non-legal norms mentioned by Macaulay may be interpreted as part of the occupational morality of businessmen. Let me repeat the norms he cites: "commitments are to be honored in almost all situations"; "one does not welsh on a deal"; "one ought to produce a good product and stand behind it"; "a man's word or handshake . . . is the equivalent of the bindingness of a contract." These and other norms comprising the occupational morality of business executives and some staff specialists may function as counter-norms, from the point of view of the legal system, as the recent price-fixing case in the electrical industry suggests. Eventually, some of these new and emerging non-legal norms may supersede the law of contract.

Historically, it is noteworthy that as mercantilists and early entrepreneurs came into conflict with one another they gradually developed a body of law in England called the "law merchant." This body of private self-regulatory law was eventually incorporated into the common law of England and subsequently into the common law of the United States. After giving rise to this elaborate system of law, the modern-day successors to mercantilists and entrepreneurs—as Macaulay has discovered—often find it convenient to disregard the labors of their predecessors in going about their daily transactions. Will some of the non-contractual norms that are evolving as part of the "occupational morality" of businessmen lay the groundwork for a new body of law for the regulation of business?

We sociologists may be tempted to conclude that Macaulay's paper is merely a gloss on Durkheim's well-known analysis of the non-contractual elements in contract. I think that it is more than that. This study adds to our understanding of the relationship between legal and non-legal norms in society and of the relationships among formal organizations.

CIVIC EDUCATION, COMMUNITY NORMS, AND POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION

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A content analysis of civic education texts, interviews with community leaders, and questionnaires administered to civic education classes and control groups were conducted in three communities having different socio-economic characteristics. In each community differences were found among political themes in civic education texts, attitudes of community leaders, and effects of courses on student political attitudes. In the upper middle-class community students were oriented toward a "realistic" and active view of the political process, stressing political conflict; in the working-class community students were oriented toward a more "idealistic" and passive view, stressing political harmony.

"ALL national educational systems," observes V. O. Key Jr., "indoctrinate the coming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order." [1] But this indoctrination is not uniform. Do different socio-economic communities, for instance, differ in the kinds of textbooks they employ in civic education? Do differing political attitudes and norms in these communities affect the process of indoctrination? [2] To answer these questions, we ana-

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

[2] On the relationship between education and politics, consult H. Mark Roelofs, *The Tension of Citizenship,* New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1957, Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931, Franklin Patterson, *High Schools for a Free Society,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society,* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, William Gellerman, *The American Legion as Educator,* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938, George A. Male, "The

lyzed textual material in civic education programs, attitudes of leaders in the school's political and educational milieu, and changes in political attitudes accompanying participation in civic education classes.

PROCEDURE

The study was conducted in the major secondary school in each of three communities in the Boston metropolitan area (to be referred to as Alpha, Beta, and Gamma).[3] The three communities differ in socio-economic and political characteristics: Alpha is an upper middle-class community with much political activity; Beta is a lower middle-class community with moderate political activity; and Gamma is a working-class community with little political activity (Table 1).

TABLE 1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ALPHA, BETA, AND GAMMA

Characteristic	Alpha	Beta	Gamma
Per cent of working force in professions	38%	15%	7%
Median family income	$5,900	$4,250	$3,620
Median voting turnout for five gubernatorial elections	67.8%	43.8%	32.1%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *General Characteristics of the Population, Massachusetts,* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, and Secretary of State, *Compilation of Massachusetts Election Statistics: Public Document 43,* Boston: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1950–1960.

A content analysis, described in the Appendix, was made of all textbooks used in the civic education programs in Alpha, Beta, and Gamma schools over the past five years (ten texts were investigated in Alpha, eight in Beta, and seven in Gamma). A random sample of paragraphs was selected in each text and classified, where applicable, along one of the following five dimensions: [4]

1. *Emphasis on citizen political participation*—references to voting, norms of civic duty, political activity, and the effectiveness of citizen action in influencing the behavior of public officials.
2. *Political chauvinism*—references to the unique and nationalistic character of "democracy" or "good government" as an American monopoly, and glorified treatment of American political institutions, procedures, and public figures.
3. *The democratic creed*—references to the rights of citizens and minorities to attempt to influence governmental policy through non-tyrannical procedures.
4. *Emphasis on political process*—references to politics as an arena involving the actions of politicians, public officials, and the use of power and influence contrasted with references to government as a mechanistic set of institutions allocating services to citizens with a minimum of intervention by political actors.
5. *Emphasis on politics as the resolution of group conflict*—references to political conflicts among economic, social, and ethno-religious groupings resolved within an agreed-upon framework of political rules of the game.

Michigan Education Association as a Pressure Group," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1950, Thomas H. Eliot, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," *American Political Science Review,* 53 (December, 1959), pp. 1032–1051, Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth,* New York: Scribner's, 1933, Albert Alexander, "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," *Social Education,* 24 (January, 1960), pp. 11–14, Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 316–318, Herbert Hyman, *Political Socialization,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959, Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," *American Political Science Review,* 54 (December, 1960), pp. 934–943, Herbert McClosky and Harold E. Dahlgren, "Primary Group Influence on Party Loyalty," *American Political Science Review,* Vol. 53 (September, 1959), pp. 757–776, Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 24 (Winter, 1960), pp. 632–644, Fred I. Greenstein, "More on Children's Images of the President," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Vol. 25 (Winter, 1961), pp. 648–654, Henry W. Riecken, "Primary Groups and Political Party Choice," in Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (eds.), *American Voting Behavior,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959, pp. 162–183, and Eleanor E. Maccoby, Richard E. Matthews and Alton S. Morton, "Youth and Political Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 18 (Spring, 1954), pp. 23–39.

[3] Course titles of civic education instruction vary in the three communities. A control group was available in the same schools of Alpha and Gamma where the civic education course was not required. For Beta, a control group was selected from a school in an adjoining, and comparable community.

[4] Based on procedures developed in Bernard B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communications Research,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952, and Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks,* New York: B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, 1961.

A second measure of civic education norms consisted of a series of interviews with a pool of "potential civic and educational influentials" in each of the three communities.[5] The interviews included a sample of all school administrators who were responsible for the school's civic education program; all teachers of civic education; the president and vice-president of each school's Parent and Teachers Association or Home and School Association over the past five years; and the current and most recent presidents and vice-presidents of ten major civic groups in each community. Interviewees included leaders of business, fraternal, labor, patriotic, religious, and civic betterment associations, and the chairmen of the local Republican and Democratic party organizations. A total of 66 leaders were interviewed in Alpha, 57 in Beta, and 63 in Gamma.[6]

The interview schedule was designed to tap the intensity of the respondent's attitudes toward the proper orientation of the community school's civic education program in each of the five political dimensions. The content, reliability and sources of the items are presented in Appendix A.

A third measure involved the affects of exposure to a formal course in civic education.[7] A civic education class in each community was matched with a control group in age, academic attainment, parental social class, parental political affiliation, and ethno-religious affiliation. The control group, which did not take a course in civic education, was used to measure the changes in attitudes along the five political dimensions.

These dimensions were adapted for a questionnaire given to the three civic education classes, and their corresponding control groups, before and after a semester's exposure to the course (see Appendix A). Thus we can compare attitudinal changes attributable to the school's "official version" of political phenomena, and the differential affects of the course in each community.

FINDINGS

The content analysis of textbooks in the civic education programs of Alpha, Beta, and Gamma schools revealed no substantial differences in references to elements of the democratic creed, or in chauvinistic treatment of American political procedures and institutions. Few references in the material employed by the three schools connoted an insular view of American politics; the isolationist and jingoist orientation of civic education texts observed in Pierce's pioneer study were absent in this sampling.[8] Nor does the textual material differ in references endorsing the political rights of minorities and political procedures available to them. Indeed, the endorsement of the democratic creed far exceeds the other political dimensions. The blandness of the Gamma texts should be noted; they contain a large number of descriptive references (dates of major political events, anatomical presentations of political procedure) that could not be classified along one of the five political dimensions (see Table 2).

Differences do exist in the formal exposure to norms supporting political participation, in the view of politics as process, and in the functions of the political system.

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[5] The designation "potential civic and educational leaders or influentials" is used because we have no data on overt attempts to influence the school's civic education program. Our immediate concern is with their attitudes toward the political themes in the program. This distinction between manifested and imputed political influence is drawn in Raymond Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review,* 25 (October, 1960), pp. 636–644.

[6] Wherever possible, civic leaders were selected from comparable organizations in each community, such as the Chamber of Commerce and political party organizations. Differences in social structure made complete matching impossible. For example, labor union leaders were included in the Gamma sample, but not in the Alpha or Beta pools. There were 8 non-respondents or 12 per cent of the sample in Alpha, 7 (13%) in Beta, and 11 (18%) in Gamma.

[7] On changes in political attitudes through formal civic education or government instruction, see Albert Somit, Joseph Tanenhaus, Walter H. Wilke, and Rita W. Cooley, "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes toward Personal Political Participation," *American Political Science Review,* 52 (December, 1958), pp. 1129–1132, and the extensive literature summarized and evaluated by Neal Gross, "Memorandum on Citizenship Education in American Secondary Schools," unpublished manuscript, Cambridge, Massachusetts: August, 1960.

[8] Bessie L. Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in American Schools,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Unlike Alpha and Beta texts, Gamma texts contain only a few references to norms that encourage voting, feelings of political effectiveness, and a sense of civic duty. References to the political process as a conduit involving political actors and the use of political power—rather than the workings of an invisible hand of governmental institutions—are also sparse in the Gamma texts.

Both Beta and Gamma texts are short on references to politics as a mechanism for settling competing group demands. Table 2 reveals that only Alpha schools indicate to some degree a political process in which politicians and power are the main ingredients, and through which a political group struggle is periodically ameliorated.

How do the norms of civic education that prevail among the potential civic and educational influentials of each community compare with the formal classroom material designed to shape student political attitudes? Are salient themes in the curriculum reinforced, opposed, or ignored by community norms?

Potential community influentials do support the inculcation of basic democratic principles (the democratic creed) and the avoidance of chauvinistic references to American political institutions—attitudes that were stressed in the texts. They also support material encouraging political activity and competence in young citizens, an attitude that is less reinforced in the Gamma school texts.

Table 3 indicates, however, that the potential influentials in the three milieux differ

TABLE 2. REFERENCES ON SALIENT POLITICAL DIMENSIONS IN CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

Political Dimension	Alpha	Beta	Gamma
Emphasis on democratic creed	56%	52%	47%
Chauvinistic references to American political institutions	3%	6%	2%
Emphasis on political activity, citizen's duty, efficacy	17%	13%	5%
Emphasis on political process, politicians, and power	11%	2%	1%
Emphasis on group conflict-resolving political function	10%	1%	2%
Other	3%	26%	43%
(Totals)	100%	100%	100%
Number of paragraphs	(501)	(367)	(467)

TABLE 3. COMMUNITY LEADERS' SUPPORT OF POLITICAL THEMES IN CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

Community Leaders	Democratic Creed	Political Chauvinism	Political Participation
Alpha (66)*	87%**	7%	89%
Beta (57)	82%	16%	89%
Gamma (63)	78%	21%	87%
	Politics As Process, Power		Politics As Group Conflict
Alpha	72%		68%
Beta	32%		34%
Gamma	24%		21%

* Denotes number of cases.

** Per cent of sample strongly agreeing that theme should be taught in civic education program. See interview items in Appendix A.

about the presentation of politics as a process involving the resources of politicians and power, and the conflict-alleviating goal of politics. Alpha leaders endorse these "realistic" political themes; and attempts to impart elements of political reality are present only in the Alpha civic education program. In Beta and Gamma the low level of support for these themes reinforce the contextual material of their school programs which ignores or avoids these perspectives on political phenomena.

It would be useless to talk about the effects of civic education programs without considering changes in political attitudes as functions of different textual emphasis and norms of community leaders.[9] Comparisons of attitude changes in the schools do not uncover any reversal of beliefs along the five political dimensions that can be attributed to the school's indoctrination.[10]

Several patterns, however, relate the affects of the civic education program on student attitudes to its material and the

[9] Note James S. Coleman, "Comment on Three Climate of Opinion Studies," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 25 (Winter, 1961), pp. 607–610.

[10] Efforts to relate content, procedure, and environment of civic education instruction to changes in political attitudes are critically reviewed in Gross, *op. cit.* See especially Donald Oliver and Susan Baker, "The Case Method," *Social Education,* 23 (January, 1959), pp. 25–28, Stanley E. Diamond, "Studies and Projects in Citizenship Education," in Franklin Patterson, editor, *Citizenship and the American High School,* New York: mimeographed, 1959, pp. IV, 1–40, and Charles C. Peters, *Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training,* Coral Gables, Florida: The University of Miami, 1948.

TABLE 4. EFFECT OF SEMESTER COURSE IN CIVIC EDUCATION ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THREE COMMUNITIES (in Percentages)

	Alpha			
	Class		Control	
Political Attitude	Before	After	Before	After
Support of democratic creed	62 *	89	57	61
Political chauvinism	23	8	19	18
Support of political participation	70	72	79	76
Politics as process of power, politicians	59	72	53	58
Function of politics to resolve group conflict	32	59	39	34
Number of cases	(38)		(44)	

	Beta			
	Class		Control	
Political Attitude	Before	After	Before	After
Democratic creed	56	74	53	50
Political chauvinism	31	19	29	27
Political participation	55	56	54	49
Political process	23	21	27	26
Political group conflict	17	21	19	17
Number of cases	(51)		(46)	

	Gamma			
	Class		Control	
Political Attitude	Before	After	Before	After
Democratic creed	47	59	38	44
Political chauvinism	29	10	33	38
Political participation	32	29	31	33
Political process	12	15	16	14
Political group conflict	9	12	8	6
Number of cases	(59)		(63)	

* Denotes per cent of sample strongly holding political attitude. See Appendix A for indices.

community's potential political support. Based on the "before" and "after" questionnaires administered to the three classes and matched control groups, the data in Table 4 reveals that students in the civic education classes were more likely to endorse aspects of the democratic creed and less likely to hold chauvinistic political sentiments than students not exposed to the program. But none of the three "exposed" classes was more likely to favor political participation than their control group. And only in Alpha were perceptions of politics as group conflict involving politicians and political power strengthened through exposure to civic education.

In Alpha, Beta, and Gamma, we observe (Table 4) that exposure to the course strengthened support for democratic processes and negated chauvinistic sentiment, thus reinforcing the material presented in the civic education program and supporting attitudes of community leaders. The result is to level the socio-political differences among the three communities and their school populations. Training in the tenets of democratic fair play and tolerance is sustained by civic education courses within a supporting educational and political milieu.

But civic education does not affect the varying positive attitudes toward citizen political participation manifested by the school population of the three communities. Despite the positive references of civic education material in Alpha and Beta, and the supporting community norms in all three communities, different attitudes—based on socio-political cleavages—remain about the citizen's role in public affairs. Apparently attitudes toward political activity are so strongly channeled through other agencies in each community that the civic education program's efforts have little independent effect.

Attitudes toward political process and function are related to other variables in the classroom and community climate.[11] In Alpha, where community attitudes and texts are supportive, a positive change in views of political process and function occurs among students in civic education. In Beta and Gamma, where attitudes and texts are relatively non-supportive little change in such views occurs; politics is treated and learned as a formal, mechanistic set of governmental institutions with emphasis on its harmonious and legitimate nature, rather than as a vehicle for group struggle and change.

CONCLUSIONS

The civic education program does not simply reinforce the prevailing sentiments

[11] A comparable investigation of this problem in advancement to college has been made by Natalie Rogoff, "Public Schools and Equality of Opportunity," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 33 (February, 1960), pp. 252–279.

and political climate of the community.[12] Nor are attitudes about political participation and varying levels of political activity affected by courses in civic education. Even a combination of numerous textual references and support from community leaders fails to result in attitude changes about the role of the citizen in public life.

Nevertheless, without some degree of reinforcement from its material and the political environment, the school system's effort at political indoctrination also fails. The materials, support, and affects of civic education differ in the three communities, and it is the nature of these differences that are crucial in evaluating the political role of citizenship training.

All three classes are instructed in the equalitarian ground rules of democracy. Agreement with the maxims of the democratic creed and rejection of political chauvinism are increased in the civic education programs of all three communities. But the material and affects of the working-class community, Gamma, and its civic education program, do not encourage a belief in the citizen's ability to influence government action through political participation. And only the texts and community support of Alpha are related through its civic education course to a developed awareness of political processes and functions.

In sum, then, students in the three communities are being trained to play different political roles, and to respond to political phenomena in different ways. In the working-class community, where political involve- is low, the arena of civic education offers training in the basic democratic procedures without stressing political participation or the citizen's view of conflict and disagreement as indigenous to the political system. Politics is conducted by formal governmental institutions working in harmony for the benefit of citizens.

In the lower middle-class school system of Beta—a community with moderately active political life—training in the elements of democratic government is supplemented by an emphasis on the responsibilities of citizenship, not on the dynamics of public decision-making.

Only in the affluent and politically vibrant community (Alpha) are insights into political processes and functions of politics passed on to those who, judging from their socio-economic and political environment, will likely man those positions that involve them in influencing or making political decisions.

[12] On the influence of "climate of opinion" on socio-political attitudes in the secondary schools, see James S. Coleman, "Comment on Three Climate of Opinion Studies," *op. cit.*, and Martin L. Levin, "Social Climate and Political Socialization," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 25 (Winter, 1961), pp. 596–606.

APPENDIX

The content analysis of the 27 civic education textbooks was conducted in the following manner. A random sample of paragraphs, as the content unit, was selected from each text. The text was entered by use of a random table of numbers to select page and paragraph. Every twentieth paragraph was read and classified by the writer and two other judges. The criteria of classification are noted in the text. In case of disagreement among the judges, a paragraph was classified in the "other" category. Dominant emphasis, based on sentence counts within paragraphs, was determining when a paragraph contained more than one politically relevant theme. In this manner, 1,235 paragraphs were classified.

Five indices were used in the questionnaire administered to the student populations, and the interview with community leaders. Responses ran across a five-point scale from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly." Unlike the students, the community leaders were asked whether or not each statement should be included in the civic education program. The content, reliability, and source of the political indices follow.

1. *The Democratic Creed:* (coefficient of reliability=.911)
   - Every citizen should have an equal chance to influence government policy.
   - Democracy is the best form of government.
   - The minority should be free to criticize government decisions.

People in the minority should be free to try to win majority support for their opinions.

(Adapted from James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," *The Journal of Politics,* 22 (1960), pp. 276–294).

2. *Political Chauvinism:* (cr=.932)

The American political system is a model that foreigners would do well to copy.

The founding fathers created a blessed and unique republic when they gave us the constitution.

Americans are more democratic than any other people.

American political institutions are the best in the world.

(Index constructed for this study).

3. *Political Activity:* (cr=.847)

It is not very important to vote in local elections.

It is very important to vote even when so many other people vote in an election.

Public officials do care what people like me think.

Given the complexity of issues and political organizations there is little an individual can do to make effective changes in the political system.

People like me do not have any say about what the government does.

Politics is often corrupt and the interests of the underworld are looked after by some public officials.

(Adapted from the civic duty and sense of political effectiveness measures of the Michigan Survey Research Center, and Agger's index of political cynicism. See Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides,* Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1954, pp. 187–204, and Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *The Journal of Politics,* 23 (1961), pp. 477–506.

4. *Political Process:* (cr=.873)

The use of political power is crucial in public affairs.

Many political decisions are made by a minority of political activists who seek to secure the agreement of the majority to the decisions.

Politics is basically a conflict in which groups and individuals compete for things of value.

Differences of race, class, and income are important considerations in many political issues.

Governmental institutions cannot operate without politicians.

(Index constructed for this study).

5. *Political Function:* (cr=.919).

Politics should settle social and other disagreements as its major function.

Since different groups seek favorable treatment, politics is the vehicle for bargaining among these competing claims.

Politics is not a means of insuring complete harmony, but a way of arriving at temporary agreements about policies within agreed-upon rules.

The politician is the key broker among competing claims made within society.

(Index constructed for this study).