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### Contemporary Student Radicals and Their Belief Systems

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Contemporary Student  
Radicals And Their Belief Systems

Thesis submitted to Waterloo Lutheran  
University in partial fulfillment for  
a M.A. degree in Political Science.

Lloyd M. Tataryn  
(October, 1971).

125397

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## Abstract

Student activism has become so familiar a feature of Western politics that the silent generation of students in the 1950's and early 1960's almost seems an aberrant phenomenon. Because radical students confront social authorities demanding reforms, it is not surprising that many in positions of authority eye student radicals with certain misgivings. An apprehensive attitude therefore exists on both sides. This study of student unrest analyses the relationship between technological innovation and social cleavage in order to trace the development of the differing attitudes and value sets over a period of time. The value dichotomy can be most appropriately illustrated by surveying the literature stating the radicals' position towards the contemporary university and comparing this to the conservative position. The problem then is to identify the two value systems empirically. A measurement of the belief systems of dissenting youth would find if the belief systems of the older generation differed and discover if more than one value system is represented among student activists.

The scores obtained on Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale of student activists who participated in a boycott of classes at W.L.U. were compared to the scores of the faculty and administrators and a random sample of the general student population in order to obtain the composition of the groups' belief systems. A generation gap in values would appear to exist in light of these scores.

Confrontations then, appear to reflect the division in cultural norms that exist between certain alienated youth and those in authority. Until the dominant norms adjust and accommodate the alienated sector, it would seem that modern society can expect further manifestations of generational conflict. This would especially hold true in light of much of the recent literature on student activism which suggests that the contemporary conflict may represent a different type of rebellion than the traditional son versus father situation. It seems that it is difficult to provide the sense of continuity necessary for a stable upbringing when societies are so totally committed to change.

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## CHAPTER I

### TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL DISORIENTATION

It has often been said that history repeats itself. Thus certain social phenomena become predominant whenever a society is in a transitional phase. For example, when nations embraced the industrial way of life they experienced a period of marked social disorientation. Contemporary analysts such as Keniston,<sup>1</sup> McLuhan,<sup>2</sup> Toffler<sup>3</sup> and Roszak<sup>4</sup> feel that Western society has embraced a new level of development and industrial society has given way to post-industrial, or modern technological society. In this light, we can expect Western society to exhibit traits similar to those evident during the industrializing period.

C. P. Snow has observed that technological change once took place at a rate so slow that the social change accompanying it was almost imperceptible. Now, he argues, social and technological change has accelerated "so much that our imagination can't keep up."<sup>5</sup> The contemporary individual at times has had his life style most affected by the changes occurring on the peripheries of technological innovation. The introduction of the automobile may be used to illustrate this point for since the meeting of man and car the social

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<sup>1</sup>Keniston, K. "Social Change and Youth," in Erickson, E. H. (ed.). The Challenge of Youth. Doubleday & Co. Inc.: Garden City, New York, 1961.

<sup>2</sup>McLuhan, M. Understanding Media. McGraw-Hill Book Co.: Toronto, 1964.

<sup>3</sup>Toffler, A. Future Shock. Random House: New York, 1970.

<sup>4</sup>Roszak, T. The Making of a Counter Culture. Doubleday & Co. Inc.: Garden City, New York, 1962.

<sup>5</sup>quoted in Toffler, A. Future Shock. p. 22.



environment has undergone a tremendous overhaul. Living patterns were altered as suburbs sprung up, highways and turnpikes snaked through the countryside and even courtship rituals moved from the parlour into the horseless carriage.<sup>6</sup> Modern society has not only been affected by the car, but numerous novelties such as computers, telephones, jets, rockets, photocopying equipment, and so on, have all contributed to the pronounced altering of the living environment. As a result the contemporary individual has problems adjusting to the new norms and constant changes; he has no readily available method allowing him to "brush his psyche" every day.

In the past industrialization of societies was most often accompanied by certain social phenomena that underlined the social disorientation that technological changes produced. Communal experiments proliferated, new religious cults emerged, and many people who found it difficult adjusting to industrial norms turned to drugs and alcohol. Compare this with the present: In Toronto, there are between 200 and 300 experiments<sup>7</sup> in communal living while between Guelph and Kingston 100 farm communes are estimated to have been established.<sup>8</sup> Some observers feel that these alternative

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<sup>6</sup>Keniston, K. in Erikson, E. H. (ed.). The Challenge of Youth. p. 196.

<sup>7</sup>Weirs, M. "Technology is alienating mankind says professor," Toronto Daily Star. (Feb. 9, 1971).

<sup>8</sup>Daly, M. "The young turn from the city to country communes," Toronto Daily Star. (May 15, 1971).

communities express alienation from the modern "technological society" and its norms.<sup>9</sup> Consider also the increase of non-conventional religious expression in North America today. Hare Krishna and Jesus Freaks abound while encounter groups, sensitivity training groups, and adherents to the practice of witchcraft, all enlist new converts.<sup>10</sup> Again it would appear that many turn their backs on conventional religious forms because of disaffection with dominant societal norms.

The parallel to the industrialization period once more surfaces.

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<sup>9</sup> Professor Wilson Head quoted in Weirs, M. "Technology is alienating mankind says professor," Toronto Daily Star. (Feb. 9, 1971). Note that Robert Owen's attempt to establish a utopian community began during England's industrial revolution while the U.S. had a flowering of communes in the mid-nineteenth century when America was converting to the industrial system. See Bassett, T. D. S. "The secular utopian socialists," In. Egbert and Persons (1952)., Vol. I., and Carden, M.L. "The Experimental Utopia in America," Daedalus. (Spring, 1965).

Plath has noted also that the Japanese economy took major turns around 1906 and 1953 and these changes were accompanied by a spate of utopian activism. See Plath, D. W. "Modernization and Its Discontents: Japan's Little Utopias", in Gusfield, J. R. Protest, Reform and Revolt. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.: New York, 1970.

<sup>10</sup> see Howse, E. M. "Hare Krishna and Jesus Freaks call for our understanding," Toronto Daily Star. (March 27, 1971). Harpur, T. "Why the West is turning to Eastern mysticism," Toronto Daily Star. (July 3, 1971). Batten J. "That Old Black Witchcraft," The Globe Magazine. (July 17, 1971). and "Witchcraft is rising," Look. (Aug. 24, 1971).

Note that the English Wesleyan revival occurred during the unsettling period England experienced during her industrial revolution (Niebuhr, R. H. Social Sources of Denominationalism. Living Age Books: New York, 1957.) and the U.S. had one of its great revival periods during the American introduction to industrialization in the 1850's. ("The Jesus Revolution," Time. June 21, 1971).

Also while the consumption of gin was a problem during the industrial revolution in England, at present the use of hard and soft drugs has reached near crisis proportions in the West.<sup>11</sup>

Marshall McLuhan would go on to argue that while previous societies were shaped by print technology ours has been shaped by the development of the electric media. Most affected are those who grew up in front of television sets. Whereas the previous generation was raised on the "hot" medium of print, the young generation has been weaned on the "cool" medium of television. The receiver of the "hot" message does not have to participate in the information's reception, since the message is clearly defined and unambiguous. The "cool" medium of television, however, presents its story in an ambiguous manner. The receiver of the "cool" message must fill in the spaces left by the unclear presentation. Contemporary youths have been instilled with the involvement ethic since they have practiced filling in information gaps during numerous television sessions in their childhood.<sup>12</sup> This involvement ethic is one that many feel the contemporary child carries on into later life.

Given the preceding evidence, it would seem logical to conclude that Western society has embraced a new phase and is in the midst of a cultural conflict. Alvin Toffler, for example,

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<sup>11</sup>"The Heroin Plague," Newsweek. (July 5, 1971).

<sup>12</sup>McLuhan, M. Understanding Media. McGraw Hill Book Co.: Toronto, 1964, pp. 22-23.

feels that the disoriented state Western society now is experiencing is largely a product of "future shock". In other words, societal change has accelerated at such a pace that the West is suffering from a "premature arrival of the future."<sup>13</sup>

The United States is the acknowledged director of the technological forces which have produced the present situation. According to George Grant, the Western world is firmly in the grip of technological imperialism.

Our very form of life depends on our membership in the western industrial empire which is centered in the U.S.A. and which stretches out in its hegemony into parts of western Europe and which controls South America and much of Africa and Asia.<sup>14</sup>

In order that the technological empire might operate more efficiently, increased centralization has taken place where more and more decisions affecting Canadian lives seem to be made in American board rooms and Cabinet meetings.<sup>15</sup> Because the Canadian economy is highly enmeshed with the American economy, Canadian protesters therefore claim to oppose the same technocratic norms and values that the American protesters oppose.

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<sup>13</sup>Toffler, A. Future Shock. p. 11.

<sup>14</sup>Grant, G. Technology And Empire. House of Anansi: Toronto, 1969, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup>On August 15, 1971, U.S. President Nixon announced a 10% tax on all U.S. imports. Since 75% of Canadian exports go to the U.S., the surcharge possibly could affect the jobs of thousands of Canadians. A Canadian delegation was sent to Washington to ask for Canada's exemption from the U.S. surcharge.

### The Emergence of Student Radicalism

In the United States and Canada it is the youth sectors which most obviously express alienation from the technocratic values both nations adhere to. So devoted are many students to undermining the dominant cultural norms that some observers feel a "counter culture" has developed among the masses of youth. Kenneth Keniston argues that one of the achievements of industrial society was that it made available the period of relatively free development, known as adolescence, to more and more children. Partly, this was because the requirements of industrial society were such that the skills demanded had to be taught in the post-childhood phase. He goes on to observe that just as industrial society freed children from the need to work, so is the post-adolescent stage of "youth" now being made available because of the development of post-industrial or technological society.

What industrial society did for the years between twelve and eighteen, post-industrial technological society is beginning to do for the years between eighteen and twenty-six.<sup>16</sup>

This is not an altruistic maneuver on the part of society, for the skills required in a technological structure are sufficiently complex

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Keniston, K. Young Radicals. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.: New York, 1968, p. 264.

and hard to acquire that education must be prolonged past adolescence. In modern society, unskilled and uneducated labourers can expect unemployment.

Thus the college populations have become greatly inflated. For example, nine new universities have been created in Ontario since World War II: Lakehead University, Laurentian University, Trent University, Carleton University, York University, Waterloo Lutheran University, University of Waterloo, Brock University and the University of Windsor, a doubling in little more than ten years.

Richard Flacks seems to reach an obvious conclusion when he states:

Never before have so many people sharing common problems been associated for ~~such~~ long, concentrated periods. Never before have so many people from the ages of 17 to 25 been so segregated from other age groups.<sup>17</sup>

Just as the...mills of early industrialism concentrated labour and helped created the class-consciousness of labour which led to unionization of the working class so the university campus, where up to 30 thousand students may be gathered, has served to create the group identity of the young.<sup>18</sup>

David Donald's study of the abolitionists of Lincoln's time may serve as a parallel to help explain the emergence of today's

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<sup>17</sup>Flacks, R. "The Roots of Radicalism," Playboy. (March, 1971).

<sup>18</sup>Roszak, T. The Making of a Counter Culture. p. 28.

student radicals.<sup>19</sup> Donald noted that the injustice of slavery existed long before the proliferation of abolitionists in the 1830's and 1840's. He then questioned why in that particular decade did the vehement protesters emerge. He discovered that leaders of the abolitionist movement were primarily young men and women and generally well educated in the liberal arts tradition. Their parents had been community leaders mostly from the ranks of the doctors, preachers, and teachers; few had merchant fathers. The young abolitionists had been raised for leadership in a predominately rural conservative society, but since there had been an economic shift from the country to the city, the leadership function and the source of leadership recruitment had followed that shift. The new community heads became the rising merchants, manufacturing tycoons, and corporation lawyers. In a sense, the abolitionists had been trained as leaders but now had no function to perform. The anti-slavery cause became a means to illustrate the moral superiority of the old leadership class, as compared to the new leaders. It provided a means of attacking the new industrial system and permitted a reassertion of traditional values while cloaking itself in the just, abolitionist cause.

Present day students have been told that the key to mobility in an open society of no permanent elites, is education. However

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<sup>19</sup> Donald, D. Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era.  
 Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1956.

the massive influx of graduates into the job market has caused severe social problems. The University of Toronto's files alone contain the names of 1,000 unemployed 1970 graduates.<sup>20</sup> The prospects for the class of '71 appear worse—2,000 of the 5,000 students who graduated from Ontario Teachers colleges this year are expected to be unable to find jobs.<sup>21</sup> Those most affected by the job scarcity have liberal arts degrees and the majority of student activists come from the humanities and social sciences.<sup>22</sup> Philosophers are no longer in vogue, for the technological society requires technicians. Richard Needham catalogued the slide in the prestige of the B.A.:

1967-"If you have your B.A., you're sure of getting  
a good job";  
1969-"If you have your B.A., you're sure of getting  
a job";  
1971-"If you have your B.A., you're sure of having  
your B.A."<sup>23</sup>

In another era, the unemployed youth would have been much respected in the community, if not its leaders. Like the abolitionists many modern youths have become leaders without a function. Like the abolitionists, they can display their moral superiority to the

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<sup>20</sup>"Class of 71: The graduates nobody wants," Macleans. (June, 1971).

<sup>21</sup>"2,000 new teachers have no jobs, official says," Toronto Daily Star. (Aug. 25, 1971).

<sup>22</sup>"University riots blamed on liberal arts education," Toronto Daily Star. (April 25, 1970).

<sup>23</sup>Needham, R. Globe and Mail. (March 31, 1971).



existing leadership class, and their disaffection with the new post-industrial system, by pointing to injustices such as Vietnam, poverty and unemployment. It is evident then, that protesting students have been assisted in developing a jaundiced view of Western Technological norms by their deteriorating position in society. The new technology seems to have produced a generation of young people alienated from the values that served the older generation so well.

To better understand the value dichotomy that has ensued, and the division of society into the conservative older generation versus the more radical youth, we can turn to a study by Professor R. J. C. Preece.<sup>24</sup> He feels that societies may be analysed in terms of totalitarian, authoritarian, and liberal stages. In other words, any ideological group on assuming power must at first be totalitarian in order to successfully impose its norms and values on the society. As the populace becomes socialized to where they no longer must be coerced into staying inside the newly defined cultural framework, the rulers become authoritarian. "When the population eventually adopts without question the value system of the movement, it becomes liberal."<sup>25</sup> Professor Preece then points out that this process may be reversed and a society can leave the realm of the liberals and

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<sup>24</sup>Preece, R. J. C. "Toward a Clarification of the Concept of Fascism: A case study of the National Democratic Party in Germany." (unpublished paper, Waterloo, Feb. 15, 1970).

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. p. 6.

head back towards totalitarianism. When certain significant sectors of the population repeatedly insist on stepping outside the dominant value system, the attitude of the state towards the dissenters undoubtedly changes.<sup>26</sup>

Because society has jumped into the post-industrial era, and because universities have been unable to fully integrate many students into the dominant cultural norms, the unprecedented numbers of college educated youth have been among the first infected with counter-cultural norms. Having no longer a vested interest in the dominant values, students, like the abolitionists before them, more readily criticize social injustices and demand a reordering of social priorities. As Allan MacEachen noted:

Consider the counter-culture of youth...are they trying to show us that the person, not property, is central; that friendship is more important than profit; that work has to be meaningful; that creative leisure, including reflection and festivals, is more enriching than feverish buying and selling...?<sup>27</sup>

New social processes have produced a rather large, alienated group. One might seriously consider whether Western society's new proletariat may be characterized by its "peach-fuzz"!

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<sup>26</sup>In light of these observations, it is interesting to note that in adopting norms other than those of the dominant culture, deviating youth are regarded by social leaders with much apprehension. See "RCMP praise, money, ruined life of boy who served as informer, Cornwall father says," Globe and Mail. See also "Agents, agents everywhere--what happens to the information?" Life. (March 26, 1971).

<sup>27</sup>Westell, A. "MacEachen indicts our 'clockwork world'," Toronto Daily Star. (April 7, 1971).

## CHAPTER II

### THE RADICALS' VIEW VERSUS THE ESTABLISHED VIEW

It has been observed that many discontented young people confront the dominant value system of the West with demands for reform. But all alienated youth have not united under a single ideological banner. Rather, the most visible student activists can be classified generally as either belonging to the New Left or to the Old Left.<sup>1</sup> Those adhering to Old Left ideals hold views basically coincident to policies traditionally advocated by the Canadian Communist Party. Industrial workers are still regarded as the group that will foment the socialist revolution once a clear class consciousness is developed. This approach claims that the workers' consciousness will undoubtedly run counter to the consciousness of the ruling elite. Society will then be divided into two antagonistic camps and the resulting conflict will produce the classless society predicted by Karl Marx. It is the job of the radical student to help create the class consciousness among the factory workers and oppressed minorities that is necessary for the successful revolution to take place. All social phenomena are analysed by Old Left students in the context of their Marxian position.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The belief systems of these two groups will be analysed in greater detail in a later section.

<sup>2</sup>The Old Left position is contrasted to the New Left position quite clearly in Oglesby, C.(ed.). The New Left Reader. Grove Press, Inc.: New York, 1969. See also Wastby, D. and Braungart, R. "Activists and History of the Future," in Foster, J. and Long, D.(ed.). Protest. William North and Co., Inc.: New York, 1969.

The New Left student can be involved in as much anti-establishment activity as the Old Left, yet does not envision contemporary society as the traditional bourgeois structure of Marx's day. It is claimed that the Marxian view of society is one of scarcity determines that society's main legal, political and economic features. The modern technological society, however, is viewed as a post-scarcity, or post industrial society. This new society is not presented as the last of the contradictory social systems any more than traditional bourgeois society could be regarded as such. Historical evidence would seem to indicate that major societal changes, or revolutions, merely produce new classes with new objectives and conceptions of need. Activity aimed at producing violent upheaval is therefore looked on with apprehension. The New Left sees little progress in replacing one hierarchical system with another. Efforts and energies are channeled into undermining hierarchies in order to allow the individual to have a say in the formation of policies that affect him. Radical decentralization, not the erecting of a new society that strait-jackets the individual in a rigid ideology, is the goal of the New Left. Thus, unlike the Old Left radicals, those of the New Left deny that world politics can be understood in terms of a qualitative rivalry between socio-ethical systems. Capitalist approaches and Communist approaches only delineate the different means each society chose to arrive at the common goal of industrialization. Although members of the New Left may briefly align themselves with Old Left

students on specific issues, New Left types find ideological structures too coercive. Most members of the New Left, because they emphasize the validity of individuality, conscientiously steer clear of adopting concrete plans for future society.

Conservative elements in Western society are not united in outlook either. Generally speaking, those opposed to Old Left and New Left measures are content to bring about any desired reforms within the established institutional framework. The disruptive tactics employed by the radical left are seen as harmful, for when change takes place too quickly there is little sense of continuity. Abrupt social alterations might not be only ill-considered but also tend to leave societies directionless and chaotic. Like Edmund Burke, the conservatives feel orderly social change is preferable. Adjustments made slowly while preserving what has proved good from the past, minimize inhumane violence that often results when societies turn their backs on tradition. The conservative ranks, then, are mostly divided over the pace that reforms should take and not the method - some are more liberal and some are more conservative than others.

### Radical Issues

Discontented youth have confronted Western society on four main fronts. In the United States, youth movements have concentrated on:

- (a) social integration and equality for the Black minority,<sup>3</sup>
- (b) the peace movement which has escalated from its  
"ban the bomb" days into full-scale confrontations  
decrying the war in Vietnam,<sup>4</sup>
- (c) assaults on established cultural norms<sup>5</sup>
- (d) the demand in the universities for "student power."<sup>6</sup>

Canadian radical youth have adopted the same causes as their American counterparts but with less success since for most Canadian students the issues are too far removed from Canada to warrant much personal concern.<sup>7</sup> A walk through Toronto's Yorkville area, however, would

<sup>3</sup>Zinn, H. S.N.C.C.: The New Abolitionists. Beacon Press: Boston, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>See "The May Day Arrests," Newsweek. (May 17, 1971) for an account on how anti-war protesting has escalated to where 7,200 were arrested in one day.

<sup>5</sup>Gold, R.S. The Rebel Culture, see also Roszak, T. "The Counterfeit Infinity: The Use and Abuse of Psychedelic Experience," The Making of a Counter Culture., pp. 155-178.

<sup>6</sup>Farber, J. The Student as Nigger. Contact Books: New York, 1969.

<sup>7</sup>Laxer, J. "The Americanization of the Canadian Student Movement," in Lumsden, I. (ed.). Close The 49th Parallel Etc. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1970. Here Canadian student radicals are chastised for their eagerness to latch onto U.S. political causes at the expense of Canadian issues. Waterloo Lutheran University experienced this phenomenon in October, 1970 when the War Measures Act was invoked. Lutheran's student radicals continued to hold their education day on the Vietnam War rather than immediately switching to the Canadian issue.

indicate that Canadian cultural norms are being affected by the youth and radical activity on Canadian campuses has not been uncommon. It would seem that it is over the issue of student power and the role of the university that Canadian student radicals have had their greatest impact.<sup>8</sup>

The school year of 1970-71 saw numerous cases of radical students confronting faculties and administrations with demands for a larger role in the governing of the university. Brandon University, the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Toronto all experienced protests while one confrontation at St. Francis Xavier University became so critical that the final examinations had to be cancelled. Waterloo Lutheran University also felt the rumblings of student unrest when normal campus activity was interrupted by a two day strike late in the winter term. The strike proved to be fortuitous for this study since it provided first hand material for an empirical analysis of a confrontation between radical and conservative views.

In order to place the W.L.U. analysis in proper perspective, a survey was made of the literature in favour of radical proposals for the university, and of the literature opposed to the radicals' suggestions. The following sections in this chapter contrasts the radical view of the university to the conservative view. These sections make no pretense at presenting the two views in an objective manner. By including the conservative bias in the establishment's

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<sup>8</sup> Reid, J. and Reid, T. Student Power and the Canadian Campus. Peter Martin Assoc. Ltd.: Toronto, 1969.



view and the radical's bias in their view, the gap between the positions can be best illustrated.

### The Established View of the University

Critics of the radical approach to the contemporary university have adopted three basic positions. First, the traditionalists among those whom the radicals call conservatives argue that government and business noticeably intruded into university life after World War II; the university was used for military and business research and many academics frequently helped shape government policy by directly acting as advisors on certain issues. By allowing itself to be used for purposes other than strictly academic ones, the university began taking teaching and scholarship less seriously.<sup>9</sup> No longer can the university be considered the enclave of pure thought where academics may do research free from outside pressure. The university has become so caught up in the every day workings of technological society that it cannot in its present condition act as a quiet refuge for scholars. Traditionalists would therefore argue that the only way to preserve the university from self-destruction is for the institution to withdraw from society and those areas "where partisan feelings and where passionate moralism is of the essence."<sup>10</sup> The academic community can then re-establish

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<sup>9</sup> Nisbet, R.A. "The University Had Better Mind Its Own Business," Psychology Today. (March, 1971).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

itself as that secluded area where knowledge may be pursued for its own sake.

The second conservative view of the university may be linked with right-wing, anti-communist factions. These observers agree that universities are no longer neutral in our society mainly because the institutions now harbour subversives.<sup>11</sup> Student radicals, some wittingly and others unwittingly, undermine the West's international efforts. As Dr. Eric Waldman of the University of Calgary puts it,

most of the numerous peace groups and committees are the offshoots of, or are still aligned with the New Left or are front organizations connected frequently with international organizations directed by Moscow.<sup>12</sup>

He further argues that since these radical elements have some impact on our security situation, no longer can our society afford to treat disruptive students in the same permissive manner as in the past.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Wallerstein, I. & Starr, P. The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I. Random House: New York, 1971., p. 60.

<sup>12</sup>Waldman, E. Political Radicalism And Defence - The Situation In North America (Canada And The United States). unpublished paper, University of Calgary, 1969., p. 8.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid. p. 25 For a case study of how one right-wing organization aims to combat left-wing influences in North America see Redekop, J. The American Far Right. Eerdmans Publishing Co.: Grand Rapids Michigan, 1968.

The third position that ~~radicals label~~ conservative is the one most frequently heard in criticism of student activists. In this view the contemporary university is not conceived as a single community in servitude to technological norms as the radicals maintain, but is rather an example of the triumph of pluralism in western democracies:

It is not one community but several - the community of the undergraduate and the community of the graduate; the community of the humanist, the community of the social scientist; and the community of the scientist; the communities of the professional schools; the community of all the non-academic<sup>14</sup> personnel; the community of the administrators.

Accusations that the university generates monolithic solutions serving the status quo are dismissed as ignoring the pluralistic nature of the institution.

Attempts to democratize the university are seen as unrealistic for the very nature of the university indicates that it cannot be run like a civic community. Fundamental to the concept of the university is the idea that some have knowledge and some have not - the professors have knowledge, the students want knowledge. Thus a strictly tutorial relationship is established between the teacher and student.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Kerr, C. The Uses of the University. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1963., p. 8.

<sup>15</sup>Brustein, R. "The Case for Professionalism," The New Republic. (April 26, 1969).

No genuinely intellectual community can possibly exist save in terms of an aristocracy that consists of respect for the best ideas, scholars and teachers, and the proper ranking of these in relation to ideas, teachers and scholars of lesser worth.<sup>16</sup>

For example, it would be inconceivable to let patients run a hospital since their lack of professional training does not equip them with the skills necessary to keep a hospital functioning properly.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, if administrations succumbed to student demands to run a university, power would be placed in the hands of the unqualified patrons. Besides, because of the student's short tenure at a university he fails to build up the background and insights necessary in making wise decisions. And most important, he will not be around to suffer the consequences of the unwise decisions he does make.<sup>18</sup> Edmund Burke referred to society as a partnership of the dead, the living and those yet to be born.<sup>19</sup> Similarly the university community cannot be thought of as merely comprising those students who occupy it at a given moment.

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<sup>16</sup> Nisbet, R.A. "The University Had Better Mind Its Own Business," Psychology Today. (March, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> McDonough, J.R. "The Role of Students in Governing the University," in Wallerstein & Starr. (ed.). The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I., p. 503.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 505.

<sup>19</sup> Hallowell, J.H. Main Currents in Modern Political Thought. Holt & Co.: New York, 1959., p.188.

Conservative critics also note that when the student radical organizes to undermine the "establishment", he constructs coercive structures similar to the ones he supposedly decries.<sup>20</sup> Consider how radical confrontations force the radicals' views upon unconcerned individuals. This allows traditionalists such as President Samuel Hayakawa, of San Francisco State College to charge student activists with displaying an elitist bent that indicates the actual contempt radicals feel for democratic processes.<sup>21</sup> The elitist radicals ignore the wishes of the majority, for they feel they know better than the majority what is best for that majority.<sup>22</sup> The radicals also maintain that the establishment dehumanizes people by fitting them into a hierarchy, and then treats the labelled person in accordance with the morality of the hierarchical institution.<sup>23</sup> Yet by categorizing a group of people as members of "the establishment," the radical is stereotyping human relationships by prejudging all

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<sup>20</sup>McGuigan, G. "Dangers in Radical Analysis," Student Protest. Methuen: Toronto, 1968., p. 39.

<sup>21</sup>Hayakawa, S.I. in "University riots blamed on liberal arts education," Toronto Daily Star. (April 25, 1970).

<sup>22</sup>Hayakawa, S.I. "Playboy Panel: Student Protest," Playboy. (Sept. 1969).

<sup>23</sup>McGuigan, G. Student Protest. p. 39.

establishment maneuvers according to radical morality.

Conservatives such as George Kennan conclude that the massive certainty of radicals in confrontation situations indicates that the malcontents do not realize the complexities involved. Only through "years of disciplined and restrained study...and years of readiness to reserve judgement,"<sup>24</sup> can the knowledge and expertise be accumulated on which to base decisions. He would then suggest that student radicals presumably are not doing the necessary study to attain this expertise:

...it is hard to imagine that the activities to which this aroused portion of our student population gives itself are ones readily compatible with quiet and successful study.<sup>25</sup>

#### The Radical View of the University

Student radicals feel justified in criticizing the modern university because they disagree with the function that the contemporary university fulfills in our technological society; in their view the purpose of western education is not to educate, but to socialize the students to dominant cultural norms.

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<sup>24</sup>Kennan, G.F. "Rebels Without a Program," in Wallerstein & Starr. The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I., p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. p. 15.

Radicals note that in a highly technologized society knowledge becomes an important factor in the expansion and maintenance of corporate machinery. The university is then viewed as a "knowledge factory"<sup>26</sup> producing the parts that technological society requires and therefore is an important pillar supporting the establishment. According to this approach, contemporary universities have been politicized long before any student radical begins activity since the solutions that the university has continually generated have been solutions that the established social patterns demand.<sup>27</sup> Any claim that the intellectual life of the university is "objective" and above politics is therefore highly questionable for by merely staying quiet and not acting as a reforming vehicle to correct social injustices, the university has acted politically in favour of the status quo. Radicals note that in the realm of public politics,

when a man who has power refrains from using it,  
we all agree that he has acted politically.  
Omissions are frequently even more significant  
than commissions...<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Weaver, J.H. "The Student As Worker," in Weaver, G.R. & Weaver, J.H. The University And Revolution. Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969.

<sup>27</sup>McGuigan, G.F. Student Protest. Methuen: Toronto, 1968., pp. 30-31.

<sup>28</sup>Wolff, P.R. "The Myth of Value Neutrality," in Wallerstein, I. & Starr, P. The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I. Random House: New York, 1971., p. 65.

The student activist would then point out that when the university does act openly and politically, it is in the service of dominant values and institutions. For example, the Dow Chemical Co. is allowed to recruit on campus or money is accepted from the government for military research.<sup>29</sup> Discontented students feel that unless the university begins to accept the moral responsibility for such action it will not be an agent of social reform. And certainly the university cannot be regarded as neutral in its present framework.

Education itself is seen by radicals as a means to program students to adapt to the hierarchies and institutions of Western technology. The university is viewed as a hierarchical institution where students give in to teachers, teachers to the Board of Governors and the Board of Governors to the Department of Education.<sup>30</sup> The interests of the students take second place to the preservation of the existing structures. Even student elections are thought of as a socializing mechanism that helps teach students that "issues" are

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<sup>29</sup> Ontario universities received \$1,400,000 from the Pentagon two years ago, and by the end of May, 1971, received \$867,520 from U.S. government agencies for U.S. research. Toronto Daily Star. (April 21, 1971).

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of the Ontario educational bureaucracy, see O'Malley, M. "Upon Getting Lost In The Educational Jungle," The Globe Magazine. (Feb. 13, 1971).



relatively unimportant in elections for it is the "personalities" that really matter.<sup>31</sup> This is achieved by making available to students only offices that represent little actual power. The power to viably change things lies safely within the confines of the hierarchy. Consequently radicals observe that such a system seems best suited to educate a person for an authoritarian society where "obedience" is at a premium, rather than a democratic society where people ought to participate meaningfully in the decisions affecting them.<sup>32</sup> Consequently the radical demands that the university be democratized and that the community of scholars be controlled by the scholars.<sup>33</sup> Otherwise students will continue to be moulded by an institutional elite who decide what is important to learn in terms of corporate and technological needs.

The university structure is thought to illustrate the wide gap that exists throughout Western society between the stated democratic ideals and the actual practice. Disenchanted youth

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<sup>31</sup>Weaver, J. "The Student as Worker," in Weaver & Weaver. The University and Revolution. p. 63.

<sup>32</sup>Farber, J. The Student as Nigger. Contact Books: New York, 1969., pp. 32-33.

<sup>33</sup>Wallace, M. "Restructuring at Columbia," in Wallerstein & Starr. The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I.

maintain that this hypocrisy has become institutionalized. By instigating confrontations with the university "establishment," radicals claim to expose the gap between principle and practice since the confrontational situation jolts many from their unconscious, institutionalized framework and thereby begins their political education.<sup>34</sup> Besides, in a confrontation, the radical realizes that his position is strengthened since the rules and method of combat are defined by him. By playing the administration's game he is subject to his opponents' rules which are designed to produce establishment solutions.<sup>35</sup>

Because the university undertakes establishment commitments such as military research and because the university acts as an agent institutionalizing its members to technological norms, radicals argue that decisions emanating from the university rigidly support society's status quo. The conflict between student radicals and the university is seen as a clash of "value sets" - one represents establishment values and the other alternative values emphasizing the individual's control of his life.

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<sup>34</sup>McGuigan, G. "Confrontation and Liberal Training," in Student Protest., pp. 31-36.

<sup>35</sup>Edwards, H. "Playboy Panel: Student Revolt," Playboy. (Sept. 1969).

## Conclusion

Given the radical and conservative approaches to the contemporary university, it becomes apparent that the radical and conservative elements can point to aspects of the other's beliefs that they charge are dogmatically held. Both sides depict the other as a monolithic entity. Student radicals view institutions such as the university as maintaining a dogmatic "establishment" stance. But conservatives argue that radicals themselves are dogmatic in their approaches to these institutions.

Lewis Feuer, in his study of student radicals would go so far as to conclude

...in student movements, where the theme of generational struggle is paramount, where strong unconscious forces are at work, the mythopoeic urge creates the myth of Cruel, Sadistic, Impersonal Father who would have castrated, killed, or depersonalized him.<sup>36</sup>

In other words, according to this view, student radical activity has as its source, neurotic motivations from within.

John Speigel, however, observes that activist behaviour may not have pathological origins at all. It may just be the normal response to what the individual perceives as disturbed, external conditions.<sup>37</sup> To make his point he noted the observations of

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<sup>36</sup> Feuer, L. The Conflict of Generations. Basic Books: New York, 1969., p. 521.

<sup>37</sup> Speigel, J.P. "Campus Conflict and Professional Ego," Trans-Action. (Oct., 1969).

Will Menninger, a World War II psychiatrist.

During the war, we had frequent occasions to contrast the psychiatrist's job in civilian life with his job in combat. In civilian life he attempted to understand and treat the abnormal reactions of persons to normal situations. In military life he attempted to understand the normal reactions to an abnormal situation. One might seriously question if our world condition does not now place many of us in a continuously abnormal situation to which we are having normal reactions, even though these by all previous standards are pathological.<sup>38</sup>

Speigel also notes that in any conflict situation involving groups, it is often ambiguous just who is in the right and who is in the wrong. Consequently it is much more difficult to ascertain which group is pathologically motivated and which is healthy.<sup>39</sup> Therefore in an emotionally charged situation, such as a student confrontation, one can hardly attribute, all of the unconscious and irrational motives to the students, without examining the behaviour of the faculty and administrators.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

### Chapter III

#### A CASE STUDY

The preceding chapter contrasted the student radicals' attitudes towards the contemporary university with those of the faculty and administration. Also underlined was the possibility that each displayed dogmatic and authoritarian tendencies. In order to discover if dogmatic tendencies do exist in the belief systems of the adversaries, an empirical method must be utilized. If for example, authoritarian traits emerge when a dogmatism test is administered to a particular group, an observer has tangible evidence on which to base conclusions. A situation where student radicals engineered a confrontation with faculty and administrators could provide the raw material necessary for an empirical study. Then the level of dogmatism of the conflicting groups may be measured using an accepted device.

On March 1st and 2nd of 1971, Waterloo Lutheran experienced a student power maneuver in the form of a strike. The confrontation began when a popular, non-tenured philosophy professor, Joel Hartt, did not have his contract renewed. The issue of the non renewal of Hartt's contract soon mushroomed into the broader issue of student parity on proposed "contract renewal committees."<sup>1</sup> The Hartt strike was a classic example of a student confrontation over a student power issue and therefore the situation provided an opportunity to

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<sup>1</sup>McKinley, D. "The Issue," The Cord Weekly. (Feb. 26, 1971).

measure the dogmatism and authoritarian levels of those involved. The W.L.U. case study is not concerned with either the specific events of the confrontation, or with the question of which party to the conflict was "right". But it is concerned with the belief systems of the different groups involved. By comparing the dogmatism scores of the participating groups on Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale, it is possible to test empirically the validity of the views that the "establishment" and the "radicals" have of each other.

Milton Rokeach designed his dogmatism and intolerance scales without the intention of identifying any particular ideological dogmatism.<sup>2</sup> He believes that there are many dogmatic personality types besides those that can be pinned to the "left" or "right" on the political spectrum. What is more important is the structure of a belief system, rather than its content. For example, although an individual espouses democratic ideals he may adhere to the stated ideals in such an authoritarian manner that he might be intolerant of other points of view. In other words, what is important to Rokeach is not the beliefs themselves, but how the beliefs are held.

Rokeach also notes that the individual possesses "disbelief" systems.

The belief system is conceived to represent all the beliefs, sets, expectancies, or hypotheses, conscious and unconscious, that a person at a given time accepts

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<sup>2</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1960.

as true of the world he lives in. The disbelief system is composed of a series of subsystems rather than merely a single one, and contains all the disbeliefs, sets, expectancies, conscious and unconscious, that, to one degree or another, a person at a given time rejects as false.<sup>3</sup>

The belief and disbelief systems may be interrelated although some parts are isolated from one another. The interrelation and the segregation of these different parts does not necessarily take place on a logical basis and this becomes an important factor in Rokeach's scale. An individual's belief-disbelief system can be said to represent his entire frame of reference for the universe.

A system is defined to be closed to the extent that there is a high magnitude of rejection of all disbelief subsystems, an isolation of beliefs, a high discrepancy between belief and disbelief systems and little differentiation within the disbelief system.<sup>4</sup>

The more a belief system is closed,

the more will the world be seen as threatening, the greater will be the belief in absolute authority, the more will other persons be evaluated according to the authorities they line up with, and the more will peripheral beliefs be related to each other by virtue of their common origin in authority, rather than by virtue of intrinsic connections.<sup>5</sup>

The open system can be viewed as the opposite of the closed. Although no one has either a completely open or a completely closed system, for purposes of analysis it is convenient to classify

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 68.



individuals in these terms. Since the dogmatism scale developed by Rokeach has successfully detected authoritarianism, whether of the right, left or centre, and therefore open and closed belief systems, the Rokeach dogmatism scale would seem to provide an excellent tool to determine whether the university "establishment" picture of student radicals is correct or not.<sup>6</sup> The dogmatism scale was therefore an important part of the questionnaire used.

In order to disguise the psychological nature of Rokeach's scale, eighteen items concerning contemporary political issues were interspersed among the scale.<sup>7</sup> Respondents were told that the questionnaire that was used, was primarily concerned with reactions to political issues. Twenty items taken from an intolerance scale developed by Rokeach were also included to help detect intolerant attitudes. These twenty items were composed of ten left-opinionated

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<sup>6</sup>See Vachiano, Strauss, and Hochman. Psychological Bulletin. (1969, Vols. 71-72). After extensively cataloguing the uses and successes of Rokeach's scale, the authors noted that while the scale was a very valid one, psychologists run the risk of over using it as a filler during their research work instead of concentrating on whether or not the scale could still be improved. See also Appendix A which contains the forty item dogmatism scale.

<sup>7</sup>See Table III in Chapter IV.

statements and ten right-opinionated statements. The opinionated nature of the statement was ensured by including such phrases as "it is quite stupid," or "only a simple-minded fool". The individual was asked to circle one of the following numbers depending how he felt on each statement.

+1 : I agree a little	-1 : I disagree a little
+2 : I agree on the whole	-2 : I disagree on the whole
+3 : I agree very much	-3 : I disagree very much

According to Rokeach, a person would agree with the opinionated nature of the statement by choosing +3 and another person who agreed with the statement but not the phraseology, would make another choice.<sup>8</sup> Rokeach's studies show that highly dogmatic subjects register considerably and significantly higher scores than low dogmatic subjects on both the Dogmatism Scale and the Opinionated Scales.<sup>9</sup>

### Hypotheses

Originally three hypotheses were posited.

- I. Students most actively involved in the W.L.U. strike would not register significantly different scores than a random sample of the general student population. Such a result would undermine the more rigid stereotype that radicals are intolerant and dogmatic in their attitudes than non-activist students.

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<sup>8</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. pp. 91-93.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. p. 108. See Appendix A for the left-opinionated and right-opinionated statements used in the survey.

- II. Professors and administrators would register significantly lower scores than strike radicals and a general student sample. Since professors and administrators are involved at the university with the interaction of ideas, it was felt that this open environment would be reflected in the dogmatism and intolerance scores registered.
- III. It was predicted that ideological students would register significantly higher scores than other samples. This was expected since previous studies of ideological student groups had produced such results.<sup>10</sup>

The scores, when compared, were considered to be significantly different at the .05 level of significance.<sup>11</sup>

#### Method

Four criteria were used to distinguish the strike radicals tested from the general student population. The first two criteria are concerned with participation in radical causes. For example, only those who participated in: (a) the student strike over parity, and (b) the education day on the Vietnam War held in October 1970, were included in the strike radical sample. The last two criteria were: (c) the students surveyed in the radical sample thought of themselves as "radical", (d) the non-radical students that were asked, classified the strike organizers among the radical elements at W.L.U. This sample was taken in the period after the strike March 1971, over a four week period.

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<sup>10</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. p. 114.

<sup>11</sup>The number four was added to all the responses on the Dogmatism Scale for easier tabulation. The scoring of the Opinionated Scale is outlined in Chapter IV.

The professor-administration sample was picked by consulting the faculty directory and choosing every eighth name in it to take the survey. In the case of those who would not cooperate, it was decided that the name preceding the originally chosen one would be used. After consulting Dr. Rokeach, it was decided not to include professors from the psychology or sociology departments since they probably would recognize his scale and thus make the study invalid. A random sample of professors and administrators was obtained in the prescribed manner and surveyed in the period from April, 1971 to July, 1971. A random sample representing the general student body at W.L.U. was obtained by a similar method except that every fifty-fifth name in the Waterloo Lutheran student directory was chosen. The scores of this sample were collected in the period from the last week in February, 1971, to the first week in April, 1971. Those who filled out the questionnaire containing Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale, could either return it to the surveyor, or place the survey in a box in Waterloo Lutheran's mailroom. Most people who filled out the survey individually placed the questionnaire in the box. Those who filled out the survey in groups ranging from three to eight people generally were content to hand them immediately to the surveyor. Respondents were given strong assurance that they would not and could not be individually identified at some later date.

Since it soon became apparent that most of the student radicals involved in the strike were not members of any particular

radical organization espousing an ideological view of society, such as the Maoists, Students for a Democratic Society or the Young Socialists, it was decided to obtain a sample from such a grouping for comparative purposes. Between August 20th and 25th, 1971, the Young Socialists, a Trotskyite organization, held a conference at the University of Waterloo. A random sample was taken from this group by waiting in the lobby outside the lecture halls where the conference took place, and asking delegates to fill out the questionnaire. Over a period between two and three hours, surveys were taken from those attending different lectures and therefore the sample does not represent those who sat in on one particular lecture.<sup>12</sup> The four different samples were then compared and correlated.

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<sup>12</sup>The ideological radical sample, then, does not represent a sample of the W.L.U. student population.

## Chapter IV

### CASE STUDY: RESULTS AND COMMENTS

None of the original hypotheses were supported when the survey scores were tabulated.

Hypothesis I:

The original was not upheld because the strike radicals manifested significantly lower scores than the general student sample on the Dogmatism Scale. It had been hypothesized that there would be no significant difference when the strike radicals and the general sample were compared.

Hypothesis II:

The expected results were not obtained. The professor-administration sample did not register significantly lower scores than the strike radicals or general students. The strike radicals' scores were significantly lower than the professor-administration scores, while there was no significant difference between the general student sample's scores and the professor-administration sample's scores.

Hypothesis III:

Again the hypothesis was not supported. The ideological radicals did register significantly higher scores on the Dogmatism Scale than the strike radicals and the professor-administration sample, as predicted; but there was no significant difference in the scores registered by the general student sample and the ideological radicals.

The data presented in Table I and Table II illustrates the scores obtained on the Dogmatism Scale and the Intolerance Scale respectively. If the four groups tested followed the pattern established by the groups tested by Rokeach, the differences in Table I will be imitated in Table II. As cited previously, Rokeach discovered that groups low in dogmatism tended to be more tolerant while groups with high dogmatism scores tended to attain high intolerance scores.

TABLE I  
DOGMATISM SCORES

No.	GROUPS TESTED	MEAN	S.D.												
1	Professors and Administrators N=21	131.05	17.28												
2	General Student Sample N=51	139.73	20.78												
3	Strike Radicals N=27	109.78	13.32												
4	Ideological Radicals N=16	143.06	16.29												
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>SIGNIFICANCE</u>    <math>p &lt; .05</math></p> <table><tr><td>3 vs. 1</td><td>YES<sup>1</sup></td></tr><tr><td>3 vs. 2</td><td>YES<sup>2</sup></td></tr><tr><td>3 vs. 4</td><td>YES<sup>3</sup></td></tr><tr><td>1 vs. 2</td><td>NO</td></tr><tr><td>1 vs. 4</td><td>YES</td></tr><tr><td>4 vs. 2</td><td>NO</td></tr></table>				3 vs. 1	YES <sup>1</sup>	3 vs. 2	YES <sup>2</sup>	3 vs. 4	YES <sup>3</sup>	1 vs. 2	NO	1 vs. 4	YES	4 vs. 2	NO
3 vs. 1	YES <sup>1</sup>														
3 vs. 2	YES <sup>2</sup>														
3 vs. 4	YES <sup>3</sup>														
1 vs. 2	NO														
1 vs. 4	YES														
4 vs. 2	NO														

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<sup>1</sup>The scores were different at the .01 level of significance.

<sup>2</sup>The scores were different at the .01 level of significance.

<sup>3</sup>The scores were different at the .001 level of significance.



<u>TABLE II</u> Positive Opinionated Responses			
NO.	GROUPS TESTED	MEAN	S.D.
1	Professors and Administrators N=21	1.95	2.01
2	Student Sample N=51	2.39	2.30
3	Strike Radicals N=27	2.41	2.21
4	Ideological Radicals N=16	4.25	3.17
<u>SIGNIFICANCE</u> $p < .05$			
3 vs. 1		NO	
3 vs. 2		NO	
3 vs. 4		YES <sup>5</sup>	
1 vs. 2		NO	
1 vs. 4		YES	
4 vs. 2		YES	

Table II indicates the mean positive opinionated responses given to Rokeach's Intolerance Scale. This table shows the mean number of times each group responded with an "I agree very much," to a statement prefaced with a phrase such as, "a person must be pretty stupid to believe...." By agreeing in such a definite fashion to this type of statement, the individual at the same time implied that he rejected those people who disagreed with him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1960., p. 46.

<sup>5</sup>The scores were different at the .001 level of significance.

However the scores presented in Table I leads one to expect the strike radicals to register lower intolerance scores than the rest, since the strike radicals registered significantly lower scores on the Dogmatism Scale. This was not the case although the scores quite possibly could have been affected by the university environment at the time of testing. The strike radicals had just been involved in an emotional confrontation with the university authorities and therefore may have been registering higher on the Intolerance Scale than they would have otherwise. This suggests something that seems rather obvious - in any emotion charged situation, the parties involved act with increased intolerance.

Note also that while it had been hypothesized that the ideological radicals would register higher on the Dogmatism and Intolerance Scales than the other three samples (and this was only partially true), it had been hypothesized that no significant difference would be evident when the scores of the strike radicals and a sample of the student population were compared. The data in Table I indicates that the strike radicals are less authoritarian than the general student body. Leonard Baird, using a revised version of Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale, reported results similar to the ones hypothesized in the present study. He found that student activists "were neither more, nor less dogmatic, than other students."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Baird, L.L. "Who Protests: A Study of Student Activists," in Foster, J. and Long, D. (ed.). Protest. William Morrow & Co., Inc.: New York, 1970., p. 128.

But a number of other studies have reported results similar to those obtained in the present study of the samples at W.L.U. Richard Petersen~~sen~~ studying student activists at Michigan State University, found that activists had a much higher score on a Liberalism scale than did student government leaders, or a control group of students.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Block, Haan and Smith discovered that students involved in radical activity, particularly since 1960, received "significantly higher scores on scales reflecting non-authoritarian attitudes and independence of authority...."<sup>8</sup> Activists, it was learned, espoused values "concerned with self expression, intellectual orientation, and a sense of community with, and responsibility for, one's fellow man."<sup>9</sup> Richard Flacks, following a study of student radicals at the University of Chicago, also stated that activists were best characterized by their anti-authoritarian attitudes.<sup>10</sup> Kenneth Keniston's psychoanalytic

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<sup>7</sup> Petersen, R.E. "The Student Left in American Higher Education," Daedalus. (Winter, 1968).

<sup>8</sup> Block, J.H., Haan, N. and Smith, M.B. "Activism and Apathy in Contemporary Adolescents," in Adams, J.F. (ed.). Understanding Adolescence. Allyn and Bacon: Boston, 1968., p. 216.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Flacks, R. "The Liberated Generation: Roots of Student Protest," Journal of Social Issues. (July, 1967).

study of student radicals led him to the same conclusions.<sup>11</sup>

It would appear then, given the data in Table I in which the authoritarian scores of the general student sample were significantly higher than those registered by the strike radicals, the "majority of students remain largely content, conservative and apathetic."<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, recent analyses of general student populations indicate that the average student is less authoritarian than he may once have been. D.A. Ondrack, showed that a significant, decreasing trend took place in authoritarian norms among college student populations in the period from 1958 to 1968, as measured by Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale.<sup>13</sup> This would suggest that the average college student today is less rigid, dogmatic and intolerant of ambiguity, than were his predecessors. Lehman also discovered that the longer students stayed in university, the less authoritarian they became.<sup>14</sup> Yet, as represented, in the scores of Table I, the

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<sup>11</sup>Keniston, K. Young Radicals. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.: New York, 1968.

<sup>12</sup>Halleck, S.L. "Hypotheses of Student Unrest," in Foster & Long. (ed.). Protest. p. 105.

<sup>13</sup>Ondrack, D.A. An Investigation Into Changes In The Level of Authoritarianism Among College Student Populations From 1958 to 1968. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1970.

<sup>14</sup>Lehman, I.J. "Changes from Freshman to Senior Years," in Yamamoto, K. The College Student and His Culture. Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1968.

professors and administrators who have an impact on student attitudes, register scores not dissimilar from the average student.

This may not be coincidental. Studies have shown that "both institutional atmosphere and geographic locality are factors which may affect a subject's dogmatism level."<sup>15</sup> Ondrack refers to the thesis of Boyd F. Dowell who gave the dogmatism test to freshmen at a fundamentalist college. The freshmen's dogmatism scores had risen one semester later and during the course of the semester the scores of all groups tested also has risen.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the institution had acted on the belief systems of college freshmen in such a way that a significant difference was measured on Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale.

It cannot be stated whether the scores of the student population at W.L.U. had been raised by their contact with the institutional environment of Waterloo Lutheran, or whether the environment had lowered their scores. However the scores of the

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<sup>15</sup>Dowell, B.F. The Effects Of Various Teaching Methods Upon the Self-Concept, Attitude Toward Psychology, Anxiety Level, Dogmatism Level and Level of College Achievement of First Semester Cedarville College Freshmen. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1967., p. 145. as quoted in Ondrack, D.A. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1970., p. 54.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. p. 54.

professors and administrators at Waterloo Lutheran undoubtedly reflect a more authoritarian orientation than the strike radicals would like. Henry Kissinger has noted that the perceptions and value systems of

leadership groups are formed by at least three factors: their experiences during their rise to eminence; the structure in which they must operate; the values of their society.<sup>17</sup>

Waterloo Lutheran professors' and administrators' attitudes could have been affected by the knowledge that previous professors, such as Hagggar, Bryant and Grey Taylor, had been dismissed for deviating from the institutional norms.<sup>18</sup> The value system in which the professors and administrators operate might be reflected in the actions of the executive committee of the Board of Governors who at first voted to cut off the funds for campus publications when Waterloo Lutheran's school paper printed an issue that incurred the Board's disapproval.<sup>19</sup> Although this move was later rescinded, it still reflects a less than tolerant attitude. Thus, the high scores of the professor-administration sample could have risen to the level registered, over a period of time. Apparently, the belief systems adjusted to the structure within which they operated.

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<sup>17</sup>Kissinger, H.A. "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy," in Rosenau, J.N. (ed.). International Politics and Foreign Policy. The Free Press: New York, 1969., p. 267.

<sup>18</sup>McKinley, D. "The Issue," The Cord Weekly. (Feb. 26, 1971).

<sup>19</sup>"W.L.U. administration threatens paper," The Chevron. (April 16, 1971).

An example of the way a social environment may affect one's attitudes can be taken from a report on the Metro Toronto Police Department. One young policeman, upon being questioned about how he looked at things now that he had been with the force for thirteen months, stated:

Now I see myself as very much a part of the establishment. I wasn't sure whether certain things like marijuana were right or wrong. Now I'm sure that if the establishment says they're wrong, they're wrong.<sup>20</sup>

The report went on to note that the police felt young political radicals were "ridiculous," "a pain in the neck," and "probably mentally ill," and then suggested "what they need is a good hiding."<sup>21</sup>

The response of academics to student radicals has been somewhat more equivocal. Nevertheless, the longer a professor has held his position, the greater is the chance that the professor will regard student activism in a derogatory way.<sup>22</sup> This is probably because junior faculty are more insecure, as low men in the competitive meritocracy, and have less of a vested interest in the institutions as they now stand. They are therefore more sympathetic with student radical goals than are the older faculty.

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<sup>20</sup> Cobden, M. "Our lonely lawmen on the frontier of social change," Toronto Daily Star. (Dec. 26, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Lipset, S.M. and Ladd, E.C. "The Divided Professoriate," Change. (May/June, 1971).

Also the younger professors are closer to their own university experience and have functioned as students in a more recent era of university life.

Lipset and Ladd analysed a cross section of professors at 307 universities and colleges in the U.S. and observed a particular age gap among political scientists.

95 per cent of the political scientists 60 and older agreed that "students who disrupt the functioning of a college should be expelled or suspended,"...<sup>23</sup>

These findings were contrasted with only 52 per cent of their younger colleagues who took such a position. Twice as many political scientists in their twenties approved of student activism compared to those in their sixties.<sup>24</sup>

Another conclusion emerged from Lipset and Ladd's study which may have some bearing on the results at Waterloo Lutheran. It was noted that there was a steady decline of support for student protesters as one moved from the social sciences, the humanities, fine arts and education, to the physical and life sciences. The professional schools of business and engineering were found to be more conservative and the professors of agriculture were "unchallengeably the most hostile."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Lipset, S.M. and Ladd, E.C. "...And What Professors Think," Psychology Today. (Nov. 1970).

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



If professors of psychology and sociology had been included in our sample of professors and administrators at W.L.U., the authoritarian level registered would have likely been lower. However, lower scores by psychologists and sociologists on Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale may not really indicate less authoritarianism, for it may merely show that psychologists and sociologists are more familiar with this type of testing and tend to undermine the test's outcome.<sup>26</sup>

By turning to the scores of the ideological radicals, then, it is observed in Table I that they register significantly higher than the strike radicals on the Dogmatism Scale, and in Table II on the frequency of opinionated answers. This would tend to dispel the belief commonly held, that all student activists may be lumped together under the same "troublemaker" heading. It would also underline the fact that there is a difference between the "Old Left", and the "New Left" among student radicals.

The Old Left adheres to a Marxist view of society in which industrial workers are regarded as the main vehicle of the socialist revolution. The student ideologue's role is seen as the builder of a radical base among the intellectual class that can then be linked with the workers and oppressed minorities to bring about the

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<sup>26</sup>See Remmers, H.H. Oed.) Anti-Democratic Attitudes in American Schools. Northwestern University Press: Evanstown, Ill., 1963.

revolution.<sup>27</sup> That students holding to this Old Left viewpoint have more authoritarian belief systems<sup>28</sup> than do those of the New Left, is illustrated by the data presented in Table I.

At least a partial explanation for the difference in scores may be that the New Left's value system refuses to accept a constricting ideological viewpoint other than a humanist one. New Left radicals have a loose ideology that tends to be anarchistic with its emphasis on participatory democracy. They are willing to affiliate with many different organizations over an issue, and pay little attention to the organization itself as long as it assists in radicalizing the given situation.<sup>29</sup> Their main aim seems to be one of applying pressure on numerous fronts in order to expose social injustice. Hopefully these injustices will be modified or eliminated, but the radicals feel that at the very

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<sup>27</sup>Oglesby, C. (ed.). The New Left Reader. Grove Press, Inc.: New York, 1969., pp. 17-18. For a more elaborate outline of positions taken see the beginning of Chapter II.

<sup>28</sup>Results were obtained by Eysenck, H.J. The Psychology of Politics. Routledge & Kegan Paul: London, 1954. and Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. showing that Communists and Fascists register high in authoritarianism.

<sup>29</sup>Shoben, E.J., Werdell, P. and Long, D. "Radical Organizations," in Foster & Long. (ed.). Protest. p. 202. Student activists at W.L.U. joined the Liberal Party during the mock Parliament that was held in 1971. Old Left radicals would find it very hard to affiliate with such "bourgeois" elements and still maintain a good conscience. It might also be pointed out that at least 2 strike radicals tested belonged to the Trotskyite, Young Socialists.

least, people will be politicized during the process.<sup>30</sup> Richard Petersen shows that the new type of radical protests most often about institutional conditions rather than about national politics.<sup>31</sup> However when protests are organized over political issues originating outside the university, the form of protest tends to be more violent. Thus an impression may be given that student activists are more motivated by radical ideology than they really are. More often the student is motivated to protest against university policies concerning food, visiting hours, dress codes and participatory issues.<sup>32</sup>

This does not mean that the non-ideological radical is any less alienated than the one holding an ideology. Melvin Seeman notes that student demands for participatory democracy is a way students, through group influence, attempt to overcome the alienation

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<sup>30</sup> Petersen, R.E. "The Scope of Organized Student Protest," in Foster & Long. (ed.). Protest. pp. 78-79.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. pp. 59-79.

<sup>32</sup> Long, D. and Foster, J. "Levels of Protest," in Foster & Long. (ed.). Protest. p. 86.

experienced by isolated individuals in mass society or a large bureaucratic structure.<sup>33</sup> By belonging "to a small, mediating, special-interest, power organization,"<sup>34</sup> such as an activist group, an alienated student regains a certain sense of personal control. Why then are radical organizations not larger and more students involved in radical activity? Seeman would answer by suggesting that alienation can account for apathy, conformity and social isolation as well as rebellion, deviance or the hippie commune.<sup>35</sup>

Gottlieb and Hodgkins might suggest another explanation. They claim that the academic environment is a "distinctive socio-cultural system existing within the larger structure of...society."<sup>36</sup> Since the college community has values and goals that may be inconsistent with those held by some students, subcultures arise. These subcultures' value orientations can be distinguished from the university and other segments of the student population. The subcultures identified were: Academic; Vocational; Collegiate; Nonconformist.<sup>37</sup> The academics and nonconformists were most

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<sup>33</sup>Seeman, M. "Alienation: A Map," Psychology Today. (August, 1971).

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Gottlieb, D. and Hodgkins, B. "College Student Subcultures," in Yamamoto, K. The College Student and His Culture. p. 240.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. p. 242.

concerned with academic achievement, but the nonconformist was more concerned with learning of his own choosing. The academics placed a slightly greater emphasis on some social activities than did nonconformists. The vocational person was primarily at university for a job, while the collegiate person was more interested in the social events that accompanied education.

Empirically, it was discovered that the nonconformists and academics changed their attitudes and approaches most during their stay at university with the nonconformists changing most. The vocational and collegiate groups did not change their attitudes and values to any significant degree and did less well academically than the other two groups. This led Gottlieb and Hodgkins to conclude that the vocational and collegiate groups had insulated themselves with the value systems of their subcultures to the point where desirable change was curtailed.<sup>38</sup> A similar insulating factor might explain why most students do not express the overt alienation noticeable in the radical, nonconformist elements, although all are functioning in the same environment. Certainly the data of Table I suggest the average student is more authoritarian and therefore rigid or insulated in his value system than the strike radical. The fact that the nonconformists changed most indicates a more open belief system willing to entertain new ideas.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 253.

The students' social and family background also has a bearing on the development of young activists. Keniston<sup>39</sup> and Flacks<sup>40</sup> both reported that student radicals tend to come from comfortable middle class families that were liberal in political orientation and placed an emphasis on egalitarian and humanist values. While an individual from this milieu may be more pre-disposed to become an activist, others may also become radicalized after involvement in protest activity.<sup>41</sup> In the previous academic year, 1970-71, Waterloo Lutheran's student council president was successfully impeached when certain student elements began questioning the president's moral handling of the office. This possibly helped lay the ground work for further radical activity such as the 1971 strike over student parity. Certainly the political environment had changed at W.L.U. since 1967-68 when a student strike over a similar parity situation elicited meager support. In contrast, according to the Cord Weekly, this year's strike produced a 50 to 70 per cent boycott of classes by its second day. The increased student participation in 1971 may also be explained by noting that the professor involved in this year's dispute was more popular than the

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<sup>39</sup>Keniston, K. Young Radicals.

<sup>40</sup>Flacks, R. "Who Protests: Social Bases of the Student Movement," in Foster & Long. (ed.). Protest.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid. p. 145.

professor involved in the 1967-68 dispute. However it would seem that the previously mentioned study by Ondrack would fit in most appropriately here. Recall that his study covering the time span from 1958 to 1968, showed a decline in authoritarian attitudes among student populations. Then note a study of college freshmen by the American Council of Education that was started in 1966 and carried through to 1971. It concluded that "each successive class of entering college freshmen is more liberal than its predecessor."<sup>42</sup> If this holds true for Waterloo Lutheran, it would appear that one of the reasons the strike was more readily received by students this year than in 1967-68, is because the student population may now be somewhat more liberal in attitude.

In light of the observations to this point, it would seem possible to roughly divide the university political arena into four basic categories:

(1) The conservative: This student maintains that the social, political and educational sytem has provided himself and the community with about as good service as anyone has the right to expect. Or, to put it more succinctly, "Is there any place you'd rather be?"

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<sup>42</sup>McNett, I. "The Students Turn Left," Change. (May/June, 1971).

(2) The liberal: These students acknowledge that the system has some deficiencies, but are willing to work within the traditional framework to produce change. Any radical activity outside this framework is considered utopian and basically retrogressive. The backlash that radical activity may produce usually hinders reform.

(3) The radical: These students call for the entire restructuring of society and the reordering of social priorities. By confronting the system at its weakest points, sometimes in the conventional manner but sometimes using stronger tactics, they hope to move the system to a more humanistic position. This group tends to be issue-by-issue protesters. Their philosophy can be expressed as, "everybody should be allowed to do his own thing."

(4) The radical-radicals:<sup>43</sup> These students are among the most disaffected, and while they also call for the entire restructuring of society, they are more willing to use violent tactics to achieve this goal. Only a complete break with the system that produced the injustices of the past can produce the type of society they envision.

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<sup>43</sup>Kerr, C. "Student Dissent and Confrontation Politics," in Foster & Long. Protest. p. 9. These categories will be referred to again after a perusal of Table III and commented upon in light of the dogmatism scores.



Table III contains the ten items that best indicate the attitudes of the four groups surveyed. The Table will be analysed in light of the four categories of students outlined above. The bottom items indicating attitudes to the governmental system, were presented in such a way that the respondent had to make a single choice from the four alternatives offered.

Note that the general student registers a 10 per cent difference from the professors' and administrators' on only four issues. Of these four, on only the issues of "pot" and abortion does the students' attitude differ more than 30 per cent from the professors and administrators. However the strike radicals, differ more than ten per cent from the professors and administrators on every issue. Only on the issue of Quebec separatism are they close enough to register a 20 per cent difference. The strike radicals are not even as close as ten per cent to the regular students on any issue. Only on abortions and premarital sex are they as close in attitude as a 20 per cent gap. The ideological radicals seem to have little in common with the regular students or the professors and administrators. The ideological radical seems to have most in common with the strike radical but gaps in attitude between the two are still registered. What is most striking about the ideological radicals is their almost uniform 100 per cent responses to the issues. This underlines the homogenous outlook of adherents to ideologies.

TABLE III				
Decile of sample giving positive responses, to the stated political issues.				
Contemporary Issues	Prof-Admin. N=21	General Student Sample N=51	Strike Radicals N=27	Ideological Radicals N=16
The U.S. is justified in going into Vietnam.	60	50	0	0
Pot should be sold without restrictions.	20	50	90	90
U.S. involvement in Canada's economy is not as harmful as some make out.	50	40	10	0
In an election I'd vote N.D.P.	10	20	60	100
I don't see the point in voting.	10	10	60	0
Quebec should be able to leave Canada if she wants.	60	50	80	100
Women should be allowed to have abortions.	50	80	100	100
Women's Lib expresses the legitimate grievances of the exploitation of women.	30	50	80	100
Our educational system is too much a pillar maintaining the status quo.	50	60	90	100
Pre-marital sex is wrong.	40	20	0	0

continued next page

TABLE III (Cont)				
Decile of sample giving positive responses, to the stated political issues.				
Contemporary Issues	Prof-Admin. N=21	General Student Sample N=51	Strike Radicals N=27	Ideological Radicals N=16
I am satisfied with our present government arrangements and processes.	40	40	0	0
No ∴ will work for change from within.	50	50	0	0
No ∴ will pressure from without even though this could lead to violence.	10	10	70	0
No ∴ will bring about a revolution if necessary.	0	0	30	100
I was in favour of the student strike over parity.	10	50	100	--

Attitudes to controversial issues are formed and reformed according to the ideological viewpoint; consequently members express opinions in line with the ideological norm. The strike radical's attitudes indicate as great a fissure between himself and the "establishment," but within the strike radicals' ranks, there appears some diversity.<sup>44</sup>

An interesting observation may be drawn from strike radicals and ideological radicals' scores on voting for the New Democratic Party. Through conversations with the ideological radicals, it was learned that these radicals hoped to create a revolutionary consciousness in N.D.P. However they could not agree with many existing stands taken by the N.D.P. An image of total dedication to their radical cause emerges. The members of this particular ideological group aim to convert an unwilling political party to accept their tenets. As a result, they are not disillusioned with the right to vote. Ideological radicals aim to create revolutionary consciousness in every way possible. Note that the strike radicals, lacking the same ideological commitment, are rather cynical about their voting privilege. Although 60 per cent of them would vote for the N.D.P., 20 per cent of these New Left adherents would probably not vote for the N.D.P. because

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<sup>44</sup>It should be noted that it was not the same strike radicals that deviated on given issues. Each of them expressed attitudes different to the group majority on various issues.

of disillusionment with the present electoral process.<sup>45</sup>

Canadian political structures are relatively immune to upheaval if the general student sample and the professor-administration sample in any way reflect the attitude of the general public. This would mean that 90 per cent of the population is either content or not willing to jostle the political process in desire for change. The similarity in response of the student and establishment groups underlines again how an institution's opinion can be generally reflected in the opinions of the students it educates and therefore socializes.

Another factor is brought out by the registering of 50 per cent of the regular students in favour of the student strike. Forty per cent of those who said they were in support of strike action, did not notice the contradiction they were making. By not registering in favour of the option of applying pressure from the outside regular channels to change the system, they failed to see that the strike they approved of did just that. This also gives some indication why the general student sample attained a higher dogmatism score than did the strike radicals. Rokeach claims that the failure to recognize "the coexistence of logically

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<sup>45</sup>None of the strike radicals would vote for another party. Among the regular students and professors and administrators, Trudeau outvoted Stanfield by a 3 to 1 margin. The overlapping cynicism evident in the strike radicals was insignificant in the 10 per cent of the students and professors and administrators who didn't see the point in voting.

contradictory beliefs within the belief system"<sup>46</sup> is an indication of isolation in the belief system. This is an authoritarian trait. Again we can observe that the 100 per cent commitment to revolution shown by the ideological radicals underlines their ideological commitment. In contrast, 30 per cent of the strike radicals opted for revolution. The rest were willing to adopt the outside pressure tactics attributed to the New Left.

By referring to the student categories outlined to describe the university political arena, and bearing Table III in mind, it can be stated that the great majority of students, professors and administrators at W.L.U., could be categorized as either conservative or liberal. The strike radicals would fall under the radical heading, while the ideological radicals can be thought of as radical-radicals. In other words, when compared to the strike radicals, it would appear that the dogmatism scale has <sup>detected</sup> three types of dogmatism: dogmatism of the left as exemplified by the radical-radicals;<sup>46a</sup> dogmatism of the right registered by some students, and professors and administrators; dogmatism of the centre as registered by other students, and professors and administrators.

The results do not necessarily suggest that radical students will progressively join the radical-radical ranks. At least two, of course, already belonged to a radical-radical party.

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<sup>46</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. p. 36.

<sup>46a</sup>It might be noted again that the radical-radical sample does not represent a sampling of the W.L.U. student population. The Young Socialist Conference held at the University of Waterloo contained delegates from across Canada.

Many others of the strike radicals, some who would register in favour of revolution if necessary, in fact indicated in conversation that they had once belonged to an ideological organization. They had quit when the ideological organization became too demanding on their individuality. Undoubtedly some will adopt a more revolutionary ideological position, however, and tracing this progression from radical to radical-radical or vice versa, and the causes of such switches, would make an interesting future study. But because ideological radicals' belief systems were more akin to those of the general students, this might indicate that if the average student becomes alienated enough, it is he who tends to become an ideological radical.

The observations made in this study illustrating a split in radical belief systems, has been made before using different criteria. Hampden-Turner and Philip Whitten note that studies of the moral judgments made of conservatives and radicals, have confirmed some of the stereotypes each holds vis à vis the other. They note for example, that radical activists typically are found "at the highest and lowest stages of moral development."<sup>47</sup> Which one of the two radical segments studies here would show a high stage of moral development, and which would fall into the low moral development category, might also be the basis for future study.

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<sup>47</sup> Hampden-Turner, C. and Whitten, P. "Morals Left & Right," Psychology Today. (April, 1971).

In summary it would seem that only one of the hypotheses received even limited support. Ideological radicals did register higher <sup>dogmatism scores</sup> than all of the samples but not significantly higher than the general student body. This would suggest that the young ideological radical is not as "closed" as were his predecessors. Given the evidence that college populations are becoming more liberal, and given the evidence that ideological oriented individuals at one time registered significantly higher scores, our study seems to indicate that today's ideological students also have more open belief systems. Ideological radicals are about as authoritarian as the average student.<sup>48</sup> However, the much vaunted generation gap becomes visible when we compare the scores of the strike radicals to the professors and administrators. Contrary to our expectations, the strike radicals registered very significantly lower on the Dogmatism Scale when compared to all <sup>other</sup> groups.

According to Rokeach those characterized by open belief systems, tend to govern their actions "by internal self-actualizing forces and less by irrational inner forces."<sup>49</sup> Since strike radicals register lower than all other groups on Rokeach's scale, they can be said to have more open belief systems than their contemporaries. Because Rokeach states that these people are less

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<sup>48</sup> This is at least true of the Trotsky espousing Young Socialists.

<sup>49</sup> Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. p. 58.



motivated by irrational inner forces than others, our findings would seem to undermine Feuer's assertion that modern student movements are motivated by "strong unconscious forces."<sup>50</sup> The ideological forces committed to maintaining the status quo seem more appropriately described in Feuer's manner.<sup>51</sup>

Rokeach claims that belief systems can be identified by the manner in which they accept or reject ideas of people and of authority.

The first is classified as a cognitive phenomenon, the second involves the phenomenon of prejudice or intolerance, and the third, authoritarianism.<sup>52</sup>

Therefore by knowing something about an individual's attitude to the world of ideas, we know how he relates to the world of people and authority. It was shown by Rokeach, that people low in authoritarianism are more willing to entertain new ideas than those higher in authoritarianism.<sup>53</sup> The less authoritarian the person,

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<sup>50</sup>Feuer, L. The Conflict of Generations. Basic Books: New York, 1969., p. 521.

<sup>51</sup>One might convincingly argue that commitment to the status quo is indeed an ideological position just as intense at times, as that of the ideological radicals.

<sup>52</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind., p. 8.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid. see his chapter on the Doodlebug Problem, pp. 171-181.

the less likely is he to stereotype people according to their beliefs or positions, i.e., he is less likely to judge people by the authorities and belief systems with which they align. The nonauthoritarian person is also less dependent upon authorities to provide him with a world view.

A person said to be high in authoritarianism does not differ from a person said to be low in authoritarianism because the first relies on authority and the second does not. Rather they have different ideas about the nature of authority, different theories about the way to employ authority as a "cognitive liaison system" mediating between the person and the world this person is trying to understand.<sup>54</sup>

Those with open belief systems, most often evaluate and act on information independently on its own merits "in accord with the inner structural requirements of the situation."<sup>55</sup>

This is one of the criticisms that the New Left levels at the Old Left and at the university establishment. The New Left claims that the Old Left relies too much on their dogma which

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid. pp. 43-44. Note that student activists claim they are not advocating the elimination of authority, just the development of a more democratic standard of authority. See Schwartz, E. "He who must obey the rule should make it," in Wallerstein, I. and Starr, P. The University Crisis Reader. Vol. I. Random House: New York, 1971.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid. p. 58.

ties them to the injustices of the Communist nations.<sup>56</sup> New Left activists claim that the university establishment relies on institutional norms and therefore are similarly authoritarian. The existing evidence seems to substantiate New Left claims. The establishment view of the university seems to be held in a significantly more dogmatic and authoritarian manner than does the strike radicals view of the same institution.

Nevertheless, the community at large does view the New Left as authoritarian. More often radicals are thought of as young tyrants.<sup>57</sup> Kenneth Keniston argues that this may be because student radicals, given their causes, naturally feel estranged from mainstream society. They thus tend to become "encapsuled" in their own groups.<sup>58</sup> Focussing primarily upon themselves, they

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<sup>56</sup> Although organizations such as the Trotskyite, Young Socialists tend to disavow partiality to the Soviet Union and thus maintain they are different than the traditional Old Left, our study tends to confirm New Left suspicions. One of the survey statements was "The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common." The New Left constantly points out the similarity between the two nations bureaucracies and oppressive foreign policies. Old Left types mouth the same criticisms yet registered a mean of 3.93 on this question compared to the strike radicals' 1.78. (S.D. for ideologues = 2.09 and strike radicals = .73) (p. <.001).

<sup>57</sup> Toole, K.R. "I Am Tired Of The Tyranny Of Spoiled Brats," Sudbury Life. (June 24, 1970).

<sup>58</sup> Keniston, K. Young Radicals, pp. 150-160.

may develop their own peculiar patterns of interaction such as a special vocabulary and style of dress. When they move into the community, then, these visible differences help make them mistrusted. Radicals then find it difficult to communicate their idealism. The encapsulation process has often led to a misjudgment by radicals of tactics to adopt and hinder a realistic evaluation of their radical work. The belief systems of the adversaries are not only different, but the communication between them is stilted. Thus the picture of the radical and his goals is misinterpreted. Rokeach might add that misinterpretation of personalities is more common among those with closed belief systems. A closed person evaluates others "according to their agreement or disagreement with his own system."<sup>59</sup>

Student activists have altered the closed views of some in the older and younger generation. The university has been forced to examine itself as an institution, and is forced to cope with new attitudes, value and behavior patterns. The difficulty of the university establishment's task is heightened by the generation gap evident in the different belief systems the authority's possess when compared to the activists.

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<sup>59</sup> Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. p. 63.

Chapter V

THE GENERATION GAP

In chapter one, it was observed that many of the social phenomena prevalent today occurred previously during periods of social disorientation. Similarly, Lewis Feuer maintains that the emergence of dissident youth is a manifestation of the periodic rebellions that have been evident in college populations throughout the course of history.<sup>1</sup>

S.N. Eisenstadt presents his case in a manner even more coincident with chapter one's cyclical interpretation. He states that whenever societies experience various forms of modernization altering traditional living patterns, sharp cleavages result that threaten the structure of authority.<sup>2</sup> Youth is then insufficiently socialized. The adult culture no longer provides the clear role models necessary to make an orderly transition from youth to adulthood.

Others argue that while indeed rebellious youths are not novel to the history of man, there is a certain fundamental difference between modern youth and previous generations. A distinct psychological shift has occurred. Margaret Mead, for example, has divided society into three different types of culture: postfigurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative.<sup>3</sup> In the postfigurative culture, change takes place at such a slow rate that it is almost imperceptible. Adults

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<sup>1</sup>Feuer, L. The Conflict of Generations. Basic Books: New York, 1969.

<sup>2</sup>Eisenstadt, S.N. "Archetypal Patterns of Youth," in Erikson, E.H. (ed.) The Challenge of Youth. Anchor Books: New York, 1965.

<sup>3</sup>Mead, M. Culture And Commitment. Doubleday & Co., Inc.: Garden City, New York, 1970.

in this culture, are confident that their way of life will be maintained. The young learn unambiguous roles, confident that life in the future will differ very little from the present. As societies adopt industrialized methods of economic organization, however, they become cōfigurative cultures. Here the model for developing youth is their contemporaries. It is accepted by the older generation that the emerging generation will adopt new life styles, yet

the elders are still dominant in the sense that they set the style and define the limits within which cōfiguration is expressed in the behavior of the young.<sup>4</sup>

Today, Mead feels, society can be thought of as prefigurative. The model for social development in the contemporary situation is one's peers.<sup>5</sup> The parental generation appears almost irrelevant, for change occurs at such a pace it is impossible to predict society's future condition even for as short a span as five years. Parental experience is no longer seen as viable blue prints since the past, present and future are blurred.<sup>6</sup> Society itself may not

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>5</sup>Robbed of models, and products of a reduced nuclear family, the young become more and more responsive to their peers. See Toffler, A. Future Shock. Random House: New York, 1970., p. 291.

<sup>6</sup>Sargent, L.T. Contemporary Political Ideologies. Dorsey Press: Homewood, Illinois, 1969. In a section on the New Left, Sargent quotes studies indicating that student radicals are not primarily protesting against their parents but against the inequality of people in society. (p. 151).

be perpetuated for all of civilization lives under the shadow of the bomb.

Robert Lifton agrees that a factor distinguishing modern society, from previous ones is this lack of assurance in the continuity of life.<sup>7</sup> He claims that everyone psychologically needs to maintain the illusion of immortality. A father may try to survive biologically through his children; someone else develops a theological faith in the after-life in order to transcend death; another tries to live on through his creative works; some gain satisfaction by realizing that at least nature itself will survive.<sup>8</sup> Contemporary individuals, faced with the threat of nuclear destruction, find it difficult to develop psychic solace, since any sense of immortality has been stripped away.

The traditional symbols by which man maintain[s] his sense of continuity [have] been impaired by the whole modern period, by the anti-theological ideologies, by the velocity of historical change and especially by technological developments.<sup>9</sup>

Fear of individual death becomes submerged with the fear of the

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<sup>7</sup> Lifton, R.J. History And Human Survival. Vintage Books: New York, 1971.

<sup>8</sup> Heightened concern for ecological and environmental preservation can be thought of in this light.

<sup>9</sup> Harris, G.T. "The Politics of Immortality: a conversation with Robert Jay Lifton", Psychology Today. (Nov., 1970).



end of everything. Since contemporary young people have always lived with the possibility of extinction, they grow up not only fearing death, but the possibility of an unfulfilled life.<sup>10</sup>

Keniston notes that many alienated youth, emphasizing the irrelevance of the past and expressing pessimism for the future, began to develop life styles concerned only with the present.<sup>11</sup> Determination to live "now" characterizes both activist students and youth choosing to drop-out of society.<sup>12</sup> Perceiving society in "present" terms, the student activist calls for immediate change in order to live with the consequences of his own decisions.

As stated in the first chapter, McLuhan has outlined how the impact of television and other electronic communications devices alter the psychological development of today's young people. For example, studies indicate a 100 per cent increase in the learning abilities of those children who watch Sesame Street.<sup>13</sup> But television can foster other things besides the ability to count.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Keniston, K. The Uncommitted. Dell Publishing Co., Inc.: New York, 1960., pp. 158-162.

<sup>12</sup>Halleck, S.L. "Hypothesis of Student Unrest," in Foster, J. and Long, D. Protest. William Morrow & Co., Inc.: New York, 1970.

<sup>13</sup>"Watch out for U.S. super children," Toronto Daily Star. (Aug. 26, 1971).

Seymour Halleck, a psychiatrist, commented that when a young viewer watches a diplomat tell less than the truth in the United Nations, the child has been prematurely exposed to the hypocrisies of the older generation. The product is "a deep skepticism as to the validity of authority."<sup>14</sup> A quantum change in youthful psychological orientations results. The old norms and values are then challenged with a ferocity suggesting a deeper schism than the traditional father versus son conflict.

Charles Reich analysed the generation gap in terms of three general types of consciousness. He claims that each level of civilized development is accompanied by a form of consciousness substantially in accord with underlying material realities. Beginning with industrialization, however, societal changes accelerated and the underlying consciousness did not change at a pace coincident with social reality. To Reich, Consciousness I is essentially embodied in the American dream where "success is determined by character, morality, hard work, and self-denial."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Halleck, S.L. "Hypotheses of Student Unrest," in Foster & Long. Protest, pp. 118-119. The publishing of the Pentagon Papers tends to justify student activist charges that the public was deliberately misled in Vietnam but also increases youthful skepticism with the elder generation's methods. See New York Times Staff. The Pentagon Papers. Bantam Books: New York, 1971.

<sup>15</sup>Reich, C.A. The Greening of America. Random House: New York, 1970., p. 24.

This form of consciousness was revolutionary, when compared to the constraints of class and status existing in the old world. The new consciousness appeared credible in the context of a new world where progress seemed centered on individual effort. Industrialization exposed the inadequacies of Consciousness I as the robber barons, gaping inequalities, exploiting trusts, etc. led to the rise of a new consciousness. Consciousness II emphasized the organizing and coordination of activity and the sacrificing of the individual good for a common good.<sup>16</sup> Discipline and hierarchy were of premium importance as the government was pressured to produce regulatory actions providing a more rational administration or management. Thus modern liberalism and communism are coincident when they insist on the primacy of the state over the individual.<sup>17</sup>

Like Consciousness I, Consciousness II sees life in terms of a fiercely competitive struggle. The difference lies in the means of struggle and the terms of success, for with Consciousness II these are defined by organization or institutional values.<sup>18</sup>

Most of the West's political battles are encounters between those adhering to Consciousness I or Consciousness II.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid. pp. 63-64.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. p. 72.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid. p. 79. Some observers claim that Communism and Liberal Democracy were just different ways of achieving the common goal, industrialization.

Reich feels a new consciousness has arisen, among elements of the new generation, which is opposed to the values of the other two.<sup>19</sup> Consciousness III rejects hierarchical power and refuses to be subject to the goals of other individuals or goals proposed by society. Competition is viewed with a baleful eye for Consciousness III individuals do not see a need to measure people using struggle as a yardstick. Cooperation is more in vogue.

III refuses to evaluate people by general standards, it refuses to classify people, or analyze them. Each person has his own individuality, not to be compared to that of anyone else.<sup>20</sup>

Authority<sup>21</sup> therefore becomes severely questioned for personal responsibility and personal equality implies the rejection of the superiority of someone "above." The previously mentioned study by the American Council of Education adds some credibility to Reich's observations. Not only was it discovered that college students are increasingly left and liberal, but that the liberalism evident was not the traditional liberalism advocating government intervention. Students espoused a libertarianism more committed to the maximizing of the individual's freedom where the individual had more control over his own life.<sup>22</sup>

The results in chapter four of this paper, would indicate a set of values exists among activist youth which is not coincident

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid. p. 243.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. p. 105.

<sup>22</sup>McNett, I. "The Students Turn Left," Change. (May/June, 1971).

with those of the older generation in the university community. It was shown that activist students who precipitated the 1971 strike at W.L.U., registered significantly lower scores on the dogmatism scale than did their elders, as represented by Waterloo Lutheran's professors and administrators. In other words, the belief systems of the strike radicals were constructed differently than the establishment. Undoubtedly this factor contributed to the collision of the two factions. Reich would classify the professors and administrators as either Consciousness I, conservatives, or Consciousness II, liberals. Those radicals adhering to an ideology would also be Consciousness II individuals since they submerged the individual's interests to ideological interests. The strike radicals registering low on dogmatism and clamouring for student power, would be classified Consciousness III. Note that the ideological radicals had scores akin to the student sample, or Consciousness I and II types. The professor and administrators also Consciousness I and II types, registered no significant difference to the student sample. Only the strike radicals had a belief system completely different than all of the groups. Therefore only these New Left examples would fall under the heading of Consciousness III. It would seem that this group clearly illustrates the new psychological orientation analysts feel has been caused by the West's technological innovations.

Paradoxically enough, it is the affluence and wealth that the disaffected youth condemn that has probably made them more

flexible than their forebears. Happy and secure homes produce secure and adaptable children. Margaret Mead feels that if one's early experiences are painful and filled with punishment and threats, the sense of culture identity produced is persistent.<sup>23</sup> Thus the more rigid adult generation cannot understand the lack of interest in material things that persists among many alienated young people. Reich, for example, notes that the November 22, 1970 edition of The New York Times outlined the businessmen's dilemma. Having budgeted for a \$45 billion "youth market," they were forced to adjust their production and selling efforts to coincide with the new values of youth. The youth market seemed more concerned with environmental issues and expressed their nonmaterialism by showing an increased interest in bicycles instead of expensive cars.

The 1960's illusion about the rich, recklessly spending and rapidly multiplying segment of the under-twenty-five population has given way to a fear of a turned-off generation that keeps its money in its faded jeans.<sup>24</sup>

No longer is there a generation entirely eager to climb up corporate ladders to success.

Rather many of the most articulate young are expressing a type of Thoreau anarchism. Thoreau is best known for his account of his stay at Walden Pond in 1854.<sup>25</sup> There he chose to live simply,

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<sup>23</sup> Mead, M. Culture And Commitment. p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> New York Times quote in Reich, C.A. The Greening of America. p. 344.

<sup>25</sup> Thoreau, H.D. Walden. A Signet Classic, New American Library: New York, 1960.

believing that the majority of life's luxuries had become hindrances to man's attempts to achieve higher goals.<sup>26</sup> Like Thoreau, the student activists shun materialism and emphasize the sanctity of the individual over institutions. Like Thoreau they ask,

Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State, until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly.<sup>27</sup>

The activists are advocates for the adoption of organizations and cultural norms that run counter to those valued by the previous generation. Like Jules Henry, young radicals feel that Western society is a "driven culture,"; driven by "achievement, competitive, profit and mobility drives."<sup>28</sup> Alienated, they question the underpinnings of industrialized cultures which deliberately create needs in order to survive. Henry quotes William Tyler, co-chairman of the U.S. Joint Committee for the Improvement of Advertising Content. Mr. Tyler defended advertising by saying, "Advertising reflects our society more accurately than anything else does."<sup>29</sup> Radicals are

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<sup>26</sup>Worsnop, R.L. "The World of Thoreau," Globe and Mail. (July 13, 1970).

<sup>27</sup>Thoreau, H.D. "On The Duty of Civil Disobedience," in Walden. p. 240.

<sup>28</sup>Henry, J. Culture Against Man. Random House: New York, 1963., p. 13.

<sup>29</sup>Henry feels the command that best illustrates the driven culture would be the directive given to executives to "Create More Desire!" p. 19.

lamenting that very point. That one man uses a statement as a defense, while his critics use the same statement as an indictment,

only underlines the different value and belief systems that the two groups have. ~~The present~~ study showed that a committed segment of today's youth do have a belief system distinguishable from an influential older section of society. Although dissenting youth represent a minority of young peoples' attitudes, it is the activists that commentators refer to when speaking of the generation gap. It is this vocal minority that wrings concessions from the powers confronted. As in most political structures, the mass appears willing to adjust to the conditions produced from confrontation situations.

#### The Future of Radicalism

Data presented in Chapter IV shows that there is a gap in belief systems between some alienated youth and older members of the university community in positions of authority. This fissure may be an empirical example of the generation gap. Evidence indicates that the generation gap is a product of technological forces and many argue that the contemporary situation is different than other youth rebellions since the new technological features have produced a distinct shift in the psychological orientations of modern youth.<sup>30</sup> We therefore can expect confrontations to continue as a feature of day-to-day life unless dominant societal norms undertake a pronounced

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<sup>30</sup> It can again be emphasized that this change is evident in non-dissenting youth as well if we take into consideration the studies showing a liberalizing trend in college populations.



shift. The United States is likely to experience a more volatile form of radicalism than Canada, since the Canadian political system provides political outlets for disgruntled activists that the United States does not.<sup>31</sup> For example, most left leaning individuals in Canada can feel comfortable working within the N.D.P.'s Waffle group. The left wing radicals can thus channel any violent energies into converting the Waffle to a more radical position. On the other hand, consider the position of the U.S. political left during the 1968 presidential elections. Both candidates supported American involvement in the Vietnam war<sup>32</sup> as did George Wallace, the only third candidate with any remote chance of exerting viable political pressure.

Also the Canadian government has adopted a number of measures in an attempt to direct youthful discontent into acceptable enterprises. Margaret Daly claims that the Company of Young Canadians was originally formed to buy off committed Canadian youth.<sup>33</sup> Radicals regard the recent federal government's Committee on Youth Report in a similar manner. By appointing a fact-finding committee that

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<sup>31</sup> Many of the following observations were provided by Dr. Preece in our various conversations.

<sup>32</sup> Reich, C.A. The Greening of America. pp. 109-110.

<sup>33</sup> Daly, M. The Revolution Game. New Press: Toronto, 1970.

reaches the headline grabbing conclusion that marijuana should be legalized, radicals suggest that the illusion of participatory democracy is maintained. The fundamental societal structures remain the same. The New Left is then confronted with a contradictory dilemma. They realize that revolutionary changes demand that reforms be implemented but feel that most often, the institutions of reform inevitably are coopted for establishment purposes.<sup>34</sup> Does cooperation with the government mean selling out to society's rulers and contaminate independent radical activity or does it ensure that viable change will take place? The ambivalent attitude of young radicals on this issue has repeatedly torn their organizations.

Unless the government assures alienated young people that it is taking serious steps to reduce social injustices, it would appear that radical confrontations will continue to greet unpopular decisions.<sup>35</sup> If these conditions are perpetuated, Canada and the U.S. may partially institutionalize the threat of violence. This has happened in India where David Bayley claims, institutional means of exercising influence or redressing grievances has been replaced by agitational politics. Confrontations in India have developed rules, informal regulations and ever accepted uses.

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<sup>34</sup>Adelman, H. "Politics of the Counterculture," The Canadian Forum. (March, 1971).

<sup>35</sup>"Campus unrest commission sees U.S. 'crisis', fears new violence," Toronto Daily Star. (Sept. 29, 1970).

Protests, even illegal and violent ones, are not all normless. Indeed, they have become routinized...For example, it is not unusual for protestors to notify the police in advance about what they intend to do. ...Ground rules for many clashes are known to both sides.<sup>36</sup>

Unconventional activism does often unwittingly promote reformist measures. The women's liberation movement's activities can be used as an illustration. When the public is shocked by the radical actions of women burning their bras, other women's demands for equal pay or day-care centres seem more plausible. F.L.Q. activity in Quebec has placed René Levesque's Parti Quebecois more in the political centre of Quebec politics. Whereas the P.Q. was once considered on the left fringe of the political spectrum, the F.L.Q.'s extremist actions served to legitimize the once radical policies of the P.Q. At Waterloo Lutheran University, the student radicals' demand for parity on hiring and firing, made the request for student representation on such decisions seem moderate. Slowly more students may see the benefits which disruptions may well produce. The universities can then look forward to increased agitation.

At one time university attendance was a right only children of the elite held. Those from the lower social strata who attended university, thought of it as a privilege. Today because of mass education techniques, all students feel they attend university as of right. Observers note that the activists of today often become the

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<sup>36</sup> Bayley, D.H. "Public Protest And The Political Process in India," in Gusfield, J.R. (ed.). Protest, Reform And Revolt. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.: New York, 1970., p. 307.

political personalities of tomorrow. The political processes will undoubtedly begin to reflect the values of a liberalized college population whose belief systems are less willing to accept the decisions of unchecked authorities than the previous generation. To quote Malcolm Muggeridge:

Previous civilizations have been overthrown from without by the incursion of barbarian hordes; ours has dreamed up its own dissolution in the minds of its own intellectual elite. It has carefully nurtured its own barbarians - all reared on the best Dr. Spock lines, sent to progressive schools and colleges, fitted with contraceptives or fed birth pills at puberty, mixing D.H. Lawrence with their Coca-Cola, and imbibing the headier stuff (Marcuse, Chairman Mao, Malcolm X) in evening libations of hot chocolate.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>"Quotes of the day," Toronto Daily Star. (Nov. 12, 1970).

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A.

#### Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale<sup>1</sup>

Accentuation of differences between the belief and the disbelief systems.

- 1) The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.

The coexistence of contradictions within the belief system.

- 2) The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.
- 3) Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

Relative amount of knowledge possessed.

- 4) It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.

Beliefs regarding the aloneness, isolation, and helplessness of man.

- 5) Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.
- 6) Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.
- 7) Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.
- 8) I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

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<sup>1</sup>Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1960., pp. 73-80.

On the survey, these questions were interspersed with the Opinionated Scale and contemporary issues.

Beliefs regarding the uncertainty of the future

(a) Fear of the future

- 9) It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future

(b) A feeling of urgency

- 10) There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.

(c) Compulsive repetition of ideas and arguments (self-proselytization)

- 11) Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.
- 12) In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.
- 13) In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what the others are saying.

Beliefs about self-adequacy and inadequacy

(a) Need for martyrdom

- 14) It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.

Self-aggrandizement as a defense against self-inadequacy

(a) Concern with power and status

- 15) My secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.
- 16) The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
- 17) If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.

## Authoritarianism

## (a) Beliefs in positive and negative authority

- 18) In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.
- 19) There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.

## (b) Belief in the cause

- 20) A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.
- 21) It is only when a person devoted himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.
- 22) Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.
- 23) A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy-washy" sort of person.
- 24) To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.
- 25) When it comes to differences of opinion in politics we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.
- 26) In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.

## Intolerance

## (a) Toward the renegade

- 27) The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.
- 28) In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.



- 29) A group which tolerates too much differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.

(b) Toward the disbeliever

- 30) There are two kinds of people in this world: Those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
- 31) My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.
- 32) A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.
- 33) Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

Tendency to make a party-line change

- 34) In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- 35) It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.

Narrowing

- 36) In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.

Attitude toward the past, present, and future

- 37) The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.

Knowing the Future

- 38) If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."

- 39) Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.
- 40) Most people just don't know what's good for them.

Intolerance ScaleLeft Opinionated

1. It is very foolish to advocate government support of religious education.
2. It is quite stupid to say that the N.D.P.'s Waffle group follows the Red Communist line.
3. A person must be pretty stupid if he still believes in differences between the races.
4. There are two kinds of people who oppose welfare legislation: the selfish and the stupid.
5. It is mainly those who believe the real estate interests' propaganda who are against government subsidized low rental units.
6. A person must be pretty gullible if he really believes that Communist infiltration is the main cause of social unrest.
7. A person must be pretty short sighted if he thinks that the War Measures Act was passed in the best interest of Canadian people.
8. It is mostly those who are itching for a fight who support the Vietnam war.
9. It is mainly those who believe everything they read in the newspapers who are convinced that the Communist nations are pursuing a ruthless policy of imperialist aggression.
10. Only a simple-minded fool believes that what is good for the United States is good for Canada and therefore we should follow American leadership in world affairs.

Right Opinionated

1. It is simple incredible that anyone should believe that socialized medicine will actually help solve our health problems.

2. A person must be very ignorant to think that Trudeau allows big business to run this country.
3. It is the paranoid people in our society who keep yelling all the time about Civil Rights.
4. It's those who don't know anything about inflation and labour racketeers who yell loudest about labour's right to strike.
5. It's the agitators and people foolish enough to minimize the danger of Communism who agree with establishing closer links with Red China.
6. You just can't help but feel sorry for people who believe in the perfectability of man if only our social organizations and institutions were remodelled.
7. Only a misguided idealist would believe that the United States is an imperialist war monger.
8. Only misguided fools believe welfare recipients aren't just lazy and sponging off the rest of society.
9. It is only those troublemakers who disregard the benefits of private enterprise that talk about state ownership.
10. It is mostly noisy, destructive types who maintain that we will be better off under socialism.

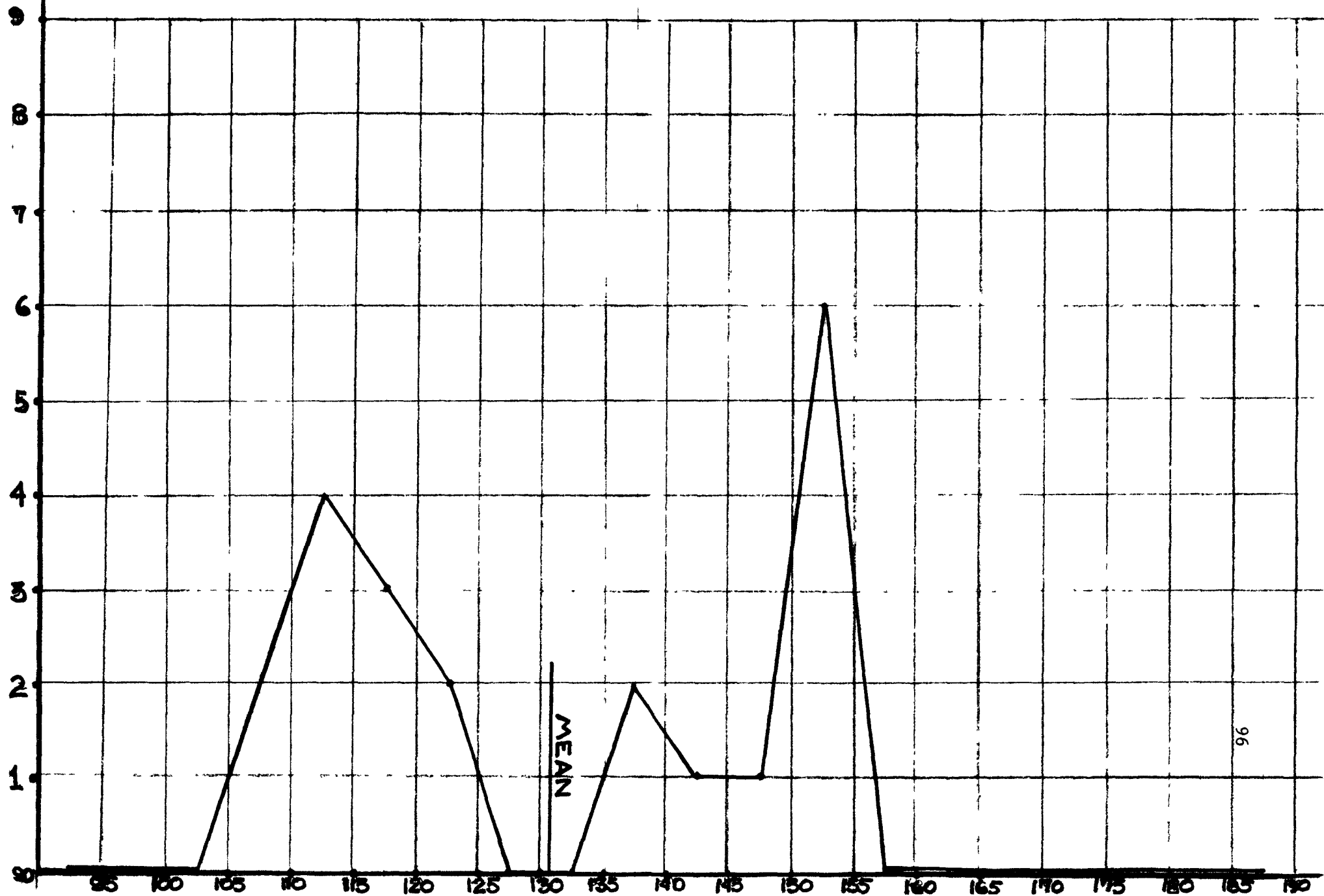
# APPENDIX B

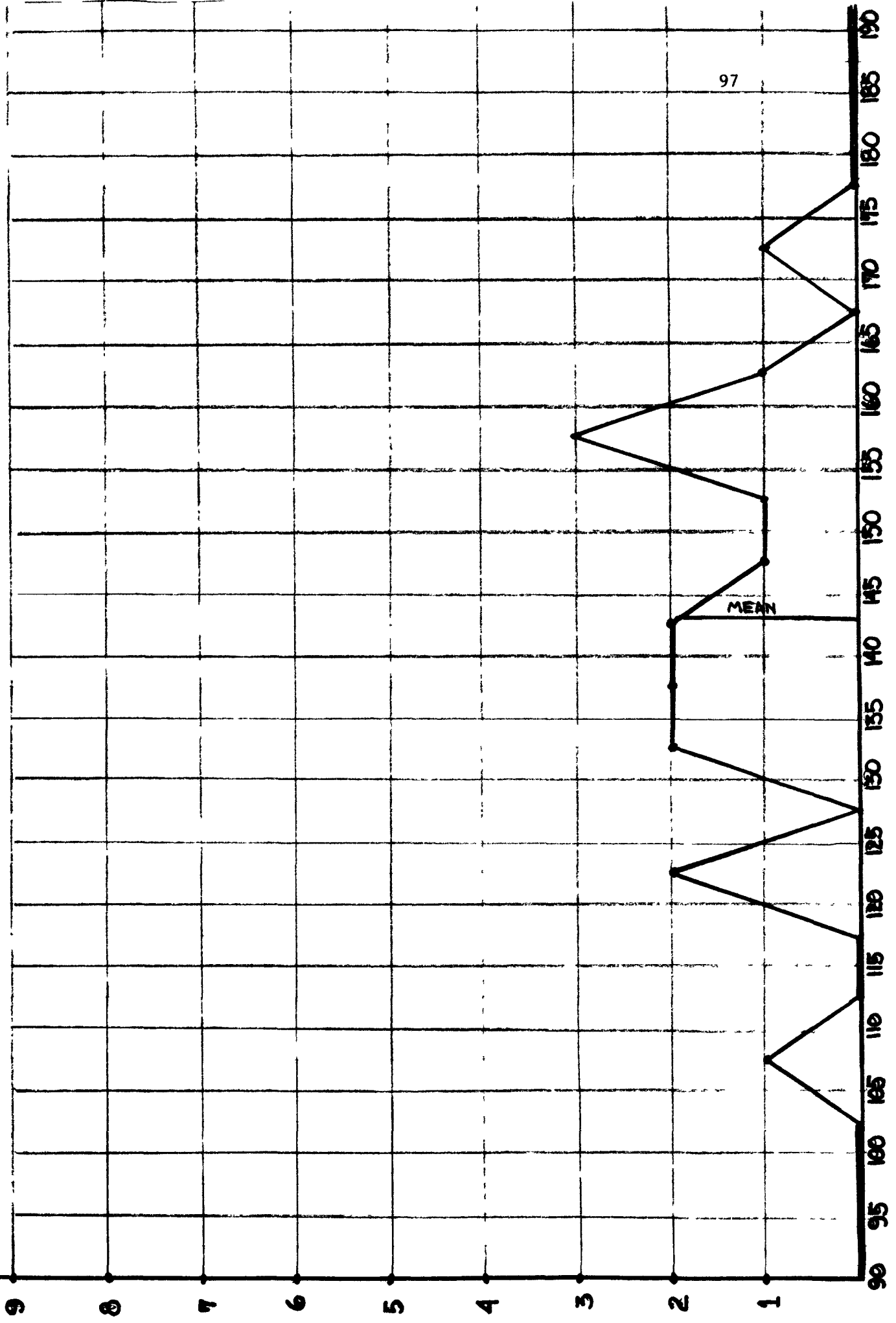
## Frequency Distribution of Means on Dogmatism Scale

	PROF-ADMIN	IDEOL.	RADICALS	STUDENT
90-95	—	—	6	1
95-100	—	—	4	1
100-105	—	—	1	1
105-110	2	1	4	1
110-115	4	1	2	2
115-120	3	1	5	4
120-125	2	2	2	3
125-130	1	1	3	1
130-135	1	2	1	6
135-140	2	2	1	5
140-145	1	2	1	5
145-150	1	1	1	0
150-155	6	1	1	5
155-160	1	3	1	1
160-165	1	1	1	1
165-170	1	1	1	1
170-175	1	1	1	4
175-180	1	1	1	1
180-185	1	1	1	1
180-190	1	1	1	1

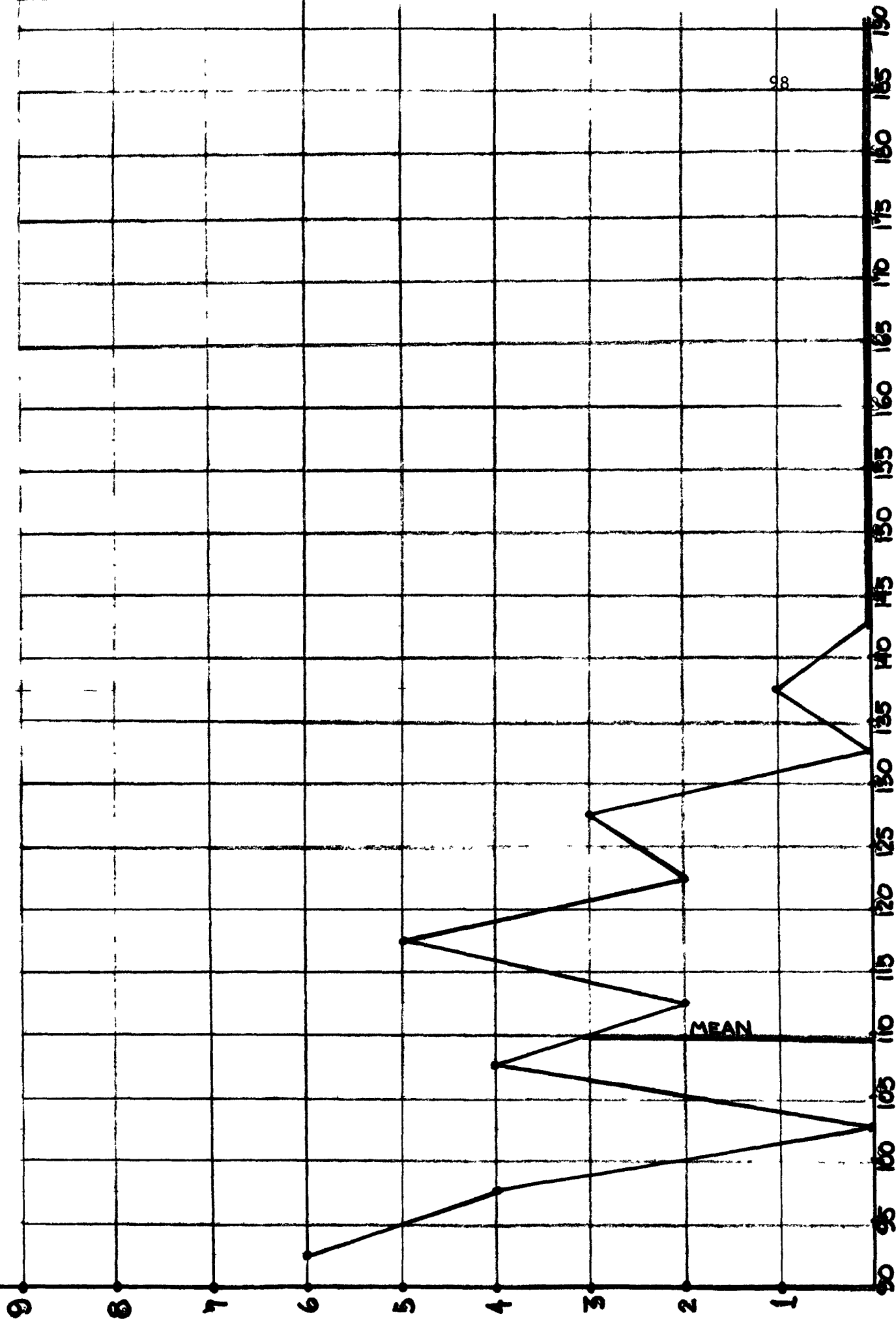
THE FOUR FOLLOWING DIAGRAMS ARE  
FREQUENCY POLYGONS OF THE  
DOGMATISM SCALE SCORES.

# PROFESSORS & ADMINISTRATORS



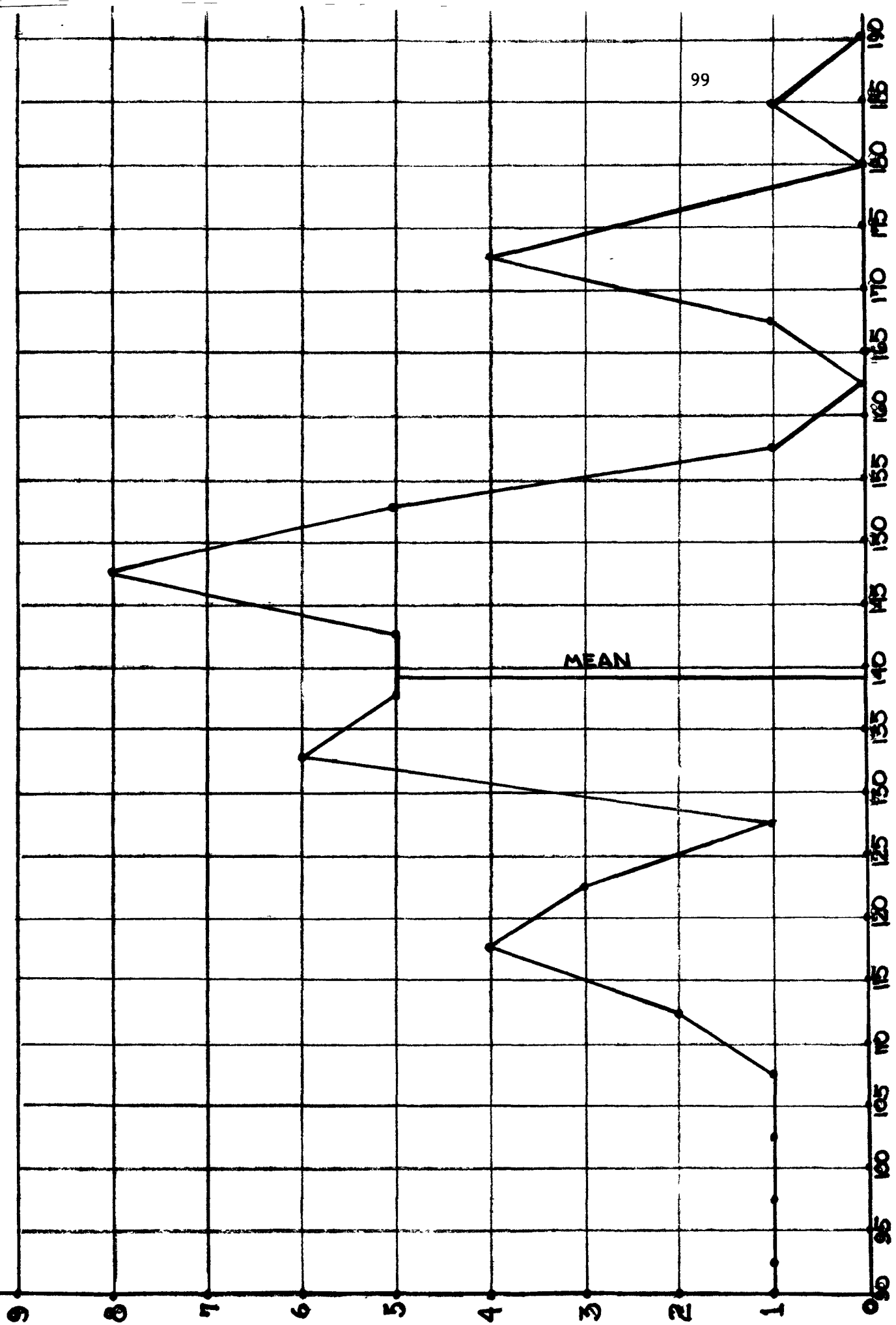


STRIKE RADICALS





STUDENT SAMPLE



## Appendix C

### Formulas used

Standard deviation

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum X^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2}$$

The t Test for Uncorrelated Measures

$$t = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sigma_{\text{Diff}}}$$

where:

$M_1$  = the mean for one distribution

$M_2$  = the mean for the second distribution

$$\sigma_{\text{Diff}} = \sqrt{\sigma_{M_1}^2 + \sigma_{M_2}^2}$$

$$\sigma_{M_1} = \text{the standard error of } M_1 = \frac{\sigma_1}{\sqrt{N - 1}}$$

$$\sigma_{M_2} = \text{the standard error of } M_2 = \frac{\sigma_2}{\sqrt{N - 1}}$$

$$\text{Degrees of Freedom} = df = n_1 + n_2 - 2$$

Appendix DDogmatism Scores

<u>Prof-Admin.</u>	<u>General</u>		<u>Strike Radicals</u>	<u>Ideological Radicals</u>
	<u>Student</u>	<u>Sample</u>		
110	140	186	109	144
108	147	120	90	137
111	150	125	119	124
142	175	145	93	109
150	131	132	117	164
139	153	172	97	142
155	149	136	100	156
153	123	152	94	156
150	108	117	127	123
152	149	135	123	133
124	126	137	93	174
113	118	146	128	159
140	169	154	137	137
118	151	144	123	150
114	173	117	117	147
125	124	142	126	<u>134</u>
153	150	144	115	2289
149	136	134	108	MEAN 143.06
116	182	139	92	RANGE 65
114	101	132	118	N 16
<u>116</u>	143	146	113	S.D. 16.29
2752	93	146	96	
MEAN 131.05	156	111	109	
RANGE 47	152	<u>114</u>	99	
N 21	171	7126	92	
S.D. 17.28	133	MEAN 139.725	109	
	97	RANGE 93	<u>120</u>	
		N 51	2964	
		S.D. 20.78	MEAN 109.78	
			RANGE 47	
			N 27	
			S.D. 13.32	

Frequency of Positive Intolerant Responses

<u>Prof.-Admin.</u>	<u>General Student Sample</u>		<u>Strike Radicals</u>	<u>Ideological Radicals</u>
2	0	0	3	6
0	0	0	0	8
3	0	1	2	4
5	5	4	1	0
2	3	1	2	5
1	1	2	4	9
3	2	3	2	6
1	3	6	4	6
4	2	7	7	4
0	5	0	2	3
0	2	4	1	5
6	4	0	1	3
1	6	0	0	6
1	1	4	2	3
1	3	6	1	6
0	0	1	1	4
7	7	0	5	78
0	0	0	3	N 16
2	8	0	7	MEAN 4.25
2	2	1	8	S.D. 3.17
0	1	5	0	
41	3	0	0	
N 21	0	0	0	
MEAN 1.95	1	1	1	
S.D. 2.01	8	122	4	
	3	N 51	1	
	6	MEAN 2.43	3	
		S.D. 2.30	289	
			N 27	
			MEAN 2.41	
			S.D. 2.21	

Appendix E

## Questionnaire used:

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social, political, and personal questions. The best answer to each statement is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and often opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many feel the same as you do.

Circle each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one.

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little	-1 : I disagree a little
+2 : I agree on the whole	-2 : I disagree on the whole
+3 : I agree very much	-3 : I disagree very much

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little  
 +2 : I agree on the whole  
 +3 : I agree very much

-1 : I disagree a little  
 -2 : I disagree on the whole  
 -3 : I disagree very much

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 1. The United States was justified in going to Vietnam in order to halt the spread of Communism in South East Asia.                                      |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 2. It is very foolish to advocate government support of religious education.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 3. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 4. Pot should either be sold without restrictions or at the very least, should be sold like cigarettes and liquor presently are.                         |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 5. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.                |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 6. It is simply incredible that anyone should believe that socialized medicine will actually help solve our health problems.                             |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 7. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups. |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 8. It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.                          |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 9. It is quite stupid to say that the N.D.P.'s Waffle group follows the Red Communist line.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 10. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 11. A person must be very ignorant to think that Trudeau allows big business to run this country.  |

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little  
 +2 : I agree on the whole  
 +3 : I agree very much

-1 : I disagree a little  
 -2 : I disagree on the whole  
 -3 : I disagree very much

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| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 12. | Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 13. | A person must be pretty stupid if he still believes in differences between the races.   |
| +1 +2 + 3 -1 -2 -3 | 14. | U.S. involvement in the Canadian economy is not as harmful as many would like to make out.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 15. | Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 16. | People should be content with the U.S. administration's attempts to withdraw honourably from Vietnam and respect the reasonable timetable they have established to do so. |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 17. | I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 18. | It's the paranoid people in our society who keep yelling all the time about Civil Rights.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 19. | It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 20. | It's those who don't know anything about inflation and labor racketeers who yell loudest about labor's right to strike.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 21. | There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 22. | Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3  | 23. | There are two kinds of people who oppose welfare legislation: the selfish and the stupid.   |

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little  
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+3 : I agree very much

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| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 24. | It's the agitators and people foolish enough to minimize the danger of Communism who agree with establishing closer links with Red China.                                |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 25. | In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 26. | If there were an election tomorrow, I'd vote for Trudeau.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 27. | If there were an election tomorrow, I'd vote for Stanfield.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 28. | If there were an election tomorrow, I'd vote N.D.P.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 29. | Even if I could vote, I wouldn't see the point in doing so.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 30. | In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what others are saying.                                       |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 31. | You just can't help but feel sorry for the people who really believe in the perfect-ability of man if only our social organization and institutions would be remodelled. |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 32. | In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what others are saying.                                       |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 33. | It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 34. | It is mainly those who believe the real estate's propaganda who are against government subsidized low rental units.  |



Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little  
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 -3 : I disagree very much

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| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 35. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 36. A person must be pretty gullible if he really believes that Communist infiltration is the main cause of social unrest.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 37. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 38. Quebec should be allowed to separate from Canada if Quebec expresses the wish to leave.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 39. Only a misguided idealist would believe that the United States is an imperialist war monger.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 40. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 41. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 42. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really live.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 43. Our educational system is too much a pillar maintaining society's status quo and not concerned enough with critically analysing our society and pointing out its injustices and inadequacies. |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 44. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 45. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 46. Only misguided fools believe that welfare recipients aren't just lazy and sponging off of the rest of society.  |

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little  
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| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 47. | A person must be pretty short sighted if he thinks that the War Measures Act was passed in the best interest of Canadian people.               |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 48. | Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.                                       |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 49. | A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy-washy" sort of person.                                    |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 50. | Women should be allowed to have abortions if they so desire.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 51. | It is mostly those who are itching for a fight who support the war in Vietnam.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 52. | To compromise with out political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.                              |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 53. | In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 54. | Canada should stay in NORAD and cooperate with the United States in this way for Canadian defense.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 55. | Canada should withdraw her troops from Europe and leave the NATO alliance.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 56. | The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.                                  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 57. | When it comes to differences of opinion in politics we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 58. | It is only those troublemakers who disregard the benefits of private enterprise that talk about state ownership.                               |

Circle +1, +2 +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

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| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 59. | In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 60. | The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 61. | In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.            |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 62. | A group which tolerates too much differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 63. | The Women's Liberation movement is only expressing the legitimate grievances women have in our society as a result of being exploited.                                   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 64. | Pollution is an overrated issue because by placing too many restrictions on industries we may be asking for more unemployment.   |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 65. | There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.  |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 66. | It is mainly those who believe everything they read in the papers who are convinced that the Communist nations are pursuing a ruthless policy of imperialist aggression. |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 67. | Hockey is an important part of Canadian culture and our government should do more to ensure that Canada regains prominence in World competition.                         |
| +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 | 68. | My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he is wrong.  |

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

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 -2 : I disagree on the whole  
 -3 : I disagree very much

- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 69. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 70. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are pintoed on.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 71. It is mostly noisy, destructive types who maintain that we will be better off under socialism.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 72. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 73. Pre-marital sex is wrong.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 74. Only a simple-minded fool believes that what is good for the United States is good for Canada and therefore we should follow American leadership in world affairs.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 75. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 76. In the long run, the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 77. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 78. Most people just don't know what's good for them.
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 79. Prime Minister Trudeau should spend more time on the job instead of taking all the vacations he does.

Circle +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

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 -3 : I disagree very much

- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 80. If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all".
- +1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3 81. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.

82. Are you satisfied with our present governmental arrangements and processes?

(circle one) (a) Yes

(b) No

If "No", which course of action would you most likely take?

(circle one) (a) working for change from within the structures and institutions that have been set-up for that purpose.

(b) apply various types of pressure from outside as well as inside the normal channels even though this might lead to violence.

(c) revolution if necessary.

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