

THE STATUS, SCOPE, AND OBJECTIVES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
WITH GENERAL APPLICATION TO KANSAS INSTITUTIONS
OF HIGHER LEARNING

by

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B. S., University of Nebraska, 1948
M. A., University of Nebraska, 1949

A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of History, Government and Philosophy

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The points of inquiry of this thesis are the result of study, thought, and reading in political science and discussion with people interested in the subject. Contemporary literature and discussion about political science raise fundamental questions. These usually concern the scope, objectives, and status of the discipline. During the past several years these questions seem to be more insistent than was the case earlier. The importance of political and governmental processes to human well-being, if not even human survival, seems to be recognized by political scientists and has brought about reconsideration and reevaluation of the field of study known as political science.

Two examples of this reexamination are found in two studies made in the present decade. A reading of the American Political Science Association's report Goals for Political Science¹ and of The University Teaching of Political Science from the International Political Science Association's report to U.N.E.S.C.O.² leads one to a consideration of what, in fact, constitutes the discipline called political science, its role in the academic environment, and whether the stated or implicit objectives of political science college teaching are being approached or met.

¹ M. E. Dimock, Chairman, Goals for Political Science, New York: William Sloan Associates, 1951.

² W. A. Robson, "The University Teaching of Social Science; Political Science," UNESCO Report, 1954, p. 102.

These questions are too broad for this thesis. Such ambitious treatments as are implied by answering these general questions must be furnished by others. For use as the central points of inquiry of this study, these general questions were narrowed to: (1) What are the objectives, scope, and status of contemporary political science teaching and (2) What is the status of contemporary political science college teaching in Kansas in comparison to norms that may be established by (1) above. Although the chief emphasis is on college level education in the field under consideration, it has been found that the relation to high school education on one hand and adult out-of-college education on the other is peculiarly fundamental in this case. This is particularly true as a result of the predominant acceptance of "citizenship" as an objective of political science education. Such an objective carries heavy and far-reaching implications in a political culture devoted to democracy. Therefore, some consideration is given to high school and out-of-college adult education in political science.

To answer the question, "What constitutes objectives, scope, and norms of contemporary political science college teaching?" a study was made of the American Political Science Review for the years 1947-1957, especially of articles dealing with the underlying theories of the discipline. These articles pointed to more reading in other sources as will be indicated in this study. As any field of knowledge expands its boundaries and improves its methods, it is important to learn the extent to which it is being utilized in curricular offerings. It is

important and interesting to learn to what extent the objectives are attainable within the present use of resources and what would need to be done to more nearly attain them. Whether Kansas is a representative area in this respect is not known; it is used because of (1) convenience and (2) practical importance to the writer.

The question, "What is the status of contemporary political science college teaching in Kansas?" is answered at least in part by information taken from a questionnaire sent to Kansas colleges which offer political science in their curriculum. The questionnaire is reproduced in the Appendix. Using the information gathered in Chapter II as a guide, the questionnaire was built to provide a census of Kansas political science college teaching concerning scope and objectives. Status is then shown by comparing what is reported as being done with what a complete coverage of the field would require.

The point of inquiry of this thesis is to determine the present scope, objectives, and status of political science and to relate the reported efforts of Kansas political science college teachers to this conceptual framework.

In considering the objectives of the political science teacher, his responsibility to the formal program of citizenship education in a democracy will be examined, with the purpose of determining the essential problems he faces in his attempt to implement this objective, and possible solutions which may be found in solving these problems.

CHAPTER II

THE SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

What is the scope of political science, i.e., what is the subject matter of the discipline? This question is answered in a variety of ways. "No precise and definite boundaries can be placed around political science."¹ Here we have an opinion at one end of the scale. There are other intervening opinions on a continuum to the opposite extreme, a position explained as follows:

Political science is thus an analysis of the political process penetrating vertically through the centuries back to the beginnings of organized society and cutting horizontally across the complex components of political authority and desire of any given period, particularly the contemporary one. ...These components which give political process its meaning are (1) political ideas and theories, (2) political institutions--their organization, functions and operations, (3) political dynamics--parties, pressure groups, propaganda, public opinion; economic, social and geographic forces, (4) political techniques and administration, (5) jurisprudence.²

The first statement indicates a lack of defined area for political science while the second sets some rather definite overall limits on subject matter.

¹ C. C. Rodee, Introduction to Political Science. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957, p. 5.

² Landon G. Rockwell, "Toward a More Integrated Political Science Curriculum," American Political Science Review (hereafter referred to as A.P.S.R.), Vol. XLI, No. 2, p. 316.

Scope of Political Science as a Whole

Looking at the matter from another point of view, many writers stress the functional rather than the conventional study of political science.

The subject matter (political science) is often defined in what may be called a conventional sense as the study of government, or in functional terms as the study of power (defined as decision making). My view is that if political scientists do not conceive of the subject in broad functional sense, they will damage the profession.³

This statement seems to reflect the thought of many of the contemporary writers in the field. Many have additions to make to this developing concept of power.

George Catlin conceives of political science as a formulation of constants in social relations.⁴ This idea has been attacked as untenable since constants call for measurement and a workable number of variables; both conditions as yet eluding the political scientist.

As yet political science has not been able to reduce the complex power relations of society to the necessary numerical quantities, and there is little prospect that in the foreseeable future it will be in a position to do so.⁵

This analysis is based on a number of points concerning the place of theory in conceptual development, and will be dealt

³ H. D. Lasswell, "The Immediate Future of Research Policy and Method in Political Science," A.P.S.R., Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 133-34.

⁴ George Catlin, "Political Theory. What is it?" Political Science Quarterly, Vol. LXXXII, No. 1, p. 22.

⁵ David Easton, The Political System. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, p. 289.

with in the section on the role of theory in political science.

A point of view, one which is less than kind to the political scientist, is expressed by the philosopher Charner Perry.

Social knowledge has improved and been greatly extended in the last two hundred years, but so far as I know there have been no important contributions in the field resulting from the application of the scientific method. Political science is, of course, mostly history and ethics, and to a considerable extent, a mixture of the two. Political science seems to be concerned with whatever social actions, techniques and institutions as are used by a society or civilization to bring order into or to maintain equilibrium among the lesser institutions or groups.⁶

Thus it seems that Perry considers the role of the political scientist to be a synthesizer of history and ethics concerned in the main with an explanation of how these contribute to an understanding of the place of order in society. We need not look far, however, to find a stalwart champion of the political scientist's role as a scientist. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1956, Lasswell had some very definite suggestions on this matter.

Our first professional contribution, it appears, is to project a comprehensive image of the future for the purpose of indicating how our over-riding goal values are likely to be affected if current policies continue. A closely related contribution consists in clarifying the fundamental goal values of the body politic. The third task is historic and scientific. If we are to serve the aims of historic recognition and of scientific analysis, one of our professional responsibilities is to expedite the development of more perfect institutions specialized to continual self-observation on a global scale. The fourth task

⁶ Charner Perry, "The Semantics of Political Science," A.P.S.R., Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 398-405.

is inventive and evaluative. It consists of originating policy alternatives by means of which goal values can be maximized.⁷

In the first area, he calls for prognostication; in the second for analysis of policy; in the third for clarification of theoretical values; and in the fourth for adjustment of research to theory. If there is any doubt concerning the science of political science, Lasswell's position includes at least a recognition of the need for constant effort toward the utilization of scientific investigation in the field.

At this point the positions of several political scientists attempting to state the core of the subject matter, must be examined. "Politics--a struggle for power involving individuals and groups who wish to utilize the machinery of government to achieve an objective."⁸ "Political science is the study of authoritative allocation of values as it is influenced by the distribution and use of power."⁹ These and others already mentioned have certain elements which are inferred to be the realm of political science.

First, all agree, with some tautology, that political science is a study of politics. Politics is the process by which authoritative direction and restraint is provided over the actions of men in communities. Is such authority limited to the

⁷ H. D. Lasswell, "The Political Science of Science," A.P.S.R., Vol. L, No. 4, p. 978.

⁸ H. A. Turner, Politics in the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953, p. 15.

⁹ David Easton, The Political System. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953, p. 146.

state, thereby limiting the study of political science to the particular kind of association known as the state? This question is of such importance that the somewhat extended discussion required for it is reserved for an appropriate place later in this chapter.

Second, nearly all agree that a knowledge of power and its exercise is necessary to an understanding of politics, and mere knowledge of political institutions does not explain or necessarily lead one to an understanding of the relationships of the elements of society contending for leadership of the society.

Third, nearly all are in agreement that the values of a society are in a central position in the study of politics. "Like Plato, Aristotle agrees that the function of the state is to secure for men the good life; not only in material ways but esthetic and ethical ways as well."¹⁰

One may ask the question at this point whether the efforts at governing which fall outside the formal entity of the state have a valid place in the discipline of political science. At the same time that we relate government to the state, we also speak of church government, trade union government, and the like.

From this general point of view, government is one of the constants of life. Man, in any kind of collective sense, has escaped the governmental only in his dreams. The forms and processes of government are to be found in many places other

¹⁰ C. C. Maxey, Political Philosophy. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949, p. 61.

than the formal apparatus of the state, as in the family, church, association, and schools.

One view makes government apart from the state a condition prior to the state. This suggests an evolution to the state and absorption by the state, once established, of all governmental functions and attributes. Such a view of the evolution of the state ultimately results in the idea of government being a functional design for the purposes of order, control, and direction.

The answer to the question of the validity of studying other than formalized governmental functions in political science then must, in this context, be affirmative. Whatever influences, conditions, and is germane to the problems of a discipline must come within the work of that discipline.

Political science is then a systematized body of knowledge dealing with the control of man, and includes not only the theory and organization of control and values underlying the society which makes control possible, but also germane behavior of individuals and/or groups which influence control of man.

The phrase "control of man" is defined as that formal or informal machinery or will of society which compels conforming behavior in man which is necessary for the continued well-being of man. In this sense nearly all human effort which is aimed at directing and controlling human activity is government, and the state is the formal entity derived by man to effect the promotion of the welfare of all living in the state.

The state, as a concept of political science and public law, is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent, or nearly so, of external control, and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render(s) habitual obedience.¹¹

The state is the association of man for the promotion of common purposes, and government is the machinery used to accomplish these purposes.

In summary, political science includes in its scope all subject matter dealing with the state, law, government, and political behavior and is divided into several fields or specialties. We turn next to a consideration of these fields of inquiry.

Sub-Field Arrangements in Political Science

Several sources will be utilized to deal with the problem of naming the sub-fields in political science. The U.N.E.S.C.O. attempt to get at method of political science gives us a summary of scope listed here.

The scope of political science.

I. Political Theory

(1) Political Theory.

(2) History of Political Ideas.

II. Government

(1) The Constitution.

(2) National Government.

¹¹ J. W. Garner, Political Science and Government. New York: American Book Co., 1928, p. 52.

- (3) Regional and Local Government.
- (4) Public Administration.
- (5) Economic and Social Functions of Government.
- (6) Comparative Political Institutions.
- III. Parties, Groups, and Public Opinions
 - (1) Political Parties.
 - (2) Groups and Associations.
 - (3) Citizen participation in government and administration.
 - (4) Public Opinion.
- IV. International Relations
 - (1) International Politics.
 - (2) International Organization and Administration.
 - (3) International Law.¹²

This listing was made in 1948 and was used as a base for the U.N.E.S.C.O. study which was published six years later.¹³ The U.N.E.S.C.O. report added the following categories: integrated social science courses and education for public service. Notice should be taken of the similarity of the materials used in this study of the international scope of political science and the scope as outlined by American political scientists.

In 1951, the report of the committee for the advancement of teaching of the American Political Science Association made its

¹² W. Ebenstein, "Toward International Collaboration in Political Science," A.R.S.R., Vol. XLII, No. 6, p. 1186.

¹³ W. A. Robson, "The University Teaching of Social Science; Political Science," U.N.E.S.C.O. Report, 1954, pp. 192-95.

report which included eight subdivisions of political science in the section of the report devoted to scope.¹⁴ The last and latest list and the one chosen as the pattern for use in this study is shown below.¹⁵

1. Political Theory, Philosophy.
2. Political Dynamics (political parties, public opinion and pressure groups).
3. Public Law.
4. Public Administration.
5. International Relations, Politics, Law, and Organization.
6. American Government.
7. Comparative Government.
8. Legislatures and Legislation.
9. Government and Business.

For all practical purposes, the courses offered under the general heading of political science should find a place in one of the above-mentioned categories. This is to say that the scope of political science teaching embraces these fields at the present time.

It is interesting to note that Thomas Jefferson's list of subjects included under the Professor of Government for the University of Virginia in 1814 was as follows:

¹⁴ M. E. Dimock, Chr., Goals for Political Science. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951, p. 102.

¹⁵ C. C. Rodee, Introduction to Political Science. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957, pp. 10-11.

1. Political Economy.
2. Law of Nature and Nations.
3. History, being interwoven with Politics and Law.¹⁶

The general scope and subdivisions of political science, as reported above, relate to certain fairly specific objectives indicated for the discipline and its component subdivisions. In order that this area of inquiry be less drawn out, only those objectives will be noted which seem to be generally agreeable to most political scientists. The following list is not exhaustive but is rather a representation of generally accepted contemporary thought.

1. For the function of most political science departments is not primarily to train political scientists, but to educate responsible citizens in understanding the problems of government in contemporary society.¹⁷

2. Not only must the political scientist be a scholar; he must be a socially and politically responsible man as well--take an active and vital part in the practical political life of mankind.¹⁸

3. Government, administration, politics--their central position for those scholars who are making 'government,' both past and present, their special concern--the one subject of inquiry which totalitarian dictators cannot permit in their regimented lands is the study of political science.¹⁹

¹⁶ Saul K. Padover, The Complete Jefferson. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., 1943, p. 1100.

¹⁷ Landon G. Rockwell, "Instruction and Research," A.P.S.R., Vol. XLI, No. 2, p. 314.

¹⁸ Ethan Allen, "The Teacher of Government," A.P.S.R., Vol. XLI, No. 3, p. 527.

¹⁹ Carl J. Friedrich, "Political Science in the United States in Wartime," A.P.S.R., Vol. XLI, No. 5, p. 989.

4. We need to develop more political scientists who have the competence to infer the weapon implications of science and technology. It then becomes possible to anticipate the implications for collective policy.²⁰

5. The most important reason for the existence of the discipline, as far as our colleagues are concerned, is to help the students achieve effective citizenship.²¹

Analysis of the above quotations leads to the following as general objectives of political science:

1. Citizenship education.
2. Evaluate trends for guidance of policy makers.
3. Search for knowledge; mastery of subject matter.

These objectives may seem to be few in number; however, realization of any one of these objectives would be reason enough for the existence of a discipline. Realization of all three would be grounds for restrained yet heartfelt rejoicing.

The overall scope and objectives of the field of political science are realized in the day-to-day teaching, study, and research of the staff and students engaged in the field. The discipline, as already indicated, is made up of nine subdivisions. In order to broaden and clarify our understanding of the scope of political science and bring into sharper focus the objectives noted, the scope and objectives of each of the subdivisions of political science will be dealt with. In this fashion, the relationship of each part to the whole field will

²⁰ Harold D. Lasswell, "The Political Science of Science," A.P.S.R., Vol. L, No. 4, p. 966.

²¹ A.P.S.A. Report, Goals for Political Science. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1951, p. 112.

be clarified and the conceptual framework of the field set up.²² The division titles and order of treatment are listed here for convenience: Political Philosophy, International Law and Relations, Public Administration, Constitutional and Administrative Law, American Government, Comparative Government, Politics and Legislation, Political Parties and Public Opinion, and Government and Business.

Political Philosophy. Under this heading (or another like it) are such courses as Political Theory, History of Philosophy, and Contemporary Ideas. The main work of the field is to arrive at generalizations and conclusions covering the whole of political knowledge and experience. The political philosopher or theorist is the great synthesizer for man. The scope of the field is generalization, inference, and conclusion. The material is infinite and universal. The objectives are:

1. Realization of the fundamental task of providing a conceptual framework for understanding political matters.
2. Provision of a value system which will serve as guideposts for research in politics.
3. Citizenship training.
4. Provisions of ends to be sought by society in government.

It is relevant at this point to bring in criticism of political scientists concerning their efforts in the field of developing a theory or philosophy for politics. David Easton

²² The order with which these divisions are treated is not to be taken as indicative of their relative value.

makes the following points:

It is dangerous to the maturation of a discipline if discussion of problems in application, although necessary and proper by any standard, is allowed to crowd out research into conceptual theory based on casual knowledge. ...As we have just seen, over the years political science has emerged as a fact-gathering and reforming discipline....and in becoming pre-occupied almost exclusively with the problems of applying this factual information, political science has impeded its own movement towards a fundamental understanding of political life, a kind of knowledge that would place the relation of means to ends on a secure foundation.²³

Political theory which in political science assumes responsibility for research in moral matters, has in fact failed to help research workers in achieving a full understanding of their moral frame of reference.²⁴

The behaviorists insisted that the political philosopher should play a more constructive role as 'critic' of the work of political scientists,...in constant process of refining the products of empirical activity.²⁵

These criticisms lead to the tentative conclusion that political theorists have been remiss in their obligation to the rest of the discipline and should reform.

International Law and Relations. The study of international subjects are inquiries into the many factors which mold the external policies of the nations of the world.

The field of international relations may be broken down into international law, international organization, and international politics. The study of international politics is really a study of the

²³ David Easton, The Political System, op. cit., p. 86.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 255.

²⁵ H. Eckstein, Rapporteur, "Political Theory and the Study of Politics," A.P.S.R., Vol. L, No. 2, p. 487.

primary factors that enter into the politics of nations as reflected in current development.²⁶

The objectives of the teaching of international relations are:

1. To increase the student's knowledge and information.
2. To increase the student's intellectual skill.
3. To increase the student's intellectual abilities.
4. To increase the student's range of interest.
5. To improve the student's attitude and values.
6. To increase the student's appreciation and sensitivity.
7. To create greater consensus and cooperation among students.²⁷

Other objectives could, no doubt, be added to this list.

This is a representative sample of the work in the field, and gives us the general scope and objectives.

Public Administration. The focus of this subject is on the fundamental problems of public administration. It is political because an attempt is made to understand the administrative problems of government as an integral part of society. The broad outline includes materials concerned with exploring the range of controlling institutional factors as well as the variables of administrative behavior.²⁸ The objectives of public administration are:

²⁶ A. H. Fifield, "The Introductory Course in International Relations," A.P.S.R., Vol. XLII, No. 6, p. 1196.

²⁷ Based upon Report on a Conference on the Teaching of International Relations (Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution), April, 1950.

²⁸ Morstein Marx, Elements of Public Administration. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, p. vii.

1. Training for domestic public service.
2. Training for the foreign service.
3. Training for teaching.²⁹

The committee for Goals for Political Science recommends that a course be fostered having an emphasis on citizenship, inculcating appreciation of public policy questions and of the goals of the state.³⁰

Public Law. Public law encompasses the constitutional and legal principles governing the relations between states, between different levels of government within a state, between various governmental branches and agencies, and between government and the citizen. These bodies of law are known under the terms: international law, constitutional law, and administrative law.³¹ The objectives inherent in the field of public law are:

1. Giving the student a comprehensive and legally integrated picture of all of the important problems of constitutional law.
2. Show how the Supreme Court has sought to interpret the Constitution to meet the changing conditions of each generation.
3. Education for enlightened citizenship.³²

²⁹ A.P.S.A. Report, Goals for Political Science, op. cit., p. 70.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

³¹ C. C. Rodee, Introduction to Political Science, op. cit., p. 14.

³² L. B. Evans, Cases on American Constitutional Law. Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1952, p. iii.

American Government. Generally, the course in American government is conventional in the sense that this subject, which is very often the beginning and terminal course for many students of government, deals with national, state, and local government in separate sections, and in the order named. First is a treatment of Congress, the Presidency, the courts, administrative organization, and civil service; second is a consideration of federal powers and functions of government; and third is a treatment of state and local government.³³ Objectives of this course are:

1. Introduce the student to political science.
2. Understanding the democracy.
3. Promote willingness to take action in order to preserve and perfect democracy, i.e., citizenship training.³⁴

Comparative Government. The scope of this field generally seeks to interpret major European political systems for students who have some acquaintance with the social and political institutions of Europe.³⁵ As other states emerge to the forefront as world powers, they will undoubtedly replace those in decline. The objectives of the teacher of comparative government generally are:

³³ Fergeson and McHenry, The American System of Government. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953, p. vi.

³⁴ A.P.S.A. Report, Goals for Political Science, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

³⁵ C. C. Rodee, Introduction to Political Science, op. cit., p. 16.

1. Discovery of the various factors that have contributed to the environment from which these political systems have evolved.³⁶
2. To give information and promote understanding of foreign governments.
3. To promote citizenship training on the basis that an informed citizenry is the best.

Legislature and Legislation. This field deals specifically with the role of the legislature in politics and with their output. It is recognized as a field by the American Political Science Association but is usually treated in connection with American Government, Comparative Government, or Political Dynamics.³⁷ However, the recognition of the field may finally come to rest; the question of scope and objective is part of the question of its being a part of political science. Objectives of this field are:

1. To point up the increasing importance of the legislative branch of government.
2. To increase citizens' awareness of the grave problems faced by the legislature in our complex industrial society.

Political Parties and Public Opinion. This field which recently has acquired the title "political dynamics" is concerned

³⁶ Cole Taylor, European Political Systems. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, p. v.

³⁷ C. C. Rodee, Introduction to Political Science, op. cit., p. 16.

primarily with the forces at work in government and politics rather than with structures and institutions.³⁸ It should be noted that the concern is with forces at work in government and politics, which limits the fields considerably. The overall objectives are:

1. To provide information concerning the practical ways by which society makes its political decisions.
2. Explanation of the use of power relationships in a democratic government.³⁹
3. Enlightened citizenship training on the highest level.

Government and Business. This field which was known by the name "political economy," deals with the elements of government and public policy toward business enterprise. This is one of the two areas in political science which has yet to be fully recognized as an integral part of the core of political science. The objectives of the field are:

1. To examine and appraise the comparative merits and demerits of the major types of public policy toward business.⁴⁰
2. To create an awareness of the problems involved in the relations of these two areas in society.
3. To promote citizenship education on the higher and more complex plane of understanding.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁹ V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942, pp. 4, 7.

⁴⁰ Clair Wilcox, Public Policies Toward Business. Chicago: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1955, p. ix.

The question, "What are the objectives, scope, and status of contemporary political science college teaching?" can now be summarized. The elements noted above concerning the scope of political science are:

1. Authoritative allocation of value (general).
2. Conclusions and generalizations derived from the whole of political science.
3. Factors moulding the policies of nations.
4. Problems of public officials.
5. Law and its place in society.
6. Institutions and practices of American government.
7. Foreign governments.
8. Forces at work in government and politics.
9. Relations of business and government.

The objectives noted above as those of political science are:

1. Citizenship education.
2. Provision of values.
3. Increase knowledge by best methods known.
4. Train for public service.
5. Show the place of authority in society.

Any statement concerning the general status of political science college teaching in this country would be presumptive without a careful survey of the situation to find how much is being done compared to what could be done. However, the literature of the field suggests that the contemporary political scientist is humble about his discipline and seems to have the

attitude of introspection as well as the desire to find fundamental questions and answers about his field of knowledge.

The Citizenship Objective in American Life

The general objectives of political scientists, as pointed out above, include citizenship education. Any major objective is worthy of attention. This objective especially deserves attention since citizenship in any state is important not only to the individual but to those who take to themselves the task of teaching citizenship. The purpose of this inquiry will be to determine what some Americans, interested in the subject, have had to say about the whole problem of citizenship education.

In the history of the United States, probably no man has been more concerned with the problem of education in general, and education for citizenship in particular, than the third President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson. Rather than attempting to paraphrase his ideas, quotations from his writing on the subject are given below.

The objects of this primary education determine its character and limits. These objects would be,

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts in writing;

To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;

And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

To instruct the mass of our citizens in these, their rights, interests and duties, as men and citizens, being then the objects of education in the primary schools, whether private or public.... And this brings us to the point at which are to commence the higher branches of education, of which the legislature requires the development; those, for example, which are,

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill in them the precepts of virtue and order.⁴¹

A very interesting example of Jefferson's ideas concerning education for government is contained in A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, 1779:

....whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be

⁴¹ Saul K. Padover, The Complete Jefferson. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., 1943, pp. 1097-1098.

rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposits of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they shall be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expense, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expense of all; than that the happiness of all should be confined to the weak or wicked.⁴²

It would appear from this that Mr. Jefferson considered education an absolute for those who govern, and his ideas on what should be taught were no less definite. His idea concerning the materials to be used in the teaching of political science were,

....the doctrine of Locke, in his 'Essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government,' and of Sidney in his 'Discourse on government,' may be considered as those generally approved by our fellow citizens of this, and the United States, and that on the distinctive principles of the government of our state, and of that of the United States, the best guides are to be found in,

1. The Declaration of Independence, as the fundamental act of union of these states.

2. The book known by the title of 'The Federalist,' being an authority to which appeal is habitually made by all, and rarely declined or denied by any as evidence of the general opinion of those who framed, and of those who accepted the constitution of the United States on questions as to its genuine meaning.

3. The Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1799 on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, which appeared to accord with the predominant sense of the people of the United States.

⁴² Ibid., p. 1048.

4. The valedictory address of President Washington, as conveying political lessons of peculiar value. And that in the branch of the school of law, which is to treat on the subject of civil policy, these shall be used as the text and documents of the school.⁴³

This emphasis on citizenship education was echoed by another of our presidents in 1910 when Theodore Roosevelt addressed the Sorbonne, in part as follows:

The average citizen must be a good citizen if our republics are to succeed. Therefore it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high; and the average cannot be kept high unless the standard of the leaders is very much higher.⁴⁴

Self-restraint, self-mastery, common sense, the power of accepting individual responsibility, and yet of acting in conjunction with others, courage and resolution--these are the qualities which mark a masterful people. Without them no people can control itself or save itself from being controlled from the outside.⁴⁵

In fact, it is essential to good citizenship clearly to understand that there are certain qualities which we in a democracy are prone to admire in and of themselves, which ought by rights to be judged admirable or the reverse solely from the standpoint of the use made of them--the gift of money-making and the gift of oratory.⁴⁶

In school, the good citizen in a republic must realize that he ought to possess two sets of qualities, and that neither avails without the other. He must have those qualities which make for efficiency; and he must have those qualities which direct the efficiency for the public good.⁴⁷

⁴³ Ibid., p. 1112.

⁴⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, History as Literature and Other Essays. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, pp. 141-42.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 146.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 152.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 154-55.

Thus, in Theodore Roosevelt, is seen a shift of emphasis from the school as the major functionary in carrying on the work of citizenship training to a moral concept of training which Roosevelt does not place on any special group but rather gives responsibility to the nation as a whole.

This trend or shift of emphasis for the responsibility for citizenship education from the school to a number of groups, which includes the school, brings about a condition which is commented on by the British Ambassador to the United States in the time of Theodore Roosevelt's administration, Mr. James Bryce,

The average man judges himself by the average standard and does not see why he should take more trouble than his neighbor. Thus we arrive at a result summed up in the terrible dictum, which reveals the basic fault of democracy, 'What is everybody's business is nobody's business.'⁴⁸

This dullness of imagination and the mere indolence which makes us neglect to stop and think, are a chief cause of that indifference which chokes the growth of civic duty. It is because a great university like this is the place where the imagination of young men may best be quickened by the divine fire, because the sons of a great university are those who may best carry with them into after life the inspiration which history and philosophy and poetry have kindled within its venerable walls, that I have ventured to dwell here on the special duty which those who enjoy these privileges owe to their brethren, partners in the citizenship of a great republic.⁴⁹

Following his remarks about the problem of civic responsibility, Bryce named several mechanical devices for offsetting

⁴⁸ James Bryce, Promoting Good Citizenship. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

the evils of democracy. These devices were Philosophical Anarchism, Socialism or Collectivism, Proportional Representation, Obligatory Voting, Initiative, Open Bidding for Contracts, and Primary Election Laws. However, Bryce realized that these mechanical changes would not establish the civic responsibility desired so he struggled with the problem of lifting civic life to a plane above selfish interest, indifference, and excesses of party spirit.

The most obvious way to begin is through the education of those who are to be citizens, moral education combined with and made the foundation for instruction in civic duty.⁵⁰

The responsibility for forming ideals and fixing standards does not belong to statesmen alone. It belongs, and now perhaps more largely than ever before, to the intellectual leaders of the nation, and especially to those who address the people in the universities and through the press.⁵¹

Free from many of the dangers that surround the State of Europe, you have unequalled opportunities for showing what a high spirit of citizenship--zealous, intelligent, disinterested--may do for the happiness and dignity of a mighty nation, enabling it to become what its founders hoped it might be--a model for other people more lately emerged into the sunlight of freedom.⁵²

The elaboration of the role of education in the development of citizenship is continued in the writing of political scientists of today. A survey taken by the committee making the American Political Science Association's report led to this conclusion: "The most important reason for the existence of the

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 44.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵² Ibid., p. 58.

discipline, as far as our colleagues are concerned, is to help students achieve more effective citizenship."⁵³

Dwight Waldo concludes in his survey of political science in the United States:

Also the teaching of citizenship has been a very important function, in a population so largely and so recently composed of immigrants. Nevertheless, the figures indicate very little self-conscious concern either with the techniques or the philosophy of teaching and the inculcation of citizenship. Rightly or wrongly, the political scientist seems oriented toward his subject matter rather than toward his students--judging from the literature.⁵⁴

Summation of the beliefs of these people leads one to the conclusion that, in theory, the school holds a central position in the teaching of citizenship and that the institutions of higher learning are ultimately responsible for creating a climate wherein the future leaders and teachers of the United States of America may achieve the knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs which are then passed on in the schools and political institutions of the nation in the true American democratic tradition.

Such has been the underlying hope of such men as Jefferson, Roosevelt, and many unnamed who teach and have taught the necessity for enlightened citizens in a democracy.

Central to this concept is the teacher of political science whether in the public schools, private schools, or institutions of higher learning. Failure to live up to this responsibility could be disastrous to our American tradition.

⁵³ A.P.S.A. Report, Goals for Political Science, op. cit., p. 112.

⁵⁴ Dwight Waldo, Political Science in the United States of America. Paris: UNESCO, 1956, p. 47.

CHAPTER III

THEORY AND PRACTICE: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE IN A DEMOCRACY

The foregoing examination of the attitude and objective of political scientists about their field gives a picture of the ideal for the field. When such an ideal is translated into action, the job of the analyst is to find how close reality squares with the ideal. The questionnaire sent to the departments of political science in Kansas colleges was constructed to measure the status of political science in comparison with the ideal expressed in Chapter II of this study.

Achievements in Citizenship Education

One of the objectives stressed in the replies was citizenship education. Many of the reporting instructors listed citizenship education as their major objective. This could have been anticipated since the necessity to make citizens better informed and therefore better participants in democratic government is well-recognized today, when free political and economic institutions must prove themselves in the struggle with totalitarian institutions for world leadership.

The making of citizens is a difficult and complex task, shared by many elements of our society, in which the political scientist finds himself in a central position of responsibility for the development of democratic principles of action and belief. Evaluation of method in college teaching in Kansas

citizenship training is another point of inquiry in this study. A program should be effective which strikes an appropriate balance between lecture, reading, discussion, and first-hand observation. Kansas political scientists stress lecture and discussion to the virtual exclusion of other forms of citizenship training. This may be the appropriate balance for Kansas college students.

At this point, the role of the college and high school teacher and their responsibility and relationship to the teaching of citizenship in Kansas is examined.

A large group of students drop from school before high school graduation and therefore, most do not receive the instruction of either the high school or college political science teacher. Although the comparative size of this group is decreasing from year to year, it is of such proportion that it should be recognized as a significant factor in the problem of education for citizenship in a democracy. There are in existence at this time programs of adult education in the institutions of higher learning in Kansas generally called extension or continuing education. One of the objectives of these programs might well be determined effort to reach the large number of Kansas residents who have not received formal instruction in citizenship.

It was the author's privilege, during the summer of 1958, to be an instructor of Social Science in the Education Center located in Fort Riley, Kansas. The objective of the school was to train the student in a 12-week period so that he could pass

a series of tests which would qualify him for a high school diploma. The Kansas State Department of Public Instruction considered this program of such quality that the Department accepted successful completion of the U. S. Army program as sufficient for the issuance of a Kansas high school diploma, regardless of the home state of the student.

The objective of the Social Science class of the program described above was to acquaint the student with a wide variety of materials of the social sciences expressed as Units of Instruction. Examples of these units were Criminology, Labor, American Government, Population, World History in Ten Lessons. The unit on American Government was taught during the summer and brought to light the appalling lack of knowledge concerning the most elementary facts of the work and power of the government as well as the responsibilities, rights, and privileges of citizens of the state and nation. The series of ten two-hour sessions progressed far in changing these adults to rather well-informed citizens about these matters.

Such a program could be used as a model of experimentation by institutions of higher learning in the development of programs of training designed to grant a high school diploma through the State Department of Public Instruction for those needing such training and a variety of courses on the college level ultimately leading to a college degree. Included in the program of training and a major objective of the program would be formal citizenship training.

There are no doubt other approaches to this problem of formal citizenship training for these adults who form at least 35 percent of the adult population in Kansas. Some attempt should be made. It seems this is, in fact, a matter of crucial importance.

However, when one takes a look at what is being done in the institutions of higher learning, one finds a somewhat different answer to the problem than the ideal expressed.

Kansas State College has been engaged in the education of adults through the Department of Continuing Education of the Extension Division. Table 1 shows the total program for the time such a program has been in existence at Kansas State College, and in addition, shows the part of that program which has been courses in political science. Using only that part of the total program which includes political science, i.e., four years of the last five-year period, one finds that the teachers of political science reach about 3.6 percent of the total adult education students. Figure 1 shows that political science courses, on the whole, have closely equaled the general growth of the total program.¹

If one infers that the Kansas State College program of evening college and extension classes is doing a typical job, then he can infer that in 1956, for example, the number of Kansas

¹ The line charted for political science in Fig. 1 was arrived at by taking the average government class size for the year and multiplying it by the number of classes in the total program.

Table 1. Relationship of political science courses to the total Kansas State evening college and extension class program.

Academic year	No. of communities served	All classes taught	No. of students all classes	No. of political science courses taught	No. of political science courses	% of courses taught	% of students
1944-45	2	2	31	--	--	--	--
1945-46	3	3	68	--	--	--	--
1946-47	3	3	40	--	--	--	--
1947-48	2	2	41	--	--	--	--
1948-49	1	1	22	--	--	--	--
1949-50	9	11	229	--	--	--	--
1950-51	8	11	196	--	--	--	--
1951-52	3	10	174	--	--	--	--
1952-53	5	6	60	--	--	--	--
1953-54	10	24	489	1	6	4.2	1.3
1954-55	13	50	1011	0	0	0.0	0.0
1955-56	22	62	1268	3	76	4.9	5.9
1956-57	10	65	1158	1	20	1.5	1.8
1957-58	20	91	1614	4	62	4.4	3.9
1958-59							
Total	111	381	6401				
Av.	8	24	457				
4 yr. total		242	4529	9	164	3.7	3.6
4 yr. Av.		61	1132	2.3	41		

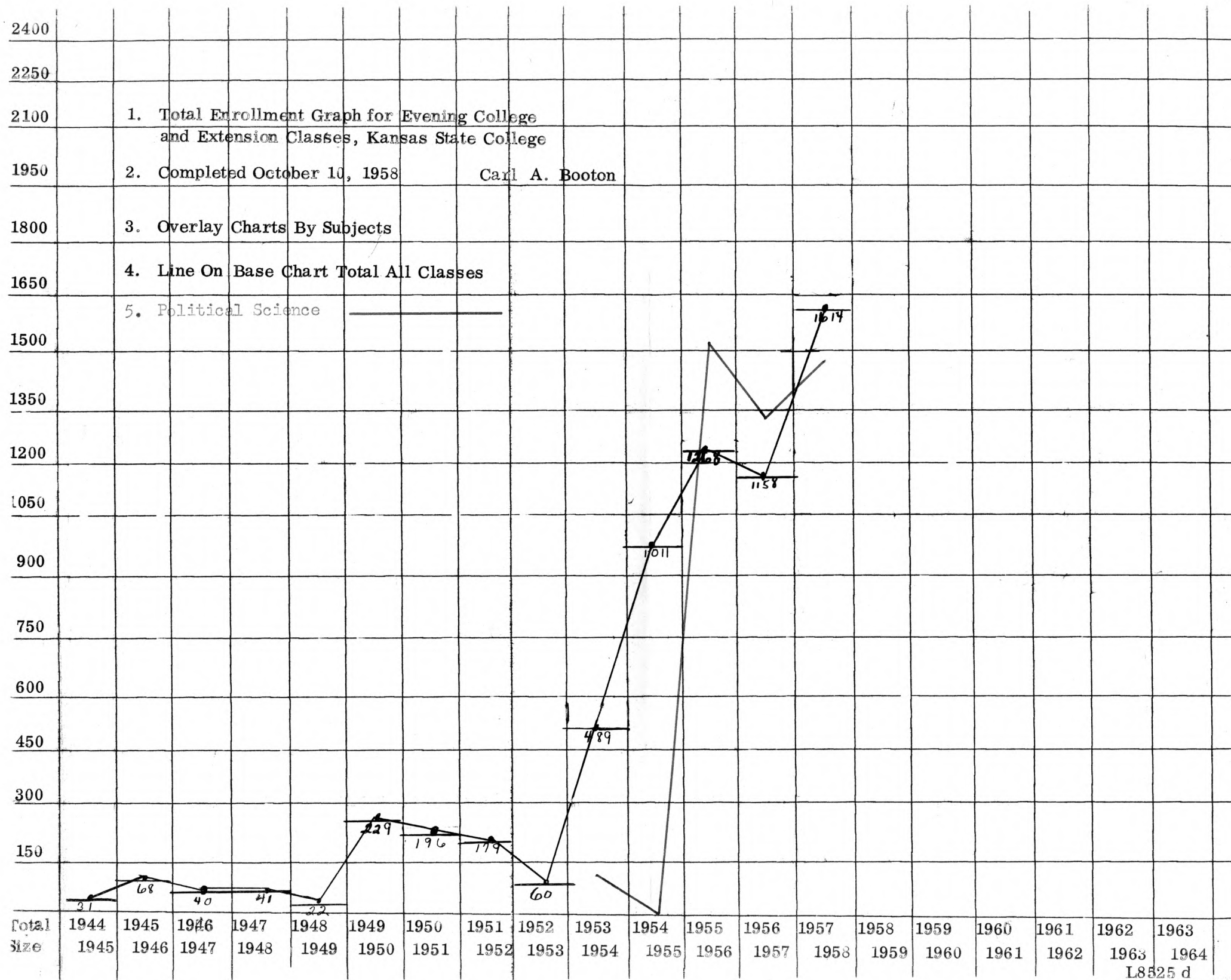


Fig. 1. Gross relationship between total Evening College Extension Program and Government.

adults reached by political science through such programs was approximately 280. When it is realized that approximately 11,000 Kansas 1956 17-year-olds did not complete a high school education and that this has been true for a long time, we have some idea of the vast difference between ideal and reality in the problem of citizenship education for adults.

If the education of a democratic citizenry is a necessary objective of educational institutions, then an increase in emphasis in this area should be started at the earliest possible date. As stated above, there are doubtless many methods of achieving the goal of a citizenry well-informed in the democratic processes and responsibilities. The leadership for moving into the untutored areas delineated above must arise from some source. The machinery is in existence in colleges, universities, and public schools. Possibly the leadership should come from these instructors.

Status of Secondary School Citizenship and Political Science Education

Next, a view of what is being done by our high schools in the general area of citizenship education shows that each graduating senior is exposed to a semester course called Constitution or American Government. The whole question of whether the high school student is mature enough for this to be considered an adequate terminal education in political science will not be dealt with here, even though a negative answer throws the whole procedure in doubt. Suffice to say that the question is

legitimate.

Assuming that the high school course is an adequate terminal course, let us look at the instruction in Kansas high schools to see what is considered adequate, with a view to improving the procedure, should we find weak points. If such weak points are evident, then it is a responsibility of the teacher training institution to help remedy the situation, if remedy is possible.

First, the minimum subject matter qualifications of a high school teacher of American Government in Kansas requires 24 hours of social science with six of the hours in the field of government. Therefore, a high school teacher of government would have had at least six hours of formal course work in the study of government. However, it is conceivable that none of the hours would have been in American Government since no stipulation is made that the college hours must be in the specific subject matter area of the discipline taught. The possibility of relationships existing between such courses as International Relations, American Political Ideas, and American Government is not too remote and should be valuable to a teacher of American Government. However, the relationship existing between a college course in American Government to the teaching of a high school course in American Government is direct and should become a prerequisite to the teaching of the subject.

One could go further with an analysis of the minimum academic requirements for teaching of government in our public schools, but it is felt that the one example cited above is an indication of the need for reappraisal of those requirements with

a view to enlarging and focusing the subject matter requirements to the subject taught.

Second, the job of citizenship training, which is inherently one of the major objectives of any teacher of political science, is one which requires not only a person well versed in the subject matter of American Government, but also one who is aware of the complexity of the job and has the time, resources, and will to do the job.

From the point of view of the teacher, it is a problem of first importance that his job be clearly delineated. Then the teacher can decide the best method, under the prevailing circumstances, for getting the job accomplished. First, is responsibility for imparting knowledge of the form and substance of the Government of the United States. Second, is responsibility for establishing student habits and thinking which will result in the individual student responding to the conditions involved in living in a democracy. The central issue in a democracy is choice. In a democracy, the citizen must learn to choose between alternative candidates, ideas, and manner and method of carrying out the choices made. In many governments the choices are made, the method decided, and ideas promoted which coincide with the wishes of the dictator or dictator groups. It is, therefore, a matter of importance that the teacher help create conditions in the classroom, and the school administrator as a whole, whereby the students can live in a democratic atmosphere and thereby learn to make choices. It is expecting too much of a person that one should demand of him wise

choices between alternative men, acts, or ideas when he has spent his youth in a dictatorial atmosphere in the home and school. The difference between dictatorial and democratic teaching goes deeper than method. So long as one pays lip service to democracy and continues to play the role of dictator in the classroom, so long will one put off the day of teaching the art of democratic living. It is basically a difference of point of view and here lies the challenge to colleges. The teacher-to-be should be informed about this basic problem and an honest effort made to show them how to teach democratically.

It is not the central theme of this work to point out the how of democratic teaching, which is an essential part of citizenship training for living in a democracy; but one can touch on a few ideas involved in the process.

First, underline the point that the student must learn to make choices. This can extend into such matters as choices between sets of materials concerning subject matter; choices between alternative projects designed to enhance the text material; choices between working as an individual or in groups. The fact is that a teacher can find a myriad of chances for students to make choices. But, it is so easy to make the choices for the student; so much less work and bother that one is continually tempted to run a nice, quiet dictatorial classroom.

Second, an attempt was made by Wayne University and the Detroit Public Schools to look into this matter of citizenship education. The project lasted from 1945 to 1950 and is fully explained in their final report. Their findings are pertinent

to the matter of teaching citizenship in the public school.

Listed below are their conclusions after five years of work in this field.

1. Emotional adjustment of pupils is the most important factor in the quality of citizenship of boys and girls.
2. Schools are teaching effectively the ideals of American democracy, but there is need for greater understanding of democracy as a way of life and for participation in democratic activities.
3. Schools are not giving sufficient attention to the consideration of alternative solutions for social problems, to evaluate evidence, to analyzing propaganda, to critical thinking, to studying contemporary affairs.
4. The effectiveness of schools as agents of citizenship education depends, in large degree, upon the unity and teamwork of the faculties and their willingness to seek improvement.²

The conclusion one must derive from this material is stated in the last two sentences of the report, "A greater faith developed that democratic procedures can solve problems. Teachers, too, became better citizens."³

In the matter of academic preparation for the teaching of government in the Kansas public schools, the most recent source of information is the research study of Sare and Browning.

According to their analysis:

Eighty-five per cent of the government teachers had received college credits in government, for the most part in American national government. Seventy-one per cent of the government teachers completed courses in economics, 80 per cent took courses in

² Stanley E. Dimond, Schools and the Development of Good Citizens. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953, pp. 208-211.

³ Ibid., p. 212.

sociology, 85 per cent received credits in American History, 78 per cent in world history and 19 per cent completed courses in international relations.⁴

The teachers of international relations seem to have been the poorest prepared, since only 31 per cent of them completed courses specifically termed international relations.⁵

In comparing the total teaching potential of the teachers without regard to the subjects taught, it appears there were ample teachers prepared in each subject, yet many of the subjects that were offered were taught by teachers that did not meet the minimum requirements.⁶

One conclusion one can gather from the above is, that in the area of academic preparation for teaching in the public schools of Kansas, the colleges and universities and the State Department of Public Instruction have allowed a situation to develop in this very important area of teaching which needs to be remedied. The fact that many of the teachers were not prepared to teach American Government and that many of those prepared to teach American Government did not teach in their field of preparation points to the need for an energetic reappraisal of the whole process of accreditation and teacher certification.

If this is an important matter, and this study and many other sources indicate citizenship education is an important matter, then perhaps the laws on the subject need to be

⁴ Harold V. Sare and Wallace Browning, "Background and Academic Preparation of the Social Science Teachers in the High Schools of Kansas 1956-1957." Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, 1958, p. 50.

⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

⁶ Ibid., p. 52.

strengthened and more fully delineated concerning teacher preparation and citizenship education.

The full realization of democracy as a system of government is difficult since all citizens are involved rather than the elite few. The minimum standards of citizenship education in the State of Kansas as presently constituted are:

1. No formal citizenship training for over one-third of our people.
2. A one-semester course in American Government or Constitution for those getting a high school diploma.
3. For those of the population who attend an institution of higher learning, few take more than one semester of American Government.
4. Those who finally graduate from college and go out to teach American Government must have had six hours training in Political Science, not necessarily American Government.

This is not meant to be an indictment of the present citizenship training and education in Kansas. Rather, the purpose is to picture the situation in realistic terms.

Education, the Educator, and Politics

In examining the responsibilities of the Kansas political scientist to his discipline and to the students, there is an area of active political leadership which is virtually absent. The political scientist in Kansas seldom runs for public office and seldom speaks out publicly on public issues.

As previously indicated in Chapter II, Allen calls for active participation by the political scientist in the practical political life of the community.

He must possess the moral courage necessary to go into the 'market place' of the world and deal effectively with the day-by-day requirements of practical political activity. This, of course, is a truism applicable to all university teachers. But there are obvious reasons why the political scientist must be particularly conscious of his responsibility if he is to be a vital force in our democracy.⁷

Professor Allen suggests the increased use and need for "leave of absence" and "sabbatical leave" so that political scientists can serve on city commissions, councils, state legislatures, commissions, and various federal capacities.

This suggestion is urged not solely in the interest of the teacher, but also and particularly in that of the returns which such experience bring to the classroom and to the community at large. This increase in stature reflects itself in better teaching, and thus serves the community by returning to it a wiser and more mature body of young citizens. Practical governmental and political experience not only results in enrichment of the curricular offerings, but also open unexplored avenues of research in political science.⁸

The need suggested above by Allen was made in 1947. The political scientists of the state have, with a few exceptions, managed to avoid for the ensuing 11 years much practical application of his exhortation to enter the field of practical application of their discipline. It is as if the preacher refused to enter any phase of his work but sermonizing.

⁷ Ethan Allen, "The Teacher of Government," A.P.S.R., Vol. XLI, No. 3, p. 529.

⁸ Ibid., p. 530.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN KANSAS

This chapter is devoted to a presentation and analysis of the survey made of the college teaching of political science in the State of Kansas for the academic years 1955-56 and 1956-57.

Each department chairman or head was asked to complete the form concerned with general data of his department. It was expected that information derived from this source would give the statistical data of the department as related to number of courses and students, staffing, level of goals of the department both as they exist and as would be considered desirable.

The second part of the survey asked for data from the department chairman or appropriate staff member of the department concerning work in the nine sub-divisions of political science. Included in the information requested was the number of courses offered, the number of students, objectives of the instructor, and teaching methods used by the instructor in each subject taught.

In addition, an attempt was made to summarize the overall status of political science teaching as related to the citizens of Kansas for the years 1955-1957. This was done in order to show the number of citizens receiving formal citizenship education in the state and raises a fundamental question concerning the needs of those who are not included in the formal citizenship training provided by the schools and colleges of the state.

Of the 45 institutions of higher learning in the State of Kansas, 14, i.e., 31 percent, returned the questionnaire. These 14 institutions gave instruction to 52 percent of the Kansas students of higher learning in the 1955-56 school year and 51½ percent in the 1956-57 school year. One probably could arrive at a fairly close approximation of the total picture of political science college education in Kansas, as shown by the areas of inquiry of this study; by multiplying all figures listed by two.

Listed below in Table 2 are the teaching positions as reported by the survey. Attention is called to the large proportion of positions filled by Ph.D. teachers. One could conclude that the number of the other than Ph.D. teachers is being held at a minimum by the Kansas colleges and universities.

Table 2. Kansas political science teaching positions.

	: School year	
	: 1955-56	: 1956-57
Number of full-time teaching positions in 14 reporting universities and colleges	18.70	23.85
Number filled by Ph.D.	14.75	18.50
Number filled by graduate assistants	0.25	1.00
Number filled by others	3.70	4.35
Number of students for each position	172	157

Note: This appears to be a large number of students for each position even though the number did decrease in the 1956-57 school year.

The survey asked the heads of the departments to report on the general goals of their departments. A summary of their

reports is listed in Table 3. It appears that department heads were not completely satisfied with the status quo.

Table 3. Kansas political science goals.

Goals	:Existing order :			Preferred order		
	: 1 :	2 :	3 :	: 1 :	2 :	3
Service aspect--one or two courses to students majoring in other fields	12	12	1	12	15	1+
Producing undergraduate "majors" in Political Science	7	15	2+	7	12	2-
Graduate work at the level of M.A. degree	3	7	2+	3	8	3-
Graduate work at the level of Ph.D. degree	2	6	3	2	5	3-
Development of new patterns of research	3	12	4	4	15	4-
Conducting research along established lines	4	17	4+	5	20	4

1 = Number of times listed.

2 = Relative order of importance in aggregate.

3 = Average order of importance.

The department heads were asked to report on the activities of their departments concerning Citizen Clearing House Activities.

The Citizenship Clearing House is a program started in 1947 whose main function is to stimulate and provide leadership in the colleges and universities of the United States, and particularly the political science departments, as the local agencies most logical in providing a program designed to encourage political participation.

The organization has entered into a number of activities which include establishment of a number of state and regional clearing houses, workshop programs for younger teachers, seminars for teachers of politics, and a publication program. About 400 colleges and universities are included in the activities of the clearing house.¹ This is considered by many political scientists to be an important part of the program for citizenship education and participation.

The results of the reports of the Kansas political science department heads are listed in Table 4. This accounts for 13 percent of the students enrolled in Political Science which is a very small group if such activities are to be considered important as corollary training for citizenship participation.

The teachers of the nine subject matter areas were asked to give information concerning the number of courses offered in their special fields of political science; the number of students in the classes for the two school years covered by the survey; their objectives in the courses they teach; and the methods they use in attempting to accomplish their special objectives. A statistical analysis of their reports is shown in Table 5. Attention is called to the decided increase in number of courses offered and students in the classes. In the area of objectives, there were 48 teachers reporting; 37 listing subject matter mastery as a prime objective; 22 listing training for citizenship;

¹ R. A. Smith, "The Citizenship Clearing House Retrospect and Prospect." The Citizenship Clearing House. New York, New York, 1956, pp. 8-9.

Table 4. Kansas citizenship clearing house activities.

Type of activity	:No. of schools: :participating :	No. of students
Local Campaigns	6	111
League of Women Voters	1	2
Survey on Backgrounds of Public Officials	2	40
Trip to Legislature	1	40
Polls of Voting Activity	2	40
Regional Conference on Politics and College Students	1	100
Dinner Meetings for Political Science Majors	2	75
Collegiate Political Parties	2	420
Dinner, Discussion, Lecture	1	500
Attend Political Conference	1	3
Legislative Internship	1	1
Debates on Political Issues	1	500
Total	21	1832

and 9 listing miscellaneous objectives. The fact that almost half of the teachers consider teaching for citizenship as a major objective in the work points up the fact that the college teachers of government are reaching a select group of our future citizens.

Once a teacher has established objectives for his work, the methods of accomplishing those objectives are of prime importance. The methods reported by the 48 respondents are shown in part IV of Table 5. The reported average of 53.4 percent lecture

Table 5. Kansas College political science objectives, methods, courses offered, and class size.

		Totals--subject matter areas									
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
		Inter.	Law		Com-	Pol.		Const.			
		Ameri-	and	Public	para-	parties	Pol.	and	Gov.	Pol.	
		can	and	Adm.	tive	Public	Phil-	Adm.	and	and	
		Govt.	Rel.	Adm.	Govt.	opinion	osophy	Law	Bus.	Leg.	Total
1. Courses offered	1955)										
	1956)	25	21	15	8	6	7	5	3	1	91
	1956)										
	1957)	33	17	17	11	5	9	6	3	1	102
2. Number of students	1955)										
	1956)	1677	540	433	344	282	175	143	46	20	3660
	1956)										
	1957)	1765	480	491	371	325	235	177	71	20	3935
3. Objectives											
No. teachers		14	9	3	6	5	4	3	3	1	48
Subject matter mastery		8	7	3	4	4	4	3	3	1	37
Training for citizenship		12	4	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	22
Miscellaneous		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	9

Table 5 (concl.).

Totals--subject matter areas										
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
	Inter.	Law	Public	Com-para	Pol. parties	Pol. Public	Const.	Adm.	Gov. and	Pol. and
Year	Govt.	Rel.	Adm.	Govt.	opinion	sophy	Law	Bus.	Leg.	Total
Percent										
4. Teaching methods										
Lecture	47.0	49.0	67.0	59.2	50.0	63.0	43.0	77.0	25.0	53.4
Discussion	35.0	30.0	15.0	25.0	25.0	22.0	35.0	17.0	25.0	25.4
Projects	5.8	12.0	7.0	5.8	7.0	4.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	5.7
Field trips	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Outside speakers	2.3	0.5	3.0	0.0	5.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	4.1
Testing	7.2	8.0	8.0	10.0	7.0	10.0	12.0	6.0	25.0	10.3
Reports	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total										100.0

is a change from a 100 percent lecture system. Just what method or combination of methods, produces the optimum result derived in the area of citizenship training and subject matter mastery in political science, is a question of importance. The composite method of Kansas teachers of Political Science is, as shown in Table 5, largely lecture and discussion. The conclusion is that lecture and discussion are the methods used by Kansas instructors in attempting to attain their major objectives of subject matter mastery and citizenship education.

Table 6. Kansas political science students.

	: School year	
	: 1955-56	: 1956-57
Number of seniors graduating in Kansas high schools	19,127 ¹	19,911 ¹
Number of 17-year-old persons in State of Kansas	30,621 ²	30,970 ²
Percentage of high school graduates of total possible	62.5	64.2
Number of Kansas college students	39,491 ³	42,426 ³
Number of Kansas college students taking Political Science	6,477	7,550
Percentage of Kansas college students taking Political Science	16.4	17.8

¹ Information from Kansas State Department of Public Instruction by letter.

² Information from Current Population Reports, Bureau of the Census, Series P-25, No. 172.

³ Information from Registrar's office, Kansas State College.

The status of political science teaching as related to the citizen of Kansas is shown in Table 6. It gives the totals of high school graduates who would have been in a citizenship education class in one of the secondary schools of the state and is compared to the number of 17-year-olds in the state at that time. It is interesting to note that the 1956-57 school year shows an increase of 1.7 percent in the number of graduating seniors for the state as a whole. However, the non-participation by about 35 percent of the 17-year-olds in the formal citizenship education program suggests a need for an expanded adult education program of citizenship education in the State of Kansas.

Examination of the statistics concerning college students taking courses in political science indicates that approximately one student in five is enrolled during his college years in some course in political science.

If, as expressed by educational leaders of the United States from Thomas Jefferson to the many contributors of the American Political Science Association's report "Goal for Political Science," one of the major necessities for the well-being of the United States is formal instruction in citizenship, then it must be seen that we are neglecting many of our future citizens almost entirely in this respect. The instruction in the college and universities in political science is reaching a very small proportion of the total student body.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Scope of Political Science

Political science is an academic discipline concerned with the study of politics which is, by definition, a study of government and its chief instrument, the state.

A knowledge of power and its exercise by contending elements of leadership in society is necessary to an understanding of politics.

The values of a society largely control and modify the effectiveness of political leaders in the use of power in making and implementing policy decisions.

Government is any organization of man, either formal or informal, which is aimed at directing and controlling human activity.

The scope of political science is all subject matter dealing with control and/or direction of man such as study of the state, law, and political behavior.

The gradual evolution of the discipline of political science has resulted by this time into nine definable sub-fields.

Political Philosophy, perhaps the oldest of the sub-fields of political science, generalizes, theorizes, and arrives at conclusions based on and covering the whole of political knowledge and experience.

International Law and Relations deals with the many factors of an international character and scope which mold the policies and activities of the world community.

Public Administration deals with materials concerned with administrative problems of government, exploration of controlling institutional factors and variables of administrative behavior.

Public Law encompasses the legal principles governing relationships between the different elements of society.

American Government, the conventional beginning, and often-times terminal course for the college student, deals with the national, state, and local governments of the United States.

Comparative Government generally attempts to evaluate and compare major European political systems such as English, German, French, and Russian.

Legislature and Legislation deals with the role of the legislature in politics and with the results of their work.

Political Parties and Public Opinion which has recently been called "political dynamics" is concerned with the forces at work in government and politics.

Government and Business deals with the elements of government and public policy which is concerned with the business enterprise of the nation.

Political science includes authoritative allocation of value, conclusions, and generalizations derived from the whole of political science, factors molding the policies of nations, problems of public officials, law and its role in society, institution and practices of American and foreign government, forces

at work in government and politics, and the relationship between business and government.

Objectives of Political Science in Kansas

The objectives indicated by political scientists for their discipline, include citizenship education, provision of values, increased knowledge, training for public service, and showing the place of authority in society.

These objectives were generally narrowed by Kansas political scientists to subject matter mastery and citizenship education. Of the 48 instructors giving information on objectives, 37 gave emphasis to subject matter mastery and 22 indicated training for citizenship as their major objective. It was most interesting and significant that it was in the report on the sub-field of American Government alone that the instructors gave the pre-dominance of emphasis to citizenship education rather than subject matter mastery. One must conclude that about one-half of the Kansas university and college teaching of political science has citizenship training as a major objective.

The relative closeness of the instructors' choice of subject matter mastery and citizenship education indicates there is little real dichotomy between the two as objectives of the Kansas political science teacher. The use of subject matter in the discipline is such that the so-called twin objective of citizenship education could be considered an expected outcome of subject matter mastery. Emphasis on citizenship education come about because of the nature of the subject matter in a democratic society.

One final objective of education in a specific discipline is to fit the student for one of the many uses of the discipline. Political science provides training for many fields of specialized service to the community such as formal political candidates, appointed governmental professionals such as city managers, civil service appointees such as those of the diplomatic service, teachers on the high school and college level, and others. This objective of training for service must be understood to be inherent in the more specialized sub-fields of political science.

However, to determine that there was no real separation in the mind of the Kansas political science college instructor between subject matter mastery and citizenship education does not mean the matter of citizenship education can or should be dismissed. The number of citizens who get citizenship education in the colleges, secondary schools, and adult education programs of the state constitutes approximately 65 percent of the population. The remainder should not be overlooked.

The Status of Political Science in Kansas

There were approximately 200 political science courses taught in the institutions of higher learning in Kansas each of the academic years 1955-56 and 1956-57. About 8,000 students were enrolled in these courses for each academic year.

The instructor in almost all courses had a Ph.D. degree and had an average of about 150 students as a student load.

The goals or objectives of the departments ranged from the service aspect as the predominate goal down the range of both

existing and preferred order of undergraduate political majors, graduate work at the M. A. level, graduate work at the Ph.D. level, development of new patterns of research, and conducting research along established lines. The department heads' response indicates they were generally satisfied with the status quo concerning the goals of their departments.

The report of student activities in the Kansas Citizenship Clearing House program was disappointing to anyone who believed this program to be of real significance. About one student in four who was enrolled in a political science course participated in the above-mentioned program. In some of the more significant categories of the program, the participation was so minute as to be relatively meaningless.

The teaching methods used by the instructors reporting were relatively consistent throughout the range of the nine sub-fields. The total time average was: lecture 53 percent; discussion 25 percent; testing 10 percent, with the remaining 12 percent divided between projects, field trips, reports, and outside speakers. The overwhelming use of lecture, discussion, and testing indicates an acceptance by college instructors of these traditional teaching methods.

Political science in Kansas as related to the total population shows that about 35 percent of our youngsters do not graduate from high school and therefore, all but a relatively small number of these dropouts receive no formal political science education on the secondary school level. Examination of the material on college students shows that about 80 percent of them

take no course in political science. The adult education programs of the colleges and universities reach a very small number of the adults in the population who want or need instruction in political science. We must conclude that a very large proportion of our citizens have arrived at citizenship status unaided in any formal manner by the Kansas political scientist.

Recommendations

The scope of political science and the objectives of political scientists make the discipline a good vehicle for increasing the possibilities of planning of governmental careers for some students who enroll in the courses of political science. As our civilization becomes more complex and the governmental functions increase in scope and intensity to deal with this complexity, the need for trained government people will become increasingly clear to the public. Political scientists should lead the way in this matter by training people for governmental work on all levels and pointing out to the public the need for such matters as citizenship education and trained people in government.

There is very little formal training for citizenship in Kansas beyond the one-semester course required of graduating high school students even though it is recognized as a major objective by the college and university teachers of political science.

That training which does reach 20 percent of our college students, if effective, is producing a very small group of politically aware individuals whose influence in the democratic

processes of government would need to be out of all proportion to their number in order for such an objective to be economically sound and defensible.

The small proportion of college students taking courses in political science raises the question of coordination between high school and college teachers of political science. Possibly the high school teacher is doing such a good job that over 80 percent of the college students do not feel the need of further help in this field, or the high school teacher is doing such a bad job that only a small minority of the students are aware of their need for something beyond an introduction to the study of the Government of the United States as preparation for effective citizenship.

Since the burden of the teaching of citizenship is on the high school teacher, a study should be made by a group composed of college and high school instructors with a view to measuring the effectiveness of the Kansas program of citizenship education and suggesting methods for college and high school coordination in the improvement of the program. In such a study, care should be taken not to overlook the thousands who are now receiving no formal education in the vital area of citizenship training, and consider the possibility of using the adult education programs to supplement the program as presently constituted.

Finally, it is recommended that the criteria for a teaching certificate for the secondary school political science teacher be stiffened with a definite ruling that the teacher must have at least six hours work in the specific subject taught.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Professor Louis H. Douglas for the interest and assistance which he has given throughout the supervision of this study.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

I. General data

1. Name of department _____
2. Total enrollment in political science courses, both semesters and summer 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
3. Number of full time teaching positions or the equivalent devoted to teaching in political science 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
 - a. Number of positions filled by Ph. D.'s 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
 - b. Number of positions filled by graduate assistants 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
4. Number staff positions devoted to research in political science 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
5. What are the general goals or the most important phases of the work of your department? Rank in order of importance (1, 2, 3, etc.)

	Existing order	Preferred order
1. Service aspect - teaching one or two courses to students majoring in other fields	_____	_____
2. Producing undergraduate "majors" in political science	_____	_____
3. Graduate work at the level of M. A. degree	_____	_____
4. Graduate work at the level of Ph. D. degree	_____	_____
5. Development of new patterns of research	_____	_____
6. Conducting research along established lines	_____	_____

QUESTIONNAIRE (concl.).

6. Citizenship Clearing House Activities

Type of Activity and Number of Students Involved:

a.

b.

c.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
OR APPROPRIATE STAFF MEMBER

II. DATA CONCERNING WORK IN THE FIELD OF

1. Number of semester courses offered, both semesters and summer 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
2. Number of students enrolled in all courses 1955-56 _____ 1956-57 _____
3. Major emphasis as to objective in this course is
 - _____ a. Subject matter mastery
 - _____ b. Citizenship development
 - _____ c. Other (specify) _____
4. Teaching methods used. Indicate approximate percentage of time spent in each.
 - _____ d. Lecture
 - _____ e. Discussion
 - _____ f. Projects
 - _____ g. Field Trips
 - _____ h. Outside speakers
 - _____ i. Testing (written)
 - _____ j. _____
 - _____ k. _____

THE STATUS, SCOPE, AND OBJECTIVES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
WITH GENERAL APPLICATION TO KANSAS INSTITUTIONS
OF HIGHER LEARNING

by

CARL ADELBERT BOOTON

B. S., University of Nebraska, 1948
M. A., University of Nebraska, 1949

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of History, Government and Philosophy

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1959

The purpose of this thesis was to determine the objectives and scope of contemporary political science college teaching in the United States and to determine the objectives, scope, and status of contemporary political science teaching in Kansas.

Although the chief emphasis was on college level education the relation of political science teaching in the high schools and adult education programs were given consideration because of the acceptance by political scientists of citizenship education as a primary objective.

The procedure followed was the establishment of norms of contemporary political science college teaching concerning objectives and scope by making a study of the American Political Science Review for the years 1947-1957 and other basic materials used by teachers of political science.

From the norms derived, a questionnaire was constructed to provide a census of Kansas political science college teaching concerning scope and objectives. Status of political science college teaching in Kansas was shown by comparing reported objectives and scope to the norms established.

The problem of citizenship education was explored by establishing the present status of citizenship education in Kansas at the high school, college, and adult education level.

In summary, the findings of this thesis are:

The scope of political science as an academic discipline is all subject matter dealing with the study of politics, which is a study of government, either formally or informally organized,

which directs and controls human activity.

The discipline is divided at this time into nine sub-fields; political philosophy, international relations, public administration, public law, American government, comparative government, legislature and legislation, political dynamics, and government and business.

The objectives of political scientists are citizenship education, provision of values, increase knowledge, training for public service, and showing the place of authority in society.

The status of political science in Kansas in 1955-57 is indicated by the following findings:

About 8,000 college students were in the 200 (approximation) political science courses offered each academic year under investigation.

Almost all college instructors held the Ph.D. Degree.

Department heads and instructors reported being satisfied with the goals, objectives, and methods of their departments and teaching.

Approximately 35 percent of Kansas citizens get little or no citizenship education in any of the programs under investigation.