is serving the interests of Communists.	0	15	22. The government should provide decent housing for all citizens.	17	2
8. The U.S. should withdraw from the UN.	0	10	23. American society has been molded by materialism and corporate interests until today it is a dehumanized and oppressive system.	17	0
9. The Supreme Court has ignored some basic principles of the Constitution.	4	12			

*The numbers represent the number of students agreeing with the statement. There were 19 left and 15 right wing students.

25

TABLE I (Continued)

Question Number	Left	Right
24. The government should sell all its companies and industries which compete with private businesses.	1	12
25. The income tax is a good thing.	15	4
26. Workers should participate equally with owners in making economic decisions.	16	0
27. Government should interfere less with business.	5	14
28. The government should provide medical care for all citizens.	16	0
29. Communists should be allowed to speak at a public forum.	19	6
30. Atheists should be allowed to speak at a public forum.	19	10
31. A John Birch Society member should be allowed to speak at a public forum.	19	15
32. Communists should be allowed to teach history at a state university.	16	5
33. An Atheist should be allowed to teach history at a state university.	19	6
34. A John Birch society member should be allowed to teach history at a state university.	16	12

Right Wing Attitudes

Although it is difficult to completely separate politics from economics, the major economic themes of the right wing students will be discussed first, followed by their attitudes toward political issues.

Three major economic themes were readily apparent:

1. The absolute value of private property.
2. Non-interference by the government in the economy.
3. Strong objection to redistribution of wealth.

All of the right wing students agreed with the statement that private property is essential to freedom in a country, and all but one agreed that private property is essential to internal strength of a nation. Typical statements explaining the rationale behind this included:[4]

All other rights depend on the right of property. Life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are not possible unless the person has the right of private property.

Private property is the expression of all freedom.

Private property is the basis of freedom, and that includes both owning and controlling your property... that is freedom. Whoever has the power to take property from a man could take his other freedoms from him.

Private property helps make a man an individual rather than just a part of the mass.

Private property gives the individual the opportunity to accomplish everything of which he is capable... the possibility of being a total success.

Only one of the right wing students disputed the idea that the right of a businessman to control his property was more important than equal employment opportunities for Negroes and more important than integration in public accommodations.

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[4]These quotes, and others in the report, are from the notes taken by the author during the interviews.

The emphasis on private ownership was also revealed in the right wing students' opposition to government-built housing projects and free medical care for all citizens. All but one of the right wing students could properly be considered strong proponents of laissez-faire capitalism. The lone exception was a young and exceedingly shy freshman whose philosophy was much closer to neo-Nazi than to modern right wing conservatism in the United States. His ideas, although similar in many respects to the other students, diverged on government control of the economy as he advocated a Nazi-style corporate state. He also believed in the superiority of the Nordic race.

Redistribution of wealth, whether through income taxes or poverty programs, was a prime complaint of most of the right wing. Eleven of the 15 students said that the income tax ought to be abolished. One of them explained it this way:

> A man is entitled to the fruit of his labor. The proper
> function of government is to insure that he has an absolute
> right to all that he earns. The government, therefore, has
> no right to take part of this and redistribute it to others
> who have not earned it.

One of the students described wealth redistribution programs as "legal plunder."

The "mixed" or socialistic trends in the society were occasionally cited as causes of poverty in the United States. Four of the right wing students said poverty was caused primarily by the mixed economy and that laissez-faire capitalism would be the best way to solve the poverty problem.

On issues which were considered primarily political (although they definitely had economic overtones) the outstanding theme was anti-communism. All but three of the right wing students agreed that

American schools and churches have been infiltrated by communists or

others who teach the communist philosophy. The National Council of

Churches was frequently mentioned as an example of a communist infiltra-

ted organization. Most of the students were careful to point out that

they were not talking about "card-carrying" communists. As one said:

> I believe there is an infiltration, yes, but not so much
> by card-carrying communists as by dupes. There are two
> types of communists: one knows communism is a way of
> using power and the others who believe in the ideals of
> communism--liberals, for example. The latter are the
> most frequent and most dangerous infiltrators.

Another student pointed out that the infiltration is more extensive in

colleges than in high schools. "This is clear to anyone who examines

the American history textbooks used in the colleges," he said.

This emphasis on anti-communism was also revealed through unani-

mous agreement with the statement in question seven: "It has been said

that the United Nations is serving the interests of communist nations

rather than U.S. interests. Do you agree?" Ten of the 15 then stated

the United States should withdraw from the United Nations. The stu-

dents were also asked if a communist should be allowed to speak in a

community and if he should be allowed to teach history in a university.

Nine would not allow the communist to speak and ten said he should not

be allowed to teach history.

It is obvious that there was not complete agreement among members

of the right concerning communism. Four of the students described

themselves as objectivists, followers of the Ayn Rand philosophy. Ob-

jectivist philosophy, generally speaking, favors laissez-faire capital-

ism and emphasizes the absolute responsibility of each individual for

his own development. Objectivist tenets also include atheism and anti-

humanitarianism. Two of the objectivists in this study accepted the

atheism but rejected the anti-humanitarianism. The other two were quite anti-humanitarian but were not atheistic. The four objectivists were not so concerned with the anti-communist theme as the other right wing students, as they said communist infiltration was not extensive and all four would allow communists to speak and to teach.

Most members of the right wing held an anti-democratic bias. Question six asked if they would favor "a more truly democratic system of government than that which exists today, with regard to more democratic participation in decision-making." Of the 15 students, 12 said no. Another question, number 38, asked what they thought of the statement: "This is a republic, not a democracy, lets keep it that way." Ten of the 15 gave replies which were judged to be anti-democratic. This is a rather subjective judgment, but examples of statements considered anti-democratic included:

> The government, as established in the United States
> Constitution is the best one possible, but we are
> getting away from it. We're headed for democracy
> which leads to despotism, socialism and totalitarianism.
>
> America is not a democracy. I agree with Aristotle who
> said it was one of the worst forms.
>
> A democracy is kind of a free-for-all. A republic is
> better.
>
> This has been a republic in the past, but is rapidly
> becoming a democracy--that's a poor trend.

The anti-democratic bias of the right wing rests to a large extent on its definition of democracy and the way its proponents believe it is distinguished from a republic. "A Republic is rule by law; a democracy is rule by men," one student said. Another explanation for a negative response to democracy was:

> Some elements of democracy are desirable in that there are
> some things which have to be changed by men, but some things
> should never change by will of the majority--natural rights
> and in particular, the right of private property.

Another student said, "there are no basic rights in a democracy; every-

thing is at the whim of the people. A republic is a better form in

that it protects natural rights." Only two of the students were actually

coded "pro democratic" and three were considered ambiguous. Even those

considered pro democratic left some doubt as to their exact positions.

One of them said, "it is impossible to have democracy in a country.

I'm in favor of the representative form of government as long as the

representative acts according to the wishes of the people he represents."

Perhaps this student, as well as some of the others, responded nega-

tively to the word "democracy" but positively to some of the underlying

concepts. It was evident that the right thought of democracy as direct,

majority decision-making and rejected it. Interestingly, the left wing

students also tended to think of democracy as a system in which the in-

dividual was directly and personally involved in making decisions, but

they approved of this.

The United States Supreme Court was a favorite target of the right.

Twelve of the 15 agreed that "the Supreme Court has forsaken or ignored

some of the basic principles of the United States Constitution." The

principle most frequently cited was property rights, but the Court's

rulings on crime, communists, welfare, civil rights and school prayers

were also criticized. Seven of the students said Earl Warren should be

impeached, four said he should not be and the others did not know.

Questions about the adequacy of the American system of political

parties revealed that only three of the right wing students considered

the present system adequate and three gave answers too ambiguous to

code. Of the nine who said the system was not adequate, three favored

having a multi-party system, four desired a liberal-conservative two-

party system and one (the neo Nazi) wanted a one-party system. The

others gave no specific suggestions for change.

Other positions of the right wing included a hawkish attitude to-

ward Vietnam as 14 favored a policy of escalation. Careful analysis of

the students' responses on questions regarding Negro rights indicated

that only four showed hostility or prejudice toward Negroes, and only

two of these could be considered highly prejudiced. The other eleven

were quite careful to point out that they personally would not dis-

criminate against Negroes, but they thought that persons who did want

to discriminate should not be forced by the government to integrate

their businesses either in service or in employment.

One open-ended question asked the interviewee to cite "some of

the things you think are most dangerous in the United States today--

some of the trends, attitudes and beliefs which you believe to be most

dangerous." This question revealed, to some extent, the priority the

individual placed on his criticisms of the present system. On the

right, 15 of the things mentioned related to political issues and nine

of these were references to communism or socialism. There were ten

references to economic trends (and, many who mentioned communism or

socialism were probably thinking of these in economic rather than

political terms). Seven of the dangers were classified in the category

of social or cultural values. The most frequently cited were the break-

down of morality in the United States and the anti-materialistic

attitudes of the liberals.

In summarizing the viewpoint of the right, the main themes were the inviolability of private property, the grave danger that communism, socialism, welfarism and government intervention in the economy pose to the property rights of Americans, and the danger of too much democracy.

Left Wing Attitudes

The political and economic attitudes of the left are a marked contrast from the right. Fifteen of the 19 left wing students said communists had not infiltrated schools and churches, and of the four who agreed that they had done so, all four said the infiltration was not extensive. The attitude of the left toward communism generally was that communism was just another political philosophy or political organization. And, communism, whether as a philosophy or as an organization should not be banned. The students were specifically asked if they would consider joining the American Communist party and 14 said no. "The American Communist party hasn't accomplished much," one student explained. Another, who described his philosophy as pure Marxist said, "All modern-day communism has strayed from the original concepts of Marx in that it emphasizes, as much as capitalism, the economic element." Another student said, "They /the communists/ are too structured; they have too much hierarchy. The communists don't really understand the means or the ends." A freshman included in the left wing group remarked, "The American Communist party is ineffective. It is an American-influenced group," she said. Continuing, she commented, "Communists, generally, are quite conservative and there is no real danger from them." None of the students said they would join the

American Communist party, but two said they might consider it, "depend-
ing on what they are doing at the time," as one explained.

The main theme of the left wing, as revealed in the interviews,
was concerned with greater democratic participation by the people.
Only one student on the left gave consistent anti-democratic answers on
questions 6 and 38. That was the Marxist who said, "There is always
going to be an elite type of government and democracy, in the ideal
sense, will never evidence itself." When asked who would constitute
the elite in the completely socialistic economic system he favored, the
student replied: "The people who like the task of decision-maker would
rise to the top. They may not be the best qualified, but they would be
representative."

The more typical attitudes of the left toward democracy are re-
vealed in these quotes:

> The problem with American democracy is that it is too
> centralized to have individual freedom. We need more
> individual participation and the person needs to feel
> that his participation leads to direct action. We need
> more participation by communities, almost like little city-
> states directed by citizens.

> Participatory democracy means that people have participation
> in those decisions which directly influence their lives--as
> equal participation as possible. Thus, people in the ghettos
> should be able to run the ghettos; people in the classrooms
> should run classrooms, and so on.

> Democracy is a feeling in the individual that decisions made
> by his government are integral to his life and therefore he
> must expend his full energy to see that these decisions are
> for the benefit of the community. Everyone should feel in
> his soul that he must participate....Man controls his destiny,
> he should change, adapt to change and create change by his
> participation.

Other political attitudes of the left included unanimous agreement
that the United States should de-escalate and withdraw from Vietnam;
strong support for the Supreme Court and an optimistic and favorable

attitude toward the United Nations.

Comments from the left wing respondents regarding the adequacy of
the political party system did not differ substantially from those of
the right. Six thought the system was adequate without changes and
four thought it inadequate but expressed no specific proposals for
change. Five of the others favored a multi-party system based on poli-
tical ideology and two favored a liberal-conservative two-party system.
One desired no parties at all and one (the Marxist) wanted only one
party. On the question of Negro rights, no members of the left ex-
pressed any hostility or prejudice toward Negroes. All of the left wing
students were strong supporters of free speech for communists, atheists,
and Birch society members. Three of the 19 said that communists and
Birch society members should not be allowed to teach history in a
university, but even these would allow atheists to teach.

Economic issues were not as significant to the left as they were
to the right, but the major economic themes will be mentioned. Leftist
attitudes toward private property varied. Twelve said it was not
necessary for internal strength of a nation, but ten said it was essen-
tial for freedom in a country. Four of those who did not think it es-
sential for freedom agreed that it was "nice" or "desirable." One should
not assume, however, that the left was as avid in its support for pri-
vate property as the right, for this definitely was not the case.
There were two questions where the interviewee had to decide whether
property rights or civil rights were more important. On the question
of businesses being required to grant equal employment opportunity to
Negroes, 18 of the 19 said they should be required to do so. On the
desirability of integration in public accommodations, 17 agreed and two

were coded as undecided.

The attitudes of the left toward the present economic system in the United States were revealed through questions 12 and 23. Question 12 asked the respondents to agree or disagree with a quote: "The great American dream of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness has been turned into a nightmare of death, destruction and the pursuit of the dollar." Seventeen agreed. Several of these expressed the sentiment that the statement was perhaps a bit too strong, but was generally true. Question 23 asked for agreement or disagreement with another quote: "The American society has been molded by materialism and corporate interests until today it is a dehumanized and oppressive system." Seventeen agreed with this, most without any qualifications. The capitalistic economic system was also cited as the major cause of poverty by 12 of the students. Thus, one could conclude that the left does not oppose private property, per se, but is highly critical of the present economic system in the United States.

The left overwhelmingly favored increased government intervention in the economy to provide housing and medicine for citizens. Two of the students called for nationalization of some of the basic industries, but the general economic theme was anti-materialism, anti-corporation and pro decentralization in the economic system.

In analyzing the left wing responses to the open-ended question regarding the "most dangerous things in the U.S. today," one finds a greater emphasis on political than on economic trends. The most frequently cited danger was related to lack of freedom in the United States--lack of academic freedom, lack of tolerance, fear of freedom for all people, and so on. Another frequently cited danger was

militarism, as reflected through answers concerning the Vietnamese war, war in general, the military-industrial complex and the Central Intelligence Agency. Economic dangers mentioned in the open-ended question most frequently concerned materialism, although four of the left wing students specifically cited a need for more equal distribution of the wealth.

In summarizing the political and economic attitudes of both groups, several generalizations can be made.

One, the students were virtually all highly knowledgeable on economic and political issues and quite articulate and thorough in the explanation of their positions.

Second, the main criticisms of the right focused on economic issues. These respondents were able to explain their criticisms and many had proposals for change which they thought desirable.

Third, the right wing critics of the political system were not as thorough as those of the left, but they were generally able to "translate their frustrations into grievances and grievances into demands," as Lane considered necessary.

Fourth, the left wing group centered its criticisms around political issues and almost all members of it had positive proposals for a more democratic system which they thought would be superior to what exists now in the United States.

Fifth, although the left wing critics of the economic system most frequently cited anti-materialism, several did have plans for changes. The analysis by the left of the economic system was not as thorough as that of the right, but it is thought that the left was generally able to translate its frustrations into demands.

There will be no attempt by the author to argue with the contentions of either side, since that was not the purpose of this chapter nor of the thesis. The purpose of this section was to demonstrate that members of the left and right are articulate critics of the system in that they are not just angry and frustrated, but have a fairly good idea of what they think is wrong and what needs to be changed. The author is convinced that all members of both groups meet this requirement.

Participation Patterns

If critics are to serve the functions for the political system mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is important that they be active participants in the political system rather than withdrawn or silent critics. To determine whether the left and right wing students are active or inactive, several criteria will be used:

1. To what extent are they members of political organizations?

2. Do they identify with and support a political party?

3. Were they interested in the last presidential election?

4. Were they interested in the 1968 presidential election?

5. Did they plan to participate in politics after college?

The fifteen right wing students interviewed belonged to a total of 21 organizations. Twelve belonged to Young Americans for Freedom and six to the Young Republicans. There was one John Birch society member, one who belonged to a secret neo-Nazi organization in Tulsa and one who belonged to the Liberty committee. Only one of the right wing students had no organizational affiliations.

On the left, 13 were members, past members, or affiliates of Students for a Democratic Society. Two belonged to Americans for

Democratic Action and one to the National Association for the Advance-
ment of Colored People. Three were members of no organizations at all.
The fact that members of both groups were selected because of their
membership in left and right wing groups makes this aspect of partici-
pation less meaningful than it would have been had the students been
selected through an attitudinal test administered to a large number of
people. Nevertheless, it is plain that students in this study were
active in political organizations.

As for party identification, nine of the right wing members said
they belonged or expected to join the Republican party. Three identi-
fied themselves as independents and three gave no choice of party. Ten
of the left wing students said they belonged to or preferred the Demo-
cratic party, one was an independent, and one said she would, in 1968,
register as a Republican. Seven preferred no party at all. Thus, the
majority in each group identified with a political party, but a
rather large percentage did not belong to nor expect to join either
party.

Another indication of political participation is interest in
presidential elections. The subjects were asked, "Were you interested
in the last presidential election?" All of the right wing students
said yes and all but two of the left did so. Of the two who were not
interested, one explained that his interest in politics had developed
in 1965 after he decided that political action was the only way to
insure freedom for himself and others in his occupation (art). "Who
did you support in 1964" was another question asked of the subjects.
All of the right wing students had a choice and fourteen preferred
Barry Goldwater. Eleven students on the left said they supported

Lyndon Johnson in 1964. Two preferred Barry Goldwater--both said they have changed their political beliefs since then--and the other seven said they liked neither candidate. The interviewees were also asked, "Who, if you really had a choice and disregarding political realities for the moment, would you most like to see elected president in 1968." Three left wing students and one on the right admitted they liked no one. All the others had choices, and some mentioned several persons. The bulk of the left wing vote went to Robert Kennedy (eight votes), Eugene McCarthy (three votes), and Charles Percy (four votes). Ronald Reagan was the choice of seven of the right wing students and George Wallace was preferred by four.

"Do you plan to continue your political activity after college," was answered affirmatively by 13 right wing and 15 left wing students. Many said they planned to increase their political activity after college. The only two right wing students who said no had rather precise reasons: one planned to join the Federal Bureau of Investigation and, as he said, "political activism is not allowed." The other intended to have a military career. Two of the left wing students said they did not intend to be political activists after college, leaving relatively unanswered the extent to which they would participate, and one said he might decide to be active after college. One student, a leftist, had bitterly withdrawn from the political system. "I don't intend to continue my activities after college," he said, "I'm fed up with the American system of politics; I'm just spinning my wheels here. I may leave the United States if it really gets bad."

This analysis of the participation patterns of the left and right wing students shows that most of them belong to political organizations,

are actively interested in presidential elections and plan to continue their activities after college. The party identification of almost half of each group was weak, but this alone does not make them "inactive." The conclusion is that most of these students are highly active politically, several are moderately active and only one is a likely candidate for complete withdrawal from the system. Even the latter student showed an active interest in past and future presidential elections and belonged to both SDS and ADA.

It is evident that these students were articulate critics of the system and could effectively translate frustrations and grievances into demands through their political participation. Thus, they do perform the function of active critic in contributing to the stability, creativeness and responsiveness of the political system.

CHAPTER III

STAGES OF SOCIALIZATION

A good deal of research has been and is presently being conducted

with children in order to determine when they develop their political

attitudes. The significance of this for political science is relatively

unknown as there is not enough evidence yet to develop many generaliza-

tions. The possible significance of knowing the chronological process

of political socialization might include a better understanding of the

stability of certain political institutions, such as political parties

or ideologies. There is, as yet, no conclusive evidence to show that

attitudes learned at an early age are more stable and less subject to

change, but this is a possible condition of early socialization.

Another admittedly speculative idea is that if the learning of a poli-

tical ideology is not begun in the home, the person may never develop a

political ideology.

The purpose of this chapter is to determine when the politiciza-

tion process and the ideological development of the respondents began.

Two hypotheses (H_2 and H_3) will be examined:

H_2 A general interest in politics begins during the early teens.

H_3 Two stages of socialization can be identified: a generalized
interest in politics is followed by a right or left wing orientation.

The chapter will also include a brief discussion concerning which

factors the subject cited as being instrumental in the development of

his political orientation. The students' recollections of these

factors will not be used as conclusive evidence of why they developed left and right wing orientations, but may aid in structuring future research projects on political socialization.

Over half the students in each group said they first became interested in politics during high school. Ten recalled an interest before high school and four (all left wing) said their interest in politics did not begin until college. Seventeen years was the median age for the beginning of political interest for students in both groups. This was somewhat later than anticipated by the hypothesis and later than found in other studies done with children. Fred Greenstein's research, for example, revealed that 63 percent of the children in the fourth grade had a political party preference.[1] The difference is not difficult to explain as the beginnings of political attitudes of the type he was investigating are not likely to be recalled by college students who have already developed strong political orientations. The subjects in this study spoke of a first interest in politics as a conscious beginning of inquiry, not the early formation of an attitude.

It was evident that ideological orientation developed later than the first interest in politics for 22 of the 33 students, supporting in general hypothesis three regarding stages of development. Nineteen was the median age for the beginning development of political ideology for the left wing students and eighteen was the median for the right. This difference is not substantial enough to assume it actually represents a difference between the two groups. No stages were found in the process of political socialization for ten students, as their first recollection

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[1]Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics, (New Haven, 1965), p. 72.

of interest coincided with their ideological development. An inaccur-
ate memory may be the best explanation for this, but it is possible
that these students have a greater ability to think in abstract terms
than the general population. Or, they may have had more exposure to
abstract thinking or philosophy in the home.

The conclusions regarding the chronological stages of political
socialization are that a general interest in politics begins in late
high school and a more precise political orientation occurs shortly
afterward--at about 18 or 19 years of age.

The second part of the analysis of the politicization process in-
volves those factors cited by the students as influential in the devel-
opment of their interest and ideology. This information should not be
used to try to prove that one factor or another is the "cause" of left
or right wing orientations, but it may reveal some interesting trends
which could be more carefully analyzed in future studies.

Data for the following analysis were obtained from the open-ended
question asked near the end of the interview:

> I have one further question, if you still have time. Would
> you mind reflecting on and explaining to me about when you
> first became interest in politics and when you began to
> develop the political philosophy you now have? Also, as
> you think about this, what were some of the main things you
> recall as being influential in the development of your
> philosophy--some of the things which motivated you toward
> a /liberal, conservative/ ideology?

There was a definite difference between left and right concerning
the factors they considered important. For the right, 11 of the 15
mentioned election campaigns as contributing to both interest and
ideology. Five mentioned this first in their discussion of why they
developed the ideology they hold. Parental influence was cited by nine
of the students, four mentioning it first. Books read by the students

were mentioned by 10 of the 15 and most of them cited several books which "got me thinking about conservatism," as one student put it. Other factors mentioned included schools and teachers. Interestingly enough, seven said they had "been inspired" by a political leaders. For five of them, Barry Goldwater was the source of inspiration.

A different pattern emerged with the left wing students. Twelve of them related, frequently in great detail, personal experiences they had which influenced them. Five students began their explanation with details of this experience. Six left wing students mentioned two or more personal experiences which were influential. These experiences included interactions with poor people, Negroes, snobs, smart people, and so on. Others told of listening to the words of a folk song, or of having a friend or relative who had been treated unjustly. Only three of the right wing students mentioned an experience as being influential. Current political issues, other than elections (particularly Negro equality and poverty) were mentioned by five left wing students; all five cited this first. Friends were influential according to nine of the students (seven of the right wing students mentioned friends) and parents got five citations as being important. Reading was mentioned by six students, only three mentioning it first.

Thus, the right wing students more frequently recalled incidents of a rather objective nature (elections, books) and the left cited more subjective stimuli (personal experiences, friends) as being important to the development of their political orientation. This rather unexpected finding, coming from a completely open-ended question, lends some credence to the concept that the personality of an individual may be influential in his adoption of a left or right wing ideology.

Discovering the personality variable involved is an elusive task and would be impossible to ascertain from the limited evidence in this study. Perhaps some persons prefer more structured, clear-cut, non-ambiguous stimuli, and in seeking these out find the right wing position more comfortable to them. Others, avoiding the structured and non-ambiguous, accept and respond to personal and humanistic stimuli which are usually more ambiguous and involve less rigidity. It would be interesting to pursue the personality differences between left and right with some sophisticated personality tests designed to determine whether this "subjective" and "objective" cognitive or emotional pattern actually differs between the two groups.

The process of political socialization, as described by the students themselves, does include identifiable stages with left or right wing orientation occurring later than general political interest. The students' insights on what prompted them toward their present positions are interesting, but must not be accepted as conclusive. Chapter IV will examine in a more structured way some of the possible sources or factors which may have produced the left and right wing orientations of these students.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION

A description of the content learned in the politicization process and the stages of learning may be interesting and useful to political science, but the more difficult and probably more important question is why these individuals learned their political orientations. Answers to such a broad and complex question must be incomplete and may succeed only in identifying a few factors which tentatively may be considered influential. Nevertheless, it is of interest to seek an understanding of why individuals adopt left or right wing political orientations.

Such information may help explain the nature of mass ideological movements in a society. This could contribute to an understanding of why such movements are more frequent in some nations than in others and why they are more frequent during some historical periods than others. Another reason for seeking the sources of left and right wing orientations is that the source, itself, may be quite important in determining the nature of the left or right wing group. For example, left or right wing movements related to sharp social class distinctions might be more intense, of longer duration and larger size than similar movements produced not by social class distinctions but by other factors, such as regional or family influences. At present, there is not sufficient information to relate the source of different ideological groups to the nature and impact of such groups. But some interesting theory, and

potentially some predictive value might accrue from a thorough under-

standing of the sources of left and right wing movements.

The last nine hypotheses (H_4 - H_{12}), which relate to the sources

of left and right wing political orientation, will be considered in

this chapter. They are:

H_4 Left and right wing students are, in general, consistent with
the political orientation of their parents.

H_5 Right wing students are more apt to be consistent with paren-
tal orientations than are left wing students.

H_6 Left and right wing political orientations are related to
socio-economic background in the following way: family income of right
wing students will be greater than that of left wing; family education-
al level and occupational prestige level of the left wing group will be
greater than that of the right.

H_7 Left and right wing political orientations emerge from
anxieties concerning social status in that the socialization process
involved inconsistencies in three measurements of status: the families
of right wing students having higher income levels but lower occupa-
tional and educational levels than the left. The left wing families
will have lower income levels but higher educational and occupational
levels.

H_8 Left and right wing orientations are related to rapid occupa-
tional mobility: the right will have a higher upward mobility and the
mobility pattern of the left will be predominately static or downward.

H_9 Left and right wing orientations are related to ethnic back-
ground in that second or third generation Americans are more apt to be
right wing than left wing.

H_{10} Left and right wing political orientations are related to
religious values in the following way: the right is more apt to accept
fundamentalist religious values; the left is more apt to reject them.

H_{11} Left and right wing orientations are related to regional
political heritage with the right having parents and grandparents
predominately from Oklahoma and bordering states and the left having
parents and grandparents from other parts of the United States.

H_{12} Alienation from society is related to left and right wing
orientation: the left tends toward alienation but the right does not.

The procedure in this chapter will be to test and discuss each

hypothesis individually. If two of the hypotheses are closely related

(as are H_4 and H_5) they will be discussed under the same general topic.

Parental Orientation

The first hypothesis to be tested in this chapter is that students in both groups hold ideologies generally consistent with the political orientation of their parents. This requires some knowledge of the general orientation of the parents, a difficult type of information to obtain. The limited time and resources for this study precluded the possibility of personally interviewing the parents of each student, making it necessary to depend upon student knowledge of parental political activities. Each subject was asked which political party his parents belonged to and who they voted for in the 1964 presidential election. In addition, the students were asked, "are your parents conservative, liberal, disinterested, or what?" This is a highly subjective judgment by the student and the same answer by two different subjects may not mean the same thing, since their perceptions of the words conservative and liberal may differ. Answers to this question will, however, be included as one of the three criteria determining parental orientation.

Justification for including this criterion involves two factors. First, a previous question on the questionnaire asked the student whether he was conservative, liberal, or what. Examination of answers revealed that the students were quite accurate in classifying their own beliefs. This supplies relative assurance that the students' perceptions of these terms are generally the same as the concept of liberal and conservative as used in this report. Second, all that is required

is a general idea of the parents' political orientation, not a precise statement of it. Thus, students' perception of parental ideology, in combination with the other two criteria, should be a relatively accurate measure of the direction of parental political belief.

An overview of the parents' orientation is presented in Tables II, III and IV. Table II reports the voting patterns of the parents in the 1964 election. Table III shows the party preferences of the parents, and Table IV relates the student perception of parental ideology.

TABLE II

VOTING PATTERNS OF PARENTS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Voted for Johnson	Voted for Goldwater	Split*	Do Not Know	Did Not Vote
Left	8	6	2	2	1
Right	2	13	0	0	0

*Split refers to one parent voting for each candidate.

TABLE III

PARTY PREFERENCE OF PARENTS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Split	Do Not Know
Left	5	9	3	2	0
Right	7	7	0	0	1

TABLE IV

STUDENT PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL IDEOLOGICAL POSITION

Group	Liberal	Conservative	One of Each	Moderate	Don't Know
Left	4	5	3	7	0
Right	1	9	0	3	2

The different orientations of the students' parents were clearly revealed by their voting patterns and by the students' perceptions of parental ideology. Chi square analysis reveals that the differences were probably not due to chance. (Both criteria showed significant differences beyond the .05 level). Party preference of parents did not distinguish clearly between parents of the two groups. Chi square analysis revealed that the differences were not significant.

All three criteria have been combined in order to test the first hypothesis. Party membership of both parents, voting in the 1964 election of both parents and students' perception of parental ideology of both parents results in six factors which can be used to determine parental orientation. If the parents' position, as revealed by four of the six factors, is in the same direction as that of the student, the latter is considered to be generally consistent with his parents. If the parents differ with the student on four of the six factors, the student is considered to be generally inconsistent with them. Students were not considered to be inconsistent if their parents had a moderate or independent political orientation. Such parents were considered undetermined. Table V shows the results.

TABLE V

CONSISTENCY BETWEEN STUDENT AND PARENTAL ORIENTATION

Group	Generally Consistent	Generally Inconsistent	Undetermined[*]
Left	7	6	6
Right	11	1	3

[*]Undetermined may reflect one parent supporting each position, parents who are independent or moderate or just general confusion as to what the parental orientation actually is.

Eighteen of the students can be considered at least generally consistent with their parents in that the student's ideology is in the same general direction as that of his parents. Seven of the students were generally inconsistent and nine had parents whose orientation could not be determined. Thus, of the 25 students whose parents' orientation was determined, 18 or 72 percent were generally consistent. Is the apparent relationship between student ideology and parental orientation greater than that which would be expected by chance alone? Chi square analysis of the data reveals that the relationship between student and parental political orientation is significant beyond the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis that these students adopted political beliefs generally consistent with the orientation of their parents can be accepted.

This confirms the finding by Westby and Braungart who compared a small left wing group called SENSE with Young Americans for Freedom at a large eastern public university. The authors concluded: Student

activists seem to be expressing ideological positions that, though extreme, are in the main consistent with the political orientation of their families."[1] Glenn Lyonns, in a study of students involved in a demonstration at Berkeley, reported that "over half of the militants are in agreement with their parents, and those who strongly disagree constitute no more than 13 percent of the demonstration group."[2] The same information was imparted by Fredric Solomon in a study of peace demonstrators. "Most of the students," he said, "came from politically liberal families...only about one-fourth characterized their homes as politically conservative."[3]

The second hypothesis to be tested is that right wing students are more apt to be consistent with parental orientation than left wing students are. Chi square analysis of Table V shows a difference between left and right significant beyond the .05 level. This supports the finding by Russell Middleton that right wing students are "more apt to conform to their parents' ideological positions than left wing students are."[4] Lyonns found the same thing. "A slightly larger proportion of the conservatives agreed with their parents political orientation," he said.[5] Westby and Braungart also reported that the right wing students

[1] Westby and Braungart, p. 692.

[2] Glenn Lyonns, "The Police Car Demonstration: A Survey of Participants," The Berkeley Student Revolt, ed., Seymour Lipset, (New York, 1965), p. 547.

[3] Fredric Solomon and Jacob Fishman, "Youth and Peace: A Psychosocial Study of Student Peace Demonstrators in Washington, D. C., " Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 20, No. 4, (1964), p. 55.

[4] Middleton, p. 379.

[5] Lyonns, p. 547.

were conforming more to the general attitudes of the student body and the left was deviating more from the typical values of students at the university.[6] Westby said the greater conformity of the right was due to its more insecure status position. He found that income of families of the right wing students was significantly lower than the left. Based on this, he concluded that the left was secure enough to deviate, but the right was not. His explanation is inadequate for this study because the right wing students' families did not have lower incomes or lower status by other indicators.

Why, then, did the six left wing students reject the orientation of their parents and why did only one right wing student reject his parents' ideas? The interview schedules of these students revealed that one of the six left wing students came from a small farm, three from working class families and two from professional families. Five of the leftist students indicated no reasons in the interview for their divergence from their parents (they did not even mention it). One girl from a working class home said her left wing ideas began to develop after she was snubbed by a cliquish, snobbish group of upper middle class students in high school. The explanation, perhaps, is that she was trying to rationalize her status and the status of her parents. This might be a plausible explanation for the others from working class homes, but the interview records do not reveal any clear evidence of rebellion nor reasons for it if it existed.

The right wing student who differed from his parents was the neo Nazi discussed previously. His father is a skilled laborer. The

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[6]Westby and Braungart, p. 693.

student said, in relation to his father, "I really think my father

agrees with me--believes like I do." The student was referring to his

own belief in the superiority of the Nordic race. "The only difference,"

the student continued, "is that he thinks it is wrong to believe this

way and I don't." Thus, again, no clear evidence is available that the

student was actually rebelling against his parents' beliefs.

Nevertheless, these students did deviate from their parents. The

neo Nazi specifically mentioned that he formulated his ideas when

living in Texas. This provides a potential explanation for the devia-

tion of these students, as well as why the left wing students were more

apt to deviate than the right. As will be discussed in more detail

later, it was found that the right wing students were primarily the

product of Southwest or Oklahoma born parents and grandparents. Many

of them had never lived in any other state. Grandparents and parents

of the left wing students, however, were primarily from other areas of

the United States. Five of the left wing students who deviated from

their parents had, themselves, lived in other states. Thus, the de-

viants were more apt to have been exposed to a greater variety of poli-

tical stimuli. The right wing students who had never lived anywhere

else and whose parents and grandparents were also from Oklahoma may

have been less aware of alternative choices to their parents' political

orientation. It would be interesting to have further information on

why these seven students deviated from their parents' orientation, but

the really significant finding is that most of the students were con-

sistent with their parents.

The conclusions concerning the relationship between student and

parent political orientation are:

1. Students of both groups were, in general, expressing ideologies consistent with parental orientations.

2. Several students differed considerably from their parents viewpoints, but it is not known that their attitudes were actually formed in rebellion from their parents.

3. Right wing students were more apt to be consistent with the political orientation of their parents than were left wing students.

Socio-Economic Influences

The first hypothesis regarding socio-economic influences is that the income level of right wing students' families is greater than that of the left wing. Table VI shows the income level of the families.

TABLE VI

INCOME LEVEL OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' FAMILIES

Group	Less than $4,000	4,000-5,999	6,000-7,999	8,000-9,999	10,000-19,999	20,000-24,999	25,000 and up
Left*	2	1	1	3	4	4	3
Right*	1	0	1	1	3	4	2

*Three right wing and one left wing student did not report the income level of their families.

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To test the hypothesis that families of right wing students have the higher incomes, the number of left and right wing families above $10,000 was compared to the number below $10,000. There was no apparent difference in the income levels of families of the two groups. Thus,

there is not sufficient evidence in this study to accept the hypothesis.

This finding differs from that of Westby and Braungart. The left wing group in their study had a significantly higher family income level than the right.[7] A study by Crespi of the supporters of Barry Goldwater revealed, in contrast to this study, that Goldwater drew a somewhat larger percentage of support from the lower middle class income group.[8] Seymour Lipset, however, has shown that support for the John Birch Society is higher among high income Republicans[9] and that conservative students at the University of California at Berkeley were more apt to come from higher income families.[10] Thus, the relationship between income level and political orientation is not clear. This study reveals no significant differences between income levels of families of the left and right wing students.

There was, however, a rather interesting difference between the family income of left and right respondents compared with a sample of the Oklahoma State University student body. Information on the family income of 3,000 Oklahoma State students was obtained from a survey given to incoming freshmen in 1966. Table VII shows the percentage of families above and below $10,000 for the student sample from the university and the student activists in this study.

Chi square analysis reveals that the difference is significant beyond the .05 level. The conclusion is that families of left and

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[7] Westby and Braungart, p. 691.

[8] Crespi, p. 530.

[9] Lipset, The Radical Right, ed., Daniel Bell, p. 431.

[10] Lipset, The Berkeley Student Revolt, p. 482.

right wing students have somewhat higher incomes than most families of Oklahoma State students. This is not surprising as many studies have indicated that persons from the higher income brackets are usually more active political participants than those from the lower income levels.[11]

TABLE VII

PARENTAL INCOMES OF STUDENT ACTIVISTS COMPARED TO OSU STUDENTS

Income Level	OSU Student	Left	Right
Above $10,000	37.5%	57.8%	60%
Below $10,000	42.3%	36.0%	20%

Educational and occupation level of parents are the other two indicators of socio-economic status to be tested. The hypothesis stated that parents of the left wing group would have higher educational and occupational prestige levels than the right. Table VIII shows the educational levels of the students' fathers and Table IX shows the degree of education obtained by the mothers.

Chi square analysis reveals no significant differences in the family educational background of students in the left and right wing groups. The two groups, combined, were also compared to the OSU student sample referred to previously. Again, no difference was apparent

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[11]Lester Milbrath, Political Participation, (Chicago, Illinois, 1965), p. 120.

in family educational level of student activists and the student body
sample.

TABLE VIII

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' FATHERS

Group	Grammar School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Post Graduate
Right	1	0	5	4	5	0
Left	1	4	2	4	2	6

TABLE IX

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' MOTHERS

Group	Grammar School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Post Graduate
Right	1	0	8	3	3	0
Left	0	3	4	7	4	1

The study of California demonstrators also reported no differences
in the educational level of the group when compared to conservatives
and to the general student body.[12] Table X reports the occupations of
the students' fathers.

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[12] Lyonns, p. 547.

TABLE X

OCCUPATIONS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' FATHERS

Group	Business	Professional	Engineers	Skilled Labor	Farm
Right	8	2*	3	2	0
Left	5	6	5	2	1

*Both fathers of right wing students listed as "professional" were career army officers.

The major differences revealed in Table X are that the left wing students were more apt to have professional fathers than were the right wing students. Table X, however, reveals little concerning the actual prestige of the various occupations. The occupational prestige scale developed by Warner, Meeker and Eells[13] was utilized to compare the rankings of the occupations. They categorized occupations into levels of prestige ranging from one (the highest) to seven (the lowest). The students' fathers were placed in these categories, as shown in Table XI.

Chi square analysis of Table XI reveals no significant differences between prestige levels of the students' fathers. Although a considerably greater number of left wing students' fathers were in the top category, too much significance should not be attached to this. Fathers of the left wing students were primarily professionals and engineers, both occupations with a top prestige ranking. The Warner scale ranked businessmen according to the size of the business. If it was large,

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[13]Delbert Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement, (New York, 1964), p. 103.

even though individually owned, the person should have a top prestige ranking. If the business was medium sized, he would be ranked in the second category and if somewhat smaller, he would be placed in category three. The exact size of the businesses owned by the fathers of right wing students, however, was not known. Thus, the right wing students' fathers who owned businesses were placed rather arbitrarily in category two on the prestige scale, as the evidence indicated most of these businesses were medium sized. Thus, when analyzing the prestige of the fathers, categories one and two were combined for a "high" prestige position. The conclusion reached is that there was no significant difference between the occupational prestige levels of the fathers of the students.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RANKINGS OF STUDENTS' FATHERS

Group	Prestige Rankings						
	High			Medium		Low	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Right	3	7	2	2	1	0	0
Left	12	4	1	1	1	0	0

The interesting difference in occupations is revealed in Table X, which shows the greater professional orientation of the left and business orientation of the right.

Martin Trow's study of the supporters of Senator Joe McCarthy pro-
duced evidence that the small businessman was more likely to favor
McCarthy's methods and ideas than were managers, professional persons
or salaried personnel.[14] When the number of businessmen in the present
study was compared with professional persons and salaried personnel
other than skilled labor, a significant difference was found between
the left and right wing fathers' occupations. (Chi square analysis
reveals that the distinction was significant beyond the .05 level).
Although there is no apparent difference in the prestige levels of
fathers, there is support for Trow's hypothesis that fathers of right
wing students were more apt to be business-oriented. This finding is
consistent with that of Glen Lyonns. He found that the demonstrators
in his study tended to come from professional and semi-professional
homes.[15] Another study involving California students reported that
"children of small businessmen are those least likely to be highly
libertarian."[16]

Why should students from business-oriented homes be more inclined
to adopt right wing political orientations? Trow offers several expla-
nations. One that seems appropriate for this study is that the small
businessman develops hostility toward growth and concentration of gov-
ernment and labor unions. It was evident from the interviews that most
of the right wing students were hostile toward centralized government

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[14]Martin Trow, "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance and Support
for McCarthy," Political Sociology, ed., Lewis A. Coser (New York,
1967), pp. 181-203.

[15]Lyonns, p. 546.

[16]Hanan C. Selvin and Warren O. Hagstrom, "Determinants of Support
for Civil Liberties," The Berkeley Student Revolt, p. 504.

and labor unions. Daniel Bell also offered an explanation in his theory of the "dispossessed." Bell said that the social group "most threatened by the structural changes in society is the 'old' middle class...farm owner, real-estate promoter, home builder...small business and the like..."[17]

The occupational choices of the students themselves, however, do not reflect the idea that business-oriented persons are more inclined toward the right. Student major fields of study are shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII

MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Social Science, Humanities	Bio-Physical Science	Engineering	Business	Home Economics	Education
Right	6	3	4	2	0	0
Left	14	3	0	0	1	1

As is shown in Table XII, only two of the 34 students were majoring in business. If occupation is a factor in the adoption of left or right wing orientation, it is not clearly reflected in students major fields of study. The relationship between business-orientation and right wing political activity, apparently, is the result of earlier experiences rather than future occupational choice. There is no evidence that the right wing students adopted their political ideology

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[17]Bell, p. 24.

because of a planned career in business.

It is interesting that 14 of the 19 left wing students majored in social sciences or humanities. This corroborates a study by Solomon in which two-thirds of the left wing students were majoring in the humanities or social sciences.[18]

An overall view of the socio-economic standing of the families of left and right wing students revealed that there was no difference in educational level, income level or occupational prestige level. Most students in both groups came from middle and upper middle class homes. The only significant factors were that students in both groups had a higher family income level than the average student at Oklahoma State University, and that right wing students were more apt to come from a business background and left wing students from a professional background. Thus, there is no evidence that socio-economic status of the parents was responsible for the development of left or right wing political orientation by these students.

Another set of hypotheses concerned with socio-economic background involved the concept of "status anxiety." Three measures of status anxiety were to be tested in this study: status inconsistency, ethnic background and occupational mobility. The concept of status inconsistency involved the extent to which an individual's rank position on given status hierarchies was inconsistent--such as having a poor education but a high income. An attempt was made to determine whether the fathers of students in the study actually experienced status inconsistency, but it was impossible to arrive at any meaningful conclusion.

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[18]Solomon, p. 58.

The inability to test this hypothesis rested on two factors. The most important was that no data were available for the general Oklahoma State student body regarding what would be a "normal" relationship between income and education or income and occupation. Without that information, it would be impossible to understand the significance of the findings. The second factor was that the sample itself was so small that when the income level was compared, for example, to the educational level, there were too few persons in each category to apply a statistical test to the finding. Thus, this hypothesis cannot be tested.

The other two hypotheses related to status anxiety were (1) that the occupational mobility of right wing students' parents will be higher than the left, and (2) that the right wing students are more apt to be second or third generation Americans.

Occupational mobility was measured by using the Warner occupational prestige scale mentioned earlier. There was no significant difference in the occupational prestige of the students' grandfathers. The increase in occupational prestige between grandfather and father was also tested, again with no significant differences between the two groups. Both groups appeared to have had highly mobile families, but there was no way to determine whether they were more highly mobile than the general population. Table XIII shows the occupations of the grandfathers.

The only interesting difference here was, again, the apparent difference between business-orientation and professional-orientation. Chi square analysis, however, shows that the occupational differences were not great enough to be significant. The differences, therefore, might be due only to chance and no particular significance should be attached

to them.

TABLE XIII

OCCUPATIONS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' GRANDFATHERS[*]

Group	Business	Professional	Farm	Labor
Right	6	3	2	3
Left	2	4	7	6

[*]Most students reported occupations for two grandfathers. Frequently, both were in the same occupational category, but when they were not, the category with the higher prestige ranking, based on Warner's scale, was used.

Thus, this study revealed no support for the theories advanced by Lipset and Lopreato that rapid upward mobility correlates with right wing political orientation.

The ethnic background of left and right wing students was also examined. It was hypothesized that the right wing students would be more apt to have immigrant parents or grandparents, but this was not the case. Six of the left wing students had immigrant grandparents and only two of the right did. Thus, there was no evidence in this study for Richard Hofstadter's idea that second or third generation Americans adopt right wing philosophies in order to "prove" their Americanism. If the direction of the hypothesis were reversed to say that the left wing students would be more apt to have immigrant grandparents, no significant difference would be found either.

The conclusion that must be reached is that there is no evidence in this study for status anxiety theories which are based on socio-economic variables.

Fundamentalist Religious Values

The next hypothesis to be tested stated that left and right wing political orientations are related to religious values in the following way: the right is more apt to accept fundamentalist religious values; the left is more apt to reject them. Table XIV shows the church preferences of the students.

TABLE XIV

CHURCH PREFERENCES OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Fundamentalist Protestant	Non-Fundamentalist*	None
Right	10	2	3
Left	0	5	14

*Fundamentalist protestant included all protestant churches except Episcopalian, Unitarian and Congregational. Non-fundamentalists included persons in the three mentioned above plus one Jewish student and two Catholics (one left wing and one right wing).

Chi square analysis indicates that the differences in church preference are significant beyond the .01 level. Thus, the hypothesis is upheld. A similar relationship has been reported by Lyonns, Selvin,

Lipset and Fishman.[19]

What is the significance of such a finding? One might think that the difference reflects nothing more than the upbringing of the student. To check this possible explanation, the church preference of the parents was examined as was the students' attendance pattern as children. Table XV shows the church preference of the parents. Table XVI shows the church attendance record of each student as a child.

TABLE XV

CHURCH PREFERENCE OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS' PARENTS

Group	Fundamentalist	Non-Fundamentalist	None	Split
Right	11	2	0	2
Left	10	6	2	1

Although more of the left wing students did come from non-fundamentalist homes, the difference is not statistically significant and may, therefore, be due to chance. Thus, there was no apparent difference in church preference of the students' parents.

There also is no significant difference between the church attendance patterns of the students as children as Table XVI shows that most of the students in both groups were regular church-goers as

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[19]All four of these studies reported that liberal or militant students were apt to have no religious preference.

children.

TABLE XVI

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF STUDENT AS A CHILD

Group	Twice or more per month	Less than Twice per month
Right	10	5
Left	15	4

The reason for the present difference in church preference is not, therefore, due to childhood religious training. It seems evident that the left wing has rejected traditional religious teachings, to a large extent, and the right wing has not.

The evidence in this study supports the findings of Daniel Bell, Seymour Lipset and others who maintain that protestant fundamentalism correlates strongly with right wing activity. There are several explanations for this relationship. Bell explained it in terms of the dispossessed.[20] He maintained that right wing activity stems from persons who have lost (or are afraid of losing) their status in a rapidly changing society. "Intellectually," he said, "the fundamentalists were defeated and the modernists won...but the fundamentalist temper of

[20] Bell, p. 26.

the 1920s still holds sway in rural-dominated states."[21] The fundamen-
talists face a crisis of values: they are viewing the demise of the
principles and values they have believed in, and resort to rear-guard
action and right wing political activity to restore or protect these
values.

Another explanation of the relationship is offered by David Dan-
zig. He said fundamentalist religious beliefs have an intellectual
style quite compatible with radical right interpretations of politics.[22]
For example, the fundamentalists might resist change because their be-
liefs are based on the absolutes of Biblical teaching. They resist
moral relativism (a factor mentioned by several of the right wing stu-
dents in this study) for much the same reason: the Truth has been re-
vealed in the Bible. The absolutes of good and evil, right and wrong
in politics are quite similar to their religious absolutes of good and
evil, right and wrong.

The rejection of fundamentalist beliefs by respondents of the left
is also consistent with their political outlook. They are less apt to
think in terms of absolutes, morality is relative, and tradition and
older ways of doing things are not sacrosanct.

Although there is a relationship between religious preferences and
political ideology, it should not be assumed that one necessarily pro-
duced the other. Both may stem from more basic sources.

[21]Ibid.

[22]David Danzig, "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamen-
talist Minority," Commentary, (April, 1962), pp. 291-298.

Regional Political Heritage

Another set of hypotheses involved a regional political heritage
which might help account for left or right wing political orientations.
The hypothesis was that the right wing will have parents and grand-
parents predominantly from Oklahoma and bordering states and the left
will have parents and grandparents predominately from other parts of
the United States. Table XVII shows the birthplace of the students'
parents.

TABLE XVII

BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Oklahoma and Bordering States*	Other Areas
Right	11	4
Left	5	14

*To be considered in "Oklahoma and Bordering States" the student
had to have both parents from this area. To be considered "other
areas" the student needed only one parent from some other area.

The table reveals a considerable difference between the two groups.
Chi square analysis shows the difference is significant beyond the .01
level.

Table XVIII reports the birthplace of students' grandparents.

TABLE XVIII

BIRTHPLACE OF GRANDPARENTS OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Oklahoma and Bordering States	Other Areas
Right	9	5
Left	2	16

Chi square analysis of Table XVIII again reveals a difference between the two groups significant beyond the .01 level. Thus, the hypothesis that the left wing students had parents and grandparents predominately from other areas and the right had parents and grandparents predominately from Oklahoma and bordering states can be accepted.

The relationship between the geographical birthplace and political orientation of students may be the result of several factors. But first it should be said that the relationship is not due to the left wing students being "out-of-state" agitators as is often charged in the press. Fifteen of the left wing students were born in Oklahoma as were 13 of the right wing students. One possible reason for the correlation between regional heritage and political orientation would be that the southwest is, generally, more conservative than other areas of the United States. Although this is a difficult thing to prove or disprove, V. O. Key provided some information on the subject. He did not specifically discuss "Oklahoma and bordering states," but he did conclude that "southern opinion on most matters closely resembles that of

the rest of the country."[23] He also examined midwest attitudes toward

government intervention in the economy and "internationalism." The

conclusion, again, was that the midwest actually did not differ from

the rest of the country on these points. Key concluded, "Save for the

special position of the South on the Negro question, the salient char-

acteristic of regional distributions of opinion...is their similarity."[24]

Thus, the fact that right wing students are more apt to have parents

and grandparents from Oklahoma and bordering states cannot be fully

explained by a generally more conservative attitude in these areas.

A second possible explanation lies in the theoretical framework

of Daniel Bell involving the dispossessed. Bell pointed out that "the

social group most threatened by the structural changes in society is

the 'old' middle class...and regionally its greatest political concen-

tration is in the South and the Southwest, and in California."[25] The

old middle class to which he referred includes, primarily, self-employed

persons. Thus, the occupational differences mentioned earlier com-

bined with the regional heritage may be a strong influencing factor.

The fundamentalist religious strain apparent in the right wing also

is strongest in the south, southwest and midwest. Bell's theories of

the dispossessed also include the idea that the "old" families of an

area may feel they are losing status and prestige to outsiders. The

"old" families in the Oklahoma area possibly have rather nostalgic

feelings toward the pioneer spirit, the self-made man and rugged

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[23]V. O. Key, _Public Opinion and American Democracy_, (New York, 1967), p. 103.

[24]Ibid., p. 107.

[25]Bell, p. 24.

individualism. These values are being threatened by other values aris-
ing from an urban-dominated society. The right wing students possibly
absorbed many of these values from their parents. The students' poli-
tical activity may be designed to protect these values. It was pointed
out earlier that the students' political orientations were relatively
consistent with their parents' orientations. And, the right wing was
more apt to be consistent than the left. There may be a continuity of
political attitudes involved in this; a continuity of attitudes which
may have originated with the grandparents. For three generations these
people have been building political attitudes and opinions in a rather
isolated and homogenous area--Oklahoma and the southwest. It is not
surprising, then, to find that the right wing attitudes are related to
a regional heritage.

Another possible explanation for the strong relationship between
regional heritage and political orientation may be simply lack of ex-
posure to and experience with the new trends in American society. Per-
sons who were born in Oklahoma and whose parents and grandparents were
born in the same general area probably have had little if any experience
with urban concentrations, with immigrants, or with people who have
vastly different backgrounds and ideas. Persons born on the east or
west coast were more apt to have had experiences with persons who are
quite different from themselves and were exposed at a younger age to
people who were different. Perhaps students on the right generally
lack these experiences and tend to react against changes and values
which are produced primarily in these other geographical regions.

Although most of this discussion has concentrated on the right
wing, many of the same reasons could be used to explain why left wing

students were more apt to have parents and grandparents from areas other than Oklahoma. These students may have learned a more tolerant attitude toward urbanism and toward ideas and values arising from other parts of the United States. Also, sixteen of the left wing students have, themselves, lived in states other than Oklahoma and surrounding states. Only three have not. Eight of the right wing students, however, have never lived anywhere except Oklahoma.

The discussion of why regionalism correlates so highly with left and right wing attitudes could be extended almost indefinitely as there are, undoubtedly, many other potential explanations. But to avoid too much speculation, for which there is no real evidence, the conclusions will be limited to the following:

1. There is a close relationship between regional heritage and political orientation, in the direction expected.

2. The difference is not the result of the left wing being "out-of-state" students.

3. The difference is probably not the result of a measurably more conservative outlook in the southwest than in other areas, but more likely is related to the continuity of opinion and attitudes passed from one generation to the next.

4. The difference may be due, in part, to the declining status of the "old" families of the southwest.

5. The broader range of experiences by the left wing students and their corresponding ability to accept ideas emerging from other areas of the United States may have been important. The right wing's regional heritage may result in hostility to trends and ideas from these other geographical areas.

6. The religious and occupational differences between the two
groups, combined with the regional variation, exert a rather strong
influence on the development of left and right wing orientation.

Alienation

The last hypothesis to be tested stated that the left wing tends
toward alienation and the right does not. The measure of alienation
used here is based on Gwynn Nettler's alienation scale which was admin-
istered to all of the students in the study. Table XVIX shows the
results. A student was considered alienated if he made more alienated
responses than non-alienated responses.

TABLE XVIX

DEGREE OF ALIENATION OF LEFT AND RIGHT WING STUDENTS

Group	Alienated	Non-Alienated
Right	1	14
Left	13	6

Chi square analysis reveals that the differences are significant
beyond the .01 level. The hypothesis that the left wing students in
this study were more alienated than the right can be accepted.

The significance of this finding needs to be understood in rela-
tion to the type of alienation that was measured. Nettler's scale
measured alienation from the common cultural values of society--

alienation from such things as <u>Reader's Digest</u>, television, new model cars, marriage, religion, politicians and so on. From the nature of the questions one could easily predict that the left would be more alienated than the right.

The difference, however, is interesting in several ways. First, it shows that the right wing students find the common cultural values of American society more consistent with their thinking than does the left. Even though the right strongly criticizes television, political leaders and so on, it generally does not reject these or other aspects of American society today. The left, however, has rejected these things. This is indicative of the fact that the left is attempting to change many of the predominate values of the society, as was reflected in its rejection of fundamentalist religious doctrines. The right seems to be attempting to preserve the older values and traditions of society, as reflected in its acceptance of fundamentalist religious values and its somewhat ethnocentric attitude toward the values and ethics of Oklahoma and the southwest. The latter observation is based on the finding that the right wing student is apt to be a third generation Oklahoman.

The political doctrines of both left and right are, again, relatively consistent with their acceptance or rejection of common cultural values. The right is more apt to believe in absolutes and in the value of tradition. The left is more relativistic and better able to accept changes.

It is impossible to know whether the left wing students first became alienated and later developed their political ideas or whether the two developed about the same time. Nevertheless, the relationship

between alienation and left wing political orientation is evident.

It is difficult to compare this finding with the results of other research projects for several reasons. One is that when a different alienation scale is used, the results are not comparable, for the scale may be measuring a different aspect of alienation. Also, there has been very little research applying this alienation scale to left and right wing persons. The studies which have been conducted, and most of them were not empirically based, related alienation to both left and right wing political behavior.[26] But the particular type of alienation measured in this study, alienation from the common cultural values of society, correlated only with the left wing group.

Although this study has not clearly isolated all sources of left and right wing political orientation, it seems safe to conclude that family political orientation, religious affiliation and regional heritage were important contributing factors to the development of left and right wing attitudes. It also appears that socio-economic factors were not strong influences on the students, with the possible exception of the father's occupation. The father's occupation, the religious affiliation, family political orientation and regional heritage apparently interrelate with one another. The result is that the right wing student is mainly the product of a middle class, conservative, business

[26]The studies which concluded that the right wing is alienated were Herbert McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," American Political Science Review, Vol. 52, (March, 1958), pp. 27-45, and Gilbert Abcarian and Sherman Stanage, "Alienation and the Radical Right," Journal of Politics, Vol. 27, (November, 1965), pp. 776-796. J. L. Simmons in "Liberalism, Alienation and Personal Disturbance," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, No. 4, (1964), pp. 456-465, concluded that the more liberal a person was, the more alienated he became. Simmons also used Nettler's alienation scale while the others did not.

oriented, protestant family that has lived in Oklahoma or bordering states for three generations. The left wing student is more apt to come from a middle class, liberal, professional oriented family that had lived in some other part of the United States.

It is apparent that the source of left and right wing orientation of these students probably was not the result of their social class nor of anxieties connected with economic considerations. It appears that the strongest motivations for adoption of the left and right wing positions were the attitudes and values the students learned from their parents which were reinforced by their regional heritage.

A CONCLUDING NOTE

It seems appropriate to conclude by discussing the implications of the study and its findings for further research and for the development of theory in political science.

The author attempted to use part of the large body of theory related to ideological movements, the part dealing with political socialization, for the purpose of explaining the political behavior of 19 left and 15 right wing students who comprised the universe of this study. It was hoped that utilization of political socialization theories might add clarity and sophistication to a study concerning extremist ideological groups. An attempt was made also to fit the theories of political socialization into the even larger area of systems theory in political science. This resulted in a brief and necessarily incomplete consideration of the function of groups such as those studied here, Young Americans for Freedom and Students for a Democratic Society, in the political system. The findings of the study supported the hypothesis that members of these groups perform the function of critic and thereby contribute to political stability and responsiveness. The students proved to be articulate and critical, as the discussion of their ideologies in Chapter II illustrates, but how effective the groups were in presenting their demands to political leaders was not considered. The analysis in Chapter II showed that the students were active participants, but again the author did not analyze the impact of their participation on any political institution. This has left room for some

valuable research that could be done concerning the function and impact

of these groups, such as the methods they use to present their demands,

the other groups or agencies which mediate their demands and how poli-

tical leaders respond to these demands.

The stages in the political socialization process were also

analyzed, but the findings were very inconclusive. The finding that

ideological development began at about 18 or 19 years of age and was

preceded by a general interest in politics seems to indicate that the

ideology was a response to the home and family, but the lack of com-

parable data tends to obscure the significance of the finding. Did

these left and right wing students develop an interest in politics

earlier or later than students without well-developed ideologies? Do

most ideologically-conscious adults develop their beliefs at 18, or do

they usually develop them later? The author would suggest that studies

of the stages of attitudinal development begin with children and follow

them until they become adults instead of relying on the recollection of

the persons studied.

If one single, major generalization could be extracted from this

study, it is that the left and right wing ideologies of the students

were formed primarily in response to the family political orientation

and the regional heritage, rather than in response to economic or

social deprivation or affluence. The directional consistency between

student and parental beliefs has been pointed out by several other

researchers[1] and this seems to be the case in this study. Also, since

most members of both respondent groups came from middle or upper middle

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[1]See studies by Westby, Middleton, Lyonns and Solomon.

class homes, this seems to contradict the economic and social-class
based theories of left and right wing behavior. This study is in sharp
contrast to Westby's study which indicated that the right wing students
came from lower middle class income families and the left from higher
income groups.[2] It also contrasts with Crespi's study of supporters
of Barry Goldwater which confirmed Westby's findings,[3] and has failed to
substantiate Seymour Lipset's conclusions that conservative students
were more apt to come from high income families and that supporters of
the John Birch Society were predominately in upper income brackets.[4]
Thus, Westby's conclusions differ from those of Lipset and this study
differs from both.

Several factors might account for these differences. First, both
this study and Westby's involved a very small sample of 34 and 45 sub-
jects respectively. Also, Westby's study was confined to an eastern
university, this study to a midwestern university and Lipset's studies
to California. Only Crespi's data was compiled from a nation-wide
survey and he found that the income level of Goldwater supporters dif-
fered from region to region and that Goldwater supporters on the west
coast were more apt to come from high income groups. The regional
characteristics seem to interact with income level so that no consis-
tency could be expected, nation-wide, between income level and left or
right wing political behavior. This points again to the interaction of

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[2]Westby, p. 691.

[3]Crespi, p. 530.

[4]Lipset, The Radical Right, p. 431 and The Berkeley Student
Revolt, p. 482.

these varied factors in motivating persons politically.

Another important factor is that none of the studies distinguished between leaders and followers (or activists and apathetics). The high income level of both groups in the present study might have proved to be lower if less active persons with the same ideologies were included because studies of participation have frequently shown that the higher income groups tend to be more active.[5] Regardless of possible explanations, the lack of difference shown by this study in family income between the left and right wing groups is highly interesting since it runs contrary to the findings of similar studies conducted by others.

The implications of this apparent primacy of family influence and the apparent absence of economic or social stresses must be treated with caution until they are confirmed by other studies, possibly made with a larger universe, and should be considered at this time as inconclusive findings. Nevertheless, the author thinks that a few tentative suggestions can be made:

1. If economic factors do not influence left or right wing political behavior, then a society might expect a certain level of left and right wing activity regardless of economic conditions.

2. It is possible that only the leaders of left and right wing groups are predominately from middle class homes. If this is true, then economic stresses mediate to produce more followers for both left and right wing groups.

A generalization well worth consideration and research would be that the leaders of ideological mass movements are always present in a

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[5]Milbrath, Political Participation, passim.

society, regardless of economic or social conditions, but large-scale movements will only begin once sparked by economic strains. Such a generalization can be supported if a study of the economic and social class background of followers proves that their background differs considerably from that of the leaders.

The other findings of this study regarding sources of left and right wing activity were interesting but probably not as potentially significant as the one already discussed. The study indicated that right wing students were fundamentalist protestants, as were their parents, that they came from a business-oriented home, and were not alienated from society. The left wing student had rejected his protestant, fundamentalist religious upbringing, came from a professional home and was highly alienated from his society.

This study may not have produced absolute answers to all the questions posed, but it is felt that some of the generalizations produced interesting findings and as such are worthy of further testing. In particular there seems to be a need for further research on similar groups in order to fill in some of the gaps which presently exist in political theory. These gaps are most apparent in the area of actual functions of such groups in society and the importance of economic factors in mass ideological movements. It should also be pointed out that most research studies such as this one attempt to find motivational factors common to all left or right wing individuals. Research may never uncover any one societal factor common to all members of left and/or right wing groups. This is why the interaction of these factors and the various combinations which they take should be considered more carefully.

It was briefly suggested in Chapter III of this paper that there might be some personality variables which are highly important in determining how the individual reacts to the societal stimuli he encounters. One might discover that the right wing individual actually does respond more to "objective" stimuli and the left to more "subjective" stimuli,[6] or perhaps there is a personality variable, or combination of variables, which are more basic than this. In any case, psychology should not be ignored in attempting to understand the nature of ideological motivation.

There are undoubtedly other research gaps which need to be filled in this area of study, but the author thinks that the directions suggested by this study and the conclusions arrived at have both been worthwhile and inducive to further profitable study.

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[6]Chapter III, pp. 45-46.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Part I. First, I'm going to read you some statements that various persons have made about politics in the United States. I'd like for you to express your general feeling about the question--that you agree or disagree with it. Feel free to comment on the question if that is necessary to clarify your answer.

1. It has been said by some that American schools and churches have been infiltrated by Communists, Communist sympathizers or others who teach the Communist philosophy. Do you agree?

2. Do you think this infiltration is extensive or not very extensive?

3. Would you agree with this statement: Private ownership of property is necessary if a nation is to be strong internally.

4. Do you think private property is essential to freedom in a country?

5. Should businesses be required by the federal government to give Negroes equal employment opportunities?

6. Would you favor a more truly democratic system of government than that which exists today, with regard to more individual participation in decision-making?

7. It has been said that the United Nations is serving the interests of Communist nations rather than U.S. interests. Do you agree, disagree, or do you think that which interests are served is irrelevent?

    8. (If "agree" on no. 7): Do you think the U.S. should withdraw?

9. Do you think that today's Supreme Court has forsaken or ignored some of the basic principles of the U.S. Constitution?

    10. (If "yes" on no. 9) If so, did you have any particular principles in mind? Which one?

    11. (If "yes" on no. 9) Do you think Earl Warren should be impeached?

12. Here is a quote: "The great American dream of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness has been turned into a nightmare of death, destruction and the pursuit of the dollar." Do you agree?

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13. Do you think Congress should try to reduce the power and influence of labor unions?

14. About Vietnam, if you had to choose, would you prefer escalation or de-escalation of the war?

15. One of the primary reasons for wide-spread poverty in the U.S. today is due to the basic injustice of the American economic system. Would you agree with this?

16. If you were a Congressman, would you try to end all the welfare programs of today, and, eventually, the welfare state itself?

17. Here is another quote: "Continued inflation is one of the factors which may eventually result in the setting up of a totalitarian, socialist system." Do you agree?

18. If so, do you think this is a plan on the part of some people, or is it just short-sightedness and ignorance?

19. Some have said that most of the really important political decisions in the U.S. are actually made by a coalition of military and industrial elites. Do you agree?

20. If not, do you think there is some other "behind the scenes" group that does make most of the important decisions? Who do you think this might be?

21. Do you think that hotels, restaurants and other places of "public accommodations" should be allowed to exclude Negroes if they want to?

22. Do you think that the government ought to concern itself with providing decent housing for those persons who do not have a decent place to live?

23. Here is another quote: "The American society has been molded by materialism and corporate interests until today it is a dehumanized and oppressive system." Do you agree?

24. Should the federal government sell all the companies and industries which it owns that compete with private business?

25. Do you think the graduated income tax is a good thing, or should it be done away with?

26. Do you think that the workers or employees in a firm should participate equally with the owners in making economic decisions which affect the workers?

27. The government ought to interfere less with business. Do you agree?

28. Do you agree with this statement: "One of the goals of a good society should be for the government to provide all its citizens with adequate medical care."

29. Suppose that you, alone, had the ability to decide who would be allowed to use a building for public speeches to large groups of people. Which of the following would you allow to speak?

      29. A member of the Communist Party?
      30. An atheist?
      31. A member of the John Birch Society?

32. Which of these do you think ought to be allowed to teach history in a state university?

      32. A Communist party member?
      33. An Atheist?
      34. A Birch Society member?

35. Do you think there should be more economic equality in the U.S.?

36. Do you think there should be more social equality?

37. Do you think there should be more political equality; regarding the ability to influence decisions?

38. It has been said that "This is a republic, not a democracy, lets keep it that way." What do you think of this?

(Alternate question): What does "participatory democracy" mean to you?

39. What do you think are some of the most dangerous things in the U.S. today--dangerous influences, beliefs, trends, and so on?

Part II. Here are some background questions.

40. What political party do you belong to, or expect to join, if any?

41. What other political groups do you belong to?

42. Who did you support for president in 1964--if anyone?

43. Who would you most like to see elected president in 1968--if you actually had a choice of your favorite candidate and disregarding political realities for the moment?

44. Do you consider yourself as: very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, very liberal--or what?

45. (If respondent answered conservative or very conservative) Would you consider joining the John Birch Society?

46. (If respondent answered liberal or very liberal on no. 44) Would you consider joining the American Communist Party? The ADA? Others?

47. Do you expect to continue your political activities after college?

48. Are your parents both living?

49. Are they separated, divorced or living together?

50. Do you discuss politics with your parents when you are home?

51. I'd like answers to the following questions for both your father and your mother:
    51, 52. Political party choice.
    53, 54. Who did they support in the 1964 presidential election?
    55, 56. Are they conservative, liberal, disinterested, or what?
    57, 58. What are their occupations?

59. Where is your home?

60. Do your parents still live there?

61. Where have you lived most of your life?

62. How many states, other than Oklahoma, have you lived in? Which?

63. Have you ever travelled abroad?

64. Have you been in the military?

65. Have you attended a college or university other than OSU?

66. Have you ever held a full or part time job?

67. Where was your father born?

68. Where was your mother born?

69. Where did your grandparents come from, originally?

70. Do you know what your grandfather's occupations were? What?

71. What church do your parents prefer?

72. What is your church preference?

73. How many times have you attended church in the past month?

74. On the average, how many times per month would you say you attended church as a child?

75. What is your major field of study?

76. What is your age?

77. What year of school are you in?

78. How much education does your father have?

79. About how much education does your mother have?

80. What is your best estimate of the total family income last year of your parents, before taxes?

Part III. Please respond to the following statements or questions by "yes" or "no." /From Gwynn Nettler's alienation scale/.

81. Do you enjoy television?
82. Do you read Readers Digest?
83. Were you interested in the last presidential election?
84. Do you think that in most families the children are generally a nuisance to their parents?
85. Do you like to participate in church activities?
86. Do college spectator sports interest you?
87. Do you think that most married people lead trapped, frustrated lives?
88. Do you think you could just as easily live in another society-- past or future?
89. Would you agree that most politicians are not really interested in the public welfare, but are primarily interested in themselves?
90. Would you say that religion is mostly myth, rather than mostly truth?
91. Life, as most men live it, is meaningless. Do you agree?
92. For yourself, do you think that a married life would be more meaningful than a single life?

Please respond to the following statements according to the following scale: A - strongly agree; B - agree; C - don't know; D - disagree; E - strongly disagree. /From Milton Rokeach's dogmatism scale/.

93. In this complicated world of ours the only way to know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
94. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.
95. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
96. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.
97. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
98. Most of the ideas which get printed today aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

99. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.

100. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.

101. Most people just don't give a damn for others.

102. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

103. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.

104. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.

VITA

Anne Larason Schneider

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF SELECTED LEFT AND RIGHT
WING STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY

Major Field: Political Science

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Fargo, Oklahoma, February 26, 1941, the
daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Larason.

Education: Graduated from Fargo High School, Fargo, Oklahoma in
May, 1959; attended Oklahoma State University from 1959 to
1963 receiving the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1963 with a
major in political science; completed requirements for the
Master of Arts degree in July, 1968, with a major in
political science.

Professional Experience: Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department
of Political Science, 1966-1967; Part-Time Instructor,
Department of Political Science, 1967-1968.

Professional Organizations: Member of Pi Sigma Alpha and Phi
Kappa Phi.