

AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT OF THE POLITICAL
EDUCATION CURRICULUM AND POLITICAL
KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY ON THE POLITICAL
SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS:
A CASE STUDY OF BAHAMIAN STUDENTS IN MONTREAL

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ABSTRACT

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT OF THE POLITICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY ON THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY OF BAHAMIAN STUDENTS IN MONTREAL

The relationship of political education curriculum (PEC) and political knowledge/literacy to political socialization has been examined. PEC exposure level was measured by the number of relevant courses taken at high school and university by the students in our sample.

Level of political knowledge/literacy was determined by three tests:

1. Langton's factual test of politics
2. Langton's political sophistication test
3. The York Social Studies project test

Political socialization was defined and measured by seven variables: political interest; spectator politicization; civic tolerance; political discourse; political cynicism; political efficacy and participative orientation. The major findings indicated (statistical significance not obtained in all cases) that PEC affects the political socialization of individuals; that increased exposure to PEC is related to increases in the level of political knowledge/literacy, and that different kinds of political knowledge affects differently the outcomes of political socialization.

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Chapter I

I. INTRODUCTION

The conviction that any democratic society must consider the political development of prospective citizens is one that has long historical sanction. To take such a view however, poses a problem of justification: what reasons have we to think or assume that a democratic society must be concerned with the political development of individuals? Undoubtedly, those who think in this way see the perpetuation of a democracy as desirable and in their account of it a democracy can survive only in so far as there exists a population which understands how it works and is, therefore, able to operate its institutions. In other words, unless the population of a democracy is familiar with and in possession of system appropriate attitudes and orientations, then the persistence of the democracy would be in danger. Thus, White has argued:

The policy which must be in the public interest in any human democracy is the ensuring of the provision of a political education. This is necessary because for a democracy to survive the citizen must know how to operate the democratic institutions (White 1971, p. 197).

Entwistle (1971), who prefers to discuss the development of political attitudes by reference to the more traditional concept of political education than by reference to the concept of political socialization, is most persuasive in his attitude towards the manner and matter of

political education in a democracy.

In his view, political education in a democracy ought to be concerned with preparing societal members for citizenship in the political sense. Political citizenship is taken to refer to the disposition to become deliberately involved in the political process with the specific intent to affect the governmental policy. In his account of it, the political culture of western democracies demands that citizens play an active part in the political system. Consequently, unless citizens are willing to involve themselves in the system through continuous participation, the quality of political culture is impoverished.

As well as emphasizing the function of political education in a democracy, Entwistle stresses the need for the deliberate teaching of political orientations. It is his contention that the "personal development which is in accordance with democratic norms may depend upon the curriculum containing an explicitly political element." (Entwistle 1971, p. 6).

However, even if we accept that the political behavior of a democratic citizen is a consequence of contrived efforts characterized by teaching, the question remains: is it necessary for such teaching to take place in a formal educational milieu? Arguably, political orientations may be taught in the home or other social organizations.

Entwistle, however, is explicit about what he considers to be the best context for political learning to take place: he emphasizes the necessity for the school curriculum to contain a political element. Whilst this claim does not rule out the possibility of political orientations being developed haphazardly and in an incidental manner outside a formal educational situation, it certainly prefers the role of formal educational agencies over that of other agencies as a desirable instrument in the political socialization process.

This study examines the question of political socialization and democracy for the newly independent Bahamas; the new government whose modern political history formally began three years ago with the transfer of power from British to local authorities (1973) has accepted the British administrative heritage reflected in its parliamentary democratic institutions and procedures. Therefore, political education for democracy is an important concern for the new government in the Bahamas. In order to make recommendations for curricular offerings aimed at socialization of the new generation for democracy, this study will examine the more basic question of the relation between political education, political literacy and political socialization.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Certain researchers have argued that the school is by far the most influential agency involved in the political socialization of individuals (Almond and Verba 1963;

Hess and Torney 1967; Entwistle 1971). Entwistle, for instance, has argued that only by deliberately teaching individuals political ideas and events do they develop an educated disposition towards citizenship in the political sense. In other words, the development of political attitudes and behavior patterns in individuals depends upon the curriculum containing a component of political education. Political education is taken to refer to any course studied in school which may have political content. It could therefore include History, Current Events, Economics, Social Studies, Geography, Citizenship Education, Civics, Environmental Studies and similar subject matters. The function of such courses is to initiate individuals into "the skills and concepts required for active participation in political affairs of citizenship." (Entwistle 1971, p. 1).

Thus, the politically socialized person will be one who has taken politically relevant courses with the result that he comes to display the qualities of active political citizenship, when active political citizenship is taken to mean the disposition to be politically active by becoming deliberately involved in the political system intending to influence the workings of the several governmental institutions (Entwistle 1971).

Consequently, to gain insight into the role of political education in socializing individuals to politics, this study will examine the effects of the political education

curriculum (PEC) upon the development of political attitudes and behaviors in a group of Bahamian youth studying in Montreal.

III. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of literature does not pretend to give a comprehensive picture of the available research on political education and socialization. It is rather a random selection of studies trying to cover the conceptual and methodological developments in recent years in the area of socialization and learning, with particular emphasis on political socialization as a result of the political content of the school curriculum. Some theoretical and methodological schemes being proposed for the study of the political socialization process will also be reviewed trying to illustrate the classes of variables that have been studied and described as affecting the process of political education and socialization. Although particular attention will be given to the literature dealing with political socialization for democracy, it is our belief that we should first of all understand the relationship of teaching-learning to political behavior in general. Only then, shall we attempt to study the particular case of political socialization for democracy. Therefore, in this study, the discussion of political socialization for democracy is confined to the theoretical-conceptual level. A relevant section will be

included in the literature review and in the conclusion section of this study, as well as in the section proposing recommendations for further study.

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Recently, researchers have begun to explain the acquisition of political orientations as a consequence of socialization. However, we still know very little about how people acquire their political orientations and consequently, contemporary research in political socialization is strongly influenced by the efforts of those social scientists who are trying to explain how social-cultural orientations are acquired in general. We shall, therefore, present briefly the three major approaches often referred to in studying socialization processes: learning, personality and role (Miller and Dollard 1941; Elkin 1960; Hilgard 1960; Sewell 1963; Hess and Torney 1967).

LEARNING

Some researchers attempt to explain political behavior as a consequence of learning. The two major concepts being used in this connection are "imitation" and "identification".

Those who use the imitation concept maintain that a child learns very early in life that it is in his better interest to follow in the paths cut out for him by the adults

with whom he constantly interacts. This is most often achieved by a reward and punishment system applied to the imitation attempts of the child. Thus, researchers attempt to sustain the argument that the child reflects the partisan preferences of the parents, by reference to this concept of learning by imitation (Miller and Dollard 1941; Langton 1969).

The concept of identification is used in describing the process in which the individual tries to be like another person, whose attitudes he consequently internalizes and whose behavior he imitates. Political behavior has also been explained as a consequence of learning by identification. Those who explore the process of socialization by identification note that it is customary for the child to identify with any individual he deems to be important. As the first models for identification are often found in the family, students of political socialization have sought to explain partisan preferences of children and youth by reference to the partisan preference of parents (Kagan 1958; Hess and Torney 1967; Langton 1969; Andrian 1971; Cleary 1971). Some researchers have also looked at significant adults with whom adolescent culture members identify. In this perspective some of the adults whom adolescents try to identify with are met in the school. This has been the central concern of several theoretical and empirical studies but the results are not strong enough to support nor to re-

ject this possibility (Ullman 1960; Wilson 1966).

PERSONALITY

Another group of researchers have attempted to explain political behavior in relation to the political socialization process by concentrating on the role played by personality in this process (Wolfenstein 1965; Greenstein 1967). Certain of these scholars have tried to examine the relationship between social institutions and attitudes (Riesman 1950; Lane 1959; Hess and Easton 1960; Levine 1961; Greenstein 1969), while others have attempted to understand the relationship between attitudes and behavior (Lasswell 1954; Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1959; Lane 1959; Milbraith 1969).

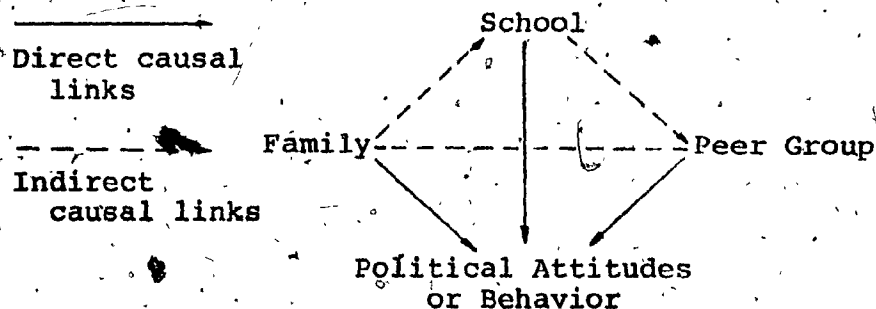
Perhaps one of the more persuasive advocates of the movement to include personality disposition in the socialization research is Lewis Froman (1961). He suggests that the most useful model will include personality dispositions as intervening variables in the study of socialization. If it is found, for example, that feelings of personal political efficacy are related to political behavior, we must also find out how these attitudes are formed and examine the socialization agencies involved in the process. Froman agrees that attitudinal or personality dispositions may be useful in situations where the structural and environmental variables are constant but behavior is different or when the

environmental and structural variables are different but behavior stays constant. In actual studies, however, the correlation between personality dispositions and behavior have been reported to be very weak (Katz and Benjamin 1960; Browning and Jacob 1964).

ROLE

The concept of role is used by several role theorists as the bridge between individual and society. A specific set of expectations, or a role, is associated with every position in a group. During the socialization process an individual learns to internalize the appropriate attitudes and behavior pattern associated with a particular role and agreed upon by society. Langton (1969) proposes a linkage model to describe the relations between the behavior of an individual and the expectations of a group where he indicates direct causal links between school, family and peer group taken independently to political attitudes or behavior of an individual.

FIG. 1:- POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION MODEL: VARIOUS CAUSAL LINKAGES AS PROPOSED BY LANGTON (1969, p. 20).



AGENCIES OF SOCIALIZATION

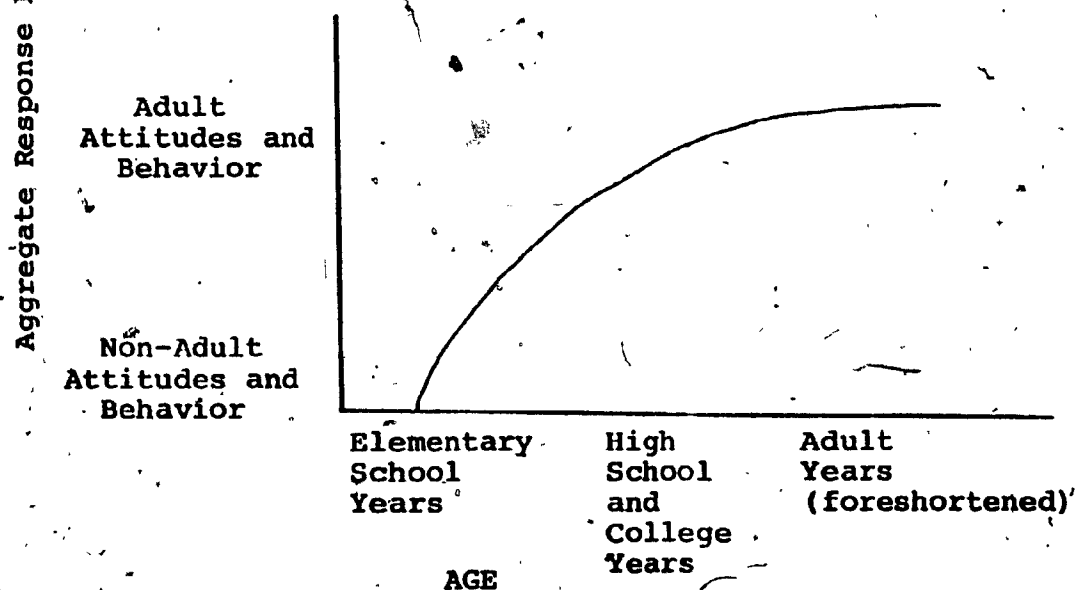
Contemporary students of political socialization have variously agreed that most of society's institutions can and do act as agencies of socialization (Almond and Verba 1963; Langton 1966, 1968; Massialas 1969; Cleary 1971; Jaros 1973). Perhaps this contemporary trend to study political behavior as an effect of the several social institutions follows as much as anything from dissatisfaction with the manner in which it had been studied in the past. Students of socialization had focused almost exclusively on the family (especially in terms of its structure), in their quest to explain political attitudes and behavior. Thus, the German's willingness to accept an authoritarian relationship between himself and his political leaders had been explained by reference to the authority patterns in the family (Schaffner 1948). A similar emphasis on the effect of family authority patterns was expressed by Levine in his study of a West African country (Levine 1963). However, it is a major contention of the new generation of researchers as Langton (1969) and Jaros (1973) that, the approach which located the family at the center of the socialization process is unsatisfactory in providing a comprehensive and realistic account of how the individual does learn political attitudes and behaviors. The political system is more, they aver, than the family writ large and an individual's behavior in it and attitudes towards it are no doubt mediated in part

through the family. Hence it becomes important in the study of political socialization, to consider such secondary agencies as the school and peer group, which may affect the political socialization of children and youth. It may also be that each agency assumes the place of prominence at a particular stage in the socialization process.

PATTERNS OF POLITICAL LEARNING

Until recently the literature on political socialization described this process along a developmental model which posited rapid and deep-rooted socialization in the elementary school years and then leveled off with relatively little change over the rest of the life-cycle (Greenstein 1965; Easton and Dennis 1965; 1967; Hess and Torney 1967).

FIG. 2:- ASSUMED PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR
(Jennings and Niemi 1968, p. 446)



In the area of theoretical writings on socialization a new trend is gradually gaining popularity stressing the need for socialization after childhood:

Even though some of the expectations of society are relatively stable through the life-cycle, many others change from one age to the next. We know that society demands that the individual meet these changed expectations and demands that he alter his personality and behavior to make room in his life for newly significant persons such as his family members, his teachers, his employers, and his colleagues at work (Brim, 1966, p. 18)

Several researchers in the field of political socialization have started asking whether this trend fits the case of political socialization. The most outspoken are Jennings and Niemi (1968). They start with the acceptance of the developmental model as a basis for their studies, however, they stress a fact that a host of studies have documented: education is strongly related both directly and indirectly to a variety of political orientations (emphasis mine). They, therefore, try to support the hypothesis that a variety of developmental patterns exist which apply to different political attitudes and behavior patterns.

As an example, the studies by Jennings and Niemi based on the U of Michigan Survey Research Center's data (1965) show that the developmental pattern for political interest is unclear. The Chicago studies (Hess and Torney) found that political interest in primary school was mainly related to the figure of the President, but they did not

find any major change in the level of political interest during the high school years (Hess and Torney 1968, pp. 68 - 70).

The data of Jennings and Niemi suggest that political interest actually rises during the high school years. Furthermore, their data show that post high school changes in political interest are greatest near the beginning and end of the adult life span (Jennings and Niemi 1968, pp. 448 - 449). Some of the relative increase in interest among young adults is attributed to their entrance into the electorate. We can, therefore, expect to find a rise in expressed political interest among our sample of Bahamian students over the period of their university years.

Looking at a second variable, mass media usage, Jennings and Niemi also found an increased interest over high school and also in early adult life. Again, they agree that in some respects development is virtually completed by the beginning of high school. However, their detailed studies of media usage by elementary and high school students support the view that the latter are more attuned to public affairs and politics than young children both in form and content of media usage (Jennings and Niemi 1968, p. 450). Also, at least one activity, regular usage of the mass media for political news, rises substantially after high school according to their evidence.

The disagreement with a one and overall develop-

mental model receives even greater support in reference to party identification, knowledge of political party differences, the image of a good citizen and political trust and cynicism,

Part of the changes occurring during the high school years and early adult life are explained by Jennings and Niemi in reference to the nature of the political education curriculum. They feel that the elementary curriculum - in particular with its heavy illustrations based on such political symbols as presidents - is aimed at political system support. Therefore, those types of attitudes will follow more closely the generally accepted developmental curve pattern, while for other attitudes and variables different models should be used.

The main argument therefore is that the political learning curve assumes a variety of shapes depending upon the particular dimension being considered. In our study of Bahamian students, we expect to find data supporting the Jennings and Niemi position. The Bahamian students in our sample were high school students during an era of transition and, therefore, the elementary and high school curriculum may not be found as effective as expected in achieving a crystalized developmental curve on most variables along which political socialization is measured.

PROPOSED FRAMEWORKS FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

While most researchers concerned with political

learning acknowledge the utility of the concept "political socialization" in understanding political behavior, it has to be recognized that a generally accepted theory of political socialization is yet to be formulated. However, some of the more prolific students of political socialization have proposed frameworks within which they examine this process. These frameworks may be clarified as macro level and micro level approaches.

MACRO LEVEL FRAMEWORKS

Perhaps the most clearly articulated framework would be that of David Easton (1957). His political theory of political socialization is conceived as an "attempt to demonstrate the relevance of socializing phenomena for the operations of political systems." (Easton 1957, p. 384)

This framework, unlike many others, is not a plea for the promotion of socialization for system-maintenance. It rather makes it possible for the political system to persist. Entwistle (1971), among other scholars, has recently been critical of system maintenance theories of socialization which explain socialization as being essentially concerned with ensuring system stability. Those who argue against this approach feel that sometimes stable systems are unjust and, therefore, in need of change and socialization which aims at system stability could essentially not accommodate such attitudes. Easton himself shares these

same reservations about system maintenance theories. He and Dennis are emphatic about divorcing themselves "from the prevailing assumptions about socialization that see it as contributing to the maintenance of the existing patterns." (Easton and Dennis 1969, p. 24)

This belief that socialization aimed at system stability will not be a conceptual tool appropriate for political analysis was perhaps the conclusion drawn from the occurrences of the late sixties. The widespread expression of social discontent at that time seemed to be evidencing the existence of an unstable political system. Hence, in Eastonian theory, far from being an essential mechanism for system maintenance, socialization is espoused for its role in system persistence. It is at the same time recognized that a system may persist in a prolonged condition of instability, and radical change within the system may be a necessary condition for persistence.

At this point, it becomes necessary to explore the notion that political socialization is relevant to system persistence. We need to determine, how far in Eastonian theory political socialization helps a political system to prevail by guaranteeing that its members would be able to make decisions accepted as binding by most of the people most of the time. The contention that we should consider political socialization as being of relevance to the persistence of the political system involves the recognition that

individuals are socialized into exercising self-restraint in converting social wants into political demands.

Another situation with which Easton and Dennis concern themselves, is a situation occasioned by inputs of support, as when members withhold their support from one or other of the political objects: political community, political regime, political authorities. Unless these three variables exist and are supported it is contended that no political system can persist at length. Thus through political socialization, it is held that members must learn to extend a minimal level of diffuse support for the several political objects, if the political system is to be saved from collapse. This diffuse support is defined as "generalized trust and confidence that members invest in the various objects of the system as ends in themselves." (Easton and Dennis 1971, p. 63)

Whatever the merits that may be attributed to the model of Easton and Dennis, the attempts of the other students to conceptualize political socialization must be recognized. In his attempt to compare socialization in developing countries with the process in developed countries, Almond produced a model which in his account of it could be used cross-nationally. So far as he is concerned, political socialization is but one of the input functions which any political system must perform if it is to survive because without socialization the cultures and structures of the

political system would not be perpetuated through time. Since this is the aim of all political systems-perpetuation through time-socialization becomes a necessary function. Thus he defined political socialization as, "the induction into political culture which results in a set of attitudes-cognitions, values, standards and feelings- about the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents" (Almond and Coleman 1960, p. 27 - 28).

David Mitchell (1962) also follows the macro-level analysis approach to the study of political socialization. He deals at length with the agents of socialization. He attempts to categorize what is learned through socialization-political motivation, political values, political norms and political information.

He contends that, political socialization affects the inputs into the system whilst simultaneously tempering the processes by which inputs are converted into policies. This is essentially a functional approach, in as much as he argues that one of the four functions any system must perform is the "integration of the political system" through the informal and formal processes of socialization.

MICRO LEVEL APPROACHES

Other researchers have adopted the "micro-level" or individual approach to the study of political socialization. They focus explicitly on the political socialization

process of individuals. Fred Greenstein, for example, attempts to synthesize the basic elements of the several other formulations and asks pedagogical questions. This model is essentially a restatement of Lasswell's statement of the general process of communication, namely, (1) who (2) learns what (3) from whom (4) under what circumstances (5) with what effects. (Greenstein 1965)

More and more it is felt that a proper study of political socialization must draw on both conceptual approaches. This was basically the approach utilized by Langton (1969) and will characterize the approach of this study. (See also Greenberg 1970.)

LANGTON'S FRAMEWORK

Langton's book Political Socialization (1969) is based on information drawn mainly from two national samples of high school students. The first is a sample of Jamaican students in government-aided secondary schools, collected in Spring 1964. The second source used by Langton in his study is the National Sample of American High School Seniors conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan in Spring 1965.

Langton uses both the "micro" and "macro" level approaches to the study of socialization based on the linkage model already discussed (p. 11). His study is reported in seven parts.

The first chapter presents a background research into the socialization literature and establishes the linkage model between the socializing agency and the individual being socialized.

Chapters two through six present the body of data and findings. In the second and third chapters Langton examines the importance of family in the socialization process. First of all, he focuses on the authority structure in the family and the political relevance of autocratic child rearing. Family politicization seems to be an important catalyst. In each sample different results are obtained when autocratic family patterns are discussed in relation to adolescent political deviancy and there is no strong statement about any relationship. In a second part, the relationship of nuclear and maternal family structures with the political socialization processes are examined. There seems to be a differential effect and what is more important this effect follows the student throughout secondary school and remains a significant variable in explaining an adolescent's perception of his role in the political system as he approaches adulthood.

In Chapter three Langton looks at the factors associated with differential parental influence within nuclear families. Identifiable patterns are observed along differential parental influence lines. However, it is also

observed that the effect of history in terms of legal, sociological and educational changes which recently began to interact with the psychological properties of the nuclear family have provided the confounding factor in these studies.

Chapter four assesses the role of the formal school environment (reflected in courses with political content taught at high school level) on political learning and political attitudes and behavior. The evidence does not support the expectation that the civics curriculum has a significant effect on the political orientations of the great majority of the students in the sample. Moreover those who are college bound already have different political orientations than those who are not. One significant result was, however, that Black students who have taken one or more Civics courses were found to have more political knowledge and ideological sophistication, a greater sense of political efficacy, and a higher level of civic tolerance than those who had taken no such courses. Furthermore, in several cases the curriculum effect was strongly influenced by the educational level of the Black student's parents with the greatest impact being manifested among the lower SES classes. In addition Black students from educated families see loyalty rather than participation as being most important to good citizenship.

Chapter five examines the impact of the class climate in peer groups and schools upon the reinforcement or

change of political attitudes and behavior patterns. The major focus is on the relation between socio-economic (SES) class homogeneity-heterogeneity (based on the respondent's perception of the peer environment when asked if their best friends in school were in the same social class as they or in a different one) of peer groups and schools and the isolation of lower SES students from the political and economic norms of higher SES students. Another question discussed in this chapter is the cumulative effect of the heterogeneous SES climate of both peer groups and school on the resocialization of working class political attitudes and behavior patterns. The results show that heterogeneous SES peer groups consistently function to resocialize the working class toward the level of politicization and political outlook of the higher social classes. On the other hand, the net effect of homogeneous SES peer groups is to reinforce the economic culture of the working class.

School SES climate (based on the objective class of the parents and having controlled for the effect of SES selection at the stage of registration) is also examined in relation to the same variables. The pattern found indicates that homogeneous SES schools reinforce working class political norms and maintain the political cleavage. On the other hand working class students in heterogeneous SES schools appear to be resocialized in the direction of higher class political norms. There is also evidence in this chapter

that heterogeneous SES climate of peer group and school is cumulative. It also appears that the impact of peer group may be independent of the broader SES environment within the school.

Chapter six examines the relative influence of the different agencies in political socialization. The family accounts for almost four times more movement along the entire efficacy scale than either peer group or school. However, upper classes appear to be less subject to the influence of the family. The peer group and school influences seem to operate differently. The broader, less intimate school environment moves students from low to medium efficacy but has almost no influence at the high efficacy range. The face to face peer group performs most successfully the more difficult socialization task of moving students from medium to high political efficacy.

What are the implications of these findings for the planner? At least one implication is that the creation of heterogeneous class socializing environments will promote the stability of democratic political systems if the higher SES classes are generally supportive of the democratic political system.

As we have decided to follow the framework developed by Langton, our study will provide comparative data for a group of Bahamian students in Montreal. However, we

should also mention the fact that our sample can be described as a self-selected, elite group. In this respect the data collected may also be comparable to studies of elites as The Fortunate Few by Philip Foster and R. Clignet (1967).

Chapter II

RESEARCH METHODS

The main concern of this study is to explore and describe the effect of political education curriculum (PEC) at the high school level (grades 10, 11 and 12) and the university level on the political socialization of a group of Bahamian students in Montreal. The questionnaire includes, therefore, items describing PEC content of high school as well as university. Much of the differentiation between the high school PEC effect and the university PEC effect will be based on the subjective opinions and evaluation of the respondents themselves.

I. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Researchers who have studied the political socialization of children and youth argue that there are many variables involved in describing this concept. Langton (1969) and Massialas (1971) have provided and used the most comprehensive listing of these variables:

1. Political interest
2. Spectator politicization
3. Political discourse
4. Political efficacy
5. Political cynicism
6. Political tolerance
7. Participative orientation

8. Politicization

9. Political knowledge

We shall discuss political knowledge separately because we are using it as an independent variable in hypotheses sets two and three. Since we are trying to obtain results comparable to the Langton study, and because we are using the Langton questionnaire, we have chosen to take the operational definitions of these concepts as developed and tested by Langton. It should be remembered that all the questions asked are in the present tense and are also repeated for the last three years of high school.

1. Political Interest: Active interest in political affairs.

The aim of many authors of civics textbooks is to create interest in political affairs. Different political socialization agencies also try to claim such a function. This item is measured by relying on the answer to a straightforward inquiry: "Some people seem to think about what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?"

Langton's results show no significant change due to the Government courses in senior high school. Furthermore,

the impact of History courses is even lower than the Civics courses. In order to discover a relationship between the political curriculum and increased political interest we have asked students to reply to the following question:

"Have you had any courses in the last three years of your high school that required you to pay attention to current events, public affairs and politics?"

If yes, "which ones would they be?"

These questions are followed by a thorough check of other PEC related courses by using questionnaire items: Tables 2A, 2B, 2C and related questions.

2. Spectator Politicization: How much political content is consumed by the student in the mass media.

The literature suggests that if the school curriculum creates an interest in politics, this should be reflected in higher consumption level of political content in the media. To measure this variable students were asked how often they read about public affairs and politics in newspapers, radio and television. Since the influence of family politicization is important, students were also asked about the similar behavior pattern for other family members.

3. Political Discourse: Conversations about public affairs or politics.

According to the literature, one effect of civics courses and curriculum should be to increase the conversations about public affairs and politics by the students. This item is of major importance because it is also used to indicate something about the level of political activity of the group of students we are studying. Since most of these students will be eligible only for the first time to vote in their country's elections, next year, the frequency of political conversations will be a probable indicator and substitute for adult level political activity.

The question asked to measure this variable is:
"How often do you talk about public affairs and politics with any of the following people etc.?"

4. Political Efficacy: The belief that one can affect political outcomes.

Much of the purpose of civic education is to develop the sense of efficacy as the child progresses through elementary school (Easton and Dennis 1967; Glenn 1972). Ehmann has shown that prolonged exposure during high school years to high school social studies curriculum is related to increase in political efficacy especially for students with five or more semesters of exposure (Ehmann 1972). In addition, exposure to discussions of political and social controversial issues appears to be related to increased political efficacy.

Two items are used to construct a three-point political efficacy scale with a CR of .94.

5. Political Cynicism: Feelings of mistrust and doubt toward participation in public life.

The civics curriculum of schools aims to discourage this outcome. A six-item scale with a CR of .92 is used to differentiate the students on this dimension.

6. Civic Tolerance: Support for the Bill of Rights, due process of law, freedom of speech, recognition of legitimate diversity etc. A three-item civic tolerance scale with a CR of .94 is used to measure this variable.

Langton found that the number of civics courses taken has little influence on the level of civic tolerance of White students, but had some effect on lower class White students and Black students in general. (Langton 1969.)

7. Participative Orientation: A propensity toward participation in public life.

The following question forms the basis for classification in this aspect of political socialization: "People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means. We're interested in what you think. Tell me how you would describe a good citizen in the Bahamas - that is what things

about a person are most important in showing that he is a good citizen?"

Langton found that the civics curriculum effect is felt mostly in the case of students from less educated and less politicized families. For our sample, we should remember that next year is an election year. Most of the students in our sample will be potential voters for the first time and therefore the results obtained may be biased by an increased awareness of the importance of being a "good citizen" in the participative sense.

8. Politicization: Of the several variables included in the political socialization measure, Langton grouped some together to represent a general "politicization" index. Respondents are ordered on this index by determining "the frequency in which they discussed politics with members of the family, school friends, teachers or politicians and the frequency in which they read political articles in the national newspaper" (Langton 1969, p. 127).

B. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY

Political knowledge/literacy is defined as the ability to understand political concepts and language in particular as used in a democracy. Performance on factual tests is the main way used to assess this knowledge level in the political socialization literature. For the purposes of this study we have chosen three separate tests:

1. A five-item test used by Langton and the Michigan Study
2. A political sophistication test used by Langton and the Michigan Study. Political sophistication is defined here as the student's perception of ideological differences between political parties
3. The York Social Studies Project Test - Part I, developed in England

C. POLITICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The level of exposure to political education curriculum (PEC) is measured by the number of relevant courses taken in high school and university by the students in our sample. As far as can be determined from the available documents, there were no Civics courses in Bahamian high schools while the respondents went to school in the Bahamas. However, we also know from the literature on political socialization that the differential effect of civics and citizenship study courses from other courses with relevant political information content is not significant (Langton 1969; Massialas 1972). Therefore, we have decided to consider a number of relevant courses as described in the interview schedule by items: 75 - 153.

D. OTHER VARIABLES

The following variables which occur in the literature

of political socialization as control variables will be used in our analysis of data as necessary:

<u>Variable Description</u>	<u>Item in Interview Schedule</u>
1. R's race: Black/White	Q. 2
2. R's sex: Male/Female	Q. 1
3. R's SES at present	Q. 4
4. R's SES at high school	Q. 322
5. R's high school SES: Based on the objective SES of parents of stu- dents	Based on Table 4 in schedule
6. R's high school peer class environment: Based on R's perception of the peer class enviro- nment	Q. 12
a) homogeneous-same SES b) heterogeneous-differ- ent SES	
7. Rural-Urban dimension	Q. 324
8. Age	Q. 3
9. Quality of R's high school: Percent of success in ex- ternal examinations	Interviewer's classifica- tion
10. R's GPA	Part I of schedule
a) high school b) university c) overall	
11. PEC Teacher's sex	Part I of schedule
a) high school b) university c) overall	

<u>Variable Description</u>	<u>Item in Interview Schedule</u>
12. PEC Teacher quality as perceived by R a) high school b) university c) overall	Part I of schedule
13. PEC course quality as perceived by R a) high school b) university c) overall	Part I of schedule
14. Personality of R - measured on a scale of authoritarianism based on the research of Milton Rokeach (1960) who developed a scale of general authoritarianism which is called Dogmatism Scale. Three of these items are combined into a Guttman type scale with CR of 94.3	Q. 245 - 249
15. Major or area of concentration: a) high school b) university c) overall	Q. 5, Q. 16
16. Parents Education a) father b) mother c) siblings	Table 4
17. Family Politicization a) father b) mother c) siblings	Part II & IV.
18. Type of family of origin a) maternal b) conjugal	Part IV

<u>Variable Description</u>	<u>Item in Interview Schedule</u>
19. Length of absence from the Bahamas	Table 1
20. Level of Formal Organizational participation	Q. 154 - 173
a) respondent	
b) family	
21. R's position in family	Table 4
22. Pattern of decision making in family	Part IV
a) family matters	
b) children	
c) political	
d) overall	
23. Pattern of decision making in school and university	Part I
a) communication channels	
b) student participation	
c) voting behavior	

II HYPOTHESES

The main concern of this study is to explore and describe the effect of political education curriculum (PEC) at the high school (grades 10, 11, 12) and university levels on the political socialization of a group of Bahamian students in Montreal. The questionnaire includes items describing PEC content at high school as well as university. For each main set of hypotheses both the high school effect and the university effect will be assessed separately. Once again, we must point out that much of the differentiation between the high school effect and the university effect

will be based on the subjective opinions and evaluation of the respondents themselves.

FIRST SET OF HYPOTHESES

THE HIGHER THE EXPOSURE TO PEC THE HIGHER
THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF THE STUDENTS.

Most studies examining the relation of PEC to political socialization have found that the predicted directional change specified in our first set of hypotheses holds true. Certain variables even strengthen the relationship. For example, the relation is stronger for lower SES students than high SES students. However, Langton, using the Multiple Classification Analysis Program (MCA 1967) found that these relationships are extremely weak.

As we have seen in the arguments of Entwistle, educational planners and policy makers think that the PEC should increase the student's knowledge about political institutions and processes, therefore, making him a more interested and loyal citizen, and increasing his understanding of his own rights and the civil rights of others, as well as making him politically, an active participant with loyalty and interest.

To check whether the effect of political education on political socialization is mediated through political knowledge/literacy, we have a second major set of hypotheses:

SECOND SET OF HYPOTHESES

THE HIGHER THE EXPOSURE TO PEC THE HIGHER
THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY OF THE
STUDENTS.

It is however conceivable that high political socialization is a result of high political knowledge/literacy not mediated significantly by PEC exposure. In this case we can try another set of hypotheses:

THIRD SET OF HYPOTHESES

THE HIGHER THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY
OF THE STUDENTS THE HIGHER THE POLITICAL
SOCIALIZATION OF THE STUDENTS.

III RESEARCH DESIGN

The fact that the sample was self-selected greatly limited our choices for a design for the study. The design adopted can best be described as ex-post facto where based on the level of political education curriculum exposure (PEC) at high school and later at the university level, the Bahamian students in Montreal are divided into groups: those with relatively high PEC exposure and those with relatively low PEC exposure. The actual level for deciding the cut-off point is determined according to the results obtained from part II of the interview schedule. This level is determined by differentiating between students who have taken relatively greater numbers of courses which are believed to have an

effect on political socialization. Here again, our findings may be confounded by the fact that being an elite group these students have all been highly exposed to political education curriculum and are also in general highly politicized. Therefore, the groupings should be considered as relative levels differentiating between already highly politicized students with high PEC exposure.

Thus, the most important limitation of this study is the fact that it examines a group of students who are potential leaders. This is an elite group (of students) who have left their country in pursuit of higher education. It is expected that they will return to the Bahamas to fill positions of influence and leadership. Since the students are aware of this fact it may be that they are already a highly politicized group, therefore, the results cannot be extended to the same age group of Bahamian students in general. On the other hand, this study will be quite valuable for purposes of comparison with similar groups of students from the Caribbean and other societies with recent histories of comparable political and educational experiences.

It may also be that the group of students will be classified as self-selected and, therefore, oversaturated politically for reasons already mentioned. In such a case, although we may not be able to establish strong relationships between the level of PEC, political knowledge/literacy

and the dependent variables under consideration, we may still have interesting findings related to the educational experience of a highly politicized group of students. We may even be able to describe an interesting case study where the process for becoming an educated elite affects negatively the political socialization of students as described in a few other cases in the literature. (Massialas, 1972.)

In most Bahamian schools, there was no equivalent to a Civics course when the students of our sample were in high school, (See Ch. III.) However, Langton and other researchers have not found much of a difference in terms of a specific Civics course as compared to other courses with some component of political education and/or information - History, Geography, Social Studies.

Another limitation is that we have to rely on the memories and self-assessment of the respondents to determine the level of political socialization at the end of high school and as related to schooling experiences and PEC. On the other hand, this study has the advantage of studying the relationship between the PEC, political knowledge/literacy and political socialization beyond the high school years and through the early adult life period of our respondents. This fact alone may provide an important justification for the study.

A further limitation may be due to the fact that the interviewer knows personally most of the respondents.

However, since the interviewer is aware of this situation and the possible bias effect it may have on the data collected, this same reason may be used to support the realization of a more in depth interview and a more accurate interpretation of some results than otherwise possible.

IV THE SAMPLE

A. SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The first condition in deciding on a sample was to make it comparative to the Langton sample. We, therefore, needed data on the secondary education level.

The second condition was a very practical one: access to Bahamian secondary school students. Since the study did not have any financial support, research was to be conducted with minimum funding. Therefore, it was decided to focus on the Bahamian students studying at higher educational institutions in Montreal. Since most of the Bahamian students were in Montreal for only a few years, and since most of them were undergraduates, we could argue that their high school experiences were quite fresh in their memories. This was a major assumption in the selection of the sample. Furthermore, this fact provides an opportunity to test the developmental argument advanced by Jennings and Niemi who suggest that post high school changes in political interest are greatest near the beginning of the adult life span as well as at the end of the adult life span

(Ch. I, p. II). Some of the relative increase in interest among young adults is attributed to their entrance into the electorate. We assumed that most Bahamian students, being undergraduates, will be eligible to participate in an election for the first time and that this may increase political interest among our sample.

On the other hand, however, there was the awareness that this same fact may create a confounding factor since our objective was to study the influence of the political education curriculum on the political socialization of those exposed to it. However, we designed our questionnaire in such a way that we shall try to differentiate the high school experience from university experience based on the recollection and self-report of the students themselves.

Again, a confounding factor should be remembered. It will be very difficult to distinguish between university experience proper and the fact of travel and life experience abroad.

Here again, the selection factor may confound the argument. It is only a small percentage of Bahamian high school graduates who have the chance to pursue their education at the university level (roughly 10 per cent). It is true that in recent years secondary education opportunities have expanded in the Bahamas. However, the percentage of university students has for this reason become even lower.

It is, therefore, evident that university education not only ensures occupational opportunity but it affects recruitment into the new elite. Combined with the fact that most Bahamian students would like to go back to the Bahamas it becomes justifiable to consider the Bahamian student population in Montreal as a potential elite who, after graduation, will assume positions of authority and power in the country within the next few decades.

The list of all Bahamian students enrolled in higher education institutions in Montreal was obtained from the Bahamian Students Association - Montreal Chapter. Forty-four names were supplied by the Association. These parties were contacted in verification of their actual enrolment at a University or College in Montreal. At the same time, their help in accepting an interview was solicited. It was stated to them as consisting of an interview schedule for an M.A. thesis in Educational Studies at Concordia University on the topic of political socialization of students. The confidentiality of the interview was also explained. (See appendix II - Introduction to Interview schedule). All students contacted agreed to be interviewed. Three students were eliminated since they were already engaged in graduate studies.

The pre-testing of the interview schedule was carried out on non-Bahamians and Bahamians who were not eligible. Therefore, we could use all the respondents with the exception of the three graduate students.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

The sample for this research project consisted of 41 Bahamian students, at Universities and Colleges in the Montreal area. With the exception of three students doing post-graduate studies, the respondents constituted the entire population of Bahamian students in the city at the time of the study.

Thirty students were born in New Providence, seven students were born on one of the other Bahamian Islands, one student was born in the United States and three students were born in Europe. Although not all the respondents were born on the main island - New Providence - yet all of them reside there when not in Montreal. When in the Bahamas, most of them, 32 students, live with parents. Surprisingly, four students said they live alone. Three students stay with relatives when in the Bahamas and two others who are married live with their wives. When at University in Montreal, 15 students live with relatives, 12 students live alone, seven live with friends, six students live on campus and one student is married and lives with his wife. (See Appendix II)

One interesting characteristic of the sample, has to do with age. All of the respondents fall somewhere between the ages of 18 and 29. More precisely, at the time of the interview, five students (12.2 per cent) were 18 years

old, 16 (39.0 per cent) fell between the ages of 19 and 21, 12 respondents (29.3 per cent) fell between 22 and 25, and the remaining eight (19.5 per cent) were 26 years old or older. Obviously, therefore, they are all eligible to vote since the voting age in the Bahamas is set at 18. When asked about their eligibility to vote, 37 students (90.2 per cent) answered positively, four answers were negative. All 37 students were also planning to vote in the general elections next year.

Another interesting aspect of this sample related to age is that most of respondents are undergraduate students although the ages range between 18 and 26. This seems indicative of the current trend in Bahamian thinking reflecting the fairly recent concern of the general public with education beyond the high school level, and the even more recent awareness of the meaninglessness of age to the pursuit of schooling as discussed in Chapter III.

Racially, the Bahamian population may be divided into two distinct groups - Blacks (80 per cent) and Whites, (20 per cent). The sample for this study is composed of 28 Blacks (68.3 per cent) and 11 Whites (26.8 per cent) plus two students of mixed parentage. (See discussion of racial composition in Ch. III)

The proportion of females to males in the Bahamian population is approximately four females to one male. Yet

our sample does not effectively indicate this. Only half of our respondents are females, the sample having 21 females (51.2 per cent) and 20 males (48.8 per cent).

The majority of the sample are Anglicans, as was the case when they were in high school. Nineteen (46.3 per cent) were Anglicans in high school, but only 17 (41.5 per cent) are Anglicans now. The second largest group - ten (24.4 per cent) were Roman Catholics in high school. This number has dropped to eight (19.5 per cent) at the university level. At the level of high school, the Greek Orthodox numbered six (14.6 per cent). At the university they number five (12.2 per cent). Four (9.8 per cent) were Baptist in high school, whereas five (12.2 per cent) claim affiliation with the Baptists at the university level. Only one respondent was Methodist at the high school, and his direction has remained constant at the university. Likewise the one Pentecostalist at high school, has maintained his direction at the university.

However, two new categories are introduced at the university, for one respondent (2.4 per cent) now claims agnosticism, and three (7.3 per cent) do not know where their preferences lie at this time.

Asked about their socio-economic status, three students saw themselves as belonging to the upper class, 15 classified themselves as upper-middle class, 13 students

said they belong to the middle class. Seven students described themselves as members of the lower-middle class and three said they are poor. While in high school, two students were poor, seven belonged to the lower-middle class, 13 could be described as middle class and 19 as belonging to upper-middle class.

Twenty-seven students (65.9 per cent) plan to continue their studies beyond the first degree, eight students plan to stop at the B.A./B.Sc. level and six students have not taken a final decision on this matter.

As far as their occupational plans are concerned, four students plan a career in the medical field, eight students plan to become teachers, an area in which the market is open in the Bahamas. Six students plan a career in law, the most popular profession in the Bahamas at present. Five students aspire towards careers in the technical-scientific field and nine students see themselves as career civil servants. Two students do not yet have any specific plans in this area.

Thirty-seven students in the sample are planning to return to the Bahamas upon the completion of their studies, three students have not made a decision and only one student has decided not to return to the Bahamas. Upon their return home, 14 students (34.1 per cent) plan active participation in political affairs, 19 students (46.3 per cent)

say they will be somewhat active politically while only eight students (19.5 per cent) say that they will not be very active in political affairs.

V THE INSTRUMENT

The main body of data was collected through an interview schedule (see Appendix II). This interview schedule is an adaptation from the questionnaire used by Langton and obtained from the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The questionnaire is classified under Project 477, March 1965, entitled "High School Senior Study" (See Appendix MI for correspondence).

The pre-coded interview-schedule consists of four major parts:

- Part One: Items related to the schooling and educational history of the respondent.
- Part Two: Items related to measures of political socialization.
- Part Three: Items related to measures of political knowledge/literacy.
- Part Four: Items related to general background information about respondent and family.

Those questions which were not pre-coded were coded according to a uniform set of coding instructions.

To preserve the confidentiality of each respondent's answers, each schedule was pre-numbered with a two-digit code. Nowhere in the questionnaire was there provision for the name of the respondent.

Secondary sources, such as government documents and publications related to the school system, programmes and curriculae in the Bahamas were also consulted to provide background information for the study.

VI THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews began late in March 1976 and were completed by the beginning of May 1976. Completion of this particular task was quite a job because of the impending examination period and the subsequent departure of the students from the city.

Each respondent was interviewed personally by the interviewer, in his/her own home (dormitory, residence, apartment) where the interviewer was always well received. The entire schedule was completed at one sitting, lasting for approximately 60 minutes. The first set of interviews lasted for more than 70 minutes, but each successive interview became shorter and more structured as the interviewer gained familiarity with the questions, as well as adeptness at recording responses.

Observations on conversations and the way the respondents spoke, especially when they said something of

importance were recorded in the form of notes, when necessary. All of the respondents spoke freely and easily, some rambled on about their fathers' occupation and status, others offered panaceas to cure the political and social ills of the home country, whilst others just preferred to pass along interesting pieces of social gossip by way of answering the questions.

Several respondents seemed to have some difficulty in responding to Part One of the interview schedule. Nevertheless, they were all able to relate little episodes about their academic superiority, or otherwise, during their elementary and high school years. Certain other respondents went to great pains to explain the relationship which existed between student and teacher, especially when it seemed to them that they were a favorite of the teacher concerned. Other respondents took the opportunity to emphasize the ills of the educational system which certain of them described as being too concerned with information gathering "which is not really knowledge - knowledge is knowing how to use the little knowledge/information one has," and examination preparation.

Part Two of the schedule, which attempted to gain insight into the respondents' level of PEC exposure and respondents' involvement in formal organization, was answered with rather apparent ease. The only difficulty respondents

seemed to have encountered there, was in distinguishing one course from another. In other words, certain of the respondents were not sure whether a course was completed at the end of the term or at the end of the school year.

Part Three of the schedule which elicited students' political knowledge and literacy was the only part of the schedule not administered, in terms of questioning by the interviewer. This section consisted of multiple choice questions which required the respondent to identify key concepts germane to politics in the democratic context. Despite the fact that the interviewer desisted from offering opinions, some respondents nevertheless discussed the possible answers and rationalized their own opinions aloud, looking to the interviewer for verification and endorsement. Although the respondents were given 15 minutes to complete this part of the schedule, most of them managed to get through it in ten minutes.

On an average, two interviews were completed in an evening - evening being the most convenient time for the respondents. However, the week-ends allowed for the completion of at least five schedules.

Since all of the respondents who attend the same university live in the same area, the interviewer was able to complete interviews with all students in each university before moving on to another one.

As soon as possible, after each interview, the researcher coded each question which was not already pre-coded in order to avoid confusion and to lessen the tendency of forgetting the relevance of each note.

Once the data had been collected and coded, coding sheets were prepared for punching on IBM cards and were ready for analysis at the S.G.W. Campus Computer Center of Concordia University.

Chapter III

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I The Bahamas: Geography and History

One of the characteristics which may serve to identify the age in which we live is the breakdown of the artificial ties of colonialism, and the consequent emergence of a host of new states on the international system. A major cause of this breakdown has been the rising demands of ordinary people everywhere for a say in the decisions which affect their individual lives. As well as evidencing this point, the current happenings in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South Africa), underline the determination of nature to take its course, and the tendency of history to repeat itself, in spite of efforts to obstruct its course or stay its progress.

The effects of transfer have been especially dramatic in certain countries of the emerging world, and as such have received widespread coverage from those researchers concerned with interpretation and description in the contemporary context.

The Commonwealth of the Bahamas is one of the more recent of the new states - but, her search for a new social order has not been marked by the social economic and political instability often associated with this revolutionary process. It is perhaps this relative calm which accounts for

the lack of attention the country has received from researchers and scholars. For while there is increasing discussion about current social, economic and political policies and programmes of the third world, there is a disconcerting absence of material which might demonstrate the force of social change and the role of social agents in the modernization process in the country.

The virtual absence of data on social, economic and political change coupled with the limited amount of documentary materials relative to the earlier history of the country, has made it unusually difficult to assess the processes and consequences of change. Consequently, throughout this study, our thinking and observations have been informed by participant-observation, discussion with government officials and reading as wide a range as possible of local newspapers, periodicals, handbooks, and government reports.

One attempt to document the history in a scholarly and objective manner, is Michael Craton's A History of the Bahamas (1962). This document materialized out of several years of teaching, reading and discussion about the history and development of the area, and was particularly useful in providing information about the development of the country as a colonial dependency of Britain.

The Commonwealth Handbooks (1956 - 1974) which are

widely disseminated and readily available, were invaluable as a source for descriptive and historical data on the development of the political, social and economic systems of the country. Likewise the World Survey of Education, (produced by UNESCO (1955) focused on the development of western education in the area.

Demographic and vital statistics were obtained from the U.N. Statistical Yearbook (1976) and the Bahamas Statistical Abstract (1970).

We were particularly fortunate in having the Third World Group publication (1973) compiled in honour of the realization of independence and which brought together a variety of articles dealing with the social, political, economic and educational situations, as they existed on the dawn of independence. The particular focus of these articles was on the problems inherent in the modernizing society of the Bahamas. Consequently, the publication provided useful observation on the structure of the society.

Timothy McCartney's, Neuroses in the Sun (1972) was the first book which attempted to analyse the psychological make-up of the Bahamian individual. In his efforts to understand the Bahamian personality and character, McCartney examined in great detail the mentality of the people and showed how it (the mentality) is the product of the master-slave relationship. The book, therefore, is

valuable for its contribution to information on the psycho-social and cultural profile of the Bahamian citizen.

Other contributions to our understanding of the area under study include: The Bahamas Handbook and Businessmen's Annual (1974) and Harcourt Turnquest's, Civics for the Bahamas. (1973)

Until 1973, the Bahamas was a colony administered by the colonial office in London. The representative of the sovereign in the area was always dispatched from London, his appointment having been endorsed by the self-same sovereign. The realization of independence and self-determination was not, however, sudden and immediate, for Britain, by moving the country through various stages of constitutional reform prepared and brought it up to that threshold as a matter of course. Yet, there existed certain groups, which, uncertain of and inhibited by the meaning of independence in relation to themselves and their immediate environment, sought to resist its onset. Other groups, in particular members of the opposition, desirous of being in the vanguard of political history and social change, attempted to delay its advance. In justification of their behaviour, they pointed to the inability of the populace at that particular time to determine their own destinies, since in their account of it, the populace had not been prepared mentally and psychologically. In spite of these oppositions, the country advanced and inde-

pendence was assumed without violence, July 10, 1973.

The new regime has accepted its British administrative heritage, reflected in its parliamentary democratic institutions and procedures, its membership in the Commonwealth Association, and the retention of the Sovereign as Head of State.

Extending from within less than 50 miles from the coast of Florida, to approximately 60 miles from the coast of Haiti, and sheltered along its southern shores almost entirely by the northern shores of Cuba, the commonwealth of the Bahamas forms an archipeligo covering approximately 5,380 square miles. This archipeligo extends almost 760 miles into the Atlantic ocean, and it is said that, in its entirety it is made up of more than 700 islands and 2,000 cays. However, only about 30 of the islands possess stable populations (Commonwealth Handbook, 1974).

It was upon these shores - specifically those of Guanahani (San Salvador) - Columbus landed when he 'discovered' the new world in 1492. The almost total elimination of the indigenous - Arawaks/Lucayans - population lead to their replacement by Europeans from a variety of cultural and social levels and by Africans from many diverse tribes (Adderley, 1973).

The capital city of the Bahamas is Nassau, situated on the island of New Providence. At one time Dunmore Town,

Harbour Island, one of the first islands to be settled by the European Eleutheran adventurers enjoyed this status. And it is interesting to note that the first democratically elected government of the country was established on Eleuthera - the island of which Harbour Island is a part. (Bosfield, 1973)

The 1970⁹ census set the population of this tiny island nation at roughly 176,000, 50 per cent of whom reside in New Providence and about 25 per cent of whom reside in and around the nation's second largest urban center - Freeport, on Grand Bahama island. Most of the remaining population is poorly distributed. (Commonwealth of Bahamas, Directory of Schools, 1976). One consequence of this maldistribution is that, whilst the country as a totality is under-populated the major urban centers (Nassau and Freeport) suffer from over-population and since development tends to be concentrated in the urban areas, the less populated areas suffer from comparative under-development, particularly in terms of availability of social, welfare and educational services.

With reference to population, it is to be observed that the urban centers and exclusive resort areas are highly concentrated with expatriates, contributing to this demographic mosaic are significant numbers of: Jamaicans, Barbadians, Trinidadians, Haitians, Nigerians, Britons (Welsh

Scots, English, Irish), Italians, Germans, Canadians, Americans, Greeks, Chinese, Swiss and to a lesser degree: Indians, Pakistanis, Guyanese, Grenadians, Cubans and other Latin Americans. (Commonwealth of the Bahamas Statistical Abstract 1970 - 1971).

Traditionally, these people (the expatriates) played an integral part in the operation and development of Bahamian society. They moved freely, usually as freely as (and often times more so than) the natural citizens, often without legitimate status. (Adderley, 1973). It was not unusual to find as head of each government department, as chairman of large commercial concerns, as leaders of all 'organized' churches, an expatriate, who in justifying his position pointed to the virtues of colonialism and imperialism, while simultaneously demoralizing the very people who guaranteed not only his income but his social status. With, however, the movement towards self-awareness, self-acceptance, national consciousness and the realization of a Bahamian identity, this group has had its privileges curtailed and its movements defined - (the Jamaican seems to be an especial target) such that his status has been demoted to secondary level in the class of citizens.

One group of expatriates, who are not regarded as expatriates (since expatriate is taken to refer to any alien whose mother tongue is English and/or is White and is found

in positions of consequence, most usually the professions) but is of especial mention, is the Haitian population. The economic and manpower needs of the Bahamas, the proximity of Haiti with its unstable political climate, has made available cheap labour. These situations have combined to create in the past 20 years an entirely new class of citizens, as yet to be assimilated in the social structure of the Bahamas. These people exist at a lower sub-cultural level influencing and being influenced by the greater number of Bahamians and their economic domination.

Linguistically, there exists a homogeneity which certain observers (Adderley, 1973) have noted to be typical of the wider region within which the area falls. English is the only language spoken and as such is the language of government, administration, commerce, industry and education. (At the local level, however, each island seems to have an accent peculiar unto itself and its population, and also some semblance of a particular dialect.) This homogeneity according to Adderley, was essentially the result of colonialization and imperialism, which made Caribbean societies "almost 100 per cent immigrant societies. The original inhabitants of all these islands and territories were systematically eliminated and therefore the development of these islands progressed as if these were 'empty' lands". (Adderley, 1973, p. 18)

Consequently, it was this artificial populating, as it were, that today accounts for the division of the population into two distinct groups, along racial lines: Blacks and Whites. Numerically, the Blacks predominate, since they comprise roughly 80 per cent of the whole. Economically, the Whites, comprising 20 per cent (approximately) predominate - a situation which has existed throughout the nation's history and is only now appearing to change. The regular daily relationships between the two groups are highly superficial, as few genuine friendships between them exist. Yet, racial tension and conflict as known in similar societies, is essentially non-existent. This along with the fact that the people as a nation are non-violent and affable, explains why the Black Power movement has never effectively caught on, as one researcher put it, "except for a few, the people are not militant, possibly, because they are basically not as angry as some other Blacks, not having suffered as much privation financially, physically, or psychologically." (Tertullien, 1973)

Implicit in the foregoing paragraph is the notion that the nation is a product of several cultural streams. The obvious ones being African via importation of slaves, British through colonialism and American via tourism and foreign investment. The experiences of slavery which were not unique to the Bahamas, have left a particularly profound impact on the mentality of the populace, for they still

suffer from its consequences. As one writer put it, "The far reaching effects of the master-slave-system on the development of our people and its negative impact on their mental and emotional growth, has been a prime demotivating force in the psycho-social developments of the Bahamian." (McCartney, 1971, p. 82) This slave mentality ~~is~~ the irrational tendency of many Blacks for the preference of White-oriented values - has implanted conflicting attitudes in Bahamians, resulting in subconscious fears with regard to their own personal worth. Thus, attempting to free themselves from the grasp of this negative thinking, certain citizens for a period went through a stage in which they expressed anti-British, anti-White and anti-establishment sentiments. A behaviour found particularly amongst the graduates of American and West Indian universities during the late sixties and early seventies. (Focus, 1975)

II SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The saliency of social classes to the development of particular attitudes, has been explored by numerous researchers, and a considerable number of them have concluded that there exists a relationship between the development of particular social attitudes and certain social classes. Almond and Verba, for example, found that amongst their respondents, those of high social status were most likely to have participated in family decisions, an experience which,

in their account of it, enhanced the development of political efficacy in later life. (Almond and Verba, 1971)

Although certain writers have gone to great lengths to maintain that social classes as popularly known, are not clearly defined in the Bahamas, nevertheless, one researcher was able to distinguish between three groups, which she classified as: upper, middle, and lower, on the basis of income and education. On the strength of her data, this researcher contended that, in 1973, 58 per cent of all Bahamians belonged to the lower class, 37 per cent to the middle class, and 4.4 per cent to the upper class. In terms of occupation, members of the upper class are usually professionals and owners of large and medium sized concerns. The middle class would be white collar workers and career civil servants, especially those in the administrative branch. Of course the lower class would consist of all those unemployed, as well as the semi- and unskilled workers. A particular characteristic of the lower class is that families tend to be large and often single parented. (Tertulien, 1973)

Yet, family structure is by law, monogamous. Thus, observers have noticed a high incidence of extra-marital relations coupled with an increase in separation and divorce rates. This situation, perhaps, follows as much as anything from a subscription to a strong moral code, which emphasizes

the importance of and necessity for a child to be born within the confines of a nuclear family. Authority within the nuclear family still rests with the male, who is considered to be the head of the household. Traditionally the opinions of women and children were neither solicited nor tolerated. Decisions whether social, political or familial, emanated from the father whose word was not to be questioned. This entrenched position of the male in Bahamian society receives legitimization and reinforcement from the legal and judicial system, which has determined that, in relation to the male, the female will be a second class citizen. However, the increased exposure to foreign customs, traditions and culture via travel, tourism and education has lead to a re-definition of social roles, such that child rearing practises and family organization are being modified. In this connection, the apparent movement towards the democratization of the family is to be noted: the notion that we should consider the opinions of women and children is receiving widespread recognition at certain levels of the society.

Mention has already been made of the disproportionate distribution of the general populace throughout the land. However, there exists a further imbalance or maldistribution in the population. This has to do with age: the majority of the population is under 25 years old, and according to the 1970 census report, roughly 40 per cent of the entire population was under 15 years of age, at that time.

Obviously then, a significant amount of them is of school age since schooling is compulsory between the ages of five and 14.

The major concern of this section has been to describe and discuss the organization and structure of Bahamian society. A discussion of this nature becomes important when it is recognized that scholars of the socialization process have severally contended that social stratification and child-rearing practises affect significantly the development of political attitudes and orientations in the young.

III THE ECONOMY

Many economists when writing about the imperialist and colonial experience of the third world have advanced the argument that, a prime motive of the imperialists and colonialists in occupying these lands was to extract and export the raw materials which existed in these less developed areas, in comparative abundance. Pierre Jalee, for instance, in a persuasive argument produced a multiplicity of statistics to support this contention which he reported in his book, The Pillage of the Third World (1966). In the Bahamas, however, where observers have noted a comparative dearth of extractive materials, this particular argument is not sustained. The search for markets is perhaps a better explanation for the Bahamian experience, since the country

is obliged to import most of its commodities. However, the country's climate, its geographical position in location to North America, along with its British heritage have tended to compensate for its shortcomings in the area of natural resources.

Thus the nation's economy is dependent almost entirely on tourism and foreign investment. Since the country is a tax haven (no direct taxation exists, taxes are levied only on real property), it is very attractive to off-shore businesses. For many years, tourism has remained the nation's main industry, acting as a catalyst to the development of other industries related to it. Second to tourism is banking and 'the management of finance on an international scale.' All major North American and European commercial banks are established there. (Commonwealth Handbook, 1974)

Part of the effect of colonialism has been the devaluation of manual labour and practical knowledge. Many social scientists who have studied colonized peoples, have underlined this particular point and have variously maintained that, although the soil has great potential for exploitation in a scientific manner, many students are reluctant to pursue knowledge and jobs related thereto. Caught up in the aspiration towards European values reflected in the colonial overlords present in the country, these students believe the only valuable occupations to be those which

provided for the use of an office and the wearing of a white shirt. It is this kind of attitude which has worked against the exploitation of the Bahamian sea and soil. Fortunately, the movement towards self-realization is undercutting this negative attitude, such that agricultural products and fishing for export is now being engaged in, on a very modest level.

Other industries include: an oil refinery, cement works and a pharmaceutical factory - all at Freeport - as well as rum manufacturing plants and other secondary and service industries. In terms of extractive industries, aragonite mining is carried out. Land sales for the establishment of holiday and residential homes and the creation of tourist facilities, also helps to supplement and diversify the economy. Government, however, derives its revenue mainly from: import duties, excise duties, casino tax, airport tax, departure and landing fees, hotel occupancy fees, and wharf and port duties.

The nature of education and the educational system have come to be recognized as critical to the development of the economy, not only in developing countries but also in the so-called developed societies. A major contention of researchers is that, education in order to be relevant to development, must respond to the demands of the economy and the economic system. In other words, there is

a commitment on the part of education to develop a labour force capable of exploiting the economy at all levels. In the light of these observations, it is obvious that an understanding of the Bahamian economy is essential, if we are to interpret the development and nature of citizenship attitudes present in our sample.

IV RELIGION

"The Bahamas has a very closely-knit religious community ... and if our religious parades and revival services are indicative of our Christian faith, then religion is here to stay," this quotation from Michael Symonette's 'Religion in Bahamian Society' (1973) epitomizes what most observers on first glance would want to say about Bahamian society, with regard to the spiritual. Christianity is the dominant religion, and its concepts form the basis of family and general social structure. Most major Christian denominations are represented and the only other religions which are striving to take root are Judaism and Islam. But even with the presence of these, the general consensus of opinion is that Christianity is the one right and only true religion, and many children will not know of the existence of other religions.

However, many Bahamians are Christians only by tradition not by practise since their connection with a local church is often tenuous. For, to a great number of

persons, being Christian or religious is to have a vague belief in God, confirmed by the assertion that they belong to a church.

Recently, however, it has become fashionable to be identified with a church for it often tells people where one stands politically and where some would like to stand socially. For example, a random survey of voters in the 1972 general election revealed that Baptists in general, and "over the hill" (an area outside the city of Nassau) Baptists in particular were more likely to vote PLP (Progressive Liberal Party) whereas, the person who attended or belonged to the church in the city (Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian) was more likely to have voted for the opposition or rather, was more likely to consider particular platforms (see Focus, 1975). What is ironic, but at the same time interesting is that, one must be extremely careful not to publicly identify with the Jehovah's Witnesses or atheism if one desires social acceptance. Mention of these philosophies immediately invokes treatment of distrust, suspicion and even hostility.

From time to time, it becomes obvious that it is more prestigious to be associated with one of the organized churches, especially those with a Catholic tradition--Roman Catholic, Anglican and Greek Orthodox. The Greek Orthodox, for example, attracts only members of upper and middle

classes. Although the Anglican and Methodist churches have mixed congregations, their membership is drawn largely from the middle classes. The Roman Catholic church represents all groups but the bulk of their membership are lower middle and lower classes. This follows essentially from the role Roman Catholicism played in the establishment and development of welfare programmes and education. The deference with which the Anglican and Presbyterian churches are regarded follows not only from their traditional relationship with the state, but also from their role in the development of education. Thompson, for example, pointed out that "the first school in the Commonwealth was run by the Anglican Church". (1973) The Baptists and Pentecostalists attract and are comprised mainly of people from the lower and working classes. One further point that needs to be made, is that, even within these denominations, there are churches which have a cross-section of the social structure and others which have a limited range of social status. The congregations of the cathedral churches, for example, would be comprised of the upper classes; whilst churches in the southern part of New Providence would cater almost exclusively to the lower classes. Apart from providing religious instruction, churches also offer a certain amount of social life, most especially through their several organizations.

V THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The conclusion that colonialism often involved the wholesale transfer of social institutions from the metropole to the colony has been acknowledged by several researchers. Foster, for example, investigated the impact of this phenomenon on a population of Ghanians and collected some interesting data which he analysed in his book Education and Social Change in Ghana (1967). More importantly, these researchers, have severally observed that, in most cases little or no conscious effort was made to modify the transferred institutions to make them more relevant to the indigenous culture.

The Bahamas developed as a colony of Britain. Axiomatically, therefore, it is her British parentage which influenced the development of her social and political institutions, and more particularly the character of her educational system. Thus, although western type education reached the nation comparatively late (1738) nevertheless, the country has a fairly well developed (structurally) educational system modelled along the line of that of the British. Since the passage of the first education act (1908) education was free and compulsory for children between the ages of five and 14. Today, primary and secondary education remains free and compulsory.

✓ Schools, both primary and secondary are to be

found in each constituency on the island of New Providence and children are encouraged to attend the school nearest their homes. On the islands outside of New Providence, schools are located in each settlement.

There is one aspect of recent discussions about educational problems and policies in the Bahamas, exemplified in such official legislations as the College of the Bahamas Act, (Nassau Daily Tribune, Sept. 1, 1975) which represents quite a significant development; it is the attention now being given to the function and development of academic higher education. For, as recently as 1975, academic higher education beyond the level of the sixth form had been neglected. That is, unless one was interested in attending a teacher training or technical institution, one was obliged to seek higher education, outside of the Bahamas. This situation is often excused by drawing attention to the fact that whilst Bahamians were capable of benefitting from higher education (academic), the demand for it was too small to warrant the establishment of extensive facilities.

However, government and private scholarship were always available for higher studies, tenable particularly in the United Kingdom. In fact, only recently has the Bahamian government began to recognize degrees obtained in the United States of America. About 1970, the Bahamian government began to contribute towards the maintenance and upkeep

of the University of the West Indies--hence scholarship students are now encouraged to study in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados. Moreover, with the creation of the College of the Bahamas, in association with the University of Miami students are now able to complete the first two years of University education at home.

In a very important sense, secondary education owed its development to religious organizations, which function through the independent school (or private) system. (Thompson, 1973) Most Bahamians have accepted the notion that the education of the community is not the sole responsibility of the government, at least not in terms of administration. In fact many citizens feel that the nurturing of children should be executed within a Christian atmosphere. The widespread adoption of this kind of thinking has, in effect, allowed the independent schools to exist and flourish in an atmosphere free of criticism and resentment.

This independent school system is comprised of schools administered by the major denominations, in particular, the Anglicans, Methodists, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Seventh Day Adventists. These schools provide for all levels of schooling from infant to grammar/high. Independent schools though outside the jurisdiction of national education authorities in terms of administration are nevertheless entitled to government grants, allocated

on the number of pupils in attendance.

Historically, the private school system, has served a social function, it was founded to provide for social exclusiveness. The schools of St. Andrew, (Presbyterian) and Queen's College (Methodist) for example, were founded for the wealthy and White who wished to purchase a privileged but at the same time segregated education for their offsprings. They achieved their desired segregation by asking substantial fees, outside the reach of the masses. Although these two schools are no longer exclusive in terms of race, nevertheless independent schools are still considered socially exclusive.

Proportionately many more of the middle and professional classes go to these private schools. More importantly, experience suggests that most parents who patronize independent schools, do so not because they deem it important for their children to have a religious upbringing, nor do many of them have any informed reason for believing in their (the schools) academic superiority - in most cases, the choice is mainly for social reasons: it is socially important for people enjoying a particular social, economic or professional level (or those desirous of doing so) to send their children to private schools.

On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the academic quality, along with the teaching situation

plus the over-population of state schools, are such that parents may be reasonably justified in supporting independent schools. Moreover, the educational repute of most private schools has usually been reasonably good.

CURRICULUM

One of the chief protests of the child-centred movement in education was against the uniformity of procedure the traditional school sought to impose upon its charges. Most of this venom was directed towards the curriculum which came under attack most usually for its subject-centredness and its consequent failure to allow for the development of individuality and creativity in the learner. Whether, the child-centred movement influenced educational policy in the Bahamas is questionable. Yet, it is true that during the early stages of the primary school, a curriculum as such, hardly exists. Insofar as there is a plan, it is characterized by its emphasis on the three Rs--Reading, Writing and Arithmetic; interspersed with some singing and games.

In the second part of the primary school, teaching is confined largely to the same basic subjects along with some Algebra, Geometry, History and Geography/Social Studies. The rigidity and uniformity imposed at this level, manifests the view of most primary headmasters who see freedom as being counter-educational.

A somewhat similar attitude characterizes the headmasters of secondary schools, but their stance seems less authoritarian and radical for two reasons. Firstly, there is the question of age, at some time, the pupil is called upon to make informed choices with regard to the kind of satisfactions he expects to gain from work and life in the world beyond the school. Entwistle has argued, that the child cannot effectively make such choices until he has had the adequate experience of a wide curriculum and is able to think in abstractions (1970). If we concede that it is at the level of the primary school, and the early stages of the secondary school that adequate experience should be provided, then it follows that later secondary school pupils ought to be able to think in abstractions and therefore ready for a more structured curriculum.

Secondly, there is the problem of examinations written at the national level. The end of secondary schooling is marked by the writing of two kinds of examinations: one local, the Bahamas Junior Certificate, and one overseas, the London General Certificate of Education. Pupils may write any amount of subjects and must pass at least one in order to receive a certificate. The need for uniformity imposed by a curriculum derives in part from the need to prepare pupils for these examinations. Thus, to the core of the primary school curriculum are added, other examination subjects mostly practical in nature as needle-work,

domestic science, elementary agriculture and certain other technical subjects.

The curriculum of the grammar/high schools varies only slightly from that of the secondary schools, but it was precisely the curriculum which set these schools apart as separate. It was normal for the grammar school child to study, one classical language--invariably Latin, one or more of the modern languages usually French and/or Spanish, plus Mathematics, History, English Language and Literature and Physical Education. Around this academic core which formed in the final forms the compulsory part of the curriculum, Art, Music, Religious Knowledge, Domestic Science, Needlework and Commercial subjects found their place as optional courses. One is familiar with this curriculum which allowed specialization in the arts or sciences with little regard to the integration of the two.

The remarkable thing about these curricula is that they seemed totally to disregard the problem of political education. Authorities may have assumed that democratic values and political knowledge were being learned incidentally through lessons in History or Geography, but the point that needs making is that this approach totally neglected the Bahamian experience, insofar as there was a particular Bahamian experience. As one student of the government high school put it, "as a result of this (the information-oriented

curriculum), students intent on obtaining information on England, America, Henry VII, Louis XIV, Chaucer and Crabbe forgot how to relate to the Bahamas and places and happenings beneath their very noses". This inclination to emphasize the experience of the metropole rather than that of the locality has left a seemingly permanent mark on the mentality and psychology of the people. Bahamians as a people, still know very little about their history and geography. Paul Adderley put it this way, "Politicians and others participate with conviction on matters of which they appear to know little, and it is a fact that little or nothing is known of the history of the Bahamas over the past 350 years by most people in the Bahamas, as a result some abominable tripe about ourselves is passed off as authentic information". (1973) There are those who are not ignorant of events which helped to shape the development of this young nation, but who nevertheless feel that in the interest of social recognition they should forget their cultural trappings and promote enthusiastically the cause of colonialism.

Thus, even if, the Bahamian educational authorities do recognize that some concession must be made to the development of political attitudes and personalities, it is not delivering the goods. So far as can be determined from government reports on education, this system makes little contrived efforts to prepare its members for citizenship in the political sense, when political citizenship is characterized

as 'a deliberate involvement within the political system intending to influence the several governmental institutions'.

Unlike the metropole which we are told did offer some political education via such courses as education for citizenship or civics, political education in the Bahamas has always been neglected.

Previously, we suggested that insofar as political education was considered at all, it was offered via the general curriculum particularly through History and Social studies. But these courses suffered from several shortcomings, the most obvious being their tendency to be exclusively concerned with the British and the European experience. In other words, History and Geography/Social Studies as presented to Bahamian pupils focus on the development of Britain, Europe and America. Insofar as any effort is made to include matters Bahamian, certain Social Studies lessons focus on the workings of the macro-governmental institutions of Parliament and the Senate. Consequently, most potential citizens do not recognize that they have an active political role, outside of his engagement in the periodical elections, in the political system. In fact, experience suggest that educational authorities made a contrived effort to keep controversial and political issues outside the classroom. Ministry regulations prohibit the involvement of civil servants in general and teachers in particular, in what they define

as active partisan politics. Failing to present an honest and realistic picture of how the Bahamian citizen can and does function, History, Geography and Social Studies promote a theory of citizenship which bears little comparison to the quality of citizenship available to the masses.

Moreover, Social Studies which includes the Bahamian political process as an item in its syllabus, advances an idealistic picture of the democratic process at work in the Bahamian context, by oversimplifying the processes of political change and electoral procedure.

Thus far, it has been assumed that the shortcomings of the Bahamian approach to political education lay essentially in the conception of citizenship behaviour and of the political universe it sought to promote. But there is a further limitation inherent in the nature of the activity itself. This approach is essentially theoretical and descriptive and as such is unable to provide the practical experience necessary for mastering the skills of political living. In essence, this approach assumes the primacy of the theoretical, it assumes that it is more important to teach about the processes of government than to provide opportunity for the development of skills pertinent to political citizenship.

Several researchers have attempted to show the relationship between the disciplinary regime within the

school and a person's political orientations, particularly his relationship to authority. Entwistle, for example, has argued that "the disciplinary and socializing process of the school are an important source of adult attitudes towards rights and duties, towards the perception of one's capacity to alter the framework of the society in which one lives." (p. 35) Whilst not wishing to paint a picture of totalitarian school system, it has to be recognized that most schools in the Bahamas are authority-centered. Rules are usually laid down from the top and seldom are pupils given any measure of self-government. This is a situation which is causing much concern (not only to teachers committed to the democratization of the schools, but also to pupils who must endure the yoke of this situation. One pupil at the government high school complained that 'until a few of us reached advanced level we generally had to accept the teachers' views ... there are too many restrictions and no privileges even for the upper forms'.

In recent years, most high schools in paying lip service to democracy in the schools, established student councils. However, students have complained that these councils have no power. In terms of composition teachers outnumber the students and moreover, these councils have not been vested with the authority to execute any action they deem necessary.

Every school has a number of extra-curricular clubs and societies which have the function of complementing the curriculum by affording children the opportunity to pursue their particular interests. Among the clubs found on campus are: guides, key clubs, choirs, debating and literary societies, cooking clubs, foreign studies clubs, dance and sports clubs. Many of these organizations offer practice in political concepts and skills via their administrative organization and adherence to democratic procedure.

VI. POLITICAL PARTIES

The growth of a more democratic political process in the country necessitated the development of political parties to provide cohesive formal opposition and electoral organizations. Thus, it was during the early 50s that formally organized political parties began to appear on the scene. Currently two political parties represent the people in parliament--the ruling Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) and the opposition Free National Movement (FNM). Prior to 1967, the country had a government which represented the population inversely, the party of the government being the United Bahamian Party (UBP) which drew its members from the White population (20%). Today the government is predominantly Black, of the 38 seats in Parliament, the PLP which claims identity with the Black majority and in fact rose to power on just this theme, holds 30 seats. On the other hand, the

official opposition FNM which is in fact an amalgam of the UBP (voted out of office in 1967 election) and the free PLP (a group which broke away from PLP in 1971) claims to be representative of the entire population but identifies with and appeals to the intellectuals. This party holds seven of the remaining eight seats. There are still some individuals who desire to be independent members of parliament and just one such person holds the remaining seat in Parliament.

However, in actual fact very little ideological differences may be discerned between the two parties, for as far as can be determined both parties lack any well defined philosophies as the present Prime Minister and leader of the PLP put it:

'In all our years of existence, we as a party have developed no common philosophy which convicts and binds us'. (Nassau Daily Tribune, Oct. 20, 1975)

Yet, from its inception in 1959, the ruling PLP set out to establish permanent organizational contact with the population and to enlist their support in its struggle against the then empowered White UBP. In consequence, it was perceived as a revolutionary party for when it was formed it took the form of a radical movement directed against the status quo. Some political theorists would thus like to call the PLP a pragmatic pluralist party (Coleman and Rosberg (eds.), 1966 p. 663).

It was to counter the radicalism of the PLP that

under the leadership of the dissident Cecil Wallace Whitfield, the Free National Movement (FNM) was formed. The FNM can in no sense be described as a revolutionary party, since its sympathies lie with the continuation of tradition and custom - hence its opposition to independence. In practice, however, very little ideological differences may be discerned between both parties except that they seem to have slight differences of economic interest, the PLP being the party for local investment and Bahamianization of business, the FNM are allied with big business, finance and foreign investment.

As far as can be determined, recruitment is done rather informally, no appeals are made to schools as government makes a contrived effort to keep partisan politics out of the schools. Experience suggests, however, that persons considered most likely to succeed in an election are approached by party officials. On the other hand, some people simply approach parties and express their desire for membership and electoral candidacy.

Our discussion has focused on the existence of essentially two political parties. Other parties do exist but these are still in the developmental stages. For example, the National Democratic Party and the Vanguard Nationalist Party, as well as the Young Socialist Party. A discussion of this nature is important when it is recognized that socialization theorists identify partisanship as one of the

more outstanding features of the political world. Of particular consequence to our study, is the fact that these same theorists claim that it (partisanship) is a political orientation most usually transmitted by the family via the processes of identification and imitation. Thus, there is a commitment on the part of any investigation into the development of political orientations, to consider the nature of parties in the political system.

VII YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETY

Outside the school, in the larger society, churches assume the major responsibility for youth organizations and societies. Thus, there are such organizations as: Anglican Young People's Association; Young Catholics, Methodists Guilds; Girls' and Boys' Brigade, and many other disciplinary and religious organizations.

Other organizations not under the auspices of the church which cater to youths and adolescents, include: the various fraternal and secret societies as, Elks, Masonics and Good Samaritans; a junior branch of the Red Cross; such protest groups as: UNICOMM, Interdenominational Youth Movement and Young Socialists.

The extent to which these organizations are overtly political varies considerably. The protest groups are extremely so, whilst the disciplinary ones are almost oblivious

to the demands the political culture makes in respect to the development of an active political citizenry. At one time efforts were made to organize junior branches of both major parties, but neither ventures proved particularly successful, and at the time of writing both have passed into oblivion.

All of these organizations have the particular interest of instilling in their disciples, skills and attitudes they deem essential to social existence, the most usual attitude being that of brotherhood. Hence, they play a necessary and respected role in the society, cutting across the social strata in attracting its clientele. Parents consider it important for their children to belong to at least one of these organizations. In particular, they feel that service and disciplinary organizations help to inculcate a sense of responsibility and provide valuable training grounds for particular professions.

Most of the associations referenced above, also exist at the adult level. The churches, which in many instances provide the only social exposure for women, have attached to them several organizations. Many of the internationally known service clubs as: Kiwanis, Rotary, Red Cross, Masonics, Elks, are established in the society. Other local organizations include: mental health associations, drama circles, literary and choral societies, Toastmasters and

Toastmistresses, philosophical societies, and of course, the various sports and athletic clubs.

The particular interest of certain of the clubs, especially the service clubs, is to instil in members a social awareness - in realizing this goal they of necessity are extremely political. In fact, many electoral candidates are recruited from just these associations. However, the best example of associational democracy at work in the Bahamas, is referenced by the professional associations, and unions. The medical association, the bar association, the nurses' association and the teachers' union, in their attempt to affect the workings of government have made parliamentarians aware of the social inequalities and injustices, which exist in conjunction with a rising new middle class, whose ascent is maintained only as long as the inequalities are maintained. The pressure professional organizations have brought to bear on government, through their demands for representation on pertinent councils and committees, has functioned to at least delay the passage of certain bills.

Membership in any of the political parties is legitimate and often solicited. Yet, as a people, Bahamians (particularly, the non-professional) still seem reluctant to become card-carrying members, as it were, of political parties. But this kind of behaviour is understandable, when it is recognized that the party system in the Bahamas has had

rather a recent history, having begun approximately during the middle of the 1950s. Yet, it is sometimes difficult for a contemporary Bahamian to imagine parliament without political parties.

The argument of this section has been that formal organizations serve an educational function in the development of political skills and concepts. Consequently, any study which presumes to investigate the nature of the socialization process must assess the existence and nature of formal associations within the particular society.

4

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

This chapter concentrates on the presentation of the major findings of our research study. As detailed in Chapter II our main purpose in undertaking this study was to explore and describe the effect of political education components of the curriculum at the high school level (grades 10, 11 and 12) and at the university level on the political socialization of a group of Bahamian students in Montreal. Therefore, in this chapter we shall first of all discuss our treatment of the independent variables: level of PEC exposure as measured by number of courses taken at high school, at university and in between, as well as the level of Educational Knowledge/Literacy as measured on three different tests: Langton's Factual Test, Sophistication Test and the York Social Studies Test. Secondly, we shall discuss our treatment of the dependent variables measuring political socialization. Thirdly, we shall discuss the results of our test of the hypotheses as detailed in Chapter II. Fourthly, we shall present the results of our analysis of the effect of several important variables related to the political socialization process. These variables are grouped into four categories: demographic and personality variables, variables related to family relationships, variables related to the school environment and variables related to participation in formal organizations.

An important procedural note is to be stated at

this point. After the first coding of the information, we ran a complete print-out of frequencies and percentage distribution on each item of the interview schedule. This first set of results (including some information collected through the tables which formed part of the interview schedule - see p. 248) is presented in Appendix II. This will provide a detailed profile of Bahamian students in Montreal who may be described as a Bahamian elite group.

Based on the information obtained on this first step, we then prepared a second coding sheet and a second set of data cards, summarizing the information to be analyzed in this chapter. For purposes of the test of hypotheses we have used this second set of data. Slight discrepancies in percentages between the two sets are due to the grouping of some of the data for purposes of analysis.

I. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The independent variables for our test of hypotheses consisted of items measuring the respondents' level of exposure to political content of the curriculum (PEC) as measured by relevant courses taken at the high school level, at the university level, and in between high school and university. The information was collected in the first part of the interview schedule.

A. HIGH SCHOOL

Four categories of courses believed to contain

explicit political components were examined. These were: Civics courses, History courses, Social Studies courses, and 'Other Relevant' courses.

CIVICS COURSES (Q. 70 - 75; 142)

As far as we could determine from the available literature, personal experience, discussion and correspondence with Bahamian educational authorities, there were no Civics courses offered in Bahamian high schools, at the time our sample went through high school. Therefore, we expected that all students would answer negatively when asked about number of Civics courses taken at high school. Instead only 36 students answered so. There were two students who had five or more Civics courses, another one reported having had three Civics courses, while two other students had one Civics course each. We found out that these students were quizzed every morning on the news reported the night before. This activity, according to the students, was called Civics in their respective schools.

Since there was not enough variation on this item, we omitted it from our list of independent variables measuring the PEC.

HISTORY COURSES (Q. 76 - 81; 143)

One of the courses which we considered as part of the Political Education Curriculum (PEC) was History a course

which every Bahamian high school student is required to take up to a certain level - usually third form. Moreover, History was considered an 'arts option' course and 'arts' courses were very popular with Bahamian students as an area of concentration. (In general this was true for our sample as well.) Thus, it is not surprising that 24 students had five or more History courses, three students had four History courses, another 13 had three courses each and one student had only two courses in History.

Most students performed very well in these courses judging by their self-reported grades. Except for two students who mainly got Ds in History, all the others did quite well. Ten students classified their teachers as being extremely good, 12 said their teachers were good and 14 reported that their teachers were fairly good. Five students had teachers who, as far as they were concerned, were poor instructors.

Nine students reported having had only male teachers, 22 students reported only female teachers, while ten students had both male and female teachers of History. Furthermore, most of the students were generally pleased with their courses. This finding was quite surprising in view of the fact that, most Bahamians are now looking back at their high school courses with disgust since these courses focused on the British and European experience to the total neglect of the Third World. Yet eight students rated the

courses as extremely good, 16 students rated them as good, ten students marked fairly good. Only six students said the courses were bad. Only two students chose History courses as electives, 18 students took History courses because these were required courses in their programmes and 21 students took History as a requirement but also took some elective History courses.

From the above comments, it is expected that the History courses would have increased the interest of students on political matters. Indeed 23 students said that History courses greatly increased their interest towards public affairs and politics, while 11 students thought the courses were helpful in this respect. Only seven students said the courses did not help increase their political interest at all.

SOCIAL STUDIES COURSES (Q. 82 - 87, 144)

Just as History is mandatory for most Bahamian students up to a certain grade level, so is Social Studies which, at the time our sample was in high school, was taught mainly as Geography. Geography, since it can lend itself to the direct teaching of political facts, ideas and orientations was the next item considered as part of the PEC. Twenty students had five courses or more, three students had four courses, 12 students had three courses and two students had one course each only. As in the case of History, with

the exception of one student who got a mixture of Cs and Ds for his Geography courses, the rest of the sample performed well. Only five students reported having had poor teachers and most of them felt the courses were good and informative. Twenty students had all male teachers, nine students had all female Geography teachers while eight students had a mixture of male and female teachers.

Fifteen students took their courses because they were required, while 21 students took a mixture of required and elective Geography courses. Only one student took all elective Geography courses. Thirty students said that as a result of their courses their interest in political matters had increased considerably.

OTHER RELEVANT COURSES (Q. 88 - 93; 144)

From our readings, we have been able to determine that very little, if any, other courses with direct political content were taught in Bahamian schools. Therefore, we did not expect to find any other information on items relevant to the PEC for our sample. Indeed 34 students did not report any other courses at all, and only seven students pointed to some courses which they thought were relevant. We have, therefore, omitted this item from the list of independent variables used for PEC purposes.

B. INTERMEDIATE LEVEL

Since some of the students in our sample had

received formal training in post-secondary educational institutions before entering university, we enquired about the political components included in their curriculum at this stage. However, only a few students had this experience. Consequently, we are not going to engage in a detailed discussion about the intermediate level of schooling, in this chapter. The raw results may be consulted in the appendix. (Q. 94 - 117; 146 - 149).

One point that must be mentioned however, is that, in the case of individuals who had taken politically relevant courses at the intermediate level, we did try to determine if there was a cumulative effect due to these courses. We discovered that these were in fact the same individuals with high PEC exposure at the high school level and therefore decided to omit further analysis of this part of the data.

C. UNIVERSITY

Four categories of courses believed to contain explicit political components were examined at this level. In particular the categories included: Political Science courses, History courses, Social Studies courses and 'Other Relevant' courses.

POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES (Q. 118 - 123; 150)

One of the courses we considered as relevant to

PEC at the university level, is Political Science. Twenty-nine students did not have any courses in Political Science, while four students had one course, two students had two courses each, two students had three courses each and four students had five or more such courses. Most of the students who took these courses had a B average. Only one student reported a bad experience with a Political Science course. The rest seemed pleased with their courses in content and structure, and they felt that these courses had a direct effect in raising their interest in politics. Of the 12 students who took Political Science courses, nine had male professors only, while three had some male and some female professors. All of the students enjoyed their professors style and delivery. Six students took Political Science courses because they were required, whilst six others took some required and some elective courses.

HISTORY COURSES (Q. 124 - 129; 151)

In considering other relevant courses, we first of all examined the quantity of History courses taken. Only 11 students reported having taken History courses. Of these, only one student had five or more courses, four had two courses and the rest had one course each. Two students reported failing grades, the rest did quite well. The interesting aspect related to History courses is that most of the courses were on Third World countries. The majority of the

students were pleased with the quality and content of the courses as well as the professor who offered them. Moreover, most of the students reported that their interest in political affairs increased as a result of these courses. Except for one student, the rest had only male History teachers.

SOCIAL STUDIES COURSES (Q. 130 - 135; 152)

Nine students reported Social Studies courses as part of their university curriculum. Of these, seven had only taken one such course, one student had five or more courses. Only one student failed most of his Social Studies courses, the rest did quite well. They furthermore were happy with the quality of the course and the teaching of the professors. Four students had all male professors, three students had female professors and two students had some male and some female Social Studies teachers. Seven students had chosen Social Studies as an elective, and two students had some required and some elective courses. All of the students reported some increase in political interest, as a result of these courses. Yet there was not enough variation on this item to warrant our maintaining it as an independent variable. Hence, we have omitted it from our list of independent variables measuring PEC at the University level.

OTHER RELEVANT COURSES (Q. 136 - 141, 153)

Thirty students mentioned other courses which they

thought to be relevant in as much as they involved direct instruction on political matters. In this regard such courses as: Philosophy, Economics and Religion were mentioned. Six students had one course each of this kind, eight students had two courses, five students had three courses and the rest had four or more courses. With the exception of four students, the respondents did quite well on these courses. Twenty-three reported having had all male professors, while seven students had both male and female professors. All students thought the courses were quite good and most of them liked the professors. Twelve took the courses as electives, seven as required, and 11 had a mixture of required and elective courses in this category. Most of the students reported some increase of interest in political matters as a result of these courses.

SUMMARY OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

HIGH SCHOOL

The respondents in our sample were divided into groups according to the degree of exposure to the political education curriculum (PEC). We measured PEC at the high school level by the number of History courses and the number of Social Studies courses taken. Although we had collected information on the number of civics courses and 'other relevant' courses, we could not obtain a good distribution along those lines.

The students were divided into groups based on the extent of their exposure to History and Social Studies courses, as follows:

1. Those who had taken five or more courses (History or Social Studies) at the high school level were categorized as having had 'high exposure' to PEC (History 25 Rs; Social Studies 23 Rs).
2. Those who had taken two to four courses (History or Social Studies) were grouped as having had 'medium exposure' to PEC (History 16 Rs; Social Studies 15 Rs).
3. Those who had taken one course (History or Social Studies) were grouped together as having had 'low exposure' to PEC (History 0 Rs and Social Studies 3 Rs).
4. Those who had taken no courses (History or Social Studies) were grouped as having had 'no exposure' to PEC (History 0 Rs; Social Studies 0 Rs).

UNIVERSITY

At the university level, the respondents in our sample were also divided into groups according to the degree of exposure to PEC. We measured PEC at the university level by the number of Political Science, History and 'Other

Relevant' courses taken by the students. The students were then divided into groups along the following lines:

1. Those who had taken five or more courses (Political Science ; History or Other Relevant courses) at the university level were categorized as having had 'high exposure' to PEC (Political Sciences 4 Rs; History 1 R; other relevant courses 9 Rs).
2. Those who had taken two to four courses (Political Science, History or other relevant courses) at the university level were grouped as having had 'medium exposure' to PEC (Political Science 4 Rs; History 4 Rs; other 16 Rs).
3. Those who had taken only one course (Political Science, History or Other Relevant courses) were grouped as having had 'low exposure' to PEC (Political Science 4 Rs; History 5 Rs; Other Relevant courses 6 Rs).
4. Those who had taken no courses (Political Science, History, 'Other Relevant' courses) were grouped as having had no exposure to PEC (Political Science 29 Rs, History 31 Rs, 'Other Relevant' courses 10 Rs).

II. DEPENDENT VARIABLES - HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

Of the nine variables measuring political socialization which are detailed in Chapter II, we have chosen seven for the test of hypotheses. These are:

1. Political Interest
2. Spectator Politicization (newspaper and radio)
3. Political Discourse
4. Political Efficacy
5. Political Cynicism
6. Civic Tolerance
7. Political Knowledge (measured in three tests:
 - (a) Langton's Factual Test of Politics
 - (b) Langton's Political Sophistication Test
 - (c) York Social Studies Concept Test)

We have omitted the variable of Participative Orientation for the reasons outlined below.

POLITICIZATION

Langton used a combination of spectator politicization and political discourse to arrive at a general politicization score as discussed in Chapter II. We have therefore omitted the analysis of this variable as a measure of political socialization since we are discussing the two component variables separately, and since our sample is not

large enough to distinguish any additive effects.

PARTICIPATIVE ORIENTATION

This variable of political socialization measures the propensity toward participation in public life. Like Langton, we used a simple question as the basis for classification in this aspect of political socialization: 'People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means. We're interested in what you think. Tell me how you would describe a good citizen in the Bahamas - that is, what things about a person are most important in showing that he is a good citizen?' (Q. 250 - 251).

As predicted in Chapter II, since most of our sample consisted of voters who would participate for the first time in elections this year (1976), the results obtained indicated the importance of being a good citizen in the participative sense. Thus, at the university level, only two students stressed non-participative aspects like, "to abide by the law, respect one's religion and love one's country". Whereas, at the high school level the number of students who remembered having stressed the non-participative aspect of being a good citizen, was approximately 20.

Thus, because there was not much variation on this variable at the university level, we have omitted it from the discussion of this chapter.

The discussion will, from this point, focus on our treatment of the remaining seven variables measuring political socialization outcomes.

POLITICAL INTEREST (Q. 174 - 181)

On this variable, students were categorized into, High, Low and No Interest groups and were given scores accordingly (2, 1, 0), on the basis of the interest shown in public affairs. Those who, in our first analysis replied that they follow what is going on in government and public affairs "most of the time" or "some of the time", were categorized as the High Interest group (HS 14, U 23). Those respondents who claimed to have followed politics "only now and then" or "hardly at all", were categorized as the Low Interest group (HS 26, U 18). Those respondents who did not show any interest at all in public affairs and politics are in the No Interest group (HS 0, U 0). One respondent was not classified at the high school level.

SPECTATOR POLITICIZATION

This variable was measured on two items: newspaper and radio.

Newspaper (Q. 182 - 184; 205 - 207)

On this variable we divided the sample into groups having, No Politicization (score 0), Low Politicization (score 1), and High Politicization (score 2), on the following basis: those respondents who never read the newspaper

were placed in the No Politicization group (HS 10, U 16), those who read the newspaper only a few times a week or a few times a year, were placed in the Low Politicization group (HS 16, U 14) whilst those respondents who read the newspaper on a daily basis were placed in the High Politicization group (HS 15, U 11).

Radio (Q. 185 - 188; 208 - 212)

Listeners to political programmes on the radio were grouped in the same manner as newspaper readers. Thus we have the following groups: No Politicization (HS 11, U 11), Low Politicization (HS 12, U 20), High Politicization (HS 16, U 10). Two respondents at the High School level belong in the 'Not Apply' category.

POLITICAL DISCOURSE (Q. 198 - 204; 222 - 228)

On this variable, respondents were categorized as: (1) not engaging in political discourse; (2) engaging in political discourse at a low level; (3) engaging in political discourse at a medium level; (4) engaging in political discourse at a high level; on the basis of the frequency with which they discussed politics. (Scores 0, 1, 2, 3 respectively) The No Discussion category included all those respondents who did not usually discuss matters political, with their friends, family or other adults. (H.S. 11 Rs, U 7 Rs). The Low Level category, included those respondents

who discussed politics with friends, family and other adults on an average of once or twice yearly (HS 11 Rs, U 9 Rs). The group having a Medium Level of discourse brought together those respondents who discussed political matters a few times monthly or those who engaged in politically relevant discussion with some adults several times a week and with others a few times a month (HS 18 Rs; U 23). The group categorized as having a High Level of political discourse included those respondents who discussed politics with family, friends and other adults on a weekly basis (HS 0 Rs, U 2 Rs).

At the high school level, one student was in the 'Not Apply' category.

POLITICAL EFFICACY (Q. 229 - 232)

On this variable, students were categorized as:

(1) 'Feeling No Efficacy at All (HS 17, U 13); (2) being at a Low Level of Efficacy (HS 20 Rs; U 17 Rs); (3) being at a Medium Level of Efficacy (HS 1, U 0 Rs); (4) being at a High Level of Efficacy (HS 3 Rs; U 11 Rs), on the basis of their comments on the following statements (scores 0, 1, 2, 3):

1. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about the way the government runs things.

2. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what's going on.

It is to be noted that the above two items were used to construct a three point political efficacy scale with a CR of .94, as developed by Langton.

POLITICAL CYNICISM (233 - 244)

On this variable, respondents were categorized into groups having: (1) No Cynicism (HS 3, U 0); (2) Low Level of Cynicism (HS 8, U 2); (3) Medium Level of Cynicism (HS 19, U 26); (4) High Level of Cynicism (HS 11, U 13); on the basis of their response to the following six items (scores 0, 1, 2, 3):

1. Over the years, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do?
2. Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many of them are, hardly any of them are or all of them are?
3. Do you think that the people in government waste a lot of the revenue, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?
4. How much of the time do you think you can

trust the government of the Bahamas, to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, some of the time or never?

5. Do you feel that most of the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few don't know what they are doing?

6. Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or for the benefit of all?

The above six items formed a political cynicism scale with a CR of .94 as developed by Langton.

An important clarification should be mentioned in the case of Political Cynicism. The inclusion of Political Cynicism in the political socialization measures is based on the expectation that, "while trying to create interest in politics and a sense of efficacy, the civics curriculum almost inevitably tries to discourage feelings of mistrust, and cynicism toward the government". (Langton 1969, p. 94). Therefore, it should be expected that those who are high on political socialization in general will score low on cynicism. Thus when we see a high score on this item it means that the individual is low on this variable of political socialization. However, the results of

many researchers including Langton have shown that the higher the level of education the higher the degree of cynicism.

Although taken at an adult level this may mean many different things, at the high school level it may be based on the quality of the class-room climate, or it may be a result of salient structural variables in the societal fabric. This will be discussed further in later sections.

CIVIC TOLERANCE (Q. 245 - 249)

All respondents were scored on civic tolerance according to their response to the following three statements, which formed a Guttman scale with a CR of .94:

1. The democratic form of government is one that all nations should have.
2. If a person wanted to make a speech in your community, against churches and religion he should be allowed to speak.
3. If a communist were legally elected to some public office in the Bahamas, the people should allow him to take office.

On the above basis we had categories of: (1) No Tolerance at All (HS 0 Rs, U 1 Rs); (2) Low Tolerance (HS 8Rs, U 15Rs); (3) Medium Tolerance (HS 27Rs, U 20Rs) and High Tolerance (HS 8Rs, U 15Rs). The scores assigned were 0, 1, 2, 3, respectively.

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY

Three different measures were used for this variable:

A. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY (Part III, Q. 258 - 259):
reflected in respondents' performance on a factual examination. Respondents were asked to answer the following questions based on the example developed by Langton:

- 1a. About how many years does a Bahamian parliament last?
- 1b. Did you know this in your last year of high school?
- 2a. Marshall T. T. is a leader in what country?
- 3a. Do you happen to recall whether President Kennedy was a Republican or a Democrat?
- 3b. Did you know this in your last year of high school?
- 4a. During WW II which nation had a great many concentration camps for Jews?
- 4b. Did you know this in your last year of high school?
- 5a. Do you happen to know how many members there are in the Bahamian Parliament?
- 5b. Did you know this in your last year of high school?

Each positive answer was marked 20. The students were classified (scores 3, 2, 1, 0) as High on political knowledge/literacy if they scored between 80 - 100 (HS 7; U 12); as Medium on political knowledge/literacy if they scored 60 (HS 10; U 8); as Low if they scored between 20 - 40 (HS 21; U 20) and as having No Knowledge at all if they scored 0) (HS 3; U 1).

B. POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION (Part III, Q. 264): based on the student's perception of ideological differences between political parties and as ascertained on Langton's model which was composed of the following items:

1. Do you think these are any important differences in what the PLPs and FNMs stand for?
2. Would you say that either one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal than the other?
3. What do you have in mind when you say that ----- are more conservative than the -----?

Since this was a highly subjective test, the students were not asked to give a retrospective evaluation and therefore we only have a score of political sophistication at the present time.

Those respondents who totalled a score between

50 - 60 were classified as Medium on sophistication (6 Rs) and those who scored 50 or less - one was classified as low on sophistication (25 Rs). Students who did not give any correct answers were grouped together in the No Sophistication category (1). The respective scores for each category was 3, 2, 1, 0.

C. YORK TEST (PART IV)

Political knowledge/literacy as reflected by the respondents' performance on the York Social Studies Concept test.

The respondents who totalled a score of 80 - 100 were classified as High on political knowledge/literacy (HS 6; U 23). Those who scored between 50 - 75 - were classified as Medium (HS 11; U 12) and those who scored between 25 - 45 were classified Low on this scale (HS 24; U 6). There were no zero scores. The respective scores for each category was: 3, 2, 1, 0.

III. GENERAL REMARKS - DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Before summarizing this section we should mention a few points of information. The first two dependent variables were dichotomized: political interest and spectator politicization (radio and newspaper). The respondents were classified into low and high scorers. However, the rest of the dependent variables were discussed in three categories:

Low, Medium and High and the scores used were 1, 2 and 3.

This fact should be remembered when looking comparatively at the means obtained on each of the dependent variables. The first two variables were based on quite arbitrary categorization and therefore were best dichotomized. However, since the other variables were more carefully developed and tested by Langton we decided to follow a three category division for a more detailed analysis.

A few details are worth mentioning in relation to some dependent variables.

POLITICAL INTEREST (Q. 175 - 179)

In the case of political interest items, students were asked to indicate the particular kind of public affairs they were interested in, while in high school. Respondents were asked to identify which of these they followed most closely: International affairs, National affairs, American affairs, or Canadian affairs.

It is perfectly clear from our data that respondents at this time were extremely parochial, their interests being very local. Thirty-five students followed National affairs most closely. Only two students followed International affairs most closely and one followed Canadian affairs most closely. However, three students did not follow any of these systematically. There is one criticism which mainly ex-
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triate teachers level at Bahamian pupils which is justified by this data: their knowledge of world issues and events is extremely limited at high school level.

In examining the political interest variable at the university level, we discovered that 17 respondents follow International affairs most closely, 18 respondents follow National affairs most closely and five students follow Canadian affairs most closely. One student did not have any specific interest area.

SPECTATOR POLITICIZATION (Q. 182 - 221)

On the spectator politicization item we decided not to include T.V. in the test of hypotheses. This is essentially because few students in our sample had regular access to T.V. during high school and many mentioned TV as the main source of political information at the university level. We thus did not have enough variation on this item.

In the case of the spectator politicization variable as related to the consumption of political content in newspapers, we found that 26 of our respondents usually read the local newspapers, Guardian and Tribune, for news about public affairs and politics. Three read the Toronto based Globe and Mail. We also found out that one regulation of most home-room teachers was that the newspaper be read regularly. Some teachers went so far as to quiz students on newspaper articles. Further, some schools gave over the

first period of the day to discussions of the morning's newspaper.

No doubt because it was required by teachers, 15 respondents read the newspaper almost daily. Ten got away with reading it two to three times a week (probably they were quizzed two to three times a week). Five others read the papers three to four times a month. One respondent read the newspapers only a few times a year.

RADIO (Q. 208 - 212)

In the case of radio, 24 students listened to radio programs about public affairs, politics and the news. Fifteen did not listen to the radio for public events and news, while two could not remember. However, the data produced here seem awkward - many more students should have been caught up with the radio, precisely because most parents themselves listened to the news on the radio. One wonders how so many Rs got off without listening to public affairs programmes on the radio.

Fourteen respondents who listened to the radio did so on a daily basis, nine listened two or three times a week and three listened three to four times a month. Many of the respondents did say, however, that when an election was approaching the frequency with which they listened to the radio increased significantly.

Twenty-four respondents listened mainly to news

broadcasts, whilst 12 listened to other kinds of public affairs programmes as well. Since the influence of family politicization is important, students were also asked about the behavior pattern, with regard to media consumption, for other family members. According to our data, the families of the students are fairly well politicized. Twenty-three students in our sample usually listened to the radio with other members of their families, only two usually listened by themselves, and one respondent usually listened with friends. The data here generally support our earlier contention which implied that Bahamians rely heavily on radio broadcasts for news and public affairs reports.

However, because of the fact that so many of the respondents listened with their families we suspected that certain of them listened not out of personal interest but rather because they were compelled to by their environment. Thus, we asked the respondents to indicate whether or not they would have listened if somebody in the family were not. Fourteen said yes, they would have listened on their own, while ten said no. Two said they would have listened on their own part of the time.

TELEVISION (Q. 189 - 193)

In this case, of the 39 students who had access to T.V. 16 watched programs about public affairs, politics and the news, 25 did not. Five students who watched public

affairs and politics on T.V. did so almost daily. Three did so two to three times a week and eight did watch the news three to four times a month. Fifteen students watched mainly programmes and one student watched other kinds of public affairs programmes as well.

To determine the T.V. viewing pattern of our Rs' families, we asked them to indicate whether or not they watched T.V. with their families. Twelve respondents usually watched with members of their families, one usually watched with his spouse, one with friends, one with classmates and one alone. Thirteen respondents said if someone else in the family were not watching, they would have gone ahead and watched anyway. Three said they would not have watched it alone.

Not many of our sample were interested in reading magazines about public affairs and politics. One is familiar with the complaint which emphasizes the size of the print. Only eight said they read some magazines regularly, two did so occasionally and 31 did not read magazines at all. Only six of these students said that they read certain magazines regularly. Five of them read Time and Newsweek regularly and one read Reader's Digest.

The medium most popular with our sample as suggested by the data is the newspaper. Nineteen of the respondents said that, of all the ways for following public affairs and

politics this was the medium from which they got most information while in high school.

The second most popular medium was the radio - nine claimed to have absorbed most information from this source. Six named the T.V. as the most informative of the media, and two named magazines. One was unable to identify one particular medium and four never followed anything.

RADIO - UNIVERSITY (Q. 185 - 189)

At the university level, the radio does seem to be a little more popular than the paper - no doubt because it requires less attention and effort. Thus, only 16 students do not listen to the radio for public and political affairs programmes. The remaining 24 do listen to programmes of this nature and quite regularly too. Thirteen listen almost daily, while nine listen two to three times a week. Three students listen three or four times a month. However, 23 respondents listen mainly to news broadcasts. Only two would listen to another kind of public affairs programme.

To assess the influence of the family, we asked our respondents about the behavior patterns of their families. Since most of the respondents are away from home we did not expect many of them to be listening with family, yet nine students do listen with some member of their family, 16 listen by themselves.

TELEVISION - UNIVERSITY (Q. 189 - 193)

The most popular media instrument with our sample at the university level is without a doubt the television. Of the 40 students who have access to a television, 30 watch news and public events on it. Only ten do not.

Moreover, the viewers seem to be steady watchers, since 12 of them watch T.V. almost daily, and six watch two or three times a week, while 11 students watch three or four times a month. Two students watch T.V. news programmes a few times a year. The popularity of T.V. is partly due to the lack of demand it places on the listener or the viewer. The T.V., the students suggest, does not require that they do anything. Added to that is the fact that it is visual. However, although the T.V. is popular, it is usually only watched for news broadcasts and not for documentaries and public affairs programmes. Those who watch these public affairs types of programmes are only four in number while there are 27 news watchers.

Our data indicate that most of the respondents watch these programmes alone. Thirteen are in this group. However, 14 do watch with certain members of their family. Four other students watch T.V. in a group situation, at school, with friends, in the dormitory or in other public places.

Twenty-six students would watch news broadcasts

even if someone else in the family were not watching. Four would not watch T.V. alone.

At the university only 13 respondents read about public affairs and politics in any magazines. One reads magazines only occasionally while 28 do not read magazines at all. Moreover one dislikes all kind of magazines.

Amongst those who do read magazines, 11 read particular magazines regularly. Two read a particular magazine occasionally. The remaining students do not read any one magazine with any regularity.

The most popular magazines amongst our readers are, Time, Newsweek and the Economist. The entire group of regular readers buys one or the other regularly. Amongst those who do use the media for news, 20 get the most information from television, six favour newspapers, while a similar number favours the radio. Six other students prefer magazines while two like radio and television equally.

POLITICAL DISCOURSE (Q. 198 - 204, 222 - 228)

In this respect, one interesting point is that, when our students discuss politics, most of them (48.8 per cent) discuss essentially social and economic issues and their relation to the home government. The rest discuss conflicts particularly as they relate to armaments and defence; contemporary ideologies; liberation movements of

the Third World and party platforms.

At the high school level, amongst those respondents who did discuss political and controversial issues, the majority of them (29.3 per cent) focused on issues pertinent to local general elections. Another six students (14.6 per cent) discussed social and economic issues relative to the Bahamian society, and four other students (9.8 per cent) discussed contemporary ideologies.

CIVIC TOLERANCE

One characteristic of the politically educated person, the literature suggests, is his disposition towards civic tolerance. We attempted to assess our respondents attitudes towards civic tolerance by asking them to indicate how they felt towards particular controversial groups in the Bahamas, in addition to the more objective civic tolerance scale which is incorporated in our dependent variables. The groups concerned were: Labour Unions, West Indians, Youth Groups for Positive Action, Foreign Investors, Haitians, Whites, Jehovah Witnesses and Blacks.

We did not expect the sample to express much tolerance towards Labour Unions, since they are not well received in the country and seem to lack organization and leadership. Five students feel quite warmly towards them, while 21 feel just warm towards them. The rest, 15 students, do not like them much. (Q. 303) Similarly, 22 students do

not like West Indians at all, 13 feel just warm towards them while only four seem to like this group. (Q. 305)

Recently, certain associations calling themselves 'Youth Groups for Positive Action' have been surfacing on the Bahamian scene. These groups try to be extremely radical, rather unlike the average Bahamian youth who tends towards passivity and apathy in respect of politics. Thus we did not expect the enthusiastic acceptance of them, which we encountered amongst our respondents. Twenty-one of them feel quite warmly towards these groups, while nine feel warmly towards them. The rest, 11, do not seem to like them very much. (Q. 306)

Of particular interest to Bahamians are the Foreign Investors operating in the country. The economy of the Bahamas is dependent - considerably - on foreign investment. Bahamian students who regard themselves as politically and socially conscious, find themselves on the horns of a dilemma when confronted with this group. These youths understand the importance of the foreign investment to the country's economy, yet at the same time they detest the adverse effects it is having on the political independence of the nation and the mentality of the people. Most respondents therefore found themselves in a quandary as to how to respond to this item. The sample was therefore divided between ten who feel quite warmly, 16 who feel warmly and 14 who

feel coldly towards them. One student could not make up his mind on this item. (Q. 307)

The Bahamas is very near to Haiti. Several years ago, when Haitians for the sake of social and political freedom, fled from their country many of them sought asylum in the Bahamas, offering themselves essentially as labourers at those tasks which the average Bahamian felt too menial for him. The Haitian has, however, never been totally accepted by Bahamians and they remain a lower class group. Thus only seven respondents feel quite warm towards them, 16 are just warm and the rest are cold. (Q. 308)

We have already mentioned that 20 per cent of the indigenous population is white. Overt racial friction is not, however, known to exist in the society. We therefore expected more than two students to feel very warm towards Whites, especially when it is remembered that 28.2 per cent of the sample is white. However, 17 (41.5 per cent) feel pretty warm towards Whites and 11 (26.8 per cent) feel plain warm towards them. Five (12.2 per cent) feel cold towards them but only 2.4 per cent feel extremely cold towards them. One student (2.4 per cent) neglected to comment on this item. (Q. 309)

It does seem to be the case that Jehovah Witnesses are not particularly appreciated by many people. Many of our respondents who expressed disgust with them, did so be-

cause they were put off and angered by their persistence. Surprisingly, however, two respondents feel very warm towards them, three feel warm towards them and seven feel just plain warm towards them. Two do not know how they feel about them and three did not comment on this item. The rest of the respondents feel cold towards Jehovah Witnesses." (Q. 310)

The Bahamas is, as we have previously indicated predominantly black - we therefore expected this group to be the most widely accepted one amongst our respondents. Yet, only one respondent feels very warmly towards them. Eighteen feel pretty warm towards them and one respondent feels very cold towards Blacks. (Q. 311)

Although the mean for civic tolerance for our sample is the highest compared to the other dependent variables both at the university and high school levels, respectively 2.0488 and 2.2683 out of a high score of three, we see that on most variables discussed above at least one-third of the sample is plain cold and therefore not tolerant at all.

IV. SUMMARY

To summarize the discussion of the dependent variables, we can say that political socialization increases between high school and university, since the means for most of our variables increased from high school to university.

(Table 1) The means for spectator politicization decreased,

Table 1: Sample Means for the Political
Socialization Variables
High School and University

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	MEANS	
	HIGH SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY
1. Political interest	1.3902	1.5610
2. Spectator politiciza- tion		
a) Newspaper	1.1220	1.8780
b) Radio	1.5122	1.0244
3. Political discourse	1.3659	1.4878
4. Political efficacy	.7561	1.2195
5. Political cynicism	1.9268	2.2683
6. Civic tolerance	2.0488	2.1951
7. Political literacy		
a) Langton test	1.5122	1.7561
b) Sophistication test	1.4878	1.5610
c) York test	1.5610	2.4146

especially in the case of radio. However, in the light of our discussion in the preceding paragraphs, this is understandable since television becomes the most important medium for political news at this level.

In the case of political knowledge/literacy, the most significant change in terms of magnitude could be observed in performance on the York test. With regard to moves between categories of low to high, the Langton factual and sophistication tests stayed almost the same, while there was a major shift from low to high in the case of the York test. Political interest and political efficacy registered a major movement from low to high categories while movement on the political discourse item was mainly from low to medium. Political cynicism increased as did civic tolerance from low to medium. (Table 2)

We shall now proceed to the next section and discuss the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

V. TEST OF HYPOTHESES

The first set of hypotheses relates the exposure to PEC, to the political socialization variables - as summarized earlier in this chapter.

Table 2: Distribution of Political Socialization Scores High School and University

POLITICAL SO- CIALIZATION VARIABLES	SCORES	HIGH SCHOOL		UNIVERSITY	
		FRE- QUEN- CY	PER- CENT- AGE	FRE- QUEN- CY	PER- CENT- AGE
Political interest	2 High	14	34.1	23	56.1
	1 Medium				
	1 Low	26	63.4	18	43.9
	0 None	1	2.4		
Spectator pol- iticization newspaper	2 High	15	36.6	11	26.8
	1 Medium				
	1 Low	16	39.0	10	24.4
	0 None	10	24.4	16	39.0
Spectator pol- iticization radio	2 High	16	39.0	10	24.4
	1 Medium				
	1 Low	12	29.3	20	48.8
	0 None	11	26.8	11	26.8
	9	1	1	24	
Political dis- course	3 High	0		2	4.9
	2 Medium	18	43.9	23	56.1
	1 Low	11	26.8	9	22.0
	0 None	11	26.8	7	17.1
	9	1	2.4		
Political effi- cacy	3 High	3	7.3	11	26.8
	2 Medium	1	2.4		
	1 Low	20	48.8	17	41.5
	0 None	17	41.5	13	31.7
Political cynic- ism	3 High	11	26.8	13	31.7
	2 Medium	19	46.3	26	63.4
	1 Low	8	19.5	2	4.9
	0 None	3	7.3	0	0
Civic toler- ance	3 High	8	19.5	15	36.6
	2 Medium	27	65.9	20	48.8
	1 Low	6	14.6	5	12.2
	0 None	0		1	2.4

Table 2: (cont'd)

POLITICAL SO- CIALIZATION VARIABLES	SCORES	HIGH SCHOOL		UNIVERSITY	
		FRE- QUEN- CY	PER- CENT- AGE	FRE- QUEN- CY	PER- CENT- AGE
Political know- ledge factual	3 High	7	17.1	12	29.3
	2 Medium	10	24.4	8	19.5
	1 Low	21	51.2	20	48.8
	0 None	3	7.3	1	2.4
Political know- ledge sophistication	3 High	8	19.5	9	22.0
	2 Medium	5	12.2	6	14.6
	1 Low	27	65.9	25	61.0
	0 None	1	2.4	1	2.4
Political know- ledge York	3 High	6	14.6	23	56.1
	2 Medium	11	26.8	12	29.3
	1 Low	24	58.5	6	14.6

First Set of Hypotheses

THE HIGHER THE EXPOSURE TO PEC THE HIGHER
THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF THE STUDENTS

For both high school and university levels, the relation of PEC to political socialization is found to be in the predicted direction. However, there is no real statistical significance at the .05 level except in the case of history/political cynicism at the high school level, and in the following cases at the university level: Political Science/spectator politicization - radio; 'Other Relevant' courses/spectator politicization - newspaper; PEC/political efficacy; History/spectator politicization - radio.

Nevertheless, we can still say that our hypotheses are supported taking into consideration the fact that our students are already a highly politicized group, belonging to the elite of the country. (Tables 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b)

Furthermore, at the high school level, we may not have established a good differentiation measure when we decided on the high/medium/low PEC exposure categories. Since all our respondents were exposed to a certain degree of PEC at high school, the real test comes at the university level. Here again we see almost striking support for our hypotheses (although not in statistical terms), if we compare the students with no university PEC exposure to students with university PEC exposure. The most consistent and obvious case

Table 3a: Number of History Courses
taken and Political Socialization - High School

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF HISTORY COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	Medium	16	1.2500	.189
	High	25	1.4800	
Spectator politici- zation (a) Radio	Medium	16	1.0265	.702
	High	25	1.1600	
Spectator politici- zation (b) News- paper	Medium	16	1.0265	.702
	High	25	1.8000	
Political discourse	Medium	16	1.0000	.209
	High	25	1.6000	
Political efficacy	Medium	16	.8750	.470
	High	25	.6800	
Political cynicism	Medium	16	1.5675	.032
	High	25	2.1600	
Civic tolerance	Medium	16	2.0000	.672
	High	25	2.0800	

Table 3b: Social Studies Courses
taken and Political Socialization - High School

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF SOCIAL STUDIES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	2	1.000	.442
	Low	1	2.000	
	Medium	15	1.4667	
	High	23	1.3478	
Spectator politici- zation (a) Radio	None	2	1.0000	.773
	Low	1	2.0000	
	Medium	15	1.0667	
	High	23	1.1304	
Spectator politici- zation (b) News- paper	None	2	2.0000	.854
	Low	1	1.0000	
	Medium	15	1.8000	
	High	23	1.3043	
Political discourse	None	2	1.0000	.618
	Low	1	2.0000	
	Medium	15	1.7333	
	High	23	1.304	
Political efficacy	None	2	1.0000	.596
	Low	1	0	
	Medium	15	.6000	
	High	23	.8696	
Political cynicism	None	2	2.0000	.758
	Low	1	1.000	
	Medium	15	2.0000	
	High	23	1.9130	
Civic tolerance	None	2	2.0000	.232
	Low	1	1.0000	
	Medium	15	2.2000	
	High	23	2.000	

Table 3c: Number of History Courses
taken and Political Socialization - University

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF HISTORY COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	1	1.5161	.207
	Low	5	1.4000	
	Medium	04	2.000	
	High	01	2.000	
Newspaper	None	31	.8065	.781
	Low	05	1.2000	
	Medium	04	1.0000	
	High	01	1.0000	
Radio	None	31	1.0000	.150
	Low	05	1.4000	
	Medium	04	.5000	
	High	01	2.000	
Political discourse	None	31	1.4194	.564
	Low	5	1.4000	
	Medium	4	2.000	
	High	1	2.0000	
Political efficacy	None	31	.9677	.028
	Low	05	1.400	
	Medium	04	2.500	
	High	01	3.0000	
Political cynicism	None	31	2.23276	.241
	Low	5	2.0000	
	Medium	4	2.0000	
	High	1	3.0000	
Civic tolerance	None	31	2.2258	.947
	Low	5	2.2000	
	Medium	4	2.0000	
	High	01	2.0000	

Table 3d: Number of Political Science Courses taken and Political Socialization - University.

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	29	1.4483	.127
	Low	4	2.0000	
	Medium	4	1.7500	
	High	4	1.7500	
Newspaper	None	29	.8276	.124
	Low	4	1.2500	
	Medium	4	1.2500	
	High	4	1.5000	
Radio	None	29	.8276	.012
	Low	4	1.7500	
	Medium	4	1.0000	
	High	4	1.7500	
Political discourse	None	29	1.3103	.20
	Low	4	2.0000	
	Medium	4	1.7500	
	High	4	2.0000	
Political efficacy	None	29	.9310	.049
	Low	4	1.5000	
	Medium	4	2.5000	
	High	4	1.7500	
Political cynicism	None	29	2.2759	.658
	Low	4	2.0000	
	Medium	4	2.2500	
	High	4	2.5000	
Political tolerance	None	29	2.1724	.818
	Low	4	2.2500	
	Medium	4	2.0000	
	High	4	2.5000	

Table 3e: Number of 'Other Relevant' Courses taken and Political Socialization - University

POLITICAL SOCIAL- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF OTHER RELEVANT COURSES TAKEN		MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
		COUNT		
Political interest	None	10	1.3000	.194
	Low	6	1.5000	
	Medium	16	1.6250	
	High	09	1.7778	
Newspaper	None	10	1.0000	.033
	Low	06	0	
	Medium	16	1.0000	
	High	09	1.1111	
Radio	None	10	.9000	.714
	Low	06	1.0000	
	Medium	16	1.1875	
	High	09	.8889	
Political discourse	None	10	1.5000	.370
	Low	6	1.1667	
	Medium	16	1.3750	
	High	09	1.8889	
Political efficacy	None	10	.4000	.054
	Low	06	1.5000	
	Medium	16	1.3175	
	High	09	1.7773	
Political cynicism	None	10	2.3000	.980
	Low	06	2.3333	
	Medium	16	2.7500	
	High	09	2.7772	
Civic tolerance	None	10	2.4000	.473
	Low	06	1.8333	
	Medium	16	2.175	
	High	09	2.333	

Table 4a: Number of History Courses and Political Socialization at University - Regrouped

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF HISTORY COURSES TAKEN		COUNT	MEAN
	None	Some		
Political interest	None	Some	31	1.5161
			10	1.7000
Spectator politici- zation - newspaper	None	Some	31	.8065
			10	1.1000
Spectator politici- zation - radio	None	Some	31	1.000
			10	1.100
Political discourse	None	Some	31	1.4194
			10	1.7000
Political efficacy	None	Some	31	.9677
			10	2.0000
Political cynicism	None	Some	31	2.2327
			10	2.1000
Political tolerance	None	Some	31	2.2258
			10	2.1000

Table 4b: Number of Political Science Courses taken and Political Socialization at University - Regrouped

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	NUMBER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN
Political interest	None	29	1.4483
	Some	12	1.8333
Spectator politici- zation - newspaper	None	29	.8276
	Some	12	1.3333
Spectator politici- zation - radio	None	29	.8276
	Some	12	1.5000
Political discourse	None	29	1.3103
	Some	12	1.91666
Political efficacy	None	29	.9310
	Some	12	1.91666
Political cynicism	None	29	2.2759
	Some	12	2.2500
Political tolerance	None	29	2.1724
	Some	12	2.2500

is the change in the level of political efficacy (Tables 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d, 4e).

As we have seen in the arguments of Entwistle, some educational planners, philosophers and policy makers think that the PEC should increase the students knowledge about political institutions and processes, therefore, making him a more interested and loyal citizen and increasing his understanding of his own rights and the civil rights of others as well as making him politically, an active participant with loyalty and interest.

To check whether the effect of political education on socialization is mediated through political knowledge/literacy, we tested the following set of hypotheses:

Second Set of Hypotheses

THE HIGHER THE EXPOSURE TO PEC THE HIGHER
THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY OF THE STUDENTS

As in the case of the first set of hypotheses, although no statistical significance at the .05 level obtains, the relationship between PEC and political knowledge/literacy is in the direction predicted and once again this becomes more emphasized at the university level - for the same reasons mentioned in the case of the first set of hypotheses.

One interesting feature is that the measure of

Table 5a: Number of History Courses taken and Political Knowledge/Literacy - High School

POLITICAL KNOW- LEDGE/LITERACY VARIABLES	NUMBER OF HISTORY COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Langton test	None			
	Low			
	Medium	16	1.5625	.771
	High	25	1.4800	
Sophistication test	None			
	Low			
	Medium	16	1.4375	.763
	High	25	1.5700	
York test	None			
	Low			
	Medium	16	1.5000	.680
	High	25	1.6000	

Table 5b: Number of Social Studies Courses Taken and Political Knowledge/Literacy - High School

POLITICAL KNOW- LEDGE/LITERACY VARIABLES	NUMBER OF SOCIAL STUDIES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political literacy	None	02	1.0000	.156
	Low	01	1.0000	
	Medium	15	1.2000	
	High	23	1.7826	
Political sophis- tication	None	02	1.0000	.335
	Low	01	1.0000	
	Medium	15	1.2667	
	High	23	1.6957	
York test	None	02	2.5000	.194
	Low	01	1.0000	
	Medium	15	1.6667	
	High	23	1.4348	

Table 5c: Number of History Courses taken and Political Knowledge/Literacy - University

POLITICAL KNOW- LEDGE/LITERACY VARIABLES	NUMBER OF HISTORY COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political literacy	None	31	1.8065	.128
	Low	5	1.0000	
	Medium	4	2.0000	
	High	1	3.0000	
Political sophis- tication	None	31	1.5484	.670
	Low	5	1.4000	
	Medium	4	2.0000	
	High	1	1.0000	
York test	None	39	2.4156	
	Low	5	2.2000	
	Medium	4	2.2500	
	High	1	3.0000	

Table 5d: Number of Political Science Courses taken and Political Knowledge/Literacy - University

POLITICAL KNOW- LEDGE/LITERACY VARIABLES	NUMBER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	PROBAB- ILITY
Political literacy	None	29	1.6522	.144
	Low	4	1.7500	
	Medium	4	2.7500	
	High	4	1.5000	
Political sophis- tication	None	29	1.4878	.335
	Low	4	2.25700	
	Medium	4	1.75000	
	High	4	1.7500	
York test	None	29	2.3448	.771
	Low	4	2.5000	
	Medium	4	2.5000	
	High	4	2.5000	

Table 5e: Number of Other Relevant Courses Taken
Political Knowledge Literacy - University

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE LIT- ERACY VARIABLES	NUMBER OF OTHER RELEVANT COURSES TAKEN	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political Literacy	None	10	1.3000	1.346	.274
	Low	06	1.8333		
	Medium	16	1.8175		
	High	09	2.1111		
Political Sophistication	None	10	1.2000	1.578	.211
	Low	06	1.3333		
	Medium	16	1.6250		
	High	09	2.0000		
York Test	None	10	2.1000	1.066	.375
	Low	06	2.333		
	Medium	16	2.6250		
	High	09	2.4444		

political knowledge/literacy which seems to be most directly related to PEC exposure is the one quantifying amount of factual knowledge. The sophistication and York measures obviously are related to a different cognitive process than pure memorization. In the case of high school, it is interesting to note improved significance on the York test from exposure to Social Studies courses rather than History courses. The same remark applies at the university level particularly in the case of other relevant courses. Of course in all cases, we can argue about the additive effects of the courses. Nevertheless, we think that there is some basis for stating a qualitative difference in the two types of courses (Tables 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e).

It is however conceivable that high political socialization is a result of high political knowledge/literacy not mediated significantly by PEC exposure. In this case we have tried a third set of hypotheses:

Third Set of Hypotheses

THE HIGHER THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY
OF THE STUDENTS THE HIGHER THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION
OF THE STUDENTS

At the high school as well as the university level, we cannot say much for the relationship between political knowledge/literacy as measured on the Langton and sophistication tests. However on the York test, although we do not have statistical significance, except in the case of politi-

Table 6a: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - Langton Test
High School

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F - RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	3	1.3333	.308	.737
	Low	21	1.3333		
	Medium	17	1.4706		
Spectator ⁴ politicization Newspaper	None	3	.6667	1.190	.315
	Low	21	1.2857		
	Medium	17	1.0000		
Spectator politicization Radio	None	3	1.6667	.098	.907
	Low	21	1.3810		
	Medium	17	1.6471		
Political discourse	None	3	1.6667	.250	.780
	Low	21	1.4762		
	Medium	17	1.1765		
Political efficacy	None	3	1.0000	.150	.861
	Low	21	.7143		
	Medium	17	.7647		
Political cynicism	None	3	1.8833	.745	.482
	Low	21	1.0524		
	Medium	17	2.0000		
Political tolerance	None	3	1.6667	.736	.486
	Low	21	2.0476		
	Medium	17	2.1176		

Table 6b: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - Sophistication
Test - High School

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	1	2.0000	.640	.533
	Low	27	1.3704		
	Medium	13	1.3846		
Newspaper	None	1	0	1.061	.356
	Low	27	1.1481		
	Medium	13	1.1538		
Radio	None	1	0	.334	.718
	Low	27	1.5926		
	Medium	13	1.4615		
Political discourse	None	1	1.0000	.237	.790
	Low	27	1.4815		
	Medium	13	1.1538		
Political efficacy	None	1	0	.413	.664
	Low	27	.7778		
	Medium	13	.7692		
Political cynicism	None	1	2.0000	.071	.932
	Low	27	1.8889		
	Medium	13	2.0000		
Civic tolerance	None	1	3.0000	2.723	.078
	Low	27	1.9259		
	Medium	13	2.2308		

Table 6c: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - York Test
High School

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political	None				
	Low	24	1.2917	1.960	.169
	Medium	17	1.5294		
Newspaper	None				
	Low	24	1.0833	.139	.712
	Medium	17	1.1765		
Radio	None				
	Low	24	1.4583	.045	.832
	Medium	17	1.5882		
Political discourse	None				
	Low	24	1.3333	.027	.870
	Medium	17	1.4118		
Political efficacy	None				
	Low	24	.5833	2.608	.114
	Medium	17	1.0000		
Political cynicism	None				
	Low	24	2.0417	.992	.325
	Medium	17	1.7647		
Political tolerance	None				
	Low	24	1.9167	3.056	.088
	Medium	17	2.2353		

Table 6d: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - Langton Test
University

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	01	1.0000	1.089	.342
	Low	20	1.5000		
	Medium	20	1.6500		
Newspaper	None	01	0		
	Low	20	1.2000		
	Medium	20	.6000		
Radio	None	01	1.0000	.023	.977
	Low	20	1.0000		
	Medium	20	1.0500		
Political discourse	None	01	0	2.169	.128
	Low	20	1.4000		
	Medium	20	1.6500		
Political efficacy	None	01		.879	.425
	Low	20	1.1000		
	Medium	20	1.4000		
Political cynicism	None	01		3.226	.051
	Low	20	2.2500		
	Medium	20	2.3500		
Political tolerance	None	01	1.0000	1.950	.156
	Low	20	2.3500		
	Medium	20	2.1000		

Table 6e: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - Sophistication Test
University

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	None	01	2.0000	.392	.678
	Low	25	1.5600		
	Medium	15	1.5333		
Newspaper	None	01		.607	.550
	Low	25	.9700		
	Medium	15	.8667		
Radio	None	01	1.0000	.014	.986
	Low	25	1.0400		
	Medium	15	1.0000		
Political discourse	None	01	1.0000	.184	.833
	Low	25	1.4800		
	Medium	15	1.5333		
Political efficacy	None	01	1.0000	2.435	.101
	Low	25	.9200		
	Medium	15	1.7333		
Political cynicism	None	01	3.0000	.913	.408
	Low	25	2.2400		
	Medium	15	2.2662		
Political tolerance	None	01	2.0000	.403	.671
	Low	25	2.1200		
	Medium	15	2.3333		

Table 6f: Level of Political Knowledge/Literacy
and Political Socialization - York Test
University

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	LEVEL OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/ LITERACY	COUNT	MEAN	F RATIO	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	Low	06	1.1667	4.733	.036
	Medium	35	1.6286		
Newspaper	Low	06	1.0000	.155	.696
	Medium	35	.8571		
Radio	Low	06	.5000	3.958	.054
	Medium	35	1.1143		
Political discourse	Low	06	1.1667	1.027	.317
	Medium	35	1.5479		
Political efficacy	Low	06	.667		.216
	Medium	35	1.3143		
Political cynicism	Low	06	1.8333	4.838	.038
	Medium	35	2.3429		
Political tolerance	Low	06	1.8333	1.662	.204
	Medium	35	2.2571		

cal interest, spectator politicization - radio and cynicism, we can say that the relationship predicted in our third set of hypotheses is supported. This sharp difference in results when using the York test for political knowledge/literacy instead of the other two measures may be due the nature and validity of the actual tests used. The York test has more validity than the two other tests which are more subjectively constructed (Table 6a, 6b, 6c, 6d, 6e, 6f).

In summary of this section, we can state that our hypotheses were generally supported, although some of the results were ambiguous and most of them were not statistically significant. In a discussion of his findings on all samples in general, Langton concludes that:

"Our findings certainly do not support the thinking of those who look to the civics curriculum in American high schools as even a minor source of political socialization. When we investigated the student sample as a whole, we found not one single case out of the ten examined in which the civics curriculum was significantly associated with students' political orientation" (p. 115)

Projecting the lack of positive results at this level to a discussion of the effect of college education on the political socialization of students, Langton thinks that most of the positive results obtained in this respect may be due to the dangers of confounding the effect of selection with that of socialization. As suggested in the preceding pages, our results indicate the possibility of some direct

effect of the political components of the curriculum both at the high school and university levels and on the higher level of political socialization in general.

According to our results we can support the position that while the formal political curriculum may have some effect, the acquisition of conceptual skills may be a very important intervening/explanatory variable. Still many other factors as the social climate of the school, the family and the peer group, remain to be discussed. Certain aspects of these will be discussed in the next section.

VI. OTHER INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Given the nature of our sample; control variables were not used in the test of hypotheses. However, from the group of "other variables" mentioned in chapter II, we have selected those variables on which we obtained a good distribution and we have looked at their effect on the political socialization of our respondents. We have examined the effect of four categories of variables, which we used as independent variables and attempted to analyze their independent effect on political socialization. The categories examined were: demographic and personality variables, variables describing family relationships, variables describing school environment and variables describing formal organizational participation.

For the purposes of analysis we have used the

independent variables as coded in the second stage (explained earlier) and as they applied to high school years. The political socialization variables are also taken from the second stage of coding but as applied to the university years.

BACKGROUND/DEMOGRAPHIC AND PERSONALITY TYPE VARIABLES

The variables considered in this section are Sex, Race, Age, SES, Authoritarianism, National Pride, Religion and Occupational Plans. The dependent variables are Political Interest, Political Discourse, Political Efficacy, Political Cynicism, Political Knowledge/Literacy.

Race:

There were 28 Black students and 11 White students. Although there was no statistical significance to be found, white students scored higher on all seven dependent variables, except political efficacy (Appendix I - Table 1). We should not forget however, that many confounding factors, like SES as well as historical variables, intervene in such an analysis as this. This is true for all the results in this section.

Age:

On this variable, the students were grouped in two categories those below 21 years of age (16 students) and those 22 years or older (25 students). There was no statistical significance obtained at the .05 level. However the

older students usually did slightly better on all seven variables, except political tolerance and political interest (Appendix I - Table 2).

SES:

On this variable, the students were grouped into three SES categories: lower middle (18 respondents) middle (10 respondents) and upper middle (13 respondents). In general, the results were quite similar for the three groups, except for cynicism and the York test, where the middle class scored highest. However, once again the results were not significant statistically at the .05 level (Appendix I-Table 3).

Religion:

Twenty-five students included in the sample were Protestants, ten were Roman Catholics and six were Greek Orthodox. The Protestant group scored highest in most instances and the Roman Catholics scored lowest on these same items, except political efficacy. The Greek Orthodox were the lowest on this item. Moreover, they were the most cynical group, as well as highest in tolerance and political knowledge/literacy, as measured by the Langton and York tests (Appendix I - Table 4).

Occupational Plan:

Taking their occupational plans into consideration the students were divided among three groups: professionals

(24 students), teachers (12 students) and technicians (5 students). Those students who planned to become teachers were the highest scorers on most dependent variables. On political efficacy the professionals scored slightly higher (no statistical significance) as well as on cynicism (statistically significant). On the political knowledge/literacy the three groups did not vary much as measured by the Langton and sophistication tests. However on the results of the York test the future teachers did better than others, and significantly so (Appendix I - Table 5).

Sex:

The results on this variable were very similar. Furthermore no statistical significance was obtained at the .05 level.

Authoritarianism:

Although no strong relationships have been established in the literature, dogmatism or authoritarian personality, is expected to have some influence on the political socialization outcome, everything else being equal. Therefore, we collected data regarding the respondents' propensity to be authoritarian. The scale of authoritarianism used, is based on the research of Milton Rokeach (1960). This is a general scale for both leftist and rightist orientations, and is called the Dogmatism Scale. Three of Rokeach's dogmatism items were combined into a Guttman type scale with a

Table 7: York Test and Authoritarianism
Group Means - High School and University Levels

YORK TEST SCORE	HIGH SCHOOL			UNIVERSITY		
	NUM- BER	MEAN	PRO- BAB- ILITY	NUM- BER	MEAN	PRO- BAB- ILITY
Low	24	2.333	.001	6	1.8333	.115
Medium	17	1.9756		35	1.2571	

CR of 94.3 (Q. 252 - 257).

There was only one significant relationship at the .05 level. This was for fathers' political party and authoritarianism. Those students whose fathers had a PLP orientation (25 Rs) had a group mean of 1.16 on the dogmatism scale, while those students whose fathers had an FNM orientation had a mean of 1.5 on the dogmatism scale ($p = .0152$). Some of the other strong relationships were found in the case of age, the younger respondents (16 Rs mean 1.437) being more authoritarian than the older respondents (25 Rs mean 1.28 $p = .0607$). The middle class students were less authoritarian (10 Rs mean 1) than the lower middle (18 Rs mean 1.444) and upper middle class students (13 Rs mean 1.465, $p = .2687$). Those whose fathers made the voting decision were more authoritarian (12 Rs mean 1.5833) than where individuals made the decision (19 Rs mean 1.578 $p = .1441$). On the variable of political knowledge/literacy, authoritarianism showed significant effect in the case of the York test. Those who scored low on the York test were more authoritarian as a group, than those who scored about average, on this test, both at the high school and the university levels (Table 7).

National Pride:

Bahamians generally love their country and usually discuss it with pride. Many of them mention the personality of the people with fervent admiration. Since one function

of citizenship education is to instill as objective as possible sense of national pride in the educands, we asked our respondents to indicate the sorts of things about their country of which they are most proud. Fifty-eight point five per cent named the people with particular emphasis on their spirit and personality. The second largest group - 22.0 per cent - were those who expressed pride in the climate. Two students expressed pride in the government and three others expressed pride in the government and the youth of the country with its potential for development. Seven respondents (17.1) an outstanding figure, could not identify anything of which they were proud. (Q. 312)

Nevertheless, there are certain things about their country of which certain Bahamians feel ashamed and embarrassed. Significantly many of the things of which Bahamians feel least proud are political in nature. For example, eight respondents (19.5 per cent) are least proud of the government. This supports our earlier contention that generally Bahamians are becoming disenchanted with the present regime. Eight (19.5 per cent) are least proud of the prejudices which so many Bahamians seem to hold dear. The rest are least proud of the apathy of the people in respect of politics, education and social welfare. (Q. 313)

Because Bahamians are generally proud of their country and because historically the Bahamian economy was

such that it could absorb all or most of its employable citizens, students studying abroad generally return home upon completion of their courses. And there is data to support this claim amongst our respondents. (Q. 314)

Many of them plan active political involvement once they have returned to the Bahamas, since they feel that the situation in the Bahamas is such that citizens committed to social justice are obliged to become politically active. (Q. 315)

VARIABLES DESCRIBING FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Several studies including the study by Langton have stressed the importance of family structure on the political socialization of the students. We therefore included questions related to this aspect of the respondent's background. However, as shown in our description of the sample there was not enough differentiation on this aspect in our sample to warrant further examination. Most of the students came from conjugal homes and lived with their parents whenever their parents were alive.

Thus, we decided to concentrate on variables describing the relationships within the conjugal family.

Decision Making Process in the Family

Almond and Verba, amongst others, have emphasized the saliency of authority patterns in the family in the

Pool X

political socialization of the child. They contend that, the person who participates in family decisions is more likely to believe in his competence to participate in the political process in general. In their classic study, they found a relationship between remembered ability to participate in family decisions and political competence. Thus they reported that in "all five nations, those who remembered consistently being able to express themselves in family decisions tend to score higher in subjective competence". (p. 347) We must point out however, that this relationship weakened as education increased.

Therefore, we asked our respondents how much influence they felt they had in family decisions affecting themselves while they were in high school (Q. 299). Twenty-seven students felt that they had much influence while 14 students said they did not have any influence. We discovered that those students who felt they had much influence, consistently scored higher on the dependent variables in general. The effect was especially noticeable in the case of political interest and political discourse, although not significant, statistically speaking. (Appendix I - Table 6)

Our results therefore support the article by Pinner "Parental over-protection and political distrust" (1965). He pointed out that strict and over-protective parents who do not allow children freedom of movement may in-

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still in them a feeling of mistrust and disaffection, which manifests itself in adult life as beliefs "that politicians are not to be trusted, political parties are useless, and politics generally a hostile activity". (Langton, p. 25)

Furthermore, the number of those respondents who had some influence in family decisions concerning themselves becomes more significant when it is remembered that most Bahamian families had a traditional authority structure, which vested power in the father and promoted a philosophy which propounded that, "children are to be seen and not heard".

However 15 (36.6 per cent) respondents felt it was better not to complain if a decision was made with which they did not agree, 17 (41.5) felt free to complain, but nine (22.0 per cent) felt uneasy about doing so. (Q. 299)

Among those who did complain many said their complaining helped. (Q. 300)

During their last three years of high school 28 (68.3 per cent) respondents disagreed with their parents about important things. The rest claim no disagreement with their parents over important matters. (Q. 281) Amongst those who disagreed with their parents, the largest group 13 respondents (31.7 per cent) opposed their parents on matters which affected their own personal freedom and independence, with particular emphasis on social life, friends and the places they went. The second largest group five students

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(12.2 per cent) were those who had opposing views on such social and political matters as: racism, equality, civil liberties and religion. (Q. 282)

Other reasons for disagreement mentioned were fashion and current trends especially hair and dress styles. 19 (46.3 per cent) respondents say that they get along better with their parents now, than they did while in high school. Another 19 said that their relationship with their parents had not changed much. (Q. 283)

Asked about the general pattern of family decisions, 16 respondents answered that their father made the decisions while 11 students said both parents made decisions together. Five students said that the mother was the one to make the major decisions. (Q. 273) Although again we do not have much fluctuation in the results nor do we have statistical significance, those students whose parents collaborated in the decision making process scored higher on most variables. The students whose fathers made the decisions single-handedly were higher on cynicism than others, while those whose mothers made the decision were the most tolerant. There was not much difference among the three groups on the political knowledge/literacy variables. (Appendix I - Table 7)

The respondents were questioned further in this direction when asked about punishment decisions in the family. In nine cases the father decided alone, in 13 cases

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the mother made the decisions and in ten cases both parents took the decision in collaboration. (Q. 274) Again, there was not a great variation in the results, except in the case of cynicism and efficacy where the last group scored lowest. (Appendix I. - Table 8)

When probed about the decision making process in the family for voting 12 students answered that their father took the decision for everybody while 19 students said that each member of the family decided on their own etc. The mother made this decision only in two cases (Q. 275). Therefore, we compared individual decisions with the case where the father made the decision. Once again there was not much difference between the groups. However on the political literacy items the individual decision makers scored higher. In the case of cynicism, those whose fathers made the decisions scored higher and significantly so. (Appendix I - Table 9)

Twenty-eight (68.3 per cent) respondents came from families in which parents pretty much agreed on public affairs and political matters (Q. 276, 277) One wonders, however, how much of this is genuine agreement and how much is the effect of autocratic fathers and husbands.

Those respondents who came from intact nuclear families reported for the most part, that their parents got along well enough together. (Q. 278)

Twenty-five of the respondents were close to their fathers while 12 were not so close. (Q. 285) The results were similar for both groups except in the case of political efficacy where those students who were not very close to their fathers scored higher. (Appendix I - Table 10)

As far as closeness to the mother is concerned 92.7 per cent of the sample stated that they are close to their mothers. More precisely, 53.7 per cent are very close and 39.0 per cent are pretty close to their mothers. Only 3 students said they were not very close to their mothers. Therefore, we did not pursue the analysis on this variable any further. (Q. 296)

PARENTS' EDUCATION OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION

The literature emphasizes the importance of parents' political affiliation as well as education in the political socialization process of children. As far as father's political interest is concerned 25 fathers were very much interested in politics, while 12 fathers were not much interested. The children of both groups scored about the same on the different political socialization variables. (Appendix I - Table 2)

Twenty-five fathers were PLP supporters as opposed to 12 fathers who supported the FNM. The results were similar for both groups. (Appendix I - Table 12)

One interesting observation is the change in

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fathers' party identification at present, as compared to a few years ago. The majority of the fathers now claim affiliation with the FNM the party comprised of both Black and White Bahamians and forming the opposition to the present regime.

Bahamian women have not had a history of political involvement. In fact, only recently has the franchise been extended to them. During the past few years however with the influence of university educated women on the Bahamian society, politics have begun to become a part of the educated woman's repertoire. In our sample, most mothers - 28 - were, according to our respondents interested in politics, the rest do not pay much attention to it. With regard to partisanship, 20 mothers follow the PLP and 16 prefer the FNM.

Two respondents had fathers who were university graduates, eight had fathers with partial university education. Ten fathers had completed high school, five others had some high school education, eight had completed junior high school and eight had less than seven years of education. Interestingly enough for our sample the higher the fathers' education, the higher the child's political socialization, except in the case of political interest and political literacy as measured on the York test, where those respondents whose fathers had less than seven years of education did as

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well as those respondents whose fathers had university education. In the same way, on the Langton test, the students whose fathers had a lower level of education did much better. (Appendix I - Table 13)

When mother's education was considered, the general trend was supported again. The higher the mother's education, the higher the political socialization of the children except in the case of political interest, where once again those whose mothers had less than seven years of education did better than the rest. Four mothers had graduate professional training, five mothers had completed a university education, four others had some university education. Four mothers had completed high school, six mothers had some high school education, seven mothers had junior high school education. Ten mothers had less than seven years of education.

VARIABLES DESCRIBING THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Generally speaking high school was liked by all our respondents, therefore we eliminated this item from our analysis. However, high school was liked for quite different reasons. Most of the respondents liked it because of curricular activities and the intellectual exposure it offered. Another major reason cited for liking high school concerned the interest in the extra curricular activities as social and interest clubs within high school. Other reasons mentioned were teachers, opportunities for freedom

and independence from home, as well as a place to discipline oneself. These same respondents however also disliked certain things about high school. As expected the overwhelming majority disliked high school because of the course load especially as reflected in heavy home work and frequent exams. Other reasons mentioned included teachers who were too discipline-oriented and an impersonal atmosphere. Three students said they disliked the racism apparent in their schools.

R. S. Peters once pointed out that there is commitment on the part of democratic educators to respect the principles of democracy in their daily encounters with their wards. He insisted that there is an obligation to respect others as persons, and part of what is meant by respect is a commitment to treat others fairly. It is felt that treating students fairly is an important lesson in teaching them about the democratic principles of liberty and equality, along with their various trappings. Therefore, we asked our respondents to indicate whether or not teachers at their schools treated everyone fairly. (Q. 40) As our results indicate, most students feel that teachers treated some children with preference. Twenty-nine (70%) students expressed this opinion. The rest felt that their teachers treated all the students fairly. However, even though 32 students saw some kind of favouritism going on, only seven felt that they had been treated unfairly by a teacher. Two

students were not sure about this item and the rest felt that they had been always treated fairly by their teachers at high school. Of those students who had experienced some unfair treatment three spoke to another adult in the school about the matter, while the rest did nothing about it. One student said that talking to another adult in the school about this matter helped very much while in the rest of the cases this approach did not help at all. Moreover, only eight students felt that they had been treated unfairly by some member of the school's administrative staff. (Q: 40 - 46)

FEELINGS ABOUT UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSORS

Just as most of our respondents liked high school, most of them seem to like university. Consequently, we have not done any further treatment of this variable. Once again, the students in our sample like university for quite different reasons. One expected most respondents to like university because of the chance it gave them to exercise their freedom and independence. However, only three respondents voiced this opinion. Twenty students like university because of the curricular offerings and student activities available. Nine like the discipline which the university imposes, while nine mentioned extra-curricular activities and social life exclusively. Other reasons mentioned include professors or a particular subject matter of specialization.

(Q. 34 - 38)

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Even though the respondents like university generally, there are still some things that they greatly dislike about it. In this connection students cited such things as course load, racism and discrimination, discipline oriented professors and impersonality of the atmosphere in general. (Q. 39)

Speaking in general, professors seem to be the main source of discomfort for our respondents at the university. Thus, 30 students feel that professors exercise discrimination in their treatment of students. Three students were not sure about the matter, while the rest did not feel any discrimination. Twenty-five students said that they have been unfairly treated by a professor. One student could not comment on this matter, while the rest did not, they claimed, have any personal experience of discrimination. Fifteen students spoke to the professor whenever they felt that they were being treated unfairly. The others did nothing about it. Of those who did speak to the professor, only two felt that this approach was helpful. Ten of the students who felt that they had been treated unfairly spoke about this matter to another adult at the university. Only one student obtained positive results with this approach.

Some of the respondents even reported unfair treatment on the part of deans and department heads. Nine students felt that someone or other of these people have at one time treated them unfairly. (Q. 47 - 53)

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS

Intwistle has underlined the point that one of the more valuable vehicles of political education in the school, could be pupil self government. He feels that, where students are allowed to participate in running the school affairs, important consequences for political responsibility and participation in adult life could result. In our sample, 22 students (53.7 per cent) reported that students at their high school participated some in running school affairs, whilst seven (17.1 per cent) went to schools where students participated a good deal in running school affairs. Two respondents went to schools which gave very little opportunity to students to involve themselves in school government, and a further 11 (26.4 per cent) attended schools which made no allowances at all for pupil participation in school affairs. (Q. 54)

That so many of the respondents had some measure of self-government, is at once remarkable. One is familiar with the autocratic system of school governance where all power and authority rested with the administration and staff and not even lip service was paid to pupil self government.

But, even though there was a measure of pupil self government, yet 33 students (80.5 per cent) felt that there were some things they ought to have been allowed to do at high school but were prohibited from so doing. Only

eight students (19.5 per cent) felt that there was nothing they ought to have been allowed to do that they were not allowed to do.

One other way of giving children practise in the skills of political living at school, is by affording pupils the opportunity to choose class leaders. That is, to allow pupils to hold elections. Most schools in the Bahamas did, according to our statistics, hold elections for such things as - house captains and captains of the various sports and academic teams. Only six (14.6) respondents claimed to have gone to schools which did not have this tradition.

(Q. 58)

In most cases, students were forced by school regulations to involve themselves in the voting process and once again our data underlines this contention, since 82.9 per cent of the sample voted most of the time in school elections. (Q. 60)

Most of those who voted with such frequency, did so because they knew the people involved and they felt a part of what was going on. On the other hand, nine students (22.0 per cent) voted because they felt a need to exercise their right. The third largest group - five students - voted because it was compulsory and because it was their right to do so. (Q. 62)

Experience suggests that Bahamian high school

students were always a passive and conservative species. Yet our data does not effectively indicate this observation, since 26 students (63.4 per cent) ran for office while in high school and 15 (36.6 per cent) did not. Of those who did run 23 students (56.1 per cent) were successful and three (7.3 per cent) were not. Twenty-four respondents (58.5 per cent) assisted a candidate with his campaign. The rest did not engage in like activity. (Q. 64 - 66)

STUDENT PARTICIPATION AT UNIVERSITY

We have previously pointed out that student government is considered to be a valuable vehicle of political education, since certain researchers feel that, as an instrument, it is especially amenable to practise in the skills of politics. In our study, we attempted to assess the involvement of students not only in running the affairs of the school, but also the affairs of the university. Most of the respondents do feel that there is student participation at the university level. Thus because of its lack of variation, we decided to leave this item out of the discussion contained in this chapter.

That students are satisfied with the degree of student involvement at the university is underlined by the fact that only 12 students (29.3 per cent) feel that they have been prohibited from doing certain things at the university, whereas 24 students (58.5 per cent) feel that they

are allowed to anything they ought to be able to do. Five students (12.2) were not sure about this item. (Q. 57)

Student elections seem to have gained considerable vogue in Canadian universities since 40 students (97.6 per cent) reported the occurrence of regular elections at university. Only one student said that elections are not held at his university. (Q. 59)

However, it is arguable that the purpose of elections is defeated if eligible electors neglect to vote. Whenever elections are held at university only six (14.6) students vote most of the time, whilst nine (20.0 per cent) vote some of the time and eight (19.5) do not vote much of the time. On the other hand, 18 (43.9) do not vote at all and have in fact never voted at the university. The respondents in this category explain their behaviour by drawing attention to the alienation prevalent in the university. They neglect to vote, not because they dislike voting, but rather, because they do not know the people involved, they do not relate to the platforms advanced and they fail to see the importance of the issues at stake. (Q. 61 - 62)

Amongst those who voted eight, (15.5) the largest group, did so only because they knew the people involved. A further seven (17.1) did so because they felt it their democratic right, and four (9.8) voted in response to a special request. (Q. 63)

As far as our data is concerned, the political behaviour of our respondents at university is consistent since only 14 (34.1 per cent) ever ran for an office at university. Amongst those who did offer themselves as candidates, 11 (26.8 per cent) were successful. Only three students (7.3 per cent) were not successful. Some students did help electoral candidates with their campaign. Fifteen students (36.6 per cent) had friends whom they assisted. The rest reported that they were never personally acquainted with any electoral candidates, such that their assistance was never solicited nor volunteered. (Q. 67 - 69)

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HIGH SCHOOL

The racial composition of the high school has been discussed as a very important variable in political socialization studies related to colonial situations. When asked about the racial composition of their high school, 53.7 per cent of our sample indicated a "Black majority" whilst 29.3 per cent indicated a 'White majority'. Seven students had attended high schools which, in their account of it, had a mixed population since approximately half of the students were Black and the remaining half were White. (Q. 9)

Those students, our data indicates, who attended white high schools are higher on political cynicism, tolerance and the Langton sophistication tests. On most items the scores are more or less comparable for the three types

of racial environments. (Appendix I - Table 16)

THE SES ENVIRONMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

In our brief description of the educational system in the Bahamas we have already mentioned the existence of two types of school systems: the independent school system, composed essentially of private denominational schools; and the government maintained school system. The former it should be remembered caters mainly to the upper classes of the society. In our sample, 33 respondents attended private high schools while only eight students came from government schools. (Q. 8)

The schools in the private sector, as well as those in public sector, insofar as they were modelled along the lines of the British grammar schools, were quite similar. Yet, these schools were not alike in terms of the esteem accorded them by the public. For example, the Methodist church school--Queen's College - and the Presbyterian school--St. Andrew's College - were regarded as being socially superior. So far as the public could see, these led to the better paid, more secure and more influential employment. The Government High School was of course second best and existed for those Whites who had failed to secure a place in one of the other 'white' schools and for any Blacks who could pass the entrance exam and afford to pay the tuition fees. Next to this school stood the Anglican Church schools--

St. John's College and St. Anne's College. These schools were established for those children, Anglican in faith and upbringing, who did not manage to gain entrance into the Government High School. The Roman Catholic high schools-- St. Augustine and Xavier's Colleges were next to the Anglicans and below them all other denominational schools found their places.

Those respondents who identified their institutions as being of high SES, would perhaps be students who attended the Presbyterian high school--St. Andrew's College - between 1950 - 1974, and the Methodist high school--Queen's College - between the years 1950 - 1965 (approximately).

The students who identified their high schools as being upper middle SES would be those, perhaps, who attended Queen's College between the years 1960 - 1967 and those who attended the Government High School or one of the other private institutions. The students who went to a middle class institution would probably be those who went to the Government High School after 1967 and to one of the public schools. Those who identified their institutions as lower middle SES and those who identified their schools as low SES would most probably have attended a government secondary modern school.

Perhaps the two students who went to a school which had a heterogeneous SES would be students who changed schools

in terms of the type. That is, from government to private, or vice versa. What is surprising, however, is to find seven students who did in fact identify their institutions as high SES. One did not expect this frankness, simply because those students who did go to these kinds of schools always seem embarrassed to discuss the matter.

According to several studies in political socialization, during the high school years the SES environment of the high school is of major paedagogical consideration. Langton, for example, takes this position and bases his discussion and recommendations for a better political socialization of students on the effective manipulation of the composition of high school classes and learning-teaching units. We therefore tried to collect as much comparative data as possible.

A three-member panel of Bahamian students classified the high schools mentioned by the respondents according to SES environment. Apparent of this classification, five students (12.2 per cent) of the sample attended an upper class high school. Four others, another 9.8% of the sample attended upper middle class high schools. Thirty students attended a middle class institution and only two students were in a lower class high school. This means that 70.7% of the students attended a middle class institution. It is interesting to compare this classification to

the classification of the respondents as they perceived the SES environment of their own high schools. Seven students classified their high school as upper class, 17 students classified theirs as upper middle. Therefore 23 students or more than half of the sample saw themselves in an upper class environment as opposed to the expected nine students. In other words, only one-fourth of the sample. Eight students said their high school was middle class, another six said their high school was lower middle class. One student assessed the high school SES environment to be lower class, while two students said the environment of their high school was heterogeneous. (Q: 10)

When asked about the SES composition of their own high school class, four saw it as upper class and three saw it as being upper middle class. Fourteen students described their own class composition as middle class and one as lower class. The remaining six students said that the SES composition of their class was heterogeneous.

We considered school SES and class SES - both as subjectively reported and as assessed by a panel - in their relationships to the political socialization variables. However, there were no variations to be found on this item for our sample.

HIGH SCHOOL MAJOR

Certain researchers have emphasized the point that

the subjects of the social sciences have considerable political content. Heater, for example, drew attention to the potential of such courses as Religion for the development of political orientations. (1969) Thompson has indicated the importance for citizenship of much of History, Geography and Economics. We should therefore, expect those respondents who received most exposure to these types of courses, to be more mature and conscious politically, than those respondents who received only a minimum amount of exposure.

One indication of the amount of exposure would be the major followed in high school (major is used here to refer to the optional courses elected by the student after 3rd form). Thus we can expect the 19 (46.3%) social science humanities majors to perform best on our measures of political socialization. On the other hand, if, as Coleman conjectures a predominantly scientific-technical emphasis in education is not in conflict with indeed, (it) may be conducive to a non-democratic pattern of political development, (1965 p. 531) we should expect our 16 (39.0%) science majors to be less democratically minded than our social scientists. It should be remembered that the measures for political socialization are based on a democratic model.

Nor would we expect our 14.6 general majors to be as politically educated as our social scientists, precisely because the courses they follow lack much in the way of

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political content. Indeed for our sample, the Social Science majors scored slightly higher on all socialization variables. Moreover, the science majors did slightly better than the students who had a general training. (Appendix I - Table 16)

PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL ORGANIZATION (FOP)

In their study, Almond and Verba produced data which suggested that participation in the school through clubs and organizations is related to an increase in the sense of political efficacy (1963). Entwistle too has argued that a viable instrument of political education in the school is the extra-curricular clubs and organizations. It is his contention that these clubs afford opportunity for the development of skills and the development of roles useful and transferable to political life outside the school (1971).

FOP at High School (Q. 154 - 158)

Eighteen of our respondents indicated that they belonged to one or two clubs and associations at high school. A further 19 of them belonged to clubs and associations outside the school. Only eight students did not belong to any organizations when in high school. The rest belonged to more than three clubs and associations. However, only a few students participated in political organizations. The majority of them - 23 - participated in such academic and subject

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centred clubs as: chemistry club, science club and history club. The rest participated essentially in such social and religious clubs as, Anglican Young People's Association and Baptist Training Union. This picture does not change much at the level between high school and university.

FOP at University (Q. 164 - 168)

At the university level 15 students (36.6 per cent) are in one organization on campus, while seven (17.1) are in two such clubs. However 19 respondents are in no organizations at all on campus.

Off campus however, the picture changes some, since all respondents belong to at least one organization. Thirty-nine students belong to one organization and two belong to two organizations off campus. In all cases the one off campus organization to which the students belong is the Bahamian Student Association, Montreal Chapter.

Looking at an overall picture of participation over the university years, it seems safe to say that all respondents belong to an organization of a kind. Eighteen respondents belong to one organization only, 16 belong to two organizations, six respondents belong to three clubs and one respondent belongs to four organizations.

University organizations are mainly cultural and social in nature. Some organizations which attempt to adopt a political image do however exist but these are not the

kinds of organization to which our respondents belong. One student belongs to a religious society, one belongs to a community-oriented club, one belongs to both a community-oriented club and a social club whilst the rest, 38 respondents (92.6 per cent) belong to the cultural/social clubs.

Yet, looking at the overall participation of our respondents in formal organizations we cannot safely say that they were inactive - moreover, several of them were officers in their particular associations. For example, 16 of the respondents were active in five or more clubs, an additional four (9.8) were not only active in five clubs but were also officers at some time. A further eight (19.5) students were active in three or four clubs whilst an additional seven were active in three or four club and also held officer positions. Six respondents were active in less than three organizations. (Q. 171)

Overall the most popular organization amongst our respondents was indeed social, since 21 (51.2) of them belonged to this kind of organization. Another 5 students belonged to social, disciplinary and community type organizations. One student belonged to community-oriented clubs, one other belonged to disciplinary and community-oriented organizations and one belonged to social and community-oriented clubs. Two respondents reported that they were involved in disciplinary, social and community-oriented organizations. (Q. 73)

For all measures of formal organization participation, we could not obtain any variation among our respondents in their relation to the dependent variables of political socialization.

PARTY IDENTIFICATION - UNIVERSITY

The point that several students of the socialization process often suggest that the family greatly influences the party identification of youth, is one that has been made already in our discussion. And since we have already attempted to discern the party identification of our respondents' parents, it is now essential to discern the identification of our respondents.

Amongst our respondents, a majority group - 15 students (36.6) claim identification with the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP). A similar number is however uncommitted since they describe themselves as Independents. Eight students (19.5) claim allegiance with the opposition FNM (Free National Movement), whilst a further three students (7.3) follow one of the 'other' parties. (Q. 200)

Amongst those who identify with the PLP, nine (22.0) consider themselves to be strong PLPs, whilst six (14.6) classify themselves as not so strong PLPs. Amongst the FNM followers (Free National Movement) we have three who consider themselves strong supporters of the party, whilst a similar number consider themselves to be 'not so strong'

followers. What is more is that two students do not know where they stand in degree of support. (Q. 262)

The significant feature about the data produced on the variable, party identification, is that the data relative to the respondents is hardly identical or even similar to that of the parents. In the light of contemporary argument, we expected respondents' party identification to be almost identical to that of their parents. What we seem to have is an inverse representation. However, there are arguments to explain this occurrence. Langton, for example, pointed out that rebellion against parents is often expressed in the adoption of a party in opposition to or at least different from, that of the parents.

One other interesting factor revealed by the data on this variable, is the number which claims identification with the ruling party - PLP. In the light of current political conditions in the country, we expected a smaller number to be followers of the PLP. But perhaps this support for the PLP follows as much anything from the fact that the respondents are away from home and are partially ignorant of the political conditions. Perhaps the uncommitted are those who follow national events most closely, having access to local newspapers.

Chapter V

SUMMARY OF IMPORTANT FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study was conceived as an inquiry into the effect of political education curriculum (PEC) and of political knowledge/literacy on the political socialization of students. Some researchers have argued that the school is by far the most influential agency involved in the political socialization of individuals (Almond and Verba 1963, Hess and Torney 1967; Entwistle, 1971). Entwistle, for instance, has argued that only by deliberately teaching individuals political ideas and events do they develop the disposition towards citizenship in an active political sense. Political education is taken to refer to any course studied in school which may have political content. It could therefore include History, Current Events, Economics, Social Studies, Geography, Citizenship Education, Civics, Environmental Studies and similar subject matter. The function of such courses is to initiate individuals into "the skills and concepts required for active participation in political affairs of citizenship" (Entwistle 1971 p. 1).

In Entwistle's definition political knowledge/literacy is the sign of a politically socialized person. However, we have made a further distinction in our study. - we have taken the political knowledge/literacy both as a dependent variable - dependent on level of PEC - and as an independent variable.

Therefore, to gain insight into the role of political education in socializing individuals to politics, this study examined the effects of PEC upon the political socialization of a group of Bahamian youth studying in Montreal.

The sample chosen represents the total population of Bahamian undergraduate students in Montreal. Apart from the considerations of practicality, accessibility and the fact that we knew about the self-selection and "elite" attributes of the sample, the added advantage of this sample over others possible in Montreal is the homogeneous historical and political background and experience of the sample. Methodologically, however, we had to rely on an ex post facto design and on the memories and subjective assessment of the respondents. The major assumption here was that since the respondents were all undergraduates, their high school experience was quite fresh in their memories. This was complicated, however, by the fact that most of our respondents were in their mid-twenties. This meant that they may have had formal educational experiences between high school and university. This fact however was controlled. Almost half of the sample had attended higher educational institutions between high school and university but we could not establish any independent or additive effect of this experience on the political socialization of the individuals involved. This was mainly because the same individuals happened to be those who had a high PEC exposure at the high school level.

PEC was measured therefore at the high school and university levels. At the high school level PEC level was based on the number of history courses taken and on the number of social studies courses taken. At the University level PEC level was based on the number of History, Political Science and "Other Relevant" courses taken. The effect of each different subject matter was assumed to be independent. The most obvious confounding factor here is the neglect of the interactive effect of the courses. However, one can think easily of other predictor variables which we did not control - like age, sex, SES, and many others. However, we can state that directly course related factors such as sex of teacher, quality of course and satisfaction with the course seem to be quite similar for most courses examined in this study.

Another methodological consideration is the determination of cut off points for high, medium and low PEC exposure. Since the theoretical base is not yet very strong in the literature, very few researchers have given particular attention to this item. We decided on five courses as the high PEC exposure level since most of the literature uses the same number of courses (Ehman, 1973) and since the number looked reasonable for our sample as well.

A new methodological dimension that this research project added to the existing literature is the group of "Other relevant" courses. Once we completed the list of

preselected courses known to contain political components, such as History, Political Science, and others, we asked the respondents to mention "other relevant courses" which contributed to their interest in political affairs. As we have seen in our research, this method yielded interesting effects. Therefore, it should be used and refined in further studies on this subject.

Political socialization was operationalized on nine components: political interest, spectator politicization (newspaper and radio) political discourse, political efficacy, political cynicism, political tolerance participative orientation, politicization and political knowledge (measured by three tests: Langton's Factual Test, Langton's Sophistication Test and the York Social Studies Test). These nine aspects of political socialization are the ones most used in the literature.

Political interest was based on one single question used by Langton. He had chosen this question as the most reliable among many other measures available in the literature. Out of a total score of two, the mean for our sample at high school was 1.3902 and at university it went up to 1.5610. At high school only 14 (34.1%) scored two while at university their number was 23 (56.1%). Political interest increased with the number of PEC courses taken at high school as well as at the university level, although not significantly at the .05 level. However, political interest

did not change much with the level of political knowledge/literacy. Again, although there was no statistical significance obtained at .05 level, political interest was higher for Whites than Blacks, for those who were planning careers as teachers, for those who had greater influence in family decisions concerning themselves, for those whose fathers were dead or absent, and for respondents whose parents had less than seven years of education.

Spectator politicization was measured on students' behavior regarding television, radio, newspapers and magazines. Most students did not read magazines regularly therefore its effect was held to be constant for all and we proceeded to examine spectator politicization as related to level of political consumption through radio and newspapers. On newspaper politicization out of a high score of two our sample mean for the high school level was 1.1220 and .8780 at the university level. In absolute frequencies the number of those who scored two at the high school level dropped from 15 (36.6%) to 11 (26.0%) at the university level. However, as we have stated television was the main source of information at this level. On the radio politicization there was again a drop of sample means between high school and university from 1.5122 to 1.0244 and in terms of frequencies from 16 students (39.0%) to 10 students (24.4%). In the case of newspaper politicization there is a definite PEC effect especially at the university level where it becomes

significant at the $p < .05$ level. Level of political knowledge/literacy does not seem to make any difference.

In the case of radio politicization there is an increase as related to the higher levels of PEC. Level of political knowledge/literacy does not seem to make much of a difference except in the case of the York Test where those who scored high have a higher level of radio consumption than those who scored low at $p = .054$. Other factors do not seem to influence much the level of political consumption through newspapers and radio for our respondents.

Political discourse is supposed to act as a surrogate for forms of adult level political activity, therefore, the frequency with which respondents engage in political conversations is taken as a probable indicator for the level of political socialization. The group mean increased very little between high school and university on this item. Out of a possible high score of three our sample had a mean of 1.3659 at high school and 1.4878 at university. There were no high scores at high school, and only two students scored three at university. The number of medium scorers went from 18 (43.9) to 23 (56.1). Political discourse scores increased with higher levels of PEC exposure but this effect was not significant at the $p < .05$ level. Political knowledge/literacy seemed to affect and increase the levels of political discourse but its most important effect was felt in the

in the case of Langton's factual test at the university level. White respondents had a much higher group mean than Blacks and the older respondents were also the higher scorers. Those planning to become teachers engaged in political discourse more often as did those respondents who had greater influence in the family decisions concerning themselves. Those who did not have fathers scored higher on discourse as did those who were in racially mixed schools. Once again, however, none of the results were significant at the $p < .05$ level.

A specially developed three point efficacy scale with a CR of .94 such as the one used by Langton, was used to measure the belief that one can affect political outcomes. Political efficacy increased between high school and university from a group mean score of .7561 out of a possible three to 1.2195. Only three students (7.3) scored high, at high school while this number increased to 11 (26.0) at university. The PEC effect is very obvious at all levels but especially at the university where it is statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level. There does not seem to be much of a relationship between level of efficacy and level of political knowledge/literacy as measured on Langton's Factual Test, especially at the high school level. The relationship is stronger as measured on Langton's sophistication test, and it becomes even stronger when we measure it on the York Test.

Interestingly, Blacks scored higher on political efficacy as do Protestants, those planning to become professionals, those whose parents generally made family decisions together, and those whose mothers decided about punishment. Moreover, those who majored in social sciences and those whose fathers and mothers had a higher educational level were higher on political efficacy. No statistical significance at the $p < .05$ level was realized.

Cynicism seems in part to be antithetical to a feeling of civic competence. A six item scale with a CR .94 used by Langton, was replicated for our sample. It should be remembered, however, that cynicism increases with increased levels of education, irrespective of level of political efficacy. This seems true for our sample as well. Therefore, means of cynicism increased instead of decreasing from high school to university - from 1.9268 to 2.2683 out of a high score of 3. Eleven students scored high on cynicism at high school and 13 scored high at university. And although there were 11 students in the low cynicism and no cynicism categories at high school, there were only two respondents who scored low on cynicism at the university. There does not seem to be much of a relationship between PEC and political cynicism. The same is true for political knowledge/literacy as measured on the sophistication test. However, political cynicism seems to increase with increasing factual knowledge as based on Langton's Factual Test and significantly

so at the university level, as well as with increasing knowledge measured on the York Test at $p < .38$. However, since in these two last cases the difference is not apparent at the high school level, we may conclude that it is the general educational level, that is, number of years of scholarship which is the most important factor in this case. Whites are more cynical than Blacks on political matters, and those older in age follow suit. Lower middle class respondents are less cynical. Those who are planning to become teachers and professionals are more cynical than others, as well as those who are majoring in social sciences and significantly so. Those whose fathers made the punishment and voting decisions were higher on cynicism as well as those who were in a majority white school.

Civic tolerance was measured on a three item scale devised by Langton. Civic tolerance means increased for our sample between high school and university from 2.0484 to 2.1951 out of a possible high score of three. In numbers, there were only three high scorers at high school while this number increased to 15 at university. However, civic tolerance does not seem to be related to PEC at high school nor at university. On the other hand, there seems to be some relationship between level of political knowledge/literacy and civic tolerance especially at the high school level as measured on the Langton Factual Test $p = .078$ and on the York Test $p = .088$. We obtained higher scores on civic

tolerance with higher levels of political knowledge/literacy, although we did not get any statistical significance.

Again, Whites are more tolerant than Blacks, as are middle class students vis-a-vis other SES groups. Those planning a professional or a teaching career are more tolerant and significantly so ($p = .0292$) as are those who were Social Science and Science majors at high school.

PEC is therefore related to five out of the seven aspects of political socialization studied in this research project: political interest, spectator politicization: newspaper and radio, political discourse, political efficacy. In the case of political efficacy newspaper politicization the relationship is significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Political knowledge/literacy on the other hand is related to political efficacy as measured on all three tests. As measured on the Langton Factual Test, there exists a relationship between political knowledge/literacy and radio politicization as well as political efficacy, political cynicism and political tolerance. The only relationships between the sophistication test and the political socialization items occurs in the case of political efficacy. Race, career plans and high school major subject, family relationship, parents' education, SES, age and racial composition of high school seem to be the other important intervening variables and in that order.

It seems clear from the preceding discussion that PEC and political knowledge/literacy are differentially related to the different aspects of political socialization. Where, however, is political knowledge/literacy obtained? To answer this question we tried to examine the relationship of PEC to political knowledge/literacy. The variation in the level of PEC measured as History does not seem to have much of an effect. The relationship becomes quite interesting in the case of PEC measured as Social Studies and political knowledge/literacy at the high school level. At the university level, increased PEC leads to increased political knowledge/literacy but we do not have any statistical significance. Also, it seems that the relationship is most obvious on the Langton Factual Test.

The three sets of hypotheses tested summarized the above relationships as follows:

- Set I. The Higher the exposure to PEC the Higher the Political Socialization of the students.
- Set II. The Higher the exposure to PEC the Political Knowledge/Literacy of the students.
- Set III. The Higher the Political Knowledge/Literacy of the students the Higher the Political Socialization of the students.

To summarize, we can say that the three sets of hypotheses were generally supported since the relationships obtained were in the predicted direction, although not

significant statistically.

It seems, however, that the most interesting result obtained is related to the differentiation we made at the beginning of our study between PEC and political knowledge/literacy and political socialization.

It seems that PEC provides knowledge important in developing greater political knowledge, interest, spectator politicization, political discourse, and efficacy, while political knowledge/literacy obtained independently of PEC seems to be most important in the case of political cynicism, and political tolerance. Furthermore, factual knowledge seems to be the most important type of knowledge in the latter case. It could be that for political cynicism and civic tolerance, personality factors such as authoritarianism may be the confounding factor. This is somewhat supported in the case of the York Test when those who scored low have a higher authoritarianism mean score as a group than those who scored higher on the same test. (Table 8)

Of course the fact that some of the political socialization concepts are better developed and therefore are measured by sharper tools, may have affected significantly the pattern discussed in the previous paragraphs. This is best illustrated in the case of the political efficacy component as opposed to the other variables on which political socialization is measured. From the substantive and metho-

Table 8: Summary of Independent Variables and their effect on Outcomes of Political Socialization

	HS PEC	U PEC	KNOWLEDGE		
			L	S	Y
Political interest	+	+	-	-	-
Newspaper	+	+ ^s	-	-	-
Radio	+	+	-	-	+ ^s
Political discourse	+	+	+ ^u		
Political efficacy	+	+ ^s	+	+	+ ^s
Political cynicism	-	-	+ ^s	-	+ ^s
Political tolerance	-	-	+ ^s	-	+ ^s

dological point of view this is an area where more research is needed.

Although the first chapter emphasized the importance of the different agencies in political socialization, i.e. family, school, peer group, formal organization, we have avoided the analysis of the relative importance of each of these agencies because of the type of data available to us. With a wider range of data, we could suggest the use of a causal modeling technique to estimate the relative role of each of these agencies in the development of political socialization and to determine how the different agencies affect each level of the dependent variable and each stage of the development of the individual.

Because of restricted entry into the university system in particular, the Bahamian students we have studied are an elite group and therefore we can say that for our sample the school influence is relatively important, combined with the experience of travel abroad for higher education and exposure to television. However, since the time period of the socialization of our sample coincided with important political changes - independence, first experience with a local government, etc. the political socialization effect of the family may have been undermined. We do agree with Langton that "attempts to map the political development of individuals must inevitably become involved with the relative

contribution of different social institutions throughout the life cycle. This question, as much as any other, represents the substantive and methodological frontier of political socialization research". (Langton, 1966)

Given that the aim in schools is the development of democratically-minded citizens, perhaps the most obvious implication for education to be drawn from our study is that we need to provide more and better exposure to subjects having the potential to educate in that particular mode of political thinking and behavior. Our data is in the direction of support for the widespread assumption that the subjects of the social sciences are particularly potent as a source of political education. This, therefore, implies the provision of an integrated curricula in the social sciences, arts and humanities which will expose youth from the early ages to the major concepts and principles about political man in a variety of environments. The emphasis of this curriculum will be, not on the presentation and acquisition of facts, but on the understanding of concepts which will afford citizens the capacity to understand political behavior.

We have, through our data, observed the susceptibility of youths to be cynical and intolerant of peoples other than themselves - in essence the 'out groups'. In a democracy, there seems to be a need to cultivate in prospec-

tive citizens' attitudes which will dispose them to be willing to understand and respect others as persons. This amounts to saying that in accordance with our democratic aims there is need to restructure courses especially in respect of content. We need to decide the extent to which we can continue to present biased history and geography lessons - ideologically or otherwise. We need to determine whether and for how long we can persist in advancing idealistic conceptions of how the democratic citizen can and does function, when the surrounding environment produces evidence to the contrary.

The data examined in this chapter further underlined the capacity of the social environment of the school especially with regard to composition in terms of race and SES to affect socialization outcomes. This seems to indicate that at the high school level at least, where there is less autonomy, a need for the integration of groups - not only in terms of race, but also in terms of sex and social class. For children and youth who are taught that the social theory which defines their particular social and political system is democracy, must experience conflicts if they are surrounded by socially, racially or sexually exclusive schools. The point we are trying to make here is that, the creation of heterogenous class socializing environments will promote the stability of democratic political systems if the

group in whose direction the others defer, is generally supportive of the democratic political system.

Whilst illustrating the importance of PEC as an instrument of political socialization this chapter has also focused on the non-educational sources of political beliefs and orientations. Family, especially as they relate to structure and organization do play a part in the formation of political attitudes. For example, the child who comes from a home in which parents are, comparatively speaking, educationally deprived, is affected more by exposure to PEC. Moreover, the individual whose parents in the process of his growing up, made some gesture towards the democraticization of the family and the sharing of responsibility within the family unit, possesses certain politically viable qualities which are either not present or not as pronounced and developed in those youths who were reared in homes in which authority derives from position and hence rests exclusively with the parents. Admittedly, the family is less tractable than the educational institution. Under these circumstances, successful education for democracy seems to require that families be made aware of the goals basic to the persistence of the political system. For it seems likely that the development of democratically minded citizens must be made an explicit objective of social policy and parents must be encouraged via the media, local organizations and government.

sponsored community programmes to re-organize families and child-rearing practises in accordance with the larger objectives of society.

Because of the relative absence of institutions of higher learning in the Bahamas, University students are an elite group. According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Education and Culture, in 1975 - 1976, there were 238 students abroad in universities and colleges. This means therefore that our sample represents a case study about the political education of a part of this elite, since we have examined the development of attitudes in approximately one-sixth of the entire university population of Bahamian students.*

It is therefore our hope that the next step in related research will be a comparative examination of the different groups of Bahamian university students studying in different parts of North America, Europe and the West Indies.

*The figures given here seem small. This is because the statistics speak only for students studying abroad on government sponsored scholarships and loans.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: OTHER VARIABLES AND THEIR EFFECTS
ON THE OUTCOMES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Table 1: Race and Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	BLACK (28)	WHITE (11)	PROBABILITY
Political interest	1.178	1.7272	.4637
Political discourse	1.3928	2.7272	.1297
Political efficacy	1.3214	1.0909	.5249
Political cynicism	2.0714	2.4545	.2541
Civic tolerance	2.1071	2.445	.4963
Langton test	1.6071	2.0909	.4699
Sophistication	1.5	1.5454	.3517
York test	2.2857	2.6363	.3332

Table 2: Age and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	21 OR LESS (16)	22+ (25)	PROBABILITY
Political interest	1.5625	1.56	.7590
Political discourse	1.3125	1.6	.4996
Political efficacy	1	1.36	.6221
Political cynicism	1.625	2.28	.9482
Civic tolerance	2.25	2.16	.8835
Political knowledge Langton test	1.25	1.8	.5189
Sophistication test	1.3125	1.72	.0949
York test	2.0625	2.12	.4439

Table 3: SES and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	LOWER- MIDDLE (18)	MIDDLE (10)	UPPER- MIDDLE (13)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.6666	1.5	1.4615	.4749
Political discourse	1.6666	1.5	1.23076	.0723
Political efficacy	1.2777	1.2	1.1538	.4691
Political cynicism	2.1111	2.4	2.3846	.3685
Civic tolerance	2.1111	2.4	2.1538	.5913
Political knowledge Langton test	1.5555	2	1.84615	.8693
Sophistication	1.5555	1.6	1.5384	.8408
York test	2.222	2.9	2.30	.1564

Table 4: Religion and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	PROTES- TANTS (25)	ROMAN CATHO- LICS (10)	ORTHO- DOX (6)	χ^2
Political interest	1.64	1.4	1.5	.4113
Political discourse	1.56	1.3	1.5	.6421
Political efficacy	1.44	1	.66	.4058
Political cynicism	2.24	2.1	2.6666	.3161
Civic tolerance	2.12	2.2	2.5	.3746
Langton test	1.88	1	2.1666	.2860
Sophistication	1.72	1.1	1.333	.0801
York test	2.04	2.2	2.6666	.4336

Table 5: Occupational Plans and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	PROFES- SIONS (24)	TEACH- ERS (12)	TECHNI- CIANS (5)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.5416	1.75	1.2	.1096
Political discourse	1.5	1.8333	.6	.1117
Political efficacy	1.375	1.0833	.8	.4227
Political cynicism	2.375	2.25	1.8	.0034
Civic tolerance	1.875	2.5	2.2	.6940
Langton test	1.7916	1.75	1.6	.1885
Sophistication	1.5	1.583	1.8	.7325
York test	2.4583	2.5833	1.2	.0242

Table 6: Respondents' Influence in Family Decisions
Affecting Themselves and Political
Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	MUCH (27)	NONE (14)	PROBABILITY
Political interest	1.6666	1.3571	.1183
Political discourse	1.6296	1.214	.2871
Political efficacy	1.1111	1.4285	.6502
Political cynicism	2.2962	2.0714	.1019
Civic tolerance	2.1851	2.2142	.4965
Langton test	1.8888	1.5	.3951
Sophistication	1.6296	1.4285	.6891
York test	2.3703	2.5	.7039

Table 7: Family Decision-Making Process
and Political Socialization

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	FATHER (16)	MOTHER (5)	BOTH (11)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.4375	1.4	1.5454	.8116
Political discourse	1.3125	1.4	1.4545	.3639
Political efficacy	1.1875	.4	1.5454	.3111
Political cynicism	2.3125	2	2.1818	.4222
Civic tolerance	2.25	2.6	2.2727	.1526
Langton test	1.75	1.2	1.818	.1731
Sophistication	1.4375	1	1.5454	.7474
York test	2.375	2	2.3636	.6172

Table 8: Punishment Decision and
Political Socialization

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	FATHER (9)	MOTHER (13)	BOTH (10)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.3333	1.5384	1.5	.6201
Political discourse	1.222	1.3846	1.5	.9739
Political efficacy	1.1111	1.4615	.9999	.7678
Political cynicism	2.4444	2.1538	1.9	.4979
Civic tolerance	2.333	2.3846	2.2	.9378
Langton test	1.5555	1.5384	2	.6529
Sophistication	1.5555	1.2307	1.7	.3404
York test	2.1111	2.5384	2.2	.5035

Table 9: Voting Decision Making
and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	FATHER (12)	MOTHER (2)	INDEPEN- DENT (19)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest-	1.5833	1	1.4736	.3076
Political discourse	1.5833	.5	1.3684	.7806
Political efficacy	1.1666	1.5	1.1052	.8506
Political cynicism	2.5833	1	2.1052	.0079
Civic tolerance	2.25	1	2.42105	.3630
Langton test	1.5833	1	1.7894	.0042
Sophistication	1.3333	1.5	1.5263	.4010
York test	2.25	1	2.4736	.3734

Table 10: Closeness to Father and
Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	CLOSE TO FATHER (25)	NOT SO CLOSE (12)	NO FA- THER (4)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.56	1.4166	2	.1259
Political discourse	1.48	1.4166	1.75	.3391
Political efficacy	1.04	1.5833	1.25	.2854
Political cynicism	2.24	2.333	2.25	.8270
Civic tolerance	2.32	2.0833	1.75	.0199
Langton test	1.68	1.8333	1.75	.7298
Sophistication	1.52	1.6666	1.5	.5212
York test	2.32	2.5	2.75	.7634

Table 11: Fathers' Political Interest and Political Socialization Means of Students.

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	VERY MUCH INTERESTED (25)	NOT TOO MUCH INTERESTED (12)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.52	1.583	.5295
Political discourse	1.52	1.5	.8589
Political efficacy	1.24	1.25	.3196
Political cynicism	2.32	2.75	.5751
Civic tolerance	2.08	2.25	.6566
Langton test	1.6	2	.7642
Sophistication	1.48	1.75	.8060
York test	2.36	2.5	.4783

Table 12: Fathers' Party and Political
Socialization Means of Students

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	PLP (25)	FNM (12)	PROBABILITY
Political interest	1.6	1.41	.3272
Political discourse	1.44	1.25	.8056
Political efficacy	1.32	1.0833	.4827
Political cynicism	2.24	2.4166	.7576
Civic tolerance	2.2	2.25	.1321
Langton test	1.68	1.8333	.9195
Sophistication	1.56	1.5833	.9093
York test	2.08	2.25	.4687

Table 13: Fathers' Education
and Political Socialization

POLITICAL SO- CIALIZATION VARIABLES	UNIV- ERSITY	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD- UATE	HIGH SCHOOL	LESS THAN 7 YEARS	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.6	1.5	1.465	1.75	.7569
Political discourse	1.5	1.6	1.30	1.375	.3934
Political efficacy	1.9	1.2	1.07	.625	.1373
Political cynicism	2.2	2.2	2.38	2	.7677
Civic toler- ance	2.1	2.1	2.38	2.12	.3659
Langton test	1	1.6	1.46	1.625	.1666
Sophistication	2.1	1.9	1.076	1.25	.2029
York test	2.8	2.4	2.07	2.5	.6325

Table 14: Mothers' Education and Politicization Means of Students

POLITICAL SO- CIALIZATION VARIABLES	UNIV- ERSITY	HIGH SCHOOL	SOME HIGH SCHOOL	LESS THAN 7 YEARS	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.571	1.25	1.692	1.8	0.750
Political discourse	1.2307	1.75	1.846	1.4	.4252
Political efficacy	1.538	.75	1.30	1.1	.5077
Political cynicism	2.23	2	2.53	2.1	.2324
Civic toler- ance	2.0769	2.5	2.23	2.2	.9388
Langton test	2	2	1.7692	1.6	.7470
Sophistication	2.153	1.25	1.38	1.2	.3787
York test	2.615	2.75	2.30	2.4	.5496

Table 15: Racial Composition of High School
and Political Socialization Means

POLITICAL SOCIALI- ZATION VARIABLES	BLACK (22)	WHITE (22)	MIXED (7)	PROBAB- ILITY
Political interest	1.6818	1.3333	1.5714	1.472
Political discourse	1.545	1.25	1.714	.4865
Political efficacy	1.090	1.333	1.4285	.3826
Political cynicism	2.090	2.5833	2.285	.1326
Civic tolerance	2.1818	2.333	2	.4118
Langton test	1.545	2.4166	1.857	.4980
Sophistication	.545	1.75	1.285	.3082
York test	2.318	2.583	2.4285	.9058

APPENDIX II: THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PANDORA JOHNSON
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL

MARCH 1976

M.A. IN EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

TOPIC: AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
CURRICULUM AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY ON THE POLITI-
CAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY OF BAHAMIAN
STUDENTS IN MONTREAL

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule is prepared for my M.A. thesis in Educational Studies at Concordia University, Montreal. I am doing a study of political socialization of students. My major interest - and this is also the topic of my thesis - is to find out the relationship between the political content of curriculum at the high school and college levels to political knowledge/literacy and to political attitudes and behaviour of students.

This is a confidential questionnaire. This means that your answers will not be seen by anyone else in this university or outside the university. Your answers will be used only for the purpose of the research which intends to better understand the process of political socialization.

I hope that you will find these questions interesting to answer and I thank you for your participation in this study.

PART I SCHOOLING/EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Sex	1. Male	20	48.8
	2. Female	21	51.2
2. Race	1. Black	28	68.3
	2. White	11	26.8
	3. Mixed	2	4.9
3. Age	1. 17 - 18	5	12.2
	2. 19 - 21	16	39.0
	3. 22 - 25	12	29.3
	4. 26+	8	19.5
4. Family SES (as estimated by interviewer based on Table 4 p.	1. Poor	1	2.4
	2. Lower middle	13	31.7
	3. Middle	12	29.3
	4. Upper middle	15	36.6
5. Major at university	1. Humanities	2	4.9
	2. Fine Arts	1	2.4
	3. Social Sciences	14	34.1
	4. Engineering	2	4.9
	5. Business	16	39.0
	6. Science	6	14.6
6. Number of High Schools attended	1. One	27	65.9
	2. Two	14	34.1

Questions 6 - 30 answered from Table 1 (see p.

7. G.P.A. in High School

Frequency Percentage

1. A.	12	29.3
2. B.	10	24.4
3. C.	15	36.6
4. A and B	1	2.4
5. B and C	2	4.9
6. C and D	1	2.4

8. Type of High School

1. Government	8	19.5
2. Private	30	73.2
3. Mixed	3	7.3

9. Racial Composition of High School

1. Black majority	22	53.6
2. White majority	12	29.3
3. Heterogeneous	7	17.1

10. SES of students in High School attended

1. High	7	17.1
2. Upper middle	17	41.5
3. Middle	8	19.5
4. Lower middle	6	14.6
5. Low	1	2.4
6. Heterogeneous	2	4.9

11. Objective environment of High School

1. High	5	12.2
2. Upper middle	4	9.8
3. Middle	29	70.7
4. Lower middle	1	2.4
5. Low	2	4.9

12. SES of High School class

1. High	4	26.8
2. Upper middle	13	31.7
3. Middle	14	34.1
4. Low	3	7.3

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
13. SES of Sixth Form		
1. High	5	12.3
2. Upper middle	7	17.1
3. Middle	7	17.1
4. Lower middle	1	2.4
9. N.A.	21	51.2
14. Objective SES of Sixth Form		
1. High	5	12.2
2. Upper middle	4	9.8
7. Heterogeneous	11	26.8
9. N.A.	21	51.2
15. Cumulative High School and Sixth Form SES environment		
1. High	5	12.2
2. Upper middle	6	14.6
3. Middle	2	4.9
4. Lower middle	4	9.8
7. Heterogeneous	24	58.5
16. Major at High School		
1. Humanities	19	46.3
2. Sciences	15	36.6
3. Applied Sciences	2	4.9
4. Business	5	7.7
17. Sixth Form Major		
1. Social Sciences	1	2.4
2. Humanities	6	14.6
3. Sciences	13	31.7
9. N.A.	21	51.2
18. Major at University		
1. Social Sciences	10	24.4
2. Humanities	1	2.4
3. Sciences	8	19.5
4. Engineering	2	4.9
5. Education	3	7.3
6. Secretarial	3	7.3
7. Commerce	14	34.1

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
19. Number of universities attended		
1. One	33	80.5
2. Two	6	14.6
3. Three	2	4.9
20. Type of university attended		
2. Denominational	6	9.8
3. Non-denominational	35	85.4
21. University attended		
1. McGill	8	19.5
2. Sir George Williams	19	46.3
3. Loyola	6	14.6
4. Dawson	4	9.8
5. O'Sullivan	1	2.4
6. Herzog	1	2.4
7. John Abbott	2	4.9
22. Year at university		
1. Pre-university	17	41.5
2. University one	14	34.1
3. University two	4	9.8
4. University three	5	12.2
5. University four	1	2.4
23. G.P.A. at university		
1. A	4	9.8
2. B	11	26.8
3. C	16	39.0
4. D	3	7.3
5. A and B	1	2.4
6. B and C	5	12.2
7. C and D	1	2.4
24. SES of students at university		
1. High	1	2.4
2. Upper middle	8	19.8
3. Middle	12	29.3
4. Lower middle	7	17.1
5. Heterogeneous	13	31.7

	Frequency	Percentage
25. Objective SES of students at universities		
2. Upper middle	6	14.6
3. Middle	3	7.3
4. Lower middle	11	26.8
6. Heterogeneous	21	51.2
26. Post Sixth Form institutions attended		
1. Vocational	1	2.4
2. CEGEP	9	22.0
3. Teachers	2	4.9
6. None	29	70.7
27. SES of post Sixth Form institution		
1. Upper middle	6	14.6
2. Middle	4	9.8
3. Lower middle	1	2.4
4. Heterogeneous	1	2.4
9. N.A.	29	70.7
28. SES environment after Tenth Grade		
1. High	2	4.9
2. Upper middle	8	19.5
3. Middle	11	26.8
4. Lower middle	2	4.9
6. Heterogeneous	14	34.1
9. N.A.	4	9.8
29. Educational concentration after Tenth Grade		
1. Social Sciences	5	12.2
2. Humanities	9	22.0
3. Sciences	13	31.7
4. Applied Sciences	1	2.4
6. Heterogeneous	13	31.7

Now I would like to get some information about your general feelings towards high school and university. Let us begin with your feelings about high school and some of your high

school experiences. Generally speaking, what kinds of subjects have you liked best in the last three years of high school?

30. Subjects liked best at High School

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Fine Arts	7	17.1
2. Humanities	9	22.0
3. Sciences	18	43.9
4. Applied Sciences	1	2.4
6. Heterogeneous	1	2.4
7. Business	3	7.3
8. Does not know	2	4.9

31. Subjects liked least at High School

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Fine Arts	2	4.9
2. Humanities	20	48.8
3. Sciences	14	34.1
6. Heterogeneous	5	12.2

32. In general how have you felt about going to High School? Did you like it a lot, a fair amount, or haven't you cared much for it?

1. Liked it a lot	27	65.9
2. Liked it a fair amount	10	24.4
3. Did not care much for it	4	9.8

33. What is it that you liked about it? Specify reasons for liking High School.

1. Curriculum	18	43.9
2. Extra-curricular activities	10	24.4
3. Discipline	1	2.4
4. Teachers	1	2.4
5. One and four	5	12.2
6. One and three	1	2.4
7. Three and four	2	4.9
8. Independence	3	7.3

	Frequency	Percentage
1. Course load	17	41.5
2. Discipline	9	22.0
3. Teachers	5	12.2
4. Impersonality	2	4.9
5. One and two	3	7.3
8. Discrimination	5	12.2

34. What is it that you did not like about it? Specify reasons for not liking High School

Let us now turn to your feelings about university and some of your university experiences.

Generally speaking, what kinds of subjects have you liked best at the university?

35. Specify subjects liked best at university		
1. Social Sciences	9	22.0
2. Humanities	5	12.2
3. Sciences	13	31.7
4. Engineering	2	4.9
5. Education	3	7.3
6. Computer Science	1	2.4
7. Commerce	8	19.5

36. What subjects have you liked least at university? Specify

1. Social Sciences	10	24.4
2. Humanities	18	43.9
3. Sciences	7	17.1
5. Education	1	2.4
7. Commerce	3	7.3
8. Does not know	2	4.9

37. In general how do you feel about going to university here? ~~30~~
 you like it a lot, a fair amount, or don't you care much for it?

1. Liked it a lot	20	48.8
2. Liked it a fair amount	12	29.3
3. Does not care much	9	22.0

38. What is it that you like about it? Specify reasons for liking university

1. Curriculum	20	48.8
2. Extra-curricular activities	6	14.6

		Frequency	Percentage
38. (Cont'd)			
	7. Discipline and teachers	1	2.4
	8. Independence	4	9.8
39. What is it that you do not like about it? Specify reasons for not liking university	1. Course load	14	34.1
	2. Discipline	1	2.4
	3. Teachers	7	17.1
	4. Impersonality	5	12.2
	5. One and two	1	2.4
	7. Three and four	1	2.4
	8. Discrimination	12	29.4
40. Did the teachers in your High School generally treat every- one fairly, or were some treated better than others?	1. Everyone fairly	11	26.8
	2. Some treated better	29	70.7
	3. Depends on teacher	1	2.4
41. Did you ever feel in High School that you were treated by any teacher?	1. Yes	7	17.1
	2. No	32	78.0
	3. Not sure.	2	4.9
42. If yes, did you say something to the teacher about it?	1. Yes	3	7.3
	2. No	6	14.6
	9. N.A.	32	78.0
43. Did that help?	1. Helped.	1	2.4
	2. Not helped	2	4.9
	9. N.A.	38	92.7
44. Did you say something about it to some other adult in the school?	1. Yes	4	9.8
	2. No	5	12.2
	9. N.A.	32	78.0

		Frequency	Percentage
45. Did that help?			
	1. Yes	1	2.4
	2. No	3	7.3
	9. N.A.	37	90.3
46. (Ask everyone) What about the principal, vice-principal, counselors and people like that, did you feel that you had ever been treated unfairly by any of them			
	1. Yes	8	19.5
	2. No	29	70.7
	3. Not sure	4	9.8
47. Based on the courses you have taken, do professors in your university generally treat everyone fairly, or are some treated better than others?			
	1. Everyone fairly	8	19.5
	2. Some treated better	30	73.2
	8. Does not know	3	7.3
48. Do you feel you have ever been treated unfairly by any professor at your university			
	1. Yes	25	61.0
	2. No	15	36.6
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
49. If yes to Q. 48, did you say something to the professor about it?			
	1. Yes	15	36.6
	2. No	10	24.4
	9. N.A.	16	39.0
50. Did it help?			
	1. Helped	2	4.9
	2. Not helped	12	29.3
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	26	63.3
51. Did you say something to some other adult at the university?			
	1. Yes	10	24.4
	2. No	15	36.6

Frequency Percentage

1. Yes
2. No
9. N.A.

52. Did it help?

1 2.4
9 22.0
31 76.6

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

53. What about the department chairman, principal, vice-principal, deans and people like that? Do you feel that you have ever been treated unfairly by anyone of them?

9 22.0
31 76.6
1 2.4

1. A good deal
2. Some
3. Very little
4. Not at all

54. In some schools the students participate in running school affairs, in others the teachers and administrators decide everything. How was it in your high school? Did the students participate?

7 17.1
22 53.7
3 7.3
9 22.0

55. How about at your university?

1. A good deal
2. Some
3. Very little
4. Not at all
5. Too much
8. Does not know

23 56.1
10 24.4
2 4.9
2 4.9
2 4.9
2 4.9

56. Were there some things you felt that students should have been allowed to do that they were not allowed to do in your high school?

1. Yes
2. No

33 80.5
8 19.5

		Frequency	Percentage
57. How about at your university?	1. Yes	12	29.3
	2. No	24	58.5
	3. Does not know	5	12.2
58. Were elections held in your high school for class and student body offices?	1. Yes	35	85.4
	2. No	6	14.6
59. How about at your university?	1. Yes	40	97.6
	2. No	1	2.4
60. Have you voted in your high school's elections most of the time, some of the time, or not much of the time?	1. Most of the time	34	82.9
	2. Some of the time	1	2.4
	3. Not much	6	14.6
61. How about here at the university?	1. Most of the time	6	14.6
	2. Some of the time	9	22.0
	3. Not much of the time	8	19.5
	6. Never	18	43.9
62. Why would you say you have voted at high school? Specify reasons?	1. Compulsory	6	14.6
	2. Community spirit	13	31.7
	3. Exercizing right	9	22.0
	4. One and two	1	2.4
	5. One and three	5	12.2
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	6	14.6
63. How about, the time you voted at this university?	2. Community feeling	8	19.5
	3. Exercizing right	7	17.1
	5. Community feeling and exercizing right	3	7.3
	9. N.A.	23	56.1

Frequency Percentage

64. In the last three years of high school did you run for an elective office in high school or out of high school?	1. Yes 2. No	26 15	63.4 36.6
65. Were you successful?	1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.	23 3 15	56.1 7.3 36.6
66. In the last three years of high school, did you help anybody running for office?	1. Yes 2. No	24 17	58.5 41.5
67. Did you ever run for an elective office in or outside this university?	1. Yes 2. No	14 27	34.1 65.9
68. Were you successful	1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.	11 3 27	26.8 7.3 65.9
69. While at this university, have you helped anybody running for office either at or outside this university?	1. Yes 2. No	15 26	36.6 63.4

Questions 70 - 153 answered from Tables 2A, 2B, 2C (see p.

70. Number of Civics courses taken in high school	1. One 3. Three 5. Five or more 6. None at all	2 1 1 36	4.9 2.4 2.4 90.3
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		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
71.	G.P.A. for Civics courses taken in high school	5 36	12.2 90.3
	3. Generally C 9. N.A.		
72.	Rating of teacher for Civics courses taken in high school	3 2 36	7.3 4.9 90.3
	2. Good 8. Does not know 9. N.A.		
73.	Sex of teacher for Civics courses taken in high school	2 4 36	4.9 9.8 90.3
	1. Male 3. Female and male 9. N.A.		
74.	Rating of Civics courses taken in high school	2 3 36	4.9 7.3 90.3
	1. Extremely good 3. Fairly good 9. N.A.		
75.	Were the Civics courses taken in high school elective or required?	3 38	7.3 92.7
	2. Required 9. N.A.		
76.	Number of History courses taken in high school	1 13 3 24 4	2.4 31.7 7.5 58.5
	2. Two 3. Three 4. Four 5. Five or more		
77.	G.P.A. for History courses taken in high school	7 17 13 2 1 1	17.1 41.5 31.7 4.9 2.4 2.4
	1. A 2. B 3. C 4. D 6. B and C 7. C and D		

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	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
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78. Rating for teacher of History courses taken in high school

1. Extremely good
2. Good
3. Fairly good
4. Poor
5. Extremely poor

10	24.4
12	29.3
14	34.1
3	7.3
2	4.9

79. Sex of teacher for History courses taken in high school

1. Male
2. Female
3. Male and female

9	22.0
22	53.7
10	24.4

80. Rating of History courses taken in high school

1. Extremely good
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Extremely poor
7. Other

8	19.5
16	39.0
10	24.4
4	9.8
2	4.9
1	2.4

81. History courses taken in high school elective or required

1. Elective
2. Required
3. Both

2	4.9
18	43.9
21	51.2

82. Number of Social Studies courses taken in high school

1. One
3. Three
4. Four
5. Five or more
6. None at all

2	4.9
12	29.3
3	7.3
20	48.4
4	9.8

83. G.P.A. for Social Studies courses taken in high school

1. A
2. B
3. C
5. A and B
6. B and C
9. N.A.

6	14.6
14	34.1
14	34.1
2	4.9
1	2.4
4	9.8

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
84. Rating of teacher for Social Studies courses taken at high			
	1. Extremely good	11	26.8
	2. Good	8	19.5
	3. Fair	13	37.7
	4. Poor	5	12.2
	9. N.A.	4	9.8
85. Sex of teacher for Social Studies courses taken at high school.			
	1. Male	20	48.8
	2. Female	9	22.0
	3. Both	8	19.5
	9. N.A.	4	9.8
86. Rating of Social Studies courses taken in high school			
	1. Extremely good	9	22.0
	2. Good	11	26.8
	3. Fair	10	24.4
	4. Poor	6	14.6
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	4	9.8
87. Social Studies courses taken in high school elective or required			
	1. Elective	1	2.4
	2. Required	15	36.6
	3. Both	21	51.2
	9. N.A.	4	9.8
88. Number of 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school			
	1. One	1	2.4
	2. Two	1	2.4
	3. Three	1	2.4
	5. Five or more	4	9.8
	6. None at all	34	82.9

Frequency Percentage

89. G.P.A. for 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school

1. A	1	2.4
2. B	4	9.8
3. C	1	2.4
5. A and B	1	2.4
9. N.A.	34	82.9

90. Rating of teacher for 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school

1. Extremely good	2	4.9
2. Good	2	4.9
3. Fair	3	7.3
9. N.A.	34	82.9

91. Sex of teacher for 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school

1. Male	1	2.4
2. Female	2	4.9
3. Both	4	9.8
9. N.A.	34	82.9

92. Rating of 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school

1. Extremely good	2	4.9
2. Good	3	7.3
3. Fair	1	2.4
4. Poor	1	2.4
9. N.A.	34	82.9

93. 'Other Relevant' courses taken in high school elective or required

1. Required	4	9.8
3. Elective and required	3	7.3
9. N.A.	34	82.9

94. Number of Civics courses taken at the intermediate level

1. One	5	12.2
2. Two	1	2.4
4. Four	1	2.4
6. None at all	34	82.9

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
95. G.P.A. for Civics courses taken at the intermediate level	1. A	2	4.9
	2. B	2	4.9
	4. D	2	4.9
	6. B and C	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	34	82.9
96. Rating of Civics courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good	3	7.3
	2. Good	1	2.4
	3. Fair	1	2.4
	4. Poor	1	2.4
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
97. Sex of teacher for Civics taken at the intermediate	9. N.A.	34	82.9
	1. Male	6	14.6
	2. Female	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	34	82.9
98. Rating of Civics courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good	3	7.3
	2. Good	1	2.4
	3. Fair	1	2.4
	4. Poor	1	2.4
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
99. Civics courses taken at the intermediate level, elective or required	9. N.A.	34	82.9
	1. Elective	6	14.6
	2. Required	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	34	82.9
100. Number of History courses taken at the intermediate level	1. One	2	4.9
	2. Two	6	14.6
	3. Three	3	7.3
	6. None	30	73.2

		Frequency	Percentage
101.	G.P.A. for History courses taken at the intermediate level		
	1. A	4	9.8
	2. B	3	7.3
	3. C	2	4.9
	4. D	1	2.4
	5. A and B	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
102.	Rating of History courses taken at the intermediate level		
	1. Extremely good	7	17.1
	3. Fair	4	9.8
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
103.	Sex of teacher for History courses taken at intermediate level		
	1. Male	6	14.6
	2. Female	4	9.8
	3. Both	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
104.	Rating of History courses taken at intermediate level		
	1. Extremely good	3	7.3
	2. Good	2	4.9
	3. Fair	4	9.8
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
105.	Were the History courses taken at the intermediate level, elective or required?		
	1. Elective	6	14.6
	2. Required	3	7.3
	3. Both	2	4.9
	9. N.A.	30	73.1
106.	Number of Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level		
	1. One	4	9.8
	2. Two	2	4.9
	3. Three	2	4.9
	4. Four	1	2.4
	6. None at all	32	78.0

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
107.	G.P.A. for Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level	1. A 2. B 3. C 5. A and B 9. N.A.	2.4 7.3 9.8 2.4 78.0
108.	Rating of teacher for Social courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor 9. N.A.	12.2 2.4 2.4 4.9 78.0
109.	Sex of teacher for Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Male 2. Female 9. Both	14.6 7.3 78.0
110.	Rating of Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Poor 9. N.A.	9.8 4.9 4.9 2.4 78.0
111.	Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level elective or required	1. Elective 2. Required 3. Both 9. N.A.	14.6 7.3 2.4 75.6
112.	Number of 'Other Relevant' courses taken at intermediate level	1. One 2. Two 3. Three 4. Four 5. Five or more 6. None at all	4.9 7.3 7.3 9.8 7.3 58.5

Frequency Percentage

113. G.P.A. for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at intermediate level

1. A	4	9.8
2. B	6	14.6
3. C	4	9.8
6. B and C	2	4.9
7. Other	1	2.4
9. N.A.	24	58.5

114. Rating for teacher of 'Other Relevant' courses taken at intermediate level

1. Extremely good	5	12.2
2. Good	5	12.2
3. Fair	4	9.8
4. Poor	2	4.9
5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
9. N.A.	24	58.5

115. Sex of teacher for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at the intermediate level

1. Male	11	26.8
2. Female	3	7.3
3. Both	3	7.3
9. N.A.	24	58.5

116. Rating for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at intermediate level

1. Extremely good	4	12.2
2. Good	6	14.6
3. Fair	4	9.8
4. Poor	2	4.9
5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
9. N.A.	24	58.5

117. Were the 'Other Relevant' courses taken at the intermediate level elective or required

1. Elective	7	17.1
2. Required	6	14.6
3. Both	4	9.8
9. N.A.	24	58.5

Frequency Percentage

118. Number of Civics courses taken at university level

1. One	4	9.8
2. Two	2	4.9
3. Three	2	4.9
5. Five or more	4	9.8
6. None	29	70.7

119. G.P.A. for Civics courses taken at university level

2. B	4	9.8
3. C	4	9.8
5. A and B	2	4.9
6. B and C	2	4.9
9. N.A.	29	70.7

120. Rating of teacher for Civics courses taken at university level

1. Extremely good	1	2.4
2. Good	5	12.2
3. Fair	6	14.6
9. N.A.	29	70.7

121. Sex of teacher for Civics courses taken at university

1. Male	9	22.0
2. Female	3	7.3
9. N.A.	29	70.7

122. Rating of Civics courses taken at university level

1. Extremely good	1	2.4
2. Good	6	14.6
3. Fair	4	9.8
4. Poor	1	2.4
9. N.A.	29	70.7

123. University Civics courses, elective or required

1. Elective	6	14.6
3. Required and elective	6	14.6
9. N.A.	29	70.7

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
124. Number of History courses taken at university	1. One	6	14.6
	2. Two	4	9.8
	5. Five or more	1	2.4
	6. None	30	73.2
125. G.P.A. for History courses taken at university	1. A	1	2.4
	2. B	3	7.3
	3. C	3	7.3
	4. D	2	4.9
	5. A and B	2	4.9
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
126. Rating of teacher for History courses taken at university	1. Extremely good	4	9.8
	2. Good	2	4.9
	3. Fair	3	7.3
	4. Poor	1	2.4
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
127. Sex of teacher for History	1. Male	10	24.4
	2. Female	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
128. Rating of History courses taken at university	1. Extremely good	4	9.8
	2. Good	2	4.9
	3. Fair	4	9.8
	4. Poor	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	30	73.2

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
129. University History courses elective or required	1. Elective	70	17.1
	2. Required	2	4.9
	3. Both	2	4.9
	9. N.A.	30	73.2
130. Number of Social Studies courses taken at university	1. One	7	17.1
	4. Four	1	2.4
	5. Five or more	1	2.4
	6. None at all	32	78.0
131. G.P.A. for Social Studies courses taken at university	1. A	2	4.9
	2. B	5	12.2
	3. C	1	2.4
	4. D	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	32	78.0
132. Rating of teacher for Social Studies courses taken at university	1. Extremely good	1	2.4
	2. Good	1	2.4
	3. Fair	3	7.3
	4. Poor	3	7.3
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	32	78.0
133. Sex of teacher for Social Studies courses taken at university	1. Male	4	9.8
	2. Female	3	7.3
	3. Both	2	4.9
	9. N.A.	32	78.0
134. Rating of university Social Studies courses	1. Extremely good	3	7.3
	2. Good	1	2.4
	3. Fair	2	4.9
	4. Poor	2	4.9
	5. Extremely poor	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	32	78.0

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	Frequency	Percentage
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135. University Social Studies, courses, elective or required

1. Elective	7	17.1
2. Required	2	4.9
9. N.A.	32	78.0

136. Number of 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university

1. One	6	14.6
2. Two	8	19.5
3. Three	5	12.2
4. Four	4	9.8
5. Five or more	7	17.1
6. None at all	11	26.8

137. G.P.A. for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university

1. A	4	9.8
2. B	9	22.0
3. C	9	22.0
5. A and B	4	9.8
6. B and C	4	9.8
9. N.A.	11	26.8

138. Rating of teacher for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university

1. Extremely good	1	2.4
2. Good	8	19.5
3. Fair	14	34.1
4. Poor	7	17.1
9. N.A.	11	26.8

139. Sex of teacher for 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university

1. Male	13	56.1
2. Female	7	17.1
9. N.A.	11	26.8

140. Rating of 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university

1. Extremely good	3	7.3
2. Good	5	12.2
3. Fair	17	41.5
4. Poor	5	12.2
9. N.A.	11	26.8

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
141.	Were the 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university elective or required?	12 7 11 11	29.3 17.1 26.8 26.8
	1. Elective 2. Required 3. Both 9. N.A.		
142.	Increase of interest in politics due to Civics courses taken in high school	1 2 1 1 36	2.4 4.9 2.4 2.4 87.8
	1. Extremely good 2. Good 4. Very little 8. Does not know 9. N.A.		
143.	Increase of interest in politics due to History courses taken at high school	8 15 8 3 7	19.5 36.6 19.5 7.3 17.1
	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Very little 5. Not at all		
144.	Increase of interest in politics due to Social Studies courses taken at high school	13 6 1 10 4	31.7 14.6 2.4 24.4 9.8
	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 5. Not at all 9. N.A.		
145.	Increase of interest in politics due to 'Other Relevant' courses taken at high school	4 3 34	9.8 7.3 82.9
	1. Extremely good 2. Good 9. N.A.		
146.	Increase of interest in politics due to Civics courses taken at the intermediate level	2 2 1 1 1 34	4.9 4.9 2.4 2.4 2.4 82.9
	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Very little 5. Not at all 9. N.A.		

Frequency Percentage

147.	Increase of interest in politics due to History courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 5. Not at all 9. N.A.	4 4 2 1 30	9.8 9.8 4.9 2.4 73.2
148.	Increase of interest in politics due to Social Studies courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good 2. Good 9. N.A.	2 7 32	4.9 17.1 78.0
149.	Increase of interest in politics due to 'Other Relevant' courses taken at the intermediate level	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Very little 5. Not at all 9. N.A.	3 7 3 2 2 24	7.3 17.1 7.3 4.9 4.9 58.5
150.	Increase of interest in politics due to Civics courses taken at university	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Very little 9. N.A.	3 5 2 2 29	7.3 12.2 4.9 4.9 70.7
151.	Increase of interest in politics due to History courses taken at university	1. Extremely good 2. Good 3. Fair 4. Very little 5. Not at all 9. N.A.	5 2 2 1 1 30	12.2 4.9 4.9 2.4 2.4 73.2

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
152. Increase of interest in politics due to Social Studies courses taken at university	1. Extremely good	2	4.9
	2. Good	3	7.3
	3. Fair	3	7.3
	4. Very little	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	32	78.0
153. Increase of interest in politics due to 'Other Relevant' courses taken at university	1. Extremely good	3	7.3
	2. Good	9	22.0
	3. Fair	12	29.3
	4. Very little	3	7.3
	5. Not at all	3	7.3
	9. N.A.	11	26.8

FORMAL ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION (FOP) OF STUDENTS

During the last three years of high school have you been a member of any clubs, associations, etc. in the school or outside of school? (Interviewer: ask the same question for the years in between high school and university, and for university years.) Go on to say: We find that students differ quite a bit in how much they participate in organizations and activities. I would like you to indicate the different kinds of organizations in which you have been a member during the last year of high school and to date.

Interviewer: Fill in Table 3

Questions 154 - 173 answered from Table 3 (see p. 3)

154. Number of FOP at high school	1. One	6	14.6
	2. Two	12	29.3
	3. Three	7	17.1

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	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
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154. (Cont'd)

4. Four	6	14.6
5. Five or more	2	4.9
6. Not at all	8	19.5

155. Number of FOP off campus during high school

1. One	9	22.0
2. Two	10	24.4
3. Three	2	4.9
4. Four	1	2.4
5. Five or more	1	2.4
6. None at all	18	43.9

156. Total number of FOP while at high school

1. One	3	7.3
2. Two	10	24.4
3. Three	9	22.0
4. Four	6	14.6
5. Five or more	3	7.3
6. None at all	10	24.4

157. Per cent of political FOP while at high school

2. 80% (3 clubs)	1	2.4
4. 40% (2 clubs)	3	7.3
5. 20% (1 club)	2	4.9
9. N.A.	35	85.4

158. Type of FOP while at high school

2. Social	23	56.1
4. Disciplinary and social	5	12.2
6. Social and political	1	2.4
7. All of the above	2	4.9
9. N.A.	10	24.4

159. Number of FOP at intermediate level on campus

1. One	7	17.1
2. Two	7	17.1
3. Three	2	4.9
4. Four	2	4.9
6. None at all	23	56.1

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	Frequency	Percentage
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160. Number of FOP at intermediate level off campus

1. One	11	26.8
3. Three	1	2.4
4. Four	1	2.4
5. Five or more	1	2.4
6. None at all	27	65.8

161. Total number of FOP at intermediate level

1. One	11	26.8
2. Two	8	19.5
3. Three	1	2.4
4. Four	3	7.3
5. Five or more	2	4.9
6. None at all	15	36.6
9. N.A.	1	2.4

162. Per cent of political FOP at intermediate level

1. 76 - 100	1	2.4
3. 51 - 75	1	2.4
4. 26 - 50	1	2.4
5. 1 - 25	1	2.4
9. N.A.	37	90.0

163. Type of FOP at intermediate level

2. Social	16	39.0
4. Disciplinary and social	6	14.6
6. Social and political	2	4.9
7. All of the above	2	4.9
9. N.A.	15	36.6

164. Number of FOP at university on campus

1. One	15	36.6
2. Two	7	17.1
6. None at all	19	46.3

165. Number of FOP at university off campus

1. One	39	95.1
2. Two	2	4.9

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
166. Total FOP at university	1. One	18	43.9
	2. Two	16	39.0
	3. Three	6	14.6
	4. Four	1	2.4
167. Per cent of political FOP at university	3. 60%	1	2.4
	4. 40%	1	2.4
	5. 20%	1	2.4
	6. None at all	38	92.8
168. Type of FOP at university	1. Religious	1	2.4
	2. Social	38	92.8
	5. Religious and political	1	2.4
	6. None at all	1	2.4
169. Overall per cent of political FOP in educational institution	3. 60%	1	2.4
	4. 40%	2	4.9
	5. 20%	1	2.4
	6. None at all	31	15.6
	9. N.A.	6	14.6
170. Overall per cent of political FOP outside educational institution	3. 60%	2	4.9
	4. 40%	3	7.3
	6. None	28	68.3
	9. N.A.	8	19.5
171. Overall rate of participation	1. Officer and active in five organizations	4	9.8
	2. Active in five clubs	16	39.0
	3. Active in four clubs	7	17.1
	4. Active in three or less	8	19.5
	5. Active in less than three	6	14.6

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
172. Overall rate of political FOP	1. Active in four political clubs	3	7.3
	3. Active in two political clubs	2	4.9
	4. Active in one political club	2	4.9
	6. Not active in any political clubs	34	83.0
173. Overall characterization for type of FOP	2. Disciplinary and religious	21	51.2
	3. Political and community	1	2.4
	4. Disciplinary and religious	14	34.1
	5. Social and political	1	2.4
	6. Two and three	1	2.4
	7. Three and four	1	7.9

PART II MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

174. Some people seem to think about what's going on in politics and public affairs most of the time - others aren't that interested. Would you say that you follow what's going on in government and public affairs	1. Most of the time	13	31.7
	2. Some of the time	13	31.7
	3. Only now and then	5	12.2
	4. Hardly at all	10	24.4
175. Which one do you follow most closely?	1. International	17	41.5
	2. National	18	43.9
	4. Canadian	5	12.2
	6. None at all	1	2.4

Frequency Percentage

176. Which one do you follow least closely?

1. International	7	17.1
2. National	6	14.6
3. American	9	22.0
4. Canadian	18	43.9
9. N.A.	1	2.4

177. Of the other two types (read the two answers not checked) which one do you follow most closely?

1. International	8	19.5
2. National	10	24.4
3. American	18	43.9
4. Canadian	4	9.8
9. N.A.	1	2.4

178. Some high school students seem to think about what's going on in politics and government most of the time; whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. What about you? Would you say that during the last three years in high school you followed what was going on in politics and public affairs?

1. Most of the time	5	12.2
2. Some of the time	8	19.5
3. Only now and then	5	12.2

179. Which one did you follow most closely?

1. International	2	4.9
2. National	35	85.4
3. Canadian	1	2.4
6. None	3	7.3

Frequency Percentage

180. Which one did you follow least closely?

1. International	8	19.5
2. National	2	4.9
3. American	3	7.3
4. Canadian	25	61.0
9. N.A.	3	7.3

181. Of the other two types (read the two answers not checked) which one did you follow most closely?

1. International	10	34.4
2. National	1	2.4
3. American	24	58.5
4. Canadian	3	7.3
9. N.A.	3	7.3

182. We are also interested in finding out whether students ordinarily pay much attention to current events, public affairs and politics. Take newspapers, for instance--do you read about public affairs and politics in any newspaper?

1. Yes	21	51.2
2. No	20	48.8

183. What paper do you read most for news about public affairs and politics?

1. Tribune, Guardian, Bahamian, Times	4	9.8
2. Star, Gazette	12	29.3
3. Globe and Mail	4	9.8
4. One and two	1	2.4
9. N.A.	20	48.8

184. How often do you read newspaper articles about public affairs and politics?

1. Almost daily	2	9.8
2. Two to three times a week	10	24.4
3. Three to four times a week	7	17.1
4. A few times a year	2	4.9
9. N.A.	20	48.8

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
185.	How about radio--do you listen to any programmes about public affairs politics and the news on the radio?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure	58.5 39.0 2.4
186.	How often do you listen to them on radio?	1. Almost daily 2. Two to three times a week 3. Three to four times a month	31.7 22.0 46.3
187.	Are these mainly news broadcasts or do you listen to other kinds of public affairs programmes too?	1. Mainly news 2. News and public affairs programmes 9. N.A.	56.1 4.9 39.0
188.	Do you usually listen with other members of your family or mostly by yourself?	1. With family 3. By myself 9. N.A.	73.2 34.4 2.4
189.	How about television - do you watch any programmes about public affairs politics and the news on T.V.?	1. Yes 2. No	75.6 24.4
190.	How often do you watch such programmes?	1. Almost daily 2. Two to three times a year 3. Three to four times a month 4. A few times a year 9. N.A.	29.3 14.6 26.8 4.9 24.4

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
191.	Are these mainly news programmes or do you watch other kinds of public affairs programmes too? (If necessary give examples: T.V, editorials etc.)	27	65.9
	1. Mainly news		
	7. Other kinds of public affairs programmes and news	4	9.8
	9. N.A.	10	24.4
192.	Do you usually watch with other members of your family, or mostly by yourself?	14	34.1
	1. With family	4	9.8
	2. With friends	13	31.7
	5. By myself	10	24.4
	7. Other		
193.	If somebody else in your family weren't watching, would you go ahead and watch anyway?	26	63.4
	1. Yes	4	9.8
	2. No	11	26.8
	9. N.A.		
194.	Finally, how about magazines-- do you read about public affairs and politics in any magazine?	13	31.7
	1. Yes	28	68.3
	2. No		
195.	Are there any magazines that you read pretty regularly about public affairs and politics?	13	31.7
	1. Yes	28	68.3
	2. No		
196.	What are they?		
	1. Time, Newsweek, Economist	13	31.7
	9. N.A.	28	68.3
197.	Of all the ways of following public affairs and politics, which one would you say you got the most information from?	6	14.6
	1. Newspapers	6	14.6
	2. Radio	20	48.8
	3. T.V.	6	14.6
	4. Magazines	2	4.9
	5. One and two	1	2.4
	9. N.A.		

Frequency : Percentage

198. Do you talk about public affairs and politics with any of the following people - first with members of your family?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

26 63.4
13 31.7
2 4.9

199. How often would you say that is?

1. Several times a week
2. A few times a month
3. Once or twice a year
8. Does not know
9. N.A.

5 12.2
11 26.8
11 26.8
1 2.4
13 31.7

200. How about with your friends, outside of classes?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Does not know

28 68.3
12 29.3
1 2.4

201. How often would you say that was?

1. Several times a week
2. A few times a month
3. Once or twice a year
9. N.A.

10 24.4
16 39.0
3 7.3
12 29.3

202. Finally how about with adults, other than teachers or members of your family?

1. Yes
2. No

18 43.9
23 56.1

203. How often would you say that is?

1. Several times a week
2. A few times a month
3. Once or twice a year
9. N.A.

3 7.3
12 29.3
3 7.3
23 56.1

Frequency Percentage

204. What kinds of things do you talk about when you talk with other people about public affairs and politics? Specify

1. Social and economic issues	20	48.8
2. Armaments and defence	1	2.4
3. Ideologies	1	2.4
4. Election issues and party platforms	4	9.8
5. One and four	1	2.4
6. Third world issues and liberation movements	2	4.9
8. Does not know	1	2.4
9. N.A.	11	26.9

205. We are also interested in finding out whether students in last three years at high school pay much attention to current events, public affairs and politics. Take newspapers for instance--did you read about public affairs and politics in any newspaper?

206. What paper did you read most for news about public affairs and politics? Specify

1. Tribune, Guardian, Bahamian times	26	63.4
3. Globe and Mail	3	7.3
7. Other	1	2.4
9. N.A.	11	26.8

Frequency Percentage

207. How often did you read news-
paper articles about public
affairs and politics then?

1. Almost daily
2. Two to three times a week
3. Three to four times a month
4. A few times a year
9. N.A.

15 36.6
10 24.4
5 12.2
1 2.4
10 24.4

208. How about the radio--did you
listen to any programmes about
public affairs, politics and
the news on the radio?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

24 58.5
15 36.6
2 4.9

209. How often did you listen to
those programmes on the radio?

1. Almost daily
2. Two to three times a week
3. Three to four times a week
9. N.A.

14 34.1
9 22.0
3 7.3
15 36.6

210. Were these mainly news broad-
casts, or did you listen to
other kinds of public affairs
programmes too?

1. Mainly news
7. Other kinds of pub-
lic affairs pro-
grammes
9. N.A.

24 58.5
2 4.9
15 56.6

211. Did you usually listen with
other members of your family,
or was it mostly by yourself?

1. With family
5. With friends
7. By myself
9. N.A.

23 56.1
2 4.9
1 2.4
15 36.5

212. If somebody else in your family
weren't listening, did you go
ahead and listen anyway?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure
9. N.A.

14 34.1
10 24.4
2 4.9
15 36.5

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
213.	How about television? During the last three years of high school did you watch any programmes about public affairs, politics and news on T.V.?	1. Yes 2. No	16 39.0 25 61.0
214.	How often did you watch such programmes?	1. Almost daily 2. Two to three times a week 3. Three to four times a month 9. N.A.	5 12.2 3 7.3 8 19.5 25 61.0
215.	Were these mainly news programmes or did you watch kinds of public affairs programmes too? If necessary give examples (T.V. editorials, etc.)	1. Mainly news 7. Other kinds 9. N.A.	15 36.6 1 2.4 25 61.0
216.	Did you usually watch with other members of your family, or was it mostly by yourself?	1. With family 2. Friends 7. By myself 9. N.A.	12 29.3 2 4.9 2 4.9 25 61.0
217.	If somebody else in your family weren't watching, would you go ahead and watch anyway?	1. Yes 2. No 9. N.A.	13 31.7 3 7.3 25 61.0
218.	Finally, how about magazines? Did you read any magazines about public affairs and politics?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure	8 19.5 31 75.6 2 4.9

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Frequency Percentage

219. Were there any magazines that you read regularly, about public affairs and politics?

1. Yes 6 14.6
2. No 35 85.4

220. Which ones were they?

1. Time 5 12.2
2. Readers Digest 1 2.4
9. N.A. 35 85.3

221. Of all these ways of following public affairs and politics, which one would you say you got the most information from during the last three years of high school?

1. Newspapers 19 46.3
2. Radio 9 22.0
3. T.V. 6 14.6
4. Magazines 2 9.8
8. Not known 1 2.4
9. N.A. 4 9.8

222. Did you ever talk about public affairs and politics with any of the following people - first with members of your family?

1. Yes 22 53.7
2. No 18 43.9
3. Not sure 1 2.4

223. How often would you say that was?

1. One to two times a week 7 17.1
2. Two to three times a month 14 34.1
3. Three to four times a year 2 4.9
9. N.A. 18 43.9

Frequency Percentage

224. Did you ever talk about politics and public affairs with your friends, outside classes?

1. Yes 23 56.1
2. No 18 43.9

225. How often would you say that was?

1. Several times a week 5 12.2
2. A few times a month 18 43.9
3. N.A. 18 43.9

226. Finally how about with other adults other than your family or teachers?

1. Yes 10 24.6
2. No 31 75.6

227. How often would you say that was?

2. A few times a month 9 22.0
3. Once or twice a year 1 2.4
9. N.A. 31 73.2

228. What kind of things did you talk about when you talked with other people about public

1. Social and economic issues 6 14.6
3. Ideologies 4 9.8
4. Election issues 12 29.3
9. N.A. 19 46.3

Now I am going to tell you some of the things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them?

229. Voting is the only way that people like me (or if not eligible to vote my mother and father) can have any say about how the government runs things

1. Agree 12 29.3
5. Disagree 28 68.3
8. Does not know 1 2.4

Frequency Percentage

230. How did you feel about this in your last year of high school?

- 1. Agree
- 5. Disagree
- 8. Does not know

24 58.5
13 31.7
4 9.8

231. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on

- 1. Agree
- 5. Disagree

29 70.7
12 29.3

232. How did you feel about this during your last year of high school?

- 1. Agree
- 5. Disagree
- 8. Does not know

31 75.6
9 22.0
1 2.4

Now I would like to talk about some of the different things people tell us when we interview them and ask you how you feel about them. These opinions don't refer to FNMs and PLPs in particular, but to government in general. For example:

233. Over the years how much attention do you feel government pays to what the people think, when it decides what to do

- 1. Good deal
- 3. Some
- 5. Not much

6 14.6
16 39.0
19 46.3

234. How did you feel about this question when you were in your last year of high school?

- 1. Good deal
- 3. Some
- 5. Not much
- 6. None at all
- 8. Does not know

8 19.5
9 22.0
20 48.8
1 2.4
3 7.3

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
235.	Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are?	2 5 26	4.9 12.2 63.4
236.	How did you feel about this during your last year of high school?	10 6 17 7 1	24.4 14.6 41.5 17.1 2.4
237.	Do you think that the people running in the government waste a lot of the revenue, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?	3 13 24 1	7.3 31.7 58.5 2.4
238.	How did you feel about this during your last year of high school?	10 9 18 1 3	24.4 22.0 43.9 2.4 7.3
239.	How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in the Bahamas to do what is right ... about always, most	6 29 4 2	14.6 70.7 9.8 4.9
240.	How did you feel about this during your last year of high school?	8 12 16 1	19.5 29.3 39.0 2.4

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
241.	Do you feel that all the people running government are smart people who usually know what they are doing, or do you think that quite a few don't know what they are doing?	1. Know what they are doing 6 3. Some know what they are doing 1 5. Most don't know what they're doing 33 6. None of them know what they are doing 1	14.6 2.4 80.5 2.4
242.	How did you feel about this during the last year of high school?	1. Know what they're doing 18 3. Some know what they're doing 3 5. Don't know what they're doing 20	43.9 7.3 48.8
243.	Do you think that the government is run for a few big interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?	1. For benefit of all 12 5. Few big interests 29	29.3 70.7
244.	How did you feel about this during last year of high school?	1. For benefit of all 19 5. Few big interests 22	46.3 53.7
Now I would like to read some of the kinds of things people tell us when we interview them and ask you whether you agree or disagree with them.			
245.	The Democratic form of government is one that all nations should have	1. Agree 20 5. Disagree 19 8. Does not know 2	48.8 46.2 4.9

Frequency Percentage

246. How did you feel about this in your last year of high school?

1. Agree 32 78.0
5. Disagree 5 12.2
8. Does not know 4 9.8

247. If a person wanted to make a speech in your community against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak.

1. Agree 37 90.2
5. Disagree 4 9.8

248. If a communist were legally elected to some public office the people should allow him to take office

1. Agree 29 70.7
5. Disagree 12 29.3

249. How did you feel about this during the last year of high school?

1. Agree 15 36.6
5. Disagree 24 58.5
8. Does not know 2 4.9

250. People have different ideas about what being a good citizen means. We're interested in what you think. Tell me how how you would describe a good citizen in your country ... that is what things about a person are most important in showing that he is a good citizen? (Specify)

1. Community-spirited 4 9.8
2. Participative-oriented, 11 26.8
3. Moralistic 2 4.9
4. Community-spirited, participative-oriented 5 12.2
5. Community-spirited and moralistic 6 14.6
6. Participative-oriented 9 22.0
7. Community-spirited, moralistic, and participative-oriented 4 9.8

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		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
251. How did you feel about this during your last year of high school?	2. Participative-oriented	5	12.2
	3. Moralistic	6	14.6
	4. Community-spirited	4	9.8
	5. Community-spirited and moralistic	5	12.2
	6. Participative-oriented and moralistic	5	12.2
	7. Community-spirited, moralistic, participative-oriented	2	4.9
	8. Does not know	14	34.1
252. To work with our political opponents is dangerous, because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side	1. Disagree	22	53.7
	2. Agree	18	43.9
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
253. How did you feel about this in your last year at high school?	1. Disagree	10	24.4
	5. Agree	28	68.3
	8. Does not know	3	7.3
254. It is better to be dead here than a live coward	1. Disagree	27	65.9
	5. Agree	11	26.8
	8. Does not know	3	7.3
255. How did you feel about this in your last year of high school?	1. Disagree	19	46.3
	5. Agree	21	51.2
	8. Does not know	1	2.4

268

Frequency Percentage

256. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to give in to those who believe differently from the way we do

1. Agree	18	43.9
2. Disagree	23	56.1

257. How did you feel about this in your last year of high school?

1. Agree	11	26.8
2. Disagree	30	73.2

PART III POLITICAL LITERACY/POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

A. Langton questionnaire items.

Now I would like to ask you a few questions that you may or may not be able to answer.

We don't expect people to know all the answers.

About how many years does a Bahamian member of parliament serve?

Did you know this in your last year of high school?

Marshall-Tito is the leader in what country?

Did you know this in your last year of high school?

Do you happen to recall whether President Kennedy was a Republican or a Democrat?

Did you know this in your last year of high school?

During World War II which nation had a great many concentration camps for Jews?

Did you know this in your last year of high school?

Do you know how many members there are in the Bahamian parliament?

Did you know this in your last year of high school?

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
258.	Political Literacy Score (university) based on Langton's questionnaire detailed above	1. 100 2. 80 3. 60 4. 40 5. 20 6. 0	12.2 19.5 19.5 34.1 12.2 2.4
259.	Political Literacy Score (high school) based on, Langton's questionnaire detailed above	1. 100 2. 80 3. 60 4. 40 5. 20 6. 0	7.3 12.2 31.7 24.4 14.6 9.8

B. Political Sophistication test items (from Langton's questionnaire)

260.	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a PLB, FNM, an Independent, or what?	1. PLP 2. FNM 3. Independent 4. Other	15 8 15 3	36.6 19.5 36.6 7.3
261.	How did you think of yourself in your last year of high school?	1. PLP 2. FNM 3. Independent	25 14 2	61.0 34.1 4.9
262.	Would you call yourself a strong (Rs response for 260) or not so strong one?	1. Strong PLP 2. Not very strong PLP 3. Strong FNM 4. Not very strong FNM	9 6 3 3	22.0 14.6 7.3 7.3

262. (Cont'd)

	Frequency	Percentage
8. Does not know	2	4.9
9. N.A.	18	41.3
1. Closer to PLP	5	12.2
2. Closer to FNM	6	14.6
3. Neither	3	7.3
8. Does not know	1	2.4
9. N.A.	26	63.5

263. If independent, do you think of yourself as closer to the PLP or FNM

The score for political sophistication is based on the answers to the following questions:

- Do you think there are any important differences between what the PLPs and the FNM stand for?
- Would you say that either one of the parties is more conservative or more liberal?
- What do you have in mind when you say that the ----- is more conservative than the -----?

264. Political sophistication score

2. 70 - 80	8	19.5
3. 50 - 69	6	14.6
4. Less than 50	21	51.2
6. Zero	6	14.6

265. York test score (present)
(see details on p.

1. 100	3	7.3
2. 80	20	48.8
3. 60	13	31.7
4. 40	4	9.8
5. 20	1	4.9

266. York test score (high school)			
1. 100	2	4.9	
2. 80	4	9.8	
3. 60	11	26.8	
4. 40	24	58.5	

PART IV FAMILY BACKGROUND INFORMATION

New we would like to ask you a few questions about your family life. First,

267. Are both your parents living?			
1. Both living	36	87.8	
3. Mother only	2	4.9	
4. Both deceased	3	7.3	
268. Were both your parents alive when you were in high school?			272
1. Both living	37	90.2	
2. Father only	1	2.4	
3. Mother only	2	4.9	
6. Both deceased	1	2.4	
269. Who are you living with now?			
1. Alone	12	29.3	
2. With wife	1	2.4	
4. Friends	7	17.1	
5. Relatives	15	36.6	
6. Parents	6	14.6	
270. When you return to the Bahamas, who are going to live with?			
1. Alone	4	9.8	
2. Wife	1	2.4	
5. Relatives	4	9.8	
6. Parents	32	78.0	

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
271. When you were in high school, did you live with your father and mother?	1. Yes	25	61.0
	2. No	11	26.8
	3. Part of the time	5	12.2
272. Did they happen to be divorced or separated?	1. Yes	8	19.5
	2. No	8	19.5
	9. N.A.	25	61.0
273. If yes to Q. 272, then who did you live with?	4. Mother	6	14.6
	5. Father	1	2.4
	6. Mother and others	1	2.4
	7. Other	7	17.1
	9. N.A.	26	63.4
274. If living with both father and mother, here is a list of ways of making decisions by and large, how were decisions made in your family?	1. Father	16	38.0
	2. Mother	5	12.2
	3. Both	11	26.8
	9. N.A.	9	22.0
275. How about decisions on the punishment of children for misbehaviour, how were these decisions made?	1. Father	9	22.0
	2. Mother	13	31.7
	3. Both	10	24.4
	9. N.A.	9	22.0
276. How about on deciding how to vote in elections? How were these decisions made?	1. Father	12	29.3
	2. Mother	12	2.4
	4. Individually	19	46.4
	9. N.A.	8	19.5

273

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
277.	As far as you know, did your parents pretty much agree on public affairs and political matters, or did they disagree on some of these things?	1. Pretty much agree 28 2. Disagree on some of the things 11 9. N.A. 2	68.3 26.8 4.9
278.	As far as you know, what is the case now?	1. Pretty much agree 29 2. Disagree on some of these things 3 9. N.A. 9	70.7 7.3 22.0
279.	Compared with other families you know, would you say your mother and father get along	1. Extremely well 18 2. Not so well 8 3. About average 9 9. N.A. 6	43.9 19.5 22.0 14.6
280.	Are there any important things about which you and your parents disagree?	1. Yes 32 2. No 8 8. Not known 1	78.0 19.5 2.4
281.	If yes, what sorts of things would those be?	1. Social and political issues 7 2. Freedom and independence 11 3. Fashion 6 4. One and two 2 5. One and three 2 6. Two and three 2 8. Does not know 3 9. N.A. 8	17.1 26.8 14.6 4.9 4.9 4.9 7.3 19.5

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
282.	During your last three years in high school, were there any important things about which you and your parents disagreed?	1. Yes 2. No	68.3 41.7
283.	If yes, what sorts of things would that be?	1. Social and political issues 2. Freedom and independence 3. Fashion 4. One and two 5. One and three 9. N.A.	12.2 31.7 9.8 2.4 12.2 31.7
284.	Compared with how you get along with your parents now would you say you got along with them while in high school?	1. Worse 2. Same 9. N.A.	46.3 46.3 7.3
285.	How close would you say you are to your father now? (or step-father)	1. Very close 2. Pretty close 3. Not very close 4. Does not know 9. N.A.	26.8 36.6 22.0 4.9 9.8
286.	How close would you say you were to your father or step-father while in high school?	1. Very close 2. Pretty close 3. Not very close 9. N.A.	29.3 31.7 34.1 4.9
287.	Would you say your father is very much interested in public	1. Very much interested 2. Somewhat interested	56.1 29.3

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
287. (Cont'd)			
	affairs and politics some- what interested, or does not pay much attention?	3. Does not pay much attention 9. N.A.	4.9 9.8
288. What was the case when you were in high school?		1. Very much interested 2. Somewhat interested 3. Does not pay much attention 9. N.A.	25 10 61.0 24.4
289. Does your father consider himself a PLP, a FNM, an independent, or what?		1. PLP 2. FNM 3. Independent 9. N.A.	16 18 7.3 9.8
290. Was this the case when you were in high school?		1. PLP 2. FNM 3. Independent 9. N.A.	20 16 7.3 4.9
291. If PLP or FNM - is he a strong one or not so strong one?		1. Strong PLP 2. Not very strong PLP 3. Strong FNM 4. Not very strong FNM 9. N.A.	8 12 9 7 19.5 29.3 22.0 17.0
292. If independent - does he think of himself as closer to the FNM or PLP?		5. Closer FNM 8. Does not know 9. N.A.	5 2 38 12.2 2.4 4.9 92.7

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
293. Are most of your friends FNN or PLP?	1. PLP	12	29.3
	2. FNN	8	19.6
	3. About half and half	12	29.3
	8. Does not know	9	22.0
294. How close would you say you are to your mother?	1. Very close	22	53.7
	2. Pretty close	16	39.0
	3. Not very close	3	7.3
295. Would you say that your mother is very much interested in public affairs and politics, somewhat interested or doesn't pay much attention to it?	1. Very much interested	11	26.8
	2. Somewhat interested	17	41.5
	3. Does not pay much attention	11	26.8
	9. N.A.	2	4.9
296. Does she consider herself a PLP, FNN, Independent, or what?	1. PLP	20	48.8
	2. FNN	16	39.0
	3. Independent	2	4.9
	4. Other	1	2.4
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	1	2.4
297. If PLP or FNN is she a strong one or not a very strong one?	1. Strong PLP	13	31.7
	2. Not very strong PLP	7	17.0
	3. Strong FNN	13	31.7
	4. Not very strong FNN	3	7.3
	9. N.A.	5	12.2

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
298. If independent, is she closer to the PLP, FNM, or neither?	1. PLP	1	2.4
	2. FNM	1	2.4
	5. Neither	1	2.4
	9. N.A.	38	92.7
299. How much influence did you have in family decisions affecting yourself, while you were in high school?	1. Much influence	7	17.1
	2. Some influence	20	48.8
	3. None at all	13	31.7
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
300. If a decision were made that you did not agree with, did you feel free to complain, uneasy to complain, or was it better not to complain?	1. Feel free to complain	17	41.5
	2. Feel uneasy about complaining	9	22.0
	3. Better not to complain	15	36.6
301. When you did complain, did it help?	1. A lot	6	14.6
	2. Some	17	41.5
	3. None	15	36.6
	9. N.A.	3	7.3
302. In your case, did your family have quite a lot to say about your friends and the places you went, or were you pretty much left on your own?	1. A lot to say	28	68.3
	2. Pretty much left on own	5	12.2
	3. About average	6	14.6
	8. Does not know	2	4.9
303. Did you feel they had too much to say, too little to say, or was it just about right?	1. Too much	22	53.7
	3. About right	17	41.5
	9. N.A.	2	4.9

There are many groups in the Bahamas and we would like to get your feeling towards some of these groups. If you have a warm feeling toward a group or feel favourable towards it you would place it somewhere between 50 and 100 depending on how warm your feeling is toward the group.

On the other hand, if there are some groups you don't care too much for, then you would place them somewhere between zero and 50.

Our first group is the Labour Unions. Where would you place them on the thermometer?

304. Feelings about Labour Unions

	Frequency	Percentage
1. Very warm	1	2.4
2. Pretty warm	4	9.8
3. Warm	21	51.2
4. Cold	10	24.4
5. Very cold	5	12.2

305. Feelings about Jehovah Witnesses

1. Very warm	2	4.9
2. Pretty warm	3	7.3
3. Warm	7	17.1
4. Cold	7	17.1
5. Very cold	16	39.0
6. Does not know	6	14.6

306. Feelings about Blacks

1. Very warm	1	2.4
2. Pretty warm	18	43.9
3. Warm	16	39.0
4. Cold	5	12.2
5. No answer	1	2.4

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
307. Feelings about West Indians	1. Very warm	2	4.9
	2. Pretty warm	2	4.9
	3. Warm	13	31.7
	4. Cold	15	36.6
	5. Very cold	7	17.1
	8. Does not know	2	4.9
308. Feelings about Youth Groups for positive action	1. Very warm	7	17.1
	2. Pretty warm	14	34.1
	3. Warm	9	22.0
	4. Cold	7	17.1
	5. Very cold	4	9.8
309. Feelings about Foreign Investors	1. Very warm	4	9.8
	2. Pretty warm	6	14.6
	3. Warm	16	39.0
	4. Cold	7	17.1
	5. Very cold	7	17.1
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	1. Very warm	2	4.9
	2. Pretty warm	5	12.2
310. Feelings about Haitians	3. Warm	16	39.0
	4. Cold	11	26.8
	5. Very cold	6	14.6
	8. Does not know	1	2.4
	1. Very warm	2	4.9
311. Feelings about Whites	2. Pretty warm	17	41.5
	3. Warm	11	26.8
	4. Cold	5	12.2
	5. Very cold	4	9.8
	8. Does not know	2	4.9

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
312. Now I have some other kinds of questions, I would like to ask you. Speaking generally, what are the things about your country that you are most proud of as a Bahamian?	1. People 2. Government 3. Youth of country 4. Climate 7. Two and three 8. Does not know	24 2 1 5 2 7	58.5 4.9 2.4 12.2 4.9 17.0
313. Least proud of?	1. Apathy of people 2. Prejudices 3. Government and economy 4. Slums, poverty, life-styles 5. One and two 6. One and three 7. One and four 8. Does not know 0. No answer	10 8 8 2 1 1 1 9 1	24.4 19.5 19.5 4.9 2.4 2.4 2.4 22.0 2.4
314. Are you planning to go back to the Bahamas when you finish your studies here?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure	37 1 3	90.2 2.4 7.3
315. Looking ahead to the time when you are back in the Bahamas what about actual participation in public affairs and politics? Do you think you will be ...	1. Very active 2. Somewhat active 3. Not very active	14 19 8	34.1 46.3 19.5
316. Do you plan to continue your schooling beyond the first degree, or do you plan to stop after that year?	1. Plan to continue 2. Plan to stop 3. Not sure	27 8 6	65.9 19.5 14.6

Frequency Percentage

317. What occupation do you hope to follow after you finish your education?

1. M.D.	4	9.8
3. Teacher	8	19.5
4. Lawyer	6	14.6
5. Civil service	9	22.0
6. Accountant	7	17.1
7. Technician	5	12.2
8. Does not know	2	4.9

318. Are you eligible to vote in next year's general elections?

1. Yes	37	90.2
2. No	4	9.8

319. Are you planning to vote in next year's election?

1. Yes	37	90.2
3. Not so sure	4	9.8

320. Religious affiliation during high school

1. Anglican	19	46.3
2. Greek Orthodox	7	17.1
3. Baptist	4	9.8
4. Roman Catholic	9	22.0
5. Methodist	1	2.4
6. Pentecostalist	1	2.4

321. Religious affiliation now

1. Anglican	17	41.5
2. Greek-Orthodox	5	12.2
3. Baptist	5	12.2
4. Roman Catholic	8	19.5
5. Methodist	1	2.4
6. Pentecostalist	1	2.4
7. Agnostic	1	2.4
8. Does not know	3	7.3

1.282

		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
322. Respondents' SES at high school, as perceived by him or her	1. Lower poor	2	7.3
	2. Lower middle	7	17.1
	3. Middle	13	31.7
	4. Upper middle	19	46.3
323. Respondents' SES as perceived by him or her. (presently)	1. Lower poor	3	7.3
	2. Lower middle	7	17.1
	3. Middle	13	31.7
	4. Upper middle	15	36.6
	5. Upper	3	7.3
324. Place of birth	1. New Providence	30	73.2
	2. Other Bahamian islands	7	17.1
	3. U.S.A.	1	2.4
	4. Britain	1	2.4
	5. Europe	2	4.9
			283

TABLE 2: EXPOSURE TO POLITICAL EDUCATION
CONTENT IN CURRICULUM - HIGH SCHOOL

INTERVIEWER GO TO Q. TABLE 2B

TYPE OF COURSE	NO. OF COURSES	REQUIRED	ELECTIVE	GRADES TAKEN IN	GPA	SEX OF TEACHER	RATING OF TEACHER	RATING OF COURSE	DID IT INCREASE
Civics									
Political Science									
History - re- lated									
Social Science									
Environmental Studies									
Geography									
Other - speci- fy									
Other - speci- fy									
Other - speci- fy									

TABLE 2C: EXPOSURE TO POLITICAL EDUCATION
CONTENT IN CURRICULUM UNIVERSITY LEVEL

INTERVIEWER GO TO TABLE 3									
TYPE OF COURSE	NO. OF COURSES	REQUIRED	ELECTIVE	GRADES TAKEN IN	SEX OF TEACHER	RATING OF TEACHER	RATING OF COURSE	DID IT INCREASE	
Civics									
Political Science									
History - related									
Social Science									
Environmental Studies									
Geography									
Other - specify									
Other - specify									
Other - specify									

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G

**APPENDIX III: CORRESPONDENCE RELATED TO
PREPARATION OF THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL**

PARAGRAPH 3 from GUIDELINES: HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Student Research and Education about the Issues Involved in Using Human Subjects

The Committee will seek to encourage departments with students doing research projects involving human subjects to make them aware of the ethical considerations which arise and of the precautions which must be taken when dealing with human subjects.

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SUMMARY PROTOCOL FORM
RESEARCH WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS

Please comment briefly on each item, using additional space if necessary.

1. Title of Research Project

AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE/LITERACY ON THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF STUDENTS: A CASE STUDY OF BAHAMIAN STUDENTS IN MONTREAL.

2. Granting Agency

3. Sample of Persons to be Studied

Forty students

4. Method of Recruitment of Participants

Total Bahamian Student Population in Montreal
through the Bahamian Student Association

**5. Treatment of Participants in the Course of the Research
(A brief summary of procedure)**

Interview Schedule

Indicate briefly how the research plan deals with the following potential ethical concerns:

(a) Informed Consent:

Initial contact to explain purpose of interview.

If student agreeable then proceed with interview.

(b) Deception:

None

(c) Freedom to Discontinue:

Total

(d) Physical and Mental Stress:

none

(e) Post-Experimental Explanation:

results available in the form of a thesis available in usual manner from university

(f) Confidentiality of Results:

Completely confidential