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Title: Attitudes Toward Political Participation and Preference

    for Violence

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    This study was designed to assess the effects of political

participation upon hostility and the preference for violence.

To investigate this problem a political participation scale was

developed. 148 male subjects (mean age 22.6 years) and 93 female

subjects (mean age 20.7 years) responded to the Political Partici-

pation Scale, the Helfant's Hostility in International Relations

Scale, and the Buss-Durkee's Hostility Inventory. The results

produced several conclusions: (1) low political participation

is correlated to feelings of political incapability ($r = -.39$,

$P<.005$); (2) low political participation is correlated to hostility

toward foreign countries or people ($r = -.16$, $P<.05$); and (3) no

significant correlation can be found between political participation

and negativism ($r = -.07$) or assault ($r = -.03$), nor between

political participation and preference for force ($r = -.02$) or

preference for military solutions in the civil war in El Salvador ($r = -.02$).

These findings are discussed in terms of political participation and political alienation; political participation and three types of hostility; and force vs. talk issue. The results also raised questions as to areas of possible future research on ideological factors and violence.

Attitudes toward Political Participation
and Preference for Violence

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

On October 8, 1968 in Tokyo, Japan, thousands of students
attempted to break the police task force's line and obstruct the
flight of the Japan's Prime Minister to the United States of
America, protesting what they claimed a Japan-U.S. conspiracy of
continuing the Vietnam War. One student was killed in the violent
collision. In the next morning The Asahi Shinbun, a national daily
newspaper, said that the authorities blamed "aggressiveness" of
the students for his death. In addition, the paper published his
parent's statement in the form of an informal talk.

They said that they could not believe him as an "aggressive,
violent" son. Instead, they strongly defended their son, insisting
that he had been just an ordinary student; good, gentle, well-
behaved, and even an obedient youth. Yet, since that day in 1968
hundreds of thousands of "ordinary" students have disturbed their
mothers and fathers while university campuses and streets have
been occupied by "aggressiveness and violence". Holstead (1978)
reports that "... in Japan, 800,000 participated in demonstrations
and strikes against the war in Vietnam..." (p. 432).

In the U.S., at the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
national council meeting October 11-13, 1968, it called for a two-
day student strike November 4-5 with the slogan: "No class today,
no ruling class tomorrow." A special issue of New Left Notes was
distributed containing a wall poster that declared: "The elections

don't mean shit. Vote where the power is. Our power is in the

street."[1] Later, on May 4, 1970, national guardsmen fired at Kent

State University students in Kent, Ohio and killed four students,

wounding many others during nationwide protests against the U.S.

invasion of Cambodia. Then, eleven days later, on May 15, 1970,

at Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi, two students

were killed in a barrage of police gunfire during an antiwar

demonstration.

There is, no doubt, a difference in type of aggression between

students and policemen or national guardsmen. Larsen (1976)

has suggested in his theory that two types of aggression are

evident in human behavior: stimulus equity aggression and

situational conformity aggression (p. 127). The former type of

aggression is that of the students' and the later is that of the

policemen or the guardsmen's aggression.

Like the mass murder of Jews by Nazi members during World

War II or the massacre by American soldiers in MyLai, Vietnam, the

aggression of the policemen or the national guardsmen could be

considered as a product of situational conformity (i.e. obedience

to their higher officer, an authority). Or their aggressive

behavior can be understood as a job (Baron & Byrne, 1977, p. 418).

Regardless of their personal feelings or values, people tend to

"be affected by the perceived power of significant others and

will weigh the potential social cost of an action before deciding

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[1]New Left Notes, October 25, 1968.

on a response" (Larsen, 1976). Not only in a small social system
like an army or a firm but in our civil society this phenomenan
can also be seen.

The experiments of Milgram (1963, 1965) strikingly demon-
strate the extent to which individuals will carry out pain-
inflicting behaviors in conformity with norms promulgated by an
authority figure. Later, Larsen, Coleman, Forbes, and Johnson
(1972) and Larsen (1974, 1976) explicated this type of aggression
in the concept of social cost as an explanatory construct in
aggression. Larsen (1976) explains social cost this way:

> "Social cost refers to the potential or perceived
> rejection or acceptance of significant others as a result
> of a social interaction. More broadly, social cost may
> also include two additional interlocking variables. The
> power or strength of the administrator of aversive
> stimuli and the potential threat to physical survival that
> the administrator represents are aspects of this broader
> concept of social cost. Thus it is expected that the
> response of an organism to pain or deprivations, for example,
> would depend on the power and threat of the administrator.
> Displacement or substitute aggression is indicative of social
> cost. In such scapegoating aggression, two possibilities
> exist: 1) the administrator of the aversive stimuli was
> not available for counter-aggression, or 2) the administrator
> was too powerful and represented too great a threat to
> permit direct aggression.
>   External aversive stimuli may instigate aggression,
> but social cost will, to some extent, define the type and
> intensity of the response. The social cost of aggression
> would predict that aggression will be directed downward
> in a power hierarchy. Thus, although the organism may seek
> some equity between aversive stimulation and response, even
> rage reaction may be moderated to some extent. Those monkeys
> capable of suicidal rage attacks were those who were socially
> isolated and had therefore not learned to attribute power
> and threat to other monkeys. Social cost would also explain
> the type and intensity of instrumental aggression. The
> organism would select the course of action which would
> represent the least social cost. Social cost is a hedonistic
> concept. At the broadest definition, social cost refers to
> the avoidance of pain and the attainment of pleasure." (p. 16)

Situational conformity aggression is determined by the expectation

of reward and punishment, that is, by the perceived social cost

of an aggressive act. Then, does this theory of situational

conformity aggression explain the "aggression" of the students'

protests in 1960s and 1970s?

Apparently, there seems to be some contradictions between

the application of this theory and these happenings: The students

rebelled against the authorities (for example, against the

government, law, university administrations, even their parents)

rather than conform to them; the students also "intentionally"

and "actively" confronted traditional norms; in other words,

they devoted themselves to establishing a counter-culture against the

traditional American way of life (Jacobs and Landau, 1966). The

students refused rewards from the authorities and at times, they

did not care if punishment resulted from disobedience. However, as

suggested below, individuals who had fought for the oppressed

or were fighting against the American government and its military

forces were accepted as significant others by students. Ho Chi

Minh, Castro, "Che" Guevara, Mao Tse-tung, among them, appeared

in protest pamphlets, were discussed in protest meetings, and

extolled on demonstration banners. The student aggressiveness

was almost always directed against the authorities, demanding

justice and social equity. In other words, student action was

accelerated by these significant others while their aggressiveness

was based on the emotion of anger derived from social injustice

or unequity.

On the other hand, cross-national research on political instability (ex., Feierabend and Feierabend, 1968), publication from the students' side (ex., Jacobs and Landau, 1966; Sale, 1973; Halstead, 1978) and social-psychological research (ex., Adamek and Lewis, 1972) show that aggression (violence) is rooted in an economic, political and "ill-balanced" socio-economic system. Human aggressive behavior is a consequence of anger toward various environmental conditions which dissatify the aggressor(s). Stimulus equity aggression theory suggests a balance between stimulus and response, at least for the limited class of aversive stimuli (pain and arbitrary-noxious stimuli) and the consequent rage reaction. In addition, frustration plays an important role as an intervening variable between stimulus and response.

The frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears, 1939) suggests that frustration- the blocking of on-going, goal-directed behavior - leads to the arousal of a drive whose primary goal is that of harm to some person or object. Such aggressive drive, as it is often termed (Berkowitz, 1970, 1974), then leads to the performance of overt aggressive acts. Adamek and Lewis (1972) reported that radicalization is positively associated with the experience of social control violence (the national guardsmen's firing), in measuring Kent State University undergraduates' attitudes toward violence and the impact of the May 4, 1970 killings on their political outlooks.

Feierabend and Feierabend (1968) obtained data about political instability in a cross-national research and indicated that govern-

ment coercion and the modernity of a nation were related to social

frustration and external aggression, showing that the higher the

level of systematic frustration, the higher the level of political

instability. Berkowitz (1968) also states that "the

privation is far less likely to cause violence

than is the dashing of hopes" (p. 20). In other words, aggression

is more likely to result from unrealized hopes than from deprivation

alone. An individual's frustration is most severe when he is

blocked from a satisfaction he thinks should and could be his.

In social terms, this concept of frustration reveals itself

in "revolutions of rising expectations" (Davies, 1962). Davies

suggests the gap of people's expectancy and their real gain is

directly proportional to the strength of a revolutionary movement.

In this point, violence by ghetto inhabitants can be considered

as a result of their awareness of the discrepancy between their

lives and those of other socio-economic classes (Falk, 1959).

According to the frustration-aggression hypothesis, as stated

above, human aggression stems mainly from the arousal of a drive

to harm or injure others or objects, which is itself elicited by

various environmental conditions (i.e., frustrating events).

The rage reaction is initially emotional in nature. However,

"subsequent reactions may be interpreted cognitively in terms

of justice or equity" (Larsen, 1976, p. 128). Larsen continues

that "... our cognitive-social conceptions of justice are derived

from these primitive stimulus-response reactions." (p. 128)

Consequently it can be said that the aggression component of the

students' protests in 1960s through 1970s derived from their

demand of social justice as a whole in the Vietnam War era.

And the intensity of the aggression seems to be positively related

to the magnitude of their frustration as well as to the extent of

thoroughness of their demanding of social justice. One of the

main sources of the students' frustration seems to have been

rooted in political alienation.

It has been said that political apathy prevailed among the

youth of 1950s. Almost all of the political stimuli at that

period was so negative that people tended to escape from politics:

the blow of McCarthyism in the middle of 1950s, the revelations

about Stalin made at the 20th Party Congress in the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, uprisings in Hungary and Poland which

resulted in some doubts about "socialism", etc. Some youth

responded with the "beat" mood; others developed an interest in

the new British intellectual radicalism whose leading part was

"alienation and humanism"[2] (Jacob and Landau, 1966). Balswick

and Balswick (1980) states:

> "Student alienation can result in one of two types
> of reaction. One is escapism, which is inward
> and characterized by withdrawal from society;
> the other is rebellion, which is outward and
> characterized by rebellion against society."
> (p. 691)

By the end of the 1950s, concern for radical justice was

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[2]In 1957 two new journals were published: <u>Universities and Left
Review</u>; <u>The New Reasoner.</u> They merged into the <u>New Left Review</u> in
1959. In 1960 at the University of Chicago, its graduate students
began to publish <u>New University Thought.</u>

developing among American students. A strong reaction to the

indignities of fear and anxiety headed on the country by Mc-

Carthyism and a general rejection of the symbols of American

affluence were growing. And the U.S. government began to "get

its nation into a bad fix" from the war in Vietnam in 1960s.

The students became aware of the "hypocricy" of the U.S. government

which attempted to escalate the war in Vietnam. Furthermore,

the majority of Americans had been indulging themselves in

affluence disregarding injustice in the world (Jacob and Landau,

1966). Consequently, young people started to rebel against

the society which tolerated such hypocricy. The political apathy

that had prevailed in 1950s turned into political rebellion

in 1960s. Toch (1965) states as follows in the opening of The

Social Psychology of Social Movements:

> "When people feel themselves abandoned or frustrated by
> conventional society, they can sometimes by-pass
> established institutions and create informal social
> organizations "on the side." Such grass-roots move-
> ments serve to provide otherwise unavailable services,
> to protest indignities, to escape suffering, to release
> tension, to explain confusing events, or in some other
> way to create a more tolerable way of life than is
> afforded by existing formal organizations." (p. 3)

A potentiality of violence in the student movements can

also be seen in the contemporary stage of democracy in the West.

A 1971 paper by philosopher Christian Bay indicates this notion.

> "Democracy as we know it in the West has become,
> it would seem, an almost foolproof instrumentality to
> preserve the political and socioeconomic status quo.
> Orderly political change has become impracticable, I
> submit, except to the extent that citizens free them-
> selves from their prevailing belief that democracy
> has already been achieved, and that law enacted in
> their society therefore must be obeyed." (p. 84)

Politically alienated students, in terms of attitudes of
"incapability and discontentment" (Olsen, 1969) toward politics,
had accumulated their frustration toward the American society
as a whole since 1950s. With no hope for change (feeling
impotent), violence often seems the only alternative. The
eliciting of a response tendency incompatible with the on-going
one, one of the four types of frustration pointed out by Brown
and Farber (1951), "results in an internal conflict resolved by
movement toward the stronger response tendency" (Larsen, 1976, p. 63).
With the start of "mild" protests against the Vietnam War, the
student movements in 1960s through 1970s gradually became more
aggressive in the process of the escalation of the war and the
confrontation of the movements with the state power and its
peripheral authorities.

As indicated, individuals who are less involved in politics tend
to accumulate social frustrations because they do not have the
political instruments to solve the frustrating events. Summated
frustrations are likely to lead to higher levels of aggression
(Berkowitz, 1962). Consequently, it can be said that political
participation and aggression have negative relationships. In
other words, individuals low in political participation are
more aggressive; on the other hand, individuals with high
political participation are less aggressive.

According to the voting statistics of the 1980 presidential
election, the actual voting figure did not reach 60%. Nearly
half of the population eligible to vote did not exercise their

right in the presidential election. It can be said that a

phenomenon of low political participation has been prevailing again.

"Powerlessness," one of alienation components (Seeman, 1959),

makes individuals fail to take part in such political activities

as voting. It seems, however, the present social conditions are

not necessarily better than those of 1950s though a rash comparison

cannot be made. Nevertheless, it is not too hard to point out

"frustrating events" today: the deepest economic recession and the

highest unemployment rate since the Great Recession; the nuclear war

crisis; a crisis of involvement in the civil war in El Salvador,

or intervention in other Central and Latin American countries'

turmoils and other various economic, political and social problems.

No one can say that "another 1960s" won't come.

Three hypotheses were developed based upon previous research

findings and the theoretical orientation of this paper.

The first hypothesis in this study is that low political

participation is correlated to feelings of political incapability.

In a democracy, it is an anomaly that some 50 percent of the

adult citizens participated in the 1980 presidential election.

Furthermore, there was only 6 percent of young people (18 to

29 years old) that voted in that presidential election (The New

York Times, Nov. 6, 1980). These low turnouts may be explained

by Rosenberg's (1951) suggestion in terms of powerlessness or

Lubell's (1952) suggestion in terms of normlessness. Olsen

(1969) stated that such powerlessness or normlessness related

to political apathy was imposed involuntarily upon the person

by the social system.

In our complex urban mass society, individuals devote
themselves to minute, specialized tasks woven into the complex
fabric of our economy. The great economic and power blocs,
represented by giant corporations and political and military
systems, thrust the individual with pressures too powerful to
resist. As a consequence, the individual is likely to feel
overwhelmed and powerless.

It can be argued that people fail to vote not because they
are disconted with prospective candidates or uninvolved in the
political issue but because they feel politically powerless.

Political discont does not necessarily decrease political
participation. Rather, it often brings up other forms of political
activities. For example, non-institutional politics was most
typical in 1960s. Contemporary feminist movements have also shown
a wide range of political participation. On the other hand, feelings
of political incapability induce the individual to escape from
politics. Feeling powerless, normless or meaningless in politics
result in the hesitation and discouragement of the individual's
political participation. It can be said that low political
participation is derived from these feelings of political incapability
not from political discontentment.

The second hypothesis was based on the frustration-aggression
theory by Dollard et al. (1939). Since individuals low in political
participation do not have the political means to solve various
kinds of economic, political and social problems, they cannot

but accumulate social frustrations, which lead to aggression through the emotion of anger. It was hypothesized that individuals low in political participation were more aggressive toward individual others and the authority. Because politics implies both foreign and internal affairs, individual others questioned are also separately categorized into foreign people and individual others in general in this study.

The third and last hypothesis is that individuals low in political participation show a high preference for violent conflict resolution strategies (or low preference for nonviolent conflict resolution strategies) than those high in political participation. Besides evidence of causal relations between summated frustrations and high levels of aggression (Berkowitz, 1962), violense is likely to have been favored by the socially isolated people living in ghettos (Falk, 1959). They, in fact, were far from the conventional political means (voting, etc.). Larsen (1976) also has indicated high probability of use of violence by those who had feelings of impotence in breaking the frustrating events and poverty.

In order to test these three hypotheses: the relationships between (1) low political participation and feelings of political incapability, (2) low political participation and aggression, and (3) low political participation and preferenc for violent conflict resolution strategies, it was decided to construct a political participation scale.

Traditionally, a major indicator of political participation has been a person's voting behavior. Most of the generalizations

concerning political apathy have been based on studies using this single criterion, voting or nonvoting (Dean, 1960). Yet, this single criterion does not always articulate the extent to which the individual is involved in politics or escaped from it. Lubell (1952) stated that nonvoting was not necessarily due to apathy, but the voter's inability to decide. In addition, people may not vote because of discontentment or feelings of political incapability (Olsen, 1969) or for some other reasons such as "cross-pressures" between religious affiliation, economic status, and place of residence (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). Some people may participate in other political activities such as signing petitions or wearing a button for their political ideas.

In order not to limit political participation to the single criterion, voting or nonvoting, or lose wide range of other political activities, it was decided to develop the Political Participation Scale (PP Scale) in order to test the three hypotheses formulated before. This PP Scale should cover various types of political participation from exposure to political stimuli to joining a political party.

As measures of aggression, it was decided to use the Helfant's Attitude Scale of Hostility in International Relations (1952) and the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (1957). The former scale was designed to investigate hostility toward foreign countries or people. The latter was constructed to ascertain varieties of hostility toward individuals others and the authority (assault, negativism, verbal, irritability, etc.).

II. SCALE CONSTRUCTION

a. <u>Conceptualization.</u> Although politics could be defined
very broadly as the adjustment efforts of humans attempting to
coexist,such broadness loses meaning. Dahl (1963) defines a
political system as "any persistent pattern of human relationships
that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, or authority"
(p. 6). Political systems include certain organizations such
as political parties and pressure groups and also behaviors
directed toward "governmental decisions."

Consequently, political behavior is "behavior which affects
or is intended to affect the decisional outcomes of government"
(Milbrath, 1965). Therefore, the politics of "nongovernmental"
organizations such as a church or a corporation must be excluded
from this definition.

Acting "politically" can be either active and/or passive.
Most people are both active and passive toward politics. Activity
generally can be graded into quantities: For example, some
participate in party activity very often and vote in a Congressional
election each time (active); on the other hand, others may have
voted only once for the Congressional election in 40 years
(passive). According to Milbrath (1965), this general active-
passive dimension are also devided into several subdimensions
such as overt vs. covert, episodic vs. continuous, verbal vs.
nonverbal, and so forth. Although individuals' activities along
with these dimensions vary depending on setting and time, it can

be illustrated that a politically active citizen may articulate

his(her) ideas in public. He may convince others to behave in

a certain way, take part in a certain group, and advance his(her)

political goal with continuous group activities. On the other

hand, a politically passive individual may be indifferent to

politics in general, obey public order, conform for security reasons

and as consequence participate in maintaining status quo.

Taking any political action generally requires two decisions:

to act or not to act; and the direction of the act. These

decisions, however, vary and are specific as to setting and time.

Nevertheless, attitudes toward political participation can be

measured through the general dimension of political involvement.

As an operational definition of political participation,

"Hierarchy of Political Involvement" presented by Milbrath (1965)

seems to be very useful (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Hierarchy of Political Involvement presented by Milbrath
(1965).

The hierarchy seems to have a kind of internal logic, a natural progress of becoming involved in active politics. Variables that correlates with a specific political act tend to correlate with other political acts as well. Individuals participating in the topmost behaviors are likely also to engage in those behaviors ranking low; but, not vice versa: individuals taking part in voting do not necessarily seek to hold public and party office.

Similar definitions of political participation are seen in other studies. Woodward and Roper (1950) point out, besides voting, that being a member of potential pressure group, communicating with legislators, and habitually talking politics are other kinds of political participation. Robinson (1952) developed the dimension of psychological involvement in a political campaign such as knowledge, media usage and conversation. The same efforts to enrich its definition have been made (Campbell et al., 1954; Matthews and Prothro, 1966). Finally, the operational definition of political participation is made as follows:

An individual who is considered to be politically participating is:

    a) one who is exposed to political stimuli such as having
       friends who often talk politics to him,

    b) one who votes for the presidential and congressional
       elections,

    c) one who encourages others to discuss on political issues,

    d) one who wears a button or puts a sticker to express certain
       political ideas,

    e) one making contacts with public officials,

    f) one who contributes his(her) money to a party or candidate,

g) one who attends political meetings,

h) one who works for political campaign,

i) one who is a member of a political party,

j) one who works to solicit political funds,

k) one who seeks party office or public government office.

As can been seen, these definitions do not include political demonstrations, going on a strike, or coup d'etat. Although political demonstrations are considered a legitimate expression of political feeling in a democracy and are widely made, they are "behaviors used by only certain sectors of society" (Milbrath, 1965), and many other sectors refuse to use them. Accordingly, this type of political behavior is excluded from its definition here.

b. <u>Composition of Item Pool.</u> An up-to-date volume (Robinson, Rush, & Head, 1963) containing attitude scales measuring attitudes toward numerous objects was searched for items with political contents. Additional 29 items were composed along with the above mentioned conceptual definition according to Edwards' criteria (1957) and Likert's criteria (1932). The total pool consisted of 60 items.

c. <u>Criterion of Internal Consistency Study.</u> This pool of sixty statements[3] was administered to 54 male and 67 female students

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[3]See Appendix I.

at Oregon State University. They were all enrolled in an

introductory psychology course which, as a course, contained the

largest number of students from a wide variation of collegiate

majors seen below.

Table 2.1

Analysis of Subject Major (N = 121)

Major	N	(%)
Health & Physical Education	8	(7.0)
Engineering	11	(9.0)
Education	7	(5.5)
Business	30	(25.0)
Agriculture	4	(3.0)
Science	16	(13.0)
Liberal Arts	20	(16.5)
Forestry	2	(1.5)
Home Economics	8	(7.0)
Oceanography	2	(1.5)
Pharmacy	8	(7.0)
Veterinary	3	(2.5)
Undecided	2	(1.5)
TOTAL	121	(100)

All students were volunteers who recieved optional course credits

for their participation and whose mean age was 19.91 years.

The scale was administered in Likert format with standard

instructions in which a response of "strongly agree" received a

score of five and "strongly disagree" received a score of one.

Since the criterion of internal consistency method is much easier

to use than item analysis and yet yields essentially the same

results (Oppenheim, 1966), the former was used to ascertain

the order of excellence among the items. Theoretically, the lowest score (lowest political participation) is 60 and the highest score (highest political participation) is 300. Table 2.2 shows the results from which the most differentiating statements were selected. The 18 "best" statements are items 12, 53, 52, 8, 11, 22, 15, 2, 29, 9, 13, 21, 10, 31, 46, 56, 58, 18, respectively.[4]

For assessing measures, eight criteria have been created (Shively, 1973): (1) validity, (2) reliability, (3) precision, (4) level of measurement, (5) manageability, (6) generalizerability, (7) dimensionality, and (8) clarity. Among them, validity and reliability of the scale have been regarded as most serious in its evaluation (Shively, 1973; Shaw and Wright, 1967). Shively states that "of all the criteria for the evaluation of a measure validity is undoubtedly the most essential,..." (p. 6), and Shaw and Wright maintain that "At minimum, a useful scale must be reliable (yield consistent results) and valid (measure what it is purported to measure)" (p. 14).

d. Reliability. A split-half method was used to assess reliability of the Political Participation Scale with the 18 statements. The split-half correlation coefficient was .60. When corrected for full length by Spearman-Brown prophecy formula (Guilford, 1954), the estimated actual reliability coefficient was .75.

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[4]See Appendix II.

Table 2.2

Item Analysis of the Political Participation Scale (PPS) by the
Criterion of Internal Consistency Method

N = 121

Item Number	Column 1	Column 2	Item Number	Column 1	Column 2
1	0.93	48	31	1.67	13
2	1.86	8	32	1.26	34
3	1.07	44	33	1.46	23
4	0.06	60	34	1.53	19
5	1.13	42	35	1.47	21
6	0.34	58	36	0.66	56
7	0.87	50	37	1.14	41
8	2.06	4	38	1.27	31
9	1.73	10	39	1.40	26
10	1.67	13	40	1.20	36
11	1.93	5	41	0.86	51
12	2.47	1	42	1.10	43
13	1.73	10	43	1.26	34
14	1.20	36	44	1.06	45
15	1.87	7	45	0.80	53
16	0.80	53	46	1.67	13
17	1.20	36	47	1.47	21
18	1.57	18	48	0.60	57
19	1.20	36	49	0.73	55
20	1.20	36	50	1.40	26
21	1.73	10	51	1.27	31
22	1.93	5	52	2.13	3
23	0.07	59	53	2.20	2
24	1.34	30	54	1.00	46
25	1.53	19	55	1.46	23
26	1.40	26	56	1.66	16
27	0.86	51	57	1.46	23
28	1.00	46	58	1.60	17
29	1.80	9	59	1.27	31
30	1.40	26	60	0.93	48

COLUMN 1: Difference between the average score of the highest 15
individuals and the lowest 15 individuals.

COLUMN 2: Order of excellence as determined by the criterion of
internal consistency based upon the differences shown
in COLUMN 1.

e. <u>Validity</u>. Validation was examined by the "known-groups"

technique. It was hypothesized that, if the PP Scale is a valid

scale, the attitude in question should yield different scores

for different groups, with different attitudes toward politics.

Three groups of people voluntarily participated in this study:

43 students in Horticulture Department (mean age 22.8 years);

45 students in Political Science Department (mean age 21.9 years);

and 28 political activists (mean age 33.6 years) from the local

Corvallis community. As can be seen in Table 2.3, the three groups

showed significant differences on the PP Scale.

Table 2.3

Means, Standard Deviations and <u>t</u>-test for Political
Participation of the Three Groups of Subjects

Group	N	P. Participation Mean (per item)		SD	<u>t</u>	P
Horticulture Students	43	63.47	(3.53)	9.15	(vs.PS)-3.15*	.01
Political Science Students	45	69.31	(3.85)	8.08	(vs.PA)-2.74*	.01
Political Activists	28	74.21	(4.12)	5.97	(vs.HS) 5.49*	.001

(*): <u>t</u> values considered to be significant.

It can be asserted that students majoring in political science

are more concerned about politics and therefore should show higher

political participation than those majoring in agriculture, and

that the political activists are more involved in politics than

these two groups of students. The results of <u>t</u>-tests indicate

that this PP Scale disclosed significant differences in political

participation among those groups.

III. EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

The basic purpose of this study was to investigate the three

hypotheses formulated in Chapter I: possible correlations

between (1) low political participation and feelings of political

incapability, (2) low political participation and agression,

and (3) low political participation and high preference for

violent conflict resolution strategies.

1. METHOD

a. <u>Subjects.</u> One hundred and twenty-five undergraduate

students enrolled in introductory psychology class at Oregon State

University participated in this study. This sample included 62

males and 63 females with ages which ranged from 18 to 37 with a

mean of 20.4 years. All students were volunteers who received

optional course credits for their participation. This sample

had a wide variation in collegiate majors (Table 3.1).

b. <u>Instruments.</u> The materials used in this study were

the Political Participation Scale[5], the Olsen's Political

Alienation Scale[6], the Helfant's Scale of Hostility in International

Relations[7], and the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory.[8]

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[5]See Appendix II.

[6]See Appendix V.

[7]See Appendix III.

[8]See Appendix VI.

Table 3.1

Analysis of Subject Major (N = 125)

Major	N	(%)
Health & Physical Education	4	(3.0)
Engineering	12	(10.0)
Education	10	(8.0)
Business	30	(24.0)
Agriculture	4	(3.0)
Science	15	(12.0)
Liberal Arts	16	(13.0)
Forestry	2	(1.5)
Home Economics	9	(7.0)
Oceanography	3	(2.5)
Pharmacy	11	(9.0)
Veterinary	3	(2.5)
Undecided	6	(4.5)
TOTAL	125	(100.0)

According to Helfant (1952), the attitude of hostility was defined as being able to criticize, reject, or coerce foreign countries or people, and the feeling that we should take a more militant stand in international relations. The corrected split-half reliability was .84 for the high school senior student sample, .71 for mothers, and .81 for fathers. Validity was estimated by having students indicate their attitudes toward international relations on a linear scale. The correlations between these self-ratings and scores on the attitude scale was .70. In this 16-item Likert-type scale, each item response is scored from 1 to 5, with a favorable response being given the higher score. The attitude score is the sum of the item scores. A high score indicates friendliness toward foreign nations

or people, whereas a low score indicates hostility toward them.

Buss and Durkee (1957) devised an inventory for assessing

different kinds of hostility: Assault; Indirect Hostility;

Irritability; Negativism; Resentment; Suspicion; and Verbal

Hostility. Since this study was concerned about aggression

toward individual others and authority, two subscales (Assault

and Negativism) comprising 15 out of the total 66 items were

selected. Buss and Durkee defined Assault as physical violence

against others, including getting into fights with others but

not destroying objects. They defined Negativism as oppositional

behavior, usually directed against authority. This included a

wide variation of a refusal to cooperate from passive noncompliance

to open rebellion against rules or conventions.

c. Procedures. The Political Participation Scale consisted of

18 statements to assess attitudes toward various political stimuli

and behaviors. These statements reflected both positive (10)

and negative (8) attitudes toward political participation.

In addition, two more statements were inserted into this PP Scale

to investigate the preference for violent conflict resolution

strategies. One was a present international political issue

("The civil war in El Salvador should be determined by military

solutions in the long run."). The other was a more general

statement ("Peace is maintained by force rather than talk.").[9]

Subjects were obtained from an introductory psychology

---

[9]See items 15 and 19 in the PP Scale (Appendix II).

course which, as one course, consisted of students from a wide variation in collegiate major (see Table 4.1). The participants were provided with a slip of paper (3 x 8.5 inch), reading:

> A graduate student needs your help to complete this questionnaire for his thesis. Please return it to
>
> Dr. (Mr.) _____.

Thank you for your cooperation.

163 students responded the questionnaires. Because of incompletion or inadequate responses, however, the final number of participants were 125 (62 males and 63 females with mean age of 20.4 years).

Response mode was that of typical Likert-type questionnaire. The subject was asked to respond to each item by checking one of the following five alternatives: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, and strongly disagree. Scoring procedure followed that of Likert-type scaling. Each statement response was scored from 1 to 5, with a favorable response being given the higher score. However, this scoring was reversed for negatively worded statements. The attitude score was the sum of each statement score. As a consequence, an individual with a high score was considered high in political participation, whereas an individual with a low score was regarded low in political participation.

For Olsen's Political Alienation Scale, the subject was asked to respond to each statement by checking A (Agree) or D (Disagree). This scale had two subscales: incapability scale

and discontentment scale (Olsen, 1969). Each response by A

was scored 1. The extent of political incapability or dis-

contentment was represented by the sum of each statement score

with A.

The Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory instructed the subject

to respond to each item by checking T (True) or F (False).

A score of 1 was given to T response. Hostility of the subject

was assessed by the total number of the T item scores.

2. RESULTS

The result section reports on the major findings in this

study, focusing mainly on the three hypotheses set forth in Chapter

I, i.e. the relationships between political participation and

feelings of political incapability, political participation and

aggression, and political participation and preference for violent

conflict resolution strategies.

Table 3.2 shows scores of all the 125 subjects for each

scale. Scores on the Political Participation Scale for all the 125

subjects ranged from a low political participation score of 27

to a high political participation score of 88. The maximum

range of scores possible on the PP Scale was from 18 to 90.

A mean political participation score of 59.91 was obtained with

a median of 61.0 and a standard deviation of 8.92.

To serve as the definition of political participation for

subsequent analyses, political participation scores were divided

Table 3.2

Variable Description for Each Scale by 125 Subjects

Scale	N	Maximum Score	Minimum Score	Mean	Standard Deviation
Political Participation	125	88	27	59.91	8.92
Political Incapability	125	4	0	1.69	1.06
Political Discontentment	125	4	0	2.70	1.13
International Hostility	125	73	28	54.70	8.11
Negativism	125	5	0	2.65	1.29
Assault	125	8	0	3.60	1.77
Military Solution in El Salvador	125	5	1	2.14	.89
Force Preference for Peace	125	5	1	2.31	1.10

at the median into two groups. One group consisted of subjects with a score of 60 or below labeled as individuals low in political participation. The other group consisted of subjects with a score of 61 or above labeled as individuals high in political participation. The low political participation group (N = 60), therefore, scored from 27 to 60 with a mean score of 52.67 and a standard deviation of 1.08. The high political participation group (N = 65) scored from 61 to 88 with a mean score of 67.03 and a standard deviation of .93. There was a significant difference in political participation scores between the two groups (t = 14.16, P<.001, df = 123).

Political Participation scores were also classified between those of males and females. For the male subjects (N = 62), a mean score of 61.66 was obtained with a standard deviation of 8.45. The female subjects obtained a mean score of 58.31 and a standard deviation of 9.41. There was a significant sex difference in political participation ($\underline{t}$ = 1.98, P<.05, df = 123).

(1). Hypothesis 1: Low Political Participation vs. Feelings of High Political Incapability. It was hypothesized that low political participation would be correlated to the feelings of high political incapability. A significant inverse relationship was found between the two variables (r = -.39, P<.005, N = 125) on the PP Scale and the Olsen's Political Alienation Scale. In addition, the low political participation group obtained a mean of 2.07 and a standard deviation of 1.08 on the Political Incapability Scale. For the same scale, the high political participation group scored a mean of 1.32 and a standard deviation of .93. The $\underline{t}$-test yielded a significant difference in the feelings of political incapability between the two groups ($\underline{t}$ = -4.10, P<.001, df = 123). Table 3.3 presents the results. Hypothesis 1 was retained. That is, individuals high in political participation feel low political incapability; inversely, individuals who are less involved in politics tend to feel more political "powerlessness," "normlessness," or "meaninglessness" (Olsen, 1969).

There were no significant differences in the feelings of political incapability between the male and female subjects.

Table 3.3

Means, Standard Deviations and t-test for Feelings of
Political Incapability between the High and Low
Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)	P. Incapability Mean	SD (P.I.)	t
High Political Participation (N = 65)	67.03 (3.72)	1.32	.93	
				-4.10*
Low Political Participation (N = 60)	52.67 (2.93)	2.07	1.08	

(*): Significant at the .001 level of confidence.

(2). Hypothesis 2: Low Political Participation vs.

Aggression. It was hypothesized that individuals low in political

participation would be more aggressive toward individual others

or authority. As stated before, aggression was measured in the

three forms of hostility: Hostility toward foreign countries

or people, authority (Negativism) and individual others (Assault).

a. Low Political Participation vs. International Hostility.

As seen in Table 3.2, the subjects scored a mean of 54.70 and

a standard deviation of 8.11 on the International Hostility Scale.

A significant correlation was found between political participation

and international hostility (r = -.16, P<.05, df = 123). Since

the correlations are in the negative direction, it can be said that individuals who are more involved in politics tend to be less hostile toward foreign countries or people, and vice versa.

On the International Hostility Scale, the high political participation group obtained a mean score of 57.18 and a standard deviation of 8.49, while the low political participation group scored a mean of 54.08 and a standard deviation of 7.91. There was a significant difference in the mean scores of international hostility between the two groups. Table 3.4 presents the results.

Table 3.4

Means, Standard Deviations and $\underline{t}$-test for International Hostility between High and Low Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)	I. Hostility Mean (per item)	SD	$\underline{t}$
High Political Participation (N = 65)	67.03 (3.72)	57.18 (3.57)	8.49	2.11*
Low Political Participation (N = 60)	52.67 (2.93)	54.08 (3.88)	7.91	

(*): Significant at the .05 level of confidence.

As the results shows, it can be concluded that individuals with high political participation are less hostile (more friendly) than those with low political participation in international relations.

b. <u>Low Political Participation vs. Negativism</u>. Hypothesis 2 was also examined in the relationships between political partici- pation and negativism. The 125 subjects scored a mean of 2.65 and a standard deviation of 1.29 on the Negativism Scale (see Table 3.2). There was no significant relationships between political partici- pation and negativism (r = -.07, N = 125) although the correlations were in the predicted direction. Subsequently, the scores of negativism were studied between the high and low political participation groups. Table 3.5 shows the results.

Table 3.5

Means, Standard Deviations and <u>t</u>-test for Negativism between High and Low Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Negativism Mean	SD	<u>t</u>	P
High PP (N=65)	67.03	(3.72)	2.58	1.34	-.63	N.S.
Low PP	52.67	(2.93)	2.73	1.26		

As shown in the results, no significant differences of negativism was found between the two groups with high and low political participation. The results did not support the hypothesis.

c. <u>Low Political Participation vs. Assault.</u> As seen in
Table 3.2, the 125 subjects obtained a mean score of 3.60 and a
standard deviation of 1.77 on the Assault Scale. No significant
correlations were obtained between political participation and
assault (r = -.07, N = 125) although the correlation was in the
predicted direction. Then the scores obtained on assault were
examined between the high political participation and the low
political participation. The results of the examination are shown
in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6

Means, Standard Deviations and <u>t</u>-test for Assault between
High and Low Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Assault Mean	SD	<u>t</u>	P
High PP (N=65)	67.03	(3.72)	3.55	1.83	-.25	N.S.
Low PP (N=60)	52.67	(2.93)	3.63	1.78		

No significant difference in assault was found between the two
groups of high and low political participation. Because there
were also no correlations between political participation and
assault, the results did not support the hypothesis.

(3). <u>Hypothesis 3: Low Political Participation vs. Preference</u>
<u>for Violent Conflict Resolution Strategies.</u> The third and last

hypothesis stated that individuals low political participation
prefered violent conflict resolution strategies to nonviolent
ones. In other words, it was hypothesized that individuals who
were less involved in politics would show their preference for
force rather than for talk in order to solve a conflict. Subjects
were asked two questions. One was a general statement: "Peace
is maintained by force rather than by talk." The other was a
specific, contemporary issue: "The civil war in El Salvador
should be determined by military solutions in the long run."[13]

    a. <u>Low Political Participation vs. Preference for force</u>.
The 125 subjects scored a mean of 2.31 and a standard deviation
of 1.10 on the general statement (preference for force), as seen
in Table 3.2. No significant correlations between political
participation and preference for force was found (r = -.02,
df = 123) although the correlations were in the predicted direction.
Subsequently, the differences in scores of preference for force
were examined between the high and low political participation
groups. The results are presented in Table 3.7.

    As can be seen, in the results, no significant differences
in preference for force were found between the high and low
political participation groups. Consequently, these results did
not support the hypothesis.

    b. <u>Low Political Participation vs. Preference for Military</u>

---

[13]See items 15 and 19 in the PP Scale (Appendix II).

Table 3.7

Means, Standard Deviations and t-test for the Preference for
Force between High and Low Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Force-Pref- erence Mean	SD	t	P
High PP (N=65)	67.03	(3.72)	2.18	1.08		
					-.84	N.S.
Low PP	52.67	(2.93)	2.35	1.09		

Solutions in the Civil War in El Salvador. By the specific,

contemporary international political issue (the civil war in

El Salvador), the third hypothesis was also examined. As Table

3.2 presents, the subjects obtained a mean score of 2.14 and a

standard deviation of .89 on this issue. There were no significant

correlations between political participation and preference for

the military solutions (r = .02, df = 123) and the correlations

were not in the predicted direction. Then, the extent of the

differences in scores of preference for the military solutions

were investigated between the two groups with high and low

political participation. Table 3.8 presents the results. The

results showed that there were no significant differences in the

preference for military solutions in the civil war in El Salvador

between the high and low political participation groups. The

hypothesis was not retained.

(4). Preference for Force among Horticulture Students,

Political Science Students and Political Activists. As can be

Table 3.8

Means, Standard Deviations and t-test for the Preference for
Military Solutions in the Civil War in El Salvador between
High and Low Political Participation Groups

Group	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Military Solution Mean	SD	t	P
High PP (N=65)	67.03	(3.72)	2.08	.93		
					-.81	N.S.
Low PP (N=60)	52.67	(2.93)	2.22	.88		

seen in Table 2.3, the 43 Horticulture students, the 45 Political

Science students and the 28 political activists had significantly

distinct political participation scores. In other words, these

three groups have significantly different attitudes toward

politics. In connection with these different political partici-

pation, the preference for force among these groups was in-

vestigated. The results are shown in Table 3.9.

The results indicate that there were significant differences

in scores of preference for force among the four groups (F = 4.92,

P<.01, df = 3). In examining correlations between political

participation and preference for force in these four groups,

however, no such correlations were found in the original subjects

(r = -.02, N = 125), the Horticulture students (r = -.21, N = 43),

and the Political Science students (r = -.12, N = 45). However,

the correlation was statistically significant for the political

activists (r = .38, P<.05, N = 28). For political activists, it

Table 3.9

Analysis of Differences in the Preference for Force among
Original Subjects, Horticulture Students, Political Science
Students and Political Activists

Group	N	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Preference for Force Mean	SD
Original Subjects	125	59.91	(3.33)	2.31	1.10
Horticulture Students	43	63.47	(3.53)	1.98	1.12
Political Science Students	45	69.31	(3.85)	2.44	1.27
Political Activist	28	74.21	(4.12)	1.57	1.20

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	17.44	3	5.81	4.92	.01
Within Groups (error)	280.78	238	1.18		

can be said that "the higher the political participation, the

higher the preference for force." Consequently, these results

did not support the hypothesis on the relationships between

political participation and preference for force.

(5). Preference for Military Solutions in the Civil War

in El Salvador among Horticulture Students, Political Science Students

and Political Activists. The three groups of subjects with

significantly different political participation (see Table 2.3)

also responded to the question of the civil war in El Salvador.

Table 3.10 shows the results. As can be seen in Table 3.10, there

were significant differences in the preference for military solution

in El Salvador among the four groups (F = 11.58, P<.01, df = 3).

Table 3.10

Analysis of Differences in the Preference for Military Solutions
in the Civil War in El Salvador among Original Subjects,
Horticulture Students, Political Science Students and Political
Activists

Group	N	P. Participation Mean (per item)		Military Solu- tion Mean	SD
Original Subjects	125	59.91	(3.33)	2.44	.89
Horticulture Students	43	63.47	(3.53)	1.74	.95
Political Science Students	45	69.31	(3.85)	1.75	1.00
Political Activists	28	74.21	(4.12)	1.13	.46

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	26.40	3	8.80	11.58	.01
Within Groups (error)	181.87	238	0.76		

The results indicate that the political activists group

with highest political participation showed least preference for

military solutions in El Salvador. On the other hand, the 125

original subjects with lowest political participation among the

four groups showed most preference for military solutions in El

Salvador. This supports the thrid hypothesis on the relationships

of low political participation and high preference for violent

conflict resolution strategies.

(6). <u>Summary</u>. The purpose of this study were to test the

three hypotheses: the correlations between (1) low political

participation and feelings of high political incapability,

(2) low political participation and aggression, and (3) low

political participation and the preference for violent conflict

resolution strategies. The study showed:

1. There are significant correlations between low political
    participation and feelings of high political incapability.
    Therefore, it can be said that individuals who are less
    involved in politics tend to feel high political
    incapability.

2. Significant relationships were found between low
    political participation and hostility toward foreign
    countries or people. Individuals low in political
    participation tend to reject foreign countries or
    people and to take a more militant stand in inter-
    national relations.

3. There were no significant correlations between low
    political participation and negativism, nor between low
    political participation and assault.

4. No significant relationships were found between low
    political participation and preference for force, or
    between low political participation and the preference
    for military solutions in the civil war in El Salvador;
    however,

5. Although the political activists, among the subjects,
    showed least preference for military solutions in the
    civil war in El Salvador, they disclosed the positive
    correlations between political participation and
    preference for force.

V. DISCUSSION

A. On the Political Participation Scale. There are not

many scales measuring political attitudes. Rather, there are

only few such scales that show satisfactory reliability and

validity. Three up-to-date volume (Shaw & Wright, 1967;

Robinson, Rush & Head, 1968; Robinson & Shaver, 1973) containing

attitude scales measuring attitudes toward numerous objects were

searched to acquire a scale to measure "political participation".

21 out of 347 scales (6%) in these literature were concerned

with measuring political attitudes. Only one out of 21 political

attitude scales provided information of both validity and

reliability of the scale. The other scales gave only reliability and

no information about validation of the scale. Under these

conditions, it was decided to construct a political participation

Scale.

The Political Participation Scale constructed in this study

was intended to contain a wide spectrum of political behavior

and stimuli. Through the process of conceptualization of political

participation, 60 items were pooled and administered to 121

college students (54 males and 67 females, mean age 19.91). The

split-half correlation coefficient was .75 when corrected for

full length by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula.

The "known-groups" technique was used for validation of this

scale. Three groups of subjects with theoretically different

political participation quantities and qualities responded to

this PP Scale. As can be seen in Table 2.3, this scale showed

significantly discriminatory power among horticulture students, political science students and political activists. For the PP Scale, the horticulture student (N=43) with theoretically low political participation obtained a mean score of 63.47 and a standard deviation of 9.15. The political science students (N=45) with theoretically high political participation scored a mean of 69.31 and a standard deviation of 8.20. The political activists (N=28) with theoretically highest political participation among the three groups scored a mean of 74.21 and a standard deviation of 5.97. There were significant differences in political participation scores between the horticulture students and the political science students ($\underline{t}$ = -3.16, P<.005, df = 86), the political science students and the political activists ($\underline{t}$ = -2.74, P<.005, df = 71) and the horticulture students and the political activists ($\underline{t}$ = -5.49, P<.0005, df = 69).

In order to improve the Political Participation Scale, further scaling efforts should be made in two directions. One is other validation tests, and the other is developing on expanded item pool. Except for the known-groups technique, several other validation methods are reported; concurrent validity, construct validity and predictive validity (Shively, 1973; Shaw & Wright, 1967). Among these, "construct validity... is more meaningful for theoretical purposes" (Shaw & Wright, 1967, p. 19).

For the item pool, the PP Scale excluded such items that were considered irrelevant. For example, "holding public and party office," "Soliciting political fund," or "being a candidate

for office." Milbrath (1965) states that only 1 or 2 percent

may be involved in these political activities or show favorable

attitudes toward them. Simmons (1972) has indicated that a

primary indifference toward public leadership and change was a

primary value for college students. Because of these reasons,

such political attitudinal items that might need higher political

commitment had been eliminated from the item pool for the

PP Scale construction.

In addition, other attitudinal items had been also excluded:

these are, for example, political demonstration or coup d'état.

Although political demonstrations are considered a legitimate

expression of political feeling in a democracy and are widely

made, "it is a behavior used by only certain sectors of society"

(Milbrath, 1965, p. 18). Many other sectors do not regard

demonstrations as "dignified" and they refuse to use them (Milbrath,

1965). On the other hand, one study has found that political

activists of the 1960s were still political activists and

participated in "both institutional and non-institutional politics"

(Fendrich, 1974). Furthermore, Halstead (1978) reports that a

great number of female veterans of the civil-rights movement

and the antiwar movement have become involved in the women's

liberation movement. These reports suggest necessity of broader

conceptualization of political participation in terms of non-

institutional political participation.

B. The three Hypotheses and the Results. A major indicator

of political participation is voting. There were 82 in the 125

subjects in this study who were eligible for the 1980 presidential

election. 44 out of the 82 persons voted for the election

(53.7%). This ratio is nearly the same as one in the national

level of the 1980 turnouts (53.95%). Those individuals whose

age ranged 18 to 29, however, showed the lowest turnout (6%)

in the nation. On the national level, by this single criterion

(voting), the subjects showed high political participation.

This chapter will deal with the extent of political participation

in broader definition and analyses of the results on the relation-

ships between political participation and international hostility,

negativism, assault and preference for violent conflict resolution

strategies.

The results of this study support two of the three hypotheses

and shed new light on several important theoretical issues for

further research. They showed significant relationships between

low political participation and high political incapability,

and between low political participation and high international

hostility. No significant correlations were found between low

political participation and negativism, assault and the preference

for violent conflict resolution strategies.

(1). Political Participation vs. Feelings of political

incapability. It was hypothesized that low political participation

was related to feelings of political incapability. In his

Political Alienation Scale, Olsen (1969) divided political

alienation into two types of alienated attitudes toward politics: incapability and discontentment. In the first instance, alienation is imposed involuntarily upon the person by the social system, whereas in the second case, alienation is voluntarily chosen by the individual as an attitude toward the system. Under incapability, the person feels powerlessness, normlessness and meaninglessness; on the other hand, under discontentment, the individual has feelings of dissatisfaction, disillusionment and dissimilarity. Significant relationships were found in the predicted direction between political participation and feelings of political incapability, but, there were no significant correlations between political participation and discontentment $(r = -.11, N = 125)$. That is, low political participation is related to feelings of high political incapability. In other words, individuals with feelings of low political incapability are more likely to participate in various types of political activities and expose themselves to political stimuli. In addition, Olsen (1969) reported that persons with high incapability and low discontentment voted overwhelmingly Democratic, whereas those with high discontentment and low incapability largely voted Republican (p. 295).

(2). <u>Political Participation vs. Aggression</u>. The second hypothesis was that individuals low in political participation

showed high aggressiveness and hostility. Balswick and Balswick

(1980) state that student alienation could result in either

escapism or rebellion. Individuals low in political participation

may feel themselves abandoned or frustrated by conventional society.

Those individuals sometimes by-pass established institutions,

protest indignities, and try to create a more tolerable way of

life through informal social organizations and movements (Toch,

1965, p. 3). According to stimulus equity aggression theory

(Larsen, 1976), aversive stimuli (pain and arbitrary-noxious

stimuli) produce responses of rage-injury through the emotion

of anger as intervening variable (p. 128). Responses of rage-

injury and violence may result from economic, political,

social, and socio-economic problems in the contemporary American

society; inflation, unemployment, budget cut for social welfare,

military buildup, etc. In addition, college studetns have also

been making complaints about tuition increase, financial aid

cut, reduction of academic courses and departments, and so forth.

Feierabend and Feierabend (1972) reported political instability

as results of social frustration. Violence by ghetto inhabitants

(Falk, 1959) and inter-class hostility (Post, 1959) were also

found as resulting from frustration. Larsen (1976) has stated that

under conditions of frustration and poverty, with no hope to

change these(feeling impotent), violence often seems the only

alternative (p. 113). The second hypothesis was based on these

theoretical and research backgrounds. Low political participation

results in less opportunities of access to the political system,

which therefore brings isolation from the political process
and goal blockage of resolving political, social and socio-
economic issues. Consequently responses of rage-injury are
likely to be produced through the emotion of anger.

The results showed significant inverse correlations between
political participation and international hostility. Furthermore,
significant differences in hostility were also found between
the high political participation group and the low political
participation group (see Table 3.4). From these results it can
be said that individuals low political participation tend to
reject foreign countries or people and take a more militant
stand in international relations.

A significant sex difference was also found in international
hostility. For the Helfant's International Hostility Scale, the
male subjects obtained a mean score of 52.94 (2.94 per item) and
a standard deviation of 8.40 while the female subjects scored
56.56 (3.14 per item) and 7.43 respectively. These results show
that men are more hostile than women toward foreign countries or
people. This sex difference is statistically significant
(t = -2.64, P<.01, df = 123).

These findings suggest a question: which factor (political
participation or sex) more strongly reflects to international
hostility? This study showed significant correlations between
low political participation and high international hostility.
Furthermore, this study also disclosed significant sex difference
in political participation: women with relative low political

participation and men with relative high political participation.

These results may suggest that women are more hostile in inter-

national relations than men. As can be seen above, however, men

showed more international hostility. Sex seems to be a strong

factor in research on international hostility. Verba and Nie (1972)

have reported that women are less active in politics than men (p. 97),

but that "men were almost twice as likely as women to be hawkish

on the war in Vietnam" (p. 287). Further research on hostility

in international relations must carefully control to these sex

differences.

The hypothesis which predicted a negative correlations

between political participation and negativism, and between political

participation and assault were statistically rejected (see Table

3.5 & Table 3.6). No prediction of these two types of hostility

can be made on the basis of political participation. It may be

said, however, that because assault is not an "attitudinal component

but a motor component" of hostility (Buss & Durkee, 1957), the

possibility and the strength of hostility are direct functions of

the degree of frustration (Dollard et al., 1939), not the extent

to which the individual is involved in politics. Although Swang

(1974) has reported the "AAA Syndrome" that alienation, anxiety

and aggression have triadic relationships especially in young

people (16 to 28 years), this study did not support the relation-

ships in political fields in terms of the relationships between

political incapability (a component of political alienation defined

by Olsen, 1969) and assault ($r = -.03$, $N = 125$). There were no

significant sex differences in negativism or assault tendency.
It can be concluded that low political participation, negativism
and assault are independent behavior each other.

(3). Political Participation vs. the Preference for Violent
Conflict Resolution Strategies. The third and last hypothesis
predicted that individuals low in political participation would
prefer violent conflict resolution strategies to non-violent
ones. In order to test this hypothesis, two types of questions
were asked to the 125 subjects. One was a specific question
(the civil war in El Salvador) and the other was a general one
(force vs. talk issue). Because individuals low political
participation tend to be highly hostile against foreign countries
or people, it was predicted that those individuals would prefer
to use of violence in a international conflict as seen in El
Salvador. The 125 subjects' responses showed that there were no
correlations between political participation and the preference
for force or violence in a conflict. The results indicate that
while individuals low in political participation tend to be
hostile in international relations, the same individuals do not
necessarily prefer to use force or violence in an international
conflict. This problem may be explained by Larsen's suggestion
(1971) that "personal aggression is frowned upon, at least in
our culture (p. 275). Responses to questionnaire items are at
least in part determined by the respondent's desire to place
himself in a favorable light (termed "social desirability" by
Edwards, 1953). Because use of force or violence are generally

frowned, the respondent's social desirability may reflect to

such items: "The civil war in El Salvador should be determined

by military solutions in the long run." or "Peace is maintained

by force rather than by talk." in the PP Scale.

Subsequently, the same questions were asked to the three

other groups of individuals whose political participation

were significantly distinct (see Table 2.3): the horticulture

students, the political science students and the political

activists. The results showed that there were significant

differences in the preference for force among these groups.

Furthermore, significant differences in the preference for

military solutions in El Salvador were also found among the same

groups. Especially it is worthwhile noting that in the political

activists group there were significant positive correlations

between political participation and the preference for force

while they showed the least preference for military solutions in

the civil war in El Salvador. Among the political activists,

in other words, high political participation and high preference

for force are directly proportional. They, however strongly

disagree with military solutions in the civil war in El Salvador

(mean score of the military solutions: 1.13). These results

raise a question: what causes the discrepancy?

By definition, "high" political participation requires a

greater expenditure of energy and personal commitment (Milbrath,

1965) and probably requires an ideology to both defend and pro-

mote his(her) political commitment and policies. "Of great

importance is the relationship of ideological factors to aggression" (Larsen, 1976, p. 280).

The political activists group in this study consisted mainly of those of the local Central America Task Force and the local Citizen Actions for Lasting Security. In fact, they have been blaming the military junta of El Salvador and the intervention of the U.S. government into the civil war. It is not too hard to predict that these political activists are against and hostile toward the "oppressor" but do not necessarily deny the use of violence by the "oppressed." They have a ideology to establish justice or equity and discriminate types of violence based on their ideology. Their political commitment and behavior show that they tend to favor revolution and wars of liberation, if necessary.

Graham and Gurr (1966) have made a distinction between positive and negative violence. As the positive category, they pointed out police violence, revolutionary violence, civil war violence, indian wars, labor violence, vigilante violence, and agrarian violence. It is also clear that there is a great difference between police violence and revolutionary violence on the basis of ideology. On the other hand, various types of violence for personal gain were considered as the negative category. Differentiation between force and violence has been attempted and philosophical justification of use of violence also has been pointed out under certain circumstances (Wells, 1970).

Ideology positively functions to justify violence (Doob,

1964). It decides the direction of violence, and determines its strength (for example, an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth). Freshback (1971) maintains that in a political world, ideology has been working such that violence used in supporting the social order is normally looked upon as much more appropriate or necessary than violence for personal gain. Revolutionaries, Freshback continues, may also oppose violence for personal gain while viewing it as a necessary means of creating change. For further research on aggression (violence), ideological factors should not be ignored because "the ideological component of stimulus equity aggression is the idea of equity or justice" (Larsen, 1976, p. 281).

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper reports on the development of a scale measuring
attitudes toward political participation with some reliability
and validity information. The Political Participation Scale
shows reasonably good reliability (the corrected split-half
reliability coefficient $r = .75$) and validity in terms of
discriminatory power among three groups with different political
participation quantities and qualities.

Employing the scale, correlations between political
participation and feelings of political incapability, aggression,
and the preference for violent conflict resolution strategies
were investigated. The following conclusions were reached:
(1) low political participation is related to high feelings of
political incapability; (2) low political participation is related
to high hostility toward foreign countries or people; (3) the
extent of political participation is not correlated to that of
negativism or assault tendency; (4) no significant correlations
can be found between political participation and the preference
for violent conflict resolution strategies; however, (5) ideology
contributes to the preference for force or violence.

The scale used in this study do not provide information on
ideological factors to aggression. Further research is necessary
in this field. Relationships between conservatism and hostility
(McClosky, 1958), liberals vs. radicals to violence, or funda-
mentalism vs. Buddhism to aggression are also of interest and
importance in the political fields of psychological research.

Informations on values which are enduring central beliefs guiding

individuals' behavior (Rokeach, 1973) is not provided in terms

of the relationship between political participation and values.

They are all necessary for further research.

In the 1980 presidential election, only 6% of young people

(18 to 29 years) voted. In such a political atmosphere with

high feelings of political incapability and the lowest turnouts

since the 1948 presidential election, the numerous young people

seem to accumulate frustration. If social scientists are

responsible for answering these questions:

> (a) Do repeated frustration tend to summate and lead to
>   higher levels of aggression (Berkowitz, 1962)?

> (b) Do individuals with low political participation fran-
>   tically indulge in politics for apolitical motivations
>   such as conformity (Riesman and Glazer, 1950)?

> (c) Do individuals with high feelings of political in-
>   capability (low political participation), because of
>   learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975; Seligman and
>   Maier, 1967), leave themselves to the social system
>   which otherwise continue to breed "noxious stimuli"
>   causing rage-injury responses?

further research should be made as analytical tools for "the

science of society" to take steps toward eliminating hostile

behavior.

> "By definition, aggression research is policy research.
> Psychology is engaged in the scientific venture of pre-
> dicting and controlling human behavior. Humans have
> the ability of making choices and decisions. These
> choices must include an evaluation of what is desirable
> behavior. Aggression research should have policies
> for changing aggression." (Larsen, 1976, p. 284)

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Larsen, K.S., Coleman, D., Forbes, J., & Johnson, R. Is the subject's personality or the experimental situation a better predict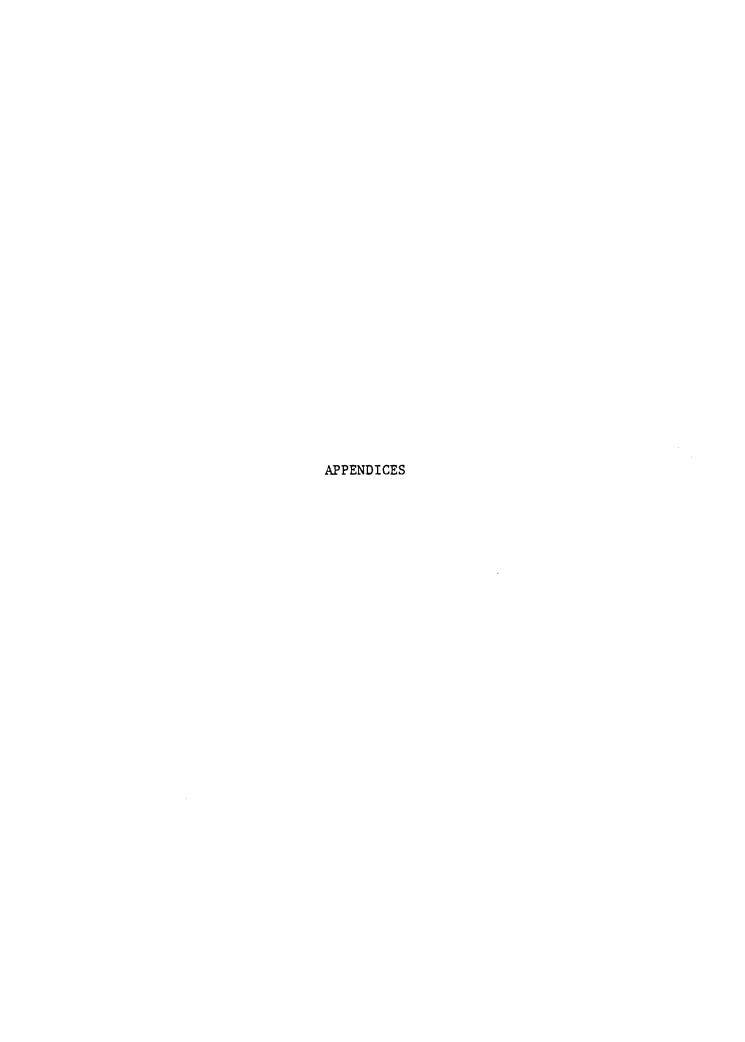or of subject's willingness to administer shock to a victim? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 22(3), 287-295.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Pool of Sixty Statements for Political Participation Scale

Age_____   Sex: M F   Class: FR   SO   JR   SR   GR   Major_____

Directions For This Scale

Listed below are a number of statements collected from a variety of sources. You will probably agree with some of these statements and disagree with others. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with them. Please read each statement carefully. Decide if you agree or disagree and estimate the strength of your opinion by circling the number in the appropriate column to the left of the statement. First impressions are usually best in such matters. Please circle only one alternative for each statement.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5	4	3	2	1

5 4 3 2 1   1 My parent frequently talked about politics.

5 4 3 2 1   2 I do not like to be asked what to do about world peace.

5 4 3 2 1   3 I want to take at least one political science course before I graduate.

5 4 3 2 1   4 I will cut a class if I am assigned to initiate a discussion on political issues.

5 4 3 2 1   5 A monetary contribution to a political candidate is one of the main sources of corruption.

5 4 3 2 1   6 We should frequently make contact with our government to check its arbitrary decision.

5 4 3 2 1   7 I will wear a button to support my candidate.

5 4 3 2 1   8 It is kind of fun to involve others in a discussion for world peace policies.

5 4 3 2 1   9 My friends seldom talk about politics.

5 4 3 2 1 10 I dislike a political rally.

5 4 3 2 1 11 I think voting in a presidential election is one of the most important duties of a citizen.

5 4 3 2 1 12 I have no interest in initiating a discussion on politics.

5 4 3 2 1 13 Reading TIME or Newsweek is not boring.

5 4 3 2 1 14 I avoid socializing with those who initiate political discussion.

5 4 3 2 1 15 Voting makes a difference in how the government runs things.

5 4 3 2 1 16 When I get a newspaper, I usually read sports articles first.

5 4 3 2 1 17 I approve seeing stickers on the cars of my friends supporting political candidates.

5 4 3 2 1 18 Attending political meetings is an important action for me.

5 4 3 2 1 19 Some of my friends talk to me about political issues.

5 4 3 2 1 20 I would choose a geography course rather than a political science course if they were offered as an elective.

5 4 3 2 1 21 TV news programs are so boring that I seldom watch them.

5 4 3 2 1 22 It is very important to me to exercise the right to vote in a presidential election.

5 4 3 2 1 23 Campaign contributors discourage me to vote because I feel they are buyers purchasing future political favors.

5 4 3 2 1 24 I am not interested in persuading others to vote for the candidate I support.

5 4 3 2 1 25 I do not like to see someone with a button supporting a political idea.

5 4 3 2 1 26 Voting does not do any good.

5 4 3 2 1 27 I usually read a newspaper from the first page to the last page.

5 4 3 2 1 28 I do not want to date my boyfriend/girlfriend when he/she wears a button expressing a political idea.

5 4 3 2 1   29   Not to vote in a congressional election is to give up a major responsibility to our society.

5 4 3 2 1   30   It is waste of time to vote in a presidential election.

5 4 3 2 1   31   I do not remember my parent talking to me about world peace.

5 4 3 2 1   32   I would hesitate to put a sticker on my car for anti-war appeal.

5 4 3 2 1   33   It is useless to write to a congressman to voice disagreement.

5 4 3 2 1   34   I like to socialize with those who have special concerns about policies of our government.

5 4 3 2 1   35   I do not want my boyfriend/girlfriend to talk to me about international political problems.

5 4 3 2 1   36   Voting is the best way to express my opinion.

5 4 3 2 1   37   I would like to encourage others to exercise the right to vote.

5 4 3 2 1   38   I feel guilty by not participating in discussions about government policies.

5 4 3 2 1   39   I would not vote even if I was asked to do so by my intimate friends.

5 4 3 2 1   40   One of the reasons why I do not try to write to a government official is because I feel I have no influence on the political structure.

5 4 3 2 1   41   I feel uncomfortable when I am around people who are debating national policies.

5 4 3 2 1   42   If my boyfriend/girlfriend brought up political issues in our conversation, I would welcome them.

5 4 3 2 1   43   I am not interested in presidential elections.

5 4 3 2 1   44   Voting cannot stop the irresponsibility of the power elite.

5 4 3 2 1   45   I respect a person who has strong political ideas.

5 4 3 2 1   46   It is exicting to participate in the political process through exhorting others to vote for a certain candidate.

5 4 3 2 1 47 I feel urged to write to the White House when I disagree with its decision.

5 4 3 2 1 48 I am interested in watching programs like "60 Minutes" or "World News Tonight" on TV.

5 4 3 2 1 49 I feel it is almost impossible to live without being involved in political issues.

5 4 3 2 1 50 My voting has no influence on a presidential election.

5 4 3 2 1 51 I feel the decision making of the President is unaffected by the outcome of elections.

5 4 3 2 1 52 I would feel uncomfortable to initiate a class discussion on world disarmament.

5 4 3 2 1 53 I have no interest in watching the President's address on TV.

5 4 3 2 1 54 A small group of powerful and selfish individuals misuse my vote in presidential elections.

5 4 3 2 1 55 I feel a very close relationship with our government through voting.

5 4 3 2 1 56 I recommend others to vote for my candidate.

5 4 3 2 1 57 I feel that it is a necessary political activity to contribute money to a political party.

5 4 3 2 1 58 Voting is my obligation.

5 4 3 2 1 59 When I find an interesting political article in a newspaper, I feel urged to discuss it with my friends.

5 4 3 2 1 60 It is sad to see many people are not concerned about world disarmament.

APPENDIX II

Political Participation Scale (PPS)*

Directions For This Questionnaire

This questionnaire is an attempt to get your opinion on some
issues. We are interested only in the extent to which you agree
or disagree with the following statements, and not in the truth
or falsity of them. In some cases you may feel you do not have
enough information to make a judgment; in such instances we would
like you to make the best judgment possible.
    Please read each statement carefully and respond to it in
terms of your personal agreement or disagreement according to the
following plan:

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

Age____   Sex: M F   Class: FR SO JR SR GR

Major_____   Occupation (if not student) _____

I voted in the last presidential election (if eligible) YES NO
I belong to a fraternity/sorority   YES   NO

Please circle the letter indicating your choice.

A B C D E   1 I do not remember my parent talking to me about
                world peace.

A B C D E   2 I think voting in a presidential election is one
                of the most important duties of a citizen.

A B C D E   3 TV news programs are so boring that I seldom watch
                them.

A B C D E   4 I do not like to be asked what to do about world
                peace.

A B C D E   5 Voting is my obligation.

A B C D E   6 I have no interest in initiating a discussion on
                politics.

A B C D E   7 It is kind of fun to involve others in a discussion
                for world peace policies.

A B C D E   8 I have no interest in watching the President's address
                on TV.

A B C D E   9 Reading <u>TIME</u> or <u>Newsweek</u> is not boring.

A B C D E 10 My friends seldom talk about politics.

A B C D E 11 I recommend others to vote for my candidate.

A B C D E 12 It is very important to me to exercise the right to vote in a presidential election.

A B C D E 13 Attending political meetings is an important action for me.

A B C D E 14 Voting makes a difference in how the government runs things.

A B C D E 15* The civil war in El Salvador should be determined by military solutions in the long run.

A B C D E 16 Not to vote in a congressional election is to give up a major responsibility to our society.

A B C D E 17 I dislike a political rally.

A B C D E 18 It is exciting to participate in the political proces through exhorting others to vote for a certain candidate.

A B C D E 19* Peace is maintained by force rather than by talk.

A B C D E 20 I would feel uncomfortable to initiate a class discussion on world disarmament.

(*): Items 15 and 19 were not originally included in the PPS. They were added by the experimenter to investigate relationships between political participation and violent/non-violent conflict resolution strategies.

APPENDIX III

Helfant's Scale of Hostility in Internation Relations

A Survey of Opinions and Beliefs about International Relations

DIRECTIONS: Indicate your feeling about each statement by putting
a check (✔) on the appropriate column. Be sure to put
a check after every statement.

Strongly   Agree   Don't know   Disagree   Strongly
Agree   Disagree
  A   B   C   D   E

A B C D E   1   In my opinion, the United States should give up
                 trying to be on friendly terms with other countries.

A B C D E   2   I think that if the United States is friendly toward
                 other countries they are not as likely to be aggressive
                 toward us.

A B C D E   3   In my opinion, only foolish dreamers believe that
                 international friendliness can accomplish anything
                 in the modern world.

A B C D E   4   I feel that in international relations it is just
                 plain common sense to "love thy neighbor as theyself."

A B C D E   5   I believe that the U.S. should send food and materials
                 to any country that needs them.

A B C D E   6   In my opinion, we shouldn't risk our happiness and
                 well-being by getting involved with other countries.

A B C D E   7   I think that helping foreign countries is a waste of
                 money.

A B C D E   8   In my opinion, international good will is essential
                 to the welfare of the United States.

A B C D E   9   It is my belief that we should get even with any
                 country that tries to take advantage of the United
                 States.

A B C D E   10   I feel that we can't have "peace on earth, good will
                 to men," because other nations are not of good will.

A B C D E   11   I think that being friendly with other countries
                 will do more good than harm.

A B C D E 12 It is my feeling that we should try to help all
nations, whether we get anything special out of it
or not.

A B C D E 13 I think that other countries are always getting
us into wars.

A B C D E 14 I think that being friendly with other nations is
a real help in solving international problems.

A B C D E 15 It is my belief that other nations are often plotting
against us.

A B C D E 16 In my opinion, all sensible people believe in trying
to be friendly with other countries.

APPENDIX IV

Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory*

Directions for This Questionnaire

Please read each item carefully and put a check mark (✔) on T if
it expresses your feeling of F if it does not express your feeling.
Wherever possible, let your own personal experience determine your
answer. Since first impressions are usually best in such matters,
work as rapidly as you can. Be sure to answer every item.

T F   1   Unless somebody asks me in a nice way, I won't do what
           they want.

T F   2   When someone makes a rule I don't like, I am tempted to
           break it.

T F   3   When someone is bossy, I do the opposite of what he asks.

T F   4   When people are bossy, I take my time just to show them.

T F   5   Occasionally when I am mad at someone, I will give him the
           "silent treatment."

T F   6   I have known people who pushed me so far that we came to
           blows.

T F   7   If I have to resort to physical violence to defend my
           rights, I will.

T F   8   I get into fights about as often as the next person.

T F   9   When I really lose my temper, I am capable of slapping
           someone.

T F 10   I seldom strike back, even if someone hits me first.

T F 11   People who continually pester you are asking for a punch
           in the nose.

T F 12   Whoever insults me or my family is asking for a fight.

T F 13   If somebody hits me first, I let him have it.

T F 14   I can think of no good reason for ever hitting anyone.

T F 15   Once a while I cannot control my urge to harm others.

(*): These are two subscales out of seven subscales from Buss-
      Durkee Hostility Inventory (1957): Negativism, 1-5;
      Assault, 6-15, respectively.

APPENDIX V

Olsen's Political Alienation Scale*

Please circle A if you agree or D if you disagree.

A D 1 I believe public officials don't care much what people
          like me think.

A D 2 There is no way other than voting that people like me
          can influence actions of the government.

A D 3 Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated
          that I can't really understand what's going on.

A D 4 People like me don't have any say about what the govern-
          ment does.

A D 5 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.

A D 6 For the most part, the government serves the interests
          of a few organized groups, such as business or labor,
          and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like
          myself.

A D 7 It seems to me that the government often fails to take
          necessary actions on important matters, even when most
          people favor such actions.

A D 8 As the government is now organized operated, I think
          it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial
          problems facing the country today.

(*): Political Incapability/futility Scale, 1-4 and Discontentment
      or cynicism with politics, 5-8.