

CIVIC PARTICIPATION IN FIVE COMMUNITIES:

A CROSS CULTURAL COMPARISON

CIVIC PARTICIPATION IN FIVE COMMUNITIES:

A CROSS CULTURAL COMPARISON

By

HOWARD SLEPKOV, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

April, 1971

MASTER OF ARTS (1971)
(Political Science)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: Civic Participation in Five Communities: A Cross-Cultural Comparison

AUTHOR: Howard E. Slepko, B.A. (Psych), McMaster University

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Robert E. Agger

NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 111

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: This thesis concerns itself with the formulation of a model of civic participation and its testing in five communities in North America and Eastern Europe. The model posits that there are four conceptually distinct sets of variables: socio-economic status, general personal orientations, political culture and political events, each of which acts both independently and additively on participation in civic affairs. It is further hypothesized that these four variables act inter-dependently on two separate dimensions of participation, which are conceptually defined as interest and involvement. The model suggests that using interest and involvement as two separate dimensions and combining these with the four previously defined 'mediating' variable sets, one can construct a theory of civic (political) role and civic (political) role change that provides a useful set of hypotheses about ways to ameliorate and perhaps relinquish man's atomization in the mass societies of the post-industrial era.

PREFACE

Over a year ago, while still a full-time graduate student, I decided to go against the predominant trend of opinion among my colleagues and chose to do a Master's Thesis. I was ridiculed and cautioned, but much obstinacy and a little ambition gained the upper hand. Now, the (judged-by-many-to-be) long odds have payed off.

In analyzing the dividends, I find that the ridicule and caution were justified. A Master's Thesis is not a project to be embarked upon lightly. If done conscientiously, it can be time consuming, mentally depressing and physically exhausting. My obstinacy had at its base a hope that the preparation of a thesis would be a rewarding learning experience and, that it has most certainly proven to be. Finally, it is truly remarkable to me how far one can go on a small measure of ambition. This project began as an analysis of the relationship between types of political systems, political socialization patterns and extremist political behaviours among the young. Under the constant and patient tutelage of my supervisor, Dr. Robert E. Agger of McMaster University, this theme underwent continuous revision and evolution before arriving at its present position, to the mutual satisfaction of teacher and pupil.

With the completion of this thesis, I stand at a pinnacle in my academic career, the achievement of which would have been impossible without the constant reinforcement and guidance of many people. I wish to thank, in particular, my family and close friends for their encouragement and patience. My apologies are tendered to Mrs. Vilma Byrd

and Mrs. Marianne Bailey, both at McMaster University, who bore with me through the complicated process of mastering the art of computer programming. I am most deeply indebted to my mentor and friend, Dr. Agger, without whom this paper would have been impossible. His trust and confidence in my ability to bring this project to a successful conclusion was, I hope, justified.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	
List of Tables	
I Introduction	1
II The Model	6
III Methodology	32
IV Measurement of General Personal Orientations	32
V Results and Discussion	44
VI The Model Reassessed	65
Footnotes	69
Appendices	75
(I) Project Attitudes Towards Education Variables Used in this Thesis	75
(II) Tables	82
Bibliography	104

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
I Optimistic (Pessimistic) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	82
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	82
II Sociable (Isolate) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	83
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	83
III Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	84
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	84
IV Self (Society) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	85
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	85
V Achieving (Contented) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	86
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	86
VI Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation	
(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix	87
(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance	87

	Page
VII Width of Interest vs. Participation	88
VIII Width of Involvement vs. Participation	89
IX Education vs. Participation	90
X Occupation vs. Participation	91
XI Income vs. Participation	92
XII Education vs. General Personal Orientations	93
XIII Occupation vs. General Personal Orientations	94
XIV Income vs. General Personal Orientations	95
XV Optimistic (Pessimistic) Orientation vs. Participation	96
XVI Achieving (Contented) Orientation vs. Participation	97
XVII Self (Society) Orientation vs. Participation	98
XVIII Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation vs. Participation	99
XIX Sociable (Isolate) Orientation vs. Participation	100
XX Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation vs. Participation	101
XXI Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation vs. Poleconurb Involvement controlling on Education	102
XXII Education vs. Poleconurb Involvement controlling on Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation	103

"Depending on their demographic and personality characteristics and on their positions within the social and political structure, individuals may vary in the components of the ideology that they emphasize or de-emphasize, the intensity of their commitment to the nation-state, their definition of the citizen role and their expectations that go with it, and the way in which they enact this role."

- Herbert C. Kelman¹

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most drastic effect of recent technological changes in our society has been the over-bureaucratization, centralization and specialization of the various decision-making hierarchies. After a gradual breakdown of social barriers, the increased mobility between classes and a growth in political participation opportunities for the masses, technology has affected a reversal in these trends, particularly in the most advanced industrial countries. This has occurred to such a degree that, despite phenomenal economic well-being, large groups in society find themselves without means for expressing their dissatisfactions or affecting meaningful change in their environment. Rather, they possess a whole gamut of social and psychological attitudes and tendencies easily subsumed by the concept of 'alienation' and conceived as the results of a mass society.

The theorists of mass society, such as William Kornhauser, Hannah Arendt and Erich Fromm, writing under the specter of 'political extremism in Europe in the 1930's, posited that rapid changes in the urbanization patterns, rates of economic development and technologically-induced specialization in these countries led to the development of alienated masses who perceived themselves to be psychologically and physically distant from their political elites. In order to ameliorate their feelings of powerlessness, anomie, etc., they opted for strong political leadership in their governments. As the title of Fromm's classic indicates, the inconsistencies and complete lack of structure in these societies led to an "escape from

freedom". Once accomplished, the all-powerful elites took over complete control of their political systems and effectively closed all paths to power, other than through their own ranks.

While the growing literature on mass societies might not be able to agree on a meaningful empirical definition,⁴ enabling them to define the mass societies of today, even a cursory reading reveals wide agreement on the inherent instability of a democratic order (whether populist or otherwise) in such societies and, parenthetically, the converse threatening possibilities for psychological and physical manipulation of the masses by shrewd elites.⁵ Realizing that we live in an age of potential or real mass societies, it behooves the social scientist to arrive, through analysis and dialogue, at some conclusions vis-a-vis viable alternatives to this awesome, destabilizing manner of existence.

The most fashionable school of thought on this subject is that which advocates a return to some halcyon, pristine way of life left behind by the massive push to technological achievement.⁶ The literature of the so-called counter culture exudes abundant optimism in the ability of society, through love and peace, to regress, to evolve backwards. Unfortunately, the optimism of Woodstock Nation is tempered by the prophets of gloom, by the ilk of such analysts of the technological 'imperative' as Jacques Ellul.⁷ This writer, while not presuming to class himself with the likes of such analysts, believes that what is needed is some middle path.

The technological revolution disrupted the entire social structure supporting man's predominantly rural, agricultural way of life, and his basically oligarchical or elitist mode of decision-making. These

equilibrating institutions and folkways, emphasizing the obligations of man to society, were replaced by a set of beliefs stressing the power of the individual to affect his environment and stressing the rights of the individual owed to him by society such as equitable opportunities, if not equal shares, in prestige, health, security, etc. The democratic revolution, if it did not make the technological revolution possible, facilitated it greatly and stirred up all manner of passions in the western world. 8

Man everywhere began to try to enhance his social status and economic position through education. It should be noted that increasingly universal basic education was a necessity for the complicated commercial and increasingly specialized divisions of labour in the process of industrialization and mechanization. The rigid social stratification of society was weakened considerably and men began to push for political power to match their economic and social status and to attain more of the latter. Eventually all classes were enfranchised and the era of mass citizen political participation had arrived.

A leading, indeed, dominant political theory of citizen participation in the modern world is as follows. Political theorists such as Almond and Verba, Deutsch and Lipset have posited that economic development has and will continue to lead to a breakdown of social barriers, a rise in the literacy rate and the proportion of highly educated people in the society and a resultant increase in the degree of political participation defined as participation in the electoral process. 9 At one time, this school of thought was widely acclaimed both by academics and professional decision makers. It was buttressed by the group theorists of the Dahl and Lane variety who viewed the democratic polity as founded upon a

multiplicity of groups and cross-pressures with more or less equal opportunities for their leaderships, if not rank-and-file members, to participate in vetoing at least, if not contributing to more positive decision-making processes, and not only in just electoral processes.¹⁰ Unfortunately, this pluralist conception of the good democratic society was seized upon as the guiding principle for development plans in the Third World, on the one hand, and as the core concept taught in the middle class-oriented public schools of North America, on the other hand.

Today, in view of new learning and hindsight we are faced with the necessity of revising this model considerably. The literature on mass societies, particularly the work of Kornhauser¹¹ centres on the crucial interplay between rapid development and the evolution of a supportive group structure. Our previous discussion suggests that while one group of theorists would argue that development leads to a stable, psychologically supported, democratic system, the other group posits the reverse; development proceeds so rapidly in the technological age that group structures do not develop and a truly democratic order is thus precluded, if not prevented, by countervailing forces.

Obviously, both models have an essence of truth (however that concept may be defined) and both give cause for thought. Depending upon the school one identifies with, one's conception of political participation in the modern world will vary. While both schools of thought view mass participation as a universal good, the extent of that participation, its nature, the reasons for it, and its impact on and meaning for society are increasingly disputed.

This paper is an attempt by the author to explore some new dimensions of political (civic) participation. It will advance and test the hypothesis that the middle road referred to above (but not necessarily the cure-all for the ills of technological society and alienated man) is a concept of political (civic) role and political (civic) role change that conceives of political (civic) participation as dynamic, as something more than just participation in the electoral process, and which does not attempt to restrict the concept "participation", dichotomized as interest and involvement, to its latter aspect. Both components are elements of civic participation and both play essential parts in affecting change in the degrees of participation in political systems.

CHAPTER II

THE MODEL

In the vast majority of studies, participation has been narrowly defined. To cite but a few examples, Lester Milbrath, in Political Participation, delineates a hierarchy of electoral activity beginning with the act of voting and climaxing in the holding of public office. Rick van Loom, in a recent article published in the Canadian Journal of Political Science, studied participation, also in an electoral context, by analyzing voting and campaign activity survey data on the 1965 national election in Canada. Norman Nie, Bingham Powell and Kenneth Prewitt, in their two-part article published last year in the American Political Science Review, used the Almond and Verba five-nation survey data to analyze participation, choosing items emphasizing involvement in the act of lobbying.

All of the aforementioned analysts have concerned themselves with "interest", albeit most frequently in an electoral context, but "political participation" for them has been self-consciously conceptually restricted to a well-defined set of observable acts, regardless of the indirect character of the observations, defined by questions about how people acted (or intended to act). Interest is treated as a separate variable of subsidiary concern, even when it is theoretically conceived and empirical tests suggest its great importance for "the participatory act". Van Loom's comments are illustrative of this important point:

"There is a very high correlation between campaign activity and the level of interest in politics. This

finding, which might seem obvious at first, is interesting in that no single factor or cluster of factors will entirely, or even largely, explain the level of interest a person shows. The more highly educated upper socio-economic groups show higher levels of interest than the lower but there are highly interested people among all socio-economic groups and wherever we find a highly interested person, we are much more likely to find an active participant....Moreover no other variable has anything like the effect on campaign activity that interest does....An important point, however, is that the stimulation of interest in politics can occur in virtually any environment, and, we might hypothesize, at any time during a person's life. Most important, once that interest has been stimulated, involvement in the electoral and probably in the non-electoral part of the political process as well, is much more likely to occur. Participation in Canadian politics can be induced even among people who would not normally be considered to have the resources or the necessary propensity to show interest."¹⁵

While methodologically these "activity" or "behaviour" data have most often been the easiest to collect and quantify, they are not necessarily the most useful kinds of information. Political scientists and political sociologists have sometimes used a much broader definition of politics than elections or than only "overt" observable acts. Yet, too often they continue to analyze political participation under the older, narrower framework. Decisions are being made in many institutions and non-electoral involvement in these processes are equally meritorious of study, if not infinitely more important in the long run, than simply election studies. Moreover, the dynamics of electoral and non-electoral participation would seem to be very different, as Nie, Powell and Prewitt suggest when they exclude voting in their measure of political participation.

"It should be noted that the political participation scale does not include voting turnout....partially because electoral participation seems to include a slightly different dimension than these other factors."¹⁶

But their most interesting and important analysis stays within the narrower framework when they use interest, (termed by them "attentiveness") as an independent (attitudinal) variable hypothetically related to the (behavioural) variable of participation and not as a participation variable in its own right. Consequently, they focus on a model that attempts to explain "participation" variations in five countries but not on a model that attempts to explain, what we would term, the interest component of participation.

Participation needs be considered as being more than just motor activity or "active" involvement. In terms of the model being advanced here, participation is conceived as a means of orienting ourselves, anchoring ourselves, in a world we might find bewildering and chaotic. We define ourselves by the network of identifications we make with our environment. Our group memberships, for example, provide the psychological stability, the structures within which we feel constrained to live and through which we transmit our norms and folkways of behaviour. Every culture is organized into groups; their exact nature is variable; their diversity is great, if not infinite.

But groups and the concept of group membership points to a universal, essential aspect of men and women, regardless of such diversity. That is the interest that underlies, that in fact defines, the meaning of group membership. A person's interest may be insufficient, by itself, to obtain for him group membership or preclude his being cast out of a group. And if it withers, he may be a member "in name only". But the concept of group as an important way men identify, (accept or reject), other men, make sense of their worlds, points to the importance of "psychological"

or attitudinal interests as well as that of "social" or behavioural activities for men. We would say the same for interest and political participation.

While it has been traditional to characterize participation along an active/passive dimension, participation is usually not thought of as including an interest/non-interest dimension. We need only realize that the alienated are those who are interested but feel left out. In other words, there is a "covert" attitude as well as an overt behaviour subsumed by the concept of participation. Unfortunately, most theory advanced so far and the vast majority of studies have overlooked this.

Using this dichotomization as his take-off point, Robert Agger, in an unpublished manuscript, has conceived of civic roles as being of four different kinds. ¹⁸ The non-participant is completely uninterested and

FIGURE 1 - FOUR CIVIC ROLES

Interest	Involvement	
	Low	High
	Low	High
Low	Non-Participant (Apolitical)	Pseudo-Participant (Ritual)
High	Quasi-Participant (Repressed)	Fully-Participant (Active)

uninvolved. To this writer, it is difficult to conceive of citizens who are neither interested nor involved in human society in its many aspects. The quasi-participant is highly interested but feels constrained about translating this interest into effective action. Clearly, some people fall into this category. There are those who are pseudo-participants; they are actively involved but do so ritually, not through any deeply-

rooted internal motivation. There are many who would characterize voting in the so-called totalitarian systems as examples of such ritual involvement.

By far the most "ideal" for those who urge participatory democracy, but not necessarily the largest group, are the active participants, those who are interested and involved. The point of the model is to provide a focal point for the analysis of changes in civic roles. It is posited that the alternative to the mass society's disproportionate number of quasi- and pseudo-participants is an increase in the numbers of the fully participant. The problem is to explicate the variables capable of affecting such change.

One can conceptualize these mediating variables as being of four distinct classes:

- (1) Socio-economic variables
- (2) General personal orientations
- (3) Political culture
- (4) Political events

Socio-Economic Variables

These variables are those traditionally thought to affect the participatory act. It has been suggested time and again that high positions on each of the socio-economic scales correlates strongly and positively with active involvement. However, while at one time it was felt that such positions were sufficient to predict participation levels, recent studies have noted otherwise. Nie, Powell and Prewitt, for example, have found that, alone, socio-economic variables are insufficient predictors, that they are powerfully mediated by the action of psychological

variables. Whatever the ultimate solution to this problem might be, it is indubitable that such resources as high levels of income, occupation, education, etc. are precursors of higher participation levels. As Maslow²¹ pointed out with his hierarchy of wants, just as each individual strives to satisfy his lower order wants before he attempts to satisfy such wants as the need for prestige or self-fulfillment, so too the poor labourer is hard put just to make a living; it takes much to alter his societally-imposed lethargy and slothfulness, his sense of inefficacy, his low level²² of political consciousness.

General Personal Orientations

One of the major distinctions between this thesis and much of the literature on participation is its conception of the role of psychological variables in a model of participation. In almost every article and book in the literature, psychological variables are posited as coming into being after the socio-economic variables or as intervening between the latter and political participation variables. Milbrath and Klein, in an article in Acta Sociologica, conceive of the socio-economic variables as barriers which must be surpassed by the potential participant and then they hypothesize that the personality variables are the next barrier to²³ overcome. Nie, Powell and Prewitt suggest that the psychological variables are the intervening variables between socio-economic status and participation in that they, the psychological or attitudinal variables, provide the vehicle necessary to translate resource possibilities into²⁴ action.

Lane, in Political Life, however, writes of a participant's personality background. He seems to acknowledge that it can be an

independent factor affecting participation. This paper adopts such a stance as well. It must be accepted that, while very often, positive personal orientations accompany higher socio-economic status, the one does not necessarily cause the other. As Agger points out:

"It may be that people develop the aforementioned general personal orientations first in family and peer settings which are then shaped by their formal education experiences."²⁶

This writer would go further and suggest that not only educational experiences but the entire life experience of later years can affect these psychological variables. This model posits that the "participatory act",²⁷ as Van Loom calls it can also alter these psychological variables.

One of our primary goals, then, is to suggest that, by enabling larger numbers of people to enter into the decision-making process, we will be contributing to the amelioration of the worst effects of technological society. We need not only work to raise education levels, occupational opportunities, familial incomes, etc. This in itself is not sufficient, in fact it may even be detrimental to societal well-being unless it is accompanied by the incorporation of the locked out sectors of society into the decision-making process. And for that, personality or psychological variables may be of import.

It is somewhat surprising that, with the increasing stress on a model which suggests the importance of personality or psychological factors as well as, or even instead of, socio-economic variables as determinants of community participation, so few political scientists have yet examined the three kinds of variables simultaneously.

In this connection, a comment made by Milbrath and Klein in 1962 bears repeating and is as valid now as it was then. Furthermore, in the

nearly ten years since their comment, the situation has not changed very much in regard to the infrequency with which such multi-variate studies have been made, and certainly at the level of community or civic participation. They comment:

"On this basis, it is sometimes argued that it is unnecessary to collect personality data, which are difficult to measure since environmental variables suffice to account for political behaviour. Socio-economic status (SES) for example, has repeatedly been found to correlate with personality measures, which, in turn correlate with certain types of political participation. Why not drop out the personality link and use only SES to account for political participation? The difficulty with this tactic is that SES measures alone do not account for enough of the variance; too many deviant cases are left unexplained. When statistical controls are applied so that one's sample is confined to a single SES stratum, one still finds significant correlations between personality traits and political participation. For example, the studies cited in note 2 show that with the SES factor controlled, traits like effectiveness and sociability are still significantly correlated with political participation. It is our conclusion that both environmental and personality measures must be utilized in any attempt to account for the variance in political participation."²⁸

For a representative view of the current situation in studies of community politics in this regard, see the recent book Community Politics: A Behavioural Approach, edited by Charles M. Bonjean, Terry N. Clark,²⁹ and Robert L. Lineberry.

30

Even the landmark study by Almond and Verba,³⁰ later reanalyzed by Nie, Powell and Prewitt,³¹ which stressed cultural and psychological variables is most limited in this regard. Their psychological variables were much like the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center's relatively surface "attitudinal" variables (sense of civic duty, of efficacy, of attentiveness) rather than being personality variables in Lane's³² or Lasswell's³³ sense of the term personality. As we have

indicated, even one of those major variables, attentiveness or interest, was taken not as a component of participation, but solely as a possible attitudinal determinant of participation.

34

The point is underlined by Nie, Powell and Prewitt themselves when they do point out the possibility that another of their major relationships may be an artifact of personality variables. Quite apart from socio-economic factors, they posit and find that organizational participation relates strongly to political participation. Sensitive to the possibility that both forms of participation, are, indeed, but two forms of the same thing, and that underlying both are personality kinds of characteristics, they can only acknowledge the possibility because the appropriate measures of personality were not used in that five-nation study:

"...both organizational and political involvement might be strongly affected by an underlying personality attribute or cultural norm. For instance, both types of activity might be related to a general propensity toward social activism which is unrelated to social status. This explanation implies that joining an organization, becoming active in it and getting involved in politics are subsets of a more general social behaviour which, for reasons of personality attributes, is more attractive to some citizens than others. It is an explanation stressing self selection....This is not the place to explore the merits of these alternative explanations -- and the data available permit no direct test...."³⁵

We recognize that our measures of theoretically relevant personality variables are not perfect and may actually be inadequate to the task, but we at least are in a position to explore these kinds of crucial matters in a way that, to our knowledge, no other empirical study of civic participation has yet done.

An important part of our learning experience, it should be emphasized, was to discover how ambiguous, to say the least, was the status of so-called psychological and personality factors in political science theory and research. Milbrath, himself, for example, lumps together such variables as "civic duty" with authoritarianism and soci-
 36
 ability under the rubric of personality variables. The meaning and measurement of authoritarianism, for another example, was probably the single major preoccupation for dozens of social psychologists and political scientists in studies of politics that tended to be either very particularistic, of particular groups or aggregates of people, or of larger samples in the context of national voting studies. Numerous other personality variables have been honoured by an absence of efforts to construct valid, reliable measures thereof and to assess their place relative to other variables in political behaviour. Sociability, the disposition of people to be with, or interact with, other people rather than being socially isolated, has been found in isolated studies to be a good predictor of various kinds of political or social participation but relatively little has been done with such factors in either community studies
 37
 or in comparative research.

Even such variables as political or personal cynicism have been subject to a few efforts to measure it and assess its relationship to
 38
 political participation by Agger, Goldstein and Pearl and by Morris
 39
 Rosenberg to name but two, but there is still surprisingly little literature in this connection. Of even greater import is the conceptual ambiguity of such concepts as cynicism. Is it to be thought of as an attitude, or even a more superficial opinion, or is it a more central

feature of personality? Such questions might also be asked of such attitudinal variables as liberalism-conservatism, as those have served political scientists interested in the "psychological" as well as the social and economic foundations of political behaviour.

In this connection, it is worth presenting a lengthy quotation from Agger and others who take the following position on the nature of their general personal orientations variables:

"General personal orientations are social/psychological in nature. They are psychological in the sense of being attributes of the mind which refer to relatively broad aspects of the social worlds of people....General personality orientations are so designated rather than being termed either personality or attitudinal variables for the following reasons. These orientations are dimensions which are not conceived as so deeply rooted as the depth variables of the personality theorist. Moreover, they have an outer world referent incorporated in their conception that personality variables frequently lack. On the other hand, they have a more general social referent than is usual with attitude variables which tend to refer to a more specific element or feature of the social world. But, like personality and attitudinal variables, they are thought of as disposing people to act either towards or away from objects in their social world or to act with a certain quality in reference to social objects....Furthermore, we regard general personal orientations as at a level that makes them more changeable or more easily changed than personality variables but less easily changed than attitudinal variables."⁴⁰

Political Events

Events of the last fifty years have impressed upon the "conventional wisdom"⁴¹ of social science the fact that the stability of a political system is most threatened when too many sectors of a population feel locked-out. In such cases, where society stands precariously close to drastic upheaval, single events are enough to bring to the surface the

long dormant political consciousness of large sectors of a populace. Such events of drastic import as the fall of the Weimar Republic in Germany or the First World War in Russia, or, to hit closer to home, the Vietnamese War in the United States, can do much to change a system, for better or worse. Political pundits suggest that total withdrawal from Viet Nam is necessary in order to provide America with a breathing space, with time to regain her prestige and set her back on her presumed 'manifest' destiny. All recognize that nothing less than total withdrawal and such reappraisal will affect the reintegration into the mainstream of American life those sectors presently opposed to their government's policies.

42

This is a suggestion that such withdrawal is a factor affecting the nature and level of participation in the U.S. These and other kinds of particular events or happenings can affect participation and a complete theory of political participation must take them into account. In our own theory and theory-probing, we are assuming that such events were neither so strong nor so frequent in any of our communities as to work or destroy other relationships of interest to us.

Political Culture

Finally, one must regard political culture as a mediating variable when discussing participation. The recent trend towards the integration of anthropological theory with the rest of social science has impressed upon us the importance of culture as a unique variable in the determination of behaviour. While no specific examples come to mind, each society differs in its norms of participation. Aristotle was able to classify the known Greek world into at least six types; surely the moderns can do as much. Since we recognize that norms of behaviour are culture-bound

and changeable over time, we must also recognize that culturally derived predispositions towards or against participation are to be expected. If we find low levels of participation within certain cultures, we must not immediately assume that there are large groups of alienated people and that revolution is therefore imminent, or that artificially induced experiments in participatory governments are a requirement for social change.

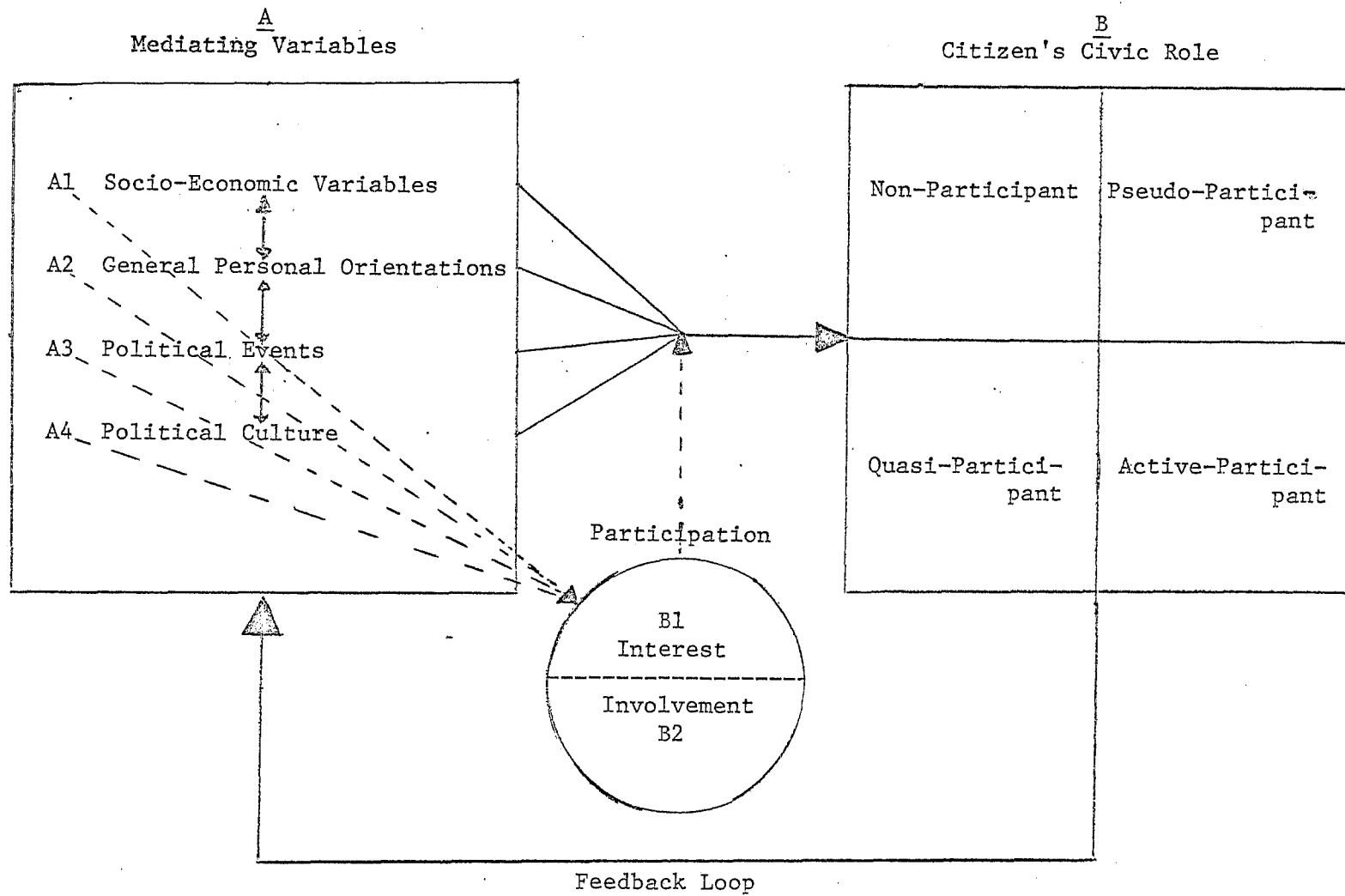
To recapitulate, we began with a definition of participation that included its dichotomization into two distinct dimensions, one being interest, the other is involvement. We then suggested a continuum of political (civic) roles based on the mix between interest and involvement, to illustrate this two-dimensional abstraction of participation. It was then suggested that four classes of variables mediated or helped alter any one individual's civic role. It remains yet to discuss the notion of causality conceived of in this model. (See figure 2)

Most models of political participation attempt to make some causal inferences and fail to discuss at any great length the notion of feedback. They are, therefore, too often applicable only if one 'takes a "snapshot" look at such phenomena. Nie, Powell and Prewitt, in their study, ⁴³ propose models which run in only one direction and refer, in passing only to the possibility of any feedback. Our model, however, attempts to be somewhat more dynamic and conceives of the process as being dialectical.

It is posited that our four mediating variables are useful in understanding, at a single point in time, general levels of participation. Thus for example, one might suggest high levels of apathy among middle Americans, the great Silent Majority, because most have average levels of income, occupation, education, etc. (SES + General Personality Orientation = Non-participation or quasi-participation). Or large segments of

FIGURE 2

CIVIC PARTICIPATION: A DIALECTICAL PROCESS



America in 1933 flocked to the polls to vote out Hoover and vote in the New Deal (Political event = active-participation). Or Woodstock Nation and the counter culture are prevalent today as a result of increasing alienation among the young, etc. (Alienation + political event + status as semi-dependent students = non-participation or quasi-participation).

They may act together on the participatory act, complement one another, or one variable alone might be sufficient to affect or explain participation. It might be blocked by high cynicism or low trust and these orientations in turn might remain unchanged or be further strengthened by this quasi-or non-participation.

Once more active participation is brought about, one's civic role has changed, but for how long and by how much are variables. Political events might make large numbers of quasi-participants into active participants. This active orientation might alter general orientations supporting active civic roles and thus reinforce the extant civic role. If one conceives of each set of variables as forms of reinforcement or punishment, as inhibitors and stimulators of participation, one can better realize how feedback can occur between the variables in the diagram. This writer believes that the notion of one-factor-one-way causality cannot co-exist within such a framework. It is rather more useful to think of participation as multi-determined and with feedbacks.

The notion of feedback emphasizes as well an important aspect of this model. It brings to the researcher's attention the fact that we can bypass the usual variables and suggest that if interest and/or involvement can be enhanced in the citizen, not only will his citizen role be effectively altered, but, it is possible that some of his basic personality

orientations may be changed as well and, perhaps, even his socio-economic status. Many, for example, believe that if the poor only could be given any chance for hoping, then they might be able to escape the tyranny of their situation; they might then be able to take positive steps towards that very goal.

This model represents a synthesis of some of the ideas presented in the literature on participation. Some of the ideas are substantially new, others are not. What is new, it is believed, is the attempt to carry long held notions of participation out of the literature on electoral processes, make it more multi-dimensional and also try to assess and compare the effects of such factors as socio-economic status and personality in communities of different national-historical-political-institutional character. To this end, several directions of investigation will be carried out.

Having sketched something of our general model, we must now indicate what it is we will be probing or testing in this study and what it is we are not testing. In figure 2, we shall be exploring relations between A and B variables. But, at this stage in our theory-building and theory-probing, we shall be concerned only with the two components of participation treated separately, B1 and B2, rather than in their various role constellations and combinations indicated most simply with a four-fold table in B. We shall not, then, in this exploration, be testing hypotheses about such matters as proportions of role types or directions of movement from one type to another in B.

We shall be testing the association between B1 and B2, between interest and involvement.. What is logically possible and in accord with common sense observations may not be empirically the case. Thus we might

find that interest and involvement, B1 and B2, are so highly inter-correlated that two of the four role types were really empty cells. It would also mean that those models that take only active involvement as the measure of participation and exclude interest are as useful and actually better on the basis of Ocam's razor than ours.

We shall also be testing relationships between A1 and A2. Again, if there are perfect or close to perfect correlations, one of those sets of variables can be eliminated in future -- as they have been for the most part in past studies. We shall not explore either A3 or A4 as variables. This means we are taking them as constants. To the extent that other relationships vary by community or country, we shall ask whether A4 should not be treated as a variable explaining or determining such variations. In still other words, we are, in effect treating the communities with a null hypothesis, as not significantly different, as coming from a single population (of human communities rather than from different national populations of communities).

We shall also be testing whether A1 relates to B1 and B2, whether A2 relates to B1 and to B2, and by controlling one of those A variables, if both relate to the B variables, which variable, A1 or A2, seems to be most strongly associated with the B variables. At this stage, we are unable to speculate on the latter point.

In this limited exploration, it is now easy to see why we said we were not using indices of participation to prove or disprove or assess the ultimate utility of our theory, but that such indices were meaningful for the theory. If interest and active involvement, for example, turn out to be so highly intercorrelated in all or in all but one of our communities,

then our theoretical model positing the necessity to take both into account as components or dimensions of participation becomes a relatively trivial if not totally useless point. On the other hand, we are engaging in this study in a testing of limited sets of hypotheses which, while most important to us and we think to others in political science for further theory clarification and theory building, are not more than that. They are limited operations by the fact that survey research forces the analyst to imagine rather indirectly and speculatively what cause-and-effect patterns may have been in existence; they do not permit the more direct process of making inferences which experimental studies permit. But these kinds of matters require some kind of starting point. Simply trying to factor analyze masses of data which were collected for building measures of general personal orientations was so time and energy consuming that almost none of the latter were left for the most important hypothesis-testing body of this particular study itself.

We will analyze the interrelationships among and between the variables on which we have collected data. These are participation (interest and active involvement), socio-economic status, and general personal orientations. We will be looking to see if interest and involvement are in fact separate dimensions and if the other variables act upon them independently or in unison.

Using controls, we will attempt to discover if in fact our conception of feedback is essentially correct. We would expect to find that if feedback is possible, there will be individuals who are highly participant but who do not possess the traditionally held "resources".

Because the heart of this study is to be found in a set of tables, representing specific hypotheses, let us rephrase the above in terms of

sets of basic hypothesis:

- Hypotheses Set One: The greater the interest, the greater the active involvement -- generally in civic affairs and specifically in local governmental-economic-urban affairs (Poleconurb affairs).
- Hypotheses Set Two: The higher the socio-economic positions, the greater the interest and active involvement generally and in poleconurb affairs.
- Hypotheses Set Three: The higher the position on various measures of socio-economic status, the more the appropriate general personal orientations. We expect such relationships to be positive although moderate, based on an image or model that suggests that the socio-economic systems in all of the study countries and communities shape and in turn are shaped by the development of such personal orientations in a supportive congruent manner.⁴⁴
- Hypotheses Set Four: The more the appropriate general personal orientations, the greater the interest and active involvement, generally and in poleconurb affairs.
- Hypotheses Set Five: Socio-economic positions and general personal orientations contribute independently and additively to interest and to active involvement generally and in poleconurb affairs.

In all cases, participation has been defined as interest or involvement in one or more areas of community affairs: economy, politics, urban affairs, sports, culture, social welfare, health and education. (See Appendix I) In this way, it is hoped we might not only add substantially to our notions of political participation but, as a result, contribute in some small way to the search for a way out of the morass of Twentieth Century Man.

By the term "appropriate general personal orientations" we mean that the more people are: a) optimistic about the future, b) sociable, c) socially competent, d) personally trusting of other people, e) society-oriented, and f) achievement oriented, the more we expect them to be interested and involved in civic affairs.

Although neither a personality theorist nor a social psychologist, the writer does have some conception of how the GPO's selected for study in this thesis may relate to participation and why. There are many theories of 'personality' and of 'psychological attitudes' that may be used to help us focus upon the possible linkages between general personal orientations, degrees of participation in civic affairs, and the structural, environmental socio-economic variables.

45

The work of Murray, for example, draws attention to the importance of need achievement as a determinant of behaviour. The "need to achieve" was conceptualized first by Murray as an "elementary ego need". He, as well as his student McClelland, saw such a need as a "dominant psychogenic need" although "perhaps in most cases it is subsidiary to an inhibited need for recognition," another basic ego need postulated. Its focalization is conceived by Murray to be a function of particular interests, such that some may desire athletic success, others social prestige, others intellectual distinction. Lasswell's famous formula of political man, namely, the one who displaces private motives onto public objects, suggests that the men who want political power will evidence a strong Achievement Orientation. Not all people who are involved in community politics or, even more broadly, in community affairs are likely to be high achievement-oriented, to have a high need for achievement in Murray's

terms, but we do expect that people who are highly achievement-oriented will be more involved than those who are less achievement-oriented, or in our terms, more content. Because active involvement may take place in a variety of community activity domains, we expect to find at least as strong if not a stronger relationship with a general composite index of community involvement across our eight domains than only in such basic activities of the community as local politics, economics and urban affairs (poleconurb affairs). We expect, actually, that such a GPO as Achievement Orientation is likely to characterize people who develop and maintain a wide-ranging interest in community affairs and even more so for those who are highly active or involved in such matters. The GPO variables Sociable (Isolate) Orientation and Social Competence (Social Incompetence) Orientation are similar to the need achievement orientation in the sense that these, too, are conceived of as needs, as general dispositions, wherein people may vary from high to low. Our feeling is that participation is a matter of interpersonal relations -- unlike the more individual act of voting. It would seem, we are theorizing, that being highly sociable, that is, to like being with people, would be a necessary although not sufficient qualification for being actively participant over time in such interpersonal contexts. The relationship will not be perfect for two reasons. A "loner", a person who prefers to be removed from other people, may have other needs and pressures, including institutional obligations leading him to participate actively in community affairs -- but we expect these to be isolated, infrequent, or "deviant" cases. So, too, may some people who are highly sociable express their sociability in other kinds of activities than community affairs. But on

balance we expect a positive relationship between such a need or disposition and degree of involvement.

A sense of social competence should facilitate active involvement in the same sense as that of sociability. Obviously, the individual who is unsure of his own capabilities will be reticent and less likely to participate. Sheldon's work on somatotypes provided the medium for an interesting study by Juan B. Cortes and Florence M. Gatti which found that "dependency, submissiveness, reflectiveness and considerateness are found more often in ectomorphs and endomorphs".

They administered to their samples the Study of Values personality test by Gordon Allport, Phillip Vernon and Gardner Lindzey. "It measures a person's relative preferences in six value categories: theoretical, economic, esthetic, social, political and religious". They found that only the mesomorphic sub-samples place high value on the theoretical, economic and political." Sheldon's theory of personality suggests that individuals have some concept of themselves which is dependent on their body type and much of their behaviour is a reflection of this self-concept. This new finding is relevant for the theory being advanced here. We would hypothesize that social competence or a positive self-concept would be more likely to relate to active involvement but not necessarily inhibit the individual's level of interest.

Two of the General Personal Orientations we conceive as a little less deep in the sense of ego need and a more surface type orientation, while a third is a borderline variable. These are the GPO's of Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting), Optimistic (Pessimistic) and Self (Society). We tend to view these more as part of a person's cognitive

structure, of his belief system, of his world view or ideology. All three are components of the "good citizen" postulated by democratic theorists -- who see such good citizens as relatively participant politically (or civically) as well. The person who is optimistic about the efficacy of men to solve problems and create a better life in their polity or community, who trusts his fellows in necessarily joint or collective policy-making enterprises, who is concerned not only about his own interests but the larger society's interests as well, this is the person at least in classical liberal (and conservative) theory who will contribute to the good polity by his active interest and involvement. ⁴⁹

Put another way, if a person is pessimistic about the abilities of men to solve community or political problems there is little motivation for him to participate in such civic affairs problem-solving. If a person feels his fellows are not trustworthy he may regard civic participation as a jungle to be avoided. If a person lacks any regard for the larger society he may be excused for investing all of his energies in his private pursuits and not in community affairs.

Again, to be sure, the person who is highly self-oriented may participate actively in community affairs to maximize his own values. But we would expect that such participation itself will "socialize" or "sociatize" such a person thereby contributing to the expected relationship between active involvement and society-orientedness as the general association, admitting of deviant cases. But of all of the selected GPO's, we do expect that Self (society) orientations will have the weakest relationship to civic participation. So, too, may high cynicism be found among some active participants, but because we expect that the interpersonal

relations dominant in community affairs is likely to steer the cynic away from politics to start with, or, if he enters he is more likely than the more trusting, to become de-politicized, de-activated and more personalized and privatized in his daily activities we expect, overall, a positive relationship between a sense of trust and political involvement. And we certainly expect that a pessimistic view of life will be associated more with non-or low participation than with high participation. In this we share some of the idealism of the ideal type model of democracy and the good (optimistic, trusting, society-oriented, sociable, self-confident, achieving) citizen.

Although we shall not examine the matter in too much detail, we expect that those citizens in each community who have the highest educational levels are the most likely to have the "appropriate" GPO's, that is, those most likely to lead to participation -- and in turn be reinforced by participation. That is especially the case for the three latter GPO's, those that are more attitudinal than personality in character. In other words, we expect that the most highly educated people are more likely than low educated people to be optimistic, trusting, and society-oriented. Thus, we expect those GPO's, particularly, to be most highly associated with civic participation on the part of the most highly educated. Among the first three more personality-like GPO's, we expect achievement-orientedness to be more highly associated with educational levels than
50
either sociability or social competence. Thus we would expect that the theoretically postulated link between those GPO's and participation to vary with educational level.

Educational level in our view partly signifies something about

social and socio-economic positions and statuses and partly something about a person's perspectives, something of his personal and world-outlooks. Achievement-orientations, for example, may be restricted or reduced by the experiences in the social and economic systems encountered by those with low levels of education, with inadequate "credentials" and qualifications to attain much respect and influence and wealth (at least in North American communities). And partly such hypothesized low levels of achievement-orientations may be a function of more constricted, narrower horizons, or a more bounded ego than the person with higher levels of education. The latter may be a function both of the kinds of more ego supportive and growth-oriented kinds of experiences he encountered as a child in his generally more upper class family settings and of the kinds of cognitive opening-up of the "achievable" horizons by the intellectual-growth processes produced by the educational process itself. And the more attitudinal GPO's are thought to be even more a consequence of the kinds and contents of educational experiences which the college or university person gets compared to the person who stops his formal educational process earlier.

In summary, then, we make a distinction between the more personality kinds of General Personal orientations and more attitudinal kinds of GPO's on the grounds that the former are more likely to have been needs or dispositions acquired earlier in life than the latter and also on the basis that while both have a social world reference the former are more in-grained, more automatic responses laden in emotions and feelings while the latter, while not without affect, have their meaning more in a cognitive structure of perspectives. Another way to put the latter point is

to recognize that the first three GPO's, Achieving (Contented), Sociable (Isolate), Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent), refers to concepts of the self and/or states of an ego, of a self, and that self's dispositions, drives or desires to feel pleasures or pains by acting in certain ways. The latter GPO's, Optimism, (Pessimism), Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting), and Self (Society) refer to a self's sense or understanding of how likely others are to treat him in good or bad ways in future, and how he should act towards others as well. Given our image of participation in community affairs as actually and perceptually (by people) networks of interpersonal relations wherein certain attributes or orientations are likely to lead people and/or be useful therein we have theorized about linkages between particular GPO's and degrees of civic participation. Because such theory is so underdeveloped and without firm empirical underpinnings we shall not try to elaborate but simply see what outcomes our expectations have in these five communities.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

It behooves this researcher to admit his good fortune in finding and being able to use a set of data containing a plethora of the kinds of variables needed to explore the hypotheses and over-arching model explicated above. The data from which the operational definitions of this paper were drawn was found to be readily accessible and exceptionally flexible. It is a set, or rather, sets of data collected as part of a survey project entitled 'Project Attitudes Towards Education' (herein referred to as Project A.T.E.) under the directorship of Dr. Robert E. Agger, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario and including, as principal participants, Dr. Miroslav Disman, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Mrs. Ana Kranjc, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia and Dr. Zdravko Mlinar, also of the University of Ljubljana.

The primary focus of Project A.T.E. is that of the effects of adult education on one's role as citizen. Consonant with the theory advanced in the first part of this thesis, the participants in Project A.T.E. believe that through involvement in certain forms of adult education, the locked out groups in society may come to see themselves as able to exert more influence in the system and their civic roles would therefore be positively altered to the benefit of both the individual and his community, i.e., participation in adult education is a positive reinforcement of a more active civic role. The exact nature of their variables and many hypotheses is unimportant. However, it is important that the

data collected was usable as a test of the hypotheses advanced above. Since their study was aimed at delving into, not only the actual observable behaviour of participants in terms of forms and types and degrees of involvement, but also the relationship of those to education, attitudes towards education, socio-economic variables, family background, as well as to the subjective attitudes towards and supportive of various forms of participation, there were varieties of variables available which were adapted and used for the present analysis. Appendix I contains the operational definitions, including the coding categories of the various variables used throughout the research for this thesis.

The data for Project A.T.E. was collected in 1968 and 1969 in five communities in four countries. All samples were randomly chosen. Each community was chosen on the basis of certain criteria so as to maximize the benefits of comparative analysis. None of the communities are extremely large, none are very small. They have approximately the same kind of economic (industrial) base and the same rural/urban mix. They were not chosen to be representative of the larger total population of communities in each country. However, it was hoped that they would be useful communities in which to test the various hypotheses of the project and to explore the many ramifications of the results of such tests.

The project was conceived to have three definite stages. Stage one was the choosing of a random sample and the introduction of an interview schedule to the sample with various analyses being performed on the collected data. The five communities chosen and their sample sizes are as follows: St. Helen's, Oregon, U.S.A. (N=294), Bowmanville, Ontario, Canada (N=324), Horice, Czechoslovakia, (N=268), Konjic, Bosnia,

Yugoslavia, (N=297), and Trzic, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, (N=300). Stage two was the introduction of an experimental variable, an adult education programme aimed at increasing the level of involvement of the subjects in their respective communities. Stage two has been accomplished in the two Yugoslav towns. Stage three was to be a reinterview of the original sample to see how certain attitudes and observable behavioural phenomena had or had not changed. This was done in part in both Yugoslav communities.⁵¹

It should be pointed out that the entire project was begun with several detailed planning conferences, as well as two exploratory studies to provide a test for the questionnaire with subsequent revisions and deletions. Throughout the entire planning stage, hypotheses and supportive theory was elucidated.

The research analysis operations carried out for this thesis began after the initial data had already been collected. I began by involving myself in the analysis and organization of the data from the five communities and thus familiarized myself with both the data and the supportive theory, attempting also to undergo as thorough a survey of the relevant literature as was possible.

The next stage was the factor analysis of the General Personal Orientations, (discussed below and in the next chapter), the refinement of the scales and the performing of cross-tabulations on the scale scores themselves. The final stage was the data processing wherein cross-tabulations were prepared for the indices and items chosen as operational definitions of the variables discussed in the theory above. My hypotheses were thereby probed or tested and then evaluated.

My operational definitions can be divided into three categories: socio-economic variables, indices of participation (interest and involvement) and General Personal Orientation scales. (General Personal Orientations will hereafter be referred to as G.P.O.'s.)

A. Socio-Economic Variables

For the purpose of this paper, three variables were chosen from the original interview schedule -- income, occupation and education -- all of the respondent, not of his parents or his family. For each of these variables, comparable coding categories were arrived at. As a general rule, degrees of high and low for each variable were determined by the internal standards of each participating community. Thus, for example, allowing for the different educational systems, a high education for the European communities was considered to be any formal secondary or post-secondary education, while for the North American communities, at least some post-secondary education was necessary before the respondents were classified as being in the high education category. With all of the S.E.S. variables, detailed categories were arrived at first and then later collapsed for analytic purposes, into low, medium and high.

B. Indices of Participation

As discussed in the first two chapters, participation has been theoretically defined as consisting of both interest and involvement dimensions. Operationally, each dimension is being measured separately and no attempt is being made in this thesis to arrive at a composite measure of participation with which we could classify our respondents by their participant or civic role on the basis of the two dimensions. Thus, theoretically, we refer to a dichotomized variable of participation,

operationally we refer to indices of either interest or involvement. Our attempt is to see how each relates to the other variables and suggest ways in which these relationships explicate the concept of civic role advanced elsewhere in the thesis. Moreover, participation as defined by our various indices of interest and involvement are discussed in terms of measures over eight areas of civic affairs including but not restricted to political affairs. Thus, this thesis has an operationalization of participation as interest or involvement in eight areas of civic life: sports, politics, economy, education, culture, health, social welfare and urban affairs. (It will be noted that the eight areas mentioned above are taken directly from Project A.T.E.)

Our analysis will involve cross-tabulations with three kinds of indices of involvement and interest. (See also Appendix I) (a) Composite indices measuring active "involvement" over all eight areas of community life with the type of involvement being determined by the interviewee. Although not open-ended, these questions are such that the respondent defines involvement for himself and then replies as to his frequency of involvement in the eight areas. These indices, it is hoped, will incorporate a subjective feeling of involvement, as well as measuring various types of objective, active involvement such as attendance at meetings, soliciting of funds, organizing campaigns of one sort or another, etc. (b) Composite indices based upon questions referring to "interests" in the various areas of possible community activity. (c) In Project A.T.E., the specific areas of community life were theoretically as important as the activity itself. Thus, measures were developed for interests and involvement in health, urban, sports, etc. as well as interests and

involvement in one, two, three or more of the eight areas. I have restricted my use of these variables to two particular indices of interest and involvement in local politics, economics and urban affairs, called Poleconurb Interest and Poleconurb Involvement. The use of these two variables follows from an assumption that participation should be more broadly defined rather than restricted to solely institutional political participation or participation in an activity elsewhere called "politics". (This has been more broadly discussed above.)

C. General Personal Orientations

Project A.T.E. had in its interview schedule 109 items chosen from a wide range of attitude and personality scales and these 109 items, our so-called G.P.O.'s, were grouped into 12 scales of which six were chosen for the analysis discussed herein. These were then factor analyzed and the unreliable and/or invalid items deleted and we thereby produced our G.P.O. scales. We turn now to a more detailed discussion of this stage in the research for this paper.

CHAPTER IV

MEASUREMENT OF GENERAL PERSONAL ORIENTATIONS

There is much controversy surrounding the use of factor analysis as a research technique in the social sciences. The problem centres on the fact that it is a relatively new mode of analysis and thus relatively little information exists, firstly about the research tool itself, written by and for social scientists with relatively little sophistication in mathematics, and secondly, about the various ways in which methodological problems can be resolved. Using factor analysis, one gets the feeling of being somewhat of a pioneer. There are numerous assumptions one must make about the way in which the tool is applied to one's data, each assumption or decision affecting drastically the obtained results and placing limitations on the meaning of same.⁵²

Generally speaking, factor analysis may be defined as a statistical operation whereby the distributions of a group of variables, operationally defined as a set, are analyzed and tested for the existence of one or more factors to explain the combined variance. The researcher resolves through factor analysis the question of how many factors can best explain the total variance of the responses of a set of items. Factors are revealed through the rotation of the axes of the distribution to another vector of geometric space. There are several kinds of rotation (oblique and orthogonal being the two principal ones) each significantly affecting the nature of the obtained results. Factor

analysis requires that one posit the existence of at least two vectors and it artificially or otherwise pulls apart the data with this assumption in mind. One major drawback, then, is that statistically, factors may appear which can lead the researcher astray needlessly and which may not really be theoretically relevant or substantially meaningful.

Linked to the above mentioned methodological problem is the assumption of either unidimensionality or multidimensionality. If we assume unidimensionality of variance, we in effect assume that only one explanation is possible, only one factor will be found in a set of data. We will act on that assumption when making our methodological decisions by requiring that the statistical significance of each new factor found through the analysis of vectors be substantial before each new rotation is made. Parenthetically, if we lower the level of significance, also called the limiting value, we will get more rotations on each set of data. Every set of data has many vectors; unique is the set of data with one true dimension and no other, but we can be stringent or lax in our testing for the significance of vectors. Ultimately, the conflict is between a true picture of the factors best accounting for variance and the artificial extraction of relatively insignificant vectors. Such value conflicts are inherent in making all kinds of technical, statistical decisions. We could not avoid them but decided to use the advice of expert consultants on such matters.⁵³

Finally, the use of factor analysis in any circumstance assumes either knowledge of the sample (i.e., the expected results) or specific knowledge of the reliability of the variables used as tests for the

assumed factor or factors; we use it, therefore, to find out the unknown side of the equation. If we have no anchor by which to judge the expected results, factor analysis becomes useless.

54

In the case of this research, it was begun by choosing variables, some of which were previously used in other scales by other researchers and tested for reliability and validity by various sampling and statistical techniques such as known groups or split halves, some of which were developed by the Project A.T.E. research group itself. The items chosen were administered to purposefully chosen samples in each country and then subjected to factor analysis. The poorest variables were weeded out, (while the researchers became familiar with the computer routines and methodology). The remaining 109 items were regrouped and put to the respondents in our five samples.

The next step was to run factor analysis on these same items. The 109 items were broken into their 12 theoretically constituent scales, constructed initially on the basis of the criterion of face validity. These were then analyzed using a limiting value of .00000, allowing rotation to five vectors maximally. In analyzing these results, we found very little new variance explained by each new factor. It was decided at this point to raise the limiting value used before rotation was possible to 1.5000, allowing still a maximum of up to five rotations of the axes. It is the results of these analyses that are discussed here.

Our objective was, through factor analysis, to refine our scales such that the variables remaining as operational definitions of the various General Personal Orientations would be reliable predictors of

the orientations for all five communities. Here is a key problem in our comparative research. There are five samples and, as can be seen by examining Tables I through VI, each sample yields somewhat different results. We attempted at each stage of the research to maximize the utility of our factor analysis and to balance the value of reliability of our scales with the value of having meaningful and useful variables for further comparative analysis. In this respect, two major decisions were made.

It was decided to use .20000 as the minimally acceptable factor loading (correlation of an item with the total distribution, given a certain vector) as a measure of item validity. If a variable received a loading lower than that in any sample, that item was eliminated from the scale. We wrestled with the possibility of using .30000 as the cutting point, but it was found that too many items were eliminated for some samples, thereby reducing the reliability of scales. A close inspection of the following tables will reveal that, in general, the range of loadings varied widely from one country to the next. A higher factor loading significance level would not have restricted us in certain samples, but did for example, usually eliminate too many otherwise good items as a result of the low loadings, particularly in the Slovenian sample. As a result, we would have in several cases, been left with too few variables in our scales and been unable to consider them reliable intra-sample measures.

The second problem, that of the limiting value, was discussed above. What need only be mentioned here is that, because of a limitation of the computer routine we used to perform our factor analysis,

rotation was not made unless at least two factors were found to have attained the level of significance dictated by the limiting value.⁵⁵ We were thus faced with the problem referred to above of lowering the limiting value, thereby diluting the significance of our results or raising the limiting value, thus precluding rotation but leaving ourselves with clear-cut options.

We chose the latter course of action after careful inspection of the cumulative proportion of total variance; after explicating the increases in understanding afforded by positing second and third factors as explanations of sources of variance, (by means of a face validity operation). As a general rule, limited additional meaningful information was revealed by a second factor. (See tables I through VI, part B.) Fortunately, it was felt that the use of the unrotated factor matrix was equally, if not more valid as an indicator not only of general significance but the reliability of each separate variable vis a vis the total pattern of loadings. Relatively little additional proportions of variance were accounted for by second factors.

Using the above as our guidelines, we refined our 12 scales, only six of which are used in our analyses described herein; the six scales chosen are: Optimistic (Pessimistic) Orientation, Sociable (Isolate) Orientation, Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation, Self (Society) Orientation, Achieving (Contented) Orientation, Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation. These six were chosen to be representative of the sorts of orientations discussed in our model; it was felt that they would yield fruitful results as well as provide us with useful insights on the manner in which the General Personal

Orientations relate to S.E.S. and participation items. (See also the discussion in Chapter II)

Tables I through VI show the items factor analyzed for each scale, the factor loadings each received, the cumulative proportion of total variance explained by the first two factors and those loadings which were not significant enough to merit inclusion in a scale. The final scales consisted of those items which received significant loadings in all five communities; their exact wording can be found in the Appendix.

After refining the scales, scores were arrived at for each respondent for each scale by merely summing the scores received on each of the items defining the scales. (Technically these scales were "indices" but we shall refer to them hereafter with either term.) With reference to the summing of scores, direction of response was noted for each item and corrected for in those cases where necessary. The items were assessed as having equal weight, with points assigned on the following basis: one point for strong disagreement, two points for disagreement, three points for agreement and four points for strong agreement. It was decided not to weight items by their factor loadings but to see what would happen with our equal weight assumption in this, admittedly not too precise, exploratory venture in G.P.O. measurement-building operations.

Once the scale scores were included with the already compiled information, we were ready to analyze the relationships among and between the variables and test for the hypotheses outlined in Chapter Two. We hope that we have at least roughly comparable G.P.O. measures across our four country-five community sample, with which to accomplish this task.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As a first tentative analysis of interrelatedness, a packaged statistical program was used to generate a correlation matrix for the fifteen variables used in the cross-tabulations. The statistic given is a Pearsonian-r. Inspecting the results, some very interesting patterns were found to exist.

There were no "nearly perfect" correlations (above .400) between the three classes of variables -- i.e., participation indices vs. socio-economic variables, socio-economic variables vs. general personal orientation scales, etc. In this, we find evidence contradicting the conclusions reached by others that social structural variables explain personality variables which in turn explain participation. If this, in fact, were expected we would have hypothesized high inter-correlations between the three sets, but instead we hypothesized that these were three analytically distinct sets of variables and our results, here, tend to support that.

Secondly, with respect to the pattern of correlations among and between the six participation indices, we found strong inter-correlations across the three indices of interest and across the three of involvement but not between the two sub-sets. Both results were expected, the former because each set of three shares common items, the latter since it was hypothesized that interest and involvement are two component dimensions of participation.

Given the relatively large number of variables and given their

high inter-correlations, it was decided to eliminate the General Interest and the General Involvement indices. Theoretically, these two scales were slight variants of our Width of Interest and Width of Involvement items and therefore we did not expect to lose much information by excluding them. Methodologically, it was imperative since we expected vast distortions in statistics calculated on data which included large numbers of empty cells (See Appendix I).

Thirdly, there is a definite pattern of moderately strong inter-correlations among our six GPO scales, a pattern which holds to some extent, across all five communities. Interestingly, it was found that the North American communities exhibit the same strong patterns, while the European communities exhibit consistently weaker inter-correlations. A result strikingly similar to this was obtained in the factor analyses of scale items. Generally speaking, the European samples lacked the distinct factor constellations that emerged in the Canadian and American samples. In addition, the factors obtained in Bosnia, Slovenia and Czechoslovakia accounted for considerably less of the variance than did those in the North American sample. It appears that the same dynamics are operating on the results of these analyses. One could argue that the explanation lies in relative differences in naiveté and consciousness of opinions and attitudes or rather, to some extent, differences in political culture. Clearly, it is possible that the attitudes and opinions might be present, but not operating quite so blatantly or strongly on behavioural phenomena.

In addition, we would suggest that these results support the

argument that the GPO's act independently and additively upon participatory behaviour. Although conceptually distinct, yet it is hypothesized that they might act individually or in combination as mediating variables. They would seem to be not so much alike that they are nearly perfectly inter-correlated and yet they are not so distinct that we would be unable to argue their effects upon participation to be in some sort of combination with each other. This, it will be recalled, is posited in Hypotheses Set Five.

At this point, we began a series of cross-tabulations using
 57
 Kenneth Janda's Nucross Program as our computer routine. The two test statistics used in assessing the strength of relationships found to exist
 58
 are Gamma and Kendall's Tau-C. A meaningful relationship was one with either a strong Gamma and/or a strong Tau-C. We considered a strong Gamma to be .300 or more; for Tau-C, a hierarchy of strength was considered as follows: .100 or more indicated a weak relationship, .150 or more at least a moderate relationship, .200 or more a strong relationship, .250 or better, a very strong relationship. It will be noted that we are aware of the fact that Tau-C's will be consistently lower in our tables; we are hampered by our small samples and the proportionately greater number of empty cells, inflating Gamma and deflating Tau-C. We turn now to a discussion of the results obtained as we tested our various hypotheses. (See Tables VII through XXII).

Hypotheses Set One: the greater the interest, the greater the active involvement -- generally in civic affairs and specifically in local governmental-economic-urban affairs. (Poleconurb Affairs).

much weaker as measured by Tau-C, (with one exception -- Trzic, Slovenia) than those found between Width of Interest and the more general Width of Involvement. We would have expected that the wider one's interests, the more likely one would have been to be involved in the "core" of community political life, i.e., in politics, economics or urban affairs, simply because it is the core. Individuals often become involved quite inadvertently by pursuing a policy, or holding to a principle on a sensitive issue and thus find themselves suddenly in the limelight. This is, of course, an exaggeration of the general case, but it is illustrative of the kinds of patterns expected to hold here. We had assumed, incorrectly it seems, that the wider one's interest, the more likely one is to be involved in the core of the community. It appears however that there is a distinct difference between the core and the periphery of community affairs.

We are now operating at two levels. We are not only investigating the hypothesized dichotomy between interest and involvement, but also the distinction between periphery and core activities in the community. Yet another set of tables was inspected for further verification of the strength of these explanations. In cross tabulating Width of Involvement and Poleconurb Interest, we found, at best, a weak relationship in two (European) communities. (See Table VIII) Furthermore, in the other communities, there was no meaningful relationship. Apparently, interest in core activities does not follow from increasingly wider involvement in the community. This builds confidence in our explanation of the dynamics we are investigating.

A strong relationship was found between Width of Interest and Width of Involvement, with but two exceptions, St. Helen's (.091, Tau-C) and Konjic (.097, Tau-C). Our hypotheses set is supported in the general case by these results -- there seems to be a definite relationship between interest and involvement. However, the fact that we are confronted with two deviant cases (See Table VII) and the fact that the relationship between interest and involvement is strong in only one sample provides us with much food for thought, considering the fact that most of the literature on participation would lead us to expect the relationship to hold in every case and to be much stronger than it, in fact, appears to be. We would have expected interest in civic affairs to more consistently rise with involvement, than it was found to do.

The case of the United States is instructive and illustrative since much social science literature is broadly based on the North American scene. That the US is one of the deviant cases causes us not only to doubt even more the 'contemporary wisdom', but also it reinforces our contrary set of hypotheses. We have here apparently, a conflicting result. Our immediate reaction is that we perhaps have found some concrete support for the argument that interests and active involvement need not always go hand in hand.

As a further test of this particular hypothesis, we examined the relationship between Width of Interest and Poleconurb Involvement (See Table VII). Once again, a consistent relationship between interest and involvement is lacking; a relationship in the United States is, using Tau-C, to all intents and purposes non-existent (.018) and using Pearsonian-r, at best, weak. Furthermore, all the relationships are

FIGURE 3

POLECONURB INTEREST VS. POLECONURB INVOLVEMENT

	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Tau-C	.117	.276	.043	.157	.033
Gamma	.425	.347	.278	.246	.093

An analyses of Figure 3 reveals the lack of a relationship between interest in governmental-economic-urban affairs and involvement in the same. Apparently the two do not inter-relate significantly. This suggests evidence for our assumption that there are many individuals in society who are interested in core activities but who are not involved. Interests and involvement apparently need not go hand in hand. It appears that there are sectors of the population, that is, many individuals who are interested but not involved, and conversely even a few people who are involved but are not very interested in what they are doing. Striking also is the fact that the two most highly developed communities in the sample, the North American communities exhibit a very, very weak if not non-existent relationship between these two variables. This reinforces our belief that there are locked out sectors of the populace that are quite interested in the community, especially the core of civic affairs, but not translating these interests into involvement, for a variety of reasons, some of which we will be investigating further elsewhere in this paper.

Secondarily, it is of interest that while a moderate relationship

existed between Width of Interest and Width of Involvement in the community in general, such a relationship was consistently weaker between the more specific Poleconurb Interest and Poleconurb Involvement. Are we being presented here with evidence to support the assumption that the mass society already exists in terms of narrowly-defined: political decision-making processes? Kornhauser, specifically, argued that in the mass society, secondary groups linking the masses with the formal decision-making structure disappeared.

59

We find, here, evidence to suggest that interests and involvement more likely relate at the periphery of the community than they do at it's core. It seems that the locking-out of individuals appears more often at the core, with, it could be argued more drastic results and implications. This entire argument could take us into a very complex bit of comparative analysis, something that lies beyond the scope of this paper. However, we hope the significance of this result is not lost on the reader.

To recapitulate, while we found some relationship between interest and involvement to be in effect, often enough to support our hypotheses set, this relationship was neither strong enough nor consistent enough to undermine our belief in the assumption that interest and involvement were two distinct dimensions of participatory behaviour. The deviant cases suggested not only this alternate to the "conventional wisdom" of contemporary social science but also suggested several new dynamics of participation stemming from this, for example the apparent dichotomy between periphery and core community activities. Others are the fact that there are people who appear to be interested in their

community but for some reason not participating, not operationalizing these covert response sets, and that perhaps there is an empty category of civic (political) role, the ritual participant who is involved in his community, but not always interested in what he is doing, albeit the number and frequency of such types are few and far between.

Hypotheses Set Two: the higher the socio-economic positions, the greater the interest and active involvement generally and in poleconurb affairs.

As a general statement, one might suggest that a relationship such as that which was hypothesized exists between SES and participation. (See Tables IX-XI) However, several points require consideration.

We find firstly that this relationship is strongest in every case for Width of Involvement, somewhat less for Poleconurb Involvement, weaker still for Width of Interest and extremely weak for Poleconurb Interest. Once again we see operating a dynamic whereby not only is participation differentiated into interest and involvement, but also general participation is distinguished from participation in the core of community life. What is more, the environmental, social-structural type variables seem to be much more strongly related to the involvement dimension than to the interest dimension of participation (except, for the American community, where we find interest to be somewhat more strongly related to the SES variables as well).

One can conceive of the case where the environmental SES variables might determine whether or not one would be involved in his community. Indeed, we would expect such to be the case. Thus, the more responsible the position in the community, the more the involvement; the better the

the education, the more the involvement, etc. However, the path to increased interest might be through the general personal orientations or through the effects of political events, rather than through increases in the traditional SES variables. This would suggest that for some people education or occupation might increase the likelihood that he/she be involved, without having to overcome additional barriers in terms of acquiring additional resources, such as "appropriate" general personal orientations, while for others, education is the path to the alteration of attitudes or underlying personality orientations, which in turn affect change in the participation patterns. Our model suggests the possibility of this interplay between the variables. For some SES reinforcement inhibits the personality variables for others the opposite is the case, the personality variables reinforce the SES.

While education bears a consistent relationship to involvement in all five communities, curiously, occupation and income relate in such a way that where one appears to be acting, the other is not, and vice versa. Thus, in the American and Czechoslovakian communities, income relates stronger to Width of Involvement than does occupation, while it is the reverse in the other three communities. (One wonders whether this is a comment on the materialistic aspects of the former two societies, while occupational status still implies certain responsibilities in those communities where occupation relates more strongly than income to participation.)

Finally, education relates most strongly of the three SES variables to participation, which is to be expected. Most theorists in recent years have argued that educational advancement is the pathway to a healthier

more active society, as they conceive of it. As we have suggested elsewhere in this paper, this over-emphasis on education may lead one astray. If, in fact, we do find that factors other than SES affect change in interests and that interest is an important aspect of participation in terms of the healthy, active society, as we conceive of it, this finding will take on new meaning.

In the meantime, we well might ask what it is about the educational process that makes it so important in terms of understanding the dynamics of participation. Firstly, the educational process needs be seen, in the post-industrial era as a training ground for positions and roles to be played in one's future life. To this end education becomes a leveller of the masses, a proving ground for various skills and talents. It is from this function that education derives its classification here as a social structural variable. The educational process helps to construct the social structure by the professional training it gives to some and the differences it creates between the educated elite and non-educated masses.

Education also is a path to enlightenment, to self-emancipation. It imbues in the individual the awareness of the possibilities of life and sets in motion the wants and anxieties that help determine the future of the individual. The educational system, can reinforce already instilled predispositions or it can stamp out the eagerness and hope of the young child, creating in him an apathy about and a fear of the future.⁶⁰

Finally, the educational establishment is the great carrier of the collective knowledge and culture of a society. In fulfilling this

role, it sets out before the eyes of children the limits within which they may actualize their behavioural predispositions. In this respect, it helps to define the behaviour expected from the individual with reference to his position in society - the role of the citizen, a role which is, at least in the western world becoming increasingly similar from country to country.

Hypotheses Set Three: the higher the position on various measures of socio-economic status, the more the appropriate general personal orientations. We expect such relationships to be positive although moderate, based on an image or model that suggests that the socio-economic systems in all of the study countries and communities shape and in turn are shaped by the development of such personal orientations in a supportive congruent manner.

Generally, no clear pattern emerges between these two classes of variables. In some of the tables, there is a consistent, albeit frequently quite weak relationship between socio-economic status and our GPO's; in others there is a strong relationship and in many there is none. The writer was most surprised at the lack of consistently higher relationships in all cases but found a number of interesting patterns.

Considering education and the 'superficial', more susceptible-to-change variables (Cynicism/Trust, Optimism/Pessimism and Self/Society) one finds the hypothesized relationship between them to be the case only sometimes. (See Table XII) The relationship between education and Optimism (Pessimism) holds true, at least weakly, in three communities and in Bowmanville, the Tau-C is .233. With Cynicism (Trust), only

Konjic has a strong Tau-C, Bowmanville has a weak relationship and the other three communities exhibit no significant finding. Only three of the five communities reveal strong enough Tau-C's to merit the conclusion that there is a relationship between one's Self (Society) Orientation and education.

What sense can one make of these results. It is dubious whether they are completely reliable or indicative. To begin with, our testing instrument, the Nucross program, which calculates Gamma's and Tau-C's requires that certain limits be placed on the number of categories of the variables being cross-tabulated. As a result, while we are not suggesting our indices of the "appropriate" orientations are faulty or poor measures, the fact that they have large numbers of categories makes a collapsing procedure imperative and this partially destroys the utility of the statistics obtained to a certain extent.

To be sure, the relationships could not have been overly strong to begin with, regardless of this empirical-procedural problem, or our results would have been more meaningful in any event. We can however conclude with confidence (in a cross-cultural study of this nature) that the Optimistic (Pessimistic) orientation only is related to education.

This makes good theoretical sense, in retrospect. The other variables might be more susceptible to variations in some socio-economic status measures but not in others (See Tables XIII and XIV). For example, perhaps one's Self (Society) Orientation is more susceptible to variations in occupation. It is often argued that status in the community is enhanced as one advances up the occupational ladder and there is a widely-held opinion that the elite or leadership in the community derives from

the high occupational categories. Unfortunately, our empirical results do not support this logic. Perhaps it is correct to suggest that the majority of leaders are leaders for pretty selfish reasons. If so this will reveal itself when we examine the relationship between participation and this particular GPO.

By comparison, the Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation seems to be more strongly related to income levels. In four of the five communities, we find Tau-C's of at least weak or moderate strength. (See Table XIV)

We might conclude on the basis of this brief analysis that there is a relationship between the socio-economic variables and some of these more-easily altered personal attitudes, but that the socio-economic variables act on the "appropriate" orientations selectively, i.e. that each SES variable need not relate to every GPO in the same way. This does not deny the fact that theoretically one could assume that artificially-induced alterations in the environmental factors might lead to changes in the personal orientations of those particular people who have experienced such change. Hopefully, these kinds of relationship will be highlighted in the control tables.

It was posited that the deeper held, ego-related orientations would be related to education in such a way that as education rose so too would they, with particularly strong relationships expected with the Social Competence (Social Incompetence) and Sociable (Isolate) Orientations. These hypotheses were contradicted entirely by the results to the extent that the expected order was completely reversed. While one expected achievement to be most susceptible to variations in education,

social competence proved to be the most susceptible. In addition, this pattern held over the three SES variables. In almost every case Social Competence was most strongly related to education, occupation and income, sociability was next and achievement was least strongly related.

While such results contradicted and undermined our theoretical model in one respect, in other respects, they appeared not at all unusual or lacking in import. Our assumption that the Achievement Orientation would be highly related to SES and most susceptible to change was based on the amount of work written about the prevalence of N-Achievement as a primary motive or driving force. Aside from The Achieving Society by McClelland, numerous other studies attest to its role in varieties of task situations and we were, we believed, testing accepted theory. Although we are determined not to become overly involved in community analysis i.e. a discussion of the vagaries of political culture and of political events, we can not help but speculate that perhaps the weak relationship of our achievement scale is explained by McClelland's theory that the decline of empires stems from the decrease of the prevalence of N-Achievement in a society.⁶¹

In another respect, the fact that SES relates strongly to both Social Competence and Optimism about the future empirically gives substance to the argument made earlier that the GPO's support one another in their effect on behaviour. Quite clearly, a sense of social competence and optimism about the likelihood of affecting change would be less of a barrier to surpass before becoming involved than if one was low on either or both of these orientations. The effect would be additive as

posited in Hypotheses Set Five.

To recapitulate, the expected relationships between the General Personal Orientations and Socio-economic variables failed to materialize. There were some strong relationships, but no clear pattern meriting generalizations was apparent. However, education and income in particular related strongly with at least one of the ego-type orientations and one of the attitudinal-type orientations. This brings into doubt our presumed distinction between these two types of orientations. If the SES variables are related in the same way to both types of orientations, then perhaps both are equally accessible to the effects of environmental factors rather than one being harder to change than the other. This does not however, alter our assumption that they may be related differentially to the dimensions of participation. That assumption has yet to be tested. The reader must bear in mind, as well, that the pattern of strong relationships with both Social Competence and Optimism lays the groundwork for further testing of the hypothesis that the GPO's as well as the socio-economic variables contribute independently and additively to participation.

Hypotheses Set Four: the more the appropriate general personal orientations, the greater the interest and active involvement, generally and in poleconurb affairs.

Having obtained weak results in the tables generated for Hypotheses set three, it was subsequently decided to search for some alternate yet still valid meaningful statistic. As mentioned before, we are hampered by the large numbers of empty cells due to the small samples and the many categories of the various general personal

orientation indices. Our Tau-C's and gammas were far too weak where we expected them to be otherwise. Following Nie, Powell and Prewitt it was decided to use our product moment correlation matrix as a source of more powerful tests of the relationships among and between our variables. As these authors suggest:

"When employing this type of analysis with indexes which are based primarily on groups of ordinal survey items, there is always some question as to the validity of the relationships. We also quickly discovered that there is less than unanimous agreement among statisticians concerning both the advisability and/or the effects of violating the assumptions of interval scales."⁶²

We are aware of the fact that our data is also ordinal-level data and that we are using a less readily accepted path to useful tests of our hypotheses. For this reason we chose to use this statistical technique only when cross-tabulating the same kinds of indices. We chose not to use the product moment coefficients between SES and GPO variables because the SES items are not the same types of indices as those we are using as representative of participation. We have included in our tables, for the reader's inspection, the three statistics obtained for these cross-tabulations and correlational procedures. As will be seen, the additional information provided by the use of a product moment correlation coefficient merits the riskiness of the procedure. We can only reiterate here that all of these various statistical procedures involve value judgements of some kind and we acknowledge this fact readily.

It was found, using the product moment coefficients, that, in general, our fourth hypotheses set was supported by the data (See tables XV-XX). Using the following significance levels for the

Pearsonian-r correlations: .150-.200 weak, .200-.300 moderate, .300-.350 strong, .350-.400 very strong, in very few instances was there not at least a weak correlation between the various indices of participation, both interest and involvement, and the appropriate general personal orientations.

Social competence related to participation in the expected manner. It was hypothesized that it would act on active involvement but not necessarily on interest. While it was found that social competence relates strongly to involvement, both in general civic affairs and in the narrow core area, it was also found that there is at least the suggestion of a weak relationship between social competence and Width of Interests. The lowest product-moment correlation received was in Trzic (.142) which is not even 'weak' while Poleconurb Interest against the Social Competence Orientation gets an r of .354 in Konjic (Bosnia). This suggests that we cannot neglect the relationship entirely.

The Sociable (Isolate) Orientation we expected would also show consistent differences in its relationship to interests and that to involvement. Unfortunately, we do not get a clear enough picture based upon the results obtained in the five samples. In three cases, St. Helen's, Konjic and Bowmanville, the interest-sociability relationship is stronger than the involvement - sociability relationship. In the remaining two, the opposite is the case. It would be too easy to argue that on this basis, we must lessen our confidence in the assumption that sociability would affect involvement more than interest. Unfortunately, we could derive much useful information from a country by country

analysis but we are unable to delve into such matters here. Such questions, i.e. the differences in political culture, etc. are beyond the scope of this paper. Thus inspection of Table XIX neither supports nor denies our interest-involvement distinction but it does lend confidence to the hypothesized relationship between general personal orientations and participation, in the general case.

In another table, Table XVII, we find that there is at least a consistently weak relationship between the Self (Society) Orientation and Participation. In fully half the cases, there is a moderate or stronger relationship extant. With respect to the Interest/Involvement dichotomy, in better than half the cases, the relationship is stronger on the interest side than on the involvement side, which supports the hypothesis made earlier. In fact theoretically one might argue the case that the positive relationship of a Society orientation to interest would truly reflect a selfless attitude toward others. The point was raised elsewhere that apparent "selfless" behaviour on the part of the involved might be related as well to other sorts of needs, unlike the relationship between this specific orientation and interest.

Accept in Horice, Czechoslovakia and two other deviant cases, no relationship was found to exist between the Achieving (Contented) orientation and participation. Without going into country-by-country analysis, this result is rather surprising considering the hypothesis that high need achievement as measured by our achievement orientation would relate strongly to involvement in particular. It might very well be that in our communities the need to achieve finds its outlet in other ways than active involvement in the community-school, occupation, etc.

(See Chapter II) Also it could be that the assumption is invalid, i.e. that need achievement need not necessarily be related to involvement. Based on the results obtained here, we would have to concur with this. (See Table XVI)

Finally, the last two less clear-cut personality-type orientations, the Optimistic (Pessimistic) Orientation and the Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation were found to be quite similar in the strengths and patterns of their linkages with participation. There were no strong relationships, which is surprising considering some of the literature leading one to expect strong relationships between cynicism and non involvement and in fact we hypothesized as much. However, at best the results obtained were weak, except for Bosnia which showed a moderately strong relationship. While we cannot deny that moderate relationship were found to exist, we wonder here, why such was the case. (See Tables XV and XVIII)

To be sure certain studies have found a sense of efficacy, rather than cynicism to be related to voting or non-voting.⁶³ Apparently, cynicism is unrelated to non-electoral participatory behaviour as well. Could the equivalent orientation accounting for this be our Social competence orientation? Only further analyses will help clarify this.

To recapitulate, we have found a consistent pattern of at least weak or sometimes moderate relationships between all our general personality orientations and participation. In certain cases, specifically Social competence and Self (Society) support was found as well for one of the underlying assumptions of this paper, the dichotomy between

interest and involvement, in terms of the differential pattern of relationships found to exist in those tables. In other cases, no relationship was found to exist.

Hypotheses Set Five: Socio-economic positions and general personal orientations contribute independently and additively to interest and to active involvement generally and in poleconurb affairs.

Our final set of analyses concerned the attempt to find empirical underpinnings for the above hypotheses. We expected that if both Social Competence and education contributed jointly to Poleconurb Involvement, the relationships of each separately to Poleconurb Involvement would not disappear when controlling on the third variable.

Note that each of these three variables is representative of its respective variable class. We chose the variables Education and Social Competence because each related strongly to participation. Poleconurb Involvement was chosen because it is hypothesized that the closer one gets to the heart of the community's activities, the greater the number of supporting resources will the individual need before entering that particular arena. We limit ourselves here, to one small test of the general hypotheses set.

As revealed in Tables XXI and XXII, our hypotheses sub-set is more than modestly supported by the results. At every education level, there is always at least one community wherein the relationship between Social Competence and Poleconurb Involvement is still at least weak, often it is stronger. In Horice and Bowmanville; however, among the

medium educated sector of the samples, the relationship is very strong. Particularly in Canada, it could conceivably be the case that up to a particular education level, the addition of a positive Social Competence orientation might be extremely important before involvement in the core activities of the community might occur, while after that particular level of educational attainment is passed, the education alone better accounts for participation.

Looking at the table of education versus Poleconurb Involvement, controlling for Social Competence, we find the relationships to be somewhat stronger at every level of social competence than they were at every level of education. As with education, they are at the medium level of social competence.

The reader might very well argue that nothing conclusive can be arrived at. It is posited; however, that these two types of variables, the general personal orientations and the social structural variables are complimenting one another and contributing additively to participation; particularly in those cases where the individual is neither high nor low on any one particular variable. Although more will be made of this later, we speculate that in cases of marginality, the effect of these variables is far more additive while it is complimentary at either extreme.

CHAPTER VI

THE MODEL REASSESSED

In the last chapter, we explored some of the various hypotheses generated by our model of civic participation, civic roles and civic role change. Our primary conclusion, however, must be that much further analyses and considerably more depth and detail is required.

In general, our results have been promising. This is undeniable. We tested for and found considerable evidence to support the hypothesis that participation is composed of two distinct dimensions, interest and involvement. Further, we found the expected relationship between SES and participation and GPO's and participation to be supported by our data. Of course, we accept the fact that these relationships were never exceptionally strong or consistent across our five samples, but we would argue that this need not distract us from the significance of our results. We found enough evidence to support the argument that SES and GPO's are related in such a way that, in general, socio-economic status relates to positive personal orientations. Finally, in one small test, we found more than modest support for our final set of hypotheses -- that SES and GPO contribute independently and additively to participation.

In considering the various hypotheses sets, the accepted weaknesses of this 'exploratory' study became all too apparent. We shall not go into a lengthy discussion of each point, but we might summarize them as follows:

(1) Our testing instruments are something less than perfect. One of the problems with empirical analysis is that no matter how carefully you choose your operational definitions, these crucial decisions affect your results. We found here the problem to be not so much the actual definitions used but the problem of cross-tabulating them using a limited computer routine. In Hypotheses Set Five, the great differences between the number of coding categories (See Appendix I) for each of the three test items distorted our results to a degree unknown by this researcher. The only solution would be to search for and use varieties of test instruments and computer routines and compare results. There is also the additional problem of sample sizes. We would be much more confident of our results if we had larger samples to begin with.

(2) Our model ultimately is testing for civic role change and yet our data reflect only a very short time period. We began our work aware of the inability in this thesis to discuss this aspect of our model -- but we would hope that future tests of some of these hypotheses could be made on sets of data compiled at two points in time. The preference for longitudinal studies and their inherent difficulties have been dealt with at length elsewhere, and need not be gone into here. However, we would hope that further exploration of this model be made at some point, attempting to approximate the ideal of beginning with horizontal data.

(3) We found it difficult in research of this nature i.e. in a Master's Thesis, to deal with all five samples adequately. As an exploratory study, our approach was satisfactory, but as our discussion in Chapter V continually pointed out the results demanded more comparative

analysis than we were prepared to make at this time. To this end, further information and data must be documented on political culture and political events in our separate communities. Such questions as to what extent are educational systems in each community similar? dissimilar? Do the different political systems really idealize the same citizen roles? Can we realistically posit that our samples have been unaffected by political events like Viet Nam or the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968? What about similarities across samples in terms of age, sex, experience within the political system, etc?

(4) With reference to the GPO's, we found ourselves to be discouraged by the weak results in general that were obtained. We wonder to what extent this was due to poor testing instruments and to what extent would considerably more complex theoretical underpinnings have been required to explain some of our findings. We admit to the fact that in this thesis, we glossed over a very complex area of research and theory. Perhaps some of our hypotheses were incorrect, perhaps some of our assumptions led us astray. Much more work would be required to clarify some of these points.

In conclusion, we would suggest that a model such as ours demands that the insights of not only political science but all social science as well as the humanities be brought to bear upon any hypotheses testing and in all cases, in much greater complexity than was broached herein. Such inter-disciplinary research would contribute immeasurably to the integration of the various bits and pieces of social science theory, an end that we view as being not only worthwhile, but essential.

Man has been atomized by the post-industrial revolution and by the burgeoning social sciences which have looked at him quite profitably from a variety of perspectives but failed substantially to provide adequate understanding of the total dynamics of human behaviour. We do not conceive of the end of social science to be social engineering but rather knowledge of human behaviour to help us to understand the needs of man in a world such as ours, a world wherein rapid social and technological change is ripping asunder the delicate fabric of social structure and natural environment with multiple and dire consequences. We hope that in some small way our model may be used ultimately to generate theory that will contribute to such an understanding.

FOOTNOTES

¹Kelman, Herbert C. "Patterns of Personal Involvement in the National System: A Social Psychological Analysis of Political Legitimacy" in Rosenau, James N. (Ed.) International Politics and Foreign Policy, Revised Edition. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1969; p. 278.

²Arendt, Hannah. The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954. Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. Fromm, Erich. Escape From Freedom. New York, N.Y.: Rinehart, 1945.

³Emile Durkheim (Suicide, A Study in Sociology. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1966) was the first sociologist to see this variable as crucial to the problems of modern man.

⁴Conflict arises not only over which variables to use as the empirical definitions of a mass society (i.e., rates of urbanization, increases in gross national product, etc.) but also on the ways to measure them and what rates are deemed too rapid, (i.e., such that the society is unable to cope, physically and psychologically).

⁵Two articles that I have found very useful in this respect are Gusfield, Joseph R. "Mass Society and Extremist Politics" in The American Sociological Review. Volume 32 (10/67) and Trow, Martin. "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance and Support for McCarthy" in The American Journal of Sociology. Volume 64 (1958).

⁶The rapid rise in sales of 'earth foods', the growth in the available literature on agriculture, the present fashion of the commune-type life and the fascination on the part of the young with the works of Henry David Thoreau come immediately to mind.

⁷Ellul, Jacques. The Technological Society. New York: Random House, 1964.

⁸The best essay I have ever read on this entire process was written by George Grant, is titled "In Defence of North America" and appeared for the first time in his book Technology and Empire. (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969).

⁹These three authors write from a developmental perspective. Their works (Almond, Gabriel A., Verba, Sidney S. The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co., 1965. Deutsch, Karl W. Nationalism and Social Communication, An Inquiry Into the Foundation of Nationality. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1967. Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man, The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1963) taken together suggest that as economic development proceeds, education, income, etc., increase and these increases support the underlying attitudes necessary for the maintenance of a democratic political order.

¹⁰Dahl (Robert. Who Governs. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961) and Lane (Robert E. Political Life, Why and How People Get Involved in Politics. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1965) are but two of these group theorists whose work goes hand in hand with those among us who write on the development of a stable democratic order.

¹¹Kornhauser, op.cit.

¹²Milbrath, Lester. Political Participation. Chicago, Ill.: Rand, McNally, 1965.

¹³Van Loom, Rick. "Political Participation in Canada: The 1965 Election" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Volume 3 (9/70).

¹⁴Nie, Norman, Powell, G. Bingham Jr., Prewitt, Kenneth. "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships, Part I" in American Political Science Review. Volume 63 (6/69). "Part II" in American Political Science Review. Volume 63 (9/69).

¹⁵Van Loom, op.cit.; pp. 395-396.

¹⁶Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.; p. 364.

¹⁷This is one of the things Earl Latham tries to emphasize in his "The Group Basis of Politics, Notes for a Theory" in American Political Science Review. Volume 46 (6/52). See also Schacter, Stanley. The Psychology of Affiliation. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.

¹⁸Agger, Robert E. "Theoretical Model for Project A.T.E. - Civic Roles and Involvement" unpublished manuscript. Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1970.

¹⁹It must be noted that these findings have held constant for most research done in North America, on Canadian and American samples. There have, however, been samples chosen in Europe where these conclusions have been questioned radically.

²⁰Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.

²¹Maslow's hierarchy of wants is discussed at some length in Krech, David, Crutchfield, Richard S., Ballachey, Egerton L. Individual in Society. Toronto: McGraw-Hill & Co., 1962.

²²For this very reason, Lenin pointed to the necessity of a vanguard of politically aware cadres to start the revolution and force it upon the working class. See V.I. Lenin's State and Revolution. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969.

²³Milbrath, Lester, Klein, Walter W. "Personality Correlates of Political Participation" in Acta Sociological. Volume 6 (1962).

²⁴Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.

²⁵Lane, op.cit.

²⁶Agger, Robert E., Disman, Miroslav, Mlinar, Zdravko, Sultanovic, Vladimir. "Education, General Personal Orientations and Community Involvement, A Cross National Research Project" in Comparative Political Studies. Volume 3 (4/70).

²⁷Van Loom, op.cit.; p. 397.

²⁸Milbrath and Klein, op.cit.; pp. 53-54.

²⁹New York: The Free Press, 1971, especially their sections: "The Structure of Mass Participation in Community Politics"; pp. 83-158 and "Attitudes and Values of Community Leaders"; pp. 217-262.

³⁰Almond and Verba, op.cit.

³¹Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.

³²Lane, op.cit.

³³Lasswell, Harold D. "The Selective Effect of Personality on Political Participation" in Christie, R., Jahoda, M. (Eds.) Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.

³⁴Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 813-814; emphasis added.

³⁶Milbrath and Klein, op.cit.; p. 53.

³⁷See the exceptional study of interest in this connection by Yasumasa Koruda, "Sociability and Political Involvement" in Midwest Journal of Political Science. Volume 9 (5/65) pp. 133-147

³⁸Agger, Robert E., Goldstein, Marshall N., Pearl, Stanley. "Political Cynicism, Measurement and Meaning" in Journal of Politics. Volume 23 (1961).

³⁹Rosenberg, Morris. "Misanthropy and Political Ideology" in American Sociological Review. Volume 21 (10/56).

⁴⁰Agger, Disman, Mlinar and Sultanovic, op.cit.

⁴¹John Kenneth Galbraith's now-famous expression, first coined in The Affluent Society (Revised Edition. Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1969.)

⁴²Noam Chomsky's brilliant American Power and the New Mandarins, Historical and Political Essays, (New York: Random House, 1969) best outlines the substance of this argument.

⁴³Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit.; p. 372.

⁴⁴Needless to say, such a model implies a very large theory in its own right which we cannot explore here, nor can we qualify it by stating how we would expect variations in strength and even direction of some of those relationships in the communities of the four countries in our study.

⁴⁵What follows is taken from Murray, H. A. (Ed.) Explorations in Personality. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 80-81, 164-165.

⁴⁶Koruda, op.cit., Rosenberg, op.cit.

⁴⁷Cortes, Juan B., Gatti, Florence M. "Physique and Propensity" in Psychology Today. Volume 4 (10/70). pp. 83-84.

⁴⁸Sheldon, W. H. (with the collaboration of S. S. Stevens). The Varieties of Temperament. New York: Harper, 1942.

⁴⁹Several well-quoted studies lend support to this argument. For cynicism, see Agger, Goldstein, Pearl; op.cit. and Deutsch, Morton. "Trust, Trustworthiness and the F-Scale" in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. Volume 61 (1960). For Optimism (Pessimism) see especially Simpson, Miles E. "Social Mobility, Normlessness and Powerlessness in Two Cultural Contexts" in American Sociological Review. Volume 35 (12/70). Self (Society) is the only relatively new concept in terms of the dynamics of political participation. It was introduced to project A.T.E. by Zdravko Mlinar in a memorandum written to the participating members in February of 1968.

⁵⁰This hypothesis follows from McClelland's landmark study linking the rise and fall in societies, the growth and decline of a middle class and need achievement. See McClelland, David C. The Achieving Society. New York: The Free Press, 1967.

⁵¹ See Cuk, Ana, "Adult Education as a Factor in Changing Some Socio-Psychological Aspects of Civic Involvement" Ljubljana, Yugoslavia: Institute of Sociology and Philosophy, 1970.

⁵² Our major published sources for information and aid in factor analysis routines were: Rummel, Rudolf J. "Understanding Factor Analysis" in Journal of Conflict Resolution. Volume 11 (No. 4). Kennedy, John J. "Factor Analysis: An Introduction" unpublished manuscript. School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1965. Harmon, Harry. Modern Factor Analysis, Second Edition. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

⁵³ I consulted with Professor Miroslav Disman, Department of Sociology, York University, Toronto, a primary member of and methodological consultant to Project A.T.E.

⁵⁴ Some additional problems arising from the use of factor analysis are mentioned in the following quote taken from an article by Helen Peak, "Problems of Objective Observation" found in Festinger, Leon, Katz, Daniel (eds.) Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953. pp. 277-278.

"There are a number of sources of ambiguity in interpreting the results of factorial studies: (1) The appropriateness of certain assumptions underlying factorial methods may be questioned. (2) The solutions obtained are not unique: the factors that are discovered are a function of the hypotheses of the investigator. (3) The factors found may be due to anything which introduces correlating between variables, and this may be a common level of difficulty rather than a fundamental process of some kind. (4) Factors identified are a function of the sample used and of the conditions of the observation. (5) Factor analysis like the other methods cannot solve the problem of isolating error variance from other sources of variation. (6) Considerations other than the procedures of factor analysis must enter into the interpreting of the meaning of the factors discovered."

⁵⁵ See Dixon, W. J. (Ed.) BMD-Biomedical Computer Programs. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1970. Our factor analysis programs were part of this package of statistical and computer routines.

⁵⁶ The program used generated product moment correlations. See Dixon, op.cit.

⁵⁷ See Janda, Kenneth. Data Processing Applications to Political Research. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965.

⁵⁸ The clearest discussion of these two statistics is to be found in Buchanan, William, Understanding Political Variables. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1969.

59

Kornhauser, op.cit.

60

The selective effect of education on the class and racial struggle in the United States is the topic of two recent books. Agger, Robert E., Goldstein, Marshall N. Who Will Rule the Schools: A Cultural Class Conflict. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1971. Silberman, Charles E. Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education. New York: Random House, 1970.

61

McClelland, op.cit.

62

Nie, Powell and Prewitt, op.cit. pp. 374-375.

63

Agger, Goldstein, Pearl, op.cit. They posit efficacy as an alternate explanation to cynicism in terms of understanding the dynamics of participation. See also, Horton, John E., Thompson, Wayne E. "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums" in American Journal of Sociology. Volume 67 (3/62).

APPENDIX I

PROJECT ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION VARIABLES USED IN THIS THESIS

Participation Indices:

The indices of participation are all derived from a series of 24 items reproduced below that measure interest (involvement) in the eight areas of community activity. The respondent was originally asked how interested (or how involved) he/she was in each of the following:

- a) adult education (Education)
- b) operation of public school system (Education)
- c) school curriculum (Education)
- d) availability of hearing or playing music (Culture)
- e) live theatre (Culture)
- f) libraries (Culture)
- g) programmes to prevent alcoholism and care for alcoholics (Health)
- h) medical facilities and services (Health)
- i) programmes to prevent illness, like vaccination and inoculation (Health)
- j) care for maladjusted youth or delinquent youth (Social Welfare)
- k) institutions for old and disabled people (Social Welfare)
- l) programmes to help poor people (Social Welfare)
- m) selection of local officials who are aware of and concerned about the problems of local citizens (Politics)
- n) making decisions about public spending and taxation (Politics)
- o) representation of different interests of people through organizations, parties, etc. (Politics)

- p) growth of the economy (Economy)
- q) job opportunities for the community (Economy)
- r) availability of necessary services from local business (Economy)
- s) public services such as public transportation, street cleaning, etc. (Urban)
- t) urban planning and zoning (Urban)
- u) public housing (Urban)
- v) sport programmes and facilities (Sports)
- w) amusement and entertainment programmes and facilities (Sports)
- x) hobby programmes, clubs and opportunities (Sports)

Coding was done in such a way that points were assigned for degrees of interest or involvement. Thus, for interest, coding categories were: very interested, somewhat interested, only a little interested, not at all interest. For involvement, the coding categories were: involved about once a week, involved about once a month, involved less than once a month, not involved.

Once done, our three indices of interest (and involvement) were built. The general scales of interest and involvement were built by summing the total points received on the 24 items. The Width of Interest and Width of Involvement indices represent collapsed categories of these scores, the upper limits for the categories being 3, 8, 16, and 24. The Poleconurb Interest and Poleconurb Involvement indices are duplicates of the general scales, except scores are summed across only those items dealing with the three areas -- politics, economics and urban affairs.

Socio-Economic Variables:

a) Income - the coding categories used were as follows:

For U.S. and Canada	\$ 0 -- \$199	per month	
	\$ 200 -- \$399	per month	low
	<hr/>		
	\$ 400 -- \$599	per month	medium
	<hr/>		
	\$ 600 -- \$799	per month	
	\$ 800 -- \$999	per month	
	\$1,000 or more	per month	high
	<hr/>		
	<hr/>		
For Yugoslavia	0 -- 500 N.D.	per month	
	501 -- 800 N.D.	per month	low
	<hr/>		
	801 -- 1,200 N.D.	per month	medium
	<hr/>		
	1,201 -- 2,000 N.D.	per month	
	2,001 -- 3,000 N.D.	per month	
	3,001 or more N.D.	per month	high
	<hr/>		
	<hr/>		
For Czechoslovakia	0 -- 1,000 K.C.S.	per month	
	1,001 -- 2,000 K.C.S.	per month	low
	<hr/>		
	2,001 -- 3,000 K.C.S.	per month	medium
	<hr/>		
	3,001 -- 4,000 K.C.S.	per month	
	4,001 -- 5,000 K.C.S.	per month	
	5,001 or more K.C.S.	per month	high
	<hr/>		
	<hr/>		

b) Occupation - Our occupation categories were broken into intellectuals and managers, white collar workers, blue collar workers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), farmers and unemployed, retired and housewives.

c) Education - The coding categories are as follows:

Yugoslavia & Czechoslovakia

- no formal schooling	
- not finished grade school	
- finished grade school	low
<hr/>	
- not finished occupational school	
- finished occupational school	medium
<hr/>	
- not finished junior high school	
- finished junior high school	
- not finished high school	
- finished high school	
- did not finish university	
- finished university	
- post graduate school	high
<hr/>	

U.S.

- no formal schooling	
- not finished grade school	
- finished grade school	low
<hr/>	
- not finished occupational school	
- finished occupational school	
- not finished junior high school	
- finished junior high school	
- not finished high school	medium
<hr/>	
- finished high school	medium to high
<hr/>	
- did not finish university	
- finished university	
- post graduate school	high
<hr/>	

Canada

- never attended
- 1-4 years elementary
- 5-8 years elementary

low

-
- 1-4 years vocational or secondary but
no diploma

medium

-
- 5 (4) years secondary diploma

medium to high

-
- professional or technical training
beyond secondary school
 - some university but no degree
 - university degree, or beyond

high

General Personal Orientation Scales:

The six scales and their constituent items are as follows. The various coding categories are: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

(1) Optimistic (Pessimistic) Orientation -

1. Life is nothing but a series of disappointments.
2. No matter how badly things go, life is worth living.
3. All in all, life is more a burden than it is a pleasure.
4. I really think that mankind will one day destroy itself.
5. I do not see much reason for me personally to be hopeful about the future.

(2) Sociable (Isolate) Orientation -

1. I would rather go places with people than by myself.
2. I like to visit with my friends.
3. I like to be involved with people as little as possible.
4. I do not like to work together with other people in groups or organizations.

5. I prefer to have as little to do with other people as possible.
 6. I enjoy talking with other people.
 7. I prefer to be by myself than with other people.
- (3) Personally Cynical (Personally Trusting) Orientation -
1. People are basically selfish.
 2. I trust very few people.
 3. Most people will take advantage of you if you are not careful.
 4. It is safest to assume that when you are down, people will enjoy kicking you.
 5. I think some people would enjoy seeing me fail.
 6. If you want to survive in this world, it is best not to trust anyone.
- (4) Socially Competent (Socially Incompetent) Orientation -
1. I would not feel comfortable speaking publicly in front of many people.
 2. I don't feel very self-confident when I have to talk with people I don't know very well.
 3. I do not usually like to start conversations because I don't feel I can speak very well.
 4. I am worried about speaking publicly because I don't know how to express myself very well.
 5. I feel uncomfortable talking in a group of people.
 6. I sometimes worry about being laughed at when I speak to people.
 7. I don't feel confident when dealing with other people.
- (5) Self (Society) Orientation -
1. I prefer to take care of myself and let other people worry about themselves.
 2. I feel a need to look out not only for myself but also for society.
 3. It is necessary for a person to place his needs above those of society.

4. I am not so foolish that I will sacrifice my basic interests for others.
5. I am not willing to sacrifice everything for other people.
6. I would not feel right if I was too much concerned with my own welfare.
7. Sacrificing for others is not a burden but a pleasure for me.

(6) Achieving (Contented) Orientation -

1. I like to set difficult goals for myself.
2. I prefer to accomplish more and more rather than to live a simple calm life.
3. Even if I live 100 years, I would not have time enough to reach all the goals I now have.
4. Whenever I am not working on some kind of task, I get very restless.
5. I'm the kind of person who tries my hardest even when I know I might fail.

APPENDIX II

TABLES

TABLE I

OPTIMISTIC (PESSIMISTIC) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)		Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)		Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
	.220	*	.106	.470		.232	.515
1	.622		.610	.520		.627	.602
2	.800		.244	.317		.216	.681
3	.678		.567	.544		.590	.763
	.599		.240	.298	*	.184	.643
4	.458		.383	.568		.472	.673
5	.675		.391	.604		.364	.767
	.645		.284	.364	*	-.026	.743
	.750		.469	.517	*	.152	.785

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.393	.433
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.158	.230
Konjic (Bosnia)	.229	.283
Trzic (Slovenia)	.139	.214
Bowmanville (Canada)	.477	.525

TABLE II

SOCIAL (ISOLATE) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
1	* .059 .424 .606	.273 .365 .557	* .088 .562 .538	* -.061 .272 .530	.426 .628 .123
2	.738	.397	.652	.407	.672
3	.692	.214	.412	.495	.800
4	.670	.427	.547	.253	.607
5	.809	.456	.526	.375	.823
6	.715	.427	.511	.303	.789
7	.596	.654	.527	.534	.725

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.394	.445
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.191	.239
Konjic (Bosnia)	.258	.301
Trzic (Slovenia)	.150	.215
Bowmanville (Canada)	.431	.481

TABLE III

PERSONALLY CYNICAL (PERSONALLY TRUSTING) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
1	.511	.512	.354	.256	.538
	.498	.540	.332	* -.026	.614
2	.698	.694	.611	.567	.721
3	.703	.679	.600	.486	.742
4	.756	.756	.518	.536	.769
5	.587	.600	.452	.488	.657
6	.664	.654	.565	.394	.738

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.407	.435
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.412	.438
Konjic (Bosnia)	.252	.277
Trzic (Slovenia)	.186	.212
Bowmanville (Canada)	.472	.515

TABLE IV

SELF (SOCIETY) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
1	.492	.489	.356	.298	.523
2	.540	.529	.443	.411	.682
3	.517	.397	.410	.292	.623
4	.467	.609	.570	.459	.584
5	.593	.420	.447	.522	.695
6	.513	.413	.483	.272	.744
	.568	.343	.409	* .206	.764
7	.566	.305	.484	.328	.687
	.496	* .112	.327	* -.025	.664

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.280	.342
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.180	.256
Konjic (Bosnia)	.195	.254
Trzic (Slovenia)	.117	.181
Bowmanville (Canada)	.445	.491

TABLE V

ACHIEVING (CONTENTED) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
1	* .177	.253	.484	* .127	.498
	.448	.477	.615	.284	.598
	.378	.280	.532	* -.108	.583
	.304	* .078	.432	* -.020	.503
2	.579	.503	.371	.293	.683
3	.563	.371	.473	.226	.606
4	.579	.231	.272	.371	.597
5	.406	* .031	* .143	* .121	.588
	.466	.225	.394	.392	.642

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.204	.235
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.097	.146
Konjic (Bosnia)	.188	.237
Trzic (Slovenia)	.064	.104
Bowmanville (Canada)	.350	.394

TABLE VI

SOCIALLY COMPETENT (SOCIALLY INCOMPETENT) ORIENTATION

(A) First-Factor Loadings from the Unrotated Factor Matrix

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
1	.479	.520	.331	.368	.538
2	.561	.465	.579	.439	.678
3	.747	.640	.729	.681	.684
4	.821	.753	.751	.740	.853
5	.758	.683	.571	.689	.834
6	.684	.492	.637	.569	.755
7	.678	.630	.523	.288	.761
	.653	.300	.433	* .032	.650

*Below the minimal factor loading required for inclusion in a scale.

(B) Cumulative Proportion of Total Variance

Community	Factor One	Factor Two
St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	.463	.497
Horice (C.S.S.R.)	.332	.375
Konjic (Bosnia)	.342	.357
Trzic (Slovenia)	.279	.307
Bowmanville (Canada)	.527	.568

TABLE VII
*
WIDTH OF INTEREST VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)		Horice (C.S.S.R.)		Konjic (Bosnia)		Trzic (Slovenia)		Bowmanville (Canada)	
Width of Involve- ment	.091	(.01)	.303	(.001)	.097		.259	(.001)	.206	(.001)
	.210	(.01)	.454	(.001)	.279		.407	(.001)	.367	(.001)
	.333	(.01)	.476	(.001)	.218		.526	(.001)	.320	(.001)
	.061		.393		.070		.380		.305	
Poleconurb Involvement	.018		.208		.009		.278		.086	
	.051		.274		.034		.333		.146	
	.355		.370		.312		.439		.336	
	.130		.288		.118		.412		.237	
Poleconurb Interest	.389		.594	(.001)	.373	(.001)	.794	(.001)	.513	(.001)
	.723		.726	(.001)	.875	(.001)	.864	(.001)	.860	(.001)
	.692		.689	(.001)	.733	(.001)	.793	(.001)	.693	(.001)
	.411		.747		.680		.879		.778	

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE VIII

WIDTH OF INVOLVEMENT VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Poleconurb	.238 (.001)	.387 (.001)	.177 (.001)	.431 (.001)	.243 (.001)
Involvement	.685 (.001)	.716 (.001)	.578 (.001)	.837 (.001)	.724 (.001)
	.658 (.001)	.613 (.001)	.603 (.001)	.676 (.001)	.575 (.001)
	.566	.656	.620	.370	.504
Poleconurb	.067	.159 (.01)	.051	.175 (.001)	.044
Interest	.438	.515 (.01)	.452	.561 (.001)	.342
	.225	.418 (.01)	.170	.376 (.001)	.213
	.200	.383	.203	.433	.246

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE IX
*
EDUCATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interest	.231 (.001)	.124	.131 (.001)	.153 (.015)	.099
	.529 (.001)	.168	.393 (.001)	.220 (.015)	.194
	.421 (.001)	.238	.337 (.001)	.289 (.015)	.193
	.450	.182	.201	.197	.145
Width of Involvement	.257 (.001)	.183 (.05)	.352 (.001)	.283 (.001)	.249 (.001)
	.417 (.001)	.263 (.05)	.488 (.001)	.472 (.001)	.395 (.001)
	.415 (.001)	.280 (.05)	.456 (.001)	.528 (.001)	.417 (.001)
	.134	.180	.323	.433	.365
Poleconurb Interest	.146 (.05)	.014	.098	.109	.076
	.213 (.05)	.017	.150	.142	.109
	.359 (.05)	.242	.225	.257	.274
	.177	.077	.235	.212	.119
Poleconurb Involvement	.153 (.05)	-.151	.199	.363 (.001)	.111
	.207 (.05)	-.196	.256	.429 (.001)	.154
	.512 (.05)	.395	.365	.546 (.001)	.408
	.207	.027	.371	.395	.219

*
The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE X
OCCUPATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of	-.094	-.80 (.05)	-.149 (.01)	-.125 (.02)	-.080
Interests	-.244	-.116 (.05)	-.462 (.01)	-.184 (.02)	-.229
	.231	.317 (.05)	.329 (.01)	.317 (.02)	.192
	.150	-.025	-.103	-.206	.079
Width of	-.130 (.001)	-.145 (.01)	-.259 (.001)	-.210 (.001)	-.239 (.001)
Involvement	-.228 (.001)	-.224 (.01)	-.383 (.001)	-.378 (.001)	-.487 (.001)
	.444 (.001)	.376 (.01)	.387 (.001)	.442 (.001)	.409 (.001)
	-.150	-.152	-.315	-.330	-.096
Poleconurb	-.089	-.078	-.199	-.057	-.030
Interest	-.141	-.099	-.261	-.081	-.057
	.291	.230	.315	.360	.172
	-.207	-.030	-.201	-.237	.137
Poleconurb	-.170	.035	-.105	-.190	-.230
Involvement	-.220	.049	-.166	-.253	-.383
	.502	.356	.444	.427	.376
	-.238	-.132	-.305	-.311	-.102

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XI
*
INCOME VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)		Horice (C.S.S.R.)		Konjic (Bosnia)		Trzic (Slovenia)		Bowmanville (Canada)	
Width of Interests	.167	(.01)	.115		.133		.121		.152	(.001)
	.386	(.01)	.160		.386		.174		.281	(.001)
	.310	(.01)	.253		.260		.207		.331	(.001)
	.297		.071		.173		.177		.253	
Width of Involvement	.237	(.001)	.210	(.01)	.169		.149		.221	(.01)
	.392	(.001)	.310	(.01)	.243		.275		.339	(.01)
	.358	(.001)	.358	(.01)	.265		.231		.313	(.01)
	.097		.103		.152		.202		.313	
Poleconurb Interest	.139	(.015)	.080		.153	(.05)	.050		.146	(.03)
	.203	(.015)	.097		.232	(.05)	.074		.201	(.03)
	.350	(.015)	.323		.312	(.05)	.327		.321	(.03)
	.207		-.006		.210		.191		.265	
Poleconurb Involvement	.087		.128		.162	(.001)	.060		.176	
	.129		.160		.209	(.001)	.180		.293	
	.331		.513		.504	(.001)	.364		.345	
	.230		.038		.249		.262		.298	

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XII

*

EDUCATION VS. GENERAL PERSONALITY ORIENTATIONS

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)		Horice (C.S.S.R.)		Konjic (Bosnia)		Trzic (Slovenia)		Bowmanville (Canada)	
Optimistic	.131	(.001)	.138	(.02)	.118		.077	(.01)	.223	(.02)
(Pessimistic)	.245	(.001)	.247	(.02)	.229		.230	(.01)	.387	(.02)
Orientation	.499	(.001)	.448	(.02)	.365		.436	(.01)	.362	(.02)
	.220		.151		.169		.283		.221	
Achieving	.089		-.043		.026		-.065		.032	
(Contended)	.150		-.073		.057		-.135		.059	
Orientation	.277		.322		.364		.395		.254	
	.082		-.111		.100		-.048		.031	
Self	.107	(.05)	.161	(.05)	.184		.037	(.05)	.039	
(Society)	.213	(.05)	.289	(.05)	.380		.243	(.05)	.090	
Orientation	.419	(.05)	.431	(.05)	.369		.427	(.05)	.248	
	.163		.216		.198		.197		.079	
Personally	.089	(.05)	.096		.209		.087		.159	
Cynical (Per-	.143	(.05)	.162		.373		.170		.280	
sonally Trust-	.423	(.05)	.336		.400		.331		.318	
ing) Orient.	.204		.147		.239		.166		.189	
Sociable	.142	(.001)	.173		.092		.069	(.01)	.126	
(Isolate)	.285	(.001)	.370		.195		.306	(.01)	.233	
Orientation	.525	(.001)	.358		.331		.470	(.01)	.291	
	.250		.173		.115		.326		.141	
Social Compet-	.199	(.01)	.229	(.05)	.203	(.001)	.169	(.001)	.313	(.001)
ence (Social	.299	(.01)	.354	(.05)	.416	(.001)	.312	(.001)	.489	(.001)
Incompetence)	.477	(.01)	.431	(.05)	.494	(.001)	.497	(.001)	.477	(.001)
Orientation	.214		.290		.322		.336		.311	

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XIII

*

OCCUPATION VS. GENERAL PERSONALITY ORIENTATIONS

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Optimistic	-.048	-.179	-.085	-.062	-.116
(Pessimistic)	-.082	-.292	-.164	-.190	-.191
Orientation	.386	.387	.291	.276	.344
	-.050	-.130	-.135	-.198	.182
Achieving	.065	.127	-.026	-.024	.073
(Contended)	.099	.197	-.057	-.047	.118
Orientation	.387	.346	.228	.348	.338
	.059	.200	-.072	.017	.131
Self	.043	-.152	-.099	-.020	.001
(Society)	.080	-.245	-.204	-.131	.003
Orientation	.370	.360	.369	.342	.271
	.031	-.107	-.132	-.088	.089
Personally Cyn-	.038	-.140	-.129	-.052	-.127
ical (Personally	.054	-.212	-.237	-.097	-.202
Trusting)	.398	.328	.410	.246	.345
Orientation	.072	-.127	-.185	-.120	.085
Sociable	-.033	-.135	-.003	-.063	-.129
(Isolate)	-.061	-.266	-.006	-.281	-.221
Orientation	.364	.371	.363	.322	.324
	.014	-.154	-.011	-.253	.085
Social Compet-	-.089	-.209	-.088	-.158	-.271
ence (Social	-.122	-.294	-.184	-.277	-.385
Incompetence)	.366	.375	.344	.402	.424
Orientation	-.086	-.178	-.176	-.259	.040

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XIV

INCOME VS. GENERAL PERSONALITY ORIENTATIONS

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)		Horice (C.S.S.R.)		Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)		Bowmanville (Canada)	
Optimistic	.207	(.01)	.174	(.001)	.099	.115	(.05)	.218	(.01)
(Pessimistic)	.365	(.01)	.330	(.001)	.223	.380	(.05)	.343	(.01)
Orientation	.380	(.01)	.424	(.001)	.239	.310	(.05)	.380	(.01)
	.274		.239		.174	.175]		.310	
Achieving	.038		-.017		.016	.000		.090	
(Contended)	.061		-.030		.043	.001		.148	
Orientation	.173		.241		.229	.220		.311	
	.091		-.021		.031	.044		.108	
Self	.081		.115	(.015)	.141	.016		.013	
(Society)	.166		.216	(.015)	.341	.116		.026	
Orientation	.259		.375	(.015)	.281	.228		.250	
	.235		.116		.203	.133		.163	
Personally	.142		.185	(.01)	.160	(.01)	.077	.150	(.01)
Cynical (Per-	.218		.330	(.01)	.330	(.01)	.164	.234	(.01)
sonally Trust-	.298		.386	(.01)	.352	(.01)	.288	.343	(.01)
ing) Orient.	.241		.175		.183		.064	.275	
Sociable	.076	(.05)	.164	(.02)	.114	.042		.143	(.05)
(Isolate)	.146	(.05)	.367	(.02)	.277	.213		.239	(.05)
Orientation	.333	(.05)	.374	(.02)	.258	.220		.317	(.05)
	.218		.114		.178	.194		.233	
Social Compet-	.178	(.025)	.159	(.001)	.141	.125	(.015)	.311	(.001)
ence (Social	.257	(.025)	.262	(.001)	.338	.250	(.015)	.440	(.001)
Incompetence)	.341	(.025)	.434	(.001)	.305	.335	(.015)	.495	(.001)
Orientation	.215		.174		.220	.198		.368	

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XV

OPTIMISTIC (PESSIMISTIC) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interests	.116 (.001) .334 (.001) .382 (.001) .182	-.048 -.084 .215 -.013	.076 (.001) .339 (.001) .411 (.001) .221	.066 .209 .196 .113	.095 .215 .247 .220
Width of Involvement	.084 (.02) .183 (.02) .322 (.02) .101	.062 .117 .202 .068	.089 .207 .234 .209	.103 (.01) .372 (.01) .326 (.01) .326	.160 (.02) .297 (.02) .303 (.02) .252
Poleconurb Involvement	-.014 (.01) -.029 (.01) .540 (.01) .154	.064 .108 .391 .108	.150 .301 .387 .246	.114 .251 .304 .274	.020 .037 .332 .135
Poleconurb Interest	.075 (.001) .149 (.001) .416 (.001) .155	-.026 -.040 .351 .023	.069 (.001) .164 (.001) .441 (.001) .284	.058 .161 .197 .149	-.010 -.016 .267 .220

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XVI

ACHIEVING (CONTENTED) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of	-.018 (.05)	-.090 (.02)	.035 (.001)	.043	-.056
Interests	-.048 (.05)	-.152 (.02)	.182 (.001)	.087	-.131
	.308 (.05)	.332 (.02)	.390 (.001)	.254	.193
	.003	-.120	.121	.011	.003
Width of	-.063	-.180 (.001)	-.021	-.061	-.084
Involvement	-.124	-.320 (.001)	-.055	-.151	-.163
	.220	.390 (.001)	.282	.218	.187
	-.085	-.261	-.036	-.039	-.046
Poleconurb	-.092 (.01)	-.029	.016	.063	-.165
Involvement	-.142 (.01)	-.044	.042	.114	-.292
	.536 (.01)	.393	.273	.421	.398
	-.002	-.205	.061	.016	-.640
Poleconurb	.050	-.141 (.02)	.061 (.02)	-.096	-.074
Interest	.090	-.204 (.02)	.170 (.02)	-.185	-.130
	.264	.433 (.02)	.359 (.02)	.364	.279
	.062	-.222	.200	.035	.054

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XVII

*

SELF (SOCIETY) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interests	.105	.127	.106 (.01)	.046	.081
	.363	.224	.540 (.01)	.314	.241
	.292	.284	.339 (.01)	.233	.200
	.126	.232	.188	.181	.224
Width of Involvement	.123	.146 (.02)	.160	.070 (.05)	.083
	.286	.272 (.02)	.393	.537 (.05)	.196
	.286	.331 (.02)	.275	.299 (.05)	.254
	.122	.212	.236	.247	.209
Poleconurb Involvement	.120 (.001)	.112	.135	.068	-.084
	.210 (.001)	.182	.284	.330	-.184
	.604 (.001)	.373	.399	.352	.419
	.153	.162	.214	.230	.116
Poleconurb Interest	.031	.139 (.05)	.126 (.001)	.018	.080
	.070	.220 (.05)	.336 (.001)	.100	.173
	.285	.421 (.05)	.512 (.001)	.260	.329
	.162	.225	.259	.158	.244

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XVIII

PERSONALLY CYNICAL (PERSONALLY TRUSTING) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

*

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interests	.123 (.01) .312 (.01) .357 (.01) .183	-.016 (.05) -.027 (.05) .308 (.05) .000	.122 (.05) .493 (.05) .294 (.05) .171	.122 .233 .255 .159	.045 .102 .210 .190
Width of Involvement	.153 (.02) .282 (.02) .319 (.02) .125	.017 .031 .175 .016	.151 .327 .281 .227	.074 (.001) .178 (.001) .382 (.001) .106	.070 .131 .216 .190
Poleconurb Involvement	-.011 (.001) -.019 (.001) .582 (.001) .159	-.071 -.119 .423 .008	.059 .137 .337 .288	.088 .159 .242 .083	.019 .035 .388 .125
Poleconurb Interest	-.002 -.003 .284 .112	-.076 -.109 .305 -.036	.182 (.01) .400 (.01) .374 (.01) .303	.153 .286 .370 .196	.035 .059 .302 .209

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XIX

*
SOCIABLE (ISOLATE) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interests	.165 (.001)	.042	.043 (.001)	.102	.098
	.482 (.001)	.091	.229 (.001)	.480	.238
	.485 (.001)	.155	.370 (.001)	.241	.269
	.239	.144	.184	.258	.218
Width of Involvement	.099 (.001)	.080	.044	.105 (.02)	.116
	.299 (.001)	.182	.113	.531 (.02)	.228
	.386 (.001)	.232	.235	.305 (.02)	.234
	.029	.171	.103	.367	.196
Poleconurb Involvement	.001 (.05)	-.039	.053	.095	.003
	.002 (.05)	-.086	.108	.331	.005
	.503 (.05)	.316	.301	.344	.386
	.132	.165	.137	.323	.121
Poleconurb Interest	.069 (.055)	-.022	.068	.087	.093
	.145 (.055)	-.042	.189	.360	.163
	.339 (.055)	.246	.252	.297	.276
	.174	.093	.241	.227	.262

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C, and Pearsonian-r. Where given statistical significance levels refer to only the first three statistics.

TABLE XX

*

SOCIALLY COMPETENT (SOCIALLY INCOMPETENT) ORIENTATION VS. PARTICIPATION

Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Width of Interests	.150 (.02)	.145 (.02)	.070 (.001)	.107	.107
	.372 (.02)	.220 (.02)	.322 (.001)	.194	.220
	.316 (.02)	.325 (.02)	.492 (.001)	.266	.253
	.204	.164	.227	.142	.231
Width of Involvement	.183 (.01)	.220 (.001)	.163 (.01)	.167 (.001)	.268 (.001)
	.323 (.01)	.357 (.001)	.400 (.01)	.374 (.001)	.446 (.001)
	.333 (.01)	.379 (.001)	.345 (.01)	.446 (.001)	.430 (.001)
	.220	.270	.270	.268	.366
Poleconurb Involvement	.071 (.01)	.186	.065	.106	.292 (.01)
	.109 (.01)	.266	.189	.181	.486 (.01)
	.565 (.01)	.377	.273	.408	.533 (.01)
	.354	.205	.281	.228	.326
Poleconurb Interest	.062 (.01)	.139	.055 (.001)	.117	.056
	.101 (.01)	.193	.145 (.001)	.206	.085
	.399 (.01)	.376	.432 (.001)	.351	.280
	.184	.167	.354	.183	.231

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma, Adjusted C and Pearsonian-r. Where given, statistical significance levels are for the first three statistics only.

TABLE XXI

SOCIALLY COMPETENT (SOCIALLY INCOMPETENT) VS. POLECONURB INVOLVEMENT
CONTROLLING ON EDUCATION*

Control Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Low	.063	-.138	.100	.116	.196
Education	.091	-.200	.219	.199	.349
	.765	.537	.436	.555	.805
Medium	-.096	.382	.156 (.005)	.039	.390
Education	-.160	.500	.648 (.005)	.097	.595
	.651	.690	.709 (.005)	.483	.604
Medium-High	.035				.079
Education	.061				.146
(US & Canada)	.335				.525
High	.191	.175	-.052	-.061	.075
Education	.268	.288	-.133	-.113	.154
	.831	.595	.465	.573	.330

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma and Adjusted C. Where given statistical significance level refers to all three statistics.

TABLE XXII

EDUCATION VS. POLECONURB INVOLVEMENT CONTROLLING ON SOCIALLY COMPETENT
(SOCIALLY INCOMPETENT) ORIENTATION*

Control Variable	St. Helen's (U.S.A.)	Horice (C.S.S.R.)	Konjic (Bosnia)	Trzic (Slovenia)	Bowmanville (Canada)
Low	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Social	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Competence	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Medium	-.083	-.346	.293	.245	.106
Social	-.134	-.504	.402	.400	.365
Competence	.692	.626	.670	.581	.624
High	.128 (.05)	-.121	.187	.374	.096
Social	.171 (.05)	-.158	.243	.427	.137
Competence	.670 (.05)	.542	.408	.628	.459
Very High	.251	-.057	-.074	.111	-.182
Social	.347	-.068	-.091	.231	-.239
Competence	.613	.736	.856	.734	.632

*

The statistics are, in descending order: Tau-C, Gamma and Adjusted C. Where given, statistical significance level refers to all three statistics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

- Adorno, Theodore, et.al. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.
- Almond, Gabriel A., Powell, G. Bingham Jr. Comparative Politics; A Developmental Approach. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co., 1966.
- Almond, Gabriel A., Verba, Sidney. The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co., 1965.
- Arendt, Hannah. The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954.
- Barker, Ernest, (Ed.). The Politics of Aristotle. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1959.
- Berger, Peter L. Invitation to Sociology, A Humanistic Perspective. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1963.
- Blalock, Hubert M. Social Statistics. Toronto, Ontario: Mc-Graw-Hill, 1960.
- Buchanan, William F. Understanding Political Variables. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.
- Boguslaw, Robert. The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.
- Bonjean, Charles M., Clark, Terry N., Lineberry, Robert L., (Eds.) Community Politics, A Behavioural Approach. New York: The Free Press, 1971.
- Brace, C. Loring. The Stages of Human Evolution, Human and Cultural Origins. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Campbell, Angus, Converse, Phillip E., Miller, Warren E., Stokes, Donald E. The American Voter, An Abridgement. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964.

- Charlesworth, James C. (Ed.) Contemporary Political Analysis. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Chomsky, Noam. American Power and the New Mandarins: Historical and Political Essays. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Christie, R., Jahoda, M. (Eds.) Studies in the Scope and Method of Authoritarian Personality. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954.
- Coser, Lewis. The Functions of Social Conflict. New York: The Free Press, 1964.
- Dahl, Robert. Who Governs. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
- Deutsch, Karl W. Nationalism and Social Communication, An Inquiry Into the Foundation of Nationality. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1967.
- Deutsch, Karl W. The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Dixon, W. J. (Ed.) BMD - Biomedical Computer Programs. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Durkheim, Emile. Suicide, A Study in Sociology. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1966.
- Easton, David. The Political System. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
- Ellul, Jacques. The Technological Society. New York: Random House, 1964.
- Festinger, Leon, Katz, Daniel (Eds.) Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953.
- Fried, Morton H. The Evolution of Political Society. New York: Random House, 1967.
- Fromm, Erich. Escape From Freedom. New York: Rinehart, 1945.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. The Affluent Society; Revised Edition. Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1969.
- Games, Paul A., Klare, George R. Elementary Statistics: Data Analysis for the Behavioural Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
- Gouldner, Alvin W. Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy. New York: The Free Press, 1964.

- Grant, George. Technology and Empire, Perspectives on North America. Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969.
- Hadfield, J.A. Childhood & Adolescence. Middlesex: Penguin, 1962.
- Handlin, Oscar. The Uprooted. New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1951.
- Harmon, Harry H. Modern Factor Analysis, Second Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Hays, William L. Statistics for Psychologists. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966.
- Herberg, William. Protestant, Catholic, Jew, Revised Edition. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1960.
- Hoffer, Eric. The True Believer. New York: Harper & Row, 1951.
- Janda, Kenneth. Data Processing, Applications to Political Research. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1965.
- Kaplan, Morton A. System and Process in International Politics. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.
- Kemeny, John G. A Philosopher Looks at Science. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1959.
- Kerlinger, Fred N. Foundations of Behavioural Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.
- Kornhauser, William. The Politics of Mass Society. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959.
- Krech, David, Crutchfield, Richard S., Ballachey, Egerton L. Individual in Society. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- Lane, Robert E. Political Life, Why & How People Get Involved in Politics. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Lane, Robert E., Sears, David O. Public Opinion. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964.
- Lazarus, Richard S. Personality & Adjustment. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Lenin, V.I. State & Revolution. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. Political Man, The Social Bases of Politics. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1963.

- Lorimer, James. The Real World of City Politics. Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1970.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. Magic, Science & Religion. Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday & Co., 1948.
- Milbrath, Lester. Political Participation. Chicago, Ill.: Rand, McNally, 1965.
- Murray, H. A., (Ed.). Experiments in Personality. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Mussen, Paul Henry, Conger, John Janeway, Kagan, Jerome. Child Development and Personality, Second Edition. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- McClelland, David C.. The Achieving Society. New York, N. Y.: The Free Press, 1967.
- Olson, Mancur Jr.. The Logic of Collective Action, Public Goals and the Theory of Goods. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.
- Palumbo, Dennis J.. Statistics in Political and Behavioural Science. New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1969.
- Schachter, Stanley. The Psychology of Affiliation. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.. The Crisis of Confidence. Toronto: Bantam Books, 1969.
- Sheldon, W. H., (with the collaboration of S. S. Stevens). The Varieties of Temperament. New York: Harper, 1942.
- Steiner, Ivan D., Fishbein, Martin (Eds.). Current Studies in Social Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1965.
- Underwood, Benton J.. Experimental Psychology. New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1966.
- Warner, W. Lloyd, (Ed.). Yankee City. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.
- White, Robert W.. The Abnormal Personality. New York: The Ronald Press, 1964.

Articles:

- Agger, Robert E. "Theoretical Model for Project A.T.E. - Civic Roles and Involvement," unpublished manuscript. Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1970.
- Agger, Robert E., Disman, Miroslav, Mlinar, Zdravko, Sultanovic, Vladimir. "Education, General Personal Orientations and Community Involvement; A Cross-National Research Note" in Comparative Political Studies. Volume 3 (4/70).
- Agger, Robert E., Goldstein, Marshall N., Pearl, Stanley. "Political Cynicism, Measurement and Meaning" in Journal of Politics. Volume 23 (1961).
- Almond, Gabriel A. "A Development Approach to Political Systems" in World Politics. Volume 17 (1/65)
- Bay, Christian. "Needs, Wants and Political Legitimacy" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Volume 1 (9/68)
- Berreman, Gerald D. "Caste in India and the United States" in American Journal of Sociology. Volume 64 (9/60)
- Browning, Frank. "From Rumble to Revolution: The Young Lords" in Ramparts. Volume 9 (10/70)
- Burnham, Walter Dean. "The End of American Party Politics" in Transaction. (12/69)
- Chapman, Dwight W., Volkmann, John. "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration" in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. Volume 34 (1939)
- Cortes, Juan B., Gatti, Florence M. "Physique and Propensity" in Psychology Today. Volume 4 (October/70)
- Cuk, Ana. "Adult Education as a Factor in Changing Some Socio-Psychological Aspects of Civic Involvement." Ljubljana, Yugoslavia: Institute of Sociology and Philosophy, 1970.
- Deutsch, Morton. "Trust, Trustworthiness and the F-Scale" in Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. Volume 61 (1960)
- Easton, David, Hess, Robert O. "The Child's Political World" in Midwest Journal of Political Science. Volume 6 (8/62)
- Friedlander, Albert H. "The Student Revolt, Berlin, 1968" in Midstream. Volume 14 (6/68)

- Froman, Lewis A. Jr. "Learning Political Attitudes" in Western Political Quarterly. (1962)
- Gusfield, Joseph R. "Mass Society and Extremist Politics" in American Sociological Review. Volume 32 (10/67)
- Harlow, Harry F., Zimmerman, Robert R. "Affectional Responses in the Infant Monkey" in Science Volume 130 (1959)
- Horton, John E., Thompson, Wayne E. "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums" in American Journal of Sociology. Volume 67 (3/62)
- Hudson, Bradford B., Barakat, Mohamed K., LaForge, Rolfe. "Problems and Methods of Cross-Cultural Research" in Journal of Social Issues. Volume 15 (1959)
- Katz, Daniel. "The Function of Approach to the Study of Attitudes" in Public Opinion Quarterly. Volume 24 (1960)
- Kelman, Herbert C. "Patterns of Personal Involvement in the National System: A Social Psychological Analysis of Political Legitimacy" in Rosenau, James N., (Ed.). International Politics and Foreign Policy, Revised Edition. New York: The Free Press, 1969.
- Kennedy, John J. "Factor Analysis," unpublished manuscript. School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1965.
- Kohn, Melvin L. "Social Class and Parental Values" in American Journal of Sociology. Volume 64 (1/59)
- Koruda, Yasumasa. "Sociability and Political Involvement" in Midwest Journal of Political Science. Volume 9 (5/65)
- Lane, Robert E. "Fathers and Sons: Foundations of Political Belief" in American Sociological Review. (1959)
- Latham, Earl. "The Group Bases of Politics, Notes for a Theory" in American Political Science Review. Volume 46 (6/52)
- Lenski, Gerhard E. "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status" in American Sociological Review. Volume 19 (8/54)
- Levin, Martin L. "Social Climates and Political Socialization" in Public Opinion Quarterly. Volume 5 (1961)
- Lopreato, Joseph. "Upward Social Mobilization and Political Orientation" in American Sociological Review. Volume 32 (10/67)

- Maccoby, Eleanor, Mathew, Richard E., Morton, Anton, S. "Youth and Political Change" in Public Opinion Quarterly. (Spring/54)
- Macridis, Roy C. "Groups and Group Theory" in Journal of Politics. (2/61)
- Milbrath, Lester, Klein, Walter W. "Personality Correlates of Political Participation" in Acta Sociological. Volume 6 (1962)
- Mussen, Paul Henry, Wyszynski, Anne B. "Personality and Political Participation" in Human Relations. Volume 5 (2/52)
- McClosky, Herbert, Schaar, John H. "Psychological Dimensions of Anomy" in American Sociological Review. Volume 30 (2/65)
- Neubauer, Deane E. "Some Conditions of Democracy" in American Political Science Review. Volume 61 (12/67)
- Nie, Norman H., Powell, G. Bingham Jr., Prewitt, Kenneth. "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships" in American Political Science Review. "Part I" in Volume 63 (6/69); "Part II" in Volume 63 (9/69).
- Peak, Helen. "Problems of Objective Observation" in Festinger, Leon and Katz, Daniel (eds.), Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953.
- Rokeach, Milton. "The Nature and Meaning of Dogmatism" in Psychological Review, Volume 61 (1954)
- Rosenberg, Milton J. "A Structural Theory of Attitude Dynamics" in Public Opinion Quarterly. Volume 24 (1960)
- Rosenberg, Morris. "Misanthropy and Political Ideology" in American Sociological Review. Volume 21 (10/56)
- Rummel, Rudolf J. "Understanding Factor Analysis" in Journal of Conflict Resolution. Volume 11 (No. 4)
- Rush, Gary B. "Status Consistency and Right-wing Extremism" in American Sociological Review. Volume 32 (2/67)
- Simpson, Miles E. "Social Mobility, Normlessness and Powerlessness in Two Cultural Contexts" in American Sociological Review. Volume 35 (12/70)
- Soares, Glaucio, Hambin, Robert L. "Socio-Economic Variables and Voting for the Radical Left: Chile, 1952" in American Political Science Review. Volume 61 (12/67)

Somers, Robert H. "A New Asymmetric Measure of Association for Ordinal Variables" in American Sociological Review. (12/62)

Trow, Martin. "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance and Support for McCarthy" in American Journal of Sociology. Volume 64 (1958)

Van Loom, Rick. "Political Participation in Canada, the 1965 Election" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Volume 3 (9/70)