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Alientation and internal-external locus of control as predictors of student political participation

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Running head: PREDICTORS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Abstract

Seventy-two undergraduates (ages 18-23) from The University of Richmond and Virginia Commonwealth University participated in this study to examine the potential predictors for student political participation. After methodological problems of past research - such as the confounding of activism and ideology and the specific focus on activism in the 1960's - were corrected, Dean's (1961) Alienation scale, Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control scale, and Olsen's (1969) Alienation scale were used to predict political activity levels, as measured by Kerpelman's (1972) Activity scale. A stepwise multiple regression procedure showed that futility (a subscale of Olsen's Alienation scale) was the only significant predictor of student political participation, contrary to past findings. The importance of this study in relation to past research and in motivating students to become politically active are discussed.

Alienation and Internal-External Locus of

Control as Predictors of Student

Political Participation

Past research on student political activism, defined

as "actions through which ordinary members of a political

system influence or attempt to influence outcomes"

within that system (Nagel, 1987, p.1), suggests that

participation is both a response to alienation as well

as an indication of internal locus of control. Political

activity has ranged from voting to signing a petition to

running for political office, depending on researchers'

definitions. A review of these studies, though, reveals

methodological problems that inhibit external validity.

The feeling of alienation is one possible predictor

of level of political participation. Alienation is

characterized by a feeling of lack of coordination with

social structures, reference groups, or the self.

Research with regard to alienation and political

participation has yielded contradictory results. Rosenberg

(1951) found that:

> politics is avoided because of feelings of
> psychological inadequacy or weakness... The
> great economic and power blocs, typified by
> giant corporations and unions, thrust the
> individual about, with pressures too great to
> resist. As a consequence, the individual is
> likely to feel overwhelmed and powerless.
> Given this feeling, the idea that his puny

strength can match the giants is absurd, and
he feels that a lonely individual can do
nothing to change the way the world is run
[p. 8-9].

On the other hand, Olsen (1969) looked at two categories
of alienation and concluded that neither markedly correlated
with political participation.

Contrary to these findings, Thompson and Horton
(1960) found that "the alienated systematically express
their alienation in political action, presumably as a
negative attitude or protest vote" (p. 193). In addition,
Oppenheimer (1968) hypothesized that students of the
"new left" were using direct action in response to the
alienation they felt from the political system. According
to Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969), active students
are more likely to have active parents, and therefore
feel less alienated from the system.

One reason for these contradictory results could be
the lack of a uniform definition of alienation. Dean
(1960) defined three types of alienation: powerlessness
(the feeling that one does not have the power to change
the political environment), normlessness (either a lack
of clear norms or conflicting norms that prevent a
person from taking action), and social isolation (the
"perception of losing effective contact with significant
and supporting groups" [p. 186]). He correlated each

type plus the combined score with four types of political apathy, and found the correlations to be too low to support the hypothesis that alienated persons are more politically apathetic.

Upon reviewing the literature on alienation, Seeman (1959) identified five distinct meanings: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Olsen (1969) has distinguished between two types of alienation: political incapability/futility and discontentment or cynicism with politics, and McDill and Ridley (1962) defined political alienation not only as a response to powerlessness, but also a distrust of political leaders in general. Like Thompson and Horton (1960), McDill and Ridley found that the politically alienated, when they go to the polls, express their alienation through a negative vote. In addition to alienation, correlations have been made between political participation and locus of control.

The traditional understanding of internal-external locus of control as it relates to political participation is that the stronger the belief that what one does will affect outcomes (internal) increases the likelihood that one will actively work to change his/her environment. Externals, on the other hand, believe that outcomes are

controlled by external forces such as luck or powerful others, and are not motivated to work actively to change their environment (Deutchman, 1985).

The majority of the research on locus of control and political activity is more conclusive. The relationship between political participation and internal control was supported by Deutchman (1985), Rosen and Salling (1971), and Abramowitz (1973). Strickland (1965) examined black activists and nonactivists, and found that the more internal the subject, the more likely he/she was to be active in civil-rights movements. In addition, Wolfsfeld (1985) determined that political efficacy (whether or not one feels like he/she can have an affect on the political system) should distinguish between internal and external locus of control.

Another body of locus of control research has focused on the factors of Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (1966). Collins (1974) determined four components of Rotter's scale: (a) the world is difficult, (b) the world is unjust, (c) the world is governed by luck, and (d) the world is unresponsive. According to Collins:

> From Rotter's theoretical perspective, the
> four types of externality are functionally
> equivalent. Any one of the beliefs... would
> inhibit coping and lower self-esteem. Each of

> the four reasons would lead the respondent to
> conclude, 'There's no point in trying; it
> wouldn't make any difference if I did.' But
> these four sources of control are distinguishable
> and relatively uncorrelated [p. 387].

Mirels (1970) has also taken a multidimensional view of

Rotter's scale. He found two distinct factors in the

scale: that luck and ability determine personally relevant

outcomes, and the acceptance or rejection of the idea

that a citizen can exert some control over political and

world affairs (much like Collins' fourth component).

Scaturo and Smalley (1980) correlated Collins' factors and

Kerpelman's Activity scale (1972) and found that, when

tested separately, only Factor IV (belief in a politically

unresponsive world) was related to political activity.

The combination of all four factors did correlate with

political activity, but Factor IV accounted for almost

all of the scale's ability to predict political

participation.

Regardless of the number of studies conducted to

determine the characteristics of student political

activists, much confusion remains concerning the personal

and environmental determinants of activism. Some of

this confusion can be attributed to the methodological

problems of traditional political participation studies.

Characteristic of these studies is a confounding of

activism and ideology (Kerpelman, 1972). Because most
of these studies (Oppenheimer, 1968; Watts, et al.,
1969; Trent & Craise, 1967; Strickland, 1965; and Katz,
1967) examine exclusively liberal, or "new left" activists,
it is difficult to generalize to the entire population
of activists. According to Block, Haan, and Smith (1968):

> Although there has been a tendency to equate
> social involvement and political activism with
> liberal politics, we have been impressed by
> the existence of an active protest group with
> a conservative political philosophy. The
> continuing presence of such individuals requires
> that activism be defined independently of
> political ideology if we are to extricate the
> correlates of activism per se from those of
> liberalism per se [p. 208].

Kerpelman (1969) also compared activists and nonactivists
and determined the necessity of separating ideology from
activism.

In addition, studies on political participation
tend to focus on activism in the 1960's, especially on a
single, politically charged college campus (Oppenheimer,
1968; Watts, et al., 1969; and Trent & Craise, 1967). Again,
such a narrow focus decreases the external validity of
traditional political participation studies.

The present study attempts to eliminate these
methodological problems in two ways: (a) both conservative
and liberal student activists were examined, and (b)
the subjects were drawn from two universities.

Political activity was determined by Kerpelman's Activity scale (1972), and ideology was assessed through a self-rating scale. Because of the aforementioned difficulties in defining alienation, two alienation scales were administered. Dean (1961) distinguished between three types of alienation in his scale (powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation), and Olsen (1969) defined alienation as a combination of both political incapability/futility and discontentment or cynicism with politics. In addition to the ideology scale, Dean's (1961) and Olsen's (1969) alienation scales, as well as Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control scale (1966) was used to determine the differences, if any, between student political activists and nonactivists.

Method

Subjects and Procedure

Three hundred undergraduates (ages 18-23) at the University of Richmond and Virginia Commonwealth University selected from student directories were mailed packets containing the questionnaires in this order: (a) the purpose of the study and instructions (b) a biographical data sheet (including the self-rated ideology scale), (c) Dean's (1961) Alienation scale, (d) Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control scale, (e) Olsen's (1969)

Alienation scale, and (f) Kerpelman's (1972) Activity

scale (see Appendixes A-F). The subjects were also

informed that the surveys would be kept strictly

confidential.

Ninety-seven surveys were returned (a 32% return

rate), 72 of which were used in the multiple regression.

The remaining 25 surveys were either incomplete, or were

filled out by students over the age of 23. Of the 72

usable surveys, 28 were males and 44 were females. Regarding

ideology, two students considered themselves radically

conservative; 36 were conservative; 33 were liberal; and

one student considered him/herself radically liberal.

Forty-one of the participating students attended The

University of Richmond, and 31 attended Virginia Commonwealth

University.

Apparatus

Political activity was measured by Kerpelman's

Activity scale (1972). Actual political participation

was assessed by 12 Likert-type items measuring the degree

of political involvement over the past three years. In

addition, the same 12 items were used to measure the

students' desired amount of participation had they been

free of all other commitments. Kerpelman (1972) has

determined that a combination of these sub-scales is an

accurate predictor of level of political activity.

Dean's Alienation scale (1961) consists of 24 Likert-type items that assess the student's feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Measures of validity of Dean's scale have been quite low, yet correlations between the scale and other tests that measure alienation are in the range of .26 to .30. The split half reliability of the scale was .78.

Olsen's (1969) Political Alienation scale was used to determine both political incapability/futility and discontentment with politics through eight Likert-type items. While validity was not absolutely calculated, Olsen examined voting preferences according to scores on both of the scales. He learned that over 80% of those high on incapability and low on discontentment voted Democratic.

Locus of control was measured by Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control scale, which consists of 29 Likert-type items, six of which are fillers. Evidence of the scale's validity comes from a number of researchers, including Rotter (1966) and Joe (1971).

In addition, ideology was measured on a scale from 1-4. The ratings are as follows: 1 = "radically liberal," 2 = "liberal," 3 = "conservative," and 4 = "radically

conservative."

                        Results

     A stepwise multiple regression determined the

ability of Dean's (1961) Alienation scale, Rotter's

(1966) Locus of Control scale, and Olsen's (1969) two-part

(futility and cynicism) alienation scale to predict

political activty. Only futility was found to be a

significant predictor of political participation

(B = -.49, p > .01). The adjusted R for futility was

.23, which was consistent with the zero-order correlation.

     Another stepwise multiple regression determined

whether or not the three factors of Dean's (1961) Alienation

scale (social isolation, powerlessness, and normlessness)

and Mirels' (1970) two factors of Rotter's (1966) Internal-

External Locus of Control scale were significant predictors

of political participation. None of these factors were

predictive.

                      Discussion

     These results both support and contradict previous

findings. First, this study supports the findings of Dean

(1960) that neither powerlessness, normlessness, social

isolation, nor a combination or all three forms of

alienation correlate with political participation as

measured by the Kerpelman scale. Level of alienation

did not significantly affect political participation, contrary to the findings of Rosenberg (1951) that there is an inverse relationship between alienation and political participation, and those of Thompson and Horton (1960) and Oppenheimer (1968), that high levels of alienation correlate with political participation.

Unlike Olsen (1969), these results demonstrate that there is a correlation between futility and political participation, with level of futility being the only significant predictor of political activity. One of the reasons for this contradiction may be in the differences in age of the subjects between the present study and Olsen's study. While Olsen looked at subjects predominantly over the age of 29, the present study focused on a much younger population. For young adults, who generally believe that they can change the world, high levels of futility have a marked effect on political participation levels.

These findings are not consistent with previous research regarding locus of control (Deutchman, 1985; Rosen & Salling, 1971; Abramowitz, 1973; Strickland, 1965; and Wolfsfeld, 1985); Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control scale did not correlate with political participation as measured by Kerpelman's

(1972) Activity scale.

It was also found that neither of Mirels' (1970) factors of Rotter's (1966) scale (that luck and ability determine personally relevant outcomes; and the acceptance or rejection that a citizen can exert some control over political and world affairs) correlated with political activity. While no other study has correlated Mirels' factors with political activity, Scaturo and Smalley (1980) correlated Collins' (1974) factors with Kerpelman's (1972) Activity scale and found that, when tested separately, only Factor IV (belief in a politically unresponsive world) significantly correlated with political participation.

These findings are important because they are based on data obtained from both liberal and conservative students attending two distinct universities. While previous studies are limited by the homogeneity of their subjects, the present study is more generalizable. A few cautions should be noted here. The small n (72) of this study does limit the scope of the findings. In addition, the relatively low political activity level mean (51.23 on a scale from 24 to 120) and the lack of variance between activity scores may show that the students surveyed are not sufficently politically active to show differences on the other tests.

One of the reasons for the fact that futility was the only significant predictor of student political activity may be that futility was highly correlated with Dean's (1960) Alienation scale ($r = .37$, $\underline{p} > .01$), Olsen's (1969) cynicism subscale ($r = .37$, $\underline{p} > .01$), and Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control scale ($r = -.50$, $\underline{p} > .001$). When futility was put into the regression equation, it took with it all of the strength of the other three scales. Thus, because futility had the highest correlation with activity, it was the only predictor of political participation.

Another explanation for the fact that futility was the only predictor of political activity may be in the nature of political participation itself. Generally, political activity (i.e. voting, signing a petition) is not an extrinsically rewarding activity. In the absence of external positive reinforcers, it would be easier for students to get discouraged and to believe that participating in the political process is futile.

In summary, it was found that the only significant predictor of student political activism was level of futility. In general, students who feel incapable of acting or that their actions are futile, are less likely to be politically active. On the other hand, students

who believe that they can make a difference are more likely to participate. Therefore, according to this study, in order to get young adults to participate in the political process, an effort must be made to show them that their actions can and do make a difference. In addition, an emphasis on the positive intrinsic rewards of being politically active may counter some of the negative effects of the lack of external rewards on student political participation.

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Appendix A

Cover Letter

My name is Joanne Miller, and I am a senior at the University of Richmond. I am conducting a survey on student political activism to fulfill a psychology honors requirement. Students from the University of Richmond and Virginia Commonwealth University were randomly chosen to participate in this study. Enclosed are a number of questionnaires that will take approximately 45 minutes to complete. I understand the time constraints of college students, but it would be greatly appreciated if you would complete the surveys (independently) and return them to me by February 15 in the enclosed envelope. Please also note that there is a front and back to all of the questionnaires. All of the surveys will be kept strictly confidential. If you have any questions, feel free to call me at (804) 281-1803.

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Joanne Miller

Appendix B

Biographical Data

Social Security Number _____ (used solely for coding)

Year   fr   so   jr   sr   gr

Gender   M   F   Age _____

Nationality:

____ Native American or Alaskan Native
____ Black or African American
____ Mexican American or Chicano
____ Asian or Pacific American
____ Puerto Rican
____ Other Hispanic or Latin American
____ White (non-Hispanic)
____ Other _____

Religion:

____ Catholic
____ Protestant
____ Jewish
____ Other _____

Ideology:

Please choose the category that best describes your ideology:

    1 radically conservative   3 liberal

    2 conservative   4 radically liberal

Please list all organizations you have belonged to and
    positions held while attending college:

Appendix C

Dean's Alienation Scale (Questionnaire #1)

Directions

Below are some statements regarding public issues, with which some people agree and others disagree. Please give us your own opinion about these items, i.e., whether you agree or disagree with the items as they stand.

Please fill in the appropriate blank, as follows:

A (Strongly Agree)
B (Agree)
C (Uncertain)
D (Disagree)
E (Strongly Disagree)

____ 1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.

____ 2. I worry about the future facing today's children.

____ 3. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.

____ 4. The end often justifies the means.

____ 5. Most people today seldom feel lonely.

____ 6. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.

____ 7. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.

____ 8. Real friends are as easy as ever to find.

____ 9. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

____ 10. Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.

____ 11. One can always find friends if he/she is friendly.

Appendix C (cont'd)

_____ 12. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.

_____ 13. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.

_____ 14. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.

_____ 15. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."

_____ 16. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he/she can be sure of nothing.

_____ 17. There are few dependable ties between people anymore.

_____ 18. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a person gets a break.

_____ 19. With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which to believe.

_____ 20. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.

_____ 21. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

_____ 22. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.

_____ 23. The future looks very dismal.

_____ 24. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.

Appendix D

Rotter's Internal-External Locus of
Control Scale (Questionnaire #2)

Directions

The questions in this section are formed in pairs
of statements. Please circle the letter of the one you
agree with more.

25. a. Children get into trouble because their parents
        punish them too much.
     b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that
        their parents are too easy with them.

26. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are
        partly due to bad luck.
     b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes
        they make.

27. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is
        because people don't take enough interest in
        politics.
     b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard
        people try to prevent them.

28. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve
        in this world.
     b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes
        unrecognized, no matter how hard he/she tries.

29. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is
        nonsense.
     b. Most students don't realize the extent to which
        their grades are influenced by accidental
        happenings.

30. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an
        effective leader.
     b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have
        not taken advantage of their opportunities.

Appendix D (cont'd)

31. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't
        like you.
     b. People who can't get others to like them don't
        understand how to get along with others.

32. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining
        one's personality.
     b. It is one's experiences in life which determine
        what they're like.

33. a. I have often found that what is going to happen
        will happen.
     b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well
        for me as making a decision to take a definite
        course of action.

34. a. In the case of the well prepared student there
        is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
     b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated
        to course work that studying is really useless.

35. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck
        has little or nothing to do with it.
     b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the
        right place at the right time.

36. a. The average citizen can have an influence in
        government decisions.
     b. This world is run by the few in power, and
        there is not much the little guy can do about it.

37. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I
        can make them work.
     b. It is not always to plan too far ahead because
        many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad
        fortune anyhow.

38. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
     b. There is some good in everyone.

39. a. In my case getting what I want has little or
        nothing to do with luck.
     b. Many times we might just as well decide what to
        do by flipping a coin.

Appendix D (cont'd)

40. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was
    lucky enough to be in the right place first.
    b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon
    ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

41. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us
    are the victims of forces we can neither understand,
    nor control.
    b. By taking an active part in political and social
    affairs the people can control world events.

42. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their
    lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
    b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

43. a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
    b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

44. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really
    likes you.
    b. How many friends you have depends on how nice a
    person you are.

45. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us
    are balanced by the good ones.
    b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability,
    ignorance, laziness, or all three.

46. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political
    corruption.
    b. It is difficult for people to have much control
    over the things politicians do in office.

47. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive
    at the grades they give.
    b. There is a direct connection between how hard I
    study and the grades I get.

48. a. A good leader expects people to decide for
    themselves what they should do.
    b. A good leader makes it clear to people what their
    jobs are.

Appendix D (cont'd)

49. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence
        over the things that happen to me.
     b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or
        luck plays an important role in my life.

50. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be
        friendly.
     b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please
        people, if they like you, they like you.

51. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high
        school.
     b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

52. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
     b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control
        over the direction my life is taking.

53. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians
        behave the way they do.
     b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad
        government on a national as well as on a local
        level.

Appendix E

Olsen's Alienation Scale (Questionnaire #3)

Directions

Fill in A if you agree with the statement, and B if you disagree with the statement.

_____ 54. I believe public officials don't care much what people like me think.

_____ 55. There is no way other than voting that people like me can influence actions of the government.

_____ 56. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on.

_____ 57. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

_____ 58. These days the government is trying to do too many things, including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do.

_____ 59. For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business and labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like myself.

_____ 60. It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when most people favor such actions.

_____ 61. As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.

Appendix F

Kerpelman's Activity Scale (Questionnaire #4)

Directions

This survey is for research purposes only, and as such, there are no right or wrong answers. We are seeking to measure students' experiences and expectations concerning certain general issues. Please read each question and fill in the letter that corresponds to the answer according to the response that comes most closely to your actual state of affairs.

In the following questions the word "issues" refers solely to broad political and social issues on or off campus. Campus issues that have little or no broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of food service, grading practices, teaching practices) are not to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Campus issues that would have broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of controversial speakers or films, controversial books in the library) are to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Off-campus issues that have no broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of city or town tax policy, local school board appointments, etc.) are not to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Off-campus issues that would have broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of U.S. foreign policy, major election campaigns, etc.) are to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory.

_____ 62. How many times in the past three years have you organized a group to support or protest a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

_____ 63. How many times in the past three years have you led, or directly assisted in leading, an already organized group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

Appendix F (cont'd)

____ 64. How many times in the past three years have you participated in a group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

____ 65. How many times in the past three years have you engaged in an extended argument with anyone over a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

____ 66. How many times in the past three years have you addressed a formal audience (i.e., been a scheduled speaker) concerning a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

____ 67. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend trying to convince others to support or protest political or social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

____ 68. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend discussion political or social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

____ 69. How many times in the past three years have you written something (pamphlet, handout, etc.) designed specifically to either inform or convince other people concerning a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

____ 70. How many books during the average month do you read on political or social issues?
a) 0 b) 1-2 c) 3-4 d) 5-6 e) 7 or more

Appendix F (cont'd)

_____ 71. How much time during the average day do you spend
reading material, the bulk of which includes news,
comment, or factual information on political or
social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-
1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

_____ 72. How many times during the average month do you
attend meetings which have as their focus
political or social issues?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 73. How many times in an average month do you go to
hear scheduled speakers talking about political
or social issues?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

Imagine yourself as having been free from all
financial, social, academic, etc., responsibilities or
any other commitments on your time during the past
three years. Answer the following questions in terms of
what you would have liked to have done if that were the
case.

_____ 74. How many times in the last three years would you
have liked to have organized a group to support
or protest a political or social issue?
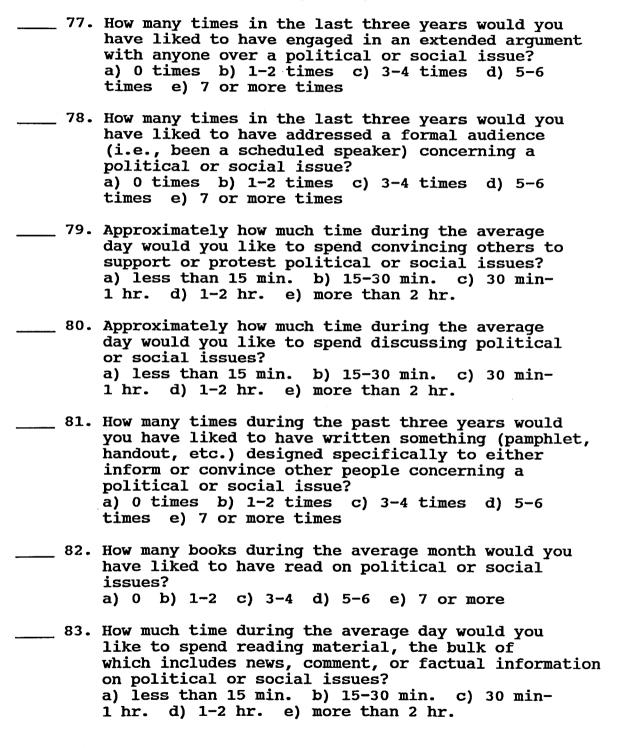a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 75. How many times in the last three years would you
have liked to have led, or directly assisted in
leading, an already organized group supporting
or protesting a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 76. How many times in the last three years would you
have liked to have participated in a group
supporting or protesting a political or social
issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

Appendix F (cont'd)

_____ 77. How many times in the last three years would you
have liked to have engaged in an extended argument
with anyone over a political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 78. How many times in the last three years would you
have liked to have addressed a formal audience
(i.e., been a scheduled speaker) concerning a
political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 79. Approximately how much time during the average
day would you like to spend convincing others to
support or protest political or social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-
1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

_____ 80. Approximately how much time during the average
day would you like to spend discussing political
or social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-
1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

_____ 81. How many times during the past three years would
you have liked to have written something (pamphlet,
handout, etc.) designed specifically to either
inform or convince other people concerning a
political or social issue?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 82. How many books during the average month would you
have liked to have read on political or social
issues?
a) 0 b) 1-2 c) 3-4 d) 5-6 e) 7 or more

_____ 83. How much time during the average day would you
like to spend reading material, the bulk of
which includes news, comment, or factual information
on political or social issues?
a) less than 15 min. b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min-
1 hr. d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.

Appendix F (cont'd)

_____ 84. How many times during the average month would you
like to attend meetings which have as their focus
political or social issues?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times

_____ 85. How many times in the average month would you
like to go to hear a scheduled speaker talking
about political or social issues?
a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6
times e) 7 or more times