SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE MANIFEST AND
LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF
FINAL-YEAR SECONDARY STUDENTS

BY

J.E. LUNDBERG

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OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, STOCKHOLM, 1975
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is entirely my own work; that it does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

(J.E. LUNDBERG)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I accept full responsibility for the contents of my thesis, but I am indebted to a number of people for their assistance with this study.

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SUMMARY

Political socialization, the process of transferring political values, knowledge and orientations to new members of a society, is of fundamental importance to the future development of that society. Political socialization for a democratic society requires the nurture of individual capabilities which are consistent with an efficacious political self-image, that cannot be inculcated by indoctrination.

Swedish educational policy seeks to provide for individual development in a schooling environment which is consistent with democratic values. It seeks to encourage social tolerance and a participative orientation to the political process. However, it is the individual's perceptions of his or her schooling experience and other socializing influences, including the perceived consistency between them, which determines the effects these influences have on the individual.

This thesis studies whether the formation of political attitudes and self-images by a nationally representative sample of Swedish secondary school students has been influenced by their schooling experience and if so, in what ways. A key distinction is made between the manifest political socializing influence of the school courses, and the latent political socializing influence of the school environment, as it is perceived by the students. A path analysis finds that there is a moderate strength relationship between the student's perceptions of their school environment and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. This establishes that the school environment has a latent political socializing influence.

Detailed analysis confirms that the school not only has a socializing influence on student's attitudes and political self-images,
but that the schools are seen as a source of experience directly relevant to the students' anticipation of their relationship to the wider society and political order. The students have a generally positive view of their school environment, and the specific aspects of their schooling experience which are found to have significant associations with the students' political self-image and attitudes are given very strong positive ratings by the student respondents. Their perceptions of these aspects of their schooling experience appear to have contributed to the successful political socialization of the Swedish students, as people who see themselves as politically efficacious future citizens.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENT OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

B. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY

C. THE APPROACH OF THIS STUDY
A. THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENT OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

This thesis is a study of the political socialization of a sample of Swedish final-year secondary school students. It examines the extent to which perceptions of their school environment influenced their political socialization, and the specific nature of the social and political attitudes and self-image they had developed as a result of their schooling and other influences. It includes an analysis of what the data indicates about the relationship between students' perceptions of general school and classroom practices, their civics knowledge, social attitudes and political self-image.

This chapter provides an introductory overview of the main aspects of the thesis. This includes: the concept of political socialization, Swedish educational policy and the Swedish schools as agents of political socialization, the survey data to be analysed, and the basic questions to be examined in this thesis. These questions concern the effect of their schooling experience on the Swedish students' political socialization. This chapter is intended to indicate the general nature of each of these aspects of the thesis, and the relationships between them, in preparation for further discussion and analysis in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two discusses the concept of political socialization. The political socialization process consists of the interpersonal relationships and social influences through which a society, and various groups within it, transfers to new members values, beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge, about the political system, and about the ways in which various individuals, groups and institutions within that society are expected to relate to each other politically. In particular, the political socialization of the youth of a
country refers to the efforts to transfer the characteristic political ethos of that country from one generation to the next, and to the ways in which this information is altered in the process of being received and assimilated by the young, individually and in groups. Political socialization is an aspect of a wider process of preparation for participation in adult society, distinguished from this more general process of socialization by the political relevance of the information being transferred.

Socialization is a very complex process. The person being socialized is influenced in various ways by the many individuals and groups with whom he or she comes into contact. These relationships vary in intensity, intimacy and duration, and in terms of how the people involved are regarded by the person being socialized. Accordingly, the influences acting upon any two given individuals will tend to vary considerably, because of differences in their social relationships. The socialization process is further complicated by the fact that different individuals will also tend to respond differently to the same or similar environmental influences. The variations in individual responses reflects the fact that it is the individual's perception of a situation or influence which determines the effect which it has on him or her. These perceptions will in turn vary as a net effect of the characteristics and experience which have formed his or her individual identity at any given point in time. Despite the complexity of individual responses to varied stimuli, there are discernible patterns, which can be measured, analysed, and assessed, in the socializing experiences of a given sample of people, and the effects which those experiences have on them.

Family, friends, the mass media, the school and various associations of which he or she might be a member, such as churches, sporting, and social clubs, are likely to be among the more important influences upon a young person, affecting his or her specifically political values, beliefs,
attitudes and knowledge, as well as his or her general socialization. In this study, the role of the school in influencing the political socialization of students is of particular interest.

Like other socializing influences, the schools have both explicit, intentional or *manifest* effects, and implicit or *latent* effects, which may be intentional or unintentional (See Chapter Two, part C). The *manifest* socializing influence of the school refers to the explicit transfer of information which is intended to be part of the content of the school subject syllabi. The *latent* socializing influence refers to the effects which the student's perceptions of his or her experiences in school have on the student's attitudes. By analogy, the manifest socializing influence of a parent includes what directions the parent gives to his or her child about appropriate adult behaviour, while the latent socializing influence of a parent includes the child's observations of a parent's conduct as an example of actual adult behaviour. This thesis is primarily concerned with the latent political socializing influence of Swedish schools on a sample of senior secondary school students.

B. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Chapter Three discusses Swedish educational policy and the Swedish school system. Chapter Four relates the survey data on Swedish students used in this thesis to my analytical approach, and Chapter Five examines the nature of the Swedish students' social and political attitudes and self-image, and their particular perceptions of their schooling experience.

The data analysed in this thesis is drawn from a national survey of final year secondary students in Sweden, conducted as part of a three-stage international study of learning achievement in seven subject areas. This study focussed on the *Population IV* sample of the Swedish Civic Education survey, and the background questionnaires which were common to other of the six subject areas studied in Stages 2 and 3 of the IEA surveys. The
Swedish Population IV sample included 1867 students from 88 schools selected as a stratified random sample of the national student population (see Chapter Four).

This thesis is not intended to address the wider questions of the extent to which the Swedish schools, and other socializing agents (such as parents, friends, the media, etc.), successfully combine to transfer knowledge, values, and motivations which are conducive to the perpetuation of a democratic political culture, or to assess the total extent to which the school as such contributes to the degree of success achieved in this process of transmission of political culture. The focal questions of this thesis are whether the Swedish schools have a latent political socializing influence (see Chapter Six), and if so, what aspects of the student's schooling experience are most important as latent political socializing influences (see Chapter Seven, part C). Since Swedish educational policy intends Swedish education to encourage tolerant social attitudes and participative democratic citizenship, what is important in this context is those aspects of the students' schooling experience which have the strongest positive or negative association with the development of these characteristics (see Chapters Five and Seven).

Sweden is of particular interest for the purposes of this study, not only because Sweden has high levels of voluntary voter participation and political interest among the adult population, but also because Swedish educational policy includes research-based measures directed towards the effective implementation of a commitment to the political socialization of the young as socially tolerant and politically participative citizens. Swedish educational policy recognizes at least some aspects of the potential latent socializing influence of the school, by prescribing appropriate teaching methods as well as the course content. The Swedish school system
has also been reformed on a national basis to provide a high degree of
equality of opportunity and a core of general studies for Swedish students
in all parts of the country (see Chapter Three).

Nevertheless, the actual operation of the school system may reflect
values which differ from those of the idealized political culture which
educational policy-makers intend to transmit. Furthermore, it is the
student's perceptions of how the operation of the schools affects their
individual schooling experiences, not what officialdom intends, that is the
decisive factor in determining the political and other socializing effects
of the schools (see Chapters Two and Four). These individual perceptions
and experiences may result in outcomes which are quite different from those
intended, quite possibly for reasons which were unforeseen, even though
Swedish educational policy intends that teaching methods and school
organization should be consistent with the broad goals of Swedish educational
policy.

Swedish educational policy also intends that the schools should
complement the influence of the student's home environment, and other
influences. The schools cannot be either a comprehensive or uniform
socializing influence, especially in a society like Sweden with a democratic
system of government, and a market economy.

Both in relation to the consistency between the latent and manifest
influence of each agent of socialization, and the consistency between the
influences of different agents of socialization, the likelihood of a student's
acceptance of specific information is increased by consistency, and decreased
by inconsistency. A high degree of inconsistency is likely to be conducive
to rejection or qualification of the information being transmitted, and in
the particular case of political socialization, to alienation, cynicism or
disaffection (see Chapters Two and Five).
The problem for democratic societies is that the development of tolerant social attitudes and participative orientation to political processes cannot be inculcated by indoctrination. Political socialization appropriate to a democratic society requires the nurturing of the individual self-image of the novitiate member of society who is being socialized, so that that individual acquires the political self-image of an efficacious democratic citizen. It also requires the maintenance of free institutions in the society at large, because the schools cannot be expected to persuade students that their government is democratic if their everyday experience, and that of their family and friends, flatly contradicts this proposition.

The individual's sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is the key element in his or her political self-image, because it is the basis for his or her view of his or her own role as a citizen. This in turn has an important bearing on whether or not the individual basically accepts the political system, or feels cynical about it, or alienated and disaffected from it. The individual's attitudes towards other people is also an important aspect of his or her political self-image (see Chapter Five). This political self-image is a product of a variety of influences. The basic proposition examined in this thesis is that the student's perceptions of educational practices and their school environment constitute a latent socializing influence which affects the student's political self-image and their political and social attitudes. This proposition is tested in a path analysis, which is reported in Chapters Six and Seven.

C. THE APPROACH OF THIS STUDY

The contribution of the students' perceptions of their school environment to explaining the students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is the relationship of primary interest in this
study. The overall contribution of either the latent or the manifest political socializing influence of the school, as such, is not readily amenable to direct empirical assessment. Nevertheless, the latent socializing impact of the school environment on students' political self-image can be demonstrated, if it can be shown that differences between students' perceptions of their school environment are reflected directly in students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, a fundamental aspect of their political self-image. This is what the path analysis is intended to do (see Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

In the path analysis, the students' general ability, home background, type of school program, and sex are treated as exogenous influences on the Swedish students' perceptions of their school environment, their civics knowledge, and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. The path analysis explores the relationships between those seven variables to establish the importance of the school environment as a latent political socializing influence (see Chapter Six).

This focal issue also gives rise to a number of related questions about the specific nature of the social and political attitudes and political self-image which the students have developed, and the relationship between these political phenomena and specific aspects of the students' schooling experience as the students themselves perceive it. If their school environment does affect the Swedish students' political self-image and attitudes, in what ways? What aspects of the students' perceptions of their school environment are the most important of the latent political socializing influences of the school? Are those effects consistent or inconsistent with the development of the social tolerance and participative orientation to the political process which Swedish educational policy seeks to encourage? (see Chapters Five and Seven).
With this overview in mind, we now proceed to a more detailed discussion. The concept of political socialization is dealt with in Chapter Two, Swedish educational policy and the Swedish school system in Chapter Three, the suitability of the IEA data for the purposes of this analysis in Chapter Four, the specific nature of the students' perceptions of their school environment and their social and political attitudes and self-image in Chapter Five, the path analysis in Chapter Six, and the overall analysis of implications and a statement of conclusions is developed in Chapter Seven.
CHAPTER TWO

MANIFEST AND LATENT SOCIALIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENTS' POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND SELF-IMAGE

A. THE CONCEPT OF A POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

B. THE SCHOOL IN RELATION TO OTHER AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

C. MANIFEST AND LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION THROUGH THE SCHOOL CURRICULA AND ENVIRONMENT

D. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
CHAPTER TWO

MANIFEST AND LATENT SOCIALIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENTS' POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND SELF-IMAGE

A. THE CONCEPT OF A POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Political socialization is one aspect of a general process of socialization, and there is some advantage to be gained by approaching political socialization from the general perspective. In general terms, *socialization* is a concept referring to the processes through which individuals representing social collectivities transmit values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge to novitiate members, who are expected to internalize them, developing in the process an appropriate self-image about their own roles in relation to complementary roles.\(^1\)

The individuals or social collectivities which transmit socializing influences act as 'agents' of socialization. The individual who is the recipient of these influences, the 'object' of socialization, receives and responds to these influences. Agents can be classified as either primary or secondary agents according to their relationship with the object. The family and peers are primary agents, and the school and media are secondary agents. This classification separates influences into two types, with emphasis on the significance of the type of influence.

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At the most general level, the concept includes the socialization of adults in new situations and the continuing maintenance and modification of cultural and subcultural patterns in ongoing societies, as well as the transmission of established values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge to each new generation in succession. In total, the phenomena to which the concept of socialization refers are a vital aspect of 'the social construction of reality'. P. Berger & T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Allen Lane, London, 1969.
rather than on how these influences fit into the total development pattern. 2

Socialization processes may be seen in terms of active or passive roles for the object in terms of the agents influencing them. Some approaches tend to assume a passive role, 3 regarding the object as a 'sponge', but it is more appropriate to view the object as receiving influences in a variety of ways. These include direct acquisition of content (attitudes, orientations and knowledge) selective acceptance of certain influences (imitation and identification), modification of these influences by changes in the individual (changing abilities and cognitive development levels) and by a developing relationship between an agent and the object of socialization (acquired attitudes towards the agent and from the agent's expectations about the individual's own relative position).

The same individual object of socialization may adopt different roles in relation to different agents or 'models'. For example, accommodation of the environment by imitation is a passive role adoption, while assimilation of the environment by ejection involves taking an active part in relation to the environment. 4 A child may however, select who is to be imitated from a range of models. With some models, such as members of the family, with whom the child is familiar and with whom the child has a strong

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relationship, the choice is limited. However an individual may model himself on someone who represents the sort of individual he would like to become, 'anticipated similarity', or who attracts him in some other way.  

When the totality of the influences operating upon an individual are taken into consideration, socialization is not a passive process. The interaction of agent and object, and the selection of influences from among a number of competing possibilities by the object, illustrate the inadequacy of a one-way, agent-transmitting-to-object view of the socialization process.

The socializing process operates, in various ways, as the means by which the recipient acquires beliefs, and orientations towards various aspects of his or her environment. For example, in political socialization feelings towards the national head of state may be transferred. The recipient is encouraged to acquire the same feelings as the agent. Knowledge and attitudes are taught as part of the societal perspective and accumulate to form in total the transmission of the cultural heritage. Certain ideas, beliefs or behaviour are transmitted when the recipient accepts them and so imitates them or identifies with particular ideas, beliefs or behaviour in preference to others and adopts these. The object of socialization selects what is to be imitated or what it is with which he or she identifies. What is being transmitted therefore changes in the transmission.

Furthermore, the individual does not rely solely on direct input from the environment, external to himself or herself, but can use various modes to create or deduce things using information from environmental experience.

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This is especially, but not only so, when people have a variety of models from which to select. The pressures associated with conflicting models provides a stimulus to such thought processes by the pressure to resolve the conflict, if it is realized, and alternate models also make comparative views available, and hence facilitate thought beyond the accepted model by the existence of a comparison.

The contrast in knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, values and orientations in different societies confirms the importance at the gross aggregate level of being socialized into a particular societal setting, but within a given setting, socialization is one process which affects individual development and outlook. It is not the universal determinant of an individual becoming an 'initiated' member of the society. Other factors such as personality, inherited characteristics, and the object's level of development and cognitive style, affect the object's response to socializing influences.

The interaction of these elements is part of their influence on the individual. Maturation processes are dependent on heredity, personality, and environment for both cognitive development and physical maturation. Heredity, personality, and cognitive ability also interact with the environment and influence the development of the individual, so that individuals in society respond differently to similar socializing influences.

While much of the literature on socialization is concerned with childhood, research on development levels in relation to age is relevant to the older adolescent age group. Even though this study is concerned only with adolescents at the upper end of this category, the literature indicates the ages at which the level of cognitive development is appropriate for understanding the various concepts used, and also at the

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age at which the adolescent has knowledge about the society and has developed attitudes and opinions about various institutions. The particular age-group studied in this thesis are final-year secondary school students, preparing for work and marriage, acquiring adult skills and conduct, making career choices, forming broader social contacts, and increasing independence from parents in relation to contact with peers and the adult society around them.

The way students judge a situation, the way they assess what they perceive, relates to their level of maturity of concept development. It has been found that there are stages in development which determine how a situation will be seen. That is, the child or adolescent develops through stages of being able to make judgments by increasingly sophisticated means. These development stages are thought to apply to all cultures and societies, although an individual's level of development will be affected by a variety of factors, notably general cognitive ability. By late


9 See: Paul H. Mussen, *The Psychological Development of the Child*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1963, pp.52-6; John B. Carroll, *Language and Thought*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1964, pp.78-80; Barbara B. Lloyd, *Perception and Cognition: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, pp.123-4. Robert M. Gagne, *The Conditions of Learning*, Hold, Rinehart & Winston, London, 1970, 2nd ed., pp.290-2. Piaget's stage theory of development has four stages: the sensorimotor, pre-operational, concrete operational and the formal operational. Gagne presents an alternative view of how cognitive development occurs. He argues that developmental readiness is essential to accomplishment of learning. That is, learning follows the learner's acquisition, or undertaking to acquire 'the intellectual skills that are prerequisite to the task', pp.290-1. It is 'these cumulative effects of learning (that) are the basis for observed increases of intellectual 'power' in the growing human being', p.292. As this study is concerned with older adolescents, the relevant point is that these developmental processes take place in childhood and early adolescence, and hence older adolescents are able in general to understand the sorts of concepts dealt with in the survey questionnaires. Kohlberg develops parallels of moral development in the same pattern as Piaget.
adolescence, the senior secondary students would have reached the stage of being able to understand complex concepts, and to have developed a capability for making 'moral judgments'.

The students' responses to various influences and situations will also be affected by their 'cognitive style'; whether they favour a deductive or inductive approach to relating information. These two orientations to interpreting what is perceived run parallel. One style does not follow the other in sequence in a developmental order. These basic orientation differences between individuals may be due to environmental influences or hereditary factors or some combination of both. What is important is that these sorts of individual differences exist, with the result that agents of socialization affect different individuals in different ways. It is neither necessary nor appropriate to the concept of socialization that the process be universal in determining the development of attitudes, values and perceptions in younger members of a society.

The level of conceptual development and the particular abilities of the person concerned, especially where these are changing, as is the case with children, will affect the processes by modifying influences. Such modifications may arise according to ability to receive or select the influences, or, by modifying past influences as a result of changed abilities. In addition, as a relationship develops between the agent and the individual, the effect of each on the other will alter because of the

10 Obviously moral judgment may develop with increased experience. The distinction made here is in terms of broad stages. The relevant point, once again, is that students at the senior level would generally make judgments by the 'morality of self-accepted principles'.

changing (developing) nature of the relationship. As the individual acquires images of the agents - institutions and persons - he alters his perspectives of the agents accordingly. Complementary to this process, he acquires attitudes about himself and how he ought to behave in relation to these agents.  

An appreciation of the differences in individual responses to socializing influences is also implicit in the use of the socialization concept as the basis of a qualitative assessment, in terms of which particular personality types are described as 'oversocialized' and 'undersocialized'. Oversocialized people are clearly aware of boundaries of acceptable behaviour and are highly conformist and consequently unduly anxious about not overstepping these limits of 'acceptable' behaviour. Undersocialized people act with insufficient conformity to the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, because they are not fully aware of these social limits or have low regard for them. The oversocialized person is seen as passive and highly conformist and the undersocialized person as aggressive, with a low level of conformity to community norms.

The basis for these differential responses to socializing influences is that individual perceptions vary, because of the net effect of all the characteristics and experiences which constitute individual identity, and it is the individual's perception of a situation or stimulus that determines its effect upon him or her.

This is of fundamental importance in relation to a key conceptual distinction in this thesis, between 'manifest' and 'latent' socialization.

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13 See: Kurt Danziger, *op.cit.*, for a discussion of the concepts of 'oversocialized' and 'undersocialized' in terms of a qualitative assessment. Compare these concepts with the concept of 'successful socialization and 'unsuccessful socialization' used in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *op.cit.*, pp.183-93.

Manifest socialization refers to the explicit exposition of values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge by an agent to an object of socialization. Latent socialization refers to the indirect acquisition of values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge through the object's social experiences, including observations of his or her general social environment as well as relationships with specific agents of socialization. These perceptions are not necessarily consistent with the intended message of agents of manifest socialization or socially approved attitudes.

The manifest socializing influences are intended influences, whether or not they are received as they were intended to be. They are intended by the agent to be perceived and accepted by the individual, to become an integral part of the individual's outlook. Latent socializing influences are indirect influences. They may or may not be consistent with manifest socializing influences and hence may be congruent with intended influences or conflict with them. Where they conflict they are clearly unintended influences because the effect of manifest or intended influences is reduced by the existence of conflict.

Agents of socialization have both manifest and latent socializing influences on the object. An agent of socialization, aware of the effects of both sorts of influence can see both as intended influences and may wish to make changes to increase consistency between the two. Where two different agents have conflicting manifest, and latent socializing influences, respectively, one may take account of the conflicting influence of the other agent and modify the nature of their own influence in order to increase the effectiveness of their intended influence as judged in terms of how the object perceives the influence. Hence, from the agent's viewpoint, it is not an issue of how clearly the agent judges the intended influence has been presented, but one of how the object perceives the situation in relation to the person's background including other
experiences of influences which conflict with the new influence.  

Political socialization differs from socialization in general, primarily in terms of the narrower focus upon political phenomena. An individual undergoing political socialization acquires values, beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge relating to the political system of which he or she is a member, including important institutions within it, and a political self-image, which encompasses his or her conception of his or her own role as a citizen, and expectations, motivations, rights and obligations affecting his or her relations with other people. Political socialization is the process through which a society transmits its political culture to its novitiate members, including immigrants and succeeding generations.

The political culture of a society reflects the 'characteristic patterns of political orientations found within a political community'. It is not merely a reflection of the system of government. Political cultures vary between societies with similar forms of government such as with a liberal democracy. While the form of government in a society is a major element making up the particular political culture, the members of that society are socialized into a political culture characteristic of that society, not merely that of the form of government.

15 The intended-perceived distinction illustrates the use of 'perception' at the point of internalization of an experience by the object. This needs to be distinguished from 'perception' as an outward expression of what an object has experienced. In the first use of 'perception', the object's background influences what he perceives. In the second use of 'perception', what the object expresses as a perception is a part of his background experiences in the same way as is an attitude or value.


Apart from the narrower focus on political and politically-relevant phenomena, the methodological approaches underlying political socialization research are directly comparable with those of general socialization research.

The political socialization of children frequently begins with the child's identification of a few key political figures in the society, such as the head of state. Young children often tend to have a rather benevolent view of such authority figures and symbols, an ideal image which becomes more 'realistic' as children learn about the roles these figures and the institutions they represent, have, in the society. However the development of children's images of authority figures and symbols in the society does not necessarily follow images of authority figures with whom the child has personal and direct contact. These attitudes are diverse, and reflect those prevailing in the community. To illustrate this, a child can hold positive idealistic images about his or her father and teacher, a negative attitude towards the head of state and the police, and a positive attitude towards national symbols such as the flag and national anthem.

The school system is often seen as socializing its youngest pupils towards an ideal norm. The influence of the school through the particular

18 See: Robert D. Hess & Judith V. Torney, op.cit., p.216. For example, a policeman is a person representing the law.

19 For example, Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, et al., 'The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in American Subculture', Am. Pol. Sc. Rev. 62, 1968, pp.64-75. R.W. Connell, 'Class Consciousness in Childhood', The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology 197, pp.87-99; Judith V. Torney, A.N. Oppenheim & Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, 1975, pp.214, 220, Fig.9.1 and Fig.9.2.

20 See: Robert D. Hess & Judith V. Torney, op.cit., pp.212-215, Dean Jaros, op.cit., pp.64-75. 'Socializing to prevailing societal norms' of the 'status quo' as a measure of 'success' of socializing influence involves problems and limitations in use. In western societies people have a variety of competing models from which to select, and the use of the status quo as a standard against which to measure socialization stems from an assumption that 'dominant' equals 'normal'. The corollary from an assumption that 'dominant' equals 'normal'. The deviant because they do not conform to the Status quo attitudes, opinions or views.
curricula content and school ceremonies where they occur, the teaching of this curricula and peer climate does not comprise the sole socializing influence for political images the child holds. Both the role of the school and the role of the child's family and neighbourhood are relevant influences in determining a child's view of key political figures, symbols and institutions in the wider societal or national context. The school's position in the political socialization of its younger pupils is one of considerable importance.

By late adolescence, students develop an awareness and knowledge about the political system. The extent of development varies greatly between individual students, but differs from views in childhood and early adolescence by nature of cognitive development and ability to understand more complex and abstract ideas and far greater social experience and knowledge about society including that concerning the education system.

One of the latest developments made is identification with a particular political party. This suggests that some understanding of the differences between parties as well as how they relate to the political system requires a general knowledge of the political system and how it operates and appreciation of differences of interests, opinions and values between adults in the society. From this it is clear that there are constraints imposed by the development process between early childhood and later adolescence on what can be communicated to students at any particular stage of their development.


Students' acquisition of political attitudes cannot simply be accounted for in terms of a specific instance of a socializing influence towards a particular attitude. Previous experience and cognitive ability are two factors which shape the effect of a particular influence on an adolescent. Because community norms are themselves diverse and previous experience individual, a socializing influence has a diverse effect especially where competing and conflicting influences are also operating.

Diagram 2.1 depicts in diagram form the key factors impinging upon the individual who is the object of the political socialization process. The object's response is influenced by his or her inherited characteristics, environmental experiences, personality, and his or her cognitive ability, development and style, as well as by the object's perceptions of the manifest and latent socializing influences of specific primary and secondary agents of socialization, and the object's perceptions of his or her social environment. The object's response constitutes a 'feedback', which affects the subsequent influence of experience and agents upon him or her.

B. THE SCHOOL IN RELATION TO OTHER AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

One of the most important agents of socialization is the family. The influence of parents on the development and outlook of a child, the effects of siblings, and the effects of home environment in general on a

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24 'Family' is used here to mean 'nuclear family' as that is the unit relevant to the Swedish context, and the use in research findings referred to in the text.
DIAGRAM 2.1  MODEL OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

HEREDITY

COGNITIVE ABILITY, DEVELOPMENT AND STYLE

PERSONALITY

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

PERSON (OBJECT)

perception → manifest influence

perception → latent influence

AGENTS (primary and secondary)

RESPONSE
child (such as in relation to school environment) comprise some of the basic relationships of the family. There are two levels at which the family acts as an agent of socialization in relation to one of its members. The first is within the family on an individual basis, the socializing influence of one or more members in interaction with another member, such as interaction between mother and child, and, the second, the socializing influence of family experiences on a member of the family, such as a child. This second perspective is often used comparatively either with other families in the society (as with socio-economic comparisons) or with other cultures and societies, or with the experiences of a family member with other agents such as the schools.

The structure of a family and its composition affects role prescriptions and interaction between members. These vary between families, and within a family at different stages. For example, in a comparative study of the U.S. and Denmark, Kandel and Lesser concluded that Danish families had greater equality in family interaction while American families had a greater extent of differentiation in role definition for various members. Secondly, parents vary role prescriptions of their children according to such considerations as age, sex and position of a child in the family, so that family structure changes over a period of time.

The interaction of family members is important in shaping the personality of children. Parent-child interaction varies in level of reciprocity of expectations and preferences among family members. These

25 See: Denise B. Kandel & Gerald S. Lesser, *op.cit.*, p.106. The two key areas on which these two conclusions were based were on how families reached decisions and discipline of children by husband and wife.

26 See: Kurt Danziger, *op.cit.*, p.81.

relate partly to role prescriptions and partly to the relationships existing between family members. For example, children's sensitivity to the threat of withdrawal of parental affection, and the level needed to effect compliance with parental demands, has been shown to be directly related to the existing level of parental affection. Secondly, the child may perceive, real or not, that the parent favours a sibling and this affects the child's demands in turn. The varying of role prescriptions by parent affects personality development. Particular parental roles in the family are thought to be directly linked with personality attributes of their children. Age, and sex of child and parent, and parental status mediate the direction of the effect.

The socializing influence of the family operates in the context of generational transmission. The extent and nature of generation differences and of transmission have been examined with varying results. The extent of difference of 'generation gap' has been an area of particular focus and applies to adolescents. The rate of societal change is seen as a reason for parents becoming less useful models for their adolescent children. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the role of


29 See: *Ibid.*, pp.50-2 and 84. For example, a younger boy with a punitive high status father is more likely to be aggressive than if the father is low status or the child is older. A child with a strict mother is likely to be aggressive if an older boy, but not so if a younger boy or a girl either older or younger. These findings suggest that the predictive (longitudinal) value of these findings are low or assume substantial variation in role prescription with age change of the child.

parents and families, especially their relevance for developing a sense of identity, remains important.  

The position of the adolescent is transitional from childhood to maturity and this state may operate as an influence itself. Important decisions affecting future career and life are taken at this stage and the adolescent draws on experiences of his or her environment in developing towards maturity. The influences of the family are significant to the adolescent, as are those of the neighbourhood, peers, the school and the media.

Much of an adolescent's contact with adults may be with school staff, so that they represent a picture of the adult world. They have daily contact with the same adults over extended periods of time. Teachers act as agents of socialization both for what they know and for what they represent to students. The disproportionately middle class orientation of teachers has been criticized because of its inequitable influence on students. This influence operates in two ways. It affects teacher assessments of their students, to the disfavour of students from working class backgrounds, and also means that these students associate school and academic success with a middle class, and hence unfamiliar, culture.

31 Denise B. Kandel & Gerald S. Lesser, op.cit., esp. p.185. It is also suggested that youth acts as a conscience for the society as a whole on issues where there is conflict in the society. Kandel and Lesser found areas of general agreement far greater than those of disagreement in their study. See also: Vern L. Bengtson, 'Generation and Family Effects in Value Socialization', Am. Soc. Rev. 40(3), June 1975, pp.358-71. Between generations, there was a general trend from collectivism to individualism, and parents were on average, stronger on materialism and grandparents and youth on humanism.

32 See: Ernest Q. Campbell, op.cit., p.848.

33 Adolescents have indirect contact with adults through watching television.


Adolescent peers, often school peers as well, are an alternate source of influence. In the U.S., peer culture values athletic and club success more highly than academic achievement although adolescents who are successful in these areas often have good academic standards as well. One study found that students thought their peers valued academic success less than they did themselves disproportionately to their peers' own assessment of its importance to them. This misperception was especially strong by high achievers.\(^\text{36}\) Hence dominant peer attitudes are not necessarily an accurate reflection of individual opinion expressed outside a peer group context, so such findings as of peer culture influence, must be interpreted carefully.

Peer group relations vary considerably across cultures\(^\text{37}\) and according to social class composition\(^\text{38}\) of the group. Kandel and Lesser\(^\text{39}\) found that U.S. and Danish adolescents varied in the number of peer friendships, the extent of contact, reciprocation of friendship, level of personal involvement and similarly of interests and personal characteristics.\(^\text{40}\) It has been found that acceptance by the peer group and self-acceptance are related, so this may account in part for why adolescents feel it is necessary to appear to agree with prevailing group opinion to a greater extent than they in fact do.

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36 See: Denise B. Kandel & Gerald S. Lesser, *op.cit.*, p.44.


40 Note: U.S. adolescents had a greater number of friendships and Danish adolescents had a smaller number of closer friendships on the variables mentioned above, *ibid.*, p.65.
The social class composition of peer groups affects student attitudes. For example, working-class students will tend to adopt middle-class attitudes in a mixed group, and this informal climate may be more important in determining attitudes than the content of the curricula.\textsuperscript{41}

Just as attending school is seen as a transitional phase in maturing, so is adolescence. As the two coincide, an adolescent at school is likely to regard his school experiences and wider activities as being part of a phase preceding maturity and further education or work. The school environment is regarded as a temporary one, which itself operates as an agent of socialization. The school is a sub-society in which the adolescent participates, and is usually somewhat separate from the surrounding community.

The school environment often reproduces the neighbourhood environment so that experiences in the two environments are generally congruent for many of the students. However, where this congruence occurs students are limited or helped accordingly when they leave the school in competing with students from other schools for further education or for occupations. Their expectations and their ability to compete are influenced by their school-neighbourhood environment. In the case where students from a middle-class home have learning experiences in a middle-class school with teachers with middle-class attitudes, then their experiences are generally consistent and congruent and they have an advantage over many of their peers. Students from lower-class homes in the same school environment experience two incongruous sets of experiences so that the relevance and utility of school experiences is in question and their future expectations and opportunities are less than those of their middle-class peers.\textsuperscript{42} Not only is congruence between home and school experiences an advantage to academic success over incongruent experiences, but on a

\textsuperscript{41} See: Kenneth P. Langton, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.155-63.

\textsuperscript{42} See: Ernest Q. Campbell, \textit{op.cit.}, p.848.
between-school basis, students from schools where academic success is valued more highly, will be also more successful when they graduate from the school.

The influences of the family, neighbourhood, school and teachers, the media and peers on a child or adolescent shape his or her experiences, development and outlook in varying ways. The extent of consistency between these influences is a particularly important aspect of the interactive influence of these agents. The extent of congruence or incongruence between the various agents of whom the individual has experience operates itself as an influence.

Political socialization has been regarded as a means by which the political system creates support for itself.\textsuperscript{43} One example which supports this type of proposition is of socializing influences where children develop political orientations\textsuperscript{44} towards such things as the form of government or the nation before they know what they are, or understand values and beliefs associated with them. This forms part of cultural transmission. It may be assumed rather than spelt-out, but is intended to be accepted by the recipient. That is, teaching such things as details of information and distinctions between forms of government and nations is done within the framework of a general orientation. Hence it is within this framework that the material is received and interpreted by the recipient.\textsuperscript{45}

Students' predispositions towards accepting or not accepting the content of teaching, influences student attitudes towards the content to the point where it is of major importance. This underlying attitude is learnt from parents (as well as peer groups) and affects the student's school performance. If a student has a favourable attitude towards what

\textsuperscript{44} Positive or negative political orientations (or attitudes).
\textsuperscript{45} As in the case of a student's experience of the school structure and what he learns in class about democracy.
is taught, then the content of the teaching is accepted, if not, then the teaching has much less effect.\textsuperscript{46} This may be particularly important in civics teaching as parents are likely to have views about government and society which may be communicated to their child and may or may not accord with what is being taught in school.\textsuperscript{47} Where schools stress ideal norms of how the political system operates, overstressing the importance of the voter,\textsuperscript{48} and deal little with political realities, what is not taught has a very important influence on the student's view of both the curricula and the political process, whenever the student is made aware of a gap between what has been taught about the political system and its actual operation,\textsuperscript{49} as experienced in his or her neighbourhood and family.

Another sort of latent socializing effect has been found in relation to differences in interest in politics by children of different sex, and class. While differences may appear relatively minor, a close analysis revealed that while there are not significant differences between children in political attitudes, participation, or identification with a political

\textsuperscript{46} See: Kenneth P. Langton, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.155-63. This is a general statement, not excluding the possibility of individual exceptions. See also: Denise B. Kandel \& Gerald S. Lesser, \textit{op.cit.}, p.48.

\textsuperscript{47} See: Roberta S. Sigel (ed.), \textit{Learning about Politics}, Random House, NY, 1970, (Introduction to 'The School'), pp.311-17, at 313. A very clear cut example occurs in a political culture where there are high rates of social change and a child's socializing into society is discordant with what is required in a changed situation at adulthood. The attitudes and values learned in childhood are inappropriate and so new underlying orientations must be learnt. See: Edward A. Zeigenhagen, 'Political Socialization and Role Conflict: Some Theoretical Implications', in Roberta S. Sigel (ed.), \textit{op.cit.}, pp.466-75 at 468. See also: Edgar Litt, 'Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination', \textit{Am. Soc. Rev.} 28(1), Feb. 1963, pp.69-75 at 69.

\textsuperscript{48} Robert D. Hess \& Judith V. Torney, \textit{op.cit.}, p.218.

\textsuperscript{49} A middle class student is likely to get a complementary picture to what is taught in school from the local community through examples of political action. In addition, it is likely that a more realistic view of the political process will be taught in schools with predominantly middle-class students. See: Edgar Litt, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.69-75.
party, middle class males had considerably more knowledge about politics than females, or their working class peers. This greater interest was related to 'anticipatory socialization', or the envisaged future roles the children would be playing in society. Hence children had gained sex and class differentiated views about their future roles.

Manifest and latent socializing influences affect attitudes of children and adolescents. Attitudes which precede manifest socializing influences, affect their impact by the perspective they give, and the experience of competing influences, divided between what is stated to be expected or meant and other experiences which conflict with these, mean that the effectiveness of manifest socializing influences are markedly reduced. Where the two coincide, as may be the case with a positive predisposition to accepting what is taught, effectiveness of transmission is increased. The operation of 'anticipatory socialization', acquired predispositions, and competing or coincident manifest and latent socializing experiences, as influences on the object, presents a complex picture of how the socialization process itself works.

C. MANIFEST AND LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION THROUGH THE SCHOOL CURRICULA AND ENVIRONMENT

Manifest and latent political socialization influences, that is, direct and indirect transmission of the knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values of a political culture, both help shape the development of young people in a society. Recipients of socializing influences may distinguish between what they think they are supposed to understand, know or believe, and what they experience. Alternatively, they may not be consciously

50 See: Anthony M. Orum et al., op.cit., p.297. Orum accounts for this anticipatory socializing effect in terms of a combination of situational and political socialization theories.

51 See: Chapter Six.

52 See: Gabriel A. Almond & Sidney Verba, op.cit., p.325. Latent socialization is used here in a fairly limited sense in that it assumes a predisposition towards political attitudes which may be relevant later rather than that which is transmitted indirectly or unintentionally outside direct teaching on particular points.
aware of the existence of influences outside explicit direct communications. Recipients interact with these influences and select and reject among competing influences in various areas according to personality characteristics, level of conceptual development and other factors, including previous experience. Hence the extent of direct control over individuals through any particular manifest socializing influence is limited by the existence of latent socializing influences, as well as by the effect of other influences and their interaction with the recipient.

Manifest and latent socialization are both involved in the socializing influence of the schools. Manifest socialization relates to what is directly taught and espoused, and latent socialization relates to that which is not directly stated or taught as part of the curricula, but which nevertheless is part of a student's experience of the school. This includes values communicated indirectly and which may in fact, be contrary to those espoused.

The school as an agent of socialization involves a number of issues. The ethos of the school, the administrative procedures, the physical setting, the curricula, the attitudes of members of the school community towards one another and its overall structure and composition are all relevant. In addition, the relationship of these elements to the student home experience is pertinent to a study of influence of the school on a student. The experience of these influences, and their congruence or conflict, effects socialization of students and their responses to exposure to congruent or conflicting situations. The informal atmosphere of the school and peer relationships also interact with student response to the school setting.

The range, combination, and structure of courses in a school as well as the content of particular curricula, affect student opportunities and student success in various ways. They influence student self-image by their academic status, the sorts of career choices he or she has, the relevance of the curricula to the students, and consequently, his or her level of interest and performance.

Teaching methods, the values behind the structures of the administration of the school, and the ranking of importance of civics as a subject and of segments within the curricula also communicate to students the actual policies, values and attitudes which guide the school's operation, as distinct from stated policies and goals. Teaching methods used and structure of the school are not part of the taught curricula, nor are they necessarily consistent with principles on which it is stated that the school is run. For example, a student may learn in a civics class about democracy but in a school with different prevailing structure, which is contradictory to what he or she has learnt in class. These contradictory experiences between what is being taught and the working environment mean that the student has competing socializing influences, one direct or manifest and the other indirect or latent.

The structure of a school as an organization, its physical setting and the members of a school community affect students, both directly and indirectly. The organizational structure of schools has been described and classified in various ways. Grannis has classified them as models

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54 The status attached to academic ranking of classes is often reinforced by such factors as location of classroom, teacher allocations to classes, and expectations of class performance and conduct as communicated by teaching staff.

55 There are a variety of ways that this conflict may be resolved (but the details of these are not relevant to this discussion).

of society. He describes three types, the 'family' school, the 'factory' school and the 'corporate' school. These three types are characterized by their authority structure, teaching methods and curricula, organization of learning and assessment and effects on students. Students in a 'factory' type of school have low status in the school hierarchy. Originality, personal and social development are not valued highly in contrast to achievement. As a consequence, students with handicaps or specific learning difficulties or from working-class backgrounds are strongly disadvantaged. The working environment in the school is based on docility and fixed, uniform, standards of achievement. Students in a 'corporate' school learn specialized skills and knowledge. Their role in the school is limited by the complex structure and dispersed authority which makes student influence in decision-making difficult in areas outside those prescribed.

If a civics course in a school teaches students about a democratic society and the structure of the school directly conflicts with the course content then teaching effectiveness in terms of acceptance and relevance of the course content to the student, is likely to be decreased. Whether a student has an acquired predisposition to accept or reject particular content in the teaching by family and peer influence, an awareness of the conflict between what the student is being taught and what he or she experiences in the school community means conflict resolution may, as an

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57 The 'family' model is suited to early primary education and is based on the idea of being an extension of family functions, with the teacher having a nurturing role. The 'factory' model applies to primary and secondary education. It is characterized by more dispersed authority among teaching staff, specialized, differentiated and complex curricula, grading and timetabling. It is a systematic, rationalized and bureaucratic system. Joseph C. Grannis, op.cit., pp.138-43.

58 Prescribed areas for student influence: timetabling, units of subjects and subject choice.
alternative, result in dismissal of the curricula as unrealistic.\footnote{59} The relevance to, and acceptance by the student of the curricula, directly influences academic success and aspirations of a student.

The school's influence on students is affected by those of home environment, neighbourhood, the media, and peers. The school structure, the relationships between members of the school community, and teachers' attitudes and the curricula, interrelate in their total effect on students, and have a significant role in determining student experiences of education, future aspirations of, and possibilities for, the student, and, his or her self-concept development.

Both manifest political socialization, through teaching about political aspects of the society, and latent political socialization, through the influences on student perceptions, attitudes and knowledge of the school structure, practices and ethos, have a substantial effect on students. However, these effects are themselves affected by non-school influences, which must be taken into account when assessing the manifest and latent political socializing influences of schooling upon students.

\footnote{59} Where the student has a latent predisposition to reject the curricula content, awareness of this conflict is likely to reinforce the predisposition. This is most likely to occur in schools in working class neighbourhoods for a number of reasons. The negative predisposition is more likely because of conflict between teacher attitudes (middle class) and working class attitudes in the neighbourhood, the school is more likely to be authoritarian in such a neighbourhood, and the curricula content to present an idealistic, limited and naive view of a democratic society (to focus on voting and government structures and exclude parties and pressure groups). Where the student has a latent predisposition to accept the curricula content, the reverse situation occurs. The school is likely to be in a mixed or predominantly middle class neighbourhood, where parental views and dominant peer group values coincide, the school is more likely to be more liberal in its structure, and the curricula content is likely to have more emphasis on a realistic view of how a democratic society functions. In addition, students have greater opportunity to gain a complementary picture of democracy from community political activity so that the taught curricula is meaningful. Roberta S. Sigel, \textit{op.cit.}, (introduction to 'the school'), pp.311-17; Ernest Q. Campbell, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.848-9; Kenneth P. Langton, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.155-63; Robert D. Hess & Judith V. Torney, \textit{op.cit.}, p.218. Compare this with the Swedish school system. See: Chapter Three.
D. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Political socialization is an area of research which is, for better or worse, heavily laden with political implications, the existence of which are not negated by ignoring them. One of the most important in general terms, though not particularly relevant in the specific context of this study, is the scope for abuse of the findings of socialization research by totalitarian systems to inculcate a uniform pattern of socialization.

There is scope for such abuse, but the issues discussed in this chapter suggest that it is subject to significant limitations, even in education, where the potential influence of a government on its citizens during their formative years is significant. Since inheritance, maturation, personality and socialization influences interact with each other, it is not possible to uniformly socialize objects to one value system merely by controlling socializing influences. In the most extreme case, an associated use of force may obtain outward compliance, but not uniform and universal object internalization of the value system imposed, which is what socialization implies. A conflicting structure will be a source of pressure on the individual to choose between the two and hence the chances of an adverse reaction are greater than if the individual's experiences were congruent. This suggests some of the limits to indoctrination, although in a totalitarian society the scope for abuse by exploiting the possibilities remaining to co-ordinate pressures upon individuals are still awesomely formidable.

Rather more interesting, complex and appealing issues are raised by the problems of socializing the young in a democratic society like Sweden. Certainly, the objective of political socialization remains one of instilling in young people that which ensures the continuation of the political order, with the intention that it be carried through into adulthood as opinions, attitudes, values, and knowledge employed by the
object individuals in political activity, to carry on the political life of the nation. However, the differences in the kinds of roles envisaged for citizens in a democracy differ radically from those imposed by the rulers of totalitarian systems. This difference, and the related differences in attitudes, knowledge and motivations which are associated with it, are of fundamental importance in terms of the nature of the political socialization process that is appropriate in a democratic society.

Almond and Verba suggested that political cultures could be classified in terms of the proportions of people within them who follow one of three basic orientations to the political system under which they live. These orientations are: parochial, subject and participant.

The 'parochial' citizen is largely uninterested in and uninformed about his national government, and virtually politically inactive. The 'subject' is interested in the benefits and burdens which his government confers or places upon him, but does not seek opportunities to become involved in influencing its decisions. The 'participant' sees himself as being politically competent and aware of means whereby he can exercise influence if he chooses to do so, even if he is not politically active on a continuous basis all of the time. Clearly, the participant is closest to the kind of active, rational, informed democratic citizenship that is envisaged in democratic theory.

60 See: Edward S. Greenberg, op. cit., pp. 4, 5; Dean Jaros, et al., op. cit., pp. 64-5; James Steintrager, op. cit., p. 127.
61 See: Gabriel A. Almond & Sidney Verba, op. cit.
62 See: Ibid. Compare 'parochial', 'subject' and 'participant' orientations towards citizenship described by Almond and Verba with the 'non-political', 'disengaged' and 'active' conceptions of citizenship described in A.N. Oppenheim & Judith V. Torney, The Measurement of Children's Civic Attitudes in Different Nations, IEA Monograph Studies, No. 2, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, 1974. See: Chapter Four for a brief description of the concepts in the IEA Civics Questionnaire, and Chapter Five for a discussion of student responses to questionnaire items designed to measure such differences in concept.
Cultivation of the kind of political self-image that is characteristic of a participant, the political self-image of an active, democratic citizen, is quite incompatible with indoctrination, or a manipulative approach to political socialization. Congruence between the manifest and latent aspects of a political socialization process which seeks to nurture a participant self-image, requires an approach to political socialization which is likely to be perceived by those being socialized as one which is consistent with democratic values.

On the other hand, the fact that young people go through a process of development in their capacity for comprehending conceptual complexity implies that educational practices dealing with political socialization must be consistent with the students' level of cognitive development at each stage. The level of cognitive development limits the ability of younger students to understand aspects of the political system as does the extent of their social experience and knowledge about society.

While students at a young age may be able to identify by name, a local candidate in an election, and the names of several political parties, it is not until much later that he or she understands such aspects as what a political party is, and the differences between the parties, election issues and candidates. This limited awareness does not prevent younger students identifying with a particular candidate, or even one party, or, on the other hand, adopting an independent or 'undecided' stance. Hence the effect of stage or extent of development of a student is to structure what can be taught at different levels of schooling. Hess and Torney agree that a view of a democratic society which includes conflict and disagreement as part of a realistic presentation of the operation of a democratic system should be introduced to the pupil at an early stage and corruption and other deviations from the normal operation of the

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system also be dealt with but at a later age. Teaching a realistic view of the political process overcomes many problems of non-acceptance of the content of the particular curricula by students, but raises new problems, because the content is more likely to be a source of controversy, and to deal with controversial issues, which require greater knowledge and skill by teachers than teaching a fixed idealized view.

Furthermore, while the school has an important and legitimate role to play in political socialization, in a free society the schools neither can nor should act as comprehensive and self-sufficient agents of socialization. In practice, the kinds of interactions between the influence of the school and other influences that have been discussed in this chapter would ensure that such an effort would be ineffective. The other influences upon the developing student are such that they must be taken into account in deciding how the school can most effectively communicate political knowledge and attitudes, with a view to encouraging students to participate actively in political life during their subsequent adult lives and careers. The next chapter will look at the Swedish education system, and the ways in which it seeks to contribute to the political socialization of Swedish youth, to convey the knowledge, attitudes, and political self-image appropriate to the active democratic citizen.
CHAPTER THREE

SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL

A. A CONSCIOUS POLICY OF ENCOURAGING ACTIVE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

B. KEY FEATURES OF THE SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

C. THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING

D. SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING AND THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVICS CURRICULUM

E. SWEDISH UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOLS; INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT IN A DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL COMMUNITY
CHAPTER THREE

SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL

A. A CONSCIOUS POLICY OF ENCOURAGING ACTIVE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

Sweden is of particular interest as the focus of a study of the effects of the latent socializing influence of the school environment on the political socialization of school students. This is because Sweden is a society with a participative democratic culture, and it has an educational system which is similar across the country, based on egalitarian principles, and committed to the cultivation of active democratic citizenship. It is a country in which one might reasonably expect political socialization of young people to be relatively successful, and that the schools might make a relatively effective contribution to the socializing process.

Swedish democracy has the image of a relatively successfully functioning democratic system.\(^1\) While the political style is peculiarly Swedish, the basic functioning of the system reflects broad democratic principles. The elements which together give the Swedish political culture its distinctive features include: the consistently high voter turnout for national elections in a system where voting is voluntary not compulsory;\(^2\) the relatively high percentage of women in both the Riksdag and ministerial portfolios;\(^3\) the high incidence of members of the Riksdag

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2 M. Donald Hancock, *op. cit.*, pp.44-6, 55, 56. Hancock cites voter participation in elections as averaging 81% since 1948, and the highest voter turnout as 89.3% in 1968 (p.56). See also Albert H. Rosenthal, *The Social Programs of Sweden*, Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1969, pp.98, 99.

3 Voter turnout of women was close to that of men by the 1960s. In 1964 84.8% of Swedish women voted, compared with 86.9% of men. See M. Donald Hancock, *op. cit.*, p.56. 22% (77 out of a total of 350) of members of the Riksdag were women in 1974. Three of the 13 cabinet ministers were women. See: *Women in Swedish Society*, Fact Sheets on Sweden, Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1974.
also being members of a local council in their constituency; and the extensive use of compromise, including establishing areas of common ground between groups with differing competing interests, as opposed to confrontation, and a focus on explication of differences.  

Sweden is especially interesting because the society as a whole is characterized by high level participation in community and national affairs in this way. This practical demonstration of a commitment to democratic participation in the wider social environment is more likely to be favourable to the successful transmission of a political culture characterized by the values of active democratic citizenship than one in which the values are espoused formally but not practised as conspicuously as they are in Sweden.

The Swedish political culture is reflected in the school system. In particular, the political socialization of youth towards a politically able and effective citizenry through the education process is a clear and conscious goal of Swedish education policy. The relatively important place of civics as a subject in the curricula when compared with other countries, is an example of one of the distinctive features of the society, namely, the importance given to participation and hence to training youth in the appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes to be

4 For example, in 1965 over two-thirds of members of the national parliament held positions concurrently in the regional ('provincial') or local ('Municipal') council level. See: M. Donald Hancock, op.cit., pp.94-5. Sweden had a bicameral parliament until 1970.


6 I am not saying that Civic Education (samhällskunskap or socialkunskap) is a relatively important subject area in the Swedish curricula when compared with key subjects such as Swedish, Mathematics and Modern Languages (English in particular), but it does have a comparatively significant position in the curricula when compared with other advanced industrial democracies.
able to participate in the functioning of society. The importance with which civic duty or civic responsibilities are regarded in Swedish society is reflected in the emphasis given to civic education, and to preparation for citizenship responsibilities (and rights) through general schooling experience.

Sweden is also appropriate for a study of this kind because virtually all Swedish students attend one school system, and study national curricula, so that the school experience is similar right across Swedish society. This has been strengthened by major reforms which have effected a unified, more democratic system of education, expressing values reflecting those of the wider society, which has strengthened the generality of the school experience for Sweden's youth. These reforms were only partially implemented at the time the surveys which provided the data for this study were conducted. However, even in 1971, when the IEA surveys were conducted, the Swedish school system was nationally organized, so that a national sample of students was likely to be providing

7 The exceptions are a few private schools which cater primarily for the children of Swedish citizens working abroad for periods and requiring boarding school accommodation for their children. Other than these schools, all Swedish children from all social groups attend the nine-year grundskola, and most go on to upper-secondary schooling. See: Britta Stenholm, Education in Sweden (trans. Keith Bradfield), Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1970, pp.30-31.

8 The introduction of grundskola or enhetsskola (unity school) system, ended the former streamed and selective school system for years one to nine of schooling. See: Rolland G. Paulston, Educational Change in Sweden: Planning and Accepting the Comprehensive School Reforms, Teachers College Press, N.Y., 1968, Ch.6, The Enhetsskola Act: Steps to Parliamentary Adoption 1950, pp.126-41, esp. pp.138-41.

9 The reforms of the grundskola have eliminated the old system of parallel or selective schooling, streaming or tracking. Reforms in progress at the upper secondary level at the time of the survey were moving towards a system of optional lines with entry restricted by competitive entry according to the number of places and applicants. (See: Arne Svensson, Eleven - Klassen - Skolan, en Oversikt av gymnasieskolan 1971-3, Skolöverstyrelsen, P.1, 1974:1, Stockholm, Table 4 (p.17), rather than by selection at the previous stage, limiting possible options at the next stage.
information about student responses to curricula and schooling experiences that were similar enough to be usefully compared.

Swedish schools have a number of features which are consistent in principle with the national distinctive features of the society, and which therefore make the clientele of the Swedish school system, the youth of Swedish society, of interest as to their perceptions about themselves, their school and society, their social attitudes and the knowledge they have acquired about their political system and way of life. ¹⁰ Swedish students' democratic values, including their social and political attitudes, their concept of citizenship, the state, and democratic government at national, local, and regional levels, and their knowledge about the operation of democracy, are of direct interest in view of their relationship to the particular characterizing features of Swedish democracy.

The concept of democratic citizenship held by senior secondary students reflects background influences and factors as well as schooling influences. ¹¹ The influence of schooling on student development of political values, attitudes, and knowledge, is influenced by the image students have of the purpose of schooling, and what benefits they expect to be obtaining, or to have obtained, in the case of students in their final year of schooling. The effect of the school, through its 'ethos' or environment, including aspects stemming from its administrative practices, classroom practice, the role of teachers in the school and teaching methods, as well as the curricula, in preparing Sweden's youth for Swedish democracy, is the particular interest

¹⁰ In other words, their 'political competence' in a 'participant political culture' is seen as a vital concern of education in the long term perspective in Swedish education. See To Choose a Future, A Basis for Discussion and Deliberations on Future Studies in Sweden, (trans. Rudy Feichtner), Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in cooperation with the Secretariat for Future Studies, Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1974, pp.129, 135-6.

¹¹ The shift in emphasis of the sources of citizenship training from the central role of the family last century, to a very important role played by the school in the post-war period is discussed in M. Donald Hancock, op.cit., pp.46-8, esp. pp.46-7.
of this study. Sweden is especially interesting in this respect, because Swedish educational policy recognizes the importance of teaching methods and school administration as well as the curricula, and relates these aspects of students' schooling experience to the objective of encouraging active democratic citizenship.

B. KEY FEATURES OF THE SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The recognition of the importance of aspects of the schooling experience beside the taught curricula in Swedish educational policy means a broad perspective is taken on aspects of the schooling experience seen as relevant to achieving the general goals of education. Hence reforms of the education system, and research associated with such reforms, have covered diverse aspects of the system.

While the major structural changes through the various levels of the education system in the post-war period are a distinctive feature in themselves, the way these major reforms have been formulated, their passage through stages of the political system, and their implementation, are also quite distinctive.

Besides being distinctive features of the educational system, the processes associated with change also describe the operation of aspects of the political culture of the society. That is, the political culture in which students will function as adult citizens, follows their experience of the school and its political socializing influence (among other factors). Other key features discussed in this section are: the reform procedures of institutional change combined with 'rolling reform'; the role of both high schools and study circles; the relative importance of education in political terms, and in the society; and the basic organization of the education system.
Historically, at the time of the Civic Education survey conducted by IEA in Sweden, major reform of the upper secondary school was in progress. These reforms followed implementation of major reform of the 'primary' level of schooling to a system of a comprehensive nine-year school in which all pupils followed a common program through the three levels: junior, intermediate and senior. The major difference between the old system and the new reforms either already implemented, as in the case of the comprehensive school, or in progress, as in the case of the upper-secondary school, was a change from a selective system to a comprehensive one.

The sample in the survey had experience of the new comprehensive school system and after completion of nine years' study, were part of the 45 per cent who had chosen to continue their schooling at a school with either a fackskola, gymnasium or combined program, and who were studying in their final year of their line program. At this stage of the reforms, only students taking the three-year gymnasium type of program were eligible for university entrance, on the basis of their school studies, and not those taking the two-year fackskola type of program. The arrangement of upper-secondary schooling current at the time of the IEA Civic Education survey was part of an intermediate phase (following the establishment of the nine-year comprehensive school, and prior to the full introduction of the integrated upper-secondary school). The aim of combining upper-secondary studies into one system in order to increase equality of opportunity in terms of socio-economic background, and sex stereotyping, including

12 See Chapters Five, Six and Seven on the survey and the analysis and findings for Swedish final year secondary students.

13 See Appendix A, part 1, on the part of Civics in the comprehensive schools program. Note that school breaks into two major levels: the first nine years of compulsory comprehensive schooling, with three three-year sections (compare this with primary and junior secondary levels), and the two or three-year upper-secondary school.
equality in terms of access to tertiary level education, had not been achieved.14

Other reforms in the move towards the new integrated upper-secondary school, or the new gymnasium as it was to be called, included curricula reforms with an increased international emphasis, and greater attention to citizenship. The latter involved changes in teaching methods,15 which were also required for teaching unstreamed classes.

Overall the vocational training school line programs underwent the greatest change in becoming the two-year practical lines now integrated in the upper-secondary school curricula.16 The increase in emphasis on general studies was most marked in the new two-year practical line programs. This included, of course, the aspects of increased emphasis on international perspectives, citizenship training, and also the increased focus on labour market conditions with a perspective of the working life rather than just focussing on prevailing conditions. The underlying aim of these changes

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14 Students were eligible for entry to any of the integrated upper-secondary school line programs, on the basis of competitive entry, following completion of the comprehensive schooling. These included the two and three-year theoretical lines similar to the fackskola and gymnasium programs being taken by the students in the IEA Civic Education survey, and the two-year practical lines which succeeded the vocational training school programs. At the next stage of major reform, the tertiary level, access was broadened so that students completing any of the upper-secondary school lines were eligible for entry (on certain conditions according to the course or subject), not just those completing a three-year theoretical line program.

15 Other changes to the school to increase citizenship training included increased student input into the running of schools.

16 The IEA survey Population IV sample was of students taking gymnasium or fackskola type of programs, and did not include students taking courses in the vocational schools.
in emphasis or focus of the curricula was to prepare students for life in a society and world undergoing rapid change, and for work where skill requirements are likely to change. 

While most of Swedish youth continue their studies beyond the comprehensive school level, a large minority (45 per cent) were in their final year of either a gymnasium or fackskola type of program at the time of the survey. Both groups were studying theoretical programs with a liberal arts (H), social sciences (S), economics (E, or Ek), natural sciences (N), technical (T or Te) or social (So) focus.

Special features of the system of reform in Swedish society are not only helpful in understanding the education system, but also highlight features of the political culture into which the subjects of this study, the youth of Swedish society, are being inducted. The combination of major structural change and 'rolling reform' is made possible by the procedures followed for reform and by the attitude that continuing change is necessary both to enhance the successful achievement of goals, and also to meet the needs of changing requirements in the society.

The reform of restructuring of the education system was carried out in three stages for: the comprehensive school, the integrated upper-secondary school, and tertiary level education. The extensive use of research to help achieve basic policy goals, the use of a commission to produce recommendations for reforms, the 'remiss' process of public debate, the consensus

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17 The change in work skills likely over a person's working life means a general training is more appropriate preparation because it facilitates flexibility and forms a basis for specific skills training. By contrast a training and identity with specific skills on its own does not facilitate coping with the stresses and adjustment required to retrain with new skills in order to remain in the labour force, nor does it give a basis for the practical acquisition of new or further skills.

18 See: Appendix A especially Tables A-5 and A-6, on the various lines. 'H', 'S', 'E', 'N' and 'T' denote gymnasium line programs, and 'Ek', 'Te' and 'So' denote fackskola line programs. The Music (Mu) line was introduced after the IEA Civic Education survey.
approach to political negotiations whereby consultation and agreement on changes is reached between the various political parties, the subsequent formulation of the legislation and its passage through the Riksdag are all key aspects in the process of major reform in Swedish society. The result of such reform procedures is comparatively successful implementation of reform at the national level. Student live in a political culture where active participation in the society is the 'norm' and public debate through the media and other groups takes place on issues of major change. That is, there is a high level awareness about important policy decisions to be made on areas which have a major influence on Swedish society.

Two distinctive and 'supplementary' educational facilities in Sweden are the folk high schools and study circles. While both receive government financial support they have a measure of independence which reflects their origins.

Folk high schools initially developed when the main education system generally excluded the working class from more than a basic schooling and their purpose was to provide a means for people from working-class backgrounds to obtain further education. They are run by various organizations such as trade unions and churches, or by community interest groups. With

19 The Riksdag is the (unicameral) Swedish parliament. The Cabinet government is the supreme body in the national administration, with membership drawn mostly from the ruling majority in the Riksdag. See: Pierre Vinde, Swedish Government Administration (trans. Patrick Hort) Prisma/The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1971, pp.12-13. See: Pierre Vinde, op.cit., also for details of reform procedures. The high level general agreement which precedes implementation of major reforms makes implementation of new policies at the national level more effective. Compare the reform of the Swedish schooling system with the introduction of comprehensive schools in England, for example.

20 See: Frederic Fleisher, Folk High Schools in Sweden, The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1968, and on 'private' schools, also see: Britta Stenholm, op.cit., loc.cit. (see Footnote 7).
the widening of access to all levels of education to the whole community, the folk high schools continue to serve a useful function, providing an enormous variety of programs to meet special needs.

Study circles in Sweden provide people with the opportunity of studying almost anything they choose, particularly including current issues.21 These study circles are enormously popular in Sweden and reflect the diverse interests of the community as well as the value placed on learning and self-development. Both folk high schools and study circles provide a complementary rather than a competing facility with the public education system, and seem to extend the coverage of education in society. This suggests considerable demand for education.

Expectations of the schools' role in preparing Swedish youth for life and work in the society are far more demanding than the traditional role of schools teaching literacy and numeracy. The schooling experience is expected to play a substantial role in the development of Swedish citizens. This is supported by high community regard for those who are very successful in the education system and who have high level specialized qualifications and also for the important role of research in assisting with decisions about reforms.22


22 See: Richard F. Tomasson, op.cit., pp.114 and 120. Note that traditionally, the structure of the education system reflected the class structure of the society so that children from working class families received basic education, and children from middle and upper class families followed a path which gave access to the elitist traditional gymnasium school and the university or other institutions offering tertiary level qualifications. Therefore a good education among citizens educated before the sweeping reforms and to certain extent still, is associated with their family background. Hence a good education forms a part of a traditional class-based status as well as a person's socio-economic position in society.
Usage of education facilities in Sweden has expanded rapidly in the post-war period both in terms of length of education (including recurrent education) and the percentage of age groups engaged in study. Educational facilities have expanded in Sweden, and in addition, education has been made more readily accessible beyond the level of basic schooling both in terms of admissions requirements and number of places available.

In an advanced-industrial society like Sweden, the employment opportunities for unskilled workers are limited and contracting, as is evidenced by the higher unemployment rate among unskilled workers. Hence there is considerable pressure for students to take gymnasium school programs after they have completed their nine years of basic schooling. The combination of inexperience and being unskilled makes finding any employment difficult, while at the same time work experience is being recognized as a learning situation, and is valued as broadening development and hence enhancing students' capabilities in handling courses.

Since students are needing higher levels of qualifications in order to compete on the labour market, increased investment in education has led to education being allocated 12 per cent of the national budget.

In the school year 1929/30, less than one quarter of 14 year olds were receiving education whereas the figure in 1969/70, was close to 100 per cent (99). In the 17-19 year old age group, the upper-secondary school age group, in 1929/30 only about one in twenty were still receiving full-time education, in 1949/50, about one in eight, in 1960/61, one in four, and in 1969/70, two in five, an eight-fold increase in forty years. See: Trender och prognoser. Information i prognosfrågor, Statistiska Centralbyran, Stockholm 1974, Diagram 2.3.1 (Andel av åldersgrupperna 7-29 år under utbildning 1929/30, 1949/50, 1960/61 och 1969/70).

Further indications of the considerable importance attached to education during the period in which the students in the survey were growing up are: a 56% increase, in constant money values, of the cost of education to the community between 1965-66 and 1969-70, and a tripling of government expenditure per pupil since 1949-50.25

An important role is thus given education in Swedish society. The function of schooling is to provide students with basic literacy and numeracy skills, plus personal development which gives their lives meaning, a personal identity beyond that of their intended occupation, and the foundation skills for an occupational field. While the curricula is designed with these objectives in mind, the structural features of the education system also reflect the goals of Swedish education.

Hence the common education received by Swedish citizens in their first nine years in the comprehensive school or grundskola, and the more specialized training they receive in their two or three year upper secondary school education, and the associated goals and values, form part of their political socialization into Swedish society. In their final year of schooling students are looking forward to working in an occupational field (consistent with their line program) with, in many cases, more full-time study in the immediate future. It is how they perceive their experiences of schooling over the previous eleven or twelve years which determines how effective are the practices of the Swedish educational system in terms of its goals.26 While the Civic Education subjects and citizenship training in schools have a quite important role, the political socialization of

25 See: Bengt Jacobsson, *loc.cit.* Compare the 1970 public expenditure on education in Sweden as a per cent of GNP (7.8%) with:

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<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8.5% (highest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


26 See: Chapter Two.
students is only one aspect of the function and purpose of schooling, and fits into the overall framework of Swedish schooling preparing students for their lives and roles in the adult society.

C. THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING

Political socialization in Swedish schools is affected by the ways in which the school curricula is being developed to better meet its general goals on education. The goal of individualization of instruction, when coupled with social development of pupils, sets the way for particular sorts of organization of learning situations and teaching methods. As a result of these goals, research concerning the social and individual development of students or school environment, grouping of students for instruction and teaching methods, or content and presentation of course materials and related supplements such as teacher handbooks, has been directed by the need to develop an integrated alternative system to the traditional approach to organization and administration of schools and classroom situations.

Research on the curricula for schools has formed part of research on the socializing influence of the school where experimentation with, and work on, study courses and teaching methods are related to the curriculum aim of social training and individualization of instruction and treatment. It is an aim that the school have these particular socializing influences on the student through courses and study methods, and through the organization of the school as a whole (especially student input into decision-making and the administration of various aspects of the school). Research on these aspects of school life has helped the implementation of the general goals of the curricula. A series of studies in the Malmö
region of Sweden experimented with ways of organizing teaching to meet the new demands of education. 27

Another approach taken in research on the political socializing influences on students has been to examine students' reporting on their social attitudes and influences on their views.

The Youth in Göteborg (Gothenburg) project considered a number of questions including forming -

'a basis for an assessment of the importance of the school for students' achievements, attitudes and behaviour ...'.

and also how adolescents are influenced by the school as well as by the home and peers. The findings of the study generally put school as of low importance for the values represented by school in relation to that of peers and home. However, individual differences were significant: between individuals, from one circumstance to another, and in the general patterns of sex differences. School was found to be an influence on young people, as was home and the general cultural environment. One finding of the study was that adolescents 'adjustment' to school, was 'very good for most of our subjects'. 29 Hence, the environmental circumstances of school influenced students as shown by the different patterns of attitudes with different course types, but home and the cultural environment were part of this pattern as well. While attitudes to school variables were less favourable as students grew older (Year 8 and Year 9), continuing at school was a separate concern. 30 The relevance of school work to students' interests

29 See: Bengt-Erik Andersson, op.cit., p.349.
30 See: Loc.cit.
was found to be related to their level of interest in study. Sex role stereotyping played a role here, as with many other areas of concern to the Malmö study.\(^{31}\)

The passive behaviour aspect of the female stereotyped role is more consistent with doing well in school than the corresponding 'active' stereotype for boys, because of the nature of the teaching situation.\(^{32}\) On this basis, girls can be expected to do better academically than boys, but other stereotyping influences complicate this picture, such as the attitude that to be popular, girls should not excel academically, especially not in relation to boys. Findings on the importance of the influence of the media, in relation to that of home, school and peers, and student self-awareness of these influences on themselves, and the relative change in their assessment over several years of schooling, is also of interest.\(^{33}\)

The *Youth in Göteborg* project analysed student attitudes and influences on them, as did another project, concerned with course content as a source of influence on student attitudes. The studies in the *Social Development and Training in the Comprehensive School Project* produced findings in relation to the areas of co-operation, resistance (independence) and world citizen responsibility. Sex role stereotyping was evident in findings on student attitudes, and so were negative images of certain groups in the community, particularly immigrants and certain minority groups. Other

\(^{31}\) Compare the findings reported here with those discussed in Chapter Seven, particularly sex role stereotyping in relation to achievement (Chapter Seven), school works, students' interests (Malmö study), and to their political self-image (Chapter Seven).

\(^{32}\) Bengt-Erik Andersson, *op.cit.*, p.348. Compare this with findings in Chapter Seven.

\(^{33}\) See: Bengt-Erik Andersson, *op.cit.*, pp.348-52 on peer influence, pp.353-54 on the school, pp.359-60 on the home, and pp.363-66 for general discussion of these influences.
findings of interest to this study were an inverse relationship between influence by parents and teachers on students and their year at school in the range of Year 5 to Year 9.\textsuperscript{34}

According to the Education Statute, the schools 'through their spirit and environment' are to contribute to the social development of their pupils.\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{SOS Project} aimed to develop the specifics for direction in the curriculum on how this objective might be attained. While social development of students is a goal of the curriculum, how this was to be achieved had not been developed. The \textit{SOS Project} aimed to create:

'everyday routines calculated to stimulate the social development of pupils'.\textsuperscript{36}

The project endeavoured to measure such variables as 'school climate' and 'the way in which pupils and teachers experience school life',\textsuperscript{37} as well as the teaching process itself, in order to use the measures to develop means to stimulate social development of students.

\textsuperscript{34} See: E. Jernryd & E. Åhman, 'grundskolelevers val av och inställning till några informationskällor', (The Choice of, and attitudes towards some sources of information among students in the comprehensive schools) \textit{Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem}, No.214, 1973. Compare the findings on negative images of certain groups in the community in this study with those discussed in Chapter Five. See especially Table 5.5.

\textsuperscript{35} 'The \textit{SOS Project}, Studies of School Socialization' in \textit{School Research}, 1974, 16, No.220:p.2. The latent socializing influences of the school are the aspect researched in the \textit{SOS Project}, with the intention of implementing the goals of schooling as widely as possible.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Loc.cit.}

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Loc.cit.} Compare the aim of social development of pupils with the findings on their social attitudes and on their perceptions of their school environment discussed in Chapters Five and Seven.
The Royal Commission on Working Conditions in Swedish Schools (SIA) investigated working conditions in schools including class size and grouping arrangements, and certain subject areas such as languages, general science, and mathematics. Also looked at was the abbreviated study course and other measures for students with special difficulties, students' free-time activities and the school and various statistical information on costs and numbers and distribution of students in various lines etc.

Behind these areas of investigation was the intention to give the school day 'a broader and more variegated (sic) content',. Aspects of 'content' include a more complex program with specialized programs for students with particular needs and more diversity in the school day itself, with free and fixed activities. Class and group sizes are assessed in the SIA study with a view to making recommendations on optimal sizes in relation to the needs of pupils, what is to be taught and the 'routine and experience' of teachers. Auxiliary resource allocations for schools needed to be calculated on this new basis of numbers of pupils, not on the number of classes as for the basic resource allocation. Proposals concerning team teaching and instruction programs to cater for the varying needs of individual students all reflect measures to improve school practices to bring them closer to the espoused goals of schooling, and also reflect the direction of research associated with the SIA commission into how this can be implemented.


40 See: Royal Commission on Working Conditions in Swedish Schools (SIA), op.cit., p.l.
The SIA proposals were the outcome of an attempt to deal with certain sorts of problems in schools. The research projects which together formed the basis for the resulting proposals indicate ways schools can be moulded and reformed to meet the demands of society and to make the school experience satisfactory\(^{41}\) in terms of the outcomes in relation to the aims of education. That is, how can school experience be best suited to facilitating the development of students as good members of the society? The SIA proposals also reflect research into the processes of education, not just research examining the major features, or 'general frame factors',\(^{42}\) of schools in relation to the outcomes of education.

Reports on major areas of reform in the Swedish education system have extended from primary to tertiary levels of education,\(^{43}\) and covered both students and staff\(^{44}\) and types of education from pre-schools to adult study circles.\(^{45}\) The needs of society and the labour market and young people's

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41 See: *Royal Commission on Working Conditions in Swedish Schools (SIA)*, *op. cit.*, p.4.


43 These institutional reforms progressed through the three levels, the last being reform of undergraduate education at university level, the so-called 'U68 Debate'. See: *gymnasie Skolan, Några Utvecklings Linjer, Diskussionsunderlag utarbetet inom U68, Allmänna Förlaget*, Stockholm 1970, for a discussion of some of the issues of recent reform.

44 See: *Continued Reform of Teacher Education*, Summary in English, Report by the Swedish Committee on Teacher Education (DsU) 1973:3, Stig Alemyr et al., Allmänna Förlaget, Stockholm 1973, and *New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks*, *op. cit.*

assessments of their school and work experiences have also been the objects of study. The far-reaching reforms have been motivated by the desire to provide an education system to meet the needs and demands of the society - of the ideals such as equality of outcome and participatory democratic citizenship, and the practical aspects of limited resources and the needs of the various sectors of industry from mining and agriculture to the service industries.

Indirect socialization of students is conscious and deliberate as is the direct planning of course outlines. For the school to be a microcosm of a democratic society, and to be part of a local community rather than a distinct institution within it, involves substantial change from the traditional image of the school, where the student is a passive recipient of instruction, rather than actively responsible in classroom management and school management and study programs. These indirect influences are investigated as well as direct political socializing influences. The direct influence, instruction, is often researched with specific-subject defined goals.


The research and educational policy planning described in this section, by seeking to give effect to democratic values in the educational system, and to make the schools a microcosm of a democratic society, is tending to reduce the disparity between school practices and Civic Education course content. In school and elsewhere, students are forming their own view of the future role they see for themselves as citizens operating in society, which is distinct from the theoretical citizenship role and view of society they learn about in the classroom. 49 It is therefore important that the Swedish school Curricula direct that teaching methods and the system of organization and administration of the school are to be consistent with democratic values.

The next section focuses on the manifest political socializing aspect of schooling, the Civic Education curriculum, and also looks at the relative importance of Civic Education in the curriculum as a whole, and the particular aspects thought most important to communicate to students.

D. SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING AND THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL CIVICS CURRICULUM

In Sweden, the Curricula for both the comprehensive school (grundskola) and the upper-secondary school (fackskola and gymnasium) are legislated by the Riksdag (the Swedish parliament). 51 The Curricula lay down the goals

49 See: Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, op. cit.

50 See: Chapter Six, part B on this and other hypotheses relating to the path analysis, and Chapter Seven for a discussion of the findings and implications.

51 See: Chapter Three, part B, especially footnote 19, on the Riksdag. See pp.46-7 on the position of the fackskola and gymnasium in the reforms-in-progress towards the new integrated upper secondary school or gymnasium which is now current in Sweden.
for the schools. In addition, they set out general guidelines and organization of schools, and for teaching in terms of achieving these goals.

The curriculum for civics courses outlines that democratic citizenship is a central aim, and that it is to be taught directly through the civics syllabi, using teaching methods and a system of organization and administration of the school which is compatible with this aim. The teaching methods include using students' own prior observations in the courses, students' investigation, assessing and interpreting results for themselves, and co-operation between students through group work or projects. The aim is for students to play an active role in their learning situation and to have some responsibility for their own work and to learn to co-operate with others.

The 'Curriculum' for the upper-secondary school generally refers to the book published by the National Board of Education (NBE) which contains the guidelines and instructions for teaching (Lgy 70). The Curriculum for the comprehensive school or 'grundskola' (Lgr 69) states the aim of school:

52 The civics courses comprise the major teaching of the Civic Education area, social studies as a subject, having a specialized, minor (in terms of student numbers) and supplementary (to the civics courses) role. Hence it is civics (samhällskunskap) which is the subject of greater relevance to the discussion in this section.

53 Lgy 70 is the Swedish term used to describe the upper-secondary school curriculum: '70' refers to the year the curriculum was laid down by the Riksdag.
'to promote the all-round development of pupils in co-operation with the home, and in so doing to impart knowledge to the pupils, and train their skills'.

Hence it is the explicit intention of the Curriculum to equip students with skills to use as future citizens as well as with the basic skills for work of literacy and numeracy.

The sections of the Curricula dealing with time schedules (the number of lessons per week for different subjects in the various courses), and also dealing with the syllabuses set out for each subject (goals and main teaching items only), in the years one to nine of the comprehensive school and in the theoretical lines of the upper-secondary school, contain more specific directions. In relation to students' social skills, the school:

'if it is to succeed in helping pupils to become good members of the community ... it must impart a knowledge of society, of the community, and strengthen their sense of belonging to society'.
That is:

'the school work in its entirety should thus aim at promoting the development of the pupils into independent members of society'.

From the first year of the compulsory comprehensive school onwards through nine years, the social development of pupils as future democratic citizens is to be taught by both the organization and administrative practices of the school from general school rules and regulations to classroom practices of teachers and through the content of classroom instruction, the syllabuses. The Curriculum (Lgr 69):

is designed to assist in realising the aims established for work in the school. It sets the framework for activities in the comprehensive school, and for the content of teaching.

In the upper-secondary school, the National Board of Education (SÖ) also draws up time schedules and sets out the goals and main teaching items of subjects, but only in courses and subjects not covered by the legislation passed by the Riksdag. These courses are the 'special courses' which are distinct from the line program although most special courses are in the same general field as one of the lines. The NBE (SÖ) also draws up a considerable amount of supplementary material containing further instructions and comments on the curricula, draft syllabi for certain subjects, teacher guides and other materials relevant to the curricula.

\[58 \text{ Curriculum for the Comprehensive School Lgr 69, op.cit., p.10.}\]
\[59 \text{ Loc.cit.}\]
\[60 \text{ Loc.cit.}\]
\[61 \text{ See: Att välja studieväg, op.cit., for examples of special courses.}\]
\[62 \text{ See: Curricular Work in the Upper Secondary School, op.cit., p.1.}\]
Hence the gymnasium school curriculum includes both general and particular specifications for schooling, the former passed by the Riksdag and the latter primarily the responsibility of the NBE (SÖ).

The national government and the Riksdag have the power over the goals of education, and the type and availability of educational services and the economic bounds of education. 63

Supporting the government on education matters is the Ministry of Education, the policy body in education, whose functions include preparing government bills for submission to the Riksdag and issuing instructions to the administrative agencies under its policy direction. 64 The NBE (SÖ) and Office of the Chancellor of Swedish Universities (UKA) are two such administrative agencies. 65 The Standing Committee on Education is composed of representatives elected to the Riksdag, with all five political parties with representation in the Riksdag being represented.

It is the function of the Standing Committee to scrutinize, and to draft amendments to, bills and motions before the Riksdag. 66 It is in the Ministry of Education and the Standing Committee on Education where the

63 See: Primary and Secondary Education in Sweden, Fact Sheets on Sweden, Swedish Institute, July 1974.


65 Other administrative agencies under the Ministry of Education include the National Records Office, the Central Office of National Antiquities, and the Central Student Grants Committee. The NBE is by far the largest agency under the Ministry of Education. Note that the Office of the Chancellor of Swedish Universities (UKA), is the central authority for other higher educational establishments besides universities. See Pierre Vinde, op.cit., p.82.

national curriculum is drafted, and agreement reached on the appropriate bills before the Riksdag. Hence the time schedules and syllabi for the special courses and the 'supplementary materials' for the curriculum drawn up by the NBE are under general policy direction from the Ministry of Education.

At the local level of government, the municipalities have management functions not only for upper-secondary schools but also for pre-primary, comprehensive, and adult education in their areas, and receive grants from the national government to supplement funds from local taxes in order to finance their role. The municipalities are also responsible for organizing programs for the free choice subject in schools in their area.

The content of teaching of a particular subject in a line of a gymnasium school is determined in general terms by the curriculum (Lgy 70), as laid down by the Riksdag, in part by supplementary materials made available by the NBE, and by the school and the subject teacher. That part of the curriculum determined by the Riksdag is intended to remain on a long-term basis, while development of the curricula and supporting materials is more short-term. Most curricular work is done through the four Bureaux of the Department of Education (S) (of the National Board of Education) concerned with the gymnasium school.

67 The municipal or local councils have responsibility for certain types of education and vocational training through the landsting or county administration. See: Swedish Government in Action, op.cit. See also: Primary and Secondary Education in Sweden, op.cit., and Birgit Rodhe & Bertil Gran et al., 'New Patterns of Teacher Tasks, A Report on Experience in the Malmö Region' in New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks, Country Experience, Sweden, OECD, Paris, 1974, p.168 (appendix) on costs.


Curricular work in syllabi and other matters usually is done through a project system with a working party comprised mostly of practising teachers under the direction of educational or other experts according to the requirements of the particular project. That is, there is experimental work in the schools, associated with particular projects, so that students studying one particular subject at a particular level may be using a syllabus with radical or minor changes to its content, teaching methods of the curricula, or materials etc., as part of an experiment associated with a particular project. Because experimental work is organized in this way, effective use can be readily made of results at the national level.

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71 Two examples of projects illustrating their working methods are: (a) a project on curriculum development, using 'curriculum' in the general sense of the word, involving new teaching methods and groupings of students, and co-ordinated with another project 'Varying Sizes of Groups and Team Teaching (Project VGT)', by Göte Rudvall and Olle Engqvist et al., in co-operation with the Malmö Region Educational Development Activities (MED). Its purpose is to evaluate experiments with flexible grouping and team teaching which were started in Malmö at the beginning of the 1960's (p.179). This project was then co-ordinated with a new project on 'Systems Analysis of Local School Environments including Open Plan Schools (Project PLS) (p.181). Project VGT focussed on the upper *grundskola* and *gymnasium* levels while Project PLS focussed on the junior and intermediate *grundskola* levels.

Development of information and assessments on particular problems or areas of research or alternative methods etc., are made through a number of projects; many of which benefit from earlier work, or themselves reach conclusions suggesting new approaches or identifying needs for further research into questions. Hence while policy and input into policy work at the national level, experimentation and research is carried out on a local basis.

Civics is a common subject to all lines of the gymnasium and fackskola programs. All students have a background in Civics from the grundskola. Social studies is a subject for a minority of students, and serves a specific purpose: that of augmenting the civics syllabus where special focus on social sciences is a distinguishing feature of the line or variant. Social Studies (Socialkunskap) is a subject in addition to civics in theoretical lines or variants of such lines where Civics Education studies are a key subject area. Social Studies is a compulsory subject for the (theoretical) two-year Social line (S), and for the social variants of the three-year Liberal Arts (H), Social Sciences (S), and Economics (E) lines.

One of the objects of teaching Civic Education in the official syllabus and which is to do with manifest socialization in democratic citizenship is:

'To instill understanding of the society's function and variability as well as on the basis of acquired knowledge and skills to seek to clarify certain important public issues.'

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72 See Table A.2 in Appendix A, on social studies timetables.

73 See: To Choose a Future, op.cit., p.135. The sense of the English translation may be improved by reading 'as well as on ...' (1.2) as 'as well as to instill understanding on ...' and 'skills to ...' (1.4) as 'skills with which to ...'.

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That is, Civic Education is to provide not just knowledge and skills relating to 'public issues', but the understanding and pre-requisites for participation as democratic citizens in society. This object is evident in the lists of main topics covered and the methods of working contained in the syllabus outlines for the three and two-year civics courses.74

In the case of the three-year lines, the variation in course contact time effects the contents of the civics course for the different lines. In the Social Sciences line, and the Liberal Arts line (except for students studying the Classical and Semi-Classical variants) civics receives the greatest emphasis. Civics is taken to include geographic, economic, political and sociological aspects.75 There is a focus on taking an integral approach to topics which are primarily on social problems and with an international perspective, as well as Swedish perspectives. The three years of the course concentrate on different areas, the first year on population, commerce and industry, and economic issues, the second year on socio-economic issues especially including particular investigations, but also political economics, home economics and pricing, and the third year, social planning, development, constitutional studies, democracy and development, and current social issues.76

The two-year civics course77 also includes geographic, economic, political and sociological aspects and also stresses international

74 See Appendix A.

75 While social studies is one of the specialized subjects, civics is commonly studied as a Social Science subject along with history, religious knowledge, philosophy and psychology. See Table A.3 in Appendix A for an example of a time schedule.

76 See Appendix A for a description of the civics course for the Social Sciences line.

77 Civics is one of the Social Science subjects along with history and religious knowledge. See Table A.4 in Appendix A for an example of a time schedule for the two-year lines.
perspectives and an integral approach. The course also places emphasis on students conducting investigations and following through a project. The main issues covered are similar to those of the three-year civics course. There is more emphasis on providing students with a suitable background with which to meet rapid change in society, and less emphasis on the more academic aspect of presenting an integral view of social issues. 78

The social studies courses, while having the aim of giving a wider view of society than is gained through the civics course, also has the purpose of providing information which will be of use to students who may work in social welfare related professions at a later date. In the social variant of the three-year theoretical Liberal Arts (H), Social Sciences (S) and Economics (E) lines, students study social studies for three periods per week in addition to civics: social studies replacing one of the modern languages on the time schedule. 79 The emphasis on giving a wider view of society in the social studies course has two purposes. Firstly, the course covers in greater depth, areas of information which would be professionally useful in certain occupations, and secondly, the course aims to develop further, students' understanding of society. There are two foci of this understanding, the international aspect and the ability to understand the point of view of individuals in various groups or categories in society, especially those likely to be welfare clients. 80

78 See Appendix A for a description of the civics course for the Social Economic and Technical (two-year) lines.
79 See Appendix A, Table A.2 on social studies in the timetable.
The emphasis on internationalization of social science courses aims to broaden the horizons of students as well as increase their capacity to function successfully in a rapidly changing world. The capacity to appreciate the point of view of others assists professional training and promotes a tolerant attitude towards a pluralistic view of society. 81

Social studies courses have specialized purposes with particular lines. Social studies has a minor place overall in contrast to civics. For students social studies generally means a very strong emphasis on the Civic Education area in their timetable, so that one might expect a minority of Swedish gymnasium students to have a high level knowledge in the Civic Education subject area. 82 All gymnasium and fackskola students have a background in Civics from the grundskola and most have studied it at the senior secondary level so that overall, Swedish students receive a substantial amount of Civic Education instruction.

The Swedish gymnasium program is also characterized by the large number of subjects studied by each student. In the two and three-year theoretical lines, studying ten to twelve subjects each year is common.

While being one of the subjects commonly studied, civics is also one of many. The academic standard attained in civics by final-year secondary students has been assessed through the results of testing students in a number of different countries. The average score of Swedish students ranks third of seven countries in the IEA results, following after New Zealand and FRG, and when ranked with adjustment made for the proportion of the age cohort in the school population, Swedish students rank first, just

81 The civics and social studies courses are closely collaborated. There is an emphasis on practical information as with the social studies course for the three-year lines but this course does not have the same emphasis on international perspectives.

82 See: Chapter Six, part D, on distribution of scores on Civics Knowledge in the IEA Civic Education survey.
ahead of the USA, with Finland third. Hence the comparatively large number of subjects studied at the upper secondary level of Swedish students has not been shown to have an adverse effect on standard attained. That is, students' knowledge of civics reflects the courses or syllabi studied, not merely the number of contact hours spent on Civic Education studies.

The aim of developing young people into competent future citizens in a democratic society sets the tone of the curricula in many ways. In the subject civics, while knowledge is transmitted through the course content, it is also intended that through their experience of the learning (or teaching) methods employed by the teachers, that students also learn about democratic citizenship. 'Democratic citizenship' has many dimensions. This study concentrates on 'political efficacy' as a critical aspect, because it is the basis for action. By contrast, the opposing concepts of alienation, anomie, an inability to be politically effectual, tend to lead to inaction. That is, a student learning a passive role by the teaching methods employed, is, in effect, experiencing a learning situation which is in direct conflict with the course content. It is what students learn in studying Civic Education courses that comprises the manifest political socializing influence of the school, while the school environment, the context within which learning takes place, is the source of the latent political socializing influence of the school.

E. SWEDISH UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOLS: INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT IN A DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL COMMUNITY

In the upper-secondary schools system, the 'national curriculum' should not be confused with detailed 'national syllabi'. The national curriculum

83 See: Judith V. Torney, A.N. Oppenheim & Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries, Almqvist & Wicksell International, Stockholm, 1975, pp.105-14, esp. p.113 and Tables 5.3 and 5.5.
is a general document. The materials produced by the NBE (SÖ) are not part of legislation as passed by the Riksdag. The relationship between the production of supporting and supplementary materials on the various courses in the upper-secondary school is closely related to the work of projects, as the success of school practices and syllabi are assessed in terms of specific objectives and more general aims.

The Swedish curricula are organized at the national level, but considerable work on, and variation in, the curricula occur at the local level. The goals or aims of schools are set nationally, by the Swedish Riksdag, but while the supplementary materials and other more detailed aspects also stem centrally from the NBE, much of the input and associated work is carried out locally, so that the impact of local work on central administrative decisions on the NBE is far reaching. For example, the work in the Malmö region on the problem of using pupil individualization and social education as a means of achieving the main goals of education, and the implementation of this in types of school organization and 'teacher tasks' have:

'exerted a great deal of influence upon the development of the Swedish school system in recent years',

and affected policy decisions at all three levels of government.

Hence while local research and experimentation is within the framework of the general aims of Swedish education, it should be kept in mind that central decision-making stems in large part from local experience.

The changes from the old to the new system, at the most general level, were to increase the general subject segment of course programs, to

84 Birgit Rodhe, Bertil Gran et al., op.cit., p.103.
increase the amount of studies common to all upper-secondary students and
to make differentiation into sub-alternatives and variants of lines
gradual.\textsuperscript{85}

Delaying early specialization, or to put it another way, keeping
studies-in-common for as long as possible, enables students to defer their
choices as long as possible and facilitates changing specialities. There
is an emphasis on maximizing the education-in-common of Swedish people as
a cultural measure \textsuperscript{86} which also indicates the importance of 'education for
life' as distinct from 'training for work'.\textsuperscript{87} Further, it may help develop
breadth in personal outlook that would help students cope better than they
otherwise would, with the stresses associated with the situation of job
redundancy, retraining, and location in new employment over their working
lifetime. The relative decrease in specific job training reflects the
broader longer-term emphasis of the purpose of upper-secondary education,
recognition of social changes due to technological change and sensitivity
to the effects of short-term considerations such as over-supply and
shortages on the labour market on individual life circumstances.\textsuperscript{88} Because
specialization is delayed, students, while completing an upper-secondary
education have some flexibility and are not committed from their date of
enrollment in an upper-secondary course to a specific job at the conclusion

\textsuperscript{85} See: The Integrated Upper-Secondary School, op.cit., pp.6, 8 and 12.
Bengt Jacobsson, School Reforms in Sweden, op.cit., pp.313-4, and
Willis Dixon, Society, Schools and Progress in Scandinavia, Pergamon

\textsuperscript{86} See: Ibid., pp.149, 166, and Richard F. Tomasson, op.cit., pp.113-4.

\textsuperscript{87} See: Willis Dixon, op.cit., p.158, Richard F. Tomasson, op.cit., p.112,
Britta Stenhola, op.cit., p.378, and Curriculum for the Comprehensive
School, Lgr 69, op.cit., p.5 (para.1).

\textsuperscript{88} See: Willis Dixon, op.cit., p.4, and E. Michael Salzer, 'Swedish
Schools at the Cross Roads', Current Sweden, 25, March 1974, Swedish
Institute, Stockholm, 1974, p.2. The author quotes Mr Jonas Orring,
Head of the NBE 'Swedish youngsters have simply begun to plan their
studies with a side glance on the trends of the labour market'
(\textit{loc.cit.}).
of their line course. On the other hand, students may feel that the general studies are irrelevant to their interests.

While the strong emphasis on personal development as a major goal of schooling has led to an increase in the amount of school-time spent on general studies, the length of education required to obtain various levels of employment has also increased in keeping with the demands of technological change, and with meeting changing labour market conditions.

Civic Education courses for the various line programs (and their sub-alternatives or variants) show different emphases. For example, the civics (samhällskunskap) course for the three-year Social Sciences (S) line aims to 'inculcate an integral view of social problems' while the social studies course for students taking the social variant in their line program adds to the focus on social problems with particular emphasis on the community and society, and ways of going about solving social problems.

For students taking a two-year program, the civics course aims 'to give students a wider knowledge of present day international society'.

While a variety of topics are dealt with in the two years, those studying the social studies course as well in their second year co-ordinate with the civics course to give a wider perspective on society, and focus on the individual and groups in society.

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89 See: Bengt Jacobsson, op. cit., p.11. This applies to students enrolling in gymnasium and fackskola programs as in the IEA Civic Education survey sample, and does not of course apply to students enrolling in special courses at the upper-secondary level either after completing grundskola or upper-secondary line programs.

90 See the examples of the civics course for the three-year (Social Sciences (S)) lines and of the social studies course for the three-year lines (Liberal Arts (H), Social Sciences (S) and Economics (E)) and Tables A.1 to A.6 in Appendix A.

91 See the examples of the civics course for the two-year lines (Social (So), and Economics (Ek), and of the social studies course for the two-year line Social (So) and Tables A.1 to A.6 in Appendix A.
The changes in emphasis of the line programs have been to stress the individual development of the student in a democratic school community. Academic standards are a less exclusive aim of schooling. From tests designed to measure level of academic attainment in specific knowledge and skills, the emphasis has moved towards a more general assessment incorporating student attitudes to, and participation in, studies, planning, executing and reporting a task, and co-operation. This reflects the new emphasis on the function of the school for 'character training', from the former emphasis on 'communication of limited knowledge'.

The civics and social studies courses form the manifest political socializing influence of the school. However, the latent political socializing influence of the school environment also forms an implicit aspect of the goals of Swedish schooling, and of research aimed at implementing democratic values through educational policies by using all aspects of the schooling experience to develop students. Both aspects of the school experience are relevant considerations in how best to achieve the goals of Swedish educational policy.

The specific focus of this study is on student perceptions of their school environment, and the association between these perceptions and student attitudes and expectations about how they see their role in society. It is hypothesized that students who perceive a greater consistency between general school experience and specific course content, will have a stronger sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. The specific contribution of this thesis is in the analysis of how the political socialization of a nationally representative

92 See: Britta Stenholm, op.cit., p.46.
93 See: Richard F. Tomasson, op.cit., p.112.
sample of Swedish students is affected by their perceptions of their school environment. This is, in effect, looking at the outcome of Swedish educational policy on Civic Education from the perspective of the student respondents, and the effect it has had on them by their final year of secondary schooling.
CHAPTER FOUR

RELATING THE DATA TO THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

A. THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL
B. THE IEA DATA
C. THE SUITABILITY OF IEA DATA FOR VARIABLES IN THE ANALYTICAL MODEL
D. THE POLICY RELEVANCE OF THE POSTULATED INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT
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CHAPTER FOUR

RELATING THE DATA TO THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

A. THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

In Chapter Two, a discussion of political socialization theory includes a general outline of an abstract conceptual model of the relationships pertaining to school functioning as an agent of manifest and latent political socialization. This model reflects research findings in the literature, but is essentially an abstract conception of hypothetical relationships between relevant variables. This Chapter is concerned with the identification of variables relevant to a narrower analytical model which is discussed in detail in Chapter Six, and the evaluation of the suitability of the data (from the responses of final year upper secondary Swedish school students to the Civic Education surveys conducted by the International Education Achievement Organization in 1971), for use in examining the postulated relationships of the analytical model in a path analysis.

The conceptual model discusses relationships between an individual person undergoing socialization and the influences of heredity, personality, previous experience and general perceptions of the social environment, as well as the individual's perceptions of the manifest and latent socializing influence of specific agents of political socialization, as factors affecting the individual's response. The conceptual model also includes 'feedback' relationships between the individual's response on a given occasion, and nature of the influence of experience and specific agents of socialization on subsequent occasions.

Within the generalized conceptual framework, Chapter Two discusses the role of the school as an agent of socialization, depicting the school as one agent among many, but one which is likely to be important in relation to
school students because of the proportion of their lives spent in school or structured by school-related activities. This apparent importance of the school as an agent of socialization is of special interest in this study in relation to the school's role as an agent of political socialization.

There are three main issues of interest in relation to the role of the school as an agent of political socialization. Firstly, the extent to which the school and other agents of political socialization successfully combine to transfer knowledge, values and motivations to young people which will assist in the perpetuation of a democratic political culture. Secondly, the extent to which the school as such contributes to the degree of success achieved in the transfer of the political culture. Thirdly, whether the effectiveness of the school as an agent of political socialization is not only affected by student perceptions of the knowledge, values and motivation explicitly promoted by the school as a manifest socializing agent, but also by the students' perceptions of teacher, administration and peer group practices within the school environment, which constitute a latent socializing influence of the school. This study is primarily concerned with the third of these issues, although it also deals with aspects of the other two.

Sweden is of particular interest as a country in which to examine the manifest and latent political socializing influence of the school. Sweden is a country with a well-established democratic system and an active political culture characterized by high levels of political interest and participation. Furthermore, Swedish education policy includes a commitment to the socialization of the young as active democratic citizens, and research-based policies directed towards the effective implementation of this commitment.

The aim of the Civic Education curricula mentioned in Chapter Three, of developing young people into competent future citizens in a democratic society, through the teaching methods as well as the course content,
extends beyond the direct manifest political socializing influence to at least some aspects of the latent influence of the wider school environment.

The directing of the political socializing influence of the school through manifest and latent influences represents an attempt by Swedish society to facilitate the transmission of a democratic political culture to succeeding generations of citizens. However, the actual operation of the school system may reflect values in the wider society which do not necessarily coincide with the ideal political culture intended to be transmitted through specific curricula set down to be taught in the classroom. While the operation of the school system can be reformed to reflect the political culture intended to be transmitted, administrators, teachers and ancillary staff working in the schools, and other people having contact with the schools in various capacities, are also carriers of political culture at large, and hence have practices and hold values pertaining to the actual political culture of the society, which may differ from that of the idealized political culture that is intended to be transmitted.

Since the values and practices of those who operate as role models in the school and those they are meant to utilize in the school context are not necessarily coincident, disparity between what students perceive as the values and practices of the school and what they in fact are, or, what they are intended to be, provides a source of information on unintended consequences of particular changes, and on what is in fact seen as the values and practices of the school by the students.

The central focus of this analysis is on students' perceptions of their schooling experience, and the influence this has on their image of themselves as future citizens. The two relevant aspects of the school, which have been discussed in earlier chapters, are the manifest influence of Civic Education teaching and the latent influence of general school and
classroom practices. These aspects may influence students by the extent of consistency between the two as well as by their direct contribution to student anticipatory socialization into their citizenship role. To test this proposition using the IEA data, measures of these aspects, and of the background factors which might have a contributing effect on the values of the main variables were formulated. The possible effect of these background variables needs to be taken into account, in order to assess more accurately the effect of the manifest and latent influences on the students' anticipated political role. (See Diagram 4.1).

To do this, the analytical model discussed in Chapter Six examines the relationship between four independent and three dependent variables. The independent or background variables are: the students' verbal ability, the type of school program in which each student is engaged, and the students' sex and home background. The three dependent variables are measures of students' civics knowledge, their perception of their school environment, and, their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

A measure of student attitude to school environment was made in order to examine the effects on student perceptions about their citizenship role. The key attribute of a 'sense of political efficacy' and the corresponding aspect of 'a sense of government responsiveness' was the factor used. In order to examine such a link, the effect of Civic Education as an intervening variable must be taken into account to determine its influence and contribution. The influence of the individual backgrounds of students on the development of attitudes and values, on perceptions of their school environment, their academic performance in Civic Education and on their perception of their citizenship role was controlled for.

B. THE IEA DATA

In Chapter One it was mentioned that the Swedish data used in this thesis is drawn from Population IV of the Civic Education surveys conducted
DIAGRAM 4.1  INFLUENCES ON FINAL YEAR SWEDISH SECONDARY STUDENTS' SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY AND PERCEPTION OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

Students' home background → Perception of school environment

Students' sex

Type of program

Measure of general ability → Level of civics knowledge

Sense of political efficacy and perception of government responsiveness
by the International Educational Achievement (IEA) Organization, the international headquarters of which is in Stockholm. Civic Education was one of six subject areas surveyed in Stages 2 and 3 of the International Educational Achievement surveys, along with English and French as Foreign Languages in Stage 3, and Science, Reading Comprehension and Literature in Stage 2. A Mathematical survey constituted Stage 1.

The IEA surveys were designed to obtain data useful for a number of purposes. While facilitating and promoting research on educational problems common to a number of countries, they also helped the assessment of inputs and influences on educational outcomes in individual nations, by means of cross-national comparisons which take into account the differing political systems and societal practices and attitudes in relation to particular school and educational practices. The data collected encompassed student achievement, socio-economic background, home background, attitudes to a range of social issues and perceptions of their school environment, as well as the characteristics of the schools and the teachers' qualifications, experience and teaching practices.

The age or level of the Populations surveyed by IEA were: 10 years, 14 years, and the final year of secondary schooling, and were denoted Populations I, II and IV respectively. Some surveys administered also contained a Population III sample, but this was used only within the country concerned. In the case of Civic Education in Sweden, Populations III and IV were surveyed. The Swedish Population IV survey of final year upper secondary school students had a mean age of 19.3 years, while the Swedish Population III sample was students in Year 9, who were about 16 years of age. Thirty thousand students at three age levels, 5000 teachers,

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1 The Swedish national report on the Civic Education Surveys discusses the Population III findings as well as those for Population IV. See Kurt Bergling, Samhällskunskap och Samhällsyn, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1976.
and 1300 schools in ten countries took part in Stage 3, the final survey. Altogether 1867 students, 418 teachers and 88 schools were included in the Civic Education Survey in Sweden. Ten of the 22 countries involved in IEA surveys took part in the Civic Education survey: Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States of America. All surveyed Population IV students apart from Israel and Italy.

The Swedish Population IV was defined as all students in Year 3 of Gymnasium or Year 2 of Fackskola, or combination school. The sample of schools was drawn by taking every third Population IV school in Sweden (the other two thirds of schools with Population IV students enrolled were drawn for the English and French as Foreign Languages surveys). The Swedish student sample was drawn in each school selected by taking one student at random and the class or line to which he belonged was tested as a class group. This procedure was made possible because the Swedish classes were not streamed, so it was made an assumption of the random sampling that each class was a 'reasonable' sample of the school as a whole. Of the 88 Swedish schools selected, 11 were Gymnasium schools, 8 were Fackskola and 69 were classified as combination Gymnasium/Fackskola. The cognitive, attitudinal and background information tests and questionnaires for Civic Education (including Instruments common to Stage 3 of the IEA surveys) were administered from May 15 to June 9, 1971.

The study of Civic Education as a course of study was not made a condition of including individual students when defining the Population, The Iranian data was later withdrawn. See Appendix C for a list of schools surveyed. See Judith V. Torney op. cit., p.55. Loc. cit.
nor was the availability of the subject Civic Education in individual schools. The samples were stratified as well as being on a national scale in order to reflect the national population as closely as possible. As a result of this procedure, national samples were drawn by strict probability procedures to obtain an accurate reflection of the national population. The actual usable data collected was then weighted by individual and school to reflect the national population from which it was drawn. The sum of the weighted student respondents' totals, equals that of the number of Swedish student respondents in the survey, that is 1867.

The survey consisted of seven tests or questionnaires which were administered to students, one questionnaire to teachers, and one school questionnaire directed to the school principal. Three questionnaires for students unique to the Civic Education survey were grouped according to the sorts of attitudes or perceptions being measured, and questions had optional answers provided, that is, they were generally not open-ended.

There were, altogether, four student subject-unique instruments for Civic Education. These were the How Society Works Questionnaire, the Affective Questionnaire, the Background Questionnaire, and the Civics Cognitive Test. The three questionnaires were applied to Populations I, II and IV, but the Civics Cognitive Test was designed specifically to test Population IV.

The three questionnaires unique to the Civic Education survey contained a total of 304 items with 5, 4, or 3 optional answers commonly provided. The How Society Works Questionnaire had 12 statements about institutions in the society, with four possible responses to each statement indicating strength of agreement, and a fifth option of 'don't know'. While interesting as to student response to specific items such as the 'democratic system of government ...', 'help people to take part in
important decisions ...', the main purpose of the set of items was to examine the development of understanding of 'how society works' with increasing cognitive development from Population I to Population IV. The Civics Cognitive Test was designed to test Population IV students' cognitive knowledge about Civics, not their political values and attitudes. It contained 48 multiple choice item questions.

An explicitly attitudinal questionnaire, the Affective Questionnaire, had sections on: local and national government (24 items), attitude statements (30 items), social group influence on legislation (10 items), egalitarianism (12 items), perception of adult conflict (9 items), the citizenship role (16 items), and on cognitive development level (4 items), making a total of 105 items. The attitudinal items cover: student attitudes on democratic values, attitudes about and perceptions of local and national government, about groups in the society, and about their inter-relationships with each other, and students' relationship with each of them, as well as students' image of a good democratic citizen.

The 79 items in the Background Questionnaire include the 15 items on classroom climate and a further eight items on classroom climate in civics classes in particular. Other sections deal with student civic, political or democratic interests and practices as assessed by the students themselves, and home background, looking at such aspects as assertion of independence from parents, conformity and rejection of parental values.

The Word Knowledge Test used was common to Stage 2 and Stage 3 subject areas for Population IV, while the General Student Questionnaire and General Attitude and Descriptive Scales were used for Population II as well as IV in Stage 3. These instruments provide important background information about students' verbal ability, the type of program they were studying, their sex, age, family background, occupational and educational expectations and aspirations, general home patterns and their non-school
related activities. Items on students' description of their school and their liking of school and each of their school subjects complete the areas covered by the survey.

Civic Education was a new type of survey in the IEA series. Civic Education is largely to do with political socialization and hence to do with attitudes and values and perceptions as well as knowledge. In fact, the four are inter-related and inter-dependent. The original choice of 'Civic Education' as the subject area denotation resulted from the development of the questionnaire items beyond a study of achievement in a school subject towards an examination of the political socialization of young people, with the school as the agent of primary focus, but not in any sense the only agent of interest to the study. While the model used for other subject surveys was the starting point in the development of the instruments, Civic Education, incorporating the process of political socialization as a fundamental focus, could not be studied by using the model input - school processes - output, because political socialization operates through many institutions and processes in the society, and cannot be narrowed down to classroom instruction in the same way that the main source of learning in a subject such as mathematics can be. Hence the Civic Education study had to broaden its horizons beyond classroom and school practices to the wider society.

Research on three aspects of political socialization lies behind these Civic Education Instruments. Firstly, citizenship training in the society, secondly, political socialization research and the role of Civic Education, including attitudes and the roles of the various agents, and thirdly, research techniques for measuring cognitive development in children from the areas of social and developmental psychology. Political socialization research in the political science field was

important, contributing both in terms of its methodology and theory to the aim of the Civic Education survey of assessing the extent of success of the various countries in the study in transmitting their own Civic Education goals to their youth.

As a result of this research, knowledge about how to best find out about attitudes and perceptions of students developed during testing stages, and this is reflected in the concepts in the Affective Questionnaire, and in some items in the Background Questionnaire. The development of these affective scales expanded the scope of the IEA surveys to encompass the analysis of social and political attitudes and influences upon them.

Two main reports have been published on the Civic Education survey findings. The main report on Civic Education is by Judith Torney et al., and Gilbert Peaker's work on the technical side of the surveys, which includes work on Civic Education, is a valuable complement to Judith Torney's book. National Reports include a general report on the Civic Education Survey by Kurt Bergling, which discusses findings for both the (national) Population III and the (international) Population IV samples.

The findings of the analysis by Judith Torney et al., while emphasizing the non-uniqueness of the school situation as one source of political socializing influences, found that the school had an important part to play in the development of students' concept of citizenship and related attributes.

The Tests and Questionnaires in the Civic Education survey were designed to enable an assessment to be made of the importance of

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9 See: Kurt Bergling, *op.cit.*
formative influences on students' civics outlook and to enable an assessment of the success of the teaching program in schools in producing 'well-informed, democratically active young citizens'. That is, the IEA surveys envisaged an assessment of the success of the explicit influence of Civic Education teaching, or the manifest socializing effect of the schools. This thesis is an analysis of the relationship between this manifest socializing effect and the latent socializing effect of the schools, through the influence of general school and classroom practices.

C. THE SUITABILITY OF THE IEA DATA FOR VARIABLES IN THE ANALYTICAL MODEL

Selection of a group of items suitable for detailed analysis, with a view to their inclusion in the analytical model discussed in Chapter Six, was made after an initial examination of items in the IEA data: the four subject-unique instruments for Civic Education, and the three instruments administered generally to student respondents in Stage 3. Of these, the most important data for the path analysis was contained in the Affective Questionnaire, the Background Questionnaire, and Civics Cognitive Test, all of which are subject-unique Civic Education instruments.

The data required for inclusion in the data analysis relates to the main independent and dependent variables of the path analysis. The three dependent variables in the path analysis are: student perceptions of their school environment, their civics knowledge, and their sense of political efficacy and perception of government responsiveness. The four independent variables in the path analysis are: the students' verbal ability; the type of school program in which the student is engaged; the students' sex; and the students' home background.

Student perceptions of their school environment is an especially important dependent variable in this study. On first examination, two

11 See Judith V. Torney, op.cit., p.17.
12 See Chapter Six for a discussion of the path analysis.
groups of items appeared the best suited, 15 items on 'classroom climate' from the (Civics) Background Questionnaire, and the 24 items comprising the (General, Stage 3) General Attitude and Descriptive Scales.  

The 'Classroom Climate' items in the international data set had factor scales on equality, encouragement of independence, and patriotic ritual which were isolated in the international analysis. There were 7 items on equality, 2 of which were positive statements and required reverse coding for analysis, and 4 on the second and third factors, all of which were negative statements in relation to democratic practices. That is, a high score indicated that authoritarian practices in the school were reported or perceived by the students. A comparable group of factor scores to those found in the data for all countries in the survey were appropriate for forming a scale for inclusion in the model on six grounds:

(a) the subject matter was about attitudes and practices prevailing in the classroom and school;
(b) the content was particularly appropriate as they comprised a measure of school environment in relation to democratic values;
(c) their high quality at face value;
(d) the range of responses available (five options which provided students some precision of response and avoided data analysis difficulties which can arise when only a very limited number of responses are available);
(e) the variation in student responses to most items which helps avoid data analysis difficulties arising from extremely heavily clustered response patterns); and
(f) the number of items was sufficient to form a meaningful scale.

This usefulness partly reflects the work put into developing the items.

The pattern of response on items about patriotic ritual was such that it was not practical to include it in the scale on school environment, but the items on student perceptions of their teachers' classroom practices,

13 For a list of the 'classroom climate' items in full see Tables 5.1 to 5.3 in Chapter Five, or Appendix D. For a brief description of the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales, see Appendix B.
14 See: A.N. Oppenheim and Judith V. Torney, op.cit.
especially in relation to equality and independence and their fellow students' attitudes on equality, were used to form the scale on school environment in the analytical model (see Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 in Chapter Five).

The General Attitude and Descriptive Scales appeared to be useful, particularly when one considered the subject matter; and (for a number of items), their specific content in relation to school environment and democratic values. However, the limited range of response options available (only two), and my preference for not combining scales from different types of items, involving different response requirements in different Questionnaires, led to my decision to focus on the 15 'classroom climate' items. Analysis of the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales did serve as an interesting point of comparison with the 'classroom climate' items for purposes other than the school environment scale (see Table 5.4 in Chapter Five).

The second dependent variable in the path analysis is the students' sense of political efficacy and their perception of government responsiveness. The How Society Works Questionnaire was examined, but the main functions of this 120 item questionnaire were: finding out the differentiation a student can make between institutions in the adult society, the amount of conflict they perceive between the various institutions, the functions they can attribute to particular institutions, and how they see these institutions carrying out their attributed functions. The items of relevance to this study are those on 'government responsiveness', for 'student sense of political efficacy' is not elucidated by this questionnaire, because of the nature of the questions. Hence, the subject matter and the specific content of the questionnaire only deal with one half of the concept being examined. Other grounds (the face values of items, the range in responses available, the variation in response patterns and the number of items) do not specifically preclude
some of these items from consideration for inclusion in the model. The use of two sets of items drawn from two different Questionnaires which were not directly comparable, would have been necessary if these items had been used, since the How Society Works Questionnaire did not have items on the concept of political efficacy. This was avoidable because 6 items from the Affective Questionnaire provided an alternative which met all of the criteria of suitability. None of the How Society Works Questionnaire items were used in the path analysis.

In fact, 6 items in the 'affective scales' of the Affective Questionnaire had an initial suitability rating as measures of 'sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness' equal to that of 'classroom climate' items as measures of school environment. This high 'initial suitability' rating was obtained because:

(a) the subject matter was about students' attitudes as future citizens and a democratic government;
(b) the particular content was about their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness;
(c) the face value quality of the items was high;
(d) five responses were available for each item;
(e) there was a workable pattern of responses to items; and
(f) an adequate number of items with which to form a meaningful scale (see Chapter Five, Table 5.15).

Another 16 items in the Affective Questionnaire, measuring the students' perception of the citizenship role had a generally relevant subject-matter, but an unsuitable particular content. These items did not explore the students' political self-image, including his or her own citizenship role in relation to the society, and so could not be used as measures of political efficacy and government responsiveness. However,
they do discern what image is held by the student about what a citizenship role ought ideally to be, and have been used for that purpose (see Table 5.9 in Chapter Five).

The third dependent variable in the path analysis is a measure of what students have learnt in their Civic Education courses, that is, their civics knowledge. This is quite distinct from the previously discussed two variables, because they were concerned with the attitudes, perceptions and values which the students held personally, whereas civics knowledge involves learning specific subject matter. The Civics Cognitive Test for Population IV provided a measure of student learning of Civic Education subject matter. An overall measure was given by the total corrected test score.

Data for the four independent variables in the path analysis was provided by the Word Knowledge Test and the General Student Questionnaire. A measure of general ability, not specifically related to Civic Education, was provided by the Word Knowledge Test, which was included in the surveys as a measure of IQ. This data provided a score representing the verbal ability of the sample.

Items on home background which were most likely (from previous experience of other researchers) to form a score were: father's occupation, father's education, mother's education, use of a dictionary, and the number of books in the home. A number of other items were generally relevant but less likely to contribute significantly to a measure of home background. Whether students were studying a gymnasium or faæskoala type of program gave information about students' academic and job interest, and indirectly gave information on class background and ability, as the student population in each program type has a different composition overall when compared on the basis of these factors. Information on home background, sex and type of program came from the General Student Questionnaire.
Since Civic Education was part of the third stage of the IEA survey, and the necessity to control for background influences was a common interest for all of the subject surveys, the experience of other researchers was most valuable in identifying items found to be particularly valuable for their contribution to a measure of background influences.

In the path analysis discussed in Chapter Six, these four variables (which represent a well-established measure of background influences), are treated as an exogenous influence on the Swedish students' perceptions of their school environment, their civics knowledge, and their political self-image, as represented by their sense of political efficacy and perceptions of government responsiveness.

The path analysis explores the relationships between these particular variables, to establish the importance of the school environment as a latent political socializing influence. However, the IEA data is also useful in relation to the overall assessment of the effectiveness of the political socialization of the student respondents in terms of the goals of Swedish educational policy. This includes data covering student attitudes towards, and practices in Civics classes, and student self-assessment of interest in civic items in the mass media, frequency of discussion of political issues, sources of influence on their political attitudes, and participation in civic activities. These items collectively explore the awareness, participation and interest of students in civic affairs. Further items also examine the students' general political and social values and principles, whether peer-group decision-making is democratic, students' (increasingly) independent relationship with their parents, and the main source of influence on students' political ideas (see Chapter Five).
D. THE POLICY RELEVANCE OF THE POSTULATED INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The goals of Civic Education in the countries in the IEA surveys, were to produce citizens who were not only active in participating in a democratic society, and critical in their outlook, and also informed about the political processes of the society and the issues in the political arena, but, also loyal. While the sense of the consistency of these ideals in forming a picture of an ideal citizen in a democratic society would appear to be a straight forward concept, achievement of these ideals has not been found in any of the countries in the study. In fact the division in these ideals was found to be between 'support for central government' and 'support for democratic values'. As a result of these findings the question has been raised as to whether there may in fact be some inherent incompatibility between these two aspects of patriotism and democratic values, and whether teaching one adversely affects transmission of the other.15

Sweden was between the two stereotypes on these attitude scales, with a positive value on the Democratic Values Dimension and a negative value on the National Government Support Dimension.16 The Federal Republic of Germany followed a similar pattern, the greatest differences to Swedish students being with the United States with the opposite values on the two dimensions and the Netherlands where there was very little difference in the scales between the two dimensions in comparison with the other countries in the Population IV sample. Judith Torney17 raises the question as to whether the ideals for citizenship are in fact attainable, or whether high level attainment in fostering support for one area of democratic attitudes (democratic values versus national government) precludes high

15 See: Judith V. Torney, op.cit., pp.206-13, Fig. 9.2.
16 Loc.cit.
level attainment in support for the other. This apparent conflict does not extend to the other ideals of an ideal citizen, of a well-informed citizen or of a citizen interested in civic affairs.

Torney suggests that perhaps what can be hoped to be achieved, the goals of political education themselves, need reconsideration. That is, the sorts of aims expressed by the countries taking part in the IEA Civic Education survey are unrealistic, and the findings of the survey, while informing policy-makers of the existing situation, do not open the door to the approach of solving difficulties in achieving goals more adequately, but do instead suggest that the goals need recasting in the light of these findings to give a set of goals which may in fact be reasonably attained, and not ones upon which doubt of their mutual achievability has been raised. It directs attention to priorities of aims and goals as they stand at present.

In this study, my concern is to demonstrate the influence of the extent of consistency or inconsistency between what is taught in the classroom, and relevant experiences of the student in the school, on the individual student's development of his or her outlook on democratic citizenship, specifically his or her political self-image, or sense of political efficacy and perception of government responsiveness. Very simply, it could be characterized as looking at the effects of the difference between what is said and what is practised in schools in the area of democratic citizenship. Both the students' sense of political efficacy, how effective he or she feels subjectively as an individual in society, and how responsive he or she feels society is towards him or her as an individual citizen, are part of the basis of the perception of the citizenship role he or she envisages for himself or herself. Both aspects

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of this political self-image, the sense of political efficacy and perception of government responsiveness are likely to be influenced by students' school experience.

Without prejudice to the international study's conclusion about the incompatibility of stressing both patriotism and democratic individualism, the effectiveness with which the school contributes to the political socialization process is not determined by the terms of the official policy goals, or upon what influence officialdom intends either the Civic Education curricula or the school environment to have; if, indeed, there is any explicit policy on how the school environment should influence students. What influences the student is his or her perceptions of the Civic Education curricula, and of his or her school environment. These individual perceptions and experiences may result in outcomes from the political socialization of the students which are quite different from those intended, quite possibly for reasons which were unforeseen. If so, this would focus attention on outcome-oriented research into the desirability or otherwise of particular intended educational practices and aspects of the school environment, and the effects of the actual implementation of them, as well as the taught curricula. In the case of Sweden, as Chapter Three has already pointed out, the relevant authorities do have policies on how the school environment should influence students, policies based on Swedish research which is outcome-oriented in this sense.

The students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness to citizens is an outlook developed from a variety of factors. Young people spend a considerable proportion of their lives at school, and by their final year of secondary schooling, have been regularly in a school environment most of their lives. The example of the school environment as a microcosm of the whole society is therefore likely to be an important forming influence on students, simply because
so much of the students' time is spent at school, or doing school-related activities such as homework, that schooling experience forms a large part of their social experience.

If the school operates effectively as a microcosm of the society, then the political culture of that society is being passed on to the youth of the society through their experience of living in a school environment. Is this experience consistent in itself? The two aspects which dominate the school experience are the environment of the school, and the taught curricula. The school environment may need to reflect the same political culture (values, practices and attitudes), as the manifest political socializing influence of the school (the Civic Education syllabi), if the political socialization process is to have the most successful outcome: students who see themselves as potentially effective, well-informed, interested and active citizens.

Looking at the school itself, it is apparent that the hierarchical organization of schools may make it an inappropriate institution to inculcate democratic values, but the role of the school in transmitting the values of the society is not a comprehensive one, nor should or could it be if the goals are political socialization into a democratic society.

Teaching about democratic values in a hierarchical institution presents some apparent conflicts. However, representation of interested parties on school matters on committees enables consideration to be made of the opinions of students, parents, and teachers. If this is regarded as working effectively by students then it would seem reasonable to argue that student perceptions of the hierarchical environment in the school need not totally negate the possibility of relevant experience in democratic practices by students.

That is, student perceptions of the functioning of a school and its environment or 'ethos' are one element, but an important one, in transmission of a democratic political culture. If, the school environment
reflects values such as the encouragement of independence, equality of
treatment of students (as opposed to 'favouritism'), and equality among
students themselves, tolerance of individual differences, and so on. If
in addition, students perceive their representation on decision-making
bodies as having a real influence, then, the students' perceptions of
their school environment and what they learn in Civic Education courses
would be basically congruent, and hence likely to be far more effective
in its political socializing influence than if strong conflict is
perceived.

Both the school courses and the school environment contribute to a
students' 'sense of political efficacy'. To be a potentially effective
active citizen requires an intelligent understanding of the political
system, knowledge of its processes and procedures for participation, and
the holding of personal values consistent with supporting a democratic
society. Hence, the curricula and the academic achievements of students
influence their political outlook quite directly. In the general analysis
of the Civic Education data, it was found that Civics Knowledge and the
holding of Democratic Values were related, although not highly in the
case of Population IV. While student ability was found to be relevant to
understanding the basic concepts of political processes, it was far less
important than it was in determining Civics Knowledge.

A sophisticated abstract understanding of political processes may be
expected to have some influences on the content of students' attitudes as
well as the facility with which they can express them, but the dominant

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20 See Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, pp.206, 269. In the case of Civic
Interest, predictor variables were found to be somewhat different
from those for Civics Knowledge, see pp.281-89. The next chapter
examines the relationship between Civics Knowledge and student
perceptions of their school environment, rather than their Democratic
Values, and the relationship of these variables with student political
self-image, rather than interest or participation in civic affairs.
influence on the content of students' attitudes is likely to be their experiences and perceptions of society, including the latent political socializing influences of their schooling.

E. KEY ISSUES FOR THE DATA ANALYSIS

The political socialization by the school of final year students in both Swedish Gymnasium and Fackskola occurs through both manifest and latent political socializing influences. It is the effect of these influences on the role which a student envisages for himself as a future citizen in society that determines the success of the school as an agent of political socialization. The manifest political socializing influence of the school, through the civics or social studies syllabi of the various lines of the secondary school is what students learn in the formal sense. The latent influences of the school operate through its 'climate' or 'ethos', the 'environment' which it provides for students. Consciously or unconsciously, students are likely to perceive the extent of its consistency with the content of their civic studies.

Three concepts of citizenship are distinguished in the IEA data by student selection of statements indicating their concept of 'good citizenship'. The three roles are described as 'active' (e.g., 'votes in every election'), 'disengaged' (e.g., 'obeys the law'), or 'non-political' (e.g., 'is always polite'). It is an 'active' concept which is intended to be transmitted in Swedish educational policy. Swedish educational policy also favours the promotion of support for equality, the encouragement of independence, support for the national government, tolerance, support for civil liberties, and support for women's rights, through the school system. To this end, students receive instruction in Civic Education (samhällskunskap and socialkunskap), but it is likely that they also learn through the practices in their school.
The extent of the consistency or conflict between these two modes of political socialization and their respective effectiveness in transmission influences the perception students will have of their role in society, that is their concept of democratic citizenship. The aspect of this democratic citizenship which this study has measured is a crucial aspect to an 'active' image of the democratic citizenship role. The concept of 'sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness' is a measure of the political self-image which is the basis for the individual's involvement in politics. Sweden has an 'active' political culture characterized by a high level of citizen participation and interest in the political process. 21

The nature of the induction students get into such a political culture, specifically, their political self-image at a mature age (cognitively at least) prior to entry into adult careers, is an indicator of the effectiveness of the political socialization process.

The object of this study is to discover the effects of the latent socializing influence of the school through a path analysis of factors affecting the political self-image of the Swedish student. This will be combined with an examination of the social and political attitudes which the students indicated they held, to achieve an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the political socialization of the student respondents in terms of the goals of Swedish educational policy.

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21 See Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, pp.332-3. Judith Torney et al. found that the efficacy measure was related (positively) to feelings towards the national government, and that (current) reported civic activities of the respondents was not correlated with the efficacy measure in a way that might have been anticipated. The relationships I have focussed on are based on the high level citizen activity in the Swedish political culture, not on current civic activities of students. Hence student political self-image resulting from political socialization into the Swedish political culture is the focus, not their current levels of participation.
CHAPTER FIVE

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SCHOOL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES
AND THE POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE OF STUDENTS

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE
B. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT
C. THE STUDENTS' SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES
D. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS AND THEIR IMAGE OF THE IDEAL OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP
E. STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIC ACTIVITIES, PEER GROUP DECISION-MAKING, AND SELF-ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL INFLUENCES
F. POLITICAL EFFICACY AND STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN ROLE AS CITIZENS
CHAPTER FIVE

PERCEPTIONS OF THE SCHOOL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES, AND THE
POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE OF STUDENTS

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL SELF-IMAGE

This chapter discusses the specific nature of the responses of the Swedish Population IV student respondents to some particularly significant items in the Affective and Background Questionnaires of the IEA Civics Education survey, and the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales administered generally to Stage 3 of the IEA survey. Examination of the responses to these questionnaires confirms the high quality of these items as indicators of the views of the Swedish student respondents. Analysis of the patterns of responses yield important information about the students' perceptions of their school environment, their social and political attitudes and activities, the political influences and institutions which impinge upon them, their view of the ideal of good citizenship, and their expectations about their own role as citizens. The focus of this chapter is upon the consistency between the students' perceptions of their school environment and their social and political attitudes and activities; the specific nature of the students' social and political beliefs, attitudes, values and activities; and the importance these have for the development of their political self-image.

An individual's political self-image consists of his or her basic orientation to how he or she relates to other people and institutions in society, including the expectations, motivations, rights and obligations he or she has in dealing with them. The key element in this political self-image is the individual's sense of political efficacy and perceptions of government responsiveness, which is the basis for his or her view of his or her own role as a citizen. This in turn has an important bearing on whether or not the individual basically accepts the political system.
(whatever particular ideas about specific reforms he or she might entertain), or feels alienated and disaffected from it. The individual's attitudes towards his or her relationships with other people is also an important aspect of his or her political self-image.

This self-image is a product of a variety of influences upon the individual, and of his or her responses to those influences. The problem for democratic societies is that the development of the kind of subjective political efficacy and attitudes to government and relations with other people that are most appropriate for the active, rational, participative citizen, that is, the ideal-type of classical democratic theory, simply cannot be inculcated by a process of indoctrination, for indoctrination is inimical to it. Rather, it requires (at least) a process of nurturing both free institutions and the individual self-respect of the citizenry.

The contribution which the schools can make to the political socialization of the young in any society cannot be comprehensive, and in a free society it is inappropriate that the schools should attempt to perform such a role. Nevertheless, the general importance of the schools in the lives of the young in advanced-industrialized societies suggests that the role of the schools is at least potentially significant. However, the particular nature of the political self-image that is most appropriate for the citizens of a democratic society is such that a sensitive approach on the part of educational policy-makers and teachers to the role which the schools might play in the political socialization process is called for.

The basic proposition examined in this thesis is that the latent socializing influence of educational practices and the school environment are likely to be important as well as the manifest socializing influence of the Civic Education curricula, and that the students' perceptions of the consistency or inconsistency between the manifest and latent influences
of the school will determine whether these influences will tend to mutually reinforce each other, or foster cynicism and disaffection.

In this context, important aspects of the school experience, as it is perceived by students, include: whether they are treated equitably or discriminated against by teachers and fellow students, and whether the teachers encourage the independence and freedom of expression of students, or foster an unquestioning attitude to authority.

Such aspects of their schooling experiences are likely to influence both the students' sense of political efficacy and perceptions of government responsiveness, and their attitudes to other people. However, these aspects of their political self-image are also likely to be affected by their out-of-school activities and relationships, notably by their association with family and friends, and their exposure to the mass media. Furthermore, apart from considerations of what influences the political socialization of the young, the outcome of the process, the specific nature of the conception students have of their own role as citizens, and their attitudes to other people, is of interest in itself.

These considerations lead to a number of key questions, to be considered in this chapter. How democratic is the school environment as the students perceive it? How consistent is this with the students' out-of-school activities? How consistent with their perceptions of their school environment are the students' social and political attitudes? How do students envisage their own role as citizens, not in terms of idealizations of democratic philosophy, but in their own concrete situation?

B. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

From the viewpoint of this study, the most important aspects of student perceptions of the school environment are those which are likely to reinforce or undermine the transfer of the democratic values and
practices which are explicitly espoused in the official civics curricula.

It is student perceptions rather than independent observations that are relevant; because the latent socializing effect of the school environment depends upon the students' perceptions of it. The key aspects of the school environment for these purposes are those of attitudes to equality of treatment, the encouragement of the independence of students, the encouragement of the expression of opinion, and school practices such as observation of patriotic rituals. The survey questionnaires tend to focus on the classroom situation, but they include comment on other aspects of the school environment.

Overall, students in Swedish schools reported favourably on their school environment. They considered that their teachers generally encouraged freedom of expression, and were less inclined to favouritism than were their fellow students. They also reported a restrained approach to the exercise of control by teachers, and minimal observation of patriotic rituals.

Looking first at equality, the pattern of students' perceptions was quite distinct for the behaviour of teachers, and for that of students. While the statements applied particularly to classroom situations, they were relevant to the school environment generally, since in the case of fellow students' behaviour, much of their contact occurs outside the classroom situation. Students thought that cliqueness among students* 

1 Indicators of democratic practices in the school system (as distinct from student attitudes and perceptions of school) include choice of subject and/or courses, and their availability and accessibility, 'streaming' or comprehensive school organization, and decision-making procedures and structures in the school. These indicators of democratic practices are discussed in Chapter Three.

2. The classroom situation or its equivalent.

* See footnote 38 on page 166.
### TABLE 5.1 STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: EQUALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>EQUALITY</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%/N resp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Favouritism by Teachers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq.1 The better students get special favours from teachers.</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(186) (505) (578) (222) (56) (1547)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq.2 Certain students are favoured by the teachers more than the rest.</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(210) (515) (589) (191) (39) (1544)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq.3 The teachers seem to run down our best ideas.</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(36) (101) (652) (601) (123) (1513)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (b) Cliqueness among Students: |          |          |          |        |       |           |       |       |       |           |
| Eq.4 Certain students work only with their class friends. | 10.6     | 40.8     | 32.2     | 11.6   | 4.8   |          |       |       | 100.0 | (163) (625) (454) (177) (74) (1533) |
| Eq.5 Certain students stick together in small groups. | 21.5     | 45.2     | 27.6     | 4.3    | 1.4   |          |       |       | 100.0 | (331) (697) (425) (67) (32) (1542) |

| Eq.6* REVERSE CODED |          |          |          |        |       |           |       |       |       |           |
| Students co-operate equally well with every class member. | 5.5*     | 31.9*    | 36.0*    | 23.6*  | 3.0*  |          |       |       | 100.0 | (85) (492) (556) (364) (47) (1544) |

**NOTES:**
1. Total number of respondents = 1867. See: Notes Table 5.3.
2. * Indicates that the responses have been reverse coded for consistency of direction in relation to a continuum on democratic values, from a negative valuation on the left to a positive valuation on the right. Accordingly, the columns on this Table have been re-labelled for reverse-coded data to maintain correspondence with the students' responses to the particular items on the original questionnaire.
3. Missing data is excluded from calculation of the percentage figures on an individual item basis.
4. The total number of respondents for each item (last column) is the total number of valid, or non-missing responses for each item.
was practised more often than was *favouritism by teachers*. Table 5.1[^3] on *equality* shows that the most common response to the items was 'sometimes', with it being the most frequently chosen option in 4 out of 6 items. In the remaining 2 items, both measures of *cliqueness among students*, 'often' was chosen most frequently.

Not only was a negative response on *equality* chosen more frequently for fellow students' behaviour than for that of teachers, but the largest strongly negative response on *equality* was to item *Eq.5*, also on *cliqueness among students*, with 21.5% expressing the opinion that they thought *cliquiness* was 'always' the case. This compares with a maximum of 13.6% on item *Eq.6* expressing a similar opinion about *favouritism by teachers*. Looking at the most positive responses to *equality* only between 1.4% and 4.8% were prepared to say *cliqueness among students* was 'never' the case, while nearly twice as many, 2.5% to 8.1%, were prepared to express a similar opinion about teachers.

Combining the two strength of opinion categories (columns 1 & 2, and 4 & 5), once again the most positive response on *equality* was an item on *favouritism by teachers*, *Eq.3*, and once again the most negative response on *equality* was on *cliqueness among students*, item *Eq.5*. Looking at Table 5.1 overall, the figures show a skew in the response pattern towards the left hand columns or negative democratic value side rather than towards the right hand side. One item of the three on *favouritism by teachers*, *Eq.3*, follows the reverse pattern. However the fact that at least a majority of students responded to all 3 items that *favouritism by teachers* was practised no more than 'sometimes'[^4] suggests a reasonably positive rating of

[^3]: Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 list items from the 'school climate' set of the Background Questionnaire (see Chapter Four for a brief description). The division of the items into three tables and the ordering of items within each table reflect the results of a factor analysis. The items listed in order of their factor loading (see Chapter Six for a discussion of the factor analysis). Item *Ind.12* in Table 5.2 part (b) is a single item drawn from the 'civics classes' set.

[^4]: A majority of 55.4%, 53.0% and 90.9% for *Eq.1*, *Eq.2* and *Eq.3* respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.2   STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: INDEPENDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(a) Freedom of Expression:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.7* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.8* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.9* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.10* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.11* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(b) Student Independence Encouraged:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind.12* REVERSE CODED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. Total number of respondents = 1867. See: Notes Table 5.3.
2. * See Notes Table 5.1 for a description of reverse coding.
3. Missing data is excluded from the calculation of the percentage figures on an individual item basis. Note that the "Never" category appears on the left hand side as all items are reverse coded.
4. The total number of respondents for each item (last column) is the total number of valid, or non-missing responses for each item.
5. This item refers specifically to civics classes and excludes other classes.
teachers' practices by their students. This is supported by the fact that a majority agreed that *cliqueness among students* was practised no more than 'sometimes' on only one of the three items and at least 'often' in 2 of the 3 statements. None of the items record a majority reporting *favouritism by teachers* at least 'often'.

The limits of the perceived favouritism practised by teachers are suggested by students' perceptions of their basic status in the classroom. While only 39 students (2.5%) thought that 'Certain students are ... Never ... favoured ...' (Eq.2), nearly half, 747 (48.9%), thought that it was 'always' the case that 'every member of our class has the same privileges' (Ind.11 in Table 5.2).

Supporting this finding, 77.8% of students (in a separate questionnaire) disagreed with the statement that 'the teachers often make you feel small' (Item Dep.18 in Table 5.4). This suggests a regard for students as individuals extending beyond reasonably equal treatment which does not itself necessarily imply *fair* treatment.

Another important measure of student perceptions of the school environment is students' independence in class. This is encouraged, according to the students themselves. Not only do a large majority of students disagree with the statement about being made to feel small, but when given a wider choice of possible responses concerning their freedom to express views in class, on 4 of the 5 items, a majority respond that this is in fact the case 'always' or 'often'. Eighty-five per cent or more feel that this is the case at least 'sometimes' on all 5 items. Students

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5 Cliqueness: at least 'sometimes': 84.6%, 94.3% and 73.4% on Eq.4, Eq.5 and Eq.6, respectively; at least 'often': 51.4% and 66.7% on Eq.4 and Eq.5 respectively.

6 A majority chose 'always' or 'often' on freedom of expression for Table 5.2, 73.0%, 61.8%, 65.9% and 76.8% on Ind.9, Ind.10 and Ind.11, respectively; 85% or more chose at least 'sometimes' on freedom of expression: 93.2%, 85.4%, 90.7%, 88.4% and 90.4% on Ind.7, Ind.8, Ind.9, Ind.10, and Ind.11, respectively.
### TABLE 5.3 STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: PATRIOTIC RITUAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRIOTIC VALUE</th>
<th>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</th>
<th>Total N% resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Always</td>
<td>Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat.13 We sing songs about our country in class.</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat.14 We sing our national anthem in school.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat.15 We participate in a ceremony with our national flag in school.</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat.16 There are pictures of national leaders in our classroom.</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. Total number of respondents = 1867. The valid response rate for Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 range from 81.0% to 82.9%.
2. * See Notes Table 5.1 for a description of reverse coding.
3. Missing data is excluded from calculation of the percentage figures on an individual item basis.
4. The total number of respondents for each item (last column) is the total number of valid, or non-missing responses for each item.
distinguish between being '... encouraged to make up their own minds', 'teachers try to get students to speak freely and openly in class' and the stronger statement still that 'our teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them', being less favourable in their perceptions of teacher behaviour in stronger statements (Ind.7, Ind.9 and Ind.8). On the 2 items on freedom of expression not referring to teachers but to students' basic rights in this aspect of classroom life, Ind.10 and Ind.11, more students responded positively with 494 (32.3%) students feeling that they can 'always' '... disagree openly with ... teachers' (Ind.10), and 48.9% for Ind.11 as reported above. This contrasts with only 193 (12.5%) responding that 'teachers ... always ... respect our opinions and encourage us to express them' (Ind.8).

Item Ind.12 on students actual practices in bringing up material for discussion in class, as distinct from the opportunities to do so, refers specifically to Civics classes. While it is not necessary to assume that it need 'always' be suitable for students to '... bring up current political events for discussion in class', for teachers to encourage the independence of students, 6.0% responded that this was in fact the case, and only 4.1% that it was 'never' the case.

Student reports of teacher control methods are consistent with their responses to a range of factors exploring encouragement of independence. These include over 90% of students disagreeing with: '... good behaviour is more important than good grades' in their school (Item Dep.22 in Table 5.4) 7 students having to wait outside classrooms in the mornings (Dep.24), and agreeing with: 'students can choose seating in the classroom' (Dep.25), and teachers don't punish students who admit not doing homework '... at the beginning of a lesson' (Dep.26).

7 Items in Table 5.4 are from the general attitude and descriptive scales, see Chapter Four for a brief description.
### TABLE 5.4 STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: TEACHER CONTROL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>INDEPENDENCE</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>TOTAL %/N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.17 Students in this school rarely express opinions which differ from the teacher's.</td>
<td>15.1 (224)</td>
<td>84.9 (1259)</td>
<td>100.0 (1483)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.18 The teachers often make you feel small.</td>
<td>22.2 (327)</td>
<td>77.8 (1147)</td>
<td>100.0 (1474)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 The teachers always seem to criticize our best ideas.</td>
<td>20.4 (291)</td>
<td>79.6 (1136)</td>
<td>100.0 (1427)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.20 Most of our teachers are very strict about homework.</td>
<td>64.1 (939)</td>
<td>35.9 (525)</td>
<td>100.0 (1464)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.21 Most teachers expect us to stand up when they come into the classroom.</td>
<td>36.2 (532)</td>
<td>63.8 (937)</td>
<td>100.0 (1469)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.22 In our school good behaviour is more important than good grades.</td>
<td>9.9 (130)</td>
<td>91.0 (1309)</td>
<td>100.0 (1439)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.23 We are not allowed to sit in our classrooms during break.</td>
<td>44.4 (655)</td>
<td>55.6 (819)</td>
<td>100.0 (1474)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.24* REVERSE CODED Students can enter the school buildings as they arrive, without waiting to be lined up by the teachers.</td>
<td>Disagree 6.6* (98)</td>
<td>Agree 93.4* (1386)</td>
<td>100.0 (1484)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.25* REVERSE CODED The students decide for themselves where they will sit in the classroom.</td>
<td>Disagree 6.4* (94)</td>
<td>Agree 93.6* (1384)</td>
<td>100.0 (1478)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.26* REVERSE CODED The teachers do not usually punish a student who admits at the beginning of a lesson that he has not done his homework.</td>
<td>Disagree 7.5* (111)</td>
<td>Agree 92.5* (1360)</td>
<td>100.0 (1471)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. Total number of respondents = 1867. The valid response rate for items in Table 5.4 ranges from 76.5% to 59.5%.
2. * See Notes Table 5.1 for a description of reverse coding.
3. Missing data is excluded from calculation of the percentage figures on an individual item basis.
4. The total number of respondents for each item (last column) is the total number of valid, or non-missing responses for each item.
The area where students see strong emphasis is, however, homework, as it is the aspect reported as that about which teachers are 'very strict' (Dep.20). This functional disciplinary practice contrasts with an opposite division of perceptions of similar dimensions about teachers expecting students to stand when they enter a classroom. That is, teacher emphasis on homework appears to be a specific emphasis, not part of a pattern of exercising tight control over students, inhibiting their assuming independent roles in school and class matters. Opinion was most evenly divided on Dep.23, although a majority gave a positive response.

The reporting of encouragement to independent thinking is consistent with the very low emphasis accorded to observation of patriotic rituals in Swedish schools. Some 95.3% of students 'never' took part in a flag ceremony at school (Item Pat.15, Table 5.3), and only 10.5% thought that there were pictures of national leaders in their classrooms at least 'sometimes' (Pat.16).

A strong picture of fair treatment and reasonable consideration of students as individuals, at least by teachers, emerges. That is, those school practices for which teachers hold responsibility are generally consistent with democratic norms, although student inter-relationships received a less favourable reaction from students themselves.

C. THE STUDENTS' SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Starting with student attitudes on equality, when asked if various groups in the community should have the same rights as everyone else or whether in fact, they should have more or fewer rights, only a small percentage of students thought that certain groups should not have the same rights as others (Table 5.5). Of these, doctors, military leaders and lawyers were the most frequently chosen (in order) by 5.9%, 3.4% and 3.0% of students, as people who should have more rights than others (Rts.7, Rts.10 and Rts.3). However, more students, 6.2%, thought that military


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Egalitarianism</th>
<th>The same</th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Fewer</th>
<th>I don't know</th>
<th>N/valid responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are lots of different people in our nation. Do you think they should all have the same rights and freedoms as everyone else or should they be treated differently?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.1 Factory workers</td>
<td>98.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1556)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>(1610)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.2 Artists</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1539)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(1611)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.3 Lawyers</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1520)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>(1614)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.4 Religious leaders</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1519)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(1614)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.5 Leaders of big business corporations</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1515)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>(1606)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.6 Discharged prisoners</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1475)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(74)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>(1614)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.7 Doctors</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1471)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(1607)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.8 People with anti-Swedish views</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1423)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(101)</td>
<td>(68)</td>
<td>(1608)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.9 Tramps</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1411)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>(1611)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.10 Military leaders</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1424)</td>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>(97)</td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>(1609)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.11 Communists</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1308)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(165)</td>
<td>(51)</td>
<td>(1612)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rts.12 Coloured people (translated invandrar)</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1314)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(218)</td>
<td>(75)</td>
<td>(1614)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. § anti- the nation of the respondents.
2. Total number of respondents = 1867. The valid response rate for items in this Table ranged from 86.0% to 86.4% (including the "I don't know" response which ranged from 1.4% to 4.0%).
3. In the Questionnaire, the response categories were, in order: "A. More rights and freedoms than everyone else", "B. Exactly the same as everyone else", "C. Fewer rights and freedoms than everyone else" and "D. I don't know".
4. Missing data is excluded from calculation of the percentage figures on an individual item basis, as is the "I don't know" response, in this Table.
5. The total number of respondents for each item (last column) is the total number of valid, or non-missing responses for each item. This includes the three responses on egalitarianism on which the percentage figures are based and, in addition, the "I don't know" response.
leaders should have fewer privileges than thought that they should have more. Other groups students thought should have fewer rights were, in order: immigrants (Rts.12), communists (Rts.11), tramps (Rts.9) and people holding anti-Swedish views (Rts.8), military leaders (Rts.10), discharged prisoners (Rts.6), religious leaders (Rts.4) and big business leaders (Rts.5) with from 14.2% to 2.6% of students expressing these opinions. The groups about which students expressed the greatest agreement over equal rights are: factory workers (Rts.1) and artists (Rts.2), with 98.3% and 97.3% respectively.

While the student response in the unequal rights categories is low, the results make a coherent picture across all the groups, suggesting a high face value validity of response, and indicate a clear expression of political identity by a small minority of the population sample who are opposed to certain groups in the community, and a very large majority who express an egalitarian view for all groups.

Student attitudes on liberalism, particularly with regard to minority groups and women, show a very strong positive expression of opinion. The strongest response was to Item Lib.13 (Table 5.6), that 'swimming pools should admit ... all races ...', where 89.8% of students 'strongly agree(d)', and a further 6.3% chose 'agree'. The response to this statement is closely

8 Items in Table 5.5 are ranked in order of agreement on equal (or the same) rights.

9 See Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 9.7 to compare the results of 8 of the items in Table 5.5 with those of other countries participating in the Civic Education Population IV survey.

10 Items in Tables 5.6, 5.7 (and 5.15) list items from the attitude scales of the affective questionnaire (see Chapter Four for a brief description). The division and ordering of items reflects the results of a factor analysis as for Tables 5.1 to 5.3 (see footnote 1 above). See also Chapter Six for a discussion of the factor analysis, and Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 7.1 for the international scales formed from this set of items, pp.168-9).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.13</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swimming pools should admit people of all races and nationalities to swim together in the same pool.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 0.6* (10), Disagree: 0.7* (11), I have no opinion: 2.6* (42), Agree: 6.3* (102), Strongly agree: 8.9* (1459), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1624)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.14</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No matter what a man's colour, religion or nationality, if he is qualified for a job he should get it.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 0.6* (10), Disagree: 1.6* (26), I have no opinion: 2.3* (37), Agree: 8.5* (138), Strongly agree: 8.7* (1413), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1624)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.15</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should stand for election and take part in the government much the same as men do.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 1.0* (16), Disagree: 0.5* (8), I have no opinion: 2.2* (35), Agree: 7.6* (124), Strongly agree: 88.7* (1443), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1626)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotels are right in refusing to admit people of certain races or nationalities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.17</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should have the same rights as men in every way.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 2.2* (35), Disagree: 5.2* (85), I have no opinion: 4.2* (68), Agree: 24.0* (390), Strongly agree: 64.4* (1047), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1625)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should stay out of politics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most women do not need the right to vote.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People of certain races or religions should be kept out of important positions in our nation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.21</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People should be allowed to come together whenever they like.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 0.6* (9), Disagree: 1.1* (18), I have no opinion: 2.6* (48), Agree: 11.8* (221), Strongly agree: 71.0* (1326), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1622)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lib.22</th>
<th>REVERSE CODED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>War is sometimes the only way in which a nation can save its self-respect.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree: 1.7 (23), Disagree: 5.1 (83), I have no opinion: 12.2 (198), Agree: 25.2 (409), Strongly agree: 55.7 (902), Total %/n resp. 100.0 (1620)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. *Rev. Code: Responses to positive-value statements are reverse coded so that all responses in the "Strongly agree" and "Agree" columns indicate a negative response to minority rights (or liberalism) and so on. See also Table 5.7.*
2. *The percentage figures are for all non-missing cases, the number of respondents ( ) total the number of valid or non-missing responses, the total number being 1867. The number of non-missing cases ranges from 1619 to 1626 for these items.*
related to response patterns to Lib.14 and Lib.16, but Lib.20 shows the limits which a small percentage of students place on the sectors of life to which they are prepared to extend liberal attitudes. Students are strongly liberal about people's rights to carry on everyday activities, including equal opportunities for employment (Lib.13, Lib.14 and Lib.16) but are less strongly favourable, and more likely to be opposed to minority groups holding important national positions (Lib.20). In fact more students expressed a negative attitudes on this (9.6%), than on any other item on liberalism. This is consistent with the response on equality, where 14.2% favoured fewer rights for immigrants (Rts.12).

In everyday affairs, students expressed liberal attitudes towards minority religious or racial groups, but their opinions were less favourable on several critical issues, although even so only a small minority (15.2% or less), expressed illiberal attitudes. On women's rights, very few students expressed strongly illiberal attitudes, although 7.4% disagreed with women having the same rights as men (Lib.17). The negative response was very small on other issues, although the mention of 'women' and the term 'politics' (Lib.18) brought a stronger reaction than 'women' and the more respectable sounding terms 'election' and 'government' (Lib.15). On all issues of liberalism, the vast majority (over 80 per cent) of students supported liberal values (Lib.20, Lib.21 and Lib.22), and as many as 96.1% (Lib.13) on one item. Between 2.2% and 4.9% had 'no opinion' (Lib.15 and Lib.19) with two exceptions (Lib.20 and Lib.22), on which there were 9.6% and 12.2% respectively. Apart from unusually strong negative responses to 3 items, 6.8% on war and self-respect (Lib.22), 7.4% on women's rights (Lib.17), and 9.6% on minority office holders (Lib.20), illiberal responses ranged from 1.3% (Lib.13) to 4.7% (Lib.18).

The students' expressed attitudes about equality and about liberalism or tolerance are consistent with their perception of their school experiences, as regards teachers giving students equitable treatment and
encouraging students' independence and freedom of expression, but the students' expressed attitudes are more egalitarian and tolerant than their own peer group behaviour, in relation to the students' reports of *aliqueness among students* at school. However, the contrast between the students' attitudinal liberality and egalitarianism and their actual behaviour is not especially stark, and, as we shall see, it is relatively consistent with other behaviour, such as their predominant patterns of peer-group decision-making.

The liberality and egalitarianism of the social and political attitudes expressed by most of the Swedish student respondents is consistent with their attitudes to the right of citizens to criticize their government.

Table 5.7 shows that a majority of students favoured freedom to criticize their government. When the statement was worded as a principle about citizens being free to criticize their government (*Crit.29*), the positive response was the strongest and largest of any item with 83.1% (1348) choosing 'strongly agree' and a further 13.2% (215) 'agree'. This item also attracted the lowest 'I have no opinion' response of 2.2% (35) and lowest disagreement in both categories, in row order, 0.9% (15) and 0.5% (10).

This clear-cut support for freedom to criticize the government contrasts strongly with the relatively divided opinion in Item *Crit.25*, which suggested that criticism in itself was a good thing. This item attracted the highest total negative response of any item (7.5%), the highest 'I have no opinion' (12.6%), and consequently, the lowest positive response, and in particular, the lowest strong agreement of any item (40.7%). Other items on criticizing the government *Crit.23, Crit.24*, and *Crit.28*, had response patterns between those of *Crit.29* and *Crit.25*, according to the strength of the statement. Items *Crit.26* and *Crit.27* on public protest and 'the people in power know best' respectively had
TABLE 5.7 STUDENTS’ SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES: SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE - FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE - POSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is wrong to criticize our government.</td>
<td>0.7 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People should not criticize the government, it only interrupts the government’s work.</td>
<td>0.8 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.25* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is good for a government to be frequently criticized.</td>
<td>1.7* (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.26* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who disagree with the government who should be allowed to meet and hold public protests.</td>
<td>1.7* (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The people in power know best.</td>
<td>0.9 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.28* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When something is wrong, it is better to complain to the authorities than to keep quiet.</td>
<td>1.5* (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.29* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens must always be free to criticize the government.</td>
<td>0.6* (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular elections in our nation are unnecessary.</td>
<td>0.6 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So many people vote in a general election that when I grow up it will not matter much whether I vote or not.</td>
<td>2.0 (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1. * Reverse coding. See Table 5.6 Notes and Table 5.1 Notes.
2. The number of non-missing cases ranges from 1609 to 1624 for these items. The percentage figures exclude missing cases for each item.
3. The total number of respondents = 1867. The percentage of valid or non-missing responses for Tables 5.6 and 5.7 ranges from 86.2% to 87.1%. 

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relatively high 'I have no opinion' responses, being 8.8% and 6.9% respectively. Item Crit.30 on the need for regular elections attracted a high strongly positive response, 65.7% (1067), as did Crit.31 on whether an individual vote mattered much, with a 61.8% (1003) strongly positive response.

Overall, a very precise response from students, with variations consistent with the strength of statements and larger 'no opinion' responses on more complex or controversial issues. The support for the freedom to criticize the government was very strong, the largest response to any item being in every case: 'strongly agree', and this one category attracted a majority response in all but two items, Crit.25 and Crit.28, which were distinctive for the high response in the second category of agreement 'agree'.

Criticizing their government is regarded, quite clearly, as normal to the functioning of a democratic system of government, and equally clearly the respondents do not associate loyalty with an uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of government.

The democratic individualism apparent in the Swedish students' responses to the items on criticism of the government is consistent with their pattern of responses to the other attitudinal items. The relationship between this commitment to democratic values and the students' reports of minimal observation of patriotic ritual in their schools is consistent with Torney's finding, discussed in Chapter Four, that in the 10 countries covered in the Civics Education survey, stress on patriotic ritual tends to be inconsistent with the encouragement of the kind of questioning approach to government that is most appropriate in terms of the concept of active democratic citizenship.\(^{11}\) In the Swedish school system,

\(^{11}\) See Judith V. Torney, \textit{op.cit.}, p.272, Table 19.8, and p.281.
the low emphasis on patriotic ritual is consistent with student perceptions of other school practices which could have an important bearing upon the students' preparedness to adopt an unquestioning attitude to authority. The students' perceptions of their teachers as encouraging the students' freedom of expression (Table 5.2), and the teachers' functional approach to control (Table 5.4), are particularly pertinent observations.

D. STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS AND THEIR IMAGE OF THE IDEAL OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

This raises the questions of whether the students are themselves in practice critical of the actual performance of their government, how responsive they see their government as being to its constituency, and into what overall image of a good citizen the Swedish students' support for the freedom to criticize their government fits.

The Swedish students' perceptions of the performance of their national and local governments, including how responsive they are to the citizenry (Table 5.8), follows a strikingly different pattern to their attitudes towards the freedom to criticize their government. Firstly, opinion is quite spread over the 5 possible categories of response to any item, with a minority choosing any 1 category in every case and further, a minority choosing either a negative or a positive response ('A' + 'B' or 'D' + 'E') with only one exception, Item Resp. 3, with a total of 59.7% positive.

12 Items in Table 5.8 are from the Affective Questionnaire and are divided according to whether they apply to national government or the local council. The 5 items chosen in (a) and (b) correspond to the National and Local government responsiveness - semantic differential scales found in the international analysis. See Table 7.1 in Judith V. Torney, op.cit. The items are from the Affective Questionnaire. See Chapter Four for a brief description and Chapter Six for a discussion of the results of a factor analysis of the set from which these items are taken. The order of items in this table reflects their value and significance in correlations with items on school environment, the order being set by (a) rather than (b).
### TABLE 5.8 STUDENTS’ PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMOCRATIC VALUE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
<th>RESPONSIVENESS</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) The National Government:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe the national government?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.1</strong></td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run by a few big powerful groups.</td>
<td>(204)</td>
<td>(452)</td>
<td>(416)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUN BY N. GOV.:</td>
<td>Run by people just like ourselves.</td>
<td><strong>TOTAL N = (1617)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t pay attention to complaints.</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(127)</td>
<td>(396)</td>
<td>(373)</td>
<td>(632)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1618)</td>
<td>Pays attention to complaints.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does things for selfish reasons.</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(112)</td>
<td>(299)</td>
<td>(388)</td>
<td>(677)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1621)</td>
<td>Does things for the good of the whole country.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can only have their decisions changed by powerful people.</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(137)</td>
<td>(449)</td>
<td>(501)</td>
<td>(459)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1619)</td>
<td>Can have their decisions changed by ordinary people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.5</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t care about me and my family.</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(304)</td>
<td>(449)</td>
<td>(484)</td>
<td>(333)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1610)</td>
<td>Cares about me and my family.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) The Local Government:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How would you describe your local council?</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.6</strong></td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run by a few big powerful groups.</td>
<td>(173)</td>
<td>(471)</td>
<td>(443)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUN BY N. GOV.:</td>
<td>Run by people just like ourselves.</td>
<td><strong>TOTAL N = (1612)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.7</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t pay attention to complaints.</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(139)</td>
<td>(378)</td>
<td>(394)</td>
<td>(637)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1616)</td>
<td>Pays attention to complaints.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.8</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does things for selfish reasons.</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(124)</td>
<td>(367)</td>
<td>(432)</td>
<td>(592)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1617)</td>
<td>Does things for the good of the whole country.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.9</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can only have their decisions changed by powerful people.</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(182)</td>
<td>(587)</td>
<td>(453)</td>
<td>(328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1614)</td>
<td>Can have their decisions changed by ordinary people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resp.10</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t care about me and my family.</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(249)</td>
<td>(491)</td>
<td>(559)</td>
<td>(269)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N = (1600)</td>
<td>Cares about me and my family.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. * Statements marked * are listed in the reverse sequence to that of the Questionnaire itself.
2. The total number of respondents = 1867.
3. Percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents ( ) totals the number of valid or missing responses which range from 85.7% to 86.8%.
Second attitudes are more moderate with the two strong options of any item (‘A’ or ‘E’) always attracting fewer responses than any of the three middle options (‘B’, ‘C’ and ‘D’).  

The responses to items in Table 5.7 are, in comparison, heavily and disproportionately distributed towards the 'strongly agree' option, and a majority chose the same one option in nearly all items, and at least 80% (Crit.25), a positive response. Despite their strong consensual agreement in principle with the right to criticize their government, the students have quite varied, but generally moderate, perceptions of its actual performance. This diversity of opinion also contrasts with student attitudes on social issues, which are marked by high level agreement and strength of opinion on the general democratic values of equality and liberalism, as well as freedom to criticize the government. On initial examination of responses, it appears that students not only support the freedom to criticize the government, but do so in fact, when given the opportunity, with quite individual opinions.

Moderate agreement (‘B’ or ‘D’) with one or other of the pairs of statements was indicated by between 16.8% and 41.8% (Resp.10 and Resp.3 respectively. A relatively high percentage of students choosing one option, 36.4% or more, such as in Resp.9, Resp.8, Resp.3, Resp.7 and Resp.3 is matched by a corresponding low response, 24.5% or less, choosing the corresponding opposing option. The higher moderate responses supported a positive perception of both national and local government 'paying' attention to complaints', '(doing) things for the good of the whole country', and, for the local council, a negative perception, that they 'can only have

13 While the middle options differ between the two sets of items: Table 5.7 and Table 5.8, in view of the particular response patterns for each set of items, this does not upset their comparability. In Table 5.8 the middle option 'C' is a (well-used) expression of a moderate perception of government responsiveness, in Table 5.7 'I have no opinion' is little chosen, the vast bulk of responses being firstly 'strongly agree' or, secondly', 'agree'.
their decisions changed by powerful people' (*Resp.*2 and *Resp.*7, *Resp.*3 and *Resp.*8, and *Resp.*9). The pattern of response to the 'B' and 'D' options on the other pairs of statements, came in between this range.

*Less* than 19% chose a strong option, either 'A' or 'E', on any pair of statements. The most common percentage choosing one of these options was between 2.0% and 12.6% (*Resp.*10 and *Resp.*1 respectively). The national government attracted the highest strong responses: both negative and positive, with 18.5% choosing a strong negative response to *Resp.*5, that it 'doesn't care about me and my family', and 7.5% choosing a strong positive response to *Resp.*1, that it is 'run by people just like ourselves'.

On just the local council items, the corresponding options on the corresponding pairs of items, *Resp.*10 and *Resp.*6, attracted the highest responses to these same categories.

Before going further, given the other similarities observed between the two sets of items (a) and (b), the question arises of the extent to which students discriminate between local and national government.

If students haven't developed a sufficiently sophisticated political outlook to distinguish between local and national government, their perceptions of government responsiveness may not be particularly well-based. That is, their fine distinctions on school environment and social attitudes may not extend to knowledge of the government and local council.

Looking in more detail at several key pairs of statements: firstly, students were more likely to choose a moderately negative or 'in between' response ('B' or 'C') for the local council than for the national government (*Resp.*1 and *Resp.*6), and more likely to choose either a strongly negative opinion ('A'), or a positive opinion, ('D' or 'E'), as to who ran the national government. Overall opinions were less spread for the local council item than for that on the national government. The other 4 sets of corresponding items also have distinctive patterns of distribution.

A majority of students chose a positive option ('D' or 'E'), on the national government's motives for action (Resp.3), while a minority, 42.9% thought similarly of the local council (Resp.8), the majority choosing the 'in between' option or a negative option ('C', 'B' or 'A').

While an item on national government, Resp.3 was the only item on which a majority agreed on a definite positive or negative opinion (either 'A' + 'B' or 'D' + 'E'), in this case a positive opinion, the next largest (minority) agreement 47.7%, was a negative response ('A' or 'B'), to the local council on Resp.9.

Overall, student opinion was generally more evenly spread on national government, and by contrast there was slightly more agreement on the local council, most noticeably on the moderate opinions. Further the predominant opinion ran in opposite directions on the corresponding pairs of items for the national government and the local council.15

Patterns of opinions on local and national government are distinctive but not enormously varied. Of the 25 matching pairs of response cells, 22 have at least 10 differences in the number of respondents choosing them and as many as 138.16 Students have certainly discriminated between the two bodies in their opinions, so it seems reasonable to conclude that their perceptions of government responsiveness are based on a similar level of sophistication of political outlook as are their attitudes on social issues, and that this area does not constitute a 'gap' in their knowledge.

The initially striking features of the pattern of response are borne out by the close examination of the items. The extent of disagreement

15 A factor analysis of the set of items from which the 10 in Table 7D: (1)(a) and (b) have been selected, divided the items neatly into two sets on the first two factors: F1, the national government items, and F2, the local government items. This factor was predominant over division of items on common subject matter such as 'responsiveness' which cut across the national/local government difference.

16 Resp.4 and Resp.9, category 'B'.
among the students themselves, particularly in the case of the national government, is quite distinctive. This is illustrated by the fact that a high strong response ('A' or 'E') is associated with a more evenly spread response to the item as a whole, and not with a larger supporting moderate response ('B' or 'D' respectively) as is the case with items on student attitudes on democratic values such as the 'freedom to criticize the government'.

The low strength of opinion is especially a feature of the local council items with a minority choosing a definite opinion one way or the other on any of the ten items, except Resp.3 (on the national government) and due to the large middle response of between 23.1% and 34.9% (Resp.2 and Resp.10), a majority is both not favourable and not unfavourable choosing either 'A', 'B' or 'C' or 'C', 'D' or 'E' on every item, with only two exceptions out of 20 possibilities. These sorts of generalizations about the spread and strength of opinions would in no way be appropriate to describe the range of student attitudes on social values, nor their perceptions of their school environment.

Hence one can conclude that students have a very definite view of government responsiveness, though the respondents together hold diverse perceptions. Overall their perception of the responsiveness of their government is characterized by moderately positive or moderately negative views, with moderation being the dominant pattern. That is, while the Swedish students are unwilling to extend an unquestioning loyalty towards their government, on the whole they are not strikingly alienated or disaffected from it either.

The other issue arising from students' support for the freedom to criticize their government is their image of the ideal of good citizenship. What are the attributes of a good citizen, in the view of the students?

17 The exceptions are Resp.3, 'A' + 'B' + 'C', and Resp.10, 'C' + 'D' + 'E'.
Three concepts of citizenship are distinguished in the IEA data by student selection of statements indicating one of three citizenship roles: an 'active' citizen ('votes in every election'), a 'disengaged' citizen ('obeys the law'), and a 'non-political' citizen ('always polite').

As has been mentioned earlier, it is the 'active' concept of citizenship which is favoured in Swedish educational policy and the Swedish Civics Education curricula.

The active view of citizenship implicit in the students' strong support for the right to criticize their government is maintained by a somewhat smaller majority supporting voting in elections. Item Cit.3 in Table 5.9 shows 1102 (69.1%) students thought this was part of being a good citizen, approximately the same number who choose a strong positive response to items on voting and elections, Crit.30 and Crit.31, in Table 5.7.

On the two items describing a 'non-political' good citizen, Cit.4 and Cit.5, a greater number of students responded either 'not sure' or 'no', particularly on a good citizen 'works hard ...', where 282 (17.7%) responded with a definite 'no', and 621 (39.1%) with a 'not sure', compared with only 58 and 196 respectively on the 'active citizenship' item, Cit.1. The highest level agreement is on citizens obeying the law, Cit.1 and paying taxes Cit.2, with 1341 (84.1%) and 1330 (83.5%) agreeing that this was part of being a good citizen. Students were generally in greater agreement on freedom to criticize the government. The large number of students choosing the 'not sure' category, when compared with the number

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18 Items on concept of good citizen are from the affective questionnaire. See Table 5.9 for items on student concepts of a good citizen. The division of items into the three roles is as used in the international analysis. See Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 7.1, p.177, and A.N. Oppenheim and Judith V. Torney, op.cit. The items included in this table are selected on the basis of their value and significance in correlations with items on school environment and covering all three concepts.
Imagine that you had to explain what a good citizen is, or what a good citizen ought to be.

**A GOOD CITIZEN:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Good Citizen</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total %/Non-missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cit.1 Obey the law.</td>
<td>84.1 (1341)</td>
<td>12.3 (196)</td>
<td>3.6 (58)</td>
<td>100.0 (1595)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cit.2 Pays his taxes regularly.</td>
<td>83.5 (1330)</td>
<td>11.4 (180)</td>
<td>5.2 (83)</td>
<td>100.0 (1593)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cit.3 Votes in every election.</td>
<td>69.1 (1102)</td>
<td>19.9 (317)</td>
<td>11.0 (175)</td>
<td>100.0 (1594)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cit.4 Is loyal to his family.</td>
<td>68.3 (1089)</td>
<td>22.0 (351)</td>
<td>9.7 (155)</td>
<td>100.0 (1595)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cit.5 Works hard.</td>
<td>41.2 (697)</td>
<td>39.1 (621)</td>
<td>17.7 (292)</td>
<td>100.0 (1390)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. Percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents (()) totals the number of valid or non-missing responses. The total N = 1867, and the percentage of valid or non-missing responses range from 85.2% to 85.4%.

2. In the international analysis, three profiles of a good citizen were used, the "active good citizen", the "disengaged good citizen", and the 'non-political good citizen'. Items Cit.1 and Cit.2 were classified in the second category: the "disengaged good citizen", Cit.3 as "active", and Cit.4 and Cit.5 as "non-political" good citizens. See also footnote 17.
choosing similar options such as 'I have no opinion' on other sets of items, suggest that many students found it difficult to respond to these items.

While a majority 69.1% chose an active view of good citizenship, consistent with their views on criticism of government, students also agreed with items involving a non-active or 'disengaged' role and even a 'non-political' role in the case of Cit.4, as being part of good citizenship.

One interpretation is that students see obeying the law and paying taxes as a necessary obligation of a citizen, but voting and the freedom to criticize the government as a right which should be available to all citizens, as for other democratic rights and freedoms, but not things which it is essential that one do in order to be a good citizen.

E. STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIC ACTIVITIES, PEER-GROUP DECISION-MAKING AND SELF-ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL INFLUENCES

The students' concept of an ideal of good citizenship is one aspect of the development of their political self-image. Both this self-image and the students' concept of citizenship are likely to be influenced by their social and political attitudes, their view of government, and their school experience, but they are also likely to be influenced by the students' social and political experiences in other contexts. This section considers the students' involvement in civic activities, their propensity to discuss current affairs with friends, parents and teachers, their interest in mass media discussions of current affairs, and the students' awareness of the views of people who might influence their political views, together with the students' own assessments of the extent to which they hold views which are similar to these people. Peer-group decision-making practices are also considered because they represent an important form of quasi-political experience which is also likely to influence the development of the students' political self-image.
Table 5.10 lists seven activities, Do.1 to Do.7 in order of the number of students having done them. Do.1 on party political broadcasts stands out clearly as the one most have experienced, and, interestingly, is also the most directly political. The least done item involves running for office in the school - also political, but only relevant to the few students interested in holding office themselves. On general civic items, 48.3%, 47.3% and 43.1% (in Do.2, Do.3 and Do.4 respectively), of students reported having borrowed a relevant book, or found out about the local council, or asked parents about political parties. This is quite a large number, and reflects the fact that most students have Civics as a school subject. Fewer students, 31.3% had taken part in collecting money for a good cause in Do.5, and fewer still 17.5% read a book specifically on the United Nations Do.6. Overall, these figures indicate a fairly active civic role.

Table 5.11 reports the frequency with which students discussed current affairs with friends, parents and teachers. The topics for discussion virtually reversed the status of international and party political interests when compared with civic activities. 'Political parties and candidates' was the least popular current affairs topic discussed by students (Table 5.11, category C), although seeing a party political broadcast was the most likely civic activity (Table 5.10, Do.1). 'Other nations' was the most popular topic for discussion, although reading a book on the United Nations was one of the least likely civic activities (Table 5.11, category B; Table 5.10, Do.6). Only 13.3% reported 'almost never' discussing 'other nations' with friends (Table 5.11, Di.s.1.B). The apparent discrepancy in interests is readily comprehensible: party political broadcasts are all too frequently experienced irrespective of interest in them as such, and it is not difficult to appreciate the
**TABLE 5.10  CIVIC ACTIVITIES**

Here are some things which young people say they do in their own communities. If you have done any of these things WITHIN THE PAST YEAR, put a tick (✔) in the Yes box. If not, put a tick ( ✓) in the No box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Total resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do.1 ... listened to a party political broadcast, or looked at a party political broadcast on television?</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1557)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.2 ... borrowed a book from the library to understand more about current affairs?</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1556)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.3 ... found out something for yourself about how the local council does its work?</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1552)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.4 ... asked your parents questions about different political parties?</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1551)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.5 ... helped to collect money for a good cause?</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1555)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.6 ... read a book about the United Nations?</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1556)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.7 ... tried to get elected in your school to be a club chairman or secretary or form captain, or something like that?</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1557)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. The total number of respondents = 1867.
2. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents ( ) totals the number of valid or non-missing responses which range from 83.1% to 83.4% for this Table.
difference in appeal of a discussion on an interesting foreign country and a book on the United Nations, even if both might be categorized as 'international' subjects.

The most striking aspect of Table 5.11 is the very large majority of students reporting that they did discuss current affairs. Discussion was most frequent with friends (Dis.1), with parents coming second (Dis.2), and teachers in class a poor third (Dis.3). About one third reported discussing several of the topics 'several times a week' with friends and parents, and a further 40% or more discussing all three topics with friends and parents 'about once a week or less often' and one topic, 'other nations', with teachers. Overall, a fairly frequent discussion rate, particularly considering the diverse interests and course programs of students, and the much higher frequency out of class than in it. Discussing current affairs out of class with friends in particular, reflects personal interests.

Table 5.12 reports the students' interests in current affairs programs in the mass media, compared with alternative subject matter. Of all the civic programs in the total list of programs, 'current events' was the most popular with 84.2% (1312) choosing 'I would like to see it', 13.7% (213) did not mind, and 2.2% (34) 'would not like to see it'. This compares with the most popular program type of all, 'travel and exploring' See.7 which slightly more thought they 'would like to see it' than chose current events.

While 'other nations' was a popular topic for discussion, people in other countries See.2 aroused less interest than 'current events' with

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20 The first 6 items in this table See.1 to See.6, are items on civic programs and are listed in order of interest. See.7 and See.8 the last 2 items, served as distractor items in this section of the background questionnaire and are included in this table to illustrate the relative popularity of civic programs. Items in Tables 5.10 and 5.11, are also drawn from the background questionnaire (see Chapter Four for a brief description).
TABLE 5.11 FREQUENCY OF DISCUSSION OF CURRENT AFFAIRS

A. Some people think it is important to discuss what is going on in government and politics much of the time. Other people prefer not to talk about such things. How often do YOU* talk about what is going on in our nation in government and politics?

B. Some people feel that it is important to know what is happening in other nations. Other people are more interested in their own nation. How often do you talk with others about what other nations are doing?

C. Some people like to discuss a particular political party or a particular political candidate. Others prefer not to discuss politics. How often do you talk about political parties and candidates for election?

§ (my emphasis except for *)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A, B and C discussed</th>
<th>Several times a week</th>
<th>About once a week or less often</th>
<th>Almost never</th>
<th>Total %/N.resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dis.1 With your friends?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>100.0 (1554)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>100.0 (1555)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>100.0 (1554)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dis.2 With your parents?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>100.0 (1554)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>100.0 (1555)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>100.0 (1554)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dis.3 With your teachers in class?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>100.0 (1553)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>100.0 (1553)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>100.0 (1554)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1. The total number of respondents = 1867.

2. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents () totals the number of valid or non-missing responses which range from 83.2% to 83.3% for this Table.
80.5% being interested to see such a program. A large majority were also interested in 'news' (See.3) and, 'social problems in your community' See.4. 'How parliament and the government do their job' See.5, aroused the interest of a minority, 34.8%, and a high preference against seeing it of 20.2%, in contrast to the level of interest in discussing government and politics in A of Table 5.11. The more formal wording of See.5 obviously has different connotations to 'government and politics', which seems to have more in common with See.1 and See.3, 'current events', and 'news'.

See.6 on 'how factories work' was the least popular civics program with only 31.9% expressing an interest and a majority, 50.5% not expressing an interest either way. However, both See.6 and See.5 were distinctly of greater interest than the least popular program listed: See.8, 'classical orchestras and their conductors', where 20.4% were interested in seeing such a program, and 48.5% were definitely not.

Table 5.13 which reports the students' self-assessment of political influences, suggests that students were more conscious of the influence of family and friends, than of teachers, on their political views. Students were more aware of their father's than their mother's political views, 191 and 258 respectively choosing 'don't know' options, but those knowing their mother's political views were more likely to agree with her than with their father. Students were most likely to agree with their friends with 56.0% saying that they 'agree a lot', 30.2% that they 'agree a little' and 13.8% that they 'mostly disagree'. Of the 581 students who reported knowing both the political opinions of their civics teacher, and their own, most agreed a little or mostly disagreed: 74.2%, and only 25.8% thought they agreed a lot.

More than two-thirds of students responded that they knew the political opinions of parents and friends and their own opinions, but only two-fifths

21 Items for Table 5.13 are from the background questionnaire (see Chapter Four for a brief description).
What kinds of films or programs do you like to see? Here are different sorts of programs and films. For each one tick the way you feel about it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I would like to see it</th>
<th>I would not mind whether I saw it or not</th>
<th>I would not like to see it</th>
<th>Total %/N. resp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current events</td>
<td>84.2 (1312)</td>
<td>13.7 (213)</td>
<td>2.2 (34)</td>
<td>100.0 (1559)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in other countries</td>
<td>80.5 (1258)</td>
<td>17.9 (279)</td>
<td>1.6 (25)</td>
<td>100.0 (1562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>78.2 (1222)</td>
<td>19.3 (309)</td>
<td>2.0 (31)</td>
<td>100.0 (1562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social problems in your community</td>
<td>64.8 (1013)</td>
<td>25.9 (405)</td>
<td>9.3 (145)</td>
<td>100.0 (1563)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How parliament and the government do their job</td>
<td>34.8 (543)</td>
<td>45.0 (701)</td>
<td>20.2 (316)</td>
<td>100.0 (1562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How factories work</td>
<td>31.9 (498)</td>
<td>50.5 (788)</td>
<td>17.6 (275)</td>
<td>100.0 (1561)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and exploring</td>
<td>84.8 (1325)</td>
<td>13.9 (218)</td>
<td>1.3 (20)</td>
<td>100.0 (1562)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical orchestras and their conductors</td>
<td>20.4 (318)</td>
<td>31.1 (486)</td>
<td>48.5 (757)</td>
<td>100.0 (1561)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES:
1. Items See 7 and See 8 are two of the distractor items from the set of fourteen items from which the above were selected, and are included in the above Table to show the full range of variation in opinion as well as to give an indication of student interest in civic, as opposed to other types of programs. See Chapter 4, for a discussion of the interest in the various programs.
2. Items See 1 to See 6 are civic programs.
3. The total number of respondents = 1867.
4. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents () totals the number of valid or non-missing responses which range from 83.5% to 83.7% for this Table.
could say the same for their civics teacher, and were more likely to disagree when they did know. A majority of students either agreed a lot or a little with the political opinions of friends, and their mother and father (930, 909 and 918 respectively).

Generally students were aware of their own political opinions, and frequently those of others with the exception of their civics teacher. A majority of students had at least a little in common with parents, friends and teachers on political opinions and only between 149 and 189 expressed 'mostly disagreement' on any one item. Student self-assessment of their political influences show strong disagreement with those around them as quite unusual. It seems that students did not feel fundamental conflict with their parents, friends or their civics teacher, although this is not to say that disagreement did not occur on quite a number of issues.

Student interest in civics obviously extends beyond the classroom, but the students' responses to the General Student Questionnaire indicated that almost a quarter (24.4%) regarded Civics as 'one of my favourite subjects', and 77.4% at least generally liked the subject, compared with 22.6% who generally disliked it, including 4.2% who rated it as 'one of my least liked' subjects (Appendix E, Table E.4, LIKCIV). This is quite a favourable overall rating, and consistent with the students' level of knowledge and awareness concerning socio-political issues, and the level of interest indicated by Tables 5.10, 5.11, 5.12 and 5.13. While it could reasonably be expected that a certain percentage of students would have developed their political outlook by their matriculation year, what is so striking about the Swedish data is that this level of development applies as a generalization of the population, not just about a particular group with a special interest in Civics. In international comparisons,

22 In the case of teachers, of those who were aware of teachers' opinions only.
### Table 5.13 Self-Assessment of Political Influences: Level of Awareness and Extent of Agreement with Parents, Friends and Teachers

On the whole, do your political opinions agree with those of your parents, teachers or friends, or do you have different political ideas? Put ONE tick on each line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence</th>
<th>I don't know what his or her political ideas are</th>
<th>I agree a lot with</th>
<th>I agree a little with</th>
<th>I mostly disagree with</th>
<th>I am not sure of my own opinions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infl.1</strong> My father</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(191)</td>
<td>(576)</td>
<td>(342)</td>
<td>(189)</td>
<td>(204)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1107 + 191 + 204 = 1502</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infl.2</strong> My mother</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(258)</td>
<td>(567)</td>
<td>(342)</td>
<td>(153)</td>
<td>(195)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1062 + 258 + 195 = 1515</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infl.3</strong> My best friends</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(264)</td>
<td>(604)</td>
<td>(326)</td>
<td>(149)</td>
<td>(181)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1079 + 264 + 141 = 1524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infl.4</strong> Our teacher for civics or social studies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(769)</td>
<td>(150)</td>
<td>(254)</td>
<td>(177)</td>
<td>(176)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>581 + 769 + 176 = 1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. The percentage figures are for the extent of agreement of political opinions with those of parents, friends and teachers, and exclude students who either did not know their own or others' opinions, or, who did not respond to the particular item.

2. The total number of respondents = 1867. The sub-totals in the last column indicate the number of students responding to the extent of agreement options (middle three columns), then the numbers indicating they did not know others' political ideas, or, their own opinions, are added to give the total non-missing responses. The percentage of respondents choosing the outside categories ranged from 10.2% to 41.2% who indicated they did not know others' opinions and from 9.4% to 10.9% who were unsure of their own opinions. The percentage of valid or non-missing responses ranged from 80.4% to 81.7%.
Swedish students ranked first in civics knowledge when controlling for the percentage of the age cohort in the population from which the sample was drawn.\(^{23}\)

Since the other interests of the Swedish students would be as diverse as those of any comparable population of matriculation students in other countries, the base level of their political knowledge and development is especially notable.

The developed political outlook and commitment to democratic individualism evident in the students' views, on social and political issues, the responsiveness of government, and the responsibilities of citizenship, is reflected in their approach to peer-group decision-making, which is reported in Table 5.14.\(^{24}\)

Students report that they were most likely to take a vote or discuss group decisions such as changing a rule of a game or planning where to go for a hike (see Table 5.14, options A or B). One per cent of students chose an authoritarian solution (see Table 5.14, option E), but a significant number chose one of several further options describing various means of group decision-making. Leaders in the group making the group's decisions was reported by a few per cent of students. In the case of choosing a new leader for a group, the option corresponding to that used for other items was for a leader to 'come forward naturally' (Peer.2). This received a far higher response, 21.5% than for 'leaders deciding' on other issues. It was also the only decision on which a majority of students reported decisions being made by taking a vote, as distinct from discussing the issue until agreement was reached (without taking a vote).

\(^{23}\) This proposition is supported by international comparisons of Population IV Civics Knowledge, where Swedish students ranked first when controlling for the percentage of the age cohort in the population from which the sample was drawn. See Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, p.113.

\(^{24}\) Items for this table are from the background questionnaire. See Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, Table 7.1, p.172.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peer 1: Decides where to go:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Talk, then vote</th>
<th>Talk till agreed</th>
<th>Accept previous experience</th>
<th>One or two decide</th>
<th>Ask authority to decide</th>
<th>Total N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suppose that you and your friends were planning to go on a hike or a trip, in your spare time. How would the group decide where to go? (Tick the ONE that happens most often.)</td>
<td>37.7 (580)</td>
<td>48.5 (746)</td>
<td>10.1 (156)</td>
<td>3.1 (48)</td>
<td>0.6 (9)</td>
<td>100.0 (1539)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peer 2: Chooses a club leader:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Talk, then vote</th>
<th>Talk till agreed</th>
<th>Try different leaders</th>
<th>Good leader emerge</th>
<th>Ask authority to decide</th>
<th>Total N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suppose that you and your friends have a club, and the club needed a leader. How would your group choose the leader? (Tick the ONE that happens most often.)</td>
<td>55.0 (855)</td>
<td>15.2 (233)</td>
<td>6.7 (103)</td>
<td>21.5 (328)</td>
<td>0.7 (10)</td>
<td>100.0 (1529)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peer 3: Makes a new rule:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Talk, then vote</th>
<th>Talk till agreed</th>
<th>Try the rule</th>
<th>One or two decide</th>
<th>Ask Authority to decide</th>
<th>Total N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suppose that you and your friends are playing a game, and some of you want to change one of the rules of the game or make a new rule. How would the group decide? (Tick the ONE that happens most often.)</td>
<td>36.9 (560)</td>
<td>23.8 (367)</td>
<td>34.0 (525)</td>
<td>4.9 (76)</td>
<td>0.5 (7)</td>
<td>100.0 (1544)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peer 4: Decides use of money:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Talk, then vote</th>
<th>Talk till agreed</th>
<th>Wait for ideas</th>
<th>Leaders decide</th>
<th>Ask Authority to decide</th>
<th>Total N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suppose that you and your friends have collected some money. How would your group decide what to use the money for? (Tick the ONE that happens most often.)</td>
<td>44.0 (674)</td>
<td>38.1 (530)</td>
<td>15.1 (232)</td>
<td>1.2 (19)</td>
<td>1.4 (21)</td>
<td>100.0 (1532)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1. The responses appearing in the questionnaire items were in varying order for different items.
   A. We would talk about it, and then take a vote.
   B. We would talk about it until we all agreed.
   C. We would accept the advice of someone who had been there before (Peer 1).
   D. We would try out different leaders until we found the best one (Peer 2).
   E. We would try the new rule and see if it makes for a better game (Peer 3).
   F. We would wait until we knew more and had some new ideas (Peer 4).
   G. There are generally one or two persons in the group who would decide (Peer 1 and Peer 3).
   H. A good leader would come forward naturally (Peer 2).
   I. The leaders of our group would decide what to do (Peer 4).
   J. We would go and ask someone to decide for us.!

2. The total number of respondents = 1667.
3. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents (N) totals the number of valid or non-missing responses which range from 81.9% to 82.7%.

*This questionnaire was also administered to 10 and 14 year olds.*
The fifth mode of decision-making included trying something out first - that is deferring a decision - in several items (Peer.2(C) and Peer.3(C)), asking someone with previous experience, as in the case of deciding about a hike, and simply deferring a decision on how to allocate money collected for charity (Peer.4(C)). Overall students' decisions are predominantly democratic, if 'democratic' is not confined simply to mean 'taking a vote' but includes groups discussing something until they reach agreement (a consensus approach), and does not exclude trying something out first, or asking someone with previous experience of an activity. These latter two options precede a final decision, but having leaders decide or asking someone in authority are clearly not democratic options and very few students reported that their peer groups made decisions in this way.

Hence, while the existence of groups leads to preferential or unequal treatment among students, within particular groups, the decision-making process is equitable overall, and consistent with student attitudes on other matters considered in this chapter. These practices also represent a significant form of quasi-political experience which is likely to contribute beneficially to the students' sense of political efficacy, and their development of an active democratic view of their own citizenship role.

F. POLITICAL EFFICACY AND STUDENT CONCEPTIONS OF THEIR OWN ROLE AS CITIZENS

How efficacious do students feel as future citizens? At the end of their secondary schooling, they are imminently in the role of citizen as well as being in a senior position in the school environment, and looking ahead to their next step - from a relatively sheltered and familiar environment into society, where they will expect to exercise a greater
degree of independence in their lives, whether they are undertaking further study or are on the labour market.

How do they see themselves politically at the end of eleven or twelve years schooling? The best item in Table 5.15: under this concept of sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is 'The government does not try to understand ordinary people' (Eff.1) in which 56.8% choose a negative response, with 48.7% (almost half) choosing 'disagree' and 8.1% choosing the strong response of 'strongly disagree'. Of the remainder, 23.4% chose 'I have no opinion', and 19.8% 'agree', (15.7%) or 'strongly agree' (4.1%), the latter two being responses inconsistent with democratic values. A majority of students also chose efficacious responses on 'there are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole nation and they do not care about the opinions of ordinary people', with 57.1% choosing to disagree with the statement (Eff.2), and also that 'Government decisions are like the weather; there is nothing people can do about them', with 51.7% disagreeing (Eff.6). This last statement attracted the most diverse opinion of the 6 items with at least 9.5% choosing any one of the 5 categories. Being the sixth item, it is also the weakest in terms of its contribution to the concept of sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, and seems less clear in its meaning to students than the other items.

Opinion was most moderate on 'most politicians are too selfish to care about ordinary people' (Eff.3) suggesting a certain lack of cynicism among students - only 5.2% strongly agreed, and a surprisingly high 26.6% had 'no opinion'. Strong cynical opinion was not expressed by more than 9.9%

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25 Items in this table are from the attitude scales of the Affective Questionnaire. See Tables 5.6 and 5.7 for other items drawn from this section. Items are listed in order of loading in the factor on political efficacy and government responsiveness. See Chapter Six for a discussion of the factor analysis of these items. See also Judith V. Torney op. cit., pp.243-7, and Table 7.1 (pp.168-9) on these items in the international analysis.
## Table 5.15: Students' Sense of Political Efficacy and Government Responsiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democratic Value</th>
<th>Negatively coded</th>
<th>Politically efficacious</th>
<th>Positively coded</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Total %/N.resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eff.1</td>
<td>The government does not try to understand ordinary people.</td>
<td>4.1*</td>
<td>15.7*</td>
<td>23.4*</td>
<td>48.7*</td>
<td>8.1*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff.2</td>
<td>There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole nation and they do not care about the opinions of ordinary people.</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff.3</td>
<td>Most politicians are too selfish to care about ordinary people.</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff.4* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td>The government is doing its best to find out what ordinary people want.</td>
<td>6.5*</td>
<td>30.5*</td>
<td>20.3*</td>
<td>26.1*</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff.5* REVERSE CODED</td>
<td>The government cares a lot about what we all think of any new laws.</td>
<td>9.9*</td>
<td>37.2*</td>
<td>29.2*</td>
<td>19.3*</td>
<td>4.5*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eff.6</td>
<td>Government decisions are like the weather: there is nothing people can do about them.</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. * Reverse coding: See Table 5.1 notes.
2. The total number of respondents = 1867.
3. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents () totals the number of valid or non-missing responses which range from 85.8% to 96.7%.
on any item, and on average, 7.1%. On the other hand, up to 13%, and on average, 8.3%, expressed a strong opinion indicative of a sense of political efficaciousness.

The most cynical response was the rather extravagantly positive proposition that 'The government cares a lot about what we all think of any new laws' (Eff.5), with the highest for any item (9.9%) choosing 'strongly disagree', and 'no opinion' also being highest of any item, with 29.2% choosing it. The second most cynical response was to the other positively worded statement, Eff.4. This was also the item on which opinion was the most evenly divided with 47.0% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, and 32.7% agreeing or strongly agreeing, 20.3% having 'no opinion'.

While the most positive response was to item Eff.2 with the largest majority expressing a positive attitude of any item, the most efficacious response was found for the very moderate statement on the government's understanding of ordinary people, Eff.1 as distinct from their caring, or caring a lot. While approximately the same number responded efficaciously (57%), compared with Eff.2, and 23.4% expressed 'no opinion'. Eff.1 is a quite central statement to interpreting the pattern of responses and student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness and the pattern of responses to other statements falls into place around it with an independent element on the '... politicians are selfish ...' item, Eff.3.

What can be concluded from this examination of the pattern of responses to these 6 items? Firstly, students are more likely to express an efficacious view than a cynical view. This is particularly so when presented with a negatively worded statement. Most commonly students express a moderate view either way (66% on average). On the most definitive statement, Eff.1, 65 (4.1%) are strongly cynical, and twice that number, 129 (8.1%) are strongly efficacious. The 'no opinion' category
appears to have been used as a means of expressing a middle opinion as well as being used, as stated, as a 'no opinion' option with from 17.0% (Eff.6) to 29.2% (Eff.5) using it.

It is significant that these perceptions are positive and provide a foundation for anticipating an efficacious role in society, and expecting government responsiveness, despite the criticisms they make of its performance, and their basic support for the system of government including their right to criticize. Competence in comprehending and utilizing civics knowledge is important, since a general grasp of the operation of political forces in the society is required for students to make an intelligent pattern out of their perceptions of and attitudes towards a democratic society. The student's individual ability, his or her sex, the place in society he or she sees himself or herself moving towards in the next few years, the student's interest in, and participation in civic activities, and the socio-economic background of the student contribute to what is learned in Civic Education courses, how the school environment is perceived and how efficacious or alienated the student feels in relation to the government and society.

Among the important findings of this chapter is the fine quality of the distinctions which were drawn between related items containing varying strengths of statements, plus their widely differentiated use rate of the 'I don't know' or 'I have no opinion' type categories between sets of items, according to the complexity of the assumptions and the controversial nature of the item.

In this chapter, we have seen that the school environment is reasonably democratic, and that students' social and political attitudes reflect a respect for the rights of an individual in society, and a critical appreciation of their governments' responsiveness to citizens' needs. Their views are clearly expressed and suggest a broad general
interest in civics resulting in students having developed quite definite social and political views and a moderately efficacious personal political self-image.

The social attitudes which students expressed most strongly concern 'freedom to criticize the government' and equality of rights in society. These attitudes toward society are broadly consistent with student perceptions of their school environment with respect to equal treatment by teachers, the encouragement of independence, encouragement of expression of their opinions, and limited patriotic ritual.

The perceptions of cliqueness rather than equality in students' treatment of their peers is quite distinct, not only from their perceptions of teachers' treatment of students, but also from their perceptions of democratic practices within groups of students, that is, within the 'cliques' themselves. This cliqueness is not consistent with student behaviour within groups, nor with their attitudes on democratic rights in society, or their perceptions of teachers' treatment of students, but the inconsistency is not stark.

While the social attitudes of students and their differentiated perceptions of government responsiveness to ordinary citizens suggest a well-informed basis for their views of society, these perceptions are very much more divided, and very mild in their rating, when compared with their social attitudes. The strength of the students' support for the right to criticize one's government reflects the commitment to democratic individualism which is evident in the pattern of the students' response to social and political issues. While this is quite distinct from the reflexive loyalty to the government associated with a preoccupation with patriotic rituals (which is conspicuously absent in Sweden), the Swedish students' evident sense of political efficacy and belief in government responsiveness is such that there is relatively little evidence of disaffection and alienation. The majority of the students are evidently

26 See footnote 23 above.
satisfied with the general character and performance of their political system, and accord it a legitimacy that is consistent with their continuing right to criticize aspects of its performance from time to time.

In the next chapter I examine the relationships between background variables, students' perceptions of their school environment, their civics knowledge and their political self-image.
CHAPTER SIX

A PATH ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE KEY VARIABLES

A. THE ISSUES
B. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES IN THE MODEL
C. ITEM SELECTION AND SCALE FORMATION
D. FORMATION OF THE EMPIRICAL VARIABLES
E. THE PATH ANALYSIS
CHAPTER SIX

A PATH ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE KEY VARIABLES

A. THE ISSUES

The Swedish students were found in the previous chapter to have developed their political outlook by their matriculation year. This level of development is founded upon a high general level of political or civics knowledge and reflects a sophisticated grasp of political and social issues.

While a factor such as general ability is likely to influence students' civics ability and consequently civics knowledge, it is also relevant to students' ability in other ways. These include having a clear perception of their school environment, a coherent political view (including their own political self-image and attitudes towards and perceptions of society), as well as their ability to interpret statements about their views accurately, and respond appropriately to present a coherent picture. ¹

The school environment of students provides the setting within which their final year studies in civics and other subjects takes place. In addition, the school environment forms a large part of students' social experiences by their eleventh or twelfth year of schooling, and this in itself is a formative influence on social and political images of the wider society, as well as being a source of comparison between the latent political socializing influence of the school and the manifest influence of the society in transmitting its political culture through the civics courses. Although both manifest and latent political socializing

¹ Responding with a coherent picture is, of course, also dependent on high quality items in which the values contained in them are presented in such a manner that an intelligent response can be made through given optional answers.
influences are a part of educational policy in the area of transmission of the social and political culture of Swedish society, students may well see a distinction between the relatively specific influence of the school courses and the more generalized influence of the school environment. This distinction may well include an awareness by students of consistencies or inconsistencies between the values espoused by the curricula and practised in the school, and they may see these as an indication of what is supposed to be and how society actually operates—such as the values teachers, as representatives of the society, reflect in their methods or other practices. 2

A perception of substantial inconsistency between the two is likely to increase cynicism or alienation by the student towards society, and decrease the positiveness of their political self-image and feeling of competence to function effectively as an individual citizen in society. On the other hand a general consistency between the school environment and the civics curricula is likely to enhance students' sense of political efficacy and their political self-image. 3

Other influences on student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness include the type of program chosen by the student. The career fields open and the future type of work or further education or training available from differing program types reflect their abilities, ambitions, interests, and image of their place in society. The

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2 For example, the fact that the political opinions of teachers were disproportionately conservative when compared with the national pattern of distribution (around the time of the survey in 1971) would mean that the image teachers as a group representing society presented was a disproportionately conservative one. Hence it would seem likely that there would be inconsistencies between the image of teachers themselves (latent political socializing influence) and that about society taught through the civics curricula (manifest political socializing influence).

3 These hypothetical propositions apply to a democratic political system and culture which functions in the style of the Swedish system.
type of program in which a student is enrolled is a general indicator of whether a student has chosen an academic, or a professional or technical type of course with differing academic demands and different options ahead. The relative position occupied may well influence a student's citizenship concept for himself or herself. It is also pertinent to consider in relation to civics knowledge from the point of view of how importantly it rates and how useful, interesting or relevant it may seem. The element of ability in school work is likely to be reflected in choice of type of program. This has a direct influence on civics knowledge, and on perception of school environment.

The sex role of the student may also be relevant as an influence on perception of school environment for such factors as: differential expectations by teachers and other staff; different facilities, such as better provision for courses commonly taken by one sex in particular, or a different status; and different sub-cultures among the students influencing work attitudes and political self-image.

Variables on the students' ability, the type of program in which they are enrolled, their sex and background make up a picture of important influences on students' development from outside the school. The school environment which students perceive, their civics knowledge and the political self-image they develop during their schooling cannot be fully assessed in isolation from other influences.

Looking briefly at what variables were formed in order to assess these influences, firstly, two measures formed the school environment scale: equality and independence. The five items on independence are, more

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4 See Table 5.2 for a list of the items comprising the scale and the responses. See Appendix D for the questionnaire items as asked of the sample (in Swedish). The items in Table 5.2 are listed in order of importance to the scale (by factor analysis).
precisely, on freedom of expression and the six items on equality\(^5\) formed
two distinct groups of three items each on favouritism by teachers and
cliqueness among students. These items together formed eleven of fifteen
items comprising one section of the Background Questionnaire given to
students. The remaining four items formed a scale on patriotic ritual\(^6\)
but were not included in the school environment scale because the response
pattern was unsuitable for comparative analysis with as many as 95% of
students choosing the same one response category from a range of five.

The items in the independence and equality scales were combined to
form a measure of school environment. Secondly, on civics knowledge, the
corrected total score for the civics knowledge questionnaire was used.
Responses were combined into eight categories.

Third, the measure used of students' political self-image was
factored from a set of items in the Affective Questionnaire. The measure
is of student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.
Students had a choice of five responses to each of six items as with the
items forming the school environment scale.

Hence three scales or scores were formed measuring: student perception
of their school environment, student civics knowledge, and, student sense
of political efficacy and government responsiveness. The formation of
these measures facilitated analysis of the issues of the influence of
school experience on student sense of political efficacy, both direct and
indirect, and of its influence on civics learning.

Fourth, independent variables, exogenous to this model, and likely to
be causally related to these three endogenous variables were also formed.
These variables are: a measure of home background, the sex of the student,
the type of program in which students were enrolled, and a measure of their
verbal ability. These four variables together gave indicators of likely

\(^5\) See Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

\(^6\) See Table 5.3.
formative influences on the students, which precede those from the school, the manifest and latent political socializing influences.

B. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES IN THE MODEL

Looking at each of the four background variables in turn, an indicator of students' general ability, could be expected to be directly causally related to students' civics knowledge, and also school environment, at a general level, the more able students being more successful at school and hence more positive about their experiences there, and also likely to have a more sophisticated grasp of the functioning of political institutions and processes in the society. The question arises as to whether such a grasp or level of comprehension is directly associated with a more positive political self-image and also whether more able students have a more positive self-image in general and consequently also feel more politically efficacious and hence hold a more positive political self-image than less-able students. Further, the question also arises as to the effect of school environment on political self-image. If more able students perceive their school environment more positively does this more positive rating follow through beyond the school to a more positive political self-image in the society as a whole?

Student ability, hence, will be investigated for its causal influence on student political self-image through three paths: its direct influence, and its indirect influence through the intervening variables of school

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7 A measure of student's word knowledge is used. This is an appropriate measure for the purpose of the path analysis as a general measure of the sample is required, not a detailed picture of each student's aptitudes. Also, ability with the language is a more appropriate measure than say mathematical ability as it forms the basis for the abilities required: to comprehend and respond appropriately to the questionnaire items, to cope with the civics course and to have a grasp of political structures, attitudes, values and processes.
environment and civics knowledge. The direct causal influence of student ability will also be calculated for the other two endogenous variables, school environment and civics knowledge.

The causal influence of the second background variable, *type of program in which the student is enrolled*, can be followed through similar paths to the measure of student ability. The *type of person* variable separates the sample into two groups. Differences in further study and career fields aspirations occur between the two groups and a resultant difference in self-image is an interesting possible outcome. A more positive political self-image among students completing a three-year program than those undertaking a two-year program seems likely because they have opted for an academically-oriented, longer program, and hence are likely to see themselves as more elite than students taking the two-year program.

What difference, if any, being in one type of program rather than the other, makes to student perception of their school environment, will be very interesting to discover. Do students taking the gymnasium-type program feel more successful in general terms and hence view their school environment more positively, and do they expect to play a passive accepting role and focus on their study, and hence have low expectations of equality and encouragement of freedom of expression?

Alternative possibilities include differences in school environment for the two types of program, as well as the possibility mentioned before, of different expectations by students according to the program in which they are enrolled. As these students are close to the end of their schooling, differences in anticipated activity the following year may influence both the way they see themselves at school and consequently the

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8 That is, imminently more financially independent if expecting to work the following year, or else beginning a new course of full-time study and continued financial dependence.
influence the school environment has on their political self-image directly, according to the role in which they see themselves presently, or soon to be in.

Students taking a more academically-oriented program could be expected to do better in civics knowledge given that the subject civics is studied by all students in both types of program. Also one might anticipate that the better informed students are the more likely to feel efficacious. Overall 'type of program' as a variable is expected to positively contribute to explaining civics knowledge, perception of school environment and thirdly, political self-image, or, more specifically, sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

Due to differences in role expectations between the two sexes in society, and the reasonably close balance in numbers between the two groups, sex as a variable could be expected to explain some of the variation of the three dependent variables. First, civics as a social science subject is traditionally associated with the female role and hence on that ground, one would anticipate that female students perform better on civics knowledge than male students. On the other hand, the content of the course in the field of politics is traditionally associated with the masculine role.

Whether either or both role stereotypes are realized in the Swedish student population remains unclear at this stage of analysis. Secondly, if males or females do perform better academically on civics knowledge, then it follows that the better informed group might feel politically more efficacious. However, if this is the case, there remains the factor of males having an image of an active role in the political arena, and females

9 If, for example, females were very under-represented, one would anticipate that the picture would be complicated by the fact that they were likely to be a more able group than the male students. See Appendix E, Table E.3, for the percentage of male and female students.

10 See Chapter 3, part A, on the participation of women in Swedish political life, and Chapter Two on sex role differences and civics knowledge.
a passive or inactive role. Hence it will be interesting to test as well, the direct influence of sex role stereotyping on student development of a sense of political efficacy, to see if a more positive political self-image for males operates as well as greater knowledge or despite being less knowledgeable as the case may be. The third area where sex role stereotyping might be seen to be operating is in perception of school environment, where, consistent with this stereotype, male students would see themselves in a more active independent role and hence have higher expectations of the school environment. These higher expectations would, logically, result in a more critical assessment of that environment, when compared with the assessment of female students. If this is the case, does this influence act to lower their political self-image or does the effect of role image over-ride any differences between the two groups on how positively they rate their school environment?

The alternative to these propositions is that sex role stereotyping has no significant effect on student perception of their school environment, their performance on civics knowledge nor their political self-image. This would be in contrast to well-established information on the influence of sex role stereotypes on student choice of course, and expectations, for future study and/or career. In general, the effect of sex role stereotyping on student development of their political self-image and its effect on how the school influences them, is an intriguing issue.

Having traced the possible causal influence of differences in sex, I now turn to that of home background. One would expect the socio-economic background of a student to have a direct influence on whether he or she was still studying at this level, but not so obvious is influence on performance on civics knowledge. The expected effect is of a direct relationship, with

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11 See Chapter 3 on the Swedish Educational System for a discussion of the differences.
students from higher socio-economic backgrounds having a greater interest in a non-applied subject such as civics, and performing better academically in the subject.

At the same time, a student from a higher socio-economic background could also be expected to feel more influential in society as an individual and hence more politically efficacious and, similarly, in the school environment, as he or she would identify with being at school and see it as an accepted or usual step in contrast with students from low socio-economic backgrounds where continuation beyond compulsory schooling would be seen as a less accepted step and a less usual activity and hence the student may be more likely to feel out of place in some respects of his or her school life. Together these effects compound to indicate a possible direct effect of home background on student political self-image, perception of their school environment, and civics knowledge. Indirectly, socio-economic background may influence political self-image through perception of school environment and civics knowledge.

In total, the background variables are expected to have a positive explanatory power on the model, as are the two intervening dependent variables school environment and civics knowledge in explaining variation in the dependent variables in the second step. Further, of these two variables, civics knowledge has a direct causal link with political self-image whereas school environment has a direct causal link with both political self-image and civics knowledge and an indirect link with political self-image through civics knowledge.

In the next section I go on to describe in detail how the variables were transformed into a suitable form for inclusion in a path analysis model, before proceeding to the analysis of the model and findings in this and the next chapter.

12 With the possible exception of the variable sex on the variable civics knowledge.
C. ITEM SELECTION AND SCALE FORMATION

From the variables and their relationships described in the previous sections, three measures were formed into scales in a suitable manner for inclusion in a path analysis model. The first step was analysis of the factoring of items likely to be included in Scales. The first scale was to be formed on student political self-image, the second on school environment, and the third on home background.

The scales were chosen following a focus of comparisons between items on student perceptions of their school environment and items on their attitudes towards, and perceptions of society and how they saw the citizenship role. The initial correlations were made between sets of items on the basis of face value meaning of the items. Those items which had a number of interesting and significant correlations with items from other sets were selected for further analysis. This process facilitated the focus of the analysis on to the key issues of the thesis.

The items to be analysed for possible inclusion in one of the three scales were: firstly, two sets of items on school environment; secondly, two sets of items on student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness; and thirdly, four items on home background.

These items were selected on the basis of their relevance to the main thesis and on the fact that their pattern of correlations with items in other sets clearly indicated that they were high quality items likely to


14 Initial correlations were made between groups of items on student perceptions of their school experience and groups of items on students reporting on their social and political attitudes, and perceptions including their perceptions of the citizenship role and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. Items on their aspirations, adults, the peer group, and interest in civics were also included. See Tables 5.1 to 5.15 and the Tables E.1 to E.4, in Appendix E for lists of items. While the items listed in these tables include all the most interesting items, they do not constitute a comprehensive list.
form reliable measures of concepts making up the three scales. The measures on school environment and sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness are two of the three endogenous variables in the path analysis model, the third measure on home background being one of the exogenous variables.

The process of political socialization in the school is, of course, not confined to the school environment, or latent political socialization alone. The manifest socializing influence of the curricula on student attitudes, and the effect of the direct, and the indirect influences in interaction is also relevant. The measure used of what is learnt in civics classes, is a measure of student civics knowledge. Formation of the civics knowledge scores are discussed in the following section.

The items on student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness were in two sets. In the factor analysis of the international data, a sense of political efficacy was one factor found in the thirty items on social attitudes (from the Affective Questionnaire and listed in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 (nineteen items) and Table 5.15 (six items). The other factors found in the international analysis were anti-authoritarianism, tolerance and civil liberties, general tolerance, women's rights and value of criticism. Some of the factors form subsets of other factors, as in the case of women's rights, or combinations of other factors as with general tolerance and value of criticism.  

A three factor and a five factor solution of the items for the Swedish Population IV data produced results which were fairly complex to interpret as some items loaded on more than one factor.

In the three factor solution, Factor 2 has a straightforward interpretation. Six items have moderate or high factor pattern loadings on Factor 2, (items Eff. to Eff.6 in Table 5.15), and

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15 See: Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, Table 7.1 (pp.168-9).
inconsequential loadings on other factors.\textsuperscript{16} Items \textit{Eff.1}, \textit{Eff.2} and \textit{Eff.3} had the highest loadings. The other three items had moderate loadings.\textsuperscript{17}

In the five factor solution, items in Factor 2 have the same order of importance to the scale, and the factor pattern loadings are almost identical with variation of between the same values as for the three factor solution and 0.1 lower. Items in Factor 2 in the five factor solution also have inconsequential loadings on other factors. The other factors in this solution varied according to whether three or five factors were extracted, but altogether the other factors were in a very general sense, similar to those extracted from the international data.

In the three factor solution, Factor 1 contained fourteen items with factor pattern scores greater than 0.30. Items \textit{Lib.13} to \textit{Lib.22} in Table 5.6 on liberalism\textsuperscript{18} indicate the first ten of these with factor pattern values greater than 0.40 in order of importance to the scale.\textsuperscript{19} The first three items have high loadings and the following six, moderate loadings. Item \textit{Lib.21} indicates that the factor is not just to do with 'minority rights' but has a broader concept behind it. Comparing this factor with the international analysis, the four items on race (\textit{Lib.13}, \textit{Lib.14}, \textit{Lib.16} and \textit{Lib.20}, were in the \textit{tolerance and civil liberties} factor. Women's rights (\textit{Lib.15}, \textit{Lib.17}, \textit{Lib.18} and \textit{Lib.19}) are, in a sense, one aspect of \textit{tolerance and civil liberties} and the Swedish data

\textsuperscript{16} Loadings of less than 0.18 on other factors.

\textsuperscript{17} The loadings were 0.79, 0.76, 0.72, 0.57 and 0.48 on items \textit{Eff.1} \textit{Eff.6} respectively in Table 5.15. Factor 2 accounted for 26.1\% of the variance.

\textsuperscript{18} Liberalism is used in the sense of a liberal political philosophy.

\textsuperscript{19} Factor pattern values for \textit{Lib.13} to \textit{Lib.22} in order were: 0.81, 0.80, 0.77, 0.60, 0.56, 0.55, 0.53, 0.47, 0.46, and 0.40. (The excluded items had values of 0.38, 0.38, 0.35 and 0.32). This factor accounted for 63.7\% of the variance (3 factor solution).
shows a different division of the general concept of equal citizen rights in general, with ten items on liberalism, rather than four items only on women's rights as in the international data.

The third factor in the three factor solution contains nine items, Crit.23 to Crit.31 reported in Table 5.7. This factor is comparable to the belief in value of criticism of government in the international analysis, but the items in this factor more precisely describe the concept of support for freedom to criticize the government.20 The first two items have high values and the following two, moderate values. The remaining five items have low values.

In interpreting the three factor solution then, Factor 2 on sense of efficacy and government responsiveness was clear cut, while Factor 1 on liberalism, and Factor 3 on support for the freedom to criticize the government, were characterized by the large number of items in the factors and the need to focus on the strongest items. Accordingly, I gave closer consideration to the five factor solution.

In summary of the three factor solution, Factor 2 on sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, is similar for the Swedish and international analysis, and the prevailing themes for the other factors in the Swedish data are liberalism and support for the freedom to criticize the government, not anti-authoritarianism and tolerance and support for civil liberties, which featured in the international analysis.21 The five factor solution shows certain similarities with the three factor solution. As already discussed, Factor 2 is very closely similar in both solutions. The first seven items of Factor 3 in both solutions are very closely comparable, making the two Factor 3's similar.

20 Factor pattern values for items Crit.23 to Crit.31 in Table 5.7 in order are: 0.77, 0.72, 0.51, 0.50, 0.39, 0.35, 0.35, 0.31, 0.30. This factor accounted for 10.2% of the variance (3 factor solution).

21 See: Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 7.1 (pp.168-9) to compare the items and see the discussion, pp.174-6, 241-52.
Factor 5 in the five factor solution is comparable to Factor 1 in the three factor solution. The first eight items are those on race and women in both factors. Hence Factors 2, 3 and 5, in the five factor solution are comparable to Factors 2, 3 and 1, in the three factor solution.

Turning now to Factor 1 and Factor 4, Factor 1 comes closest to the anti-authoritarianism factor in the international analysis, being a very general factor on nationalism/national awareness with authoritarian overtones. Factor 4 contains three items, each of which are loaded significantly on other factors as well. The factor pattern values are moderate to low and describe a similar concept to that in Factor 3, being positively worded statements about freedoms in a democratic society.

The comparison of the three and five factor solutions help clarify the concepts measured by the items. The outstanding fact is that the items on sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness are distinct from the other items in that they form a unique group of items measuring one concept. The problems of large numbers of items which arose with the other two factors in the three factor solution, and the problems of items measuring more than one concept which arose with the other four factors in the five factor solution, were not a feature of Factor 2, sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, in either solution. The factor remained quite stable in varied solutions of the set of items from which it was drawn.

As student development of a political self-image is a very important outcome of political socialization, and sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is a critically important part of political self-

22 Factor pattern values for the items are: Lib. 18 0.67; Lib. 17 0.66; Lib. 15 0.58; Lib. 19 0.50; Lib. 14 0.46; Lib. 20 0.41; Lib. 13 0.40; and Lib. 15 0.32. (Factor 5 in the five factor solution. Items from Table 5.6).

23 The factor pattern values were as follows: Item 1. 0.58 (if another nation does not agree with us, we should sometimes fight them). Lib. 22 0.47; Lib. 13 0.41; Lib. 14 0.35; Crit. 27 0.34; Crit. 31 0.32; Lib. 21 0.31 Lib. 16 0.30. Items from Tables 5.6 and 5.7.
image, this factor will be formed into a scale for testing in the model. Other items and factors are excluded from further analysis as they are not measures relevant to the model, although analysis of these items as made in Chapter 5, is important to the development of this thesis.

A second set of items was tested as a general measure of efficacy and responsiveness. Items Resp.1 to Resp.10 in Table 5.8, made up those items found to measure local and national government in the international analysis, and are part of a set of twenty-four items. The first twelve items were on responsiveness of the local council and included Resp.6 to Resp.10. The second set are the same statements applied to the national government and include Resp.1 to Resp.5. The three factors found in the international analysis were, in brief: evaluation, power, and responsiveness of government.

In the three and five factor solutions, Factors 1 and 2 each contain the same corresponding items. Factor 1 has ten items on national government and Factor 2, ten items on the local council. Not unexpectedly, Factors 1 and 2 in both the three and five factor solutions are significantly correlated with coefficients of 0.41 and 0.33 respectively. As the two factors measure essentially the same concept, the difference in the two factors is in the level of government to which the concept applies. These two factors are characterized by being very general factors. They each contain ten out of a possible twelve items on each of the two levels of government.

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24 See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the items. These items are from the Affective Questionnaire.

25 See: Judith V. Torney, op. cit., Table 7.1 (p.168), and pp.207-9.

26 See: A.N. Oppenheim and Judith V. Torney, op. cit., Table 7.1 (p.168) for the two measures used in scales in the international analysis.

27 Factor pattern values with an oblique rotation and three factors specified: for the national government: 0.76, 0.75, 0.69, 0.61 (Resp.2), 0.58, 0.58 (Resp.3), 0.52 (Resp.4), 0.51, 0.49 (Resp.5), 0.44 (Resp.1), and for the local council: 0.68, 0.61, 0.61, 0.60 (Resp.8), 0.60, 0.58 (Resp.7), 0.55 (Resp.9), 0.52, 0.47 (Resp.10) and 0.47 (Resp.6).
Comparing these two factors with the international analysis of this set of items, Factors 1 and 2 measure both government evaluation and government responsiveness, the stronger items tending to be on government evaluation. More specifically, the factors could be described as measuring government approachability and responsiveness to the citizen, applying either in general, or, individually.

The remaining factors in the solutions were more difficult to analyse in that they contained few items. Varying delta to produce rotations approaching orthogonal, or an orthogonal rotation produced similar Factors 1 and 2 to the oblique solution but variations in the subsequent factors were found. None of the solutions produced a government responsiveness factor of the sort described in the international analysis. The two main factors found were on approachability/responsiveness for the two levels of government, and a third one was found on power.

As the factors extracted from this set of items were either very general, or based on very few items, and it was not unusual for items to load on more than one factor (in factors subsequent to the first two factors found), these items are less well suited on statistical criteria for scale formation than those from the attitude scales discussed above. In addition, the items thought likely to form a reliable measure of government responsiveness did not in fact emerge clearly, but formed part of a more general measure of government approachability or responsiveness in general or to individual citizens (as opposed to a detached, aloof, or self-interested body). While the items in the political efficacy factor, Eff.1 to Eff.6 form a measure of key importance to political self-image, the concept of approachability/responsiveness is a more general concept, and is less suitable as an indicator of the sort of political self-image held by students. Hence items Eff.1 to Eff.6 were chosen to form a scale.

28 See: Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 7.1 (p.168), and pp.207-209.
measuring student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

Items first considered for the second scale on school environment were drawn from a set of fifteen items on school climate in the Civics Background Questionnaire. On statistical grounds and also on the basis of a value assessment of these items the scale was formed from these items in preference to an alternative set. The value assessment of the two sets of items was based on univariate data, and cross-tabulation figures and correlation coefficients of these items with social and political items, in conjunction with assessing the face value validity of these items. The alternative set was twenty four items comprising the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales questionnaire.

Both sets of items were factored, using an oblique rotation. In the first set, the first solution was for extraction of all factors with an eigenvalue greater than one. This resulted in a four factor solution. The second solution found specified three factors. The results of the factor analysis were quite distinctive and are generally comparable with the international findings.

The first and second Factor solutions selected the same items, the third and fourth factors extracted in the four factor solution forming the third factor in the three factor solution.

29 See Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. The items in these three Tables make up the fifteen items in the school climate section of the Civics Background Questionnaire.

30 See Table 5.4 for a list of the ten most important of the items from the second set, which were to do with school environment rather than student educational aspirations or liking for school.

31 Delta was set at 0, as for the previous sets of items discussed above.

32 This was a similar procedure to that used above for the five and three factor solutions. Three factors were found in the international analysis. See: Judith V. Torney, op.cit., Table 7.1 (p.172) and Table 10.7.

33 Using a factor pattern score of 0.30 or more.
The first factor contained five items, Ind.7 to Ind. 11 in Table 5.2 on *freedom of expression*. This term is used to mean that class members are regarded as individuals with varying opinions which they are free to express simply because they are class members apart from any other qualification for being able to have an opinion heard, such as academic ability or socio-economic background.

The second factor was comprised of four items on *patriotic ritual*. As expected, these four items formed a distinctive group with very low correlations with other factors extracted. While the items measure *patriotic ritual* quite adequately by statistical criteria, the heavy concentration of responses into one category made the items unsuitable for inclusion in a scale to be used in a model. The items are less appropriate in the Swedish population than the other items in the *school climate* set. The four items on *patriotic ritual* were excluded from the school environment scale.

The third and fourth factors extracted are found from two closely related concepts, and are quite highly correlated. In the three factor solution, these items together form the third factor. Three items refer to *cliqueness among students* and three to *favouritism by teachers*.

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34 Factor pattern scores (four factor solution) were as follows: Ind.7 to Ind.10 resp.: 0.75, 0.71, 0.70, 0.66, 0.40. Items Ind.7 to Ind.10 formed a scale called *student independence* in the international analysis, but the Swedish Population IV shows a fifth item, Ind.11, giving the scale a more specific interpretation. See: Judith V. Torney, *op.cit.*, Table 71 (p.172).

35 See: *Ibid.*, Table 7.1 (p.172). These were the same group of items as those found in the international results on *patriotic ritual*. Correlation coefficients between factors were as follows: Factor 2 with Factor 1, 0.08, Factor 2 with Factor 3, -0.00, Factor 2 with Factor 4, -0.13. Other coefficients for the four factor solution were: Factors 1 and 3, 0.14, Factors 1 and 4, 0.47, and Factors 3 and 4, -0.47. (See in text below for a discussion of Factors 3 and 4.)

36 *Patriotic ritual* factor pattern scores in the four factor solution were as follows: Pat.13 to Pat.16 0.80, 0.70, 0.65, and 0.54 respectively. See Table 5.3.

37 See footnote 31.

Focussing on the six items as two factors (Factors 3 and 4) in the four factor solution, the first two items on favouritism by teachers, Eq.1 and Eq.2, have the highest factor pattern scores, the three items on cliqueness among students, Eq.4, Eq.5 and Eq.6 have moderate scores, and Eq.3 on favouritism by teachers has a low score. It was decided to combine the two factors to form one measure of equality and to retain the weakest item Eq.3, in the measure at least as far as reliability testing of the scale. This procedure enabled a scale comprised of six items to be formed while at the same time not excluding part of the information available from the factor solution on the more precise measures of cliqueness among students and favouritism by teachers. The two measures on independence and equality together form a scale on school environment. Hence two measures make up the scale, five items on freedom of expression (independence) and six items, three each on cliqueness among students and favouritism by teachers (equality).

A factor analysis was also made on the alternative set of items to form a measure of school environment. The first oblique solution extracted nine factors. Factor I contained five items giving a negative school description. Factor 5 contained three items giving a positive school description. Factor 2 contained two items on educational aspirations, Factor 7, two items on a lack of individual freedom and Factor 9, two items on teacher conventionalism or authoritarianism in the classroom. The other Factors: 4, 6, and 8, contained one item each.

39 The factor pattern scores on the equality items were as follows:
Factor 3: Eq.4 0.56, Eq.5 0.54 and Eq.6 0.53, and
Factor 4: Eq.1 -0.77, Eq.2 -0.71 and Eq.3 -0.34.

40 The items are from the general attitude and descriptive scales questionnaire.

41 Delta was set at 0.00 and factors extracted with an eigenvalue greater than or equal to 1.0.
In the three factor solution, Factor 1 contained the item groups from Factors 1, 2, and 5 of the nine factor solution.\(^{42}\) The \textit{school description} scale did not emerge clearly in the Swedish \textit{Population IV} results, nor did the \textit{like-dislike school} scale also found in the international analysis, emerge as a factor.\(^{43}\)

Each item had only two optional responses compared with five optional responses for items in the \textit{school climate} set. While the items are worded in a style to suit the response options available, the items with a five-options response are preferable to work with for further analysis, particularly involving comparisons with other measures, other aspects of item quality being equal. In fact, while both sets of items produced very interesting responses in initial work on the data set, the process of factor extraction produced more satisfactory results with the \textit{school climate} items\(^ {44}\) than with the items in the \textit{General Attitude and Descriptive Scales}.\(^ {45}\)

The structure of the two sets of items tested shows few points of comparison. They each measure different facets of school environment. The factors extracted from the second set of items discussed: on a positive or negative general attitude to school; further education; school work and the school milieu provide a useful background perspective on the first set discussed on \textit{freedom of expression}, \textit{favouritism by teachers} and \textit{cliqueness among students} in the \textit{school climate} section of the \textit{Background Questionnaire} administered in the Civics survey.

\(^{42}\) When three factors were specified, Factor 1 in the three factor solution then approximated one found in the international analysis.

\(^{43}\) See: A.N. Oppenheim and Judith V. Torney, \textit{op. cit.}

\(^{44}\) For \textit{school climate} items see Tables 5.1 to 5.3.

\(^{45}\) For items in the \textit{General Attitude and Descriptive Scales} see Table 5.4 for a list of ten of the twenty-four items. These items, \textit{Dep.17} to \textit{Dep.26}, were the items forming factors comprising three or more items in the factor analysis.
Of the items on home background, four were chosen for factor analysis. The four items were: father's occupation, frequency of use of a dictionary in the home, the number of books in the home, and, the number of siblings.  

In order to facilitate comparisons between the items and scale formation, for father's occupation, nine categories were recoded into three to correspond to Swedish social groups 1, 2 and 3. The 'unclassified' category was retained as a separate category, as respondents could not readily be placed in one of the three groups. 'Use of a dictionary' was reverse coded to maintain consistency of direction, the 'number of books in the home' item was recoded into three categories in place of the original five, and the 'number of siblings' was recoded into three categories instead of five and the order of categories reversed.  

The factor analysis extracted two factors. Factor 1 contained three of the four items, recoded 'father's occupation' (RFOCC), reverse coded 'use of a dictionary' (DICTUSE), and recoded 'number of books' (NBOOKS).  

The items selected were those found to be most likely to be useful in forming measures of home background using IEA data. Items on father's and mother's years of education, and students' expected education in years were excluded from consideration because of ambiguities in the wording of the item in the Swedish questionnaire, and resultant difficulties in accurately coding responses. See Appendix E on background variables for a discussion of the categories and Table E.1 in the Appendix for a description of the various categories. 

See Appendix E on coding of categories of these items for factor analysis. 

Factor pattern scores for Factor 1 were as follows: NBOOKS 0.50, RFOCC 0.36 and DICTUSE 0.25. DICTUSE was below the criterion used for item selection, but was still considered for possible inclusion in the scale.
The rescored number of siblings (NSIBS) was the sole item in Factor 2. NBOOKS has a moderate weight on Factor 1, and RFOCC and DICTUSE, low weights. The difference in weights on the rotated and unrotated factor matrix and factor pattern scores was minimal. Exclusion of missing data pairwise or listwise showed little difference in results. The purpose of the factor analysis of these items is to form the best measure of home background from the available data. Further, as the measure is exogenous to the model, a principal components solution of the variables was used, as there was no reason to make any assumptions about the structure of the variables forming the homebackground scale. Factor 1 was taken as the best measure of home background.

Considering the three factors chosen for scale formation, firstly, two measures of school environment were formed, one on equality and one on freedom of expression. These measures were to be formed into one scale measuring student perception of their school environment. Items on student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness formed a measure to be endogenous in the model, as well as a third possible, though less statistically satisfactory measure of home background.

The scales were formed by first multiplying the values for each item by the principal component unrotated factor score coefficient for that item, and then multiplying each result so obtained by a constant integer to retain the same approximate value range of the items. The values of the items were then summed and the total divided by the number of items.

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50 There seemed little to be achieved employing a rotated factor solution as this would add little if anything of benefit to the analysis, and would involve a series of assumptions about the data for a home background scale which are quite unnecessary for the analysis.

51 The scales were formed by the following procedure: for example:

step 1: Eff.1 \times \text{factor score coefficient} \times \text{constant}
step 2: (\text{new}) \text{Eff.1} + (\text{new}) \text{Eff.2} + ... + (\text{new}) \text{Eff.6/6} = \text{POLEFF}.

The multiplication procedure was a simple arithmetic procedure derived to ensure comparability of scales forming the SCHLENV scale.
In the case of the *school environment* scale, two separate scales were formed on *equality* and *freedom of expression* and the values combined \((\text{Eq.} + \text{Ind.}/2)\) to form one scale.

Missing data in this survey was due to such reasons as a student being absent on the day of one or all of the tests, or omitting a response to one or some items. The number of missing responses increased slightly in variable order within sections, suggesting some students responded to most items, and then went on to the next section in some cases, and missing responses increased slightly going through the questionnaires, suggesting some students either had insufficient time to complete the questionnaires, or just responded to most items. Interest of the items to individual students was a likely influence on response rates of some students as there were opportunities to choose such options as 'I don't know', or 'I am not sure' according to what was appropriate for different sections of items, so that students were not forced to have opinions on every item. That is, most missing data is from student absence from school, while marginal increases in missing data are found in items near the end of a section, or near the end of a particular questionnaire. These are independent of the data itself and hence a very strong case can be made for the randomness of the missing data. That is, the effect on results, such as those of path or regression analysis are minor.

Missing data was excluded from the three scales. In the POLEFF and SCHLENV scales, missing data was excluded listwise, and for the HBACKGR scale, cases with two or more values missing were excluded, and those

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with one value missing had the value replaced with the mean for the scale, and those with no missing data were of course included. 53

D. FORMATION OF THE EMPirical VARIABLES

The third dependent variable in the model is student civics knowledge. The influence of this on students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness and the influence of students' perception of their school environment on their civics learning, and on their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness are the relationships of primary interest in this chapter. These relationships assess the influence of school on students' political self-image, in particular, of the manifest and latent political socializing experiences of school. The extent of consistency between the two aspects of political socialization on political self-image can also be examined using these measures.

Students' civics knowledge was tested using a multiple-choice questionnaire. The total corrected score is used as a measure of students' civics knowledge. This score had values ranging from -12.0 to 54

53 Alpha reliability coefficients were calculated for each of the three scales: POLEFF, SCHLENV and HBACKGR. The POLEFF scale had the highest reliability with SCHLENV also a strong scale. Exclusion of one (the weakest) item did not improve reliability at the 0.1 level so all five items were retained in the POLEFF scale and all 6 in the SCHLENV scale. The lower reliability of the HBACKGR scale led to reconsideration of its value over a single item indicator of home background such as father's occupation. Allan Birnbaum, Statistical Theories of Mental Test Scores, Addison-Wesley, Mass., 1968, p.91. Jun C. Nunnally, Psychometric Theory, McGraw Hill, US, 1967, pp.210-35; David J. Armor, 'Theta Reliability and Factor Scaling Sociological Methodology 1973-74, pp.17-50; David R. Heise & George W. Bohrnstedt, 'Validity, Invalidity and Reliability' in Sociological Methodology 1970, pp.104-129; Anne T. Cleary, Robert L. Linn & G. William Walster, 'Effect of Reliability and Validity on Power of Statistical Tests' in Sociological Methodology 1970, pp.130-8. The alpha reliability coefficients were: POLEFF 0.80, SCHLENV 0.77, and HBACKGR 0.26.

54 The total score with correction for guessing.
The mean value for the Swedish sample was 27.5. These values were recoded into eight categories, by percentage of distribution of scores attained by the students. This recoding into eight categories was performed to put the data in an appropriate form for path analysis. Eight categories were chosen as an optimal number for several reasons. The distribution of the five grades awarded to Swedish students was examined first. As a workable but larger number of categories would provide greater precision to the analysis, eight was chosen, by subdividing the three middle categories into two each, so that fewer students were in the upper and lower categories (7 per cent), and the greatest number were in the two middle categories (19 per cent each), immediately above and below the median number in the cohort.

Of the sample population, 77.8 per cent scored more than half of the possible maximum score, half of the students scored two-thirds or more of the possible maximum score, and 23.2 per cent scored three-quarters or more of the maximum score. Overall, the Swedish students performed very well indeed compared with their international counterparts.

Questions arose as to how much the type of program the student was studying influenced civics achievement, as well as how much the student's sex role, home background, and the general ability of the student, contributed to accounting for civics achievement. These same variables of home background, sex role, 'ability' and the type of program also seem

55 Other relevant statistics were: a minimum score of -4.0 and a maximum of 44.3 (of a possible minimum and maximum of -12.0 and 48.0) giving a range over 48.3 and a slight skew in the distribution of -0.05. N. of cases = 1244.

56 The approximate distribution from lowest to highest was: 1 to 8: 7%, 10%, 14%, 19%, 19%, 14%, 10% and 7%. Compare this to the grade merits given to Swedish matriculation students of 1. 7%, 2. 24% (cf. 2 and 3), 3. 38% (cf. 4 and 5), 4. 24% (cf. 6 and 7), 5. 7% (cf. 8). See The Integrated Upper Secondary School, The National Swedish Board of Education, Utbildningsforlaget, Stockholm, 1971, p.21.
likely influences on students' perception of their school environment as well as having an important role in the development of their political self-image.

As the measure used of students' 'ability' was also based on test scores like the corrected civics knowledge scores, the measure used of 'ability' will be discussed next. A test of verbal ability, or, more specifically, word knowledge, was administered to the sample. This test gives a general indication of ability, and in particular, is a measure of students' verbal ability. It is an appropriate measure for assessing the contribution of a student's ability to civics learning outcome, or civics knowledge. It is also an important contributor to students' perception of their school environment, influencing their understanding of their school environment and their ability to comprehend the relevant questionnaire and respond intelligently. Whether matriculation students are, as a whole, already capable in these respects so that the contribution of ability to their perceptions, plays only a minor role, is at issue.

It is obvious that students with ability below a certain point would be unable to provide a coherent and intelligent response to the questionnaire items on school environment for example. It is also evident from the analysis of questionnaire responses in the previous chapter that Swedish students did in fact respond coherently and intelligently to items. Hence, what remains to be analysed is the influence of ability on student perceptions of their school environment', given that they were generally capable of adequately handling the questionnaire items and hence of having a fairly sophisticated appreciation of values presented to them through their experiences of their school environment.

Similarly, with the influence of students' ability on the development of their political self-image, questions arise as to whether students of greater ability can better comprehend the complex political system and whether they are more politically efficacious as a result. Alternatively,
are they more cynical, and less able students, less well informed, and more trusting, and hence feel more efficacious? Thirdly, do the differences in the abilities of matriculation students influence their development of their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, or are other factors of far greater importance to the formation of political self-image?

To assess the contribution of general ability to each of these variables on school environment, civics knowledge, and sense of political efficacy, the test scores of students were recoded into eight categories by the same procedure as that used for civics knowledge. It is relevant to point out that the measure of word knowledge used, is entirely appropriate as an exogenous independent variables to a path analysis, being a national sample, and designed to give population patterns. It is not designed to assess individual students' ability with an individual precision and reliability that would permit decisions to be made about individual students' careers or whatever on the basis of this one test score. Hence, it functions as a very useful, purpose specific, measure.

The score had values ranging from -10.0 to 40.0. The mean value for the Swedish sample was 24.5. Of the sample population, 91.5 per cent scored more than half of the possible maximum score, half of the students scored 70 per cent or more of the possible maximum score, 29.6 per cent scored three quarters or more of the maximum score, and 0.6 per cent attained the maximum score (compared with 0.0 per cent for the civics knowledge instrument). Generally the students' results compared favourably with the international results.

57 Other relevant statistics were: a minimum score of -8.0 and a maximum of 40.0 (of a possible minimum and maximum of -10.0 and 40.0), giving a range over 48.0 and a negative skew: -.607. N. of cases = 1244.

58 See: Judith V. Torney, op. cit., Tables 6.9 and 6.10.
Other available variables on background influences which were considered as likely to be causally relevant are: the sex of the student and the type of program in which he or she is enrolled.

The sex of the student forms a dichotomous variable, not an interval scale or ratio data, and a 'dummy' variable, DS, was formed to replace SSEX in the path analysis. DS had values of '0' for female and '1' for male. Similarly with the 'type of program' (TOP) variable, the 'dummy' variable DT was formed to replace TOP. DT had values of '0' for 'fackskola', and '1' for 'gymnasium'.

The measures used to form the three endogenous variables in the path analysis model are two attitude scales, POLEFF and SCHLENV, and one empirical test score, CCIV. The four measures forming the background variables in the model are one scale, HBACKGR, one empirical test score, CWK, and two 'dummy' variables DS and DT formed from two dichotomous items, SSEX and TOP.

E. THE PATH ANALYSIS

Seven variables form the path analysis model. Hence of the three in the model, the influence of school environment and academic learning (in this case, civics knowledge), precede the formation of a political self-image by students either directly, or indirectly via the intervening variable, civics knowledge (see Figure 6.1).

The school environment provides the setting within which academic learning takes place, and hence the school environment variable takes prior order to the civics knowledge variable, rather than the reverse, or a reciprocal link or no specified connection.

These three variables have a unique order of hypothesized relationship, but without putting such relationships into perspective by controlling for background influences, the outcome of examining the strength of these relationships would not be able to be put in an appropriate context. All four are measures of background influences: one scale on home background, the word knowledge scores, a dichotomous item on sex of the student, and a dichotomous variable on the type of program being undertaken by the student, are relevant to each of the three dependent variables. Two of the background measures were formed into dummy variables as described above, to convert them into a suitable form for path analysis.

Hence of the seven variables described to be tested in the model for a path analysis, the three endogenous dependent variables have the direction of their relationships specified, as they are for the relationship
Note that this is a just-identified recursive model. The figures used for the path coefficients are standardized beta (regression) coefficients (→) and for non-specified causal relationships, the correlation coefficients (↔).
between each independent variable and the dependent variables, but no assumptions have been made about relationships between the four independent variables.

Missing data has been excluded on a listwise basis for all seven variables with the exception of the home background scale. The causes of data to be missing - primarily absence of a student on the day of one or more of the tests in most cases, is unrelated to the substance of the instruments administered, and hence is likely to be randomly distributed through the data. In the case of one value on one item in the home background scale, namely the 'unclassified' category of father's occupation, respondents were added to the missing data as it was not possible to recode this category with the other responses in a way that enabled the responses for the three items to be formed into one scale, HBACKGR. This left 1244 valid cases out of 1878 students in the sample.

A path analysis was performed, testing the relationships shown in Diagram 6.1. From the Diagram and Tables 6.1 and 6.2, it can be seen that most variance is accounted for on \( X_6 \) CCIV, with \( X_7 \) POLEFF second, \( X_5 \) SCHLENV third. While the background variables contribute little to explaining the variance in \( X_7 \) POLEFF and \( X_5 \) SCHLENV, they account for just over 40 per cent of the variance in \( X_6 \) CCIV, \( X_5 \) explains more of the variation in \( X_7 \) POLEFF, with \( X_3 \) DT (TOP) explaining the next largest amount.


62 Cases with any item value missing in any scale or score or single item variable were excluded with the exception of the home background scale because of the exclusion of cases with father's occupation coded 'O', from non-missing cases. The procedure, as explained above, was for up to one missing value for any case in the scale to be replaced with the mean value for each case in the scale, including responses coded 'unclassified' ('O'), in the father's occupation item.
TABLE 6.1 MANIFEST AND LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCES ON FINAL YEAR SECONDARY STUDENTS: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>X2</th>
<th>X3</th>
<th>X4</th>
<th>X5</th>
<th>X6</th>
<th>X7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X1 HBACKGR</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X2 DS (SSEX)</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X3 DT (TOP)</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X4 CWK</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X5 SCHLENV</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X6 CCIV</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X7 POLEFF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the background variables are the most powerful predictors in their causal relationship with $x_6$ CCIV. However, the background variables predict little of the variation in $x_5$ SCHLENV or in $x_7$ POLEFF particularly when compared with their predictive power of $x_6$ CCIV. Of the endogenous predictor variables, $x_5$ SCHLENV, is a predictor of moderate strength of the dependent variable $x_7$ POLEFF. The other two relationships between the endogenous variables, $x_5$ SCHLENV on $x_6$ CCIV and $x_6$ CCIV on $x_7$ SCHLENV are weak relationships. 63

63 The following classification was used to describe path coefficients:

Less than 0.05 not important
0.05 - 1.00 weak
1.01 - 2.50 moderate
greater than 2.50 strong

Looking more closely at the relationships between the four background variables, \( X_1 \) HBACKGR, \( X_2 \) DS (SSEX), \( X_3 \) DT (TOP), and \( X_5 \) CWK, with the three dependent variables, \( X_5 \) SCHLENV, \( X_6 \) CCIV and \( X_7 \) POLEFF, the strongest two relationships are with CCIV, with \( X_4 \) CWK and \( X_3 \) DS, both being strong predictors. \( X_4 \) is also a significant, but moderate predictor of a second dependent variable \( X_5 \) SCHLENV (with an insubstantial value on the third dependent value \( X_7 \) POLEFF). \( X_2 \) DS is also a moderate predictor, but of only one dependent variable \( X_6 \) CCIV.

Hence each of the three dependent variables \( X_5 \) SCHLENV, \( X_6 \) CCIV and \( X_7 \) POLEFF have at least one predictor of moderate strength as in the case of \( X_5 \) SCHLENV and \( X_7 \) POLEFF and in the case of \( X_6 \) CCIV, two strong and one moderate predictor. The strongest predictors are \( X_4 \) CWK and \( X_3 \) DT with a strong and a moderate predictive power each, and \( X_5 \) SCHLENV and \( X_2 \) DS each with a moderate value. The remaining two predictor variables, \( X_1 \) HBACKGR and \( X_6 \) CCIV, had at best, one weak predictive relationship. While the reliability of the two scales SCHLENV and POLEFF was high, HBACKGR had a relatively low scale reliability. In view of it being the only background variable with no moderate or strong relationship with the dependent variables, an alternative variable, FOCC (father's occupation) was tried in its place. The results of the path analysis with FOCC replacing HBACKGR did not produce any causal relationships of moderate or greater strength involving FOCC. However, its predictive relationship with \( X_7 \) POLEFF changed from being insubstantial to a (marginal) weak relationship. Hence, the original measure of 'home background', HBACKGR was retained and

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64 FOCC (father's occupation) was chosen out of the three items forming HBACKGR because the strongest item NBOOKS (number of books in the home) had a heavily skewed distribution (see Appendix E, Tables E.1 and E.2) making it unsuitable for predictive purposes in a causal model as a 'raw' variable, and FOCC had the advantage of being a close second as a good quality item with 10 response categories and a quite spread response pattern.
TABLE 6.2 MANIFEST AND LATENT POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCES ON FINAL YEAR SECONDARY STUDENTS: PATH COEFFICIENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_5$ SCHLENV</td>
<td>$X_1$ HBACKGR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_6$ CCIV</td>
<td>$X_2$ DS (SSEX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_7$ POLEFF</td>
<td>$X_3$ DT (TOP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_4$ CVK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_5$ SCHLENV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_6$ CCIV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Path Coefficients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$P_{X_5}X_1$</th>
<th>$P_{X_6}X_1$</th>
<th>$P_{X_7}X_1$</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.06*</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P_{X_5}X_2$</td>
<td>$P_{X_6}X_2$</td>
<td>$P_{X_7}X_2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.19*</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P_{X_5}X_3$</td>
<td>$P_{X_6}X_3$</td>
<td>$P_{X_7}X_3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08*</td>
<td>0.29*</td>
<td>0.09*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P_{X_5}X_4$</td>
<td>$P_{X_6}X_4$</td>
<td>$P_{X_7}X_4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.18*</td>
<td>0.41*</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P_{X_5}X_5$</td>
<td>$P_{X_6}X_5$</td>
<td>$P_{X_7}X_5$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.07*</td>
<td>-0.07*</td>
<td>0.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P_{X_6}X_6$</td>
<td>$P_{X_7}X_6$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant in F test at 0.05 level.

§ Significant in F Test at 0.001 level.

1. Independent variables were entered in one step.
2. $X_5$ was entered in step 1, and $X_1$ to $X_4$ in step 2.
3. $X_5$ and $X_6$ were entered in step 1, and $X_1$ to $X_4$ in step 2.
the alternative FOCC rejected, as it made an insignificant difference, if
any, to the path coefficients in the model and was less desirable
statistically, as a single item measure of home background than the scale
HBACKGR.

The explanatory power of the background variables of $X_6$ CCIV or civics
knowledge is about as expected in the light of other studies. The fact
that the background variables provide strong predictors of $X_6$ CCIV (civics
knowledge), supports the reliability of these measures. Hence, the fact
that they lack a similarly strong predictive power, in relation to $X_7$ POLEFF
(sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness) is all the more
interesting. Statistically, $X_7$ POLEFF is a highly reliable measure, and
hence the null hypothesis that home background, sex, type of program, and
ability, are causally unrelated to sense of political efficacy and government
responsiveness is accepted, the type of program having a weak association
and being the only statistically significant association of the four
background variables $X_1$, $X_2$, $X_3$ and $X_4$.

That the variable $X_5$ SCHLENV does, however, explain a moderate
amount of the variance in the variable $X_7$ POLEFF, is a point of particular
interest. It means that the variations in student perceptions of their
school environment does indeed directly influence their sense of political
efficacy and perception of government responsiveness. In the case of
civics knowledge, it is evident that the variation in the level of knowledge
between students is not a substantial factor in determining their sense of
political efficacy and their perception of government responsiveness,
although a weak negative relationship is indicated.

This leads to rejection of the null hypothesis, that school environment
is causally unrelated to sense of political efficacy and perception of
government responsiveness and acceptance of the alternative hypothesis.
1. This 'reduced' model shows the strong influence of background variables on \( X_{CCIV} \). Table 6.3, Part B, lists the contribution of direct and indirect causal effects on total effects.

2. See Note 1 on Diagram 6.1 on figures used.
However, the contribution of civics knowledge to explaining variance in political efficacy is weak, and hence the null hypotheses is accepted for this relationship.

That $X_1$ HBACKGR is neither a predictor of $X_5$ SCHLENV nor $X_7$ POLEFF is an unexpected finding, as are the insignificantly low coefficients of $X_2$ DS (SSEX) as a predictor of either $X_5$ SCHLENV or $X_7$ POLEFF. Of the relationships between the background variables themselves, $X_3$ DT and $X_4$ CWK have the highest correlation, but the relative contribution of each to explaining the variance in the three dependent variables varies markedly. Hence, while the two measures may have some element in common, they are essentially describing distinct concepts.

From the point of view of educational policy-makers, it would be of interest to take the analysis of the relationship between $X_5$ SCHLENV and $X_7$ POLEFF a step further and break down the school environment scale to find which aspects of the school environment contribute to determining student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

So far, the strong or moderate direct relationships between pairs of predictor and dependent variables have been identified from the model presented in Diagram 6.1, as well as the more unexpected weak or insignificant relationships. However, the total effects of five of the six predictor variables on their respective dependent variables includes both direct and indirect effects. Table 6.3 shows the total effects of the independent or predictor variables on each dependent variable. A comparison of the direct effects (see also Table 6.2), and the total effects shows that indirect paths generally played a minor role in contributing to the total effects of any of the predictor variables on the respective dependent variables. The exception is in the causal paths between $X_4$ CWK and $X_7$ POLEFF where a weak indirect effect and an insignificant direct effect together had a weak negative causal relationship.

65 See: Hubert M. Blalock Jr., *op.cit.*
TABLE 6.3  
TOTAL EFFECTS ON FINAL YEAR SECONDARY STUDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEPENDENT VARIABLE</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT VARIABLE</th>
<th>INDIRECT EFFECTS</th>
<th>DIRECT EFFECTS</th>
<th>TOTAL EFFECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. $X_5$ SCHLENV</td>
<td>$X_1$ HBACKGR</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_2$ DS (SSEX)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_3$ DT (TOP)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.08 (weak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$X_4$ CWK</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.18 (moderate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. $X_6$ CCIV</td>
<td>$X_1$ HBACKGR</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.06 (weak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>$X_6$ CCIV</td>
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1 See: John M. Finney, 'Indirect Effects in Path Analysis', *Sociological Methods and Research* 1 (Nov. 1972), pp.175-86, for the method of calculation used.
Overall, the substantive findings of the path analysis, at this stage of the discussion, are quite striking. On the expected side is, firstly, the predictability of civics knowledge from the background factors, word knowledge, type of program and sex of the student in particular. Secondly, is the contribution of student perceptions of school environment to their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, and also, although marginally of the type of program.

Contrary to expectations are findings of a lack of a positive causal influence of civics knowledge on sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, and instead a (very) weak negative relationship. The finding of a similar relationship between perceptions of school environment and civics knowledge was also unanticipated. A positive perception of school environment and a good civics knowledge (and understanding) both being expected to contribute positively to civics knowledge and sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness respectively.

Of the background variables' causal relationships, the absence of any significant influence of students' sex on either their perceptions of school environment or their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is the most surprising, in view of the literature on sex role stereotyping, particularly in view of its moderate causal influence on civics knowledge. The general lack of influence of home background on either perception of school environment or sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is similarly unexpected. The statistically significant but weak relationship between type of program and perception of school environment is of interest, although not large enough to pursue further. However, the negative contribution of word knowledge to perception of school environment is of particular interest and raises the ——

66 See Chapter Two for a discussion, and part B of this chapter.
questions as to whether more able students have higher expectations of
the school environment or whether the less able students are less aware
of the differences which may exist?

That perceptions of school environment helps students form their
political self-image is a very encouraging finding, particularly from
the point of view of political socialization theory and from the point of
view of educational policy-makers. While the difference between just how
much the schooling experience, including both the manifest and latent
political socializing aspects of civics knowledge and perception of school
environment, contributes to different students' development of an
efficacious political self-image can be assessed empirically from the
variables in Diagram 6.1, the total influence of school experience
cannot be readily so assessed as there is not a matched sample of young
people without this experience available, allowing one to compare the two
groups.

Hence the path analysis examines the causes of relative differences
between individuals in the school system and what effects the various
causes have. A more detailed discussion of the implications of the
findings of the path analysis is developed in the next chapter, along
with other relevant points stemming from the discussion in previous
chapters.
CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA ANALYSIS: THE

POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF SWEDISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A. THE FOCAL ISSUES OF THE STUDY

B. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE PATH ANALYSIS

C. SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AND THE STUDENTS’ POLITICAL SELF-IMAGES

D. THE SWEDISH SCHOOLS AS AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

E. CONCLUSIONS
CHAPTER SEVEN
IMPLICATIONS OF THE DATA ANALYSIS: THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZING INFLUENCE OF SWEDISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A. THE FOCAL ISSUES OF THE STUDY

This thesis has examined the extent to which their perceptions of their school environment have influenced the political socialization of a sample of Swedish final-year secondary students. It has also explored the specific nature of their social and political attitudes, and the political self-image they have developed as a result of their schooling and other influences. This Chapter is an assessment of what the data analysis indicates about the relationship between students' perceptions of general school and classroom practices, their civics knowledge, social attitudes and political self-image, and the goals of Swedish educational policy. This assessment is the basis for the overall conclusions of the thesis.

The political socialization process consists of the inter-personal relationships and social influences through which a society, and various groups within it, transfers to new members values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge, about the political system, and about the ways in which various individuals, groups and institutions within that society are expected to relate to each other politically. Among the more important influences upon both the general and political socialization of a young person are family, friends, the media, the school, and the various associations of which he or she may be a member.¹

The ways in which an individual is affected by such influences depends on his or her perceptions of them, and this in turn is affected by the degree of consistency or inconsistency between the various influences operating upon an individual. In a free society, there is a

¹ See Chapter One.
diversity of such influences, and this increases the individual's scope to compare and evaluate them.  

In a free society like Sweden, the schools cannot and should not act as a comprehensive agent of political socialization. The schools are only one agent of socialization, but in view of the proportion of their lives final year Swedish secondary school students have spent in school, and school-related activities, it is to be expected that their schooling will have had a considerable influence upon both their general and political socialization.

The political socialization of Swedish youth has been examined in the context of an outline of the Swedish educational system, the Swedish civics education curricula, and the broad goals of Swedish educational policy. Swedish educational policy seeks to: complement the student's home environment; impart knowledge and train skills in such a way as to encourage the rounded development of the student as 'an independent member of society'; develop a 'sense of belonging' to Swedish society; encourage an active interest in national and international social issues and the ways in which people try to deal with them; and to encourage the students to become an active participant in the democratic process and the life of his or her community. That is, it seeks to produce loyal; politically informed citizens, with an independent outlook, who are active political participants.

The role of the schools as agents of political socialization poses a number of issues, at different levels, not all of which are amenable to a definitive answer. The more general questions are not the focal issues of this thesis, but provide a context within which the focal issues can be situated. Firstly, at the very general level, there is the question of the extent to which the net effect of the various agents

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2 See Chapter Two.
3 Ibid.
4 See Chapter Three.
of socialization in combination has been the successful political socialization of the group in question. Secondly, the extent to which the school as such has contributed to whatever degree of success has been achieved in the transfer of the political culture is a somewhat more specific question. Thirdly, one can ask questions about the kinds of influence which the school might exert on the political socialization of the students.5

The focal issue of this study is whether or not the political socializing effects of the school include an implicit or latent influence of perceived teaching, administration and peer group practices, as well the explicit or manifest socializing influence of the official civic education syllabi. To answer this question it has been necessary to examine the extent to which the students' perceptions of their school environment are reflected directly or indirectly in the students' political self-image.

This focal issue gives rise to a number of related questions. How democratic is the school environment as the students perceive it? How consistent is this with the students' social and political attitudes, their view of government, their concept of good citizenship, their out-of-school activities, and their own political self-image? If their school environment does affect the Swedish students' political self-image and attitudes, in what ways? What aspects of the students' perceptions of their school environment are the most important of the latent political socializing influences of the school? Are those effects consistent with the broad goals of Swedish educational policy concerning political socialization? Have the students developed an efficacious political self-image and a basically positive orientation towards their political system, or are they generally alienated, disaffected or cynical?

5 See Chapter Four.
The path analysis reported in Chapter Six established that the school environment has a latent socializing effect of moderate strength upon a defined aspect of the students' political self-image: their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. To form the basis for a statement of the over-all conclusions of this study, it is necessary to draw out the implications of both the path analysis, and the discussion in Chapter Five, of the specific content of the students' perceptions of their schooling, their social and political attitudes, their view of government and citizenship, and their political self-image.

B. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE PATH ANALYSIS.

This section looks at the implications of the findings reported in the last chapter in terms of the relationships postulated in section B of Chapter Six. A number of direct and indirect causal relationships can be traced through the pattern of the seven variables in the path analysis model. While no relationship is specified between the four exogenous background variables, CWK, DT (TOP), DS (SSEX) and HBACKGR, the correlation coefficients are reported. The relationships between these four predictor variables and the three dependent variables have their causal nature and the direction of the relationship specified, as do the relationships between the three endogenous variables themselves, SCHLENV, CCIV and POLEFF.  

Of the fourteen direct paths, the one of greatest interest, that between SCHLENV and POLEFF is discussed in detail in the next section. The finding of a direct influence of SCHLENV on POLEFF was not however matched in the anticipated direct contribution of level of Civics Knowledge, CCIV, to POLEFF. The finding of a weak, negative path

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6 See Chapter Six and Diagram 6.1.
coefficient, gives rise to the possibility of a cynical response by the better informed and a more naive attitude to government and the citizen's role by the less well-informed. To either negate or substantiate such a possibility would require further investigation. Similarly, it is not possible to define from the information available from the path analysis, just what contribution civic education (samhällskunskap, and socialkunskap) in Swedish schools makes to the political self-image of students completing their schooling. What is clear, is that from among the students, a high level of civics knowledge is not associated with a stronger sense of political efficacy and a more positive perception of government responsiveness.

That the reasonably efficacious political self-image of Swedish students is not complemented by these perceptions of their school environment having a positive influence on their civics learning is also one of the unexpected findings. While perceived consistency between the latent and manifest aspects of their school experience (as reflected in a positive causal relationship between SCHLENV and CCIV) would be expected to lead to a stronger sense of political efficacy than perceived inconsistency, the finding of a weak negative relationship leads to the conclusion that the inconsistencies perceived between school environment and civics teaching are not of major dimensions, but nor does the perceived extent of consistency contribute much to explaining the level of civics knowledge. 7

The indirect relationship between SCHLENV and POLEFF through CCIV has weak negative coefficients in contrast to the moderate strength of the positive direct relationship. This leads to the conclusion that within the

7 These issues may of course be resolved with a further study of the relationships between these two aspects of schooling experience and students' political self-image.
student body, variations in level of civics knowledge is neither predictable from their perceptions of their school environment, nor does such variation predict sense of political efficacy and perception of government responsiveness in a positive direction, or form a relationship of sufficient strength, to justify accepting the negative relationship interpretations mentioned above.

Looking at the four background variables, CWK, or corrected word knowledge, the measure used to indicate students' general ability, had the strongest predictive power on any one item. That was supported by the strong predictive power of CWK of students' level of knowledge in the subject area of civic education, CCIV (samhälisskunskap and socialkunskap).

However, the predictive power of CWK on students' perceptions of their school environment (SCHLENV), while a moderate strength relationship, conflicted directly with the expectations of more able students being more positive in their perceptions of their school environment. They were instead the more critical, and the less able students more accepting. That is, the students who were most likely to be the recipients of 'favours' by teachers, and to have free expression encouraged, were the most negative in their overall assessment of such practices in school, such practices running contrary to encouragement of development of an 'active democratic citizen' political outlook through the school environment. This finding is, however, generally consistent with the pattern of other findings.

Even though the influence of ability on level of grasp or comprehension of the functioning of political institutions and processes in the society is reflected through the predictive power of CWK of CCIV,

8 The four background variables are discussed each in turn in this section in the same order as that used in setting out reasons for expecting particular relationships in Chapter Six, part B, namely: CWK, TOP, SSEX and HBACKGR respectively.
this grasp or level of comprehension is not associated with a more positive political self-image, and ability does not significantly influence political self-image directly. In relation to perceptions of school environment, while the more able students perceive their school environment more negatively and the less able students more positively, the more positive perceptions carry through to a more positive political self-image, but not of course to greater civics knowledge, the less able students having lower scores on civics knowledge. However, the lack of either a significant positive or negative direct relationship between CWK and POLEFF suggests the possibility that a more trusting or naive approach to school, citizenship and images of government by the less able students may well be cancelled out by a more positive personal self-rating by more able students (combined with a more critical approach as found with CWK → SCHLENV) positively influencing their political self-image as well.

While such a possible explanation of the direct causal relationships linking CWK, and SCHLENV and POLEFF, and indirectly through SCHLENV and CCIV is raised by path analysis, resolution of these issues would require further study. Three possible explanations are raised because they offer a reasonable explanation which is consistent with the path analysis findings that are strongly supported by the data: the positive and negative relationships between CWK and CCIV, and CWK and SCHLENV, respectively and also between CWK and POLEFF through SCHLENV.

While only one of the three direct causal relationships between CWK and the endogenous variables produced the expected finding (CWK and CCIV), the finding of a significant relationship but the reverse of that expected (CWK and SCHLENV) gave rise to rethinking of explanations of that relationship, of the finding of a lack of a significant causal relationship between CWK and POLEFF, and of the associated indirect relationships.
By contrast, the type of program (TOP) as a variable is a significant although weak predictor of POLEFF. This supports the expectation of the students taking the more academically-oriented, longer gymnasium program, of seeing themselves as being more elite than their fellow students taking the two-year faøkskola program (and also than those not studying), and hence of having a more positive political self-image as part of the general image they hold about themselves. While this explanation is consistent with other findings and possibilities discussed above in relation to CWK as a predictor, it needs to be kept in mind that while the relationship is statistically significant, in view of its lack of great strength, not too much emphasis should be placed on it.

Turning to the other relationships of TOP, it is, like CWK, a strong predictor of level of civics knowledge, CCIV. This finding supports the proposition that students taking the more academically-oriented program would perform better on civics knowledge both because it is an academic rather than a practical subject and hence may seem more relevant, and because of a general expectation of the students completing a three-year program (and hence in Year 12 of their schooling) to perform better academically than those taking a more practically-oriented two-year program (and being only in Year 11).

However, TOP is only a weak (positive) predictor of SCHLENV. Of the possible explanations or reasons for such a finding, it is difficult to isolate one as clearly more logical or likely than the others. Students

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9 Although a weak predictor, it is of greater strength than the other weak predictors discussed above (CCIV with POLEFF, and SCHLENV with CCIV). See Diagram 6.1.

10 Compare this with the possible explanations raised in the discussion of CWK as a predictor above, especially in relation to the points firstly, on a more positive general self-image being related to greater naivety or trust by less able students in their efficaciousness, and secondly, the explanation of a more critical approach by the more able students in their perceptions of their school environment.
taking the gymnasium-type program, were expected to be more positive in their general image, and for this to also influence their perception of their school environment. However, the finding of the relationship between CWK and SCHLENV flatly contradicts this and raises the alternative explanation of the more able being more critical. However, students in the gymnasium-type program may well focus their attention on their study and have a more passive accepting role as students compared with those taking a fackskola-type program, although this proposition does not seem particularly likely in the context of the more able students being the more critical.

Another two possible explanations are that there are differences in school environment for the two types of program, and that students had different expectations according to the program in which they were enrolled. That is, being in their final year of schooling, differences in anticipated activity the following year may have influenced the way they see themselves at school and consequently the way they perceive their school environment and so affect the influence the school environment has on them. Hence the weak positive causal relationship between TOP and SCHLENV may possibly be explained by: firstly, gymnasium students focussing more on their study and having lower interest in, or expectations of, their school environment; secondly, the gymnasium program environment being more 'democratic' than the fackskola program environment, or third, students anticipating continuing to study perceiving their

11 While some students attended schools offering either fackskola, or, gymnasium courses, it must be kept in mind that a considerable proportion attended schools offering courses of both types.

12 Students taking a three-year course would be more likely to be anticipating further study the following year and students taking the more practical two-year courses would be more likely to be anticipating working and greater financial independence. In 1971 when unemployment was relatively low.)
environment more positively than those anticipating greater independence as members of the workforce in the near future, or some combination of the above.

Perhaps of greater interest is that the positive causal relationship between TOP and POLEFF through SCHLENV is consistent with the direct relationship between TOP and POLEFF. Hence, all three direct causal relationships of TOP with the endogenous variables were positive, as expected, two of these were found to be weak relationships, (TOP with POLEFF, and TOP with SCHLENV) and the third was found to be a strong relationship (TOP with CCIV).

One of the most surprising outcomes, given the moderate strength causal association being students' sex (SSEX) and their level of civics knowledge (CCIV) was the lack of any significant causal relationship between SSEX and either SCHLENV or POLEFF. Civic education as a social science subject is traditionally associated with the female role and female students did perform better on civics knowledge than male students. However, a similar expectation that an active participation in politics is associated with the male role and hence that male students would feel more politically efficacious than female students, was not fulfilled. The expectation that the better informed group (female students) might feel more efficacious was not fulfilled either, with a weak negative association between CCIV and POLEFF. Hence, neither level of civics knowledge, nor traditional role stereotyping of male students in a more active political role, were found to account for the political self-image of students.

The relationship between students' sex SSEX, and SCHLENV, was expected to be negative on the basis that male students would see themselves in a more active independent role and hence have higher expectations of the school environment and be more critical of it. As this was not found to be the case, the expectations of an indirect
influence on POLEFF, through SCHLENV, and that this would be 'countered' by the differences in general role image in the direct relationship were not met (the direct relationship between SSEX and POLEFF being insignificant).

Hence while the influence of sex role stereotyping is established in relation to student choice of course, expectations for future study and/or career, and for academic performance, in relation to the affective areas of: perception of school environment, and sense of political efficacy and perceptions of government responsiveness, no such stereotyping influence was found to operate among Swedish students. From this it is clear that there is no clear-cut difference in either perceptions of school environment or political self-image on the basis of students' sex.

The last independent variable to be discussed, that of home background, showed no strong relationships, and none which ran counter to the direction anticipated. While the socio-economic background of students has a direct influence on whether he or she is still studying at this level, the influence on level of civics knowledge is a weak one. In other words, the expected finding of the greater interest in a non-applied subject of students from higher socio-economic backgrounds is weakly supported. The hypotheses that students from higher socio-economic backgrounds would feel more influential in society as individuals, and hence more politically efficacious, were not supported. Nor was the expectation met of such students identifying more with being a school student than students from low socio-economic backgrounds, where being at school at that level might have been a less accepted or usual step.

Hence HBACKGR was a weak predictor of level of civics knowledge, and did not account for a significant amount of variation in either SCHLENV or POLEFF.

13 See the corresponding point in Chapter Six, part B and footnote 11 on the same page.
Overall, the strongest predictors of the two affective scales, SCHLENV and POLEFF, are perception of school environment itself, in predicting POLEFF, and the ability measure, corrected word knowledge, in predicting perceptions of school environment. Hence, the more critical approach of the more able students, and the more naive or trusting approach of the less able students influences how they perceive their school environment. The direct causal influence of their perceptions of their school environment on students' political self-image is discussed in detail in the next section. The other strong relationships, those of three of the four background variables CWK, TOP, and SSEX, in predicting civics knowledge were as expected, and are not in any case, of particular focus in this study, except to examine the predictive power of these and the other measures or variables on students' perceptions of their school environment, and students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

C. SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AND THE STUDENTS' POLITICAL SELF-IMAGES

The contribution of perception of school environment to explaining students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness has been a relationship of primary interest in this study. While the overall contribution of the latent political socializing influence of the school environment is not readily amenable to empirical assessment, the influence of differences between individual students as to how they perceive their school environment is, and has been, so assessed. This has enabled the impact of the school environment on student political self-image to be demonstrated by the fact that differences between perceptions of the school environment are reflected directly in students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, a fundamental aspect of their political self-image.
On finding a moderate strength causal relationship between the variables SCHLENV and POLEFF in the path analysis discussed in the previous chapter, the issue immediately arose as to precisely what aspects of the students' perceptions of school environment are most important in explaining this part of the variation in student sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. In order to answer this query, the POLEFF scale was regressed on the SCHLENV scale with three different levels or breakdowns of the scale into its components (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

It was expected that of the two major components of the SCHLENV scale, INDEP (independence, or, freedom of expression) would have greater pertinence to the development of students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness than CLIFAV (equality), and hence was expected to be the most important measure making up the SCHLENV (school environment) scale. 14

While both INDEP and CLIFAV proved to be moderate strength variables in explaining variation in POLEFF, INDEP has a quite significantly greater explanatory power of POLEFF than does CLIFAV. 15 When the two factors in CLIFAV, FAVOUR and CLIQUE were regressed on POLEFF (along with INDEP), FAVOUR (favouritism by teachers) was the stronger of the two, with CLIQUE (cliqueness among students) being the weakest of the three scales, and INDEP clearly the strongest.

Taking the items making up the SCHLENV scale separately, one would anticipate the strongest items to be from those forming the INDEP (freedom of expression) scale, Ind.7 to Ind.11. Items from FAVOUR (Eq.1 to Eq.3) and

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14 See discussion on the factor analysis of these items and formation of the SCHLENV scale in Chapter Six, and Chapter Five, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 on the items and the response patterns.

15 INDEP was formed from the five items Ind.7 to Ind.11 and CLIFAV from the six items Eq.1 to Eq.6.
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(a) SCHLENV INDEP CLIFAV FAVOUR CLIQUE POLEFF

(b) SCHLENV Eq.1 Eq.2 Eq.3 Eq.4 Eq.5 Eq.6 Ind.7 Ind.8 Ind.9 Ind.10 Ind.11 POLEFF

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<tr>
<td>Ind.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ind.11</td>
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<td>POLEFF</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: 1. The SCHLENV scale contains items Eq.1 to Ind.11. INDEP contains items Ind.7 to Ind.11. CLIFAV contains items Eq.1 to Eq.6. FAVOUR contains items Eq.1 to Eq.3. CLIQUE contains items Eq.4 to Eq.6. (POLEFF contains items Eff.1 to Eff.6.) See Chapter Five for a discussion of the items and Table 5.1.
CLIQUE (Eq. 4 to Eq. 6) making up the measure of equality (CLIFAV), being expected to make a relatively lesser contribution to explaining variation in the POLEFF scale.

The items in fact making the relatively strongest contribution were found to be Eq. 3, Ind. 11, Ind. 7, Ind. 10 and Eq. 4. While three of these items are from the INDEP scale, there is also one item each from the FAVOUR and CLIQUE scales. Interestingly, the first listed item from the FAVOUR scale, Eq. 3, is the only one of the items from the scale not specifically mentioning 'favour' in relation to teacher behaviour towards students. This item looks instead at teachers versus students rather than teachers differentiating students by 'favours'. While Eq. 4 is on cliqueness among students, the three items on encouragement of freedom of expression or independence by teachers substantiate the image of the school representing society as a source of information and influence in the forming of students' political self-image.

Not only does the school have a political socializing influence on students' formation of their own individual political self-images, but it is also a direct source of reference for such influence. That is, students' political self-images are related to how they perceive their school environment, and specifically, how they perceive the way teachers treat them as a group. How teacher behaviour is perceived is directly relevant to the sort of political self-image a student develops of himself or herself. These considerations then, lead to the conclusion that the sort of image of society and the adult world which their teachers represent to Swedish youth during their schooling experience is directly relevant to their socialization into the political culture of Swedish society.

16 See Tables 5.1 and 5.2 for the details of the items. The remaining items, Eq. 1, Ind. 9, Eq. 6 and Eq. 2, Eq. 5 and Ind. 8 contributed relatively little to explaining variation in POLEFF.

17 Item Eq. 3 'the teachers seem to run down our best ideas'.
### TABLE 7.2

**BREAKDOWN OF THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT SCALE, SCHLENV: REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS WITH POLEFF**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>Beta Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>SCHLENV</td>
<td>POLEFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>INDEP</td>
<td>POLEFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CLIFAV</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>INDEP</td>
<td>POLEFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FAVOUR</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CLIQUE</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>Eq.1</td>
<td>POLEFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eq.2</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eq.3</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eq.4</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eq.5</td>
<td>-.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eq.6</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.7</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.8</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.9</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.10</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ind.11</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. The beta coefficients are for the variable SCHLENV, and the measures ([b] and [c]) or items ([d]) which make up the scale, regressed on POLEFF. With other independent variables from the model (see Diagram 1 in Chapter 6) excluded, the coefficient for SCHLENV regressed on POLEFF is higher than in the path analysis. A larger number of values given to the scale variables to increase precision of measurement may also have contributed to the higher beta coefficient. Values for the single items correspond to those in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

2. The independent variables measure the relative contribution of different elements of the SCHLENV scale. See Chapter Six for a discussion of formation of the SCHLENV scale and Table 7.1 footnote 1 on information on the individual items and composition of the various scales.
The causal relationship between schooling experience and the students' political self-images revealed by the path analysis is consistent with the patterns of student responses to various items (on their perceptions of their school environment, their social and political attitudes, and their concept of citizenship), which were discussed in Chapter Five. It is further reinforced by, and increases one's interest in, a pattern of correlations between students' responses to some of the key items on schooling experiences, and those relevant to the students' political self-image and attitudes. There are strong correlations between a number of key items in which students report in how they are treated by teachers and school rules, and items in the political efficacy scale used in the path analysis, as well as other items on government responsiveness, criticism of government, the concept of good citizenship, peer-group decision-making, and the most controversial minority rights issue in Sweden.

Chapter Five reported that most students had a basically favourable view of their schooling experience, egalitarian and tolerant social attitudes, a moderately positive view of the national government, but a more critical view of local government, a high degree of interest in current affairs, generally democratic or consensual peer-group decision-making practices, and an active, participative concept of good citizenship. The students generally anticipated an efficacious role as citizens, expected governments to be responsive to their constituents, and were mostly not cynical, alienated or disaffected, but supported their system of government, while insisting on their right to criticize aspects of its performance as they saw fit.

A pattern of correlations between key items in the tables reporting the students' responses in Chapter Five strongly support the view that the schools, and teachers in particular, are seen by the students as relevant experience in anticipating their relationship to adult society
and the political system. Responses to item Dep.19 in Table 5.4 ('The teachers always seem to criticize our best ideas') correlate with all six of the items reported in Table 5.15 which were used in the political efficacy and government responsiveness scale in the path analysis (Chapter Six, part C). Similarly Eq.3 ('The government does not try to understand ordinary people') in Table 5.1, the item from the SCHLENV scale contributing most to explaining POLEFF in the path analysis, correlates very strongly with Eff.1 ('The government does not try to understand ordinary people') in Table 5.15, the strongest item in the POLEFF scale. Dep.21 ('Most teachers expect us to stand up when they come into the classroom') in Table 5.4 also correlates with Eff.5 ('The government cares a lot about what we all think of any new laws') in Table 5.15, suggesting a continuity in the expected behaviour of authorities in school and state.

The expectations which students had about the specific responsiveness of their national and local government were also related to their ways of perceiving their schooling experience. Responses to Resp.1 and Resp.6 in Table 5.8, asking whether national and local government respectively were 'run by a few big powerful groups', both correlated with responses to both Ind.11 ('Every member in our class has the same privileges') in Table 5.2 and Dep.19 (see above) in Table 5.4. Resp.6 and Resp.4 (National government 'can only have their decisions changed by powerful people') also correlate with Eq.3 (see above) in Table 5.1. Responses to Resp.2 and Resp.7 in Table 5.8 asking whether or not national and local governments 'pay attention to complaints' both correlated with responses to Ind.10 ('Students can feel free to disagree openly with their teachers')

18 The Chi-square significance levels for these pairs of items are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Pair</th>
<th>Chi-square Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.1</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.2</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.3</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eq.3 and Eff.1</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.4</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.5</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.19 and Eff.6</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dep.21 and Eff.5</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in Table 5.2. Ind.10 also correlated with Resp.10 (local government 'doesn't care about me and my family'). Two other items on attitudes to local government, Resp.7 (see above) and Resp.9 (local government 'can only have their decisions changed by powerful people') correlate with Dep.17 ('Students in this school rarely express opinions which differ from the teachers') and Dep.18 ('The teachers often make you feel small') in Table 5.4, respectively.  

The association between the students' perceptions of how they are treated by school authorities and their attitudes to political phenomena also extends to aspects of the students' conception of democratic citizenship. Cit.3 (A good citizen 'votes in every election'), correlates with Ind.8 ('Our teachers respect our opinions and encourage us to express them') and Ind.9 ('Teachers try to get students to speak freely and openly in class') in Table 5.2. The students' responses to item Crit.25 ('It is good for a government to be frequently criticized') in Table 5.7 correlated with Ind.7 ('Students are encouraged to make up their own minds'). Item Crit.27 ('The people in power know best') correlated with Dep.21 (see above).  

Since the international study of the findings of the IEA Civic Education Survey found that there was a degree of incompatibility between strong patriotic orientations and a strong commitment to the values of active democratic citizenship, the relationship of the Swedish students'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19</th>
<th>The Chi-square significance levels for these pairs of items are:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resp.1 and Ind.11: 0.0001</td>
<td>Resp.1 and Dep.19: 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.6 and Ind.11: 0.0001</td>
<td>Resp.6 and Dep.19: 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.6 and Eq.3: 0.0001</td>
<td>Resp.4 and Eq.3: 0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.2 and Ind.10: 0.0001</td>
<td>Resp.7 and Ind.10: 0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.10 and Ind.10: 0.0001</td>
<td>Resp.7 and Dep.17: 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.8 and Dep.18: 0.0001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20</th>
<th>The Chi-square significance levels for these pairs of items are:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cit.3 and Ind.8: 0.01</td>
<td>Cit.3 and Ind.9: 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.25 and Ind.7: 0.05</td>
<td>Crit.27 and Dep.21: 0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 21 | See: Judith V. Torney, op. cit., p.334. |
attitudes to criticism of government and their concept of good
citizenship with their reports of observance of patriotic ritual in their
schools, is of some interest. Cit.3 (see above) in Table 5.9 correlated
negatively with items Pat.13 ('We sing songs about our country in class')
and Pat.16 ('There are pictures of national leaders in our classroom') in
Table 5.3. Similarly, responses to Pat.13 and Pat.15 ('We participate in a
ceremony with our national flag in school') correlate negatively with
Crit.23 ('It is wrong to criticize our government'), Crit.24 ('People
should not criticize the government, it only interrupts the government's
work'), Crit.27 (see above) and Crit.30 ('Regular elections in our nation
are unnecessary'). That is as in the international study, the belief in an
active democratic citizenship role is strongest in schools which place
least emphasis on the attempt to inculcate reflexive loyalty to the nation,
through the frequent observance of patriotic ritual. As Table 5.3
indicated, Swedish schools generally place little emphasis on such
practices. 22

The relationship between the students' perceptions of key aspects of
their school environment and their peer-group decision-making behaviour
suggests that these aspects of their schooling experience also affect the
students' social attitudes and practices. Responses to item Peer 1
('How friends decide where to go on a hike or trip') in Table 5.14
correlate with the students' responses to Dep.13 (see above), Dep.24
(Students can enter the school buildings as they arrive, without waiting
to be lined up by the teachers'), and Dep.25 ('The students
decide for themselves where they will sit in the classroom') in

22 The Chi-square significance levels for these pairs of items are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item1</th>
<th>Item2</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cit.3</td>
<td>Pat.13</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.23</td>
<td>Pat.13</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.24</td>
<td>Pat.13</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.27</td>
<td>Pat.13</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.30</td>
<td>Pat.13</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.3</td>
<td>Pat.16</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.23</td>
<td>Pat.16</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.24</td>
<td>Pat.16</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.27</td>
<td>Pat.16</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crit.30</td>
<td>Pat.16</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.4, and with Eq. 5 ('Certain students stick together in small groups') in Table 5.1. Peer 2 ('How friends choose a club leader') correlated with Eq. 4 ('Certain students work only with their class friends'), Eq. 5 (see above), and Eq. 6 ('Students co-operate equally well with every class member') in Table 5.1, Ind.7 and Ind.10 (see above) in Table 5.2; and Dep.19 and Dep.24 (see above) in Table 5.4. Peer 3 ('How friends make a new rule in a game') correlates with Eq. 5, Dep 24 and Dep.25 (see above).23

Although the responses of most of the Swedish students to the items on social and political attitudes were generally egalitarian and tolerant, this was least true in relation to Rts.12 in Table 5.5, the question of whether or not 'coloured people', (more literally 'immigrants' or invandrare, in the Swedish survey questionnaire), should have 'fewer rights' than 'everyone else'. This issue is a matter of greater controversy in Sweden than any other minority rights issue. It is therefore of interest that the response to Rts.12 correlated with Ind.11 (see above) in Table 5.2.24

This pattern of correlations, between student responses to some of the key items on schooling experience, and those relevant to the students' political self-image and attitudes, generally supports the finding of the path analysis, that there is a causal relationship between the students' perceptions of their school environment and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

23 The Chi-square significance levels for these pairs of items are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peer.1 and Dep.19</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.1 and Dep.24</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.1 and Dep.25</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.1 and Eq. 5</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.3 and Eq. 5</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.3 and Dep.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.3 and Dep.25</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Eq. 4</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Eq. 5</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Eq. 6</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Ind.7</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Ind.10</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Dep.13</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer.2 and Dep.24</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 The Chi-square significance level for the association between Rts.12 and Ind.11 is: 0.01.
What does this indicate about the relationship between the students' perceptions of general school and classroom practices, their civics knowledge, social attitudes and political self-image, and the goals of Swedish educational policy? It suggests that Swedish educational policy concerning Civic Education has been implemented with considerable success.

Sweden is of particular interest as a country in which to examine the manifest and latent political socializing influence of the school. It has a well-established democratic system, and an 'active' political culture, characterized by high levels of political interest and participation. Swedish educational policy also includes a commitment to the development of young people as competent future citizens in a democratic society, through appropriate teaching methods as well as the formal course content, and the policies directing the implementation of this commitment are guided by research.

Nevertheless, the effectiveness with which the school contributes to the political socialization process is not determined by the terms of official policy goals, or upon what influence officialdom intends either the Civic Education curricula or the school environment to have. What influences the student is his or her perceptions of the Civic Education curricula, and of his or her school environment. This can be affected by some inconsistency between the students' schooling experience and the values expressed in the Civics curricula, or by major incongruence between the influence of the school and some other important socializing agent, such as the family, friends, the mass media, or a club or association to which the individual concerned belongs. In the case of Civic Education, the nature of the social and political system is also relevant, because no

25 See Chapters Two and Four.
educational system can be expected to overcome a basic inconsistency
to between what is being taught and the general social environment which the
students experience. 26

Whatever the goals of any country's educational policy concerning
the political socialization of its youth,

'The affective aspect of Civic Education is a complex process
... Drilling students on the 'proper' attitudes seems a
course of little profit.' 27

This observation is especially apt in relation to the development of the
political self-image of an active, participative citizen, which cannot be
inculcated by a process of indoctrination, because indoctrination is
inimical to it. 28 It is only in this light, that the extent to which the
political socialization of the Swedish students has been successfully
accomplished, can be fully assessed.

The nature of the political self-image which the Swedish students had
developed at their cognitively mature age, prior to their entry into adult
careers, is the best indicator of the effectiveness of their political
socialization. The concept of sense of political efficacy and government
responsiveness is, in particular, a measure of the political self-image
which is the basis for the individuals' involvement in politics, and a
better indicator of future political activity than the students' current
civic activities. 29

Most of the Swedish students anticipated an efficacious role as
citizens, and expected governments to be responsive. The students were
generally not cynical, alienated or disaffected. The social attitudes
which the students expressed most strongly were 'freedom to criticize the
government' and equality of rights in society. The students regarded

26 See Judith V. Torney, op.cit., p.332.
28 See Chapter Five.
29 See Chapter Four.
criticism of their government as being normal in a democratic society, and did not confuse loyalty with uncritical and quiescent attitudes to authority. Their social attitudes, concept of good citizenship and peer-group decision-making practices were also egalitarian, tolerant and democratic. On this basis, one can conclude that their schooling, and the other agents of socialization which have influenced them, have combined with the net effect of successfully transferring, to the great majority of these students, knowledge, values, and motivations, which are consistent with the goals of Swedish educational policy concerning Civic Education.

This study was not intended to identify precisely the extent to which the school as such has contributed to the manifest aspects of this successful political socialization. Certain inferences can be drawn from the fact that civics is a compulsory subject, with a legislated curricula, in the Swedish national school system, and that Swedish students rated first in international comparisons of civics knowledge by IEA, when controlling for the percentage of the age cohort from which the sample was drawn. The international IEA study comparing Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States found that if home background and other factors are controlled for, the schools have an 'important' effect on students' acquisition of Civic Education knowledge. The inference is that the Swedish schools are very successful in manifest political socialization, the explicit transfer of knowledge through the Civic Education curricula.

This study has been directed towards an examination of the extent to which the school has exercised a latent political socializing influence on

30 See Chapter Five.
31 See Chapter Four, part A.
32 See loc. cit. and Judith V. Torney, op. cit.
the students surveyed. The exact extent to which the political socialization of these students has been affected by their schooling experience cannot be determined in the absence of a matched control group without any schooling experience, but the path analysis revealed that there is a causal relationship of moderate strength between the school environment and the students' political self-image, on the basis of the influence of differences between the students' individual perceptions of their school environment.

The students had a generally very positive view of their school environment with the exception of a majority negative evaluation of student cliqueness and a narrower negative balance of opinion on the practice of favouritism by teachers. Otherwise, the specific aspects of their schooling experience which were found to have significant correlations with the students' political self-image and attitudes were given very strongly positive ratings by the student respondents. The students generally felt that their teachers respected their opinions, encouraged them to express them, did not belittle them or their ideas, tolerated disagreement with the teachers' own opinions, allowed them to enter the class as individuals rather than as a regimented group, to decide for themselves where they wished to sit, and did not impose frequent observations of patriotic rituals, or require them to stand respectfully when teachers entered a room. These aspects of their schooling experience appear to have contributed to the successful political socialization of the Swedish students as politically informed citizens with an independent outlook, who are loyal in an intelligently critical way, and who see themselves as being politically efficacious future citizens in a society characterized by high levels of political participation and interest.

E. CONCLUSIONS

The most important finding of the path analysis, from the perspective
of this study, is that there is a causal relationship of moderate strength between the students' perceptions of their school environment and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. The results of the regression of the POLEFF scale on the SCHLENV scale suggested that the teachers' apparent respect for students opinions (Eq.3), equitable treatment of all students (Ind.11), encouragement of independence of mind (Ind.7), tolerance of disagreement by students with the teacher's opinions (Ind.10), and the students' practice of 'cliqueness' (Eq.4) are the most important aspects of the school environment, in terms of their relationship with the students' sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness.

The pattern of correlations between student responses to some of the key items on schooling experience, and those relevant to the students' political self-image and attitudes, supported the conclusion that their schooling experience, particularly the behaviour of their teachers is regarded by the Swedish students as an appropriate point of reference for their images and expectations of the wider adult society, and hence impinges directly on their socialization into the political culture of Swedish society.

The moderate negative influence of ability on students' perceptions of their school environment is the major single contribution of any background factor to explaining variation in either of the affective measures in the path analysis model, perception of school environment or sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. The background factors overall did not have a substantial predictive power on sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness. Hence, the causal relationship between students' perceptions of their school environment and their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness is the one relationship involving sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness of substantive interest.
While the influence of background factors on this relationship were controlled for, they did not have great significance. They were important in explaining variation in the intervening variable between perception of school environment and sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness, namely, civics knowledge. However, as civics knowledge had a weak relationship with the two affective variables in the model, this leaves the two moderate strength relationships directly involving the affective variables, the measure of ability with students' perceptions of their school environment, and their perceptions with their sense of political efficacy and government responsiveness as the findings of key interest. A number of the other relationships raised interesting questions which can only be resolved by further investigations beyond the scope of this study. The more critical stance of the more able students in relation to their perceptions of their school environment, when considered in the context of the direct influence of how students perceive their school environment on their political self-image, raises a difficult problem for educational policymakers. It highlights the importance of the area of how to effectively communicate to students precisely what lies behind specific intended manifest and latent political socializing influences on students through their schooling experience.

Of course, a number of relevant considerations complicate this picture. The process of development in capacity for comprehending conceptual complexity of young people places limits on what can potentially be communicated and on what is appropriate to communicate to students at different stages of their schooling. Further, the level of teacher skill required to teach a realistic view of the political process is higher than that required to teach a fixed idealized view. The comparatively high level of both qualifications of Swedish teachers, particularly at the upper secondary level, and their record on career commitment in terms of length of service, makes such a problem a relatively minor one.
More challenging is the issue of how a school can most effectively communicate political knowledge and attitudes which encourage active participation in political life and in the adult life and careers of students as they mature and finish their schooling. That is, how to successfully transmit the political culture in order to continue the political order of the society where there is an active, 'participant' democratic culture. The school is but one source of political socialization in the society in this context. While the potential influence of a government on its citizens during their formative years is significant, in the case of youth developing in an active democratic society, it is neither desirable nor possible that the school be the sole, or even the major part of, political socializing influence on the society's youth.

Hence the school needs to play a role in harmony with the society in which it is situated in order for students' perceptions of the view of society presented through the manifest and latent socializing influences of the school, and those of the society, to be reasonably consistent. In support of this, Swedish students were found in this study to feel moderately efficacious in their political outlook and overall, to be positive about their school environment. The exceptions to a generally very positive view concerned cliqueness among students and the practice of favouritism by teachers.

The importance of the image teachers represent to students as adult members of the society is quite a pertinent consideration in this context. While students saw them as encouraging freedom of expression quite strongly, they were more critical of them on the grounds of favouritism. This highlights the importance of the classroom management practices and the attitudes towards students conveyed by them, to the successful transmission of a political self-image consistent with the particular political culture of the society.
Overall, Swedish final year secondary students see their school as being democratic. Their own decision-making practices within their peer groups are quite democratic, and they have a considerable interest in civic activities in general. Their social and political attitudes in the areas of equality, liberalism, support for the system of government and the freedom to criticize their government are all generally consistent with their perceptions of practices in their own school environment, particularly in terms of respect for students as individuals. While holding an active view of citizenship, consistent with the practices of the society in which they are situated, students also hold a personal political self-image of feeling reasonably politically efficacious, combined with a perception of the government as being responsive to the society and individual citizens. At the same time as they support their system of government, and hold democratic values in relation to their society, they exercise their support for the freedom to criticize the government quite liberally.

Hence they are well informed about civic matters, and seem to have had reasonably consistent experiences both within their schooling experience and between their experiences of society and school. While the school has had a significant influence on development of their political outlook, the way they perceive their school environment, is influenced by their own general capabilities, and in turn, it is their perceptions of democratic values in the school which influences their political outlook.
APPENDIX A

CIVIC EDUCATION

1 CIVICS BACKGROUND COMMON TO STUDENTS COMMENCING THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL

2 CIVIC EDUCATION COURSES IN THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL
APPENDIX A
Appendix to Chapter Three

1. CIVICS BACKGROUND COMMON TO STUDENTS COMMENCING THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL

The Comprehensive School Timetable:

Civics is an orientational compulsory subject in the Comprehensive School Timetable. While it is not studied as a separate subject at the Junior Level, at the Middle and Senior Levels, Civics is one of the orientational subjects.

At the Junior Level, in Years 1 to 3, 'Civics' is part of Local Knowledge, one of 2 orientational subjects studied by pupils for an average of 3, 4, and 5 periods per week in Years 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

At the Middle Level, in Years 4 to 6, Civics is one of 5 orientational subjects and is studied for an average of one period out of 34 (Year 4) or 35 (Years 5 and 6) per week, or 37 per year total. Altogether pupils study the 5 orientational subjects for 8 periods per week.

At the Senior Level, in Years 7 to 9, Civics is allocated more time with an average of 2 periods out of 35 per week. Civics is one of 7 orientational subjects studied at this level, the others in the social sciences group being Religious Knowledge, Geography and History, and the physical and natural sciences group consists of Biology, Chemistry and Physics. Apart from the 7 orientational subjects (including Civics) pupils also study 7 compulsory subjects (Swedish, Mathematics, English, Music, Handcrafts, and Domestic Science) optional subjects (French, German, Economics, Arts, and Technology) for 3 or 4 periods per week, plus freely chosen work for 2 periods per week, and in Year 9, receive practical work.

1 The freely chosen work is arranged by the local educational board and is not to be supplementary teaching to other subjects.
vocational orientation for 2 weeks full-time during the year.² Year 9 studies are arranged in 4 main sections: theoretical, social-general, technical-mechanical, and commercial.³

Apart from the Junior Level, Civics is taught as a separate subject distinct from other social science subjects such as History or Geography, and receives increasing teaching time when pupils progress to more senior levels.⁴

2. CIVIC EDUCATION COURSES IN THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL

Examples of the syllabi for Civic Education subjects, civic (samlillskunskap) and social studies (socialkunskap) are given below. These not only illustrate the Civic Education courses studied by students in upper-secondary school but also show the variations in emphasis of the particular courses according to the type of program, emphasis on social science subjects in the particular line and choice of the social variant. When comparing differences in the Civic Education courses with differences in emphasis on Civic Education in the various line programs and their sub-alternatives or variants shown in Tables A.1, A.2, A.3 and A.4, those specializing in Civic Education have considerable emphasis on social issues and social problems, while other students gain a general knowledge of social issues locally and internationally.

Civic Education is studied in both the two-year and three-year programs. The courses vary: between the two types of program; for lines where there is a special emphasis on social science subjects; and where students choose the

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⁴ See: Judith V. Torney, op.cit., pp.38-9 for the topics covered in civics courses at the various levels.
social variant of their line. Tables A.1 and A.2 show the relative emphasis on civics (samhällskunskap) and social studies (socialkunskap) respectively, for the various line programs, in terms of the number of periods spent per week. Note that only students taking the social variant of one of the three-year lines (Liberal Arts (H), Social Sciences (S), or Economics (E)) or the two-year Social line (So), study both social studies and civics.

Tables A.3 and A.4 show two examples of the place, in particular lines, of civics (samhällskunskap) and social studies (socialkunskap) in relation to other subjects. Table A.3 shows a three-year program where there is a special emphasis on social science subjects (the Social Sciences line (S)), and lists the other subjects studied including the other social science subjects and shows how much lesson time is spent on each, in each year of the line program. Further, Table A.3 illustrates the effect of students choosing the social variant in Years 2 and 3 of their program, where their Civic Education studies include social studies (socialkunskap) as well as civics (samhällskunskap). Table A.4 shows a two-year program, also one where there is a special emphasis on social science subjects (the Social line (So)), and (like Table A.3) lists the other subjects studied and lesson times. Table A.4 also illustrates the place of Civic Education in a line program where all students study both civics (samhällskunskap) and social studies (socialkunskap).

Table A.5 lists the various lines classified by type of program and subject group, and Table A.6 shows the number of students in each type of program in each subject group in 1972. Note that nearly two-fifths of students are taking either a two or three-year program in the Arts and Social subject group.

5 Compare the number of lessons spent in this line on Civic Education subjects compared with other lines where there is not a special emphasis on social science subjects. See also Table A.1.

6 See footnote 5 above.
The Upper-Secondary School Curricula: Examples of Civic Education Courses.

i) The Civics Course for the Three-Year Social Sciences Line (S)

In civics (samhällskunskap), social life is studied in terms of geography, economics, politics and sociology. The aim is to inculcate an integral view of social problems. The first year course includes studying the world's population, the Swedish population, commerce and industry, and economic issues. A large part of the second year course deals with socio-economic issues. Other topics include: political economics, home economics, and information on pricing. An example of the socio-economic problems studied is: investigating a particular industry, its natural resources, the market for its products, and the labour resources available etc. In the third year of the course, students study social planning, development, constitutional studies, democracy and dictatorship, and current social issues. 7

ii) The Social Studies Course for the Three-year Lines: Liberal Arts (H), Social Sciences (S), and Economics (E).

The special subject (socialkunskap) that is chosen by selecting the social variant in the three year lines: liberal arts, social sciences and economics.

The aim of the course is to provide knowledge about the circumstances of individuals and families in a changeable world, different community

7 Two sources have been used in combination. *Att välja studiejäg*, Skolöverstyrelsen 1974, Utbildningsförlaget, Stockholm, 1974, p.59. This is the most detailed source and has been translated into English where parts were not contained in the second briefer source which was in English: *The Three-Year Social Sciences Line of The Upper-Secondary School*, The National Swedish Board of Education, LiberLäromedel/Utbildningsförlaget, Stockholm, 1974, p.2. The 'S' denotes the 'Three-Year Social Sciences Line' in Swedish.
lifestyles, and social issues and problems and how the society attempts to solve them. The program aims to stimulate an active interest in social issues both in Sweden, and abroad.

The information provided can be used later by students who will work in various welfare and service professions.

In the second year course, students learn about people's circumstances, problems with members of different groups in the society, and the reciprocity of influence between man and his environment. Students study then, for example, what it means to be elderly, to have a physical or mental handicap, to be a criminal, or to be any other person who is outside what is regarded as 'normal'. Following this, students study what society does to meet and solve social problems. They gain an orientation on social problems and study social administration.

The third year course deals with, among other things, the psychological background to the welfare system. One example of issues which are taken up, is what society has done for the child. Further, students study how and why many young people have problems and what the society does about them. In a similar way, they study working life and retirement - also what difficulties these can make for a person and what is done to alleviate them.

The social studies course elucidates international problems on quite a number of issues such as drug and alcohol abuse. Other examples of the important international problems dealt with are minority groups, human rights, racial conflicts, starvation and illness related to over-population.

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8 'Second' refers to the year of the line. Social studies is first a subject in Year 2 of the lines, when the social variant specialization commences.

9 'Third' refers to the year of the line. See footnote 8 above.
Main Points

- Man's circumstances and problems as a member of the community.
- Social problems in modern societies.
- Aims, methods and organization of the Swedish social welfare system.
- The family group in the light of social psychology.
- Educational problems and young people's questions.
- Man at work and in leisure.
- The aged and their adjustment to problems, and forms of care.
- The international aspects of social problems, foremost, racial conflicts, and family planning.\(^\text{10}\)

iii) The Civics Course for the Two-Year Lines

A compulsory subject for the Two-Year Lines: Social (So) and Economics (Ek). A compulsory subject for year two of the Two-Year Technical Line (Te).

The course aims to give students a wider knowledge of present day international society. The program draws not only on earlier studies, but also on the student's own practical experience and information from such sources as newspapers, radio and TV. Environmental studies are a common feature. It is important for the students to understand social issues by investigating, interpreting and assessing information for themselves.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) Translated into English from *Att välja studieväg*, op.cit., p.160. 'H', 'S' and 'E' denote the particular lines in Swedish.

\(^{11}\) Compare this with Chapter Five, paragraph 1 of the Education Statute which states that schools are to contribute to the social development of their pupils 'through their spirit and environment', *The SOS Project, Studies of School Socialisation*, reported in *School Research*, National Board of Education, L3, Stockholm, 1974: 16, p.2. Note that the SOS Project is concerned with translating this objective of social development, into practical routines and methods designed to encourage such development. One of the findings on which the research proceeded was that 'In order to be able to change their own ideas, pupils need to find ways and means of testing their knowledge by themselves'. (*Loc.cit.*)
The course aims to enable students to understand, and have respect for, how different people can have different conceptions of social questions. The subject emphasizes the rapid changes which are occurring in society and prepares students to meet them.

The program presents an integrated view of society, and Swedish society and other forms of society are studied from different perspectives. The international aspect of the issues pervades throughout the course. The starting point is the geographical realities and the underlying political, economic and sociological aspects of the different key issues. These aspects which are of a more general character come under many major topics such as the environmental issues (including working conditions), questions concerning foreign countries, study and career orientation, the labour market and international comparisons.

Students also examine real problems in different areas and discuss how the different societies handle them, for example, population study, the world's resources and their distribution, energy supply, labour market problems, urbanization, minority rights, and commercial and industrial issues such as multinational corporations and international trade.

Main points

- Population issues.
- Current Social questions.
- Socio-economics
- The current direction of development in commerce and industry.
- Labour market problems. Industrial relations.
- Social problems, politics of the family, family rights and the law.
  - Sex role questions.
- Opinion formation.
The constitution, political bodies and political perspectives.

International issues. Political, social and economic problems in other countries. International co-operation. 12

iv) The Social Studies Course for the Two-Year Line: Social (So).

The subject social studies, is taken in the second year and aims to give students a wider knowledge about the society than they gain through the civics course. The social studies program involves detailed collaboration with the civics program. Instruction in social studies begins with the private individual, how he is influenced by different environments, and how he himself influences his social environments, and the co-operation and co-ordination between different individuals and groups in the society. The students also gain an insight into the social welfare system of the society. The course is characterized by study visits, group work, and different types of practical information. 13

12 Translated into English from Att välja studieväg, op.cit., p.159. 'So', 'Ek', and 'Te' denote the lines in Swedish.

13 Translated into English from Att välja studieväg, op.cit., p.51. 'So' denotes the line in Swedish.
# Table A.1: Timetables for the Civics (Samhällskunskap) Courses for All Lines

**A. The timetables for teaching civics as a compulsory subject for the three and four year lines**

(a) Number of periods per week for civics. (b) Number of periods per week for all courses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines:</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>(H) Liberal Arts</strong>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1: a common program</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years 2 &amp; 3:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>normal program, aesthetic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variant, social variant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years 2 &amp; 3: classical variant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-classical variant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(S) Social Sciences</em>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All years: common program</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(E) Economics (3 years)</em>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All years: all sub-alternatives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(N) Natural Sciences</em>:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All years: common program</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(T) Technical (4 years)**:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All years: all sub-alternatives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. The timetables for teaching civics as a compulsory subject for the two-year lines**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines:</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*(So) Social</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Ek) Economics (2 years)</em>:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Te) Technical (2 years)</em>**:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


** Civics is not a subject in the fourth year.

*** The letters appearing to the left of the line names denote the line in Swedish. For example, 'H' denotes 'treårig humanistisk linje' ('three year Liberal Arts line').
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line:</th>
<th>Year 1 (a)</th>
<th>Year 1 (b)</th>
<th>Year 2 (a)</th>
<th>Year 2 (b)</th>
<th>Year 3 (a)</th>
<th>Year 3 (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(H) Liberal Arts: Years 2 &amp; 3: social variant only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S) Social Sciences: Years 2 &amp; 3: social variant only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Economics: (3 years): Years 2 &amp; 3: social variant only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(So) Social (2 years)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


** Students studying the social variant of the Social Sciences and Liberal Arts lines have the most lessons of any line in civics and social studies together.

*** The letters appearing to the left of the line names denote the line in Swedish. For example, 'H' denotes 'treårig humanistisk linje' (three year Liberal Arts line).
TABLE A.3  TIME SCHEDULE FOR THE THREE-YEAR SOCIAL SCIENCES LINE OF THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL (S)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number of lessons per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B language (German/French)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C language</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Science</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Art and Music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music or Drawing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free time</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK 34 32 30

Notes:

a A 'B' language is a language which the student studied in comprehensive school. A 'B' language can be replaced by a 'C' language, which is then allotted 4 periods a week.

b A 'C' language is a new language commenced in upper-secondary school. Included are German, French, Russian, and Spanish (and possibly to be introduced are Italian, Portuguese or Finnish).

c Two of the language courses: English, 'B' language and 'C' language, are obligatory.

d The 'C' language in year 3 if it is not French or German, is allotted 5 periods per week. Another of the student's language courses is then reduced by one period.

e In mathematics the student chooses between two courses: mathematics with a sociological and economic slant, and mathematics with a technical and scientific slant (SE or NT).

f Both Music and Drawing can be chosen for an augmented course. If either Music or Drawing is chosen in Year 1, then the same subject must be chosen in Year 2.

A NORMAL SCHEDULE:
Year 1: common syllabus
Year 2: English and two modern languages ('B', 'C')
Year 3: English and two modern languages ('B', 'C')

B AESTHETIC VARIANT:
Year 1: common syllabus
Year 2: Drawing, Music or Drama replaces one of the modern languages for 3 lessons/week
Year 3: Drawing, Music or Drama replaces one of the modern languages for 3 lessons/week

C SOCIAL VARIANT:
Year 1: common syllabus
Year 2: Social Studies replaces one of the modern languages for 3 lessons/week
Year 3: Social Studies replaces one of the modern languages for 3 lessons/week

Distinguishing subjects of the Three-Year Social Sciences line: Civics, Mathematics, and General Science. Modern Languages also occupies a relatively large proportion of this course of studies.
TABLE A.3 (Contd.)


### TABLE A.4  TIME SCHEDULE FOR THE TWO-YEAR SOCIAL LINE OF THE UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL (So)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (general or special course)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Science</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typing and Trade Knowledge</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music or Art</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Time</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional Subject b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'B' French (general or special course)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'B' German (general or special course)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'C' French</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'C' Finnish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'C' German</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music (aesthetic specialization)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art (aesthetic specialization)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology (only in Year 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer Education (only in Year 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL NUMBER OF LESSONS PER WEEK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

a One of these subjects is to be chosen in Year 1, and the same subject continued in Year 2.

b One of these subjects is to be chosen. Consumer Education cannot be chosen in the first year. When a new Optional Subject is chosen in the second year, and it is a two-year program, proof of an adequate background in the subject is required. Psychology and Consumer Education are both one year programs in the Social line.

c A 'B' language can be chosen if it has been studied for at least two years. A 'C' language can be chosen if it has never been studied, or at the most, for one year.

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*Distinguishing subjects of the Two-Year Social Line: General Science, Civics, Social Studies, History and Mathematics.

### TABLE A.5  THE LINES OF THE SWEDISH UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSIFIED BY LENGTH AND TYPE OF COURSE, AND BY SUBJECT GROUP*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Group</th>
<th>Lines: Type and Length</th>
<th>Arts and Social</th>
<th>Economics</th>
<th>Technical and Scientific</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three or Four-year theoretical line&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(H) Liberal Arts&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(E) Economics&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(N) Natural Science</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(S) Social Science&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>(T) Technical&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-year theoretical line&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(So) Social&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(Ek) Economics&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(Te)&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt; Technical&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
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</table>

<sup>a</sup> Civics is a compulsory subject for the theoretical lines as listed in the two rows of the table.

<sup>b</sup> Social Studies is a compulsory subject for (i) the Social line, and (ii) the social variant of the Liberal Arts, Social Sciences, and Economics (3 years only) lines.

<sup>c</sup> The letters such as 'H' and 'S' denote the lines in Swedish.

<sup>d</sup> The Technical line is the only four-year line. The Economics and Technical lines listed in rows one and two are distinct courses.**


** The notes are compiled from information in Att välja studieväg, op.cit., pp.28-151.
TABLE A.6  THE NUMBER OF UPPER-SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS STUDYING IN 1972 AS DIVIDED BY LENGTH AND TYPE OF COURSE, AND SUBJECT GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Economic</td>
<td>Technical and Scientific</td>
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<td>Three or Four-Year</td>
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<td>29,755</td>
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<td>Two-Year</td>
<td>10,457&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>5,284</td>
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<td>18,877</td>
<td>11,143</td>
<td>21,202</td>
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Notes**

<sup>a</sup> 10,270 students enrolled in the two-year Social line, or about one in five of all upper-secondary students where social studies is also a compulsory subject for all students taking the line.

* Source: Table 8 in Eleven-Klassen-Skolan, op.cit., p.27.

APPENDIX B

IEA CIVIC EDUCATION DATA

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

2. CIVIC EDUCATION TESTING STAGES AND INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

3. THE CIVIC EDUCATION SURVEY DATA
APPENDIX B

IEA CIVIC EDUCATION DATA
Appendix to Chapter Four

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Civic Education was one of six subject areas surveyed in Stages 2 and 3 of the International Education Achievement (IEA) study, along with English and French as Foreign Languages in Stage 3 and Science, Reading Comprehension and Literature in Stage 2. A Mathematics survey was the first in the series of these international surveys. Altogether 22 countries participated in collecting data on national samples of school-age students, the youngest group in any stage being 10 years old.

Civic Education was a new type of survey in that non-classroom instruction played a comparatively large role in the acquisition of knowledge of the subject, particularly in relation to a subject such as mathematics which has a comparatively discrete content. Civic Education is largely to do with political socialization and hence to do with attitudes, values and perceptions as well as with knowledge. In fact, the four are inter-related and inter-dependent. Hence, while the civics survey sought information on the student's cognitive ability in the subject area, background information about the student, a measure of the student's general ability, information about the school and the teachers, and the students' view of the school, it also sought information on students' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the adult society.

Lists of other reports can be found in Judith V. Torney, op.cit.
The age or level of the Populations surveyed by IEA were: 10 years, 14 years, and the final year of secondary schooling, which were denoted Populations I, II, and IV respectively. Some national data also contained a Population III sample, but this was used only within the country concerned. In the case of Civic Education in Sweden, Populations III and IV were surveyed. The Population IV survey of final year upper-secondary school students had a mean age of 19.3 years, the highest mean of the 8 countries in the Civic Education Subject Survey, which participated in the Population IV Survey. The comparable figure for the US was 17.5 years. Finland, Iran and FRG were close behind Sweden with figures of 19.0, 19.0 and 18.9 years respectively, and Ireland represents the lowest figure with a mean age of 17.2.

2. CIVIC EDUCATION TESTING STAGES AND INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

At the Population IV level, the Civic Education Tests and Questionnaires were administered to 8 of the 22 countries which took part in IEA surveys. Besides Sweden, were the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, Ireland, New Zealand and the United States, and also Iran which later withdrew its data from the international data bank. Israel and Italy also took part in the Civic Education survey testing Populations I and II. Cognitive Tests in the Survey were: The Civics Cognitive Test, and the Word Knowledge Test. Both were designed for Population IV only, the former for the Civic Education survey only and the latter common to all IEA 6 subject surveys in Stages 2 and 3.

Of the Affective Questionnaires, the General Student Questionnaire and the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales were used for all Stage 3

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2 Population III students were in Year 9, about 16 years of age, and in the final year of compulsory schooling.

3 Judith V. Torney, op.cit., p.62. The figures exclude omits. Iran withdrew its national data from the analysis.
subject areas and Population II as well as IV. The Affective Questionnaires unique to the Civic Education Survey were administered to all 3 Populations and were the: How Society Works, Affective and Background Questionnaires.

While Sweden was the only country in the Civics survey not testing Population II (14 year olds) students, Israel (judgment sample only) and Italy, while being two of the four countries who tested Population I (10 year olds), were the only two who did not test Population IV (pre-university year), the other countries testing Population I being the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands.

Several Pilot testing Stages in 1969 preceded the Dry Run in May 1970. Considerable development of the questionnaires occurred on the basis of information gained through the extensive procedures used in the development of the final Tests and Questionnaires for Civic Education. It was in the Dry Run stage that the Cognitive and Attitudinal instruments were first administered together, and 'it was found that the two types of measures worked well together, as well as independently'.

Cognitive data and Background and Affective information and scales were used in the final Survey, so enabling an analysis of the importance of the school in Civic Education cognitive achievement, and also general conclusions to be drawn about the effectiveness of teaching methods and the place of Civic Education in the school curricula in learning outcomes.

The survey, as finally administered, was the result of research in the field up to the time of formulating the Pilot Testing stages, analysis of the Pilot Testing stages and the Dry Run, with specialist interpretation of the findings at each stage, and major recasting and alteration of various sections of the questionnaires within the framework of the information

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sought. This in itself, developed during testing as further information was gained not just as to what sorts of question items elicited information in the most useful way, but the information obtained led to some development of the sorts of attitudes and development to be studied following administration of the final survey. Knowledge about how best to find out about attitudes and knowledge of students developed during testing stages as well as knowledge about the process of political socialization of the student subjects, resulting in development of the concepts underlying the affective questionnaires themselves.

The reports on the Civic Education survey deal with:

(a) the development of the Civics Instruments;
(b) the findings of the survey; and
(c) the technical background to the data set.

National reports include an analysis of the Swedish Population III and IV data by Kurt Bergling. 5

3. THE CIVIC EDUCATION SURVEY DATA

The data collected by the national survey of Swedish students in their final year of secondary education provides a valuable source of information on the political socialization of students, and the influences which were instrumental in the development of their political outlook, specifically, their view of democratic citizenship, and their sense of political efficacy in the society.

The survey consisted of 7 tests or questionnaires which were administered to students, one questionnaire administered to teachers and one school questionnaire directed to the school principal. Items in three attitude questionnaires unique to the Civic Education survey were grouped according

to the sorts of attitudes or perceptions being measured, and items had optional responses provided, that is, they were generally not open-ended.

One of the attitude questionnaires, the Affective Questionnaire has sections on: local and national government (24 items), attitude statements (30 items), social group influence on legislation (10 items), egalitarianism (12 items), perception of adult conflict (9 items), the citizenship role (16 items), and cognitive development level (4 items), making a total of 105 items.

The local and national government items in this Questionnaire have underlying values of responsiveness, power and evaluation. For example, local or national government, 'can have their decisions changed by ordinary people' or, 'can only have their decisions changed by powerful people', the students having a choice of 5 responses indicating extent of agreement with such statements.

The attitude statements measured sense of political efficacy, tolerance and support for civic liberties, anti-authoritarianism, support for women's rights, general tolerance, and belief in the value of criticism of government, the last two being more general scores which combined several of the other measures. The international data analysis made use of a 'don't know' category of response as well in a number of sections of these questionnaires, with the aim of finding how young people's conceptualization abilities developed. In the case of the Swedish Population IV data this category was not an important one because students had a good grasp of abstract concepts by their age and had no difficulty comprehending the concepts in the items in the way which was experienced by younger students in Populations I and II. In the items, students generally had a choice of 5 optional responses with which to indicate agreement or disagreement with given statements such as 'citizens must always be free to criticize the government'. A 'no opinion' option was frequently provided so that students were not forced to agree or disagree or 'not understand the
In order to respond to a particular item. This meant that students could make a distinction in their responses between not understanding a question and not having an opinion on the issue involved.

In the items on social group influence on legislation, students were asked what influence various pressure groups such as 'union leaders' had on laws. On attitude to equality, students were asked whether they thought various categories of people in the community should have more, fewer, or the same rights and freedoms as others. Items on perception of adult conflict sought student views on the extent of agreement and disagreement between pairs of community groups such as 'the newspapers and the people in Parliament'.

Three concepts of citizenship were distinguished by student selection of statements indicating their concept of good citizenship. The three roles are described as 'active' (such as 'votes in every election'), 'disengaged' (such as 'obeys the law'), or 'non-political' (such as 'is always polite').

It is an 'active' concept which is described in Swedish education policy goals and which it is intended be transmitted to Swedish youth. The items on cognitive development level are not of particular interest at Population IV level apart from the fact that results were as anticipated - that is, students at this age have abstract sociocentric reasoning, not personalized egocentric reasoning.

The Affective Questionnaire items cover: student attitudes on democratic values, attitudes and perceptions about local and national government and about groups in the society, and about their inter-relationships with each other and students' relations with each of them, and students' image of a good democratic citizen.

The Background Questionnaire, also an attitude questionnaire, contains 79 items. Of particular interest to this thesis are the 15 items on
'classroom climate' and eight items on classroom climate in civics classes. Other sections deal with student civic, political or democratic interests and practices as assessed by the students themselves and on home background, looking at such aspects as assertion of independence from parents, and conformity to or rejection of, parental values.

Looking at the sections in order, in the first section the child's interest in civic items in the mass media was assessed by students making comparable ratings on the extent of their interest in Civic and other programs. The second section contains 9 items on frequency of discussion of current affairs, such as political parties or candidates, with friends, parents and teachers, and the third section, two groups of 4 items each on self-assessment on what political influences they have had, and on agreement with these influences. The influences cited were those of their parents, best friends and Civics teacher. In the fourth section, civic activities were assessed through students indicating whether or not they had done any of the 7 listed activities. These first 4 sections explore the awareness, participation and interest of students in civic affairs. The next section of the questionnaire turns to the way the peer group makes decisions about their activities. The 4 items on peer group decision-making examine how democratically decisions are made, such as in deciding about changing the rules of a game or making a new rule. Five alternative answers were provided and ranged from taking a vote after discussing it to one or two deciding in the group or asking someone to decide for them.

In the sixth section, 17 items measured the assertion of independence from parental expectations, the rejection of parental values, and conformity. Students were asked to respond to a list of statements of activities and to indicate whether or not they had thought about doing them, or whether they had actually done them. The items included 'smoking cigarettes', 'deliberately doing things which older people don't approve of', and 'becoming a boy scout or girl guide'. 
Of special interest are the two following sections on 'classroom climate' and on civics class practices. Three factors contained in the items on classroom climate were equality, encouragement of independence and patriotic ritual. The 6 items on equality had 2 sub-sets, 3 items on equality among students, and 3 items on equality by teachers towards students, for example, 'Certain students work only with their class friends ... ', and 'Certain students are favoured by the teachers more than the rest ...'. The 5 items on independence were all worded positively, in contrast to the mixed direction of items on equality, and included an item on 'Students are encouraged to make up their own minds ... '. Four positive statements on patriotic ritual included 'There are pictures of national leaders in our classroom', with 5 optional responses ranging from 'Always' to 'Never'.

Questionnaire items specifically on civics classes sought student opinions on the teacher's approach to Civic Education, and included items on stress on factual knowledge and student's general view of civics classes such as 'Causes and explanations of social or historical events are more important than remembering names and dates ...', and 'Students are not interested in civics and history ...'. Students not studying a Civic Education subject (either Samhällskunskap or socialkunskap) did not respond to these items.

The final item in the Background Questionnaire simply asked 'Who or what has made the biggest impression on your political ideas?' and gave 9 optional answers, the last option 'something else' covering those not specified. The How Society Works Questionnaire has some items which are of particular interest to a study of political socialization at Population IV level, while others either have aspects directed at younger students or are primarily concerned with development patterns across the age groups sampled in the various countries. The Questionnaire contains 120 items.
(10 x 12) measuring perceived conflict in society using the following institutions: Elections, the Democratic System, Business, Unions, Laws, Police, Parliament, Political Parties, Welfare, and the United Nations. Students responded to 12 items on each institution as to how often the particular institution will 'ensure fair shares for everyone', 'create better understanding', 'create disagreements' etc., on a range of democratic values. These three Questionnaires: Affective, Background and How Society Works all seek opinions. There were no 'right' or 'wrong' answers as such.

The Civic Cognitive Test contained 48 multiple choice item questions which were designed to test students' civic education knowledge, as distinct from the political attitudes measured by the three Civic Education Questionnaires discussed above.

Three tests or questionnaires shared by students in Stage 3 were a Verbal Ability Test (also used in Stage 2), the General Questionnaire, and the General Attitude and Descriptive Questionnaire.

The Verbal Ability Test involved students marking whether 40 pairs of words had similar or opposite meaning and was designed as a measure of ability, and was not directly a civic education or a political socialization test.

The General Questionnaire includes items on age, type of program, father's occupation, sex, and mother's and father's level of education and other items on education and occupational expectations and aspirations, and general home circumstances. Home circumstances included siblings, where and how homework was done and on what sort of pattern, parental help and interest, and other activities (such as watching TV or listening to the radio, or reading). Students also rated their opinions on a one-of-the-favourite to one-of-the-least-liked scale, on each of their school subjects.
The General Attitude and Descriptive Scales consisted of 24 statements with a two-option answer on two aspects of school: like-dislike for school, and school description.

In all, students answered 2 tests and 5 questionnaires, 4 of these (1 test and 3 questionnaires) being specifically on Civic Education and Political Socialization. The General Questionnaire looking at student background and the verbal ability measure are also useful in examining relationships between various democratic values and practices of students, because they enable one to control for the influence of background factors, such as the age, sex, ability and home background of students in analysing the responses to the other tests and questionnaires.

Of special interest are the sections in the Questionnaires which provide information on students' perception of, and attitudes towards, their school environment, and their self-concept of citizenship. The influence of the school on the students' developing awareness of their role in society as democratic citizens and their induction into the political culture of the society, is influenced by their view of their schooling experience. The Affective Questionnaires have many items on the crucial concepts underlying a system of democratic values and a concept of democratic citizenship.
APPENDIX C

SCHOOLS SURVEYED FOR IEA CIVIC EDUCATION: POPULATION IV

INSTRUMENTS, IN SWEDEN IN 1971
### APPENDIX C

**SCHOOLS SURVEYED FOR IEA CIVIC EDUCATION: POPULATION IV INSTRUMENTS, IN SWEDEN 1971**

Appendix to Chapter Four

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APPENDIX D

THE AFFECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS USED IN THE PATH ANALYSIS MODEL AS ADMINISTERED TO THE SWEDISH SAMPLE
## APPENDIX D

**THE AFFECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS USED IN THE PATH ANALYSIS MODEL AS ADMINISTERED TO THE SWEDISH SAMPLE**

Appendix to Chapter Four

### TABLE D.1

| ITEMS Q7CB56 TO Q7CB70 FROM THE CIVICS BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE: THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT MEASURE |

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<th>B. Ofta</th>
<th>C. Ibland</th>
<th>D. Sällan</th>
<th>E. Aldrig</th>
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<td>Vi sjunger sanger om vårt land i klassrummet</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>Vissa elever samarbetar endast med sina bästa kamrater i klassen</td>
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<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Varje elev i en klass har samma rättigheter</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Vi sjunger nationalsången i skolan</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Lärarna uppmuntrar eleverna att tala fritt och öppet i klassen</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Eleverna kan känna sig fria att öppet ha andra åsikter än lärarna</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>En del elever håller ihop i små grupper</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>De duktiga eleverna uppmärksammar och får fler förmåner av lärarna</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Vi deltar i en morgonsamling där vi hälsar Sveriges flagga i skolan</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Eleverna uppmuntras att tänk själva</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Lärarna tycks ogilla våra bästa idéer</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Eleverna samarbetar like bra med vem som helst av klasskamraterna</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>En del elever är lärarnas favoriter</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Det finns bilder av landets ledare på väggarna i vårt klassrum</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Vara lärare respekterar våra åsikter och uppmuntrar oss att ge uttryck åt dem</td>
<td>A. Alltid</td>
<td>B. Ofta</td>
<td>C. Ibland</td>
<td>D. Sällan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. Items 56 to 70 (Q7CB56 to Q7CB70) above formed the school environment scale (SCHLENV) in the path analysis with the
exclusion of the four items on 'patriotic ritual', 56, 59, 64 and 69. See Chapter Four and Appendix B, on the IEA survey and Chapter Six on the formation of the SCHLENV scale.

2. The items listed in the Table above correspond to the items listed in Chapter Five, Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>English Language Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Table 5.3 Pat.13 (not part of SCHLENV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Table 5.2 Ind.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Table 5.3 Pat.14 (not part of SCHLENV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Table 5.2 Ind.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Table 5.2 Ind.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Table 5.3 Pat.15 (not part of SCHLENV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Table 5.2 Ind.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Table 5.1 Eq.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Table 5.3 Pat.16 (not part of SCHLENV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Table 5.2 Ind.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The order of items in Chapter Five, Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 is determined by a factor analysis of the fifteen items with the items being listed in order of factor pattern value for each of four factors.
APPENDIX D (Contd.)

TABLE D.2  ITEMS Q7CA028, Q7CA038, Q7CA039, Q7CA041, Q7CA044, Q7CA045 FROM THE CIVICS AFFECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE: THE POLITICAL EFFICACY SCALE FROM THE ATTITUDE SCALES (Q7CA026 TO Q7CA054)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Number</th>
<th>English Language Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Eff.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Eff.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Eff.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Eff.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Eff.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Eff.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The order of items in Chapter 5, Table 5.15 is determined by a factor analysis of the attitude scales with the items being numbered in order of factor pattern value of the factor forming POLEFF.
APPENDIX E

BACKGROUND VARIABLES

1. HOME BACKGROUND

2. STUDENT RESPONDENTS’ SEX AND SCHOOLING DATA
APPENDIX E

BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Appendix to Chapter Four

1. HOME BACKGROUND

Having established that students are interested in civic affairs, have a reasonably democratic perception of their school environment, that their social and political attitudes are similarly democratic, that they have an active view of citizenship and hold diverse opinions on the performance of their government, and that they feel moderately efficacious in their political outlook, I now turn to other aspects of students' life which are likely to influence their political outlook.1

The three most useful items measuring the home background of the student are father's occupation (FOCC), the number of books in the home (NBOOKS), and frequency of use of a dictionary (DICTUSE).2 Table E.1 shows the breakdown of occupational groups of the fathers' of students. In Table E.2, item RFOCC shows FOCC recoded to reflect Social Groups 1, 2 and 3, with 30.5%, 46.5% and 23.0% in each group respectively. The 6.6% classified in Category 0 in FOCC in Table E.1 have been excluded from RFOCC as the occupations listed do not readily fit into one of the three social group categories in RFOCC.3

The direction of the recoded categories has also been reversed for NBOOKS in Table E.2 to give all three items (RFOCC, RNBOOKS and DICTUSE) a consistent direction. More students reported having more than 50 books in the home, (NBOOKS and RNBOOKS), than were in Social Groups 1 and 2 combined, leaving the other categories with small response rates, in particular, only 1.2% reported having 10 or less books in the home.

---


2 The years of education of father, and mother, two items which may well have been useful, in a measure of home background for the Swedish Civics sample have not been reported in the Tables due to errors resulting from a misreading of these questions by some students.

3 Items in Tables E.1 (and E.2) are from the General Student Questionnaire.
TABLE E.1 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON HOME BACKGROUND

Responses to questions on father's occupation, the number of books in the home, and use of a dictionary at home.

FOCC Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Total %/N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.6 (98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.9 (116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7 (114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9 (87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.2 (166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.2 (121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.3 (123)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.7 (231)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>26.5 (391)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.0 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 (1476)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NBOWKS Number of Books in the Home

About how many books are there in your home? (Do no count newspapers or magazines) (indicate one)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Books in the Home</th>
<th>%/N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A None</td>
<td>0.7 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 1 - 10</td>
<td>0.5 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 11 - 25</td>
<td>3.5 (52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 26 - 50</td>
<td>10.5 (158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 50 or more</td>
<td>84.8 (1276)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 (1504)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DICTUSE Use of a Dictionary

How often is a Swedish dictionary used by anyone in your home?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of Dictionary</th>
<th>%/N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Often</td>
<td>26.9 (404)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Occasionally</td>
<td>66.3 (997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Never, or do not have one</td>
<td>6.8 (103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 (1504)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1. Percentage figures are for non-missing data, and number of respondents listed in the Tables total the non-missing response. The total number of students in the survey = 1867, and the percentage of valid or non-missing responses are 79.1% and 80.6% in order.

2. Occupational Categories
0 Trainee, housewife, student, unclassified
1 Unskilled labourer
2 Semi-skilled worker
3 Farmer, tenant, fisherman
4 Skilled manual worker, e.g., craftsman
5 Foreman or equivalent
6 Typist, junior clerk or equivalent
7 Owner and/or leader of small business enterprise; jobs within the same occupational area as 8 below but not requiring higher education; sub-ordinate official in public or business administration, e.g., senior clerk or equivalent (normally at least junior secondary school required).
8 Administrative, educational, juridical, medical, military, religious, scientific and technical occupations (higher education required); qualified artistic and literary occupations.
9 Leading position in public or business administration (higher education required).
### TABLE E.2 RECODED RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON HOME BACKGROUND

Recoded responses\(^1\) to questions on father's occupation, and the number of books in the home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Social Group 1</th>
<th>Social Group 2</th>
<th>Social Group 3 (^2)</th>
<th>Total %/N resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RFOCC</strong> Recoded Father's Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 50</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(420)</td>
<td>(641)</td>
<td>(317)</td>
<td>(1378)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RNBOOKS</strong> Recoded Number of Books(^3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never, or do not have one</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1276)</td>
<td>(210)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(1504)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DICTUSE</strong> Use of a Dictionary</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(404)</td>
<td>(997)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>(1504)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

1. The recoding facilitates comparisons between three items: the two items mentioned above and use of a dictionary.

2. Social Groups 1, 2, and 3, correspond to the Swedish classification of socio-economic groups in the society and include occupational categories 1 to 9 from Table E.1 above. Category 0 has been excluded because it cannot readily be classified into one of the Social Group categories in this Table (E.2). Note that Social Group 1 is the highest status group, and 3 the lowest.

3. The number of categories of number of books in the home has been reduced to a number corresponding to those of the other two items. However, one category remains with a high percentage of the total response, the other four categories being combined into two.

4. The total number of respondents = 1867.

5. The percentage figures exclude missing data and the number of respondents totals the number of valid or non-missing responses with the exception of RFOCC (see Note 1). See Table E.1 for percentage non-missing responses. The percentage of responses valid for RFOCC is 73.9%, the respondents to Category 0 (N=98) being added to the 'missing data' category for this purpose.

6. These three items, RFOCC, RNBOOKS and DICTUSE were formed into a scale as a measure of home background, RNBOOKS being the strongest item, and RFOCC second. See Chapter Six for a discussion of the procedure.
Frequency of use of a dictionary varied with two-thirds reporting its use 'occasionally', a further quarter 'often', and the remaining few, 'never, or do not have one'.

Overall, students' home background varied across the full spectrum of occupational categories of their fathers, although they are disproportionately represented by the higher socio-economic categories. One reason behind the integration of Swedish upper-secondary schooling and recent changes in prerequisites for university entrance. While the number of books in the home variable, is a good measure of home background in the Swedish sample, the very large majority choosing one of the options limits its usefulness in relationships with other variables. While frequency of use of a Swedish dictionary was a less satisfactory measure of home background than the other two items, it indicates that nearly all Swedish homes have dictionaries and that students generally use them.

Looking at other relationships in items measuring student home background, the correlation between the expected occupation of students and their father's occupation when the categories were recoded to correspond to Social Groups 1, 2 and 3, in Sweden, was significant at the 0.001 level with a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.12. Students also reported on the number of years of education their parents had received, and the number of years of education they expected. The majority expected to continue their education beyond secondary schooling.

Students' occupational expectations were higher than the occupation of their fathers where a preference was indicated beyond further studies, or for work on completion of their present course. Students' educational expectation was also higher than that achieved by their parents, partly due to the fact that students had on average, already completed more years of education than had their parents, but over two thirds of students.

---

4 See Chapter Three on the Swedish system of education.

5 See footnote 1 above. The generalization on years of education applies taking the error component into account.
expected to receive at least several years more education, indicating that they expected to undertake a further course of at least several years at the post-secondary level. Of these, 59% hoped to study at university.

Strong correlations on items measuring students' home background were found firstly between the number of books in the home and the number of hours spent reading for pleasure, and secondly, between the number of hours of homework per week and the use of a dictionary at home. Both correlations were significant at 0.001 level. Hence a variety of items provided some information on student home background and relationships between the various aspects measured. The statistical associations found between the first pair of items on books in the home and reading for pleasure, and the second pair of items on homework and dictionary use, follow commonsense expectations that the home environment influences student behaviour.

Students spent their after school hours on a variety of activities. The number of hours per week spent on homework varied over a wide range: from 'none' to 'more than 20 hours per week'. 66% of students reported doing more than 5 hours per week, and nearly half of those (30% of the total) more than 10 hours per week. Most students (85% did homework on their own, mostly without parental help. Most students (84%) spent at least 1 hour per week reading for pleasure, while over half of these (43% of the total) spent more than 3 hours. This compares with 70% of students spending up to 10 hours a week watching TV or listening to the radio. Only 9% reported spending more than 20 hours a week. This is one of the most striking figures.

Student interests in programs of various types indicate that an interest in current affairs and international programs outranks interest in programs on 'cowboys and indians' or 'cartoons'. These preferences are consistent with the Swedish political culture although they would not necessarily be
anticipated for the youth of the country, the number of hours per week spent watching TV or listening to the radio being much lower than for many comparable countries.

2. STUDENT RESPONDENTS' SEX AND SCHOOLING DATA

The difference in numbers of students of either sex was not particularly great, with 54.3% male and 45.7% female (see Table E.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE E.3</th>
<th>RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON BACKGROUND INFORMATION: PERSONAL BACKGROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SSEX</td>
<td>Sex of the student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex of the student</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(992)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: 1. The total number of students surveyed = 1867.
2. The percentage figures are for valid or non-missing responses, and the number of respondents listed in the Tables total the non-missing response, which is 97.9% for SSEX.

Of the Swedish respondents, 69% were taking a three-year gymnasium-type program and 31% a two-year fackskola-type program. While all students study civics (sammhällskunskap and/or socialkunskap) in their fackskola or gymnasium programs, their timetable may be arranged in such a way that they do not necessarily study civics in one particular year. This is reflected in that only 82.6% of students reported that they were enrolled in a civics course that year (see Table E.4).

6 Items discussed in this section are from the General Student Questionnaire with the exception of interest in TV programs of various types which is part of the Background Questionnaire. See Table 5.12.
7 See the discussion of the variable SSEX in Chapter Six. SSEX is from the General Student Questionnaire.
8 See Chapter Three for a description of the two program types.
### TABLE E.4 RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS ON BACKGROUND INFORMATION: CURRENT POSITION IN SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Year of School Program</th>
<th>Year 11</th>
<th>Year 12</th>
<th>Total %/N Resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of School Program</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(572)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1268) (1840)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP</th>
<th>Type of Program</th>
<th>Fackskola</th>
<th>Gymnasium</th>
<th>Total %/N Resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Program</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(563)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1263) (1825)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CIVROL</th>
<th>Enrollment in Civics</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total %/N Resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently enrolled in Civics</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(1543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(324) (1867)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIKCIV</th>
<th>Liking for Civics and Social Studies</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total %/N Resp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of</td>
<td>Have generally liked this subj.</td>
<td>Have generally disliked this subj.</td>
<td>One of the subj's I have least liked in school</td>
<td>Have never studied this subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my favourite subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liking for Civics Course</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(360)</td>
<td>(783)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
<td>(62)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
1. The total number of students surveyed = 1867.
2. The percentage figures are for valid or non-missing responses, and the number of respondents listed in the Tables total the non-missing response. Note that for Enrollment in Civics there is no missing data, so that the valid response rate is 100.0%.
3. The *year of school program* corresponds to the *type of program* the *fackskola* program being a two-year course and the *gymnasium* program a three-year course so that students in their final year of each type of program are in years 11 and 12 respectively. Due to the higher response rate to the item on *year of school program*, the percentage figures, calculated on valid or non-missing responses vary slightly between the two tables, the valid response rates being 98.6% (YEAR) and 91.8% (TOP).
4. See Chapter Three, esp. parts D and E and also Appendix A, parts 1 and 2, and Tables A.1 to A.6 esp. Tables A.3 and A.4, on students' background in Civics subjects in the Nine Year *grundskola* program, and in the various *gymnasium* and *fackskola* lines or programs. The valid response rate is 79.1%, plus 1.0% responding that they 'have never studied this subject'.

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**Notes:**
- Table E.4 presents responses to questions on background information, specifically focusing on the current position in school, year of school program, type of program (fackskola vs. gymnasium), enrollment in Civics, and liking for Civics and Social Studies.
- The data includes the year of school program (Year 11 and Year 12), type of program (Fackskola and Gymnasium), enrollment status (Yes and No), and students' preferences regarding Civics and Social Studies.
- The table provides percentages and numbers of respondents for these categories, along with notes for interpreting the data.

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**References:**
- The data is derived from Chapter Three and Appendix A, which provide additional context and details on students' background in Civics and Social Studies across different programs and years.
On liking of school subjects, students' opinions on social science subjects, namely: (1) Civics and Social Studies; (2) History; and (3) Geography, were highly correlated. It seems likely that students' opinion of a particular subject is influenced by their opinion of the field to which it belongs as in the case of social science subjects, not just by the particular subject considered in isolation.

A majority of students reported either generally liking every subject or considering it a favourite, when asked about their liking for each of their subjects. The least popular subject was Business Economics with only 54% of students giving it a positive rating, and the most popular was Biology with 33% listing it as a favourite, and 86% giving it a positive rating. Civic Education was reasonably popular with 77% of students giving it a positive rating and 24% listing it as a favourite. When asked a general question as to whether students disliked school work, 24% agreed with the question, but when asked if they disliked many subjects, 50% of students agreed.9

Hence, students discriminate between their overall impressions of schooling and particular aspects. There appears to be some conflict between students feeling they dislike many subjects in general, and in giving most subjects a positive rating on an individual basis. The strongest negative opinion for one subject was for Business Economics, where 16% said that it was one of their least-liked subjects. French came 'second' with 14%. Only 1.4% expressed a similar dislike for Biology. This suggests that students regard disliking 'many' of their subjects as disliking more than one or two rather than disliking the majority of their subjects.

9 Items in Table E.4 and in the accompanying discussion are from the General Student Questionnaire, except for the two general items on disliking schoolwork or many subjects, which are from the General Attitude and Descriptive Scales.
Overall students generally liked school, and more wanted to continue their education. Career expectations and employment opportunities played a part in their preferences as well as liking for study. Hence, a desire for further education, a liking for school, or study, and a liking for individual subjects all need to be carefully separated in assessing student opinion of their school environment. The circumstances under which students studied at home, and their out of school activities, both at home and elsewhere contributed to building a general outline of the activities and interests of students and their socio-economic background.
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