# ABSTRACT <br> STYLES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF VENEZUELAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: A REPLICATION AND EXTENSION 

By

## Armando Villarroel

This research tests the generality of a theory of social action based on a three-fold typology of social participation styles. The three genotype concepts on which the theory rests are postulated to correspond to three principal motivational meanings. These genotypes are called normative, affiliative and purposive. In this research, the genotypes are specified in content and linked to three phenotypic styles of political participation, identified as spectator, booster and gladiator.

Questionnaire information was collected from a sample of 509 Venezuelan university students. The data dealt with attitudes, personal characteristics and patterns of political participation in their country's 1973 national electoral campaigns. A factor analysis of nineteen participation activities showed the existence of three distinctive contents of participation behavior; these corresponded to the three phenotypes predicated by the
theory. A comparison was made of these three distinctive contents of participation behavior with similar results obtained in an earlier study in which the same dimensions were tested. The degree of correspondence of the dependent variables prescribed the feasibility of the comparison of this research with the previous one. This comparison was based on a replication of the measures of the first study. The motivational structure of each one of the participation styles was determined in order to evaluate the predictive power of a set of thirty-six socialstructural and personality variables. A multi-variate technique which allows for interaction was used in performing this evaluation. The comparison of these results with the first study was the "virtual" replication phase of this research.

After comparisons were performed between the hypothesized relationships associated with each style and the results of the two studies, a few of the variables which showed consistently low explanatory power were identified. These variables were substituted in a new multivariate model by others which were thought to have better explanatory capacity. This was called the "systematic" replication.

An evaluation of the results of both the virtual and systematic replications shows parental political interest, assertiveness, intrinsic career involvement and
evaluation of self in past as accurate predictors of all three styles of political participation as seen in the degree of correspondence held across time. For the spectator style the variables which have retained their importance over time include: political efficacy, social isolation, punitiveness, social reform orientation, and student role responsibility. These variables are all characteristic of the normative style of social participation, since they stress conformity and support of sociocultural traditions. With regard to gladiator the variables which have remained important include political efficacy, self-satisfaction and student role responsibility. These variables indicate the purposive nature of the gladiator style: the expression and attainment of rational mastery over objects and events internal and external to the actor. Finally for booster participation the variables which have consistent importance include: extroversion and leisuretime socializing. These variables defined the affiliative style; high valuation of and search for affective support.

In the systematic replication modernization was shown to be an important predictor for booster and gladiator styles and satisfaction with life as a student is an important predictor for booster and gladiator. These two variables are theoretically linked to the styles where the relationships were found.
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After studying the results of several independent tests of the empirical foundations on which the tricomponential theory is based, the evidence seems to justify the assertion that both the conceptual framework and the empirical evidence are sound. No serious discrepancies between the hypotheses derived from the tricomponential theory and the two sets of empirical findings were found. Empirical coincidence represented a major confirmation of the main postulates of the theory.

# STYLES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF <br> VENEZUELAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: <br> A REPLICATION AND EXTENSIOiv <br> By <br> Armando Villarroel 

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

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## ARMANDO VILLARROEL

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the members of my doctoral committee. Professors Frederick B. Waisanen and Donald $W$. Olmsted provided me with insightful comments and suggestions. Professor J. Allan Beegle, with whom I have had the privilege of being associated with since the beginning of my graduate training, has been a constant source of encouragement, a good teacher and above all a friend. A special note of gratitude is due to Professor Bernard M. Finifter, the chairman of my committee. The original idea of replicating Dr. Finifter's dissertation research took shape during his Comparative Social Psychology Seminar (Soc 982) taught in the Winter of 1972. During all phases of this research Dr. Finifter offered unselfishlessly of his time, expertise, and sociological imagination.

The Department of Sociology at Michigan State University, by granting me Teaching Assistantships and a Research Assistantship in the Comparative Sociology Program, provided me financial aid that enabled me to complete this project. I also thank the Fondo Nacional de

Investigaciones Agropecuarias and the Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Tecnológicas (CONICIT), both agencies of the Venezuelan government, for the help provided at different stages of my graduate training.

Thanks are also given to the anonymous 509 UCV students who filled out the questionnaires providing the raw data for this dissertation. I also appreciate the help offered by those who like Elizabeth de Cenborain and Dr. Luis Manuel Manzanilla helped me to make the necessary arrangements for collecting the data, also thanks to those who helped me administering and coding the questionnaires.

I want to recognize the moral support provided by my parents Dr. Dámaso Villarroel and Ascensión Villalba de Villarroel, and my parents-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Lamb. I also recognize that kind of support from other persons such as Dr. Manuel Alers-Montalvo, Dr. Luis Manuel Peñalver and Dr. Elizabeth de Caldera and many others whom I fail to mention. Special recognition is given to Gary and Lauren Shepherd for their help in so many different ways. Thanks also to Irene Orr for her very efficient secretarial assistance.

My deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Teena, and to my son, Armando Raúl, to the two of them I dedicate
this work. Teena has provided me with encouragement when the going was rough, and lots of help in many undescribable ways. Armando Raúl has given me inspiration and the opportunity to get away from this work.

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## Introduction to the Research Problem

Identification of patterns of social participation, and the understanding of the mechanisms responsible for these regularities of behavior is one of the most important concerns of sociology. In this dissertation I intend to study patterns of political participation of a sample of Venezuelan university students in their country's 1973 political campaigns.

This research is an attempt to replicate and extend an earlier study by Finifter (1968), which is based on a general theoretical orientation called the "tricomponential theory of social action" (Finifter, 1972a). Finifter's study was an investigation of patterns of political participation of a sample of university students in the Venezuelan political campaigns of 1963. The results of that research demonstrated (Finifter 1968, 1972a, 1972b) the existence of three distinctive styles of political participation which conform to derivations from the tricomponential theory.


## Importance of Replication Studies

Replication of studies can provide evidence for evaluating empirical findings and theoretical assumptions. Such tests have served invaluably in the natural sciences, but are not as frequent in the social sciences. Even in experimental psychology, a field which more closely approaches the methods of the natural sciences, the absence of sufficient replications has been noted (Berne, 1973). One reason for the lack of replications in sociology is the absence of an adequate theory of the logic and techniques of replication.

I feel that both the development of the theory and the techniques of replication have been hindered by the lack of (1) agreement among leading sociologists on the possibility of arriving at generalizable findings, and (2) agreement on the methodology for obtaining these generalizations. I have organized the ideas expressed by several important authors with regard to these two issues into three major positions.

Position One is illustrated by Raymond Aron (1959) who states that the only reasonable approach of the social sciences is nomothetic. Since social relations should be seen as a unique series of events, adherents to this point of view would not find any real necessity for the development of a theory of replication. Position Two, advanced by scholars who mainly sustain a social anthronological
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approach, proposes that participant observation methods are more applicable to obtain generalizations since survey methodology is not applicable or has not been sufficiently developed. Position Three represented by Rokkan (1969), Vallier (1971), and Przeworski and Teune (1970) formulates both the possibility of generalizable findings and the use of survey methodology. Even though the elucidation of the crucial methodological problems presented by these three major positions is beyond the scope of this work, I think that the awareness of different alternatives makes it necessary to defend why a particular one was chosen over the two others.

The underlying ideas behind this dissertation will correspond to those of position Three mentioned above. The quest for generalization through the use of surveys is more plausible now, since more sophisticated survey procedures have been developed. ${ }^{1}$ The development of these techniques is closely linked to the so-called "data revolution," which is a consequence of the widespread availability of computers. The use of surveys will also allow both the establishment of data banks ${ }^{2}$ to facilitate replication

[^0]studies, and a multi-level analysis approach. This type of analysis allows for the isolation and differentiation of systemic and inter-systemic differences with regard to the dependent variables under consideration.

## The Replication Strategies

In this dissertation $I$ will use two types of replication strategies: "virtual" and "systematic." The first (for all practical purposes) repeats the original study asking the same questions and using the same methodology on a new population. The "systematic" replication is an attempt to obtain new findings which are expected from logical implications of the theory. ${ }^{3}$

The goals of the virtual replication are both theoretical and empirical. The theoretical goal is to test the generality of the tricomponential theory of social action. The tricomponential theory is an abstract and general theory which is designed not to be restricted to a specific instance of social participation. Social participation encompasses many aspects of social interaction. It includes participation in any formal or informal groups: in the family, religious organizations, sports, politics, etc. The tricomponential theory should be applicable to all of these specific settings.

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The tricomponential theory is intended to be a theory in the sense (Merton, 1949) that every proposition is deduced from more fundamental propositions, and can be tested by empirical evidence. At this point, however, the development of the theory allows only for a suggestive approximation to this degree of comprehensive formulation. The process of derivation is imprecise, and not every variable is linked to formal statements derived from the theory. The virtual replication hopefully will serve to test the validity of the postulates of the theory. The most fundamental propositions in this theory are a threefold typology of social participation styles. This typology is predicated on the distinctive motivational meanings which participation has for different actors. By proposing a typological classification of the motivational meanings associated with social participation the theory intends to shed light on this important sociological phenomenon. The theory is also orientational in that it is intended to alert researchers to the existence of these types of meanings in different forms of social participation. Because of its abstractness and generality its empirical grounding requires the use of auxiliary micro-theories which deal with particular aspects of social participation. The theory rests on three genotypic concepts which are postulated to correspond to three principal motivational
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meanings. The first genotype is called normative: it is characterized by adaptive structuring of experience which is often achieved through conformity and support for sociocultural traditions. The second genotypic component of action is called affiliative: it is characterized by a high valuation of and search for affective support. The third genotype of action is called purposive: it is characterized by the pursuit, expression and attainment of rational mastery over objects and events internal and external to the actor. In the particular case of participation in politics, the normative, affiliative and purposive genotypes are specified in content and theoretically linked to three phenotypic styles of social participation identified respectively as spectator, booster and gladiator. The concept of style refers both to a person's preferred pattern of activity, and to different personality structures which motivate such activity.

This typology of fundamental components of action rests on both theoretical and empirical foundations. The theoretical foundations for the theory are derived from an effort of rapprochement of important literatures in sociology and psychology, which deal with social participation. Evidence has been presented by Finifter (1972a) to show that in spite of differences in terminology, several
authors ${ }^{4}$ have independently proposed the underlying meanings associated with the three genotypes. Finifter interprets these several lines of conceptual and empirical convergence as yielding a set of non-arbitrary concepts which are fundamental building blocks for constructing a general theory of social participation.

Another consideration is the simultaneous operation of personality and social structural variables in the study of patterns of social participation. This is a better alternative than the consideration of either set of variables exclusively. As Barth (1966: 2) has put it: . . . patterns of social forms can be explained if we assure that they are the cumulative result of a number of separate choices made by people acting vis-a-vis one another. In other words, that the patterns are generated through processes of interaction and in their form reflect the constraints and incentives under which people act.

In the tricomponential theory social structural and personality factors are dealt with separately, but provisions are
${ }^{4}$ The ideas of four authors (Freud, 1950; Reisman, 1950; Bales, 1968; and Parsons, 1951, 1953) can be cited here for illustrative purposes. Freud refers to three libidal types: the obsessional, erotic and narcissistic, which are dominated respectively by the superego, the ego and the id. Reisman found three character types: innerdirected, other-directed, and autonomous. And Bales classified leaders into activity leader, socioemotional, and task-oriented leader. Finifter contends that each of the three different types above mentioned, correspond respectively to the genotypic concepts which constitute the conceptual foundations of the tricomponential theory. He further states that the four Parsonian functional problems which confront any system of action--Adaptation, Goal Attainment Integration, and Tension Management and Pattern Maintenance--are also conceptually and empirically related to the three genotypes.
made for analyzing their possible interaction. Personality variables included in the theory are intended to measure the dispositions associated with personality structure, and to discover how a person's "choices and decisions" are related to overt social participation. Examples of personality variables used thus far to test the tricomponential theory using data from the original study's sample of Venezuelan university students are: assertiveness, extroversion, political efficacy, punitiveness and social isolation. Examples of social structural variables included in the first study, which illustrate "constraints and incentives," that hinder or stimulate social participation, are occupation, education and labor force statuses, A total of 36 personality and social structural variables were assessed in the original study. Predictions about the differential patterns of relationships between these variables and the three distinct types of political participation were derived from the tricomponential theory.

The empirical goal of the virtual replication is to carry out an independent test of the generality of the findings reported in the original study. In that study, the empirical evaluation of the differential power of the set of personality and social structural variables to predict three distinct styles of behavior is performed by applying a multivariate technique, the "Automatic Interaction Detector" (AID, see Sonquist, 1970). Reliance on
this computational model for estimation of predictor effects instead of using ordinary multiple regression models was required by the discovery of important non-additive effects in the original data set. AID is capable of detecting interaction effects, when such effects are present in a body of multivariate data. The AID technique is especially appropriate and efficient for use in analyzing data where interactions are expected but are not precisely specifiable beforehand. Theory and previous research lead me generally to anticipate large interaction effects.

In previous research, results obtained through AID have been difficult to evaluate because of the lack of appropriate measures of predictor importance, and because the AID branching process has been suspected to be unstable. Finifter (1971) has devised a measure to solve these problems. The new statistic is called the coefficient of "potential explanatory power" (PEP), which provides an estimate of the relative importance of predictors analyzed by AID. The PEP coefficients constitute the basic empirical indicators for determining the predictive importance of the social structural and personality variables, whose differential relations to the three types of political participation are derived from the tricomponential theory of social action.

The goals of the "systematic" replications are:
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between political participation and additional personality variables (e.g., satisfaction with life as student, and scholastic ability), which are suggested by elaboration of the tricomponential theory and (b) to extend the list of predictors still further by formulating and testing hypotheses related to the process of modernization: these hypotheses are also suggested by elaboration of the theory. Chapter II describes the background of the study, the university population selected, and the research design. The sampling and data collection procedures are elaborated. An overview of changes in the university students and Venezuelan political cultures is also presented. Chapter III presents the measures of dependent and independent variables, together with a discussion of the rationale behind the different hypotheses, and a comparison of the AID results from the two studies. In Chapter IV the new variables to be tested in their relationships to the three styles of political participation are introduced and an evaluation of their AID results is made. Finally Chapter V presents a summary and the general conclusions and implications of this work.

## CHAPTER II

## THE RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter has two purposes. First, I want to provide the reader with some background information about this study, to aid in understanding how various research decisions were made. Second, I want to convey information about the student population from which the sample was drawn, and to discuss changes in both the student and the country's political cultures which are important for interpreting the purposes and results of this study.

The chapter describes the general conditions under which the field work was conducted; this includes information about the underlying reasons for choosing the university site. I will then proceed by stating some of the background characteristics of the university population that was chosen (a different one from the original study) and how this university is similar or different from the first university. I then describe how the sample was drawn, and the procedures used for data collection. A comparison of characteristics of this sample and the first one is then
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presented. Finally, I discuss changes in the Venezuelan political system during the 1963-1973 period which I think could have influenced the motivational structure of the student population under study.

## Background of the Field Work

Gathering data as a member of a university system was a vital part of my research strategy, since besides increasing the probability of cooperation and providing an identity it would help me to gain further insight into the university situation, it would also help me to determine some characteristics of the student population relevant to this study.

This and other factors influenced the choosing of a university from which a student sample could be drawn. I realized from the beginning that the choice of the university where the data would be collected was open to change due to developments occurring in the last ten years. I was also aware that to carry out this study I needed permission of university officials and cooperation of university students, and for these reasons I tried to gain entrance into as many Venezuelan universities as possible.

Nonetheless, because of the probable advisability of replication in the same educational institution, I began by seeking cooperation from the Universidad Católica

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Andrés Bello (UCAB), lhe university where the original study was performed. I also started reviewing the current characteristics of that institution and on-going manifestations of political participation of its students, with an eye to determining to what extent these were similar to those prevalent in 1963. UCAB is based in Caracas, and is still the largest private and only Catholic-sponsored university in Venezuela. 2 Its most important change has been the apparent increase of political militancy of its faculty and students which has produced the disturbances and challenged the vertical authority previously exercised in that institution. Ironically, it was this new-found militancy in UCAB which was the cause of my failure to be incorporated. ${ }^{3}$ on the other hand, I was led to conclude from this experience that the image of UCAB as a small Catholic school with a low level of political participation

[^2]as compared to larger Venezuelan universities was no longer applicable. Since the differences did not appear to be too great, and considering that cooperation from UCAB was not forthcoming, I moved on to obtain permission and cooperation to perform my study in another university.

I then contacted Venezuela's two newest universities; ${ }^{4}$ I received promises of cooperation from these two institutions but none materialized. Then, before receiving any other offers, I obtained a teaching position at the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV). ${ }^{5}$ UCV is the oldest, the largest (about 45,206 students enrolled in 1974) ${ }^{6}$ and most important university in Venezuela. This university has had a long history of active student political participation. The teaching post was very attractive for the purpose of this research, since it entitled me to be in charge of a course in social research methodology in Sociology.

I taught methodology from July 1973 to August 1974. In training the students in techniques of sociological research, some of them became interested in cooperating with me in this dissertation research, and in the process

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fulfilling some of their own academic requirements which include a traineeship. I promised my students access to the data once they were processed. Five of these students voluntarily offered to work with me and I trained them intensively as administrators of the instrument used to collect the data.

## Background of the University population Studied

UCV is a principal, capital-based university. Every Latin American capital in fact has a university which can in some aspects be equated to UCV. ${ }^{7}$ These universities are consistently the oldest (most were chartered by the Spanish Kings during the Colonial times), ${ }^{8}$ the largest (and in the smaller Latin American countries the only university). They have been the scene of political activism by students as part of the political turmoils that took place in their respective societies. The principal university by being in the decision making center, and by training an important part of the intelligentsia ${ }^{9}$ has traditionally played a
${ }^{7}$ Examples of these are: The Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in Mexico City, the Universidad de Buenos Aires in Buenos Aires, the Universidad de San Marcos in Lima, and the Universidad de la República in Montevideo.
${ }^{8}$ The major university in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, was chartered in the early $1500^{\prime}$ s, making it the oldest university in the Americas.
${ }^{9}$ A relatively important sector of the Latin American elite is trained abroad mostly in Europe and in the United States. Bonilla (1970) in his study of Venezuelan elites found that almost all the members of the educational,
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relevant role in national politics and in the formation of political and other elites. Important Latin American political parties were formed by university students, 10 and many contemporary Latin American leaders made their political debuts as student leaders of their country's principal university. ${ }^{11}$

UCV is a characteristically Latin American principal university. It is both the oldest (chartered as a Pontificial University in the XVI century), the largest--48 percent of the Venezuelan university student population in 1966-67 (Albornoz, 1972: 205), and with a long history of student political activities.

The political participation of UCV students became visible for students' opposition to the dictatorships of
political and business elites included in his study were either trained abroad or at UCV. Most of the members of his sample however were either locally trained exclusively at UCV or did graduate work elsewhere after obtaining their degree at that university.
${ }^{10}$ The role played by university students in Latin American national politics has been studied by several authors. Examples are Emmerson (1968), Albornoz (1967 and 1972), Bonilla (1970), Bonilla and Glazer (1970), Lipset and Altbach (1969), Siegel (1970), Liebman et al. (1972), Prates (1966), Rivarola (1969), Silvert (1964), Suárez (1966), Segovia (1970), Liebman (1970) and Washington (1966).
${ }^{11}$ The other political training ground has been the military. A contention often heard in Latin American circles is that the political leadership of their countries is composed of doctors and generals, referring of course to the leaders' recruitment source. Juan Perón, Marcos Pérez Jiménez, Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Ché" Guevara started their political careers either in the military academy or in the university.

Gómez (1899-1936), and Pérez Jiménez (1948-1958). The opposition to Gómez was highlighted by the 1928 so-called semana del estudiante (student's week), which started out as a festival-type student celebration, that later developed into outright condemnation of the regime. The group of students who started that movement is known in Venezuelan politics as the "generation of '28." The generation of ' 28 has played a relevant role in the shaping of Venezuelan political system, all the contemporary political parties were founded by members of that generation, three consecutive Venezuelan presidents from 1959 to 1974 were student leaders at UCV in 1928. 12

Opposition to Pérez Jiménez also took place with active university students participation. During many such instances UCV was closed by the regime, and the University was the scene of violent student protests against it, especially during the final weeks of that administration. After the overthrow of Pérez Jiménez, students actively participated first in defense of the democratic government that replaced the dictatorship, and later as part of movements influenced by the Cuban revolutionary experience to radically change the Venezuelan political system. This form of participation, however, has decreased as the influence of the Cuban Revolution has diminished and students have found other participational outlets.
${ }^{12}$ Rómulo Betancourt (1959-1964), Raúl Leoni (19641969) and Rafael Caldera (1969-1974).

It is generally agreed by different scholars (Albornoz, 1972); Bonilla, 1970), that the patterns of student participation have drastically changed over the years. The generation of 1928 probably represents the highpoint of university student involvement, since they filled the role of providing leadership for a period of political transition when the intelligentsia of the country was in the process of being formed. Since then the political importance of students in national politics has been reduced, and is confined more and more to university affairs. Also even at the height of their political influence the students acted more like catalysts of political change, preparing the conditions for the intervention of groups such as the military which had a real power basis. ${ }^{13}$ To say that UCV, as Venezuela's principal university, has been at the center of the university student political action is not to imply that the other universities, especially the private universities, had been immune to the political stimuli that had permeated the system. And since in this study a comparison will be made of patterns of political participation of 1973 UCV students and of 1963 UCAB students, this section would be incomplete if mention were not made of some background characteristics of UCAB students to help make the comparison in proper context,

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UCAB was founded in 1954 (during the dictatorship
of Pérez Jiménez), and has been the most important private university of the country. It is furthermore the only Catholic-Jesuit sponsored university in Venezuela. UCAB students are deemed by most to be somewhat more conservative than their UCV counterparts, and also as supporters of more conservative parties. In spite of this, as Finifter correctly reports, they are far from void of political interest or of overt political participation.

Of the differences between students in large state universities versus students in Catholic and other private universities, Silvert (1966: 125) states:

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. . . Students in Catholic and other private univer- sities tend toward conservatism; i.e., they are opposed to nationalism, secularism, and the impersonalism of modern society . . . The state universities, ahead in the modernization of the traditionally academic disciplines as well as in their growing dedication to the physical sciences and empiricism, attract the innovators--and thus the nationalists-in much greater measures than such schools as the Catholic University of Chile or the Javeriana (Jesuit University) in Colombia . . . The nationalistic student of the state university draws more attention to himself than to any other non-party group of ideologists, since he is also the innovator, the modernizer, the politically concerned, and likely to be pursuing studies closely involved with the developmental process.
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Even though I think that the Silvert statement can be used today to describe the differences between UCAB and UCV today, it was truer in 1963. It was then reasonable to suspect, as Finifter did, that students who attended UCAB in 1963, or were sent there by their relatively more affluent and conservative parents, were more conservative and less
politically active than their UCV counterparts. Some of the students enrolled in UCAB were there to escape the unrest prevalent at UCV, which in many instances produced the suspension of activities at that University.

Interestingly enough in the early 1970's an increase in political activity (as reported in the previous section) at UCAB, was accompanied by a decrease of it at UCV. And oddly enough, during 1971-72 there was an exodus of UCAB students and instructors to the then more peaceful UCV.

I am not trying to ignore the fact that UCAB is still the University of the Company of Jesus, and therefore is a less secular institution than State-sponsored UCV. Tuition is charged at UCAB while no tuition is paid at UCV, making the latter university more attractive to students of lower SES and UCAB students still favor more conservative parties. What I want to stress, however, is that whatever differences might still exist they are not as great as they were in 1963.

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\frac{\text { Sample Design and Data }}{\text { Collection Procedures }}
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As an introduction to the sampling procedure $I$ want to familiarize the reader with the internal organization of UCV, which is that of a traditional Latin American university. UCV is divided into 11 "Faculties" (which are equivalent to what Colleges are in the organization of large American universities). These Faculties are then subdivided

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into 37 schools (which are the American equivalent to Departments). ${ }^{14}$ The central authorities of UCV (the Rector and Vice-Rectors), the Deans of the 11 Faculties, the Chairmen of 37 schools, and the members of the Advisory Committees at each level of university government are elected by the University community. Each one of the Faculties exercises a good deal of autonomy and is independent in administrative matters.

Nine of the Faculties operate on a centrally located campus in Caracas. Two others, Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine have their site in the nearby city of Maracay. The physical plant for each of the Faculties is circumscribed to a building or a clustered area of the campus. And students from one Faculty do not take classes in any other

## 14 The Faculties and schools that comprise UCV are:

 Faculty of Agronomy; School of Agronomy, Faculty of Architecture; School of Architecture, Faculty of Science; Schools of Basic Courses, Biology, Physics, Mathematics, Computer Science, and Chemistry, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences; Schools of Economics, International Studies, Statistics, Sociology, and Anthropology, Administration, and Social Work, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine; School of Veterinary Medicine, Faculty of Law; Schools of Law and Political Studies, Faculty of Pharmacy; School of Pharmacy, Faculty of Humanities and Education; Schools of Philosophy, Letters, History, Geography, Social Communication, Pedagogy, Library Science, Modern Languages, Faculty of Engineering; Schools of Basic Courses, Civil Electrical, Mechanic, Geology and Mines, Chemistry and Petroleum, Metalurgy; Faculty of Medicine; Schools of Basic Courses, Bioanalysis, Nutrition, and Public Health, Faculty of Odontology; School of Odontology.ailtes. ${ }^{15}$
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Faculties. ${ }^{15}$ There is also a great deal of social cohesion between the students on the same Faculty, as expressed by university folk tales, and in occasional inter-Faculty informal events.

Sampling Design

This study, like the original UCAB study, tried to obtain the maximum representation feasible, given the population available. Furthermore, since I intended to perform a replication of the original study, I felt that it was advisable to adopt as much as possible the research decisions that were made in that study. There were, of course, particular circumstances which made some of those decisions non-applicable. In any case, however, care was taken not to make drastic departures that would detract from comparability.

The first major sampling decision was the exclusion from consideration of the two Faculties not based in Caracas. The fact that Veterinary Medicine and Agronomy are located in a medium-sized city away from Caracas would have complicated data collection and analysis. I then started selecting the sample from the remaining nine Faculties which operate in Caracas.

15 An effort to standardize the administration which would have allowed students to take classes in Faculties other than their own was taking place at the time of data collection.

Since I had decided that the data collection was to take place by the last week of March and the first week of April 1974 (three months after the national elections) ${ }^{16}$

I had to select Faculties which were operating during those weeks. ${ }^{17}$ Of the nine Faculties, four (Engineering, Odontology, Education and Economics and Social Sciences) were either not open or were holding for most of the two weeks activities such as final examinations, which made data collection highly unfeasible.

Therefore, I was left with five potentially available Faculties (Architecture, Science, Law, Pharmacy and Medicine). Since these Faculties made up about one-third of the population of the University, and were a crosssection of the disciplines taught at UCV, I decided to proceed with these as my sampling frame.

The next task after these decisions had been made was to make separate arrangements for collecting the data with each one of the Faculties selected. I talked to each
${ }^{16}$ Since the dimensional structure of political behavior, which provides the dependent variables for the study, is affected by both the amount of electoral stimuli displayed during the electoral campaigns and the availability of opportunities to engage in political activities, the problem of the timing of data collection was critical for the purposes of this research. More important, the timing of data collection was relevant for the objectives of replication, since the data for the original study was collected in March 1964, three months after the December 1963 national elections.
${ }^{17}$ UCV does not have an all-university schedule. Each particular Faculty is autonomous as far as drawing their own calendar of events. Disparities in the programming of classes and exams was a difficulty $I$ had to deal with.
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one of the five Deans, and they all offered their cooperation. In this way I obtained two letters in which I was formally introduced by the appropriate administrator to the instructors in charge of the classes from which data were to be collected. A copy of these two letters is presented in Appendix I. In the other three Faculties the authorization was made verbally.

I then proceeded to select the exact date for data collection. According to my plans data collection should have taken place preferably simultaneously throughout the whole sample in order to avoid communication between students being contacted at different times. Communication between students carried the danger of contaminating the data by premature attitude sets developed between persons not yet exposed to the questions and those already interviewed. However, due to the lack of manpower and the problem of coordinating that date across various Faculties with different schedules, I opted for limiting the completely simultaneous nature of data collection to the same Faculty, in order to minimize the problem of contamination. Moreover, since I was also aware of the possibility of inter-Faculty contamination $I$ decided to collect the data within as short a period as possible. 18
${ }^{18}$ Later analysis of the data showed no evidence of either intra or inter-Faculty response clustering.

After consultation with the persons in charge of class scheduling in the five Faculties, classes meeting for a two-hour period, ${ }^{19}$ at the same time were chosen. Classes with characteristics such as an uneven sex distribution which could disproportionately affect variables included in the study were not included. 20

Data Collection Procedures

Questionnaires were used for data collection. This represents a partial departure from a strict replication of the original study. Finifter used both questionnaires and personal interviews as data collection techniques, and subsequently compared them. He found that even though questionnaires did not have the same richness of information, and presented deficiencies such as those related to missing data more frequently, their reliability compared to the interview data was similar. In addition the questionnaires greatly augmented the range of the population that $I$ was able to reach, and provided a low cost instrument.

Questionnaires were administered to all the selected classes. The students whom I trained in the methodology class helped me in the administration of the instrument.
${ }^{19}$ I expected the data collection to last more than the sixty minutes alotted for a regular class period.
${ }^{20}$ Half the sample of the original study was composed of night students. These students are deemed to be somewhat older, and more likely to be married and hold jobs than their day counterparts. None of the five Faculties which I included in this study have night classes. I will refer to the influence that this had on my sample vis-a-vis the first sample later.

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The administrators were introduced to the students by the instructor in charge of the class, the instructor had previous knowledge that data collection was to take place during the lecture session but was asked not to inform the students beforehand to avoid possible nonattendance. The instructor also asked his students for their cooperation in the study and (as I had asked him to) remained in the classroom during the whole period of questionnaire administration.

The administrator then explained that the purpose of the study was to gather information on various attitudes about different activities students might engage in, and about their vocational plans. He explained that the study was University-sponsored, and that it was being carried out by a Sociology instructor from UCV. The students were assured that even though each questionnaire was anonymous, a summary of the results of the study would be made available to those requesting it. The title page of the questionnaire contained the information just stated and this page was read aloud by the administrator. The administrators were thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the questionnaire and answered questions on specific items.

The 123 questions, 26 page, questionnaire (Appendix II) was completed in an average of 1 hour and 15 minutes. The acceptance of the questionnaire by the respondents was remarkable, and only two students outrightly refused to complete the questionnaire and walked away from the
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classroom. Moreover, in all cases the administration of the questionnaires took place in a very friendly atmosphere marked by the desire of the students to cooperate with the study.

The questionnaire included the items on which the original study was based, plus the extra items which are used in the systematic replication part of this research. I tried to improve the original questionnaire and to alleviate some of its shortcomings. ${ }^{21}$ However, whenever possible I attempted to maintain the same format and question ordering as used in the original research. One of the additions which I made had, I think, a positive effect on the respondent's response rate. The addition consisted of the offer to provide the respondents with a short report on the findings of this study upon request. The students who wanted this sort of feedback were asked to provide their names and addresses on a separate piece of paper. The fact that about one half of the students chose this option, and many of them made specific inquiries at the time of administration about the time when they should be expecting the information, makes me believe that that could have affected positively their degree of cooperation. ${ }^{22}$

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Five hundred twenty one questionnaires were filled out by the students, ${ }^{23}$ of those 12 (2.3\%) were not included in the analysis because of different sorts of response biases. These questionnaires were either lacking important pieces of information, especially with regard to the dependent variables, ${ }^{24}$ or were written in a "joking" manner which made me suspect the quality and seriousness of their responses. Table $l$ presents the distribution among the five Faculties of the 509 questionnaires used. These five Faculties had a student enrollment of 9,500 upper-classmen, or 30 percent of the total population of upperclassmen ${ }^{25}$ (see Appendix III for a detailed description of population and sample).

23 A total of 12 classes were selected, Six hundred seventeen students appeared on the instructors' class rolls, 521 represents 85 percent attendance. None of the classes had an unusually large absentee rate.
${ }^{24}$ The failure to give information about three or more of the nineteen items used to measure the dependent variables qualified a questionnaire for exclusion. If a questionnaire had about one fifth non-response on the other items it was also rejected. Non-responses were estimated using the same procedures utilized in the UCAB study.
${ }^{25}$ As it was done in the original study freshmen were excluded. Their exclusion is defended on the basis that it is hard to obtain valid measures of career orientations from them. It is also assumed that first-year students have not been sufficiently exposed to the university milieu in such a way that their experience could yet have had any significant influence on their political behavior. This experience factor is crucial in testing hypotheses on the relationship between intrinsic career involvement and types of political participation.


Table 1
Number and Percentages of Questionnaires Used, by Faculty

| Faculty | Number | Percentage |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Architecture | 197 | 38.7 |
| Law | 37 | 7.3 |
| Medicine | 62 | 12.2 |
| Pharmacy | 74 | 14.5 |
| Science | 139 | 27.3 |
| Totals | 509 | 100.0 |

## Comparison of Some Characteristics of the UCV and UCAB Samples

In the original study day and night students were included. This was because night students were a sizable part of the UCAB population in 1963. On the other hand, in UCV there were few night students, in fact none of the Faculties included in the sample had any. This meant that differences in variables such as marital status, age and labor force status were expected. A detail comparison of variables follows.

With regard to age, the mean age of the UCAB sample was 24.6 years, while the mean for the sample of this study was 21.5 years. A major difference could be noted with regard to sex since while 86 percent of the original sample were male the corresponding figure for this study was 50 percent. Seventy five percent of the original sample were
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single, the corresponding figure for this sample was 90 percent. About 66 percent of the first sample were employed, 20 percent of the second sample were in that situation.

With regard to other characteristics, most of the original sample attended private religious schools, while the figure for the new sample was 33 percent. With respect to church attendance, in the first sample about one-third reported that they attend church less than once a week; 15 percent attended no more than a couple of times a year. It was found that with regard to church attendance patterns both samples were very similar.

One important difference that shall be noted is that while 29 percent of the UCAB sample were foreign born, only 9 percent of the UCV sample were born outside Venezuela. Forty nine percent of the UCAB sample were born in the Caracas metropolitan area while 67 percent of the UCV sample were born in that city.

With regard to the occupational prestige of the student's fathers, 46 percent of the UCAP fathers were owners and merchants of small businesses or were minor government administrators. Thirty one percent of the UCV students'fathers were in that category.

With respect to father's education, 22 percent of the UCV sample had not completed secondary education, while 27 percent had finished college. The corresponding figures for the UCAB sample were 28 percent and 21 percent.

The purpose of this section was to provide a broad comparison of the two samples. A more detailed discussion of the implications of these differences will be presented when the hypotheses which explain the relationship between the independent and dependent variables are evaluated, and the comparison between the results of the UCAB and UCV studies is made.

## Changes in the Political System Which Could Possibly Have an Influence on the Patterns of Political Participation of the Members of the New Sample

The data collection of the original study dealt with the student's political participation in the electoral campaigns of 1963. Finifter reports that the students of UCAB in 1963 showed a great overt interest in the campaigns, and that a good number of them went to class bearing signs identifying themselves with particular political associations. The interest of the students in the electoral campaigns was very understandable, because they were part of the first generation of young Venezuelans who witnessed and were involved in an electoral process leading to a constitutional transfer of power. ${ }^{26}$ Raul Leoni, the president elected in 1963, succeeded Rómulo Betancourt who is a member of the same Acción Democrática (AD) party.
${ }^{26}$ The elections of 1963 were marked by terrorists acts before the actual elections, and by threats of disruptions of the actual process itself. Martz (1964) presents a detailed account of events related to the Venezuelan elections of December 1, 1963. On November l9th, to give

In 1968 the major opposition party to AD, Comite Organizado Político Electoral Independiente (COPEI) won the presidency by a narrow margin (l\% of the popular vote). AD, however, retained majority status in Congress. The administration of President Rafael Caldera was marked by a succession of parliamentary agreements between $A D$ and COPEI, which jointly controlled Congress, this introduced a degree of stability into the political system which was not present in 1963.

An important development which was related to this increased stability was the movement toward a two-party political system. In spite of the fact that in Venezuela in any given election since 1958, 15 or more political parties have presented candidates to the electorate, it has become more and more evident that $A D$ and $C O P E I$ are the center of the political system. The elections of 1973 were an illustration of this tendency since the two parties obtained 84 percent of the presidential votes (Cuahonte, 1974: 112). 27

The reason $I$ mention these developments is that the meaning of political participation in a situation such as an idea of the magnitude of the anti-electoral and antigovernment opposition, an unsuccessful general strike was called; 21 persons were killed in street fighting. Martz identifies the importance of university students in these events.
${ }^{27}$ The candidate of COPEI, Lorenzo Fernández, was defeated by the AD candidate, Carlos Andrés Pérez.
was experienced in Venezuela in 1963 is different than that experienced ten years later. In 1963 the new experience in democracy was put to a test, in 1973 it had survived several tries.

During the time $I$ was in the process of considering these questions I thought that the influence of the increased stability of the system could have had the effect of inhibiting the political participation of certain members of the student population. At the beginning of the 1973 campaigns there was an apparently strong movement for abstention from participation on the campaigns. The rationale behind these calls was the old contention that in a "bourgeoisie" system to participate in the electoral process was to legitimize its very existence. I was also concerned that apathy could be present in some quarters in which it was felt that one of the two parties of the "status quo" was expected to come to power, and that there was no point in participating politically.

I was concerned that since electoral participation is only one form of political participation, that many students might disregard this avenue and instead opt for non-electoral ways or not participate at all.

As it turned out, there was actually a high degree of electoral participation. Student supports and activists of the two major parties were seen on the university grounds overtly showing signs of their allegiance. There was also
noticeable campaigning in favor of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), which presented itself as a socialist alternate, 28 and had considerable support among the UCV students.

These observations led me to believe, therefore, that there were no underlying strong influences to inhibit the political participation of the members of the new sample. If a perceived change in the stability of the system made any difference in the overt participation of the student members of the new sample, it was not evident.
${ }^{28}$ During the campaigns there were expectations that MAS was going to make a considerable electoral showing. For many supporters of the movement an acceptable showing in 1973 would have represented a prelude to a greater political influence in the 1979-1984 presidential period. As it turned out, MAS obtained only 3.7 percent of the presidential votes (Rodriguez Iturbe, 1974: 88).
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## CHAPTER III

THE VIRTUAL REPLICATION

This chapter discusses some relevant literature dealing with the measurement of political participation, and presents the actual procedures that were used in this dissertation to measure participation in politics. In discussing the virtual replication I present the hypotheses to be tested, the methodology used for their testing, the results obtained and their interpretation.

From the beginning of this work I was aware of a complex set of obstacles which I had to face in performing this replication. If one measures success of the replication in terms of obtaining in the second study results that are sufficiently similar to those in the first study, then there were many factors militating against such outcomes. For the purposes of this discussion $I$ will classify these factors as exogenous and endogenous. The exogenous factors are variables which affect the study, but are not intrinsically part of it. Examples are: the changes in the Venezuelan political system and in Venezuelan university
students' political culture, as previously discussed, and the fact that the two samples were drawn from different universities. The endogenous factors consist of modifications which for various reasons were made in this study vis-a-vis the original one. For example, the exclusive use of questionnaires in this study versus the combined use of questionnaires and personal interviews in the first one and dissimilarities in some of the items in the scales to measure some of the dependent and independent variables. The combined effects of these exogenous and endogenous factors operate against precise similarity of all results. If in spite of these factors, plus the vagaries of AID estimations, similar findings emerge, we will have an impressive demonstration of corroboration.

## The Construction of Measures of the Dependent Variables

$\frac{\text { Discussion of the Literature on the }}{\text { Measure of Political Participation }}$

Milbrath (1965: 18) presents a comprehensive list of the indicators used in research carried out on political participation and involvement in political life. The list of indicators compiled by Milbrath is the following: holding public or party office, being a candidate for office, attending a caucus or a strategy meeting, becoming an active member in a political party, contributing time in a political campaign, attending a political meeting or
rally, making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate, contacting a public official or putting a sticker on the car, attempting to talk another into voting a certain way, initiating a political discussion, voting, exposing oneself to political stimuli. As Pizzorno (1970: 30) has accurately pointed out these indicators have special significance for conventional political activities. The implication is that these indicators deal mostly with electoral type of political participation, and do not include other important types of political participation such as strikes or public demonstrations, which have a very militant character. ${ }^{1}$

Although I agree with Pizzorno with regard to the different ranges of political action which have to be taken into account for a true formulation of political participation, I do not want to understate the contribution that conventional electoral participation studies can provide to the development of a general theory of political participation. Studies like the two that I am comparing in this dissertation, which deal with the motivation to participate

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in an electoral campaign, can also be applicable to nonelectoral activity. ${ }^{2}$

The literature cealing with efforts to measure political participation indicates that many authors have used a tri-dimensional conceptual framework in which to develop their measures of the phenomena. ${ }^{3}$ Robinson (1952) used data concerning the political participation of Erie County residents, previously collected by Lazarsfeld and others (1948), an $\mathfrak{a}$ formed a correlation matrix with 12 of the questions asked these residents. ${ }^{4}$ He found three component dimensions of political participation which he called citizen, spectator and partisan. Finifter (1968: 38-40) after analyzing Robinson's research concluded that it is necessary to go one step further than Robinson, and show not only that participation acts have a tendency to cluster in distinct groups, but that these clusters are differentially motivated.

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One important study in which an attempt is made to unravel the motivational structure behind political participation, is the study of Connecticut state legislators performed by Barber (1965). In this research Barber presented four types of political participants: lawmakers, reluctants, advertisers and spectators. After an analysis of this ciata with an eye on studying the motivational structure of the ideas behind these classifications, Finifter (1972a) concluded that they corresponded to the three styles of political participation stipulated by the tricomponential theory of action.

The very fact that a considerable number of studies have used a three dimensional conceptual framework (or a scheme of more than three dimensions, such as Barber's, which can be theoretically reduced to a triaimensional structure), makes the testing of the appropriateness of this structure worthwhile. In spite of the apparent consistency of these reported findings $I$ will start not by assuming a priori that my political participation measures form a three dimensional structure, but $I$ will test for their structure empirically.

Discussion of the Dependent Variables Measures

I will now discuss the decisions which were made to determine the items to be included in the scales of political participation, and how the scales developed in this study compare to those of the original study.

For the first study, Finifter (1968: 46) chose items which had a high capacity for discrimination--between weak and active political participants-and items used in previous research. He excluded questions on voting per se, since some of the students in his sample were too young to vote, and because voting was, as it still is, compulsory in Venezuela. He arrived at the following seventeen items:
l. Discuss country's problems
2. Interest in everyday politics
3. Interest in last campaign
4. Discuss student or university politics
5. Read about general politics
6. Discuss national politics
7. Role taken in political discussions
8. Advise others how to vote
9. Write or put up signs
10. Distribute leaflets or propaganda
ll. Ride in political caravans
12. Wear buttons or car stickers
13. Attend meetings and rallies
14. Belong to political party
15. Atten ${ }^{\text {a }}$ political dinners
16. Make speeches for a candidate or party
17. Other active party work

My initial intention was to utilize the same seventeen items to measure the three styles of political participation. However, I decided to split two questions which
were found in the original study to confuse the booster and gladiator styles of political participation. These questions corresponded to items 9 and 13 above, "writing or putting up signs," and "attend meetings and rallies." It was felt that writing signs and attending meetings was a gladiator type of activity, while putting up signs and attending rallies was a booster activity. This procedure is a departure from a strict replication of the dependent variables, but $I$ think it will allow for a clearer differentiation of the dependent variables measures.

With the splitting of the two original questions I had a total of 19 items. The exact wording of these nineteen items and the corresponding weights assigned to their response categories is given below:

Question 9 (p. 3)--And what about the country's problems? Would you say you discuss these with your classmates?
2. Frequently

1. Sometimes

0 . Almost never

Question 64 (p. 17)--We are also interested in how much attention people generally pay to what goes on in politics--I mean everyday politics, when the election campaigns are not going on. Could you tell me if you are
2. Very interested

1. Moderately interested
2. Little interested

Question 65 (p. 17)--And during the last election campaign would you say you were
2. Very interested

1. Moderately interested

0 . Little interested

Question 67 (p. 17)--Now, some students are very interested in political activities, while others do not bother themselves much with this. What we are interested in here is not to what party a person belongs, but through which activities people participate in politics. For example, do you discuss student or university politics with your classmates?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 68 (p. 17)--Do you read newspapers and magazines about general political subjects?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 69 (p. 17)--Do you attend political meetings?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 70 (p. 17)--Do you attend political rallies?
2. Yes
0. No

Question 71 (p. 17)--Do you belong to some political party?
2. Yes

0 . No
$\frac{\text { Question } 72 \text { (p. 18) --Did you try to advise someone }}{\text { else how to vote? }}$
2. Yes

0 . No
$\frac{\text { Question } 73 \text { (p. 18) }}{\text { dinner? }}$-Did you go to any political
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 74 (p. 18)--Did you put up any political signs?
2. Yes

0 . No

Question 75 (p. 18)--Did you write any political signs?

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 2. } & \text { Yes } \\
0 . & \text { No }
\end{array}
$$

Question 76 (p. 18)--Did you make any public speeches in favor of a candidate or party?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 2. Yes } \\
& 0 . \\
& \text { No }
\end{aligned}
$$

Question 77 (p. 18)--Did you distribute pamphlets or other political propaganda?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 78 (p. 18)--Did you participate in the
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 79 (p. 18)--Did you wear or put on your car a political button or sticker?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 81 (p. 19)--Did you do anything else?
2. Yes

0 . No
If Yes,
8la (p. 19)--Mentioned a specific political activity?
2. Yes

0 . No
Question 82 (p. 19)--Do you talk about national politics with your friends?
2. Frequently
l. Sometime

0 . Almost never
Question 83 (p. 19)--Now looking at this list, what part do you usually take in these conversations
0. Although I have my own opinions, I usually only listen
0 . In general I listen, but now and then I express my own opinions

1. I take an equal part in the conversation
2. I do more than just give my opinions in the conversations; usually I try to convince others that $I$ am right

The intercorrelation of these nineteen items, arranged in a simplex-type matrix, is shown in Table 2. The items seem to form three clusters. One cluster is formed by items 78, 79 and 73. Items 78 and 79, "ride in caravans" and "wear button or show sticker," are clearly booster types of activities. It is also theoretically plausible to include item 73, "attend political dinners," in the booster category. A second cluster is formed by items 74, 77, 71, 70, 75, 72, 76, 69, and 8la, which are different types of gladiator activities. Finally a third cluster is formed by items $82,83,65,68,64,9$, and 67 which represent spectator activities such as discussing the country's problems, reading about politics, discussing university politics, etc.

The correlation matrix formed by these nineteen items was then factor-analyzed. The estimate of commonality used in the factor analysis was the multiple correlation of each item with all others. The factors extracted were then rotated using an oblique solution. ${ }^{5}$ The factor analysis of the nineteen items reveals in Table 3 the existence of a three factor structure. The three factors account for 47 percent of the total variance. In order to test the alternative hypotheses that a structure other than a three
${ }^{5}$ I used the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences--SPSS--to do the factor analysis. SPSS's factor analysis type PAl allows for replacing in the main diagonal the unit for $R^{2}$. This factor analytic procedure-i.e., using $R^{2}$ in the main diagonal when extracting factors and oblique rotation--is the one used in all factor analyses discussed in this dissertation.

$$
1
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Table 2

| Question Number | Item | 78 | 79 | 73 | 74 | 77 | 71 | 70 | 75 | 72 | 76 | 69 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 65 | 68 | 64 | 09 | 67 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 78 | Ride in car caravans | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 79 | Wear button, Show sticker | 61 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 73 | Attend political dinners | 25 | 26 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 74 | Put up political signs | 34 | 28 | 22 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 77 | Distribute leaflets, propaganda | 33 | 33 | 25 | 58 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 71 | Belong to political party | 26 | 21 | 24 | 32 | 25 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 70 | Attend political rallies | 25 | 28 | 21 | 32 | 30 | 37 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 75 | Write political signs | 21 | 20 | 18 | 58 | 50 | 26 | 34 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 72 | Advise others how to vote | 19 | 18 | 10 | 31 | 35 | 18 | 19 | 33 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 76 | Make speeches for candidates/party | 14 | 12 | 15 | 15 | 25 | 08 | 21 | 43 | 14 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 69 | Attend political meetings | 10 | 12 | 14 | 32 | 27 | 40 | 49 | 30 | 19 | 18 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 81 | Other active party work | 05 | 05 | 05 | 14 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 22 | 20 | 10 | 17 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 82 | Discuss national politics | 25 | 13 | 05 | 20 | 25 | 19 | 29 | 16 | 29 | 06 | 34 | 14 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 83 | Role taken in political discussion | 22 | 12 | 03 | 11 | 22 | 05 | 19 | 18 | 24 | 12 | 15 | 05 | 35 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |
| 65 | Interest in last campaign | 22 | 22 | 18 | 20 | 21 | 19 | 17 | 16 | 27 | 07 | 29 | 04 | 39 | 13 | - |  |  |  |  |
| 68 | Read about general politics | 14 | 16 | 06 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 35 | 14 | 17 | 13 | 28 | 17 | 44 | 16 | 34 | -- |  |  |  |
| 64 | Interest in everyday politics | 11 | 12 | 09 | 24 | 21 | 21 | 33 | 22 | 25 | 11 | 34 | 11 | 53 | 22 | 46 | 44 | -- |  |  |
| 09 | Discuss country's problems | 08 | 09 | 00 | 09 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 15 | 10 | 11 | 21 | 02 | 40 | 18 | 17 | 27 | 27 | -- |  |
| 67 | Discuss student, university politics | 07 | 06 | 05 | 17 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 16 | 15 | 04 | 20 | 05 | 44 | 24 | 20 | 35 | 29 | 31 | -- |

*Decimals have been omitted.

Table 3

| Question Number | Item | UCAB Study |  |  | Question Number | Item | UCV study |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | S | B | G |  |  | S | B | G |
| 82 | Discuss national politics | . 70 | . 00 | .03 | 82 | **Discuss national politics | . 76 | . 10 | .33 |
| 68 | Read about general politics | . 56 | -. 06 | . 09 | 64 | **Interest in everyday politics | . 67 | . 14 | . 36 |
| 09 | Discuss country's problems | . 54 | . 03 | -. 06 | 68 | **Read about general politics | . 61 | . 14 | . 27 |
| 64 | Interest in everyday politics | . 54 | -. 14 | . 30 | 67 | **Discuss student, university politics | . 54 | . 00 | . 24 |
| 65 | Interest in last campaign | . 53 | . 36 | -. 19 | 65 | **Interest in last campaign | . 50 | . 32 | . 26 |
| 67 | Discuss student, university politics | . 43 | . 13 | . 00 | 09 | **Discuss country's problems | . 45 | . 04 | . 17 |
| 83 | Role taken in political discussion | . 41 | . 23 | . 00 | 83 | **Role taken in political discussion | $\underline{.37}$ | . 25 | . 11 |
| 78 | Ride in caravans | . 00 | .71 | . 03 | 78 | **Role in caravans | .17 | . 71 | . 34 |
| 79 | Wear button, show sticker | . 02 | . 68 | . 02 | 79 | **Wear buttons, show sticker | . 19 | . 70 | . 31 |
| 72 | Advise others how to vote | . 26 | . 53 | -. 13 | 73 | Attend political dinners | . 07 | .37 | . 29 |
| 77 | Distribute leaflets, propaganda | -. 05 | . 52 | . 34 | 75 | Write signs | . 25 | . 26 | . 72 |
| 75,74 | Write or put up signs | -. 05 | . 42 | . 43 | 74 | Put up signs | . 25 | . 40 | . 71 |
| 71 | Belong to political party | . 00 | -. 16 | . 69 | 77 | Distribute leaflets | . 28 | . 44 | . 66 |
| 69,70 | Attend meetings, rallies | . 14 | -. 02 | . 65 | 70 | **Attend rallies | .43 | . 27 | . 56 |
| 76 | Make speeches for candidates/party | . 01 | .03 | . 58 | 69 | **Attend meetings | . 47 | . 09 | . 54 |
| 81 a | Other active party work | . 02 | . 03 | . 48 | 71 | **Belong to political party | . 28 | . 28 | . 46 |
| 73 | Attend political dinners | . 00 | . 06 | . 46 | 72 | *Advise others how to vote | . 34 | . 24 | . 43 |
|  |  |  |  |  | 76 | **Make speeches for candidates/party | . 14 | . 16 | . 38 |
|  |  |  |  |  | 81 a | **Other active party work | . 16 | . 04 | . 28 |

[^8]dimensional one could better fit these data I examined different dimensional structures. I found poor fit on a 2, 4, 5 and 6 factor alternatives.

After deciding on the existence of a three factor structure I proceeded to compare my nineteen-item three factor structure, with Finifter's seventeen-item three factor structure. A visual aid for the comparison is also given in Table 3, where the two factor analyses results are put side by side.

Table 3 shows an impressive amount of similarity between the seven items used to measure spectator style of political participation in both studies. The same seven items $(82,83,65,68,64,9$ and 67), even though they do not retain the same absolute size of their factor loadings, are clearly clustered into one strongly identifiable factor.

In the case of the comparison for booster the results are also encouraging since items 78 and 79, "participate in car caravans" and "wear buttons," which had the highest factor loadings in the original study also have the same in the UCV study. Item 79, "attend political dinners," however, is a non-corresponding item (the correspondence is related to the success or failure to appear in the new factor structure). In the original study this item was a gladiator item, its relationship to gladiator is also shown in this study by the fact that it has a secondary loading of .29 for gladiator. In spite of that, the dominant factor loading for this item . 37 is in the booster
aror.
factor. It could very well be that the meaning of attending a political dinner has changed somewhat over the span of time that separates the two studies. An ex-post factum comparison of newspaper accounts of the role played by political dinners in both the 1963 and 1973 elections shows that there were some differences in the meaning of this activity over the ten years. In 1963 political dinners were uncommon events, usually attended by partisans. In 1973 the dinners were more festival-type activities, more like shows where artists associated with the parties performed to raise funds for the campaign. A good number of these dinners took place in the tourist hotels. It is possible that in 1973 these activities made attending dinners more attractive to persons of booster orientation than to those with a gladiator orientation.

In the case of gladiator the pattern vis-a-vis the first study was not so clearly distinguishable. The three items which came out strongest in the original factor analysis did not have corresponding effects on the second study. "Write signs" (item 75) and "put up signs" (item 74) which in the original study made up one item located in the booster factor, had very similarly high factor loadings. This meant that they not only failed to discriminate between booster and gladiator style, but did not replicate since they appear located in a different factor. "Distribute leaflets" (item 77) was also a non-corresponding item, having the third highest factor loading . 66, and some
secondary loadings in the booster and spectator factors. The corresponding items were "attend meetings" (item 69) and "attend rallies" (item 70), "belong to party" (item 71), "make speeches" (item 76) and "other party work" (item 8la). I will reserve judgment as to what could be a possible explanation of this discrepancy until a comparison of the scales is made.

Comparison of the Dependent Variable Scales of Political Participation

The empirical evidence for the measure of spectator style of political participation justifies constructing political participation scales from the same items originally used by Finifter. However, in the case of booster and gladiator where the factor analyses do not present complete agreement with the original study, I had to make some decisions to justify the exclusion and/or inclusion of items. I want to discuss this problem in some detail because it is going to be presented again in the evaluation of the scales used to measure the independent variables, and I think it is important to inform the reader of the rationale behind the different decisions which I made.

One alternative course of action which I considered was to use the same items as they were presented in the original study, without analyzing them empirically. This alternative could satisfy possible doubts that a potential failure to replicate might have been produced by a
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difference in the techniques used to measure the dependent variables. To have taken the items of the scales verbatim, could have done violence to the empirical behavior of the items on the scales.

I felt from the beginning that the purpose of this dissertation was not only to test the replicability of the measures of political participation per se, but rather to test the generality and robustness of all the original findings. If my intentions had been the former then I was obliged to retain the same items in order to give them the best chance to be corroborated. However, since that was not my main purpose, I felt that I could use modified scales as long as the criteria for modification were uniform, reflected empirical findings, and gave a fair chance for replication.

After deciding to use modified scales I then had to determine how these modifications could be implemented. One alternative was to retain all corresponding items whenever they fell in the same factor, in this way $I$ would retain the theoretical meaning of the items and do minimum violence to empirical trends. Another alternative was to allow the data to dictate for themselves where they would be included in the composition of the different scales.

In conjunction with these considerations I was also concerned with attaining some acceptable degree of stability in the scales. In order to both test the appropriateness of the decisions to include and exclude items,
and the stability of the scale of dependent variables, I constructed two sets of scales, using the criteria mentioned above. One set of scales contained only items which were corresponding, independent of their factor loading. The numbers for these items were for booster 78, "ride in caravans," and 79, "wear buttons;" for gladiator 70, "attend rallies," 69, "attend meetings," 71, "belong to a party," 76, "make speeches," and 8la, "do other party work." The other scales contained the same items as the first scales but included the following non-corresponding items, 73, "attend political dinners" for booster, and 74, "put up signs," 75, "write up signs," and 77, "distribute leaflets" for gladiator.

Before going further with this discussion $I$ want to explain the decision rules used in constructing the second set of scales: (1) reject all non-corresponding items, if loading is less than .30 on all factors, regardless of size of secondary loading, and (2) accept all corresponding items if its highest loading is on the same factor, and if that loading is between . 25 and . 35 , and if the given item has no secondary loading within $\pm .09$. The elaboration of this a priori set of rules was due to the fact that since this is a replication $I$ wanted to load the dice in favor of the items which showed correspondence. I wanted to make sure that possible dissimilarities in findings were not produced by measurement differences. I did not want, however, to obliterate the fact that
non-corresponding items should not be rejected when indicated by the data, and set the criteria for inclusion accordingly. ${ }^{6}$

I then performed a test to determine which of these two sets of scales to use as my dependent measures and to test their stability vis-a-vis each other and in comparison with the original dependent variable scales. My procedure was the following: (1) run separate analysis of AID using toth scales; (2) compare the PEP rankings of the predictors for both runs; (3) finally as a check of the reliability of the scales perform a Spearman rank correlation test between the results of these two runs and the original AID results. ${ }^{7}$ Table 4 graphically describes the results of these tests. The indications according to these results are as follows: (a) the scales which take into consideration more the empirical behavior of the measures, i.e., scales which used both corresponding and non-corresponding items, are more closely correlated to the scales used in the original study, and (b) the two scales are highly intercorrelated between themselves which indicates that the

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Spearman Correlation Coefficients of PEP Ranks and Levels of Significance (in parentheses) Between the Two Proposed Dependent Variable Scales, and Between Those Scales and the Original Dependent Variable Scales. Three Styles of Political Participation

|  | Spearman Correlation <br> Coefficients and <br> Levels of Significance |
| :--- | :--- |

Spectator:
First study scale (7 items), and corresponding items scale (the same seven items)* . 8152 (.001)*

Booster:
First study scale (5 items), and corresponding and non-corresponding items scale (3 items) .0963 (.289)

First study scale (5 items), and corresponding items scale (2 items)
.0842 (.313)
Corresponding items, and corresponding and non-corresponding items scales .8911 (.001)

Gladiator:
First study scale (5 items), and corresponding and non-corresponding items scales (8 items) . 3748 (.013)

First study scale (5 items), and corresponding items scales (5 items)

Corresponding items, and corresponding and non-corresponding items scales .8301 (.001)
*Since all the seven items are corresponding then this is the only scale to be compared to the original scale.
**Levels of significance are given for illustrative purposes only.
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structure of the scales is not too dependent on the addition or omission of individual items.

The above discussion was to indicate why this particular set of measures of the dependent variables was chosen. In Table 5 the characteristics of these scales and how they compare to the scales used in the original study are indicated.

Table 5
Characteristics of the Dependent Variable Measures, UCAB and UCV Studies Compared

|  | Mean | Standard <br> Deviation | Hoyt <br> Reliability | Standard <br> Error | Range |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Spectator <br> UCAB Study | 8.62 | 3.38 | .75 | 1.57 | $0-14$ |
| UCV Study | 7.56 | 3.39 | .75 | 1.57 | $0-14$ |
| Booster <br> UCAB Study | 1.25 | 2.24 | .72 | 1.06 | $0-10$ |
| UCV Study | 1.46 | 1.93 | .65 | .93 | $0-6$ |
| Gladiator <br> UCAB Study <br> UCV Study | 3.76 | 3.42 | 3.05 | .81 | 1.34 |

${ }^{\text {a }}$ Each respondent was given a separate score for each style, the scoring therefore was done with regard to styles not individuals.
$\therefore$ a scale

The measures of the dependent variables for this study show the same high reliability, as measured by the Hoyt reliability coefficient, ${ }^{8}$ as that of the original study. The fact that the booster scale shows a lower reliability than the corresponding scale in the first study can be explained in part by the fact that this measure has less items than used in the original study; the reliability of a scale is affected by the number of items introduced into that scale. The biserial correlation, ${ }^{9}$ or the correlation of variables in the form of continuous scores with a variable which is in the form of an artificial dichotomy (Borg and Gall, 1971: 329), however, has been consistently high for all the items included.

Another important aspect to consider about these measures of political participation is the scores produced by the scales. The score distributions for both studies tend to indicate that consistently spectator activities are the most frequent, since they are easier to perform. Booster and gladiator activities are more taxing; therefore the participation in these activities tends to be less frequent.

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These results are consistent with what has been found in other studies dealing with political participation. Milbrath (1965: 10), for instance, states that:

About one-third of the American adult population can be characterized as politically apathetic or passive . . . another $60 \%$ play largely spectator roles in the political process; they watch, they cheer, they vote, but they do not battle [the incidence of "cheering" and other "booster" type activity probably is the least common of all these: my note]. . . probably only one or two percent can be called gladiators.

Due to the nature of gladiator and booster activities only a small proportion of the sample participated in them. The fact that the number of subscribers to gladiator and booster activities is much smaller than spectator activities, makes similarities in the findings of the two studies more unlikely for the first two styles of political participation. The similarities which indeed are found in spite of this circumstance, are therefore more impressive.

$$
\frac{\text { Procedures to Evaluate the }}{\text { Virtual Replication }}
$$

Table 6 introduces the hypotheses relating the 36 social structural and personality variables to the scales of political participation. Since each variable will be related to each of the three styles of political participation, essentially 108 hypotheses are presented. The omissions and blanks in the table represent lack of theoretical reasons for the expectation of directionality or strength of relationship. Because this is a virtual

```
replication \(I\) am presenting this table exactly as it was
elaborated by Finifter (1972a: 62). \({ }^{10}\)
(a) socioeconomic status
1. father's occupation
2. father's education
(b) demographic characteristics
3. age
4. sex
5. nativity
6. size of birthplace
7. marital status
8. labor force status
9. absence of father
(c) socialization
10. parental political interest
ll. parent-child political agreement
12. perceived political interest of classmates
(d) personality characteristics
13. assertiveness
14. conventional authority orientation
15. extroversion
16. openmindedness
17. faith in people
18. personal efficacy
19. political efficacy
20. social isolation
21. punitiveness
22. self-satisfaction
(e) career orientation
23. intrinsic career involvement
24. mobility aspiration
\({ }^{10}\) These are the 36 variables organized in the same groups of concepts as they were presented in the original study.
```

(h)

(f) social integration
25. acknowledged ego model
26. family integration
27. sociality
28. church attendance
(g) life satisfaction, happiness, and optimism
29. evaluation of self at present
30. evaluation of self in past
31. evaluation of country at present
32. evaluation of country at past
(h) participation-specific attitudes
33. humanitarian social service orientation
34. social reform orientation
35. nationalism
36. student role responsibility

## Evaluation of the AID Comparison

The testing of the hypotheses is done through the use of the Automatic Interaction Detector (AID) computer program. This program is capable of detecting non-linear and non-additive relationships among a set of variables. AID is preferred over multiple regression analysis, because it is more successful in explaining variance in the participation scales, and produced (as indicated by random halfsample cross-validation studies) more stable estimates of explanatory power. ${ }^{l l}$ The results obtained through AID have been difficult to evaluate because of lack of appropriate measures of predictor importance, and because the AID branching process has been suspected to be unstable. The
${ }^{11}$ For a discussion of the procedures used to arrive at this conclusion see Finifter (1970).

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Hypothesized Relationships of Variables for Predicting Three Styles of Political Participation: Expected Directions and Cross-Style Orders of Explanatory Power*

|  | dictor | Spectator | Booster | Gladiator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Father's Occupational Prestige | $+3$ | + 2 | + 1 |
| 2 | Father's Formal Education | + 3 | + 2 | $+1$ |
| 3 | Age | $+$ | - 1 | - |
| 4 | Sex (male $=1$ vs. 0) | $+1$ | - | + |
| 5 | R is Native-Born (=1) vs. Foreign-Born (=0) | 3 | $+2$ | + 1 |
| 6 | Size of R's Birthplace | + | + | + |
| 7 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { R's Marital Status } \\ & \text { (married }=1 \text { vs. } 0 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | + | - 1 | - |
| 8 | R's Labor Force Status (unemployed $=1$ vs. 0 ) | - | + | + |
| 9 | Father Absent ( $=1$ vs. 0) |  | $+1$ |  |
| 10 | ```Parents' Level of Political Interest``` | + 1 | + 2 | + 3 |
| 11 | Agreement with Parents' Political Views | + 2 | + 3 | - 1 |
| 12 | Perceived Classmates' <br> Political Interest | + 1.5 | + 3 | - 1.5 |
| 13 | Assertiveness (high scores) vs. Recessiveness | $+3$ | + 2 | + 1 |
| 14 | Conventional Orientation Toward Civil Authority | + 1.5 | 3 | - 1.5 |
| 15 | Extroversion (high scores) vs. Introversion | + 2 | + 1 | + 3 |
| 16 | Openmindedness (high scores) vs. Closedmindedness | - 1 | + 3 | $+2$ |
| 17 | Faith in People | - | $\pm$ | + |
| 18 | Personal Efficacy | + 1 | - 3 | $+2$ |
| 19 | Political Efficacy | + 2 | + 3 | + 1 |
| 20 | Social Isolation | - 1 | - | - |
|  | Punitiveness | + 1 | - | - | lactual-i

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Table 6--continued.

|  | dictor | Spectator | Booster | Gladiator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 22 | Self-Satisfaction (actual-ideal correlation) | + 2 | $\pm 3$ | $\pm 1$ |
| 23 | Intrinsic Career Involvement | - 3 | - 2 | - 1 |
| 24 | Vertical Status Mobility Orientation | $\pm 2$ | - 1 | - 3 |
| 25 | Acknowledge fiaving a Personal Role Model |  | + 1 |  |
| 26 | Family Tradition \& Influence on Vocational Choice | + 3 | $+1.5$ | + 1.5 |
| 27 | Socialize in Leisure Time | - | + 1 | + |
| 28 | Frequency of Church Attendance | + | + 1 | + |
| 29 | Rating of Self at Present |  |  | - 1 |
| 30 | Rating of Self in Past |  |  | - 1 |
| 31 | Rating of Country at Present | - | + | - |
| 32 | Rating of Country in Past | - | + | - |
| 33 | Humanitarian Social Service Orientation | $+$ | $+1$ | + |
| 34 | Social Reform Orientation | $+1.5$ | + 3 | $+1.5$ |
| 35 | Nationalism | + 1.5 | 3 | $+1.5$ |
| 36 | Believe University Students Have Special Responsibilities | +1 +1 | $+3$ | + 2 |

Note: "l" means "most important" and largest PEP coefficient, "2" means "moderate" PEP coefficient, and "3" means "least important" PEP coefficient, "+" indicates a direct relationship, "-" indicates an inverse relationship, " $\pm$ " indicates curvilinearity.
*Arranged from information obtained from Finifter (1972a: 62).
splits are made with regard to each predictor's contribution to explaining variance in the dependent variable. Slight variations on the BSS (between sum of squares) in highly intercorrelated predictors can produce spurious splits. A new statistic has been devised in Finifter (1971) to solve these problems. This statistic is the coefficient of "potential explanatory power" (PEP), which provides an estimate of the relative importance of predictors analyzed by AID. PEP credits all variables with potential explanatory power, independently of the usage of predictors to implement splits. ${ }^{12}$

Table 8 presents a comparison of the PEP results for the 36 variables of the UCAB and UCV studies (Table 7 introduces the actual PEP coefficients). A comparison is made of the multivariate predictors presented in the AID model of both studies, and the evaluation is based on a variable-by-variable matching of the relative rank ordering of the PEP coefficients of the common predictors.

In order to enact the variable matching through the use of PEP the following procedures was enacted: (1) the PEP coefficients were computed for each predictor for each of the three styles; (2) these PEP coefficients were ranked separately within each style from l--largest PEP, most important predictor, to 36 (these ranks are called the down
${ }^{12}$ The formula to compute PEP is maxBss ${ }_{p i} / T_{\text {sst }}$, where the numerator represents the maximum between chtegory sum-ofsquares explained by predictor "p" in subgroup "i," and the denominator is the total sum-of-squares in the analysis.

Table 7
Potential Explanatory Power (PEP) Coefficients and Down Ranks for Three Styles of Political Participation: UCAB and UCV Stucies

|  | Spectator |  | Booster |  | Gladiator |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PEP | Down <br> Rank | PEP | Down <br> Rank | PEP | Down Rank |
| 1 FATHEROCCUPATION | . 09282 | 23 | . 08548 | 22 | . 05171 | 25 |
| 2 FATHEREDUCATION | . 15230 | 6 | . 10721 | 16 | . 06396 | 23 |
| 3 AGE | . 13778 | 12 | . 09346 | 21 | . 05230 | 24 |
| 4 SEX | . 06520 | 29 | . 02903 | 33 | . 02761 | 31 |
| 5 NATIV-FOREIGN | . 03977 | 32 | . 06071 | 29 | . 07338 | 21 |
| 6 SIZEPLABRTH | . 07283 | 26 | . 10655 | 17 | . 08667 | 14 |
| 7 MARITALSTATUS | . 04007 | 31 | . 01937 | 34 | . 01677 | 34 |
| 8 LABORFORCESTATUS | . 02046 | 35 | . 05816 | 30 | . 03571 | 28 |
| 9 FATHERABSENT | . 07280 | 27 | . 03362 | 32 | . 00809 | 36 |
| 10 PARENTPOLITICALINTER | . 26065 | 1 | . 22171 | 1 | . 13402 | 2 |
| 11 Parentagree | . 08713 | 24 | . 09829 | 20 | . 03686 | 27 |
| 12 MATESINTEREST | . 13699 | 14 | . 08106 | 24 | . 02896 | 30 |
| 13 ASSERTIVE | . 08103 | 25 | . 08352 | 23 | . 06704 | 22 |
| 14 CONVEINTIONALAUTHORITY | . 11976 | 19 | . 07493 | 27 | . 08277 | 15 |
| 15 EXTROVERSION | . 10347 | 20 | . 15743 | 7 | . 09573 | 9 |
| 16 OPEIMMINDEDINESS | . 13590 | 16 | . 12199 | 12 | . 09727 | 8 |
| 17 FAITHINPEOPLE | . 14244 | 9 | . 18628 | 3 | . 09535 | 10 |
| 18 PERSONALEFFICACY | . 12972 | 18 | . 12385 | 11 | . 07635 | 18 |
| 19 POLITICALEFFICACY | . 24050 | 2 | . 16097 | 6 | . 11131 | 4 |
| 20 SOCIALISOLATION | . 15938 | 5 | . 13074 | 10 | . 09280 | 11 |
| 21 PUNITIVENESS | . 14091 | 10 | . 11152 | 15 | . 10350 | 6 |
| 22 Q-SORT | . 13199 | 17 | . 17574 | 4 | . 08163 | 17 |
| 23 CAREERINVOLVEMENT | . 13718 | 13 | . 14367 | 8 | . 11936 | 3 |
| 24 MOBILITYASPIRATIOI | . 09610 | 22 | . 05459 | 31 | . 03436 | 29 |
| 25 HAVEMODEL | . 02138 | 34 | . 01287 | 35 | . 01815 | 33 |
| 26 FAMILYINTEGRATION | . 01130 | 36 | . 01144 | 36 | . 01850 | 32 |
| 27 SOCIALIZE | . 03947 | 33 | . 13902 | 9 | . 01396 | 35 |
| 28 CHURCHATTENDANCE | . 13985 | 11 | . 07742 | 26 | . 07513 | 19 |
| 29 SELFPRESENT | . 14606 | 8 | . 10373 | 19 | . 10539 | 5 |
| 30 SELFPAST | . 13676 | 15 | . 10386 | 18 | . 09230 | 12 |
| 31 COUNTRYPRESENT | . 16702 | 4 | . 18728 | 2 | . 10169 | 7 |
| 32 COUNTRYPAST | . 09746 | 21 | . 11887 | 13 | . 07512 | 20 |
| 33 HUMANSOCSERVICE | . 05909 | 30 | . 06335 | 28 | . 04450 | 26 |
| 34 SOCIALREFORM | . 14772 | 7 | . 16324 | 5 | . 18205 | 16 |
| 35 NATIONALISM | . 07097 | 28 | . 11424 | 14 | . 08945 | 13 |
| 36 ROLERESPONSIBILITY | . 17839 | 3 | . 07897 | 25 | . 19583 | 1 |

Table 8
Hypothesized Relationships of Variables for Predicting Three Styles of political Participation:

| $$ | $\begin{array}{l\|l} 0 & \infty \\ \vdots & \infty \\ & \infty \end{array}$ |  <br> Nが <br>  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ס |   <br> $\substack{\infty \\ 0 \\ 0}$ $\infty$ <br>   <br>   |  |
| $\stackrel{n}{3}$ | On |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & n \\ & n \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & u \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
|  | ט |  |
|  |  |  |

13. 

ranks): and (3) to arrive at cross-style rank orders the down ranks were each ranked horizontally. ${ }^{13}$ Each of these steps resulted in the loss of some information, but this was necessary to make the comparison across styles and studies possible.

In order to determine the degree of reproducibility of the results across studies, a criterion was developed. From this evaluation it was decided which predictors showed consistently low explanatory power in both studies for the purpose of justifying their possible exclusion from the systematic replication phase of this research.

I now proceed by presenting the rationale for the formulation of the hypotheses. A general review of the literature which was the starting point for the justification of these hypotheses is found in Finifter (1968). Most of this literature, however, refers to political participation in general, and does not assume the existence of distinct motivational meaning behind political participation. Following is a variable by variable comparison with an evaluation of the cross style ranks. The down ranks are also evaluated when necessary. Whenever the terms

## 13"1" means "most important and largest" PEP

 coefficient, "2" means "moderate" PEP coefficient, and "3" means "least important" PEP coefficient. When I indicate "strength" of relationship in the text I refer to the importance of the ranks; "l" represents the strongest relationship, "+" indicates a direct relationship, "-" indicates an inverse relationship and "士" represents a pattern of curvilinearity."spectators," "boosters" or "gladiators" appear they refer to styles of political participation, not to individuals.

## Socioeconomic Status

1. Father's Occupation

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | +1 | +2 | +2 | +1 | +3 | 24 | 10 | 13 | 23 | 22 | 25 |

Results reported in the literature indicate that there is a strong positive correlation between the SES of a person's father and his political participation. With regard to the three styles of political participation it was predicted that the relationship between father's SES was going to be positive for the three styles. Strongest for gladiator (+ 1), moderate for booster (+ 2), and weaker for spectator (+ 3).

Father's occupation was obtained from question 114 (p. 23), ${ }^{14}$ "What is (was) your father's occupation? (Specify name of occupation, kind of work, position, etc.)."

To have a more precise picture of the father's occupation

[^11]for the cases of retired fathers or of fathers with unstable careers then question 115 and 115 a were asked-Question 115 (p. 24) "Did your father have the same job when you were a child?" if no, question ll5a (p. 24) "What kind of work did your father do at that time." If the occupation of the father was different at the time the respondent was growing up then that occupation was substituted for the response to question 114. For purposes of comparison $I$ used the same response code utilized in the original study (for a detailed explanation of the codes used see the Appendices).

With regard to direction the findings of the UCV data correspond to both the hypotheses and the UCAB data. Booster retained the highest positive PEP (+ 1), while spectator (+2) and gladiator (+3) also showed positive relationships.

The fact that in both studies it is empirically established that father's SES is strongly, positively associated to booster activity might indicate that booster activities are more prevalent in higher class individuals. The affiliative activities associated with booster, for example participation in car caravans, require the access to resources which are more easily obtained by those of higher SES.
2. Father's Education

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 3$ | +2 | $\pm 1$ | $\pm 1$ | +2 | +3 | 21 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 16 | 23 |

Education as Finifter (1968: 78) has put it "is said to be a powerful spring to political participation in widening the scope of one's acquaintances with political facts, by increasing one's capacity to perceive the personal implications of political events, and by enlarging confidence in one's own ability to act effectively in political life."

Therefore, since education is expected to be strongly intercorrelated with SES for the reasons expressed above then the hypotheses relating education and the three styles should be similar to those of father's SES; gladiator (+ 1), booster (+2), and spectator (+ 3).

Father's education was obtained from question 113
(P. 23) "Up to what grade did your father study?" (For a detailed description of the code used please refer to the Appendices.)

As mentioned before the father's of the UCAB
students were somewhat more educated than their UCV counterparts. In spite of this however, father's education
remains positively associated with each of the three styles, and the strength of the relationships does not correspond to those of the hypotheses nor to those of the original study. An exception however is booster, as expected in the hypothesis and confirmed in the original study, booster appears as moderately and positively (+ 2) related to father's education.

Demographic Characteristics
3. Age.

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 3$ | -1 | -2 | $\pm 1$ | -2 | -3 | 19 | 1 | 6 | 12 | 21 | 24 |

Age in a certain sense can be interpreted as an indicator of the "investment" that one has made in life, the more years of life lived might indicate a job and a family. In this study, age is interrelated to the fact of being married (+.53), and of being employed (+.28). Age therefore can be perceived, as indicated by Waisanen (1968) as "time left" which in turn affects the degree of participation.

For these reasons the hypotheses are presented that age is negatively related to the gladiator and booster styles. In the case of gladiator the person could refrain

from militant participation because he is heavily involved in other activities, or because he is not willing to invest time in politics. In the case of booster the emotional satisfaction that can be obtained from political participation again could be realized in other "boosterlike" activities in other areas of social life. With regard to the hypothesized relationship between spectator style of political participation and age ( + ), probably the higher the age the greater the propensity to be an observer of rather than an active participant in political action.

The age of the respondent was obtained from question 104 (p. 21) "How old were you on your last birthday?" The results on this variable agree in direction with the hypotheses and with the UCAB findings. Age is the strongest indicator for spectator ( $\pm 1$ ), even though there is a pattern of curvilinearity (for an illustration of this pattern see Appendices). Booster (- 2) and gladiator (- 3) show a negative relationship.
4. Sex

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | -2 | -3 | +1 | -3 | -2 | 20 | 35 | 35 | 24 | 33 | 31 |

Liebman et al. (1972) have reported that, in general, men participate more than women in politics. And in Latin America they consider that it is reasonable to expect the male to be more of a participant in politics. The hypotheses predict a strong positive relationship for spectator (+ l), and a negative ( - ) and positive ( + ) relationship for booster and gladiator. The rationale behind these hypotheses is that men are indeed more militant participants, and thus they have traditionally been more interested in receiving political stimuli than women. The fact that more women than men could participate in politics not for intrinsic but for socializing reasons is the rationale behind the negative relationship between being a male and booster style of political participation.

Information as to the respondent sex was obtained from question 103 (p. 2l) "What is your sex?" Males were coded "l," females "0." There is a strong positive relationship (+ l) between sex and spectator style of political participation, the relationship is weak and negative (- 3) for booster; and moderate and negative (-2) for gladiator.

In the evaluation of these results vis-a-vis those of the original study one has to take into consideration that the two samples were very different with regard to sex. While the original sample had about 75 percent males, my sample was almost evenly distributed between the sexes. More women attend universities in Venezuela than was the
case 10 years ago. Women also participate more in politics now than was the case in 1963.

In spite of some of the dissimilarities, two facts nevertheless stand out. One is that maleness is more important for the spectator associated activities. The other is that the affiliative element of participation in politics is more important for women than for men. Looking at this information in retrospect, young girls of about the age that one could expect in both the samples were very visible during the car caravans and were seen in public places displaying flags, $T$-shirts and other objects supportive of a party or candidate. The two most important political parties tried to put emphasis in their campaigns on obtaining the female vote. And in order to obtain these votes both planned gigantic demonstrations in which women participated. ${ }^{15}$ with regard to the weak negative relationship between being a male and being a gladiator, it seems to me that these results are not radically different from those of the original study which as said before agree with the direction of the hypotheses.

[^12]5. Nativity

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | +2 | +1 | -3 | -2 | +1 | 32 | 13 | 9 | 32 | 29 | 21 |

If we consider nativity as a measure of length of residence in a community, then political participation seems to be linked to it. Participation then will increase with the "stakes" or commitment in a community.

The political participation of persons who are foreign born in many cases is hindered by lack of knowledge of local customs, language, and political ways. They also lack identification with Venezuelan culture and have some restriction on their rights. For these reasons it is hypothesized that being native born will be positively and strongly correlated with gladiator (+1). To be native born should also be positively related to booster, but moderately (+2). In the case of spectator ( 3 ) the relationship expected was $\mathfrak{\text { eak }}$ but the expected sign of this relationship was not determined.

Nativity was obtained from question 105 (p. 21)
"Were you born in Venezuela or in a foreign country?" To double check responses question 106 (p. 22) was also asked--"Where exactly were you born?"

The findings of the UCV study run completely different from the hypothesized directions. The relationship between being a native and spectator (-3) and booster (- 2) are negative which is a rejection of the hypotheses and the previous UCAB findings. The results for gladiator (+ l) however agree with both the hypotheses and the previous findings.
6. Size of Birth Place

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -3 | -2 | -1 | +3 | +2 | +1 | 28 | 25 | 22 | 26 | 17 | 14 |

The hypotheses only state that there is a positive relationship between the three styles and the size of birth place. The expected strength of these hypothesized relationships is not discussed.

Size of birth place was obtained from question 106 (p. 22) "Where exactly were your born?"

The results of the UCV study confirm the hypotheses; the relationships are all positive, +1 , +2 and +3 for gladiator, booster and spectator, respectively.

Both the UCAB and the UCV sample had a similar distribution with regard to the size of the places where
the respondents were born. About 70 percent of the students in both samples were born in cities over 200,000 population. It is possible that the dissimilarities in the two sets of data could be a consequence of coding biases presented in the first study. Finifter reported difficulties in determining the size of the birthplace in his study due to incomplete information about the exact place of birth. For example in some cases, names such as Mérida or La Coruña that could be either a Province or a city were used, he also had problems distinguishing cities such as Barcelona that might be in Spain or in Venezuela.
7. Marital Status

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | -1 | -2 | -1 | -2.5 | $+2.5$ | 33 | 18 | 30 | 31 | 34 | 34 |

No established pattern is found in the literature between marital status and political participation. However, it seems reasonable to think that if one considers marriage as an investment in a relationship, the marriage situation will compete with involvement in political life. Gladiator and booster styles should then be negatively correlated with married status; the strongest affiliative commitment for the latter. In the case of spectator, marriage does not necessarily have to compete with the
activities characteristic of this style, and a positive relationship is hypothesized.

Marital status was obtained from question 119
(p. 24) "Are you now married, single, divorced, separated or widowed?" Married was coded "l," single and other "0." There is a disparity between these findings and those expected in the hypotheses and obtained in the UCAB study. Being married is strongly negatively related to spectator (- l), booster is negatively related to being married (-2.5) in a moderate to weak strength. Gladiator (+ 2.5) is related positively in a moderate to weak strength. There were considerably more married students in the UCAB sample, 23 percent $(n=122)$, than in my UCV sample, 10 percent $(\mathrm{n}=49)$.

These dissimilarities, plus the fact that in terms of down ranks this variable has consistently low explanatory power for each one of the three styles, make me believe that the contribution of this variable to the explanation of the three styles of political participation is very limited.
8. Labor Force Status

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -2 | +1 | +3 | -3 | +2 | +1 | 30 | 28 | 32 | 35 | 30 | 28 |

Persons who are employed have shown a higher tendency to participate in politics than those who are unemployed. The evidence, however, is obtained from studies done in the United States and with "adult" populations. It is very possible therefore that the relationship between holding $a \operatorname{job}$ and being a university student in a developing society would have a meaning unlike that of a developed nation.

Venezuela has a higher unemployment rate than the United States, and that lessens the opportunity for students to find full or part-time work. Employment participation, in this study, is related to age (.28), and marital status (.17). From the point of view of investment alone, as in the case of marital status and age, it makes sense to hypothesize that lack of employment is positively correlated with both booster and gladiator. For the booster style access to free time produced by unemployment status could be conducive to affiliative ways of spending one's energy. On the other hand, unemployment was expected to be negatively related to spectator style.

Labor status was obtained from question 120 (p. 25)
"Are you now working?" To double check responses question 120a (p. 25) was asked "What type of work do you do?" Unemployed was coded "1," employed "0."

Being unemployed appears as the strongest positive relationship (+ l) in the UCV data for gladiator. Booster
is moderately negatively correlated (- 2) and spectator weakly negatively (-3) correlated.

With regard to employment the two samples were radically different. Most of the members of the UCAB sample (346 or 60\%) were employed while the corresponding figure for the UCV sample was 104 (or $20 \%$ ). In spite of this sample dissimilarity, however, the direction of the hypotheses are sustained. This variable, however, has very low down ranks which indicate its low explanatory power.
9. Absence of Father

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +2 | -1 | -3 | -1 | $\pm 2$ | -3 | 35 | 33 | 36 | 27 | 32 | 36 |

The absence of a male role model or the existence of improper father-son relationships can be a deterrent for political participation (Lane, 1959). No indication of the particular incidence of this occurrence in the female is found in the literature that was consulted even though I expect that it would not be too different. This variable is difficult to explain in its relationship to political participation. Finifter (1968: 91) has tried to do it by expressing:

As Lane suggests, it may result in greater demands on the individual [the absence of a male role--my note] for self-discovery and in greater expenditure of energy in the management of one's life problems. If this is so, it is not certain how increased demands on one's own resources might affect participation. It would be reasonable to expect both that greater demands may deflect people from the political arena, and also that political participation may be an especially attractive source of self-discovery for persons in this situation.

The difficulties in visualizing this variable can be seen in the fact that no elaborate hypotheses are presented to explain its relationship with each of the styles. The assumption, however, that people who lack a male role can find self-discovery in politics serves just to hypothesize that booster, because of the lack of affiliative contacts is strongly positively associated (+ l) with absence of father.

Absence of father was obtained from questions 110 and ll0a. Question 110 (p. 22) "Are your parents living," (if only one is living) ll0a (p. 22) "Which one has died." If father was dead, the code was "l," if not "0."

My data showed the strongest negative relationship for spectator (-1), a moderate relationship of curvilinearity for booster $( \pm 2)$ and a weak negative relationship for gladiator (-3).

About 12 percent of both samples reported that their father was dead, so with regard to distrikution we find a very similar one. I feel, however, that no confidence should be placed in the results of this variable. First, this is a very crude indicator since the only thing
which is telling is that the father has died, and it does not indicate when he died, what was the influence of his death on the respondent, and/or if the respondent has a substitute father model. Second, and probably because of the confusion that was just expressed this variable has a consistently low explanatory power showing in both studies as illustrated by the low down ranks.

## Socialization

10. Parental Political Interest

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | +2 | +3 | +1 | +2 | +3 | 1 | 4 | 15 | 1 | 1 | 2 |

The influence of the family has been recognized as fundamental in the political socialization process. The assertion is that since the family has a virtual monopoly on the child during his formative years (Almond and Verba, 1963), then the patterns of behavior which are learned are of crucial importance. The assumption is that "the range of alternative behaviors open to the adult is also intimately related to his experiences as a child and that the kind of political reality the adult perceives and his attitudes about it are restricted by what he has learned during his early years" (Easton and Hess, 1962: 229). Therefore, the amount
of political interest displayed by the parents seems to have an effect on the behavioral pattern of the adults. The hypotheses predict that parental political interest is strongly positively associated with spectator (+ l). The contention is that people engage in spectator activities in part because of their need to conform to their parents' displayed amount of political interest. It is also hypothesized that this variable will be positively moderately associated with booster (+2), because modelling oneself after parents tends to increase affectional reinforcement from parents. For gladiator the direction should also be positive even though weaker in strength (+ 3).

A scale of parental political interest was formed by using Question 116 (p. 24), "Would you say your mother is (was) interested in politics?", and Question 117 (p. 24), "Would you say your father is (was) interested in politics?" The response categories were: "a great deal," "moderately," and "very little," which were weighted 3, 2 and 1 points respectively. The characteristics of this scale are presented in Table 9.

The results of the AID analysis of this variable appear to provide strong support for the theory. There is a perfect agreement with both the hypothesis and the original study's results. Moreover, the results of the analysis show that this is one of the strongest variables. A look at the down ranks in Table 8 indicates that this variable holds the first and fourth place for
Table 9
Characteristics of the Independent Variables Scales Used in the

| Variable | Mean | Standard Deviation | Hoyt Reliability | Standard <br> Error | Range |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10 PARENTINTER | 3.41 | 1.19 | . 61 | . 52 | 2-6 |
| 11 PARENTSAGREE | 4.59 | 1.68 | . 72 | . 62 | 2-6 |
| 13 ASSERTIVE | 5.60 | 1.51 | . 37 | 1.03 | 4-11 |
| 14 CONVAUTHORSN | 3.30 | 1.36 | . 45 | 1.16 | 0-6 |
| 15 EXTROVERSION | 10.99 | 1.99 | . 52 | 1.26 | 6-18 |
| 16 OPENMINDEDNESS | 9.70 | 1.56 | . 32 | 1.15 | 6-15 |
| 17 FAIP | 3.45 | 2.45 | . 42 | 1.52 | 0-9 |
| 18 PERSNLEF | 14.78 | 2.91 | . 59 | 1.71 | 3-18 |
| 19 POLITEF | 13.16 | 3.34 | . 54 | 2.07 | 2-17 |
| 20 SOCISOLATION | 3.48 | 2.80 | . 51 | 1.70 | 0-12 |
| 21 PUNITIVNESS | 5.24 | 2.62 | . 45 | 1.58 | 0-14 |
| 23 CAREERINVOLV | 21.64 | 5.78 | . 25 | 4.58 | 3-33 |
| 24 MOBILASPIR | 7.29 | 3.12 | . 23 | 2.23 | 0-20 |
| 33 HUMANSOCSERV | . 38 | . 69 | . 48 | . 48 | 0-3 |
| 34 SOCREFORM | 4.82 | 2.65 | . 33 | 1.88 | 1-20 |
| 35 NATNLSM | . 14 | . 38 | . 14 | . 29 | 0-2 |
| 36 ROLERESPONS | 1.50 | 1.04 | . 56 | . 56 | 0-3 |

spectator and booster and the fifteenth rank for gladiator in the UCAB data. In the UCV data "parents' political interest" again ranks first for spectator, but in this replication it also ranks first for booster, while for gladiator it ranks second.
11. Parent-child Political Agreement

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -2 | -3 | -1 | -2 | -1 | -3 | 23 | 34 | 8 | 24 | 20 | 27 |

There is evidence of an inverse relationship between parent-child political agreement and political participation. Slote (1967) reports the rebelliousness of Venezuelan children against their parents especially against the father is a stimulant to political behavior. Other studies (Lane, 1959 ) indicate, however, that not only is this relationship not a deterrent but that many children take the model of their parents and participate in the same way they do and support the same political parties. I generally support the former assertion, but the negative relationship should be true only for gladiator. Boosters may model self after parents to win attention; spectators may conform to parental authority tradition; while gladiators may actively challenge parents' political ideas.

Following this line of reasoning it is hypothesized that there is a strong negative correlation between agreement with parental views and gladiator style of political participation (- l). Spectator will have a moderate positive correlation (+ 2), while booster will have a weak positive correlation (+ 3).

Parent-child political agreement was measured by Question ll7a (p. 24), "Generally, would you say that your father is (was) in agreement with your political ideas?", and, Question ll7b (p. 24), "Is (or was) your mother generally in agreement with your political ideas?" The wording of these questions represents a departure from a strict replication of the original study, since in the UCAB the question was asked about both parents' agreement without differentiation between father and mother. However, I felt that this distinction would provide more validity to the responses, and allow for more refined analysis later.

A scale of political agreement was constructed from these two questions. The response categories were: "disagree," "qualified agreement," and "agreement," counting 1, 2, and 3 points respectively. The characteristics of this scale are summarized in Table 9.
12. Perceived Political Interest of Classmates

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | +3 | -2 | +1 | +2 | -3 | 12 | 32 | 18 | 14 | 24 | 30 |

The more politically active a person perceives his friends and associates to be, the greater his tendency to emulate their political behavior (Walker, 1967). Liebman et al. (1972) report this influence on Latin American university students' political behavior. The amount of activity depended on what they perceived that aspect of their classmates' behavior to be.

It is hypothesized that there is a strong to moderate inverse relationship (- 1.5) between perceived political interest of classmates and gladiator style of political participation. The fact that the purposive gladiator perceives low political interest in his classmates can in itself be an important motivation for action for the purpose of proselitizing and mobilizing others. For the normative spectator, in contrast, the relationship should be positive (+ 1.5) since spectators are expected to conform to perceived group norms. For booster the relationship is also positive but weaker (+ 3), because affiliative actors are not interested in politics per se.

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Perceived political interest of class mates was obtained from Question 66 (p. 17), "How many students in your faculty do you think are interested in politics?" The response categories were: "many," "some," and "a few," which were scored 3, 2, and 1 , respectively. A minority of the student members of the sample (13\%) saw their peers as not interested in politics. The remaining 87 percent either saw their peers as "moderately interested," and as "very interested."

The results from the UCV sample show this variable to be most important for spectator and the relationship is positive (+ l). Booster shows a weak positive relationship (+ 3), while gladiator (-2) had a negative moderate relationship. These results conflict with the hypotheses in the case of spectator. Booster was expected to have a positive relationship with perceived classmates' political interests for the affiliative character of this type of style of political participation.

For all the styles, this variable maintains its strongest predictive power (as measured by the down-ranks) for spectator; 12 th in the UCAB data and 14 th in the UCV data. Therefore, this variable is an important predictor for the spectator style of political participation.

## Personality Characteristics

13. Assertiveness

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | +2 | +1 | +3 | +2 | +1 | 14 | 5 | 3 | 25 | 23 | 22 |

Individuals who assert themselves, and thus impose their wills upon others have a greater tendency to participate in politics. Assertiveness has been found to be associated with prominence in political leadership in general politics and in university student political leadership. In trying to explain the relationship between assertiveness and the three styles, the rationale behind the hypotheses takes into account that for any one of the styles a certain amount of assertiveness is needed. Assertiveness, therefore, is supposed to be related to each one of the three styles of political participation in a positive manner, although the intensity varies. Gladiator is expected to be most strongly related to this variable $(+1)$, then booster (+2), and finally spectator (+ 3). The scale to measure assertiveness, and two other variables (extroversion and openmindedness) was obtained from the same instrument. Below is an explanation of how these three scales were constructed.

Students were asked in question 62 (p. 15) to rate themselves with regard to 30 personality characteristics. 16 If the student thought that one characteristic described him very well then he gave it a "l" rating, a "2" if he thought that it described him more or less, and a "3" if the characteristic hardly described him at all.

The respondents in this task were asked to produce three groups of descriptors, ranked "1," "2" and "3." This constitutes a departure from the procedures used in the original study. In the UCAB study, Finifter asked his students to organize the same 30 characteristics into three groups (according to the three ratings previously discussed) of ten characteristics each. According to post-interview information, however, this requirement appeared to be too rigid and too burdensome to a good number of the student respondents. Since the $10-10-10$ requirement was tedious it may very well have produced some degree of artificiality. An important consequence of the forced character of the response choices may be to lower the level of interdependence among the items shown in the correlation matrix of these items, Table 10. The decision to minimize the forced nature of the instrument in my study was probably responsible in part for an increase in the level of interdependence among the items in the correlation matrix

[^13]Table 10

|  |  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Serious | 1 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Idealistic | 2 | 06 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sure | 3 | 02 | -05 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Extroverted | 4 | -25 | 00 | 03 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Elegant | 5 | 02 | -03 | -04 | 13 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Happy | 6 | -11 | -05 | 10 | 15 | 18 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Studious | 7 | 07 | -02 | 05 | 05 | 11 | 07 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Efficient | 8 | 05 | -06 | 15 | 11 | 06 | 16 | 22 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Individualistic | 9 | 03 | 06 | 01 | 05 | 09 | -03 | 03 | 13 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Independent | 10 | 05 | -03 | 02 | -06 | -03 | -05 | -13 | -03 | 13 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sincere | 11 | 02 | -04 | 08 | -01 | 01 | 11 | 01 | 08 | -02 | -08 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reflective | 12 | -02 | 05 | 02 | -07 | -08 | -04 | -12 | -06 | -05 | 07 | 09 | 9 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Responsible | 13 | 04 | -11 | 09 | 00 | 06 | -05 | 12 | 07 | -06 | -02 | 23 | 309 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Esteemed | 14 | -09 | -07 | 12 | 20 | 07 | 15 | 01 | 11 | 05 | -07 | 03 | -06 | 08 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cooperative | 15 | -04 | -03 | 01 | 03 | -05 | 02 | -05 | -05 | -15 | -03 | 05 | 07 | 10 | 17 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Successful | 16 | -13 | -06 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 16 | 14 | 07 | -01 | -03 | 07 | 07 | 03 | 16 | 11 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Realistic | 17 | 01 | -21 | 06 | -05 | 14 | 00 | 05 | 01 | -11 | -03 | 02 | 212 | 11 | 04 | 12 | 08 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Orderly | 18 | 09 | -10 | 08 | 01 | 05 | -03 | 12 | 09 | -09 | -07 | 06 | 02 | 19 | 01 | 09 | 02 | 10 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Faithful | 19 | 00 | -03 | 12 | 10 | -02 | 05 | 05 | 01 | -12 | -08 | 05 | -02 | 05 | 00 | -03 | 06 | 01 | 17 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Dominant | 20 | 01 | 09 | -03 | 07 | 04 | 00 | 04 | -06 | 13 | 06 | -04 | -11 | -10 | 03 | -06 | 00 | -03 | 02 | 04 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Reliable | 21 | 00 | -01 | -03 | 00 | 03 | -05 | -06 | -03 | -04 | -05 | 16 | 13 | 28 | 07 | 12 | -03 | 10 | 02 | 03 | -10 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stable | 22 | -05 | -04 | 13 | 08 | 01 | 04 | 12 | -02 | -05 | 00 | -02 | 00 | 03 | 00 | 03 | 06 | 02 | 14 | 06 | 00 | 01 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Decided | 23 | -15 | -08 | 16 | 05 | 04 | 06 | -05 | 01 | -09 | 02 | 02 | -01 | 03 | 07 | 06 | 08 | 14 | 04 | 09 | 00 | 05 | 09 | - |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Optimistic | 24 | -10 | 02 | 12 | 06 | 02 | 13 | -05 | 06 | -09 | -05 | 09 | 06 | 01 | 02 | 07 | 14 | 08 | -03 | -01 | -09 | 14 | 09 | 11 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Imaginative | 25 | -05 | 10 | -04 | 06 | -05 | -04 | -11 | -11 | 02 | 02 | 03 | 13 | 06 | 01 | 12 | 04 | 04 | -10 | -02 | -12 | 12 | -03 | 04 | 09 | -- |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfied | 26 | -01 | -10 | 06 | 21 | 10 | 20 | 07 | 07 | 12 | -01 | -04 | -11 | -05 | 19 | -10 | 15 | -03 | 06 | 07 | 15 | -17 | 06 | -05 | -07 | -08 | -- |  |  |  |  |
| Intellectual | 27 | 03 | 04 | 07 | 10 | -02 | 01 | 08 | 10 | 16 | 06 | -09 | -03 | -07 | 10 | -06 | 07 | -11 | 02 | 07 | 12 | -23 | 03 | -01 | -11 | -09 | 30 | -- |  |  |  |
| Capable | 28 | 00 | 00 | 12 | -03 | 05 | 09 | 05 | 06 | -05 | -04 | 09 | 10 | 08 | -02 | 17 | 14 | 13 | 00 | 05 | -06 | 10 | 06 | 18 | 16 | 12 | -10 | -07 | -- |  |  |
| Intelligent | 29 | -08 | 07 | 01 | 18 | 03 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 00 | 00 | -01 | -03 | 11 | -02 | 17 | 02 | -01 | -02 | 05 | -09 | 05 | -02 | -02 | -03 | 14 | 25 | 05 | -- |  |
| Popular | 30 | -23 | -03 | 08 | 30 | 07 | 09 | 01 | 08 | 07 | 04 | -02 | -10 | -05 | 32 | 04 | 22 | 07 | 00 | -03 | 11 | -08 | 06 | 06 | -02 | -04 | 27 | 28 | -08 | 14 | -- |

[^14](Table 10). I did not receive significant complaints about the nature of this instrument, nor did the respondents express difficulty in filling it out.

The 30 items were then factor analyzed using the multiple correlation of each item with all others as the estimate of communality and using an oblique rotation. I used a two, three, four, five and six factor solution, and after comparing them, I concluded that the three factor solution was the best from both an empirical and a theoretical point of view.

One factor, which will be identified as the "assertive-recessive" factor, was composed of the following descriptors: reliable, intellectual, capable, optimistic, cooperative, individualistic, realistic, dominant, imaginative, reflective, decided, and sincere. A second factor which will be called "extroverted-introverted" had the following items: popular', extroverted, esteemed, satisfied, successful, happy, serious, intelligent. Finally, a third factor identified as "openmindedness-closemindedness" was composed of: studious, orderly, responsible, efficient, sure, idealistic, faithful, elegant, stable, and independent.

A comparison was made with the factor structure found in the original study (Table ll). The same procedures which were discussed earlier in this work were used to make a comparison of the two factor analyses. A comparison of the two factor analyses shows that the scale

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Table 11
Arranged Rotated Factor Matrix for Actual Q-sort Self Ratings; UCAB and UCV Studies. $(A-R=A s s e r t i v e-R e c e s s i v e ; E-I=E x t r o v e r t e d-I n t r o v e r t e d ; ~ O-C=$ Openminded-Closedminded).

| UCAB Study |  |  |  |  | UCV Study |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. | I tem | A-R | E-I | O-C | No. | Item | A-R | E-I | O-C |
| 20 | Dominant | . 48 | . 05 | -. 02 | 21 | $\rightarrow$ Reliable | -. 43 | . 06 | -. 07 |
| 21 | Reliable | -. 42 | . 07 | -. 02 | 27 | Intellectual | . 42 | -. 28 | -. 07 |
| 13 | Responsible | -. 40 | . 17 | . 13 | 28 | Capable* | -. 34 | -. 08 | -. 17 |
| 29 | Intelligent | . 39 | . 00 | . 00 | 24 | Optimistic* | -. 32 | -. 15 | -. 06 |
| 15 | Cooperative | -. 36 | -. 24 | -. 03 | 15 | $\rightarrow$ Cooperative | -. 32 | -. 12 | -. 08 |
| 18 | Orderly | -. 34 | . 09 | -. 04 | 9 | $\rightarrow$ Individual. | . 29 | -. 09 | . 07 |
| 19 | Faithful | -. 34 | . 09 | . 20 | 17 | Realistic | -. 29 | -. 01 | -. 24 |
| 9 | Individual. | . 33 | . 29 | -. 17 | 20 | $\rightarrow$ Dominant* | . 28 | -. 09 | . 02 |
| 11 | Sincere | $\underline{-.31}$ | -. 09 | . 02 | 25 | Imaginative* | -. 27 | -. 04 | . 18 |
| 22 | Stable* | -. 23 | . 00 | . 14 | 12 | Reflective* | -. 27 | . 06 | . 05 |
| 16 | Successful* | . 17 | -. 05 | . 12 | 23 | Decided* | -. 24 | -. 18 | -. 11 |
| 28 | Capable* | . 16 | -. 12 | . 14 | 11 | $\rightarrow$ Sincere* | -. 23 | -. 03 | -. 21 |
| 5 | Elegant* | . 15 | -. 09 | -. 01 | 30 | $\rightarrow$ Popular | -. 18 | . 55 | . 02 |
| 6 | Happy | . 07 | -. 49 | . 16 | 4 | $\rightarrow$ Extroverted | -. 05 | . 48 | . 07 |
| 30 | Popular | -. 02 | -. 43 | -. 19 | 14 | $\rightarrow$ Esteemed | . 02 | .43 | . 16 |
| 12 | Reflective | -. 21 | . 41 | -. 09 | 26 | Satisfied | -. 36 | . 40 | . 19 |
| 1 | Serious | -. 20 | . 41 | . 06 | 16 | $\rightarrow$ Success ful | . 11 | . 40 | . 21 |
| 24 | Optimistic | . 13 | -. 39 | . 04 | 6 | $\rightarrow$ Happy | . 01 | . 38 | . 22 |
| 14 | Esteemed | -. 08 | -. 36 | -. 05 | 1 | $\rightarrow$ Serious | -. 13 | -. 35 | . 13 |
| 10 | Independent | . 17 | . 31 | -. 07 | 29 | Intelligent* | -. 17 | . 31 | . 10 |
| 4 | Extroverted | . 10 | -. 31 | -. 24 | 7 | $\rightarrow$ Studious | . 14 | -. 07 | -. 39 |
| 26 | Satisfied* | . 01 | -. 22 | . 04 | 18 | Orderly | -. 04 | . 02 | -. 38 |
| 7 | Studious* | -. 15 | . 17 | . 08 | 13 | Responsible | -. 29 | . 03 | -. 33 |
| 2 | Idealistic | . 13 | . 12 | -. 50 | 8 | $\rightarrow$ Efficient | . 07 | -. 18 | -. 33 |
| 3 | Sure | . 04 | . 00 | . 49 | 3 | $\rightarrow$ Sure | -. 10 | -. 18 | -. 28 |
| 25 | Imaginative | . 18 | -. 01 | -. 47 | 2 | $\rightarrow$ Idealistic | . 09 | . 06 | . 24 |
| 17 | Realistic | . 00 | . 14 | . 32 | 19 | Faithful* | -. 03 | -. 16 | -. 21 |
| 27 | Intellectual | . 21 | . 18 | -. 30 | 5 | Elegant* | . 02 | -. 17 | -. 18 |
| 23 | Decided | . 18 | -. 06 | . 30 | 22 | Stable* | -. 05 | -. 13 | -. 18 |
| 8 | Efficient* | -. 12 | . 01 | . 19 | 10 | Independent* | . 09 | . 04 | . 15 |

[^15]$$
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$$
which is most successfully reproduced is the measure of extroversion-introversion. However, the data generally show a good deal of replicability for the other two as well.

After the factor analysis comparison was concluded the final scales were as follows:

| AssertiveRecessive | ExtrovertedIntroverted | OpenClosemindedness |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21 Reliable $\rightarrow$ | 30 Popular $\rightarrow$ | 7 Studious ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| 27 Intellectual | 4 Extroverted $\rightarrow$ | 18 Orderly |
| 15 Cooperative $\rightarrow$ | 14 Esteemed ${ }^{\text {- }}$ | 13 Responsible |
| 9 Individualistic $\rightarrow$ | 26 Satisfied | 8 Efficient $\rightarrow$ |
|  | 16 Successful $\rightarrow$ | 3 Sure ${ }^{+}$ |
|  | 6 Happy $\rightarrow$ | 2 Idealistic $\rightarrow$ |

$\rightarrow$ Corresponding Items.

As can be seen, 13 out of the 17 items used in the scales are corresponding items, that is they belong to the same factor as in the original study. In the case of the four non-corresponding items empirical evidence was very convincingly in favor of letting them remain in their respective factor.

The relatively low Hoyt reliability coefficients
(Table 9) for the measures of assertiveness and openmindedness are due in part to the small number of items for each one of these two scales. However, the biserial correlation of each item has been consistently high in spite of the low reliability, and this latter criterion was instrumental in retaining the items for scaling.


Having explained the construction of these three scales, $I$ continue by analyzing the results of assertiveness in the UCV AID analysis. The hypotheses with regard to assertiveness expected this variable to be positively correlated with all three styles, strong for gladiator, moderate for booster, and weaker for spectator. The UCAB study confirmed these hypotheses.

The UCV results also confirm the hypotheses in these exact directions and strengths. In spite of this confirmation the predictive power of this variable, as measured by the down-ranks, was consistently lower in the second study. In the UCAB analysis "assertive" was 19th, 5 th and 3 rd in down ranks for spectator, booster and gladiator, respectively, while in the UCV study the ranks were 25 th, $23 r d$, and $22 n d$ for spectator, booster, and gladiator. This however could have been produced by AID artifact.
14. Conventional Authority Orientation

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 3$ | -2 | -1 | -2 | -3 | -1 | 25 | 17 | 16 | 19 | 27 | 15 |

Persons who question or are critical of conventional authority are more prone to participate politically than those who do not.

The hypotheses contend that conventional authority is the most important predictor for both gladiator and spectator. For the purposive gladiator this relationship should be negative (- l.5), since gladiators probably tend to be critical of the authority and that non-conformity could be a strong motivator for action. For the normative spectator, however, the relationship should be positive (+ l.5), since he would support the values of the social group including its authority make-up. For booster the hypotheses indicate a weak relationship of undetermined sign, ( 3 ).

A scale to measure orientation toward civil authority was devised by adding the responses to the following two questions:

Question 30 (p. 6)--When people disagree with the government, they should not obey it.

Question 85 (p. 19)--A bad law should be changed, but while it stands it ought to be obeyed.

Both questions were scored on a four-point scale. For question 30 the coding was "0" total agreement, "l" partial agreement, " 2 " partial disagreement, and "3" total disagreement. For question 85 the coding scheme was reversed.

The UCV results confirm the hypothesis with regard to gladiator (- l). This finding seems to have a good deal of generality and importance. For the other two styles there is neither agreement with the hypotheses nor with the UCAB findings. The relationship between

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$$

conventional authority and spectator and booster is inverse, moderate for spectator (-2) and weaker for booster (- 3).

A look at the down rank confirms further the strength of the relationship between this variable and gladiator. For gladiator conventional authority orientation has maintained a surprising degree of strength across the studies. In the first study it was l6th in importance, while in this study its position was 15 th.

## 15. Extroversion

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 2$ | +1 | +3 | $\pm 3$ | +1 | $\pm 2$ | 16 | 14 | 27 | 20 | 7 | 9 |

Individuals who are extroverted are found throughout the literature to take an active part in politics. As with assertiveness there is a certain amount of extroversion required for all political activities, even though according to the theory it can be more important for one style than for others. It is predicted in the hypotheses that extroversion will be more important (+ l) for the affiliative booster. Persons who show a tendency to be extroverts thrive on booster type of activities because they provide opportunities to be socially outgoing. Spectator is

predicted to have a moderate curvilinear relationship with extroversion ( $\pm 2$ ), while booster will show a weak positive relationship (+ 3).

The measurement of extroversion of the members of the UCV sample was obtained from the Q-sort instrument previously discussed. The findings of the UCV study confirm that extroversion indeed has a very strong positive relationship with booster activities (+ 1). However, there is a weak and positive relationship for gladiator (+ 3), and for spectator the relationship is moderate and curvilinear ( $\pm 2$ ).

In spite of certain discrepancies the important information obtained from the evaluation of these hypotheses is the strong correspondence which exists in correlation between extroversion and booster style of political participation. With regard to the down ranks for the case of booster this variable gained a significant degree of explanatory importance. It was 14 th in predictive importance in the original study, and 7 th in the UCV study.
16. Openmindedness

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -1 | +3 | +2 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 6 | 31 | 21 | 16 | 12 | 8 |

The evidence points out that persons who are curious, and are willing to consider information which may contradict their opinions are more likely to participate in politics. It has been found that active participants expressed significantly broader cultural and intellectual interests.

The measure of openmindedness is built on a bipolar factor. Openmindedness should be strongly negatively (- l) correlated to the spectator style of political participation. On the other hand, a moderate positive (+ 2) relationship is expected between this variable and gladiator political participation. Finally, a weak positive relationship (+ 3) is expected between openmindedness and booster style.

Information about the degree of openmindedness of the members of the sample was obtained from the openmindedness scale discussed previously in describing the Q-sort instrument.

The results of the UCV study do not agree with the results of the UCAB study, which did confirm the hypotheses. Openmindedness appears in the UCV data as being strongly negatively (- l) associated with gladiator style, a result that was not expected. I wonder if this could have been caused by some dogmatic feelings among highly politically committed gladiators, and be a special historical condition. Openmindedness is also negatively correlated with the booster and spectator styles, (-2) and (-3) respectively.

An explanation for the dissimilarities which are found can be inferred from the composition of the scales used to measure the variable. After the factor analysis no perfect degree of correspondence between the UCAB and UCV scales to measure openmindedness was found. The reliability of this scale is relatively low . 32 (Table 9).
17. Faith in People

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 1$ | $\pm 3$ | $\pm 2$ | +2 | $\pm 1$ | $\pm 3$ | 10 | 27 | 19 | 9 | 3 | 10 |

Persons who trust other people are more likely to participate actively in politics than those who are not trusting. The hypotheses as stated regarding this variable are incompletely specified. They recognize a negative relationship with spectator ( - ), a curvilinear relationship with booster ( $\pm$ ), and a positive relationship with gladiator ( + ), but do not specify the relative magnitudes of these relationships.

The scales to measure faith in people, and three other variables (personal efficacy, social isolation and political efficacy) were obtained from the following questions:

Question 23 (p. 6)--Now, some people prefer to spend most of their time with a group of friends, while others spend their time alone. Do you spend your time: alone, depends on my mood, with some friends.

Question 24 (p. 6)--The most important thing is to be in agreement with other people--the question of who is right or who is wrong is secondary.

Question 25 (p. 6)--I have to study more than my classmates to get a good grade on an exam.

Question 26 (p. 6)--There are many young students in this country who get involved in politics too much because of lack of discipline.

Question 27 (p. 6)--My classmates have more luck than I do.

Question 28 (p. 6)--Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on.
Question 29 (p. 6)--I have often felt that there is no sense in trying to be somebody in this life.

Question 32 (p. 7)--If I do not watch out, people will take advantage of me.

Question 33 (p. 7)--People like me do not fit in society.

Question 34 ( p .7 )--Nowdays a person does not really know whom he can count on.

Question 35 (p. 7)--It is not really fair to bring children into the world, seeing how things will be in the future.

Question 36 (p. 7)--Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

Question 37 (p. 7)--It is better to content oneself with what one has than to get involved with new things.

Question 39 ( p .7 )--People like me do not have anything to say about what the government does.

Question 40 (p. 7)--Now, which would you choose: "Most people are disposed to help others," or "most people are disposed to help themselves?"

Question 84 (p. 19)--The real difference between the people who succeed and those who fail is that those who succeed have luck. That is, success is more a matter of luck than of ability or individual effort.

Question 86 (p. 19)--A bad law should be changed, but while it stands, it ought to be obeyed.

Question 87 (p. 20)--In spite of what people say, the condition of people like me is getting worse instead of better.

Question 88 (p. 20)--It is not worthwhile to bother yourself about politics, because in general, the politicians are not the most qualified individuals in the society.

Question 93 (p. 20)--Most of the time I feel lonely.
Question 94 (p. 20)--Most public officials are not interested in the problems of people like me.
Question 95 (p. 20)--There is little $I$ can do to change my life.

Question 96 (p. 21)--My opinions carry less weight than the opinions of my classmates.

Question 97 (p. 21)--When you get down to it, no one is going to care much what happens to me.

Question 98 (p. 21)--Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

Question 99 (p. 21)--I seem to be the type of person that has more bad luck than good luck.

Question 100 (p. 21)--Nowdays a person has to live for today and not worry about the future.

Question 101 (p. 21)--I feel I chose the wrong career.

Question 102 (p. 21)--Now, some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say that you cannot be too careful in your dealings with other people. How do you feel about it: most people can be trusted or cannot be too careful.

These twenty-nine items were the same as those used by Finifter to measure personal and political efficacy, faith in people and social isolation. Even though some new items were included most had been used in previous research. The faith in people items were obtained from Rosenberg (1957), and the social isolation items from Srole (1956), Campbell and associate's items (1954) were utilized to measure political and personal efficacy.

The above measures were tentatively assumed by Finifter to cluster empirically in ways similar to those in previous studies, and to measure the same dimensions. This assumption was similar to the one that $I$ had to test when measuring the dependent variables and some of the independent variables which required the use of complicated scales. In the particular case of these four variables, Finifter found that all the items that he included were consistently related as the originators of these scales stipulated except for Srole's items used to measure social
isolation. Then, as Finifter (1968: 112) puts it: . . . On the basis of these findings, a choice had to be made between two alternative strategies: I could ignore the empirical cluster patterns in order to maintain the 'nominal' identities of the various scales, as intended by their authors, or I could let the data themselves dictate the construction of dimensions and thereby risk the disintegration of some previously devised scales. The second choice seemed preferable for several reasons, particularly because no prior work had been carried out with these scales for the kind of population I was studying, and there was little to be gained by supposing on a priori grounds that the items would behave in specific ways.

The scales to measure these four variables in the original study therefore were constructed taking into account the empirical clustering of the items. This was a plausible decision and is discussed later.

After asking the same twenty-nine questions, I factor analyzed the correlation matrix of these items, again using the multiple correlation of each item with the rest as the estimate of communality and an oblique solution for the rotation. A comparison of the factor analyses of the items in the UCAB and UCV studies is presented in Table 12.

After excluding items from the scales the final
composition of the four scales was as follows:
Personal Efficacy Scale:
96 My opinions carry less weight
$\rightarrow 99$ Have more bad than good luck
$\rightarrow 95$ There is nothing I can do
$\rightarrow 100$ Have to live in present
$\rightarrow 84$ Success is luck vs. individual effort
$\rightarrow 101$ I chose the wrong career
87 Conditions of people like me worse
Social Isolation Scale:
$\rightarrow 93$ Most of the time I feel lonely
$\rightarrow 86$ Classmates have more friends
$\rightarrow 23$ Prefer to spend time alone
$\rightarrow 33$ People like me do not fit in society
Faith in People Scale:
$\rightarrow 34$ Do not know who can be counted on
$\rightarrow 102$ Can trust majority of people
$\rightarrow 32$ People will take advantage of me
Political Efficacy Scale:
27 Mates have more luck than I
$\rightarrow 37$ Better not get involved in new
$\rightarrow 28$ Politics and government too complicated
$\rightarrow 36$ To influence government can only vote
$\rightarrow 25$ I have to study more for exams
$\rightarrow 39$ Do not have any say about government
Corresponding items.

Table 12
Arranged Rotated Factor Matrix of Items Measuring Personal Efficacy, Social Isolation, Political Efficacy, and Faith in People; UCAB and UCV Studies.

| No. | Item | UCAB Study |  |  |  | UCV study |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | PE | SI | FP | Pol E | No. | PE | SI | FP | Pol E |
| 99 | Have more bad than good luck | . 64 | . 05 | -. 23 | -. 11 | 96 | -. 55 | . 28 | -. 09 | . 24 |
| 84 | Success is luck vs. individual effort | . 62 | -. 26 | -. 03 | -. 19 | 99 | . 54 | -. 24 | . 17 | -. 32 |
| 27 | Mates have more luck than I | . 51 | -. 06 | . 01 | . 02 | 95 | . 42 | -. 05 | . 05 | -. 26 |
| 95 | There is nothing I can do | .47 | -. 05 | -. 02 | . 03 | 100 | . 39 | -. 07 | .10 | -. 13 |
| 101 | I chose the wrong career | .45 | . 10 | -. 32 | . 00 | 84 | . 35 | . 01 | . 17 | -. 28 |
| 24 | Agreeing is more important | . 43 | -. 27 | . 15 | . 01 | 97* | . 38 | -. 18 | . 35 | -. 15 |
| 29 | Not worthwhile try to be someone | . 40 | . 14 | -. 22 | . 00 | 101 | . 34 | -. 21 | . 04 | -. 12 |
| 100 | Have to live in present | . 33 | -. 09 | . 01 | -. 16 | 87 | -. 33 | . 20 | -. 14 | -. 03 |
| 35 | Not fair to bring children into world | . 30 | -. 01 | . 02 | -. 12 | 93 | -. 30 | . 50 | -. 22 | . 12 |
| 93 | Most of time I feel lonely | . 12 | . 60 | -. 27 | . 00 | 86 | -. 29 | . 50 | -. 04 | . 15 |
| 86 | Classmates have more friends | -. 24 | . 58 | . 08 | -. 05 | 23 | . 00 | . 48 | . 02 | -. 01 |
| 33 | People like me do not fit in society | .01 | . 50 | -. 32 | . 02 | 33 | -. 13 | . 30 | -. 16 | . 06 |
| 87 | Conditions of people like me worse | . 06 | . 46 | . 01 | . 07 | 29** | . 17 | -. 28 | . 09 | -. 11 |
| 23 | Prefer to spend time alone | -. 23 | . 46 | -. 06 | . 00 | 94* | -. 15 | . 27 | -. 22 | . 02 |
| 94 | Officials not interested in my problems | . 23 | . 34 | . 04 | -. 26 | 34 | .12 | -. 16 | . 45 | -. 28 |
| 96 | My opinions carry less weight | . 14 | . 32 | . 09 | . 09 | 102 | . 09 | -. 02 | .43 | -. 10 |
| 39 | Do not have any say about government | -. 22 | . 15 | . 56 | -. 04 | 32 | . 15 | -. 13 | . 34 | -. 22 |
| 36 | To influence govt. can only vote | -. 02 | . 14 | . 44 | . 05 | 40* | . 03 | -. 13 | . 21 | -. 02 |
| 37 | Better not get involved in new | . 00 | . 06 | . 37 | . 08 | 98* | . 06 | . 07 | -16 | . 07 |
| 26 | Too many students in politics | -. 01 | -. 14 | . 36 | -. 06 | 27 | . 35 | -. 21 | . 10 | . 44 |
| 25 | I have to study more for exams | . 14 | -. 14 | . 35 | . 01 | 37 | . 21 | . 09 | . 02 | . 44 |
| 28 | Politics and gove too complicated | . 09 | .12 | . 34 | . 01 | 28 | . 21 | -. 13 | . 10 | . 42 |
| 88 | Not worthwhile bother with politics | . 01 | .13 | . 31 | $\underline{-12}$ | 36 | . 18 | -. 13 | . 13 | . 38 |
| 102 | Can trust majority of people | -. 17 | . 29 | . 00 | . 53 | 25 | . 13 | -. 02 | . 07 | . 38 |
| 40 | Most people help others vs. self | -. 10 | . 14 | . 02 | . 49 | 39 | . 26 | -. 13 | . 08 | . 36 |
| 34 | Do not know who can count on | -. 13 | -. 10 | -. 14 | . 44 | 24* | . 19 | . 01 | -. 10 | . 33 |
| 32 | People will take advantage of me | . 01 | . 07 | -. 06 | . 42 | 35* | . 11 | -. 15 | .18 | -. 29 |
| 98 | Human nature is cooperative | . 04 | . 00 | . 03 | . 38 | 26* | -. 01 | . 01 | . 05 | -. 25 |
| 97 | No one cares what happens to me | -. 29 | -. 09 | . 10 | . 34 | 88* | . 24 | -. 15 | . 19 | . 26 |

*Excluded from cluster scales.

Only three of the twenty items which finally comprised the four scales were non-corresponding items, which is strong evidence for the stability of these scales. The appropriateness of Finifter's decisions to allow the empirical evidence to determine the construction of the scales is validated by my data. This is especially indicated by the high degree of correspondence of the scales measuring social isolation and faith in people. ${ }^{13}$ The plausibility of this procedure for scale construction also strengthens the early decisions I made with regard to constructing the dependent variable measures discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

After discussing the construction of the measures of these four variables $I$ will continue the AID analysis of the UCV data with regard to the variable "faith in people." Faith in people appears related strongly in a curvilinear pattern $( \pm$ l) to the booster style of political participation. This variable is related curvilinearly to gladiator ( $\pm 3$ ), and positively (+ 2) to spectator style. The strong relationship between faith in people and booster style makes theoretical sense since in order to be affiliative a person has to have great deal of confidence in his fellow human beings. The pattern of curvilinearity shows

[^16] these measures I not only took into account the Hoyt reliability, since reliability may have been lower due to the small number of items in some of the scales, but I also considered the biserial correlations for each item.
(please refer to the Appendices) that the relationship between faith in people and booster style is positive toward the middle scores of faith in people, the relationship then becomes positive again toward the higher scores. For the normative spectator a minimum amount of confidence is also important in order for them to adhere to the norms of their group or society. However, for the purposive gladiator these considerations are not as important because people are perceived as raw material for indoctrination (such as we found in the case of "mate's political interest").

With regard to the down-ranks, this variable is an important predictor for all three styles in the UCV data. In the particular case of booster this variable is 3rd in importance. For gladiator and spectator it is also important, 10 th and 9 th respectively.
18. Personal Efficacy

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | -2 | +3 | +3 | -1 | +2 | 9 | 15 | 17 | 18 | 11 | 18 |

Persons who perceive themselves as efficacious and who in general do not possess a sense of powerlessness are more likely to participate in politics. Personal efficacy
is hypothesized to be positively related to both spectator and gladiator styles of political participation, strongly for the former (+1) and moderately for the latter (+ 2). In the case of booster personal efficacy is expected to be negatively and weakly associated (-3) to this variable. For gladiator and spectator styles in which an intrinsic political motivation is present, perceived personal efficacy is important, and hence the positive hypothesized relationships. The inverse relationship between personal efficacy and booster style could be produced by a low sense of self-worth, and gains in self-validations could be obtained in the process of social interaction, afforded by political campaigns.

The UCV data confirms the hypotheses with regard to the negative relationship between personal efficacy and the three styles of political participation. There is a strong negative correlation (- l) for booster. With regard to spectator and gladiator the relationship is also maintained even though the strength of it was not that pre-dicted--(+ 3) and (+2) respectively.
19. Political Efficacy

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +2 | +3 | +1 | +1 | +3 | +2 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 4 |

People who consider themselves as politically efficacious are more likely to participate in politics than those who do not. The contention behind the hypotheses is that political efficacy is positively related to all three styles of political participation, since for all a sense of political efficacy is necessary.

This variable should be positively and strongly associated (+ l) with the gladiator style of political participation. For spectator the relationship should be moderate (+ 2), while for booster should be weaker (+ 3). The contention that booster is the least politically efficacious is that boosters do not participate in politics per se, but rather in affiliative aspects of it. Therefore, a sense of political efficaciousness is not as essential an ingredient for this style.

This variable has a positive relationship to the three styles of political participation as was predicted in the hypotheses, however, the intensit $y_{i}$ of this relationship does not coincide perfectly with that which was expected, as seen in the case of spectator participation. Political efficacy appears strongly negatively related (-1) to this variable.

There is however, a fact that indicates on one hand the importance of this variable for a theory of political participation, and on the other hand makes the evaluation of these results difficult. Political efficacy is one of the most powerful predictors for all styles in both studies.

In the UCAB study the down ranks on this variable are 3rd, 8th, and lst for spectator, booster and gladiator respectively. In the UCV study the down ranks are $2 \mathrm{nd}, 6 \mathrm{th}$, and 4th for spectator, booster and gladiator. Since these ranks are so close and they could change very easily due to the characteristics of the AID operation, the only judgement that $I$ want to make at this point is the recognition of the importance of this variable and recommend its inclusion in further analyses.
20. Social Isolation

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -1 | -3 | -2 | -1 | -2 | -3 | 4 | 29 | 26 | 5 | 10 | 11 |

People who feel lonely and isolated tend to participate less in politics than others. Anomie has also been found associated with political participation, and for this reason the items on anomie developed by Srole were used. However, when they did not empirically "hang together" the measurement of anomie per se was dropped. Instead of anomie a measure which Finifter called social isolation was included in the analysis. As was said earlier the same items which measured "social isolation" appeared in the factor analyses of the UCAB and UCV data.

With regard to this variable the hypotheses predict a strong inverse relationship between social isolation and spectator participation (- 1). For the other two styles, booster ( - ) and gladiator ( - ), the hypothesized relationship is negative, but is not specified as to relative strength of relationship.

The hypothesized strong inverse relationship between spectator and social isolation is predicated on the grounds that the more a person who is normatively inclined feels estranged from his group, the less he will participate as a spectator. In the case of booster and gladiator, social isolation is also considered an impediment to the development of the activities of these two styles.

The results of the UCV study also confirm the strong inverse relationship (- 1) between this variable and spectator style. With regard to the other two styles the negative relationship is again confirmed by these data.

The importance and the stability of the relationship between social isolation and spectator style of political participation is illustrated by the importance of this predictor to explain spectator for both studies. In the UCAB study this variable was 4 th in importance as a predictor of spectator, while in the UCV study it was 6 th.
21. Punitiveness (Strength of Superego)

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 1$ | $\pm 3$ | -2 | +2 | $\pm 3$ | $\pm 1$ | 8 | 26 | 25 | 10 | 15 | 6 |

Persons who have a strong sense of moral responsibility, a highly developed conscience, or a developed superego using the Freudian terminology, are more likely to participate in political activities which are encouraged by these norms. It has been found that a feeling of "citizen responsibility" is associated with a certain mode of participation in politics.

The hypotheses suggest that there should be a strong positive (+ l) relationship between punitiveness and spectator style of political participation. Since the spectator style by definition reflects a normative orientation to political participation, the strength of the superego should be the most important ingredient for this participation style. Since this is not the case for either of the other two styles, the relationship expected between punitiveness and booster and gladiator styles should be negative, although the strength of those relationships is not specified.

A rationale for the formulation of these hypotheses in the direction and the strengths previously stated is also found in a study which included a sample of Venezuelan student leaders performed about the time that the data for the original study was collected. In this study (CENDES, 1967) it was found that punitiveness as measured by questions very similar to those used in the original study (and in this replication) appeared to be negatively related to the political participation of the students in a sample, which by its very characteristics should have been made up mostly of gladiators. ${ }^{18}$

A scale of punitiveness was formed by the combination of questions 20, 21, and 22; these questions were of the projective type.

Question 20 (p. 5)--What do you think should be done with the son who neglects his schoolwork?

Question 21 (p. 5)--With the woman who is not faithful to her husband?

Question 22 (p. 5)--And with the son who is old enough to work, but does not want to?

The six categories into which these three questions were coded were intended to describe the degree of
${ }^{18}$ In CENDES (1967: 45-6) six questions were asked. What should be done to (1) the person who never attends church; (2) the father who deserts his family; (3) the husband who is not faithful to his wife; (4) the wife who is not faithful to her husband; (5) to the son who does not want to work; and (6) to the neighbor who disturbs the public peace. Questions 4 and 5 were asked in both the UCV and the UCAB studies.

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1
$$

punitiveness expressed by the respondents (for an explanation of these categories see the appendices).

The results of the UCV AID analysis do not provide conclusive evidence with regards to the direction of the relationships between punitiveness and the three styles of political participation. This makes it difficult to evaluate the plausibility of the hypotheses. However, with regard to the strength of the relationship some rejection can be seen in the fact that the strongest relationship for the UCV data is for the gladiator style ( $\pm 1$ ). Spectator has a moderate relationship (+ 2) with this style, and booster a weak one ( $\pm 3$ ).

A look at the down ranks shows that the down ranks of this variable for booster are remarkably constant: 8th place for the UCAB data and l0th place for the UCV data.
22. Self-Satisfaction

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 2$ | $\pm 3$ | +1 | $\pm 2.5$ | $\pm 1$ | $\pm 2.5$ | 11 | 23 | 4 | 12 | 4 | 17 |

No uniform opinion is found in the literature about the relationship between political participation and selfsatisfaction, self-esteem, self-acceptance, or selfcontentment.

The hypothesized relationships between selfsatisfaction and the three styles of political participation are as follows: A strong relationship is expected for gladiator ( $\pm 1$ ), and a weak for booster ( $\pm 3$ ); both relationships are expected to be curvilinear. The contention here is that for the purposive gladiator selfsatisfaction is an important ingredient of action. Rational mastery over external and internal events is crucial to the gladiator style of political participation. In the case of booster that necessity is not the one that is dominant, thus the hypothesized weak relationship. In the case of spectator a moderate (+ 2) positive relationship is expected.

The same $Q$-sort instrument used to measure assertiveness, extroversion and openmindedness was used to measure this variable. Self-satisfaction is the discrepancy in the answers to questions 62 and 63. In question 62 (p. 15) the students were asked to rate on a three point scale 30 personal characteristics. In Question 63 (p. 16) the students were presented again with the same characteristics, except that this time they were asked to rate themselves according to how they would like to be from an ideal point of view. The two sets of characteristics were correlated. High positive correlation coefficients reflect high selfsatisfaction. High negative correlation coefficients reflect high self-dissatisfaction. The correlations
obtained for the UCV sample ranged from +1.00 (for students highly satisfied with themselves) to -.38 (for students who wanted to be very different from the way they perceived themselves at the time). 19

The results of the AID analysis for this variable
shows the relationships to be most intense for booster
( $\pm 1$ ), and equally for spectator ( $\pm 2.5$ ), and gladiator
(土 2.5). A look at the down-ranks, however, shows that the results for spectator are highly stable; llth place for the UCAB data, 17 th place for the UCV data. However, the relationship between booster and gladiator and selfsatisfaction appears highly unstable; 23 rd and 4 th for the booster and 4 th and 17 th for gladiator for the UCAB and UCV data, respectively.

Career Orientation
23. Intrinsic Career Involvement

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -3 | -2 | -1 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 8 | 3 |

${ }^{19}$ In order to facilitate the AID analysis (the AID program used does not accept negative numbers and does not allow variables with values equal or greater than 63), the correlation coefficients were recoded.

Persons who are more involved in their careers are less likely to participate in politics than those who are less involved. The idea behind this assertion is that the resources that an individual invests in a career cannot also be used at the same time for participation in politics, because these are competing activities. This is the same type of reasoning that was used to explain the relationship between being married, or being employed and political participation.

Following this line of reasoning it is hypothesized that a negative relationship should exist between intrinsic career involvement and all three styles of political participation. However, the negative relationship will be strongest for the gladiator style (- l). Gladiator activities are the most demanding, and therefore compete more for the individual's resources. A moderate negative relationship (- 2) is also expected for booster, because the affiliative type of activities associated with this style also compete with time and effort involved in the studies, even though not with the same intensity as the gladiator activities. In the case of spectator activities one can say that in comparison to the other two styles they do not require the same amount of time and effort, and for this reason the negative relationship is hypothesized to be weaker (-3) than booster and gladiator style.

A scale intended to determine the amount of career involvement was developed from the following questions:

1 Question 3 (p. 1)--What are the reasons that influenced your choice of this field?

Reasons associated with career involvement were scored 6 points; if no mention was made of career involvement the score was 0 .

2 Question 5 (p. 2)--And what are the specific things about your field that you do not like very much?

If no specific complaints were mentioned the scoring was 6, if negative aspects of the field were mentioned the scoring was 0 .

3 Question 4 (p. 1)--What specific things do you like best about your career?

Same codes as question 3
4 Question 6 (p. 2)--Would you say that your career is a means to reach other ends, or is an end in itself?

If "end in itself," the code is 6; if a means to reach other ends the code is 0 .

5 Question 6a (p. 2)--What goals are you pursuing by studying this career?

Question 6b (p. 2)--Why do you consider it as an end in itself?

These two questions were coded as if they were one. The codes are the same as question 3.

6 Question 8 (p. 3)--How often would you say you discuss classwork with your fellow students? Coded 6 if frequently, 3 sometimes and 0 almost never.

7 Question 10 (p. 3)--If you had to choose your career over again, would you choose?

Coded 6 for the same career, 0 for another career.

8 Question 11 (p. 3)--After you have finished your classes at the university do you review your notes? 6 everyday, 3 sometimes, 0 only before examinations or almost never.

9 Question 12 (p. 3)--Approximately how many hours did you spend studying last week? Question 13 (p. 3)--Do you usually spend about the same number of hours studying each week? Question l3a (p. 3)--If no, how many hours do you usually spend?

Coded into 7 categories, from 6 for 30 or more hours per week to 0 less than 5 hours or never study.

After making the analyses of the scales formed by these nine items I decided to drop three items which had very low biserial correlation and which had a very low discriminating capacity. The scale used for the final analysis is composed of the six items above numbered 2 , 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

The results of the UCV study confirm the hypotheses and corroborate the findings of the UCAB study in their entirety: Gladiator (- 1), booster (- 2), and spectator (-3).

A look at the down-ranks related to this variable indicates also the impressive stability of the prediction for each of the three styles of political participation. For the UCAB study intrinsic career involvement ranked l3th, 6th and 2nd in predictive power respectively for spectator, booster and gladiator. In the UCV study the predictive importance was 13 th, $8 t h$, and $3 r d$ also for spectator, booster, and gladiator. These results I think are one of the most important contributions made by the replication, since in spite of all the compexity of the AID analysis, the low Hoyt reliability of the scale used, and other
complications that could have prevented reproduction, the original results are strongly corroborated.
24. Mobility Aspiration

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +2 | -1 | -3 | $\pm 1$ | -3 | -2 | 17 | 2 | 24 | 22 | 31 | 29 |

It seems as if time and other resources spent in pursuing upward vertical mobility compete with political participation. With regard to the hypotheses linking this variable to the three styles of political participation because of its "resource allocation" characteristics, its relationship to the booster and gladiator styles of political participation is expected to be negative. However, the intensity of the relationship will vary. It is expected that the relationship between booster and mobility aspiration should be negative and strongest (-1). The rationale is that the affiliative activities of booster will conflict more with political participation than any of the other styles. In the case of the gladiator style, the relationship is expected to be negative and weak (-3), again some competition is expected but the strength of the hypothesized relationship reflects the possibility that some mobility can also be achieved through the political
route, because politics can be an important avenue for social mobility. For spectator style the relationship is expected to be moderate and curvilinear ( $\pm 2$ ).

A scale to measure mobility aspiration was con-
structed from the following four questions:
1 Question 3 (p. 1)--What are the reasons that influenced your choice in this field? Coded 5 if money or professional status or other mobility related answers were mentioned, 0 if not.

2 Question 4 (p. l)--What specific things do you like best about your career? Same codes as question 3

3 Question 6 (p. 2)--Would you say that your career is a means to reach other ends, or is an end in itself?

If means to reach other ends the code is 5 , if end in itself the code is 0 .

4 Question 123 (p. 25)--How do you think your future level of life will be compared to what your parents have (had)? Would you say it will be

Coded into 5 categories from 5 a lot higher, to 1 a lot lower

The UCV results confirm the hypotheses only with regard to the direction of the relationships between booster (-3) and gladiator (-2) and mobility aspiration. For spectator style, however, the relationship is strong and curvilinear ( $\pm 1$ ).

An inspection of the down-ranks reveals that the predictive power of this variable, for the spectator and gladiator styles, has remained stable between the two studies; respectively l7th place for $U C A B$ and 22 nd place
for UCV, 24 th for UCAB and 29th for UCV. However, a large discrepancy occurred in the relationship between this variable and booster: 2nd for UCAB, 3lst for UCV. This change leads me to reject the hypotheses. I wonder if there has been a change over time on booster which has made the affiliative element less important for social mobility. It may reflect a decrease in particularistic ways of attaining upward social mobility.

Social Integration
25. Acknowledged Ego Model

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | +1 | +2 | +2 | $\pm 3$ | +1 | 34 | 7 | 34 | 34 | 35 | 33 |

Persons who follow the example of others, and who find an identifiable model in other persons, are more likely to participate more in politics than those who lack these personal models.

The hypotheses only predict the relationship between acknowledged ego model and booster style of political participation. The relationship between booster and this variable is predicted to be strong and positive (+ 1), the contention is that identification with another person is important for affiliative reasons.

Students were requested to provide information about the existence of ego models in a series of questions:

Question 7 (p. 2)--In choosing a career, or in drawing up a general plan of life, many people follow the example given by individuals whom they know and admire, and whom they would like to resemble. Now, try to think of the people you know. Can you think of anyone you would like to be like?

1 yes, 0 no
The respondents who answer "no" to question 7 were further asked:

Question 7b (p. 2)--For example, some people say that they would like to be like a member of their family, a professor they have known, a boss they have had, or a speaker they have heard. Is there anyone you would like to be like?

1 yes, 0 no
The results of the UCV study do not confirm the hypotheses: $(+2),( \pm 3)$ and (+1) for spectator, booster and gladiator, respectively. However, a look at the down-ranks indicates the consistently low predictive power of this variable. In the UCAB study it was 34 th for spectator, and 34 th for gladiator. In the UCV study for the three styles the order was 34 th for spectator and $33 r d$ place for gladiator. Booster, again, showed a large discrepancy; 7th in the UCAB study and 35 th for UCV.
26. Family Integration

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| + 3 | +1 | +2 | -2.5 | -2.5 | -1 | 29 | 19 | 29 | 36 | 36 | 32 |

Persons who are members of highly cohesive families are more likely to participate politically than those who are not.

Family integration is hypothesized to be positively correlated with all the three styles of political participation. A relationship of equal importance is predicted for gladiator (+ 1.5) and booster (+ l.5), since it was hard to differentiate theoretically for which of these two styles this variable would be more important. For spectator, however, the same direction of relationship was hypothesized, but its strength was predicted to be weaker (+ 3).

Information about family integration was obtained from question 3 (p. 1). If a student answered either that he had chosen his career because of family influence, or to emulate his father or other family members, they were scored 1 , if not they were scored 0 .

The results of the UCV study run completely opposite to the hypotheses. The relationship between family integration and the three styles of political participation are all
negative. This relationship is strongest for gladiators (- 1) and of and equal size for booster (-2.5), and spectator (- 2.5).

Any definitive conclusion about the strength and stability of the findings regarding family integration is limited by the consistent low explanatory power of this variable in both studies. In the UCAB study family integration ranked 29th, 19th and 29th for spectator, booster and gladiator. The corresponding ranking for the UCV study were 36 th, 36 th and 32 nd. This means that the contribution to the explanatory power of the theory provided by this variable was close to nil, and replicably so.
27. Sociality

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -3 | +1 | +2 | -2 | +1 | +3 | 36 | 21 | 33 | 33 | 9 | 35 |

Persons who spend their leisure time socializing are more likely to participate in politics than those who do not.

Since booster activities are concerned with the affiliative aspects of behavior, this variable should be strongly and positively associated (+ l) with this style of political participation. With regard to the other two styles, it is also hypothesized that the relationship
in both cases is curvilinear. The hypotheses recognize that there is a certain element of socializing for gladiator, while in the case of spectator the inverse relationship shows low interpersonal skills and competence. Information about sociality was obtained from question 48 ( p .12 ) "Most of us have some hobby that interests us outside of our studies or work. What do you do in your leisure time?" If socializing with friends, visiting, dating, or going to parties or similar socializing activities were mentioned the question was coded 1 , if not it was coded 0 .

The results of the UCV study confirm the strong and positive (+ l) relationship between sociality and booster style. With regard to the other two styles, also a positive relationship was found between gladiator and sociality even though this time it is weak (+ 3). It is moderate and negative for spectator (- 2). In this study, the relationship between sociality and spectator is also negative.

A look at the down ranks of the two studies indicates the increasing importance of this variable as predictor of sociality for the booster style of political participation. It was $21 s t$ in the UCAB study and it is 9th in the UCV study. What is more important to point out, however, is that for gladiator and spectator styles
this variable has very low predictive power. This leads me to believe that sociality is indeed a very important variable for booster, but of little value for either of the other two styles.
28. Church Attendance

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 3$ | +1 | +2 | +1 | $\pm 3$ | +2 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 26 | 19 |

Persons who attend religious services are more likely to participate in politics than those who do not.

No information is provided for the strength of the expected positive relationships except for the case of booster when this is expected to be strong (+ l). The hypothesized direction for the booster style is again associated with the interpretation that attendance at religious service is often an affiliative type of activity.

Information about the church attendance patterns of the students was requested in Question 122a (p. 25) "How often do you go to church (temple)?" There were eight coding categories from never (coded l) to every day (coded 8).

Since UCAB is a Catholic University, and UCV a State sponsored university I expected to find a significantly higher church attendance from the first sample. The
evidence, however, is that there are no major differences with regard to this variable between the two samples.

In the UCV study the hypotheses are not confirmed with regards to booster; booster has a curvilinear relationship of $( \pm 3)$ while spectator has one of $(+1)$. For booster the relationship between this variable (see appendices) starts out as a negative one, it becomes positive when the frequency of church attendance is from 3 to 11 times a year, and then becomes negative again. These findings, however, can be interpreted in the light of the theory. The normative, tradition-supporting value of church attendance for spectators, is greater than the affiliative value of church attendance for boosters.

Life Evaluation, Happiness and Optimism
29. Evaluation of Self at Present

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  |  | UCV |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -1 | +2 | -3 | $\pm 2$ | $\pm 3$ | -1 | 3 | 24 | 23 | 8 | 19 | 5 |

Persons who are generally content with themselves are more likely to participate in politics than those who are not. The literature on social movements (see Blumer, 1969) presents the idea that a certain amount of dissatisfaction is necessary for individuals to engage in political
activity. Davies (1962) also points out that dissatisfaction with oneself can provide the incentive for political action, that when collectively organized, could become the germ of a revolutionary movement.

The hypotheses only express that a negative correlation ( - ) is expected between evaluation of self at present and the gladiator style. The defense of this contention is that engaging in gladiator-type activities is contingent on the state of personal dissatisfaction as expressed by low evaluation of self at present.

The self-anchoring scale devised by Cantril (1965) was used to measure this variable as well as three others (rating of self in past, rating of country at present, rating of country in past).

Information about rating of self at present, and rating of self in the past was obtained from questions 43a and 43b. The students were presented with a picture of a ladder, this ladder had 11 steps, numbered 0 to 10. They were asked to place themselves and Venezuela on this symbolic ladder. In question 43 a they were asked information about where they felt they stood at the present. In question 43 b they were asked where they thought they stood on the ladder five years ago.

Questions 46 a and 46 b also followed the format of the self-anchoring scale which used the ladder, except that in this case students were asked to rate their
country, Venezuela. In question 46 a the request was to place Venezuela on the ladder at the present, and in question 46b (p. ll) was to place Venezuela where it was on the ladder five years ago. ${ }^{20}$

The results of the UCV study confirm the hypotheses. Gladiator is indeed negatively (- l) correlated with the evaluation of self at present.

A look at the down-ranks of the two studies indicates that the importance of this variable for explaining gladiator style of political participation appears to have increased markedly over the time span between the two studies: from 23 rd in UCAB to 5 th in UCV. The increasing importance of this variable for explaining the gladiator style should not cause us to dismiss the fact that for spectator "evaluation of self at present" has shown a remarkable degree of stability over time . 3rd in UCAB and 8 th in UCV.
30. Evaluation of Self in Past

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | E | G |
| -2 | +3 | -1 | -2 | +3 | -1 | 22 | 30 | 10 | 15 | 18 | 12 |

${ }^{20}$ To facilitate computer analysis of these variables steps 0 and 1 were combined (step 0 had an average of $3 \%$ of the cases), and then a constant of 1 was subtracted from each score. The range of this variable therefore was from 0 to 9.

Following the same rationale as for "evaluation of self at present," a person who is dissatisfied with his evaluation of himself in the past should be a more likely participant in political activities.

The hypotheses therefore reflect this fact by expecting a negative relationship ( - ) between evaluation of self in past and gladiator participation. No hypotheses were advanced for the two other styles.

The measures were obtained from the self-anchoring scale. The results of the UCV study also confirm the hypotheses. Furthermore, these results are identical to those of the first study in both the direction and in the strength of the relationships. With regards to the downranks the relative importance of this variable has remained relatively stable over the two studies. This relative stability was also found in the relationship between all three styles and evaluation of self in present.
31. Evaluation of Country at Present

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| $\pm 1$ | +2 | -3 | -2 | +1 | -3 | 18 | 20 | 28 | 4 | 2 | 7 |

The hypotheses predict that for the affiliative booster the relationship with evaluation of country at
present should be positive. Emotional support for the country should be the motivating force for this style. For gladiator and spectator, where this type of motivating force is not expected, the relationship is expected to be negative.

A positive and strong relationship (+ l) was found between booster participation and this variable. The relationship was moderate and negative for spectator (- 2), and slightly inverse for gladiator (- 3).

The most important fact about this variable, however, is its increasing importance. There were many factors which in early 1974 could have made the evaluation of their country by the university students included in this research somewhat high. As stated before in this dissertation, a new administration was about to be installed, the government had changed hands for the second time. That is, had changed from one political party to another. This made many Venezuelans more optimistic about the stability of the political system, and the future of democracy in the Country. On the economic side there were also some signs which warranted optimism; the full realization of the surplus produced by the OPEC oil price increases was in the air. ${ }^{21}$ The new administration besides having control over vast resources also had political support

[^17]which was manifested in control of Congress by the government party. All these factors contributed to the general mood of optimism that was prevalent during those recent days in Venezuela.

In spite of the increased importance of this variable, $I$ feel that the most important finding which can be reported from this data is the fact that booster remained positively associated with evaluation of country at present; a development that is concordant with the general theory.
32. Evaluation of Country in Past

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| -1 | $\pm 2$ | +3 | +3 | -1 | -2 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 21 | 13 | 20 |

This variable is deemed to be strongly associated with the one previously discussed, and for that reason the rationale for the hypotheses and the expected relationships are the same.

No confirmation of the hypotheses is provided from the UCV data. There is no pattern which can be compared with any of the hypotheses-expected relationships. This variable is strongly and negatively (- l) associated with booster style; gladiator (- 2) is negatively and spectator
(+ 3) is positively associated, respectively. In retrospect, I feel that an interpretation of these results is not at odds with the tricomponential theory. The more a person values the immediate past of his country, the less his tendency to participate because of affiliative reasons. The reverse argument could be made for the normative spectator: the more he lauds his country's past, the more he will engage in normative-type of activities.

The down-ranks indicate that the relative importance of this variable for booster and gladiator has remained very stable.

## Participation-Specific Attitudes

33. Humanitarian Social Service Orientation

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +3 | +1 | +2 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 31 | 16 | 20 | 30 | 28 | 26 |

This variable and the next three (social reform orientation, nationalism, and student role responsibility) can be considered as measures of "altruism." Their common dimension is a concern for others. In the literature it is found that persons who feel responsibility toward others have a greater tendency to participate politically.

These four variables are intended to find out how these different manifestations of "altruism" are related to the three styles of political participation.

It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between "humanitarian social service orientation" and the three styles of political participation. However, since the motivation to act in politics, which is influenced by feelings of human identification, is consistently more important for affiliative reasons it is hypothesized that this variable will be strongly correlated to booster style of political participation (+ l).

A scale was constructed to measure humanitarian social service orientation, and was composed of questions 3 (p. 1), questions 4 and $6 \mathrm{a}, \mathrm{b}$. The respondents were scored a point for each one of the answers to these questions which involved humanitarian reasons for choosing their career, or by stating that their career aims involved humanitarian reasons.

The results of the UCV study do not confirm these hypotheses. The relationship between humanitarian social service orientation is negative for all the three styles of political participation. The strengths are (- l) for gladiator, (-2) for booster and (-3) for spectator.

With regards to the down ranks, however, the predictive power of this variable is consistently low for the two studies. Social Reform Orientation

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | +2 | +3 | +2 | +1 | +3 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 16 |

Social reform orientation is predicted to be positively strongly to moderately related (+ l.5) to both spectator and gladiator styles of political participation. The contention is that for the purposive gladiator and for the normative spectator the desire to obtain social reform via political participation will motivate action. In the case of booster the hypotheses expect that since booster is not intrinsically involved in politics per se, the relationship will be positive but weak (+ 3).

A scale to measure social reform orientation was composed of question 3 (p. l), question 4 (p. l), questions 6a,b (p. 2) and question 53 (p. 12). The first three questions dealt with reasons for choosing a career and for the goals that were assigned to the career. If social reforms reasons were given, students were scored "5;" if not, "0." The last question requested the students' opinion of the class differences in Venezuelan society. The responses to this question permitted the construction of a five-point scale, ranging from "strong opposition to the existing order" (scored 5) to "strong support of it" (scored 1).

The results of the UCV study indicate that all the relationships between social reform orientation and the three styles of political participation are positive. The strength of these relationships, however, differ from both the hypotheses and the UCAB results. This variable is the most important predictor for booster style of political participation (+ 1). Gladiator (+ 3) and spectator (+ 2) also show positive relationships.

With regard to the relationship between social reform orientation and booster style, the affiliative nature of booster determines the strong positive relationship. However, there are other considerations which cannot be made without a look at the down ranks. The down ranks indicate that this variable has maintained a consistent importance over time. The down ranks for spectator, booster and gladiator were $2 \mathrm{nd}, 3 \mathrm{rd}$ and 7 th for the UCAB study and 7 th, 5 th and 7 th for the UCAB study and 7 th, 5 th and l6th for the UCV study, respectively. The closeness of the down ranks for booster and spectator for the two studies leads me to accept these results cautiously. However, the fact stands that booster and spectator are influenced greatly by social reform orientation, and even though for gladiator the influence is less, it is nevertheless very significant.
35. Nationalism

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | +3 | +2 | +3 | +2 | +1 | 27 | 36 | 31 | 28 | 14 | 13 |

It is hypothesized that nationalism will be strongly to moderately (+1.5) associated with spectator and gladiator styles of political participation. For spectator the normative elements associated with nationalism will serve as a motivator for action. For gladiator the nationalistic element is important as a motivator of purposive action, since allegiance to the nation will serve as a very important inducement. For booster the hypotheses recognize a weak relationship ( 3 ) but do not state the direction of this relationship.

A scale to measure nationalism was formed with question 3 (p. 1), and questions $6 a, b$ ( $p .2$ ). These two questions, as mentioned before, dealt with reasons for choosing a career and goals assigned to the career. If the students mentioned nationalistic reasons for any one of these items they were scored "l," if not "O."

The results of the UCV study indicate that there is a positive relationship between nationalism and the three styles of political participation. The strongest relationship is found for gladiator (+ 1 ), the moderate
for booster (+2) and the weakest for spectator (+ 3). The fact that for the UCV data the first cross rank is for gladiator does not contradict the hypotheses, but is not in agreement with the UCAB findings, in which the first cross rank is for spectator. It is theoretically plausible to explain the importance of this variable for gladiator on the grounds that a greater perceived sense of nationalism is more prevalent today than was the case 10 years ago, and therefore there is a greater inducement to become a gladiator for nationalistic reasons.

A look at the down ranks indicates that the importance of this variable has increased over time. For spectator, booster and gladiator it was 27 th, 36 th and 3lst in 1964, and respectively it was 28th, l4th and 13th in 1974.
36. Student Role Responsibility

| Cross-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  | Down-Ranks |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  | UCAB |  |  | UCV |  |  |
| S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| +1 | +3 | +2 | +2 | +3 | +1 | 5 | 22 | 11 | 3 | 25 | 1 |

"Student Role Responsibility" is used to mean the way the students recognize special responsibilities attached to their role of students in Venezuelan society. It is hypothesized that there will be a positive relationship between each of the three styles and student role
responsibility. This variable will be more important for the norm sensitive spectator (+ l), moderately important for gladiator (+2) and weakest for booster (+ 3).

Three questions were presented to the students in order to determine their student role responsibility. Question 17 (p. 4)--Do you think that being a university student involves any special obligations, apart from your studies, or not?

Question 18 (p. 4)--Do you think that university students have special responsibilities in the change and development of the country?

Question 19 (p. 4)--Do you think that you personally can do anything in the process of change in Venezuela?

If mention was made of any obligations or responsi-
bilities associated with role as a student, the answers were coded 1 , if not 0 .

The direction of the relationship between this variable and the three styles of political participation is confirmed; all the relationships are positive. The strengths, however, vary: gladiator (+1), booster (+ 3) and spectator ( +2 ). In spite of the differences in the gladiator and spectator styles between the two studies and the hypotheses, for booster the two studies show the weakest relationship between this variable and this style. The down ranks indicate that the importance of this variable has been consistently high for spectator and gladiator for both studies, and has remained consistently low for booster. For spectator, booster and gladiator it
was 5th, 22nd and llth in 1963, respectively, and 3rd, 25th and lst in 1973.

Overall Comparison Between the AID Models of the Two Studies

After the variable-by-variable evaluation presented in the previous section I proceed now to make an overall comparison of the AID models of the two studies. The goals of this comparison are: (a) ordering the variables with regard to the degree of agreement between the hypotheses and the results of the two studies; (b) deciding which variables will be excluded from the systematic replication research; and (c) arriving at an evaluation of the success or failure of the virtual replication.
$\frac{\text { Ordering the Variables with Regard }}{\text { to the Degree of Agreement of the }}$
$\frac{\text { Hypotheses and the Results of }}{\text { the Two Studies }}$

I will use the information contained in Table 8 to determine the degree of agreement shown throughout the two studies, the emphasis on this agreement is theoretical, that is, the extent the results of the two studies agree with the hypotheses obtained from the tricomponential theory.

I think that the highest degree of agreement that can be expected from any variable is in both the direction and strength of the cross ranks. Variables in this category (Category l) are:

10 Parental political interest
13 Assertiveness
23 Intrinsic career involvement
30 Evaluation of self in past
The next degree of agreement (Category 2) is
agreement on first or third cross-ranks when these ranks
clearly define the particular styles. The following
variables agree with the hypotheses and the UCAB study on the first cross ranks, excepting variables 19 and 36 which agree on the third cross ranks:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 4 \text { Sex } \\
& 5 \text { Nativity }
\end{aligned}
$$

12 Perceived political interest of classmates
14 Conventional authority orientation
15 Extroversion
19 Political efficacy (also agreement in direction)
20 Social isolation (also agreement in direction)
27 Sociality (also agreement in direction)
36 Student role responsibility
I considered agreement in direction to be the next category of agreement (Category 3). The variables which show coincidence of direction between the hypotheses and the results of the two studies are:

1 Father's occupation (also empirical agreement on first rank) 22
2 Father's education (also empirical agreement on second rank)
3 Age
8 Labor force status
18 Personal efficacy
21 Punitiveness
22 Self-satisfaction

[^18]
## 24 Mobility aspiration

28 Church-attendance
29 Evaluation of self at present
31 Evaluation of country at present
34 Social reform orientation
35 Nationalism
There is also a residual category (Category 4) of variables of qualified agreement. The degree of agreement of these variables did not allow me to classify them in any of the previously discussed categories. These variables are:

6 Size of birthplace (agreement in ranks but not in direction)
11 Parent-child political agreement (empirical agreement in direction.)

The last category of variables (Category 5) comprises those in which agreement was found neither in any of the cross-ranks nor in direction. Those variables are:

> 7 Marital status
> 9 Absence of father
> 16 Openmindedness
> 17 Faith in people
> 25 Acknowledged ego model
> 26 Family integration
> 32 Evaluation of country at past
> 33 Humanitarian social service

## Rationale for Excluding Variables for the Systematic Replication

The rationale for excluding variables is that since the AID model is an interactive model each variable has to compete with the rest in terms of explanatory power, then the explanatory power of many of the variables will be more clearly defined when those which show a very low
predictive importance are not again considered. Additionally, the exclusion of variables from a new model can also serve as a further test of the robustness of the AID algorithm and both the UCAB and UCV results.

It is clear that the eight variables included in Category 5 show the least degree of agreement between the two sets of AID results and the hypothesized relationships. The preliminary conclusion, however, is that their consistent lack of predictive importance provides enough justification for excluding them from the systematic replication part of this research. However, since I have, in the evaluation of the importance of the variables, considered not only degree of agreement but also predictive importance $I$ will do the same during this evaluation. I will therefore take into account the predictive importance of these eight variables, as determined by their down-ranks. The rationale behind this decision is that in spite of their low replicability, I want to retain variables with an appreciable level of predictive importance (as measured by the down ranks). All these variables excepting 16, "openmindedness," 17, "faith in people," and 32, "evaluation of country at past" show consistently low down ranks. For this reason all variables included in category 5 will be excluded from consideration except the three variables just mentioned.

Before proceeding with the systematic replication I will make a preliminary evaluation of the virtual
replication, since more detailed consideration will be given to this evaluation in the concluding chapter. It seems to me that in spite of the obstacles for obtaining agreement between the hypotheses and the AID results for the two studies, the two sets of data show a high degree of coincidence. A non-trivial degree of agreement was obtained from 26 out of the 36 variables considered (those variables comprised categories 1, 2 and 3).

## CHAPTER IV

## THE SYSTEMATIC REPLICATION

In the systematic replication part of this research I will start by presenting the new hypotheses to be tested. These hypotheses will be considered together with those hypotheses which survived the test performed by the virtual replication.

Table 13 will introduce the new variables and the hypothesized relationships which I propose are derived from the tricomponential theory of action.

## Evaluation of the AID Model

As in the virtual replication, I will analyze the new set of variables through the use of the Automatic Interaction Detector. In Tables 14 and 15 the results of this analysis are presented.

The following is a variable-by-variable presentation of the five new variables to be considered in this systematic replicstion. I now present the rationale for formulating the new hypotheses, and then explain the measures and results associated with the particular variables.

Table 13

# Hypothesized Relationships of Variables for Predicting Three Styles of Political Participation: Expected Directions and Cross-Style Rank Orders of Explanatory Power. New Hypotheses. 

|  | Spectator | Booster | Gladiator |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Al Individual modernity (high scores) vs. traditionalism | - 1 | + 3 | + 2 |
| A2 Place of residence (provincial $=1$ <br> vs. Caracas $=0$ ) | + 1 |  |  |
| A3 Concentration in traditional discipline (l) vs. non-traditional discipline (0) |  |  | + 1 |
| A4 Satisfaction with life as student |  |  | - 1 |
| A5 Scholastic ability |  |  | + 1 |

Note: "l" means "most important" or largest PEP coefficient;
"2" means "moderate" PEP coefficient; and "3" means "least important" PEP coefficient. "+" indicates a direct relationship; "-" indicates an inverse relationship.

The hypotheses are intended to be propositions derived from the three-fold typology on which the theory is based. The first set of hypotheses to be introduced in the systematic replication as elaborations of the tricomponential theory of social action, deals with the possible relationship between degree of individual

Table 14
Systematic Replication: Potential Explanatory Power (PEP) Coefficients and Down Ranks for Three Styles of Political Participation.

|  | Spectator |  | Booster |  | Gladiator |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | PEP | Down Rank | PEP | Down Rank | PEP | Down Rank |
| 1 FATHEROCCUPATIO: | . 07373 | 31 | . 12325 | 17 | . 06097 | 26 |
| 2 FATHEREDUCATION | . 14186 | 14 | . 11272 | 20 | . 07180 | 25 |
| 3 AGE | . 13743 | 17 | . 11714 | 19 | . 05980 | 27 |
| 4 SEX | . 06879 | 32 | . 03708 | 35 | . 03883 | 31 |
| 5 INATIV-FOREIGN | . 04752 | 35 | . 07243 | 32 | . 07679 | 23 |
| 6 SIZEPLABRTH | . 08859 | 27 | . 11258 | 21 | . 08812 | 18 |
| 1A MODERNITY | . 27511 | 1 | . 12603 | 16 | . 14746 | 2 |
| 8 LABORFORCESTATUS | . 01990 | 36 | . 07332 | 31 | . 05072 | 29 |
| 2A PLACERESIDENCE | . 05292 | 33 | . 01896 | 36 | . 00896 | 36 |
| 10 PARENTPOLITICALINTER | . 26567 | 2 | . 21697 | 1 | . 13746 | 4 |
| 11 Parentagree | . 10930 | 22 | . 09145 | 28 | . 03992 | 30 |
| 12 MATES INTEREST | . 13374 | 19 | . 08606 | 29 | . 02622 | 35 |
| 13 ASSERTIVE | . 09987 | 25 | . 07871 | 30 | . 08665 | 19 |
| 14 CONVENTIONALAUTHORITY | . 15320 | 12 | . 10179 | 24 | . 11394 | 7 |
| 15 EXTROVERSION | . 10853 | 23 | . 13914 | 9 | . 09626 | 14 |
| 16 OPENMIINDEDNESS | . 13105 | 20 | . 13460 | 12 | . 10395 | 11 |
| 17 FAITHINPEOPLE | . 15937 | 9 | . 18040 | 4 | . 09816 | 13 |
| 18 PERSONALEFFICACY | . 15794 | 11 | . 13881 | 10 | . 07225 | 24 |
| 19 POLITICALEFFICACY | . 24453 | 3 | . 16314 | 7 | . 11777 | 5 |
| 20 SOCIALISOLA'TION | . 17848 | 4 | . 13243 | 14 | . 10141 | 12 |
| 21 PUNITIVENESS | . 14076 | 15 | . 10744 | 22 | . 11263 | 8 |
| 22 Q-SORT | . 16462 | 7 | . 17810 | 5 | . 08865 | 17 |
| 23 CAREERINVOVEMENT | . 14694 | 13 | . 14516 | 8 | . 13902 | 3 |
| 24 MOBILITYASPIRATION | . 09735 | 26 | . 04759 | 34 | . 03662 | 32 |
| 3A NATURECAREER | . 08122 | 29 | . 06444 | 33 | . 03408 | 33 |
| 4A STUDENTSATISFACTION | . 11948 | 21 | . 16542 | 6 | . 11054 | 9 |
| 27 SOCIALI ZE | . 05074 | 34 | . 11732 | 18 | . 02976 | 34 |
| 28 CHURCHATTENDANCE | . 13695 | 18 | . 09585 | 25 | . 07808 | 22 |
| 29 SELFPRESEINT | . 15922 | 10 | . 13160 | 15 | . 11399 | 6 |
| 30 SELFPAST | . 13816 | 16 | . 09513 | 26 | . 09297 | 15 |
| 31 COUNTRYPRESENT | . 17118 | 6 | . 20040 | 2 | . 10848 | 10 |
| 32 COUNTRYPAST | . 10675 | 24 | . 13561 | 11 | . 08631 | 20 |
| 5A SCHOLASTIC ABILITY | . 08377 | 28 | . 09171 | 27 | . 05127 | 28 |
| 34 SOCIAL REFORM | . 16209 | 8 | . 18805 | 3 | . 08477 | 21 |
| 35 NATIONALISM | . 07394 | 30 | . 13360 | 13 | . 09288 | 16 |
| 36 ROLERESPONSIBILITY | . 17666 | 5 | . 10385 | 23 | . 19620 | 1 |

Table 15

|  | Systematic Replication: Hypothesized Relationships of Variables for Predicting Three Styles of Political Participation: Expected Directions and Cross-Style Rank Orders of Explanatory Power.* Obtained Cross-Style and Down-Style Rank Orders of Explanatory Power. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | S | B | G | S | B | G | S | B | G |
| 1 | FATHEROCCUPATION | +3 | +2 | $+1$ | +3 | $+1$ | $+2$ | 31 | 17 | 26 |
| 2 | FATHER EDUCATION | +3 | +2 | $+1$ | $\pm 1$ | +2 | +3 | 14 | 20 | 25 |
| 3 | AGE | $+$ | -1 | + | $\pm 1$ | -2 | -3 | 17 | 19 | 27 |
| 4 | SEX | +1 | - | + | +2 | -3 | -1 | 32 | 35 | 31 |
| 5 | NATIV-FOREIGN | 3 | +2 | $+1$ | -3 | -2 | $+1$ | 35 | 32 | 23 |
| 6 | SI ZEPLACEBRTH | $+$ | $+$ | + | +3 | +2 | $+1$ | 27 | 21 | 18 |
| * 1 A | MODERNITY | -1 | $+3$ | $+2$ | -1 | +3 | $+2$ | 1 | 16 | 2 |
| 8 | LABORFORCESTATUS | - | + | + | -3 | +2 | +1 | 36 | 31 | 29 |
| - 2A | PLACERESIDENCE | +1 |  |  | +1 | +2.5 | +2.5 | 33 | 36 | 36 |
| 10 | PARENTPOLITICALINTER | +1 | +2 | +3 | $+2$ | +1 | $+3$ | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 11 | Parentagree | +2 | +3 | -1 | -1 | -2 | -3 | 22 | 28 | 30 |
| 12 | MATESINTEREST | $+1.5$ | +3 | -1.5 | $+1$ | +2 | -3 | 19 | 29 | 35 |
| 13 | ASSERTIVE | $+3$ | +2 | $+1$ | $+2$ | +3 | $+1$ | 25 | 30 | 19 |
| 14 | CONVENTIONAL AUTHORITY | +1.5 | 3 | -1.5 | -2 | -3 | -1 | 12 | 24 | 7 |
| 15 | EXTROVERSION | +2 | +1 | $+3$ | $\pm 3$ | +1 | $\pm 2$ | 23 | 9 | 14 |
| 16 | OPENMINDEDNESS | -1 | $+3$ | +2 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 20 | 12 | 11 |
| 17 | FAITHINPEOPLE | - | $\pm$ | + | $\pm 2$ | $\pm 1$ | $\pm 3$ | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| 18 | PERSONAL EFFICACY | +1 | -3 | +2 | +2 | -1 | +3 | 11 | 10 | 24 |
| 19 | POLITICALEFFICACY | +2 | +3 | +1 | $+1$ | +2 | + 3 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| 20 | SOCIALISOLATION | -1 | - | - | -1 | -3 | -2 | 4 | 14 | 12 |
| 21 | PUNITIVENESS | +1 | - | - | $\pm 2$ | $\pm 3$ | $\pm 1$ | 15 | 22 | 8 |
| 22 | Q-SORT | +2 | $\pm 3$ | $\pm 1$ | $\pm 2$ | -1 | $\pm 3$ | 7 | 5 | 17 |
| 23 | CAREERINVOLVEMENT | -3 | -2 | -1 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 13 | 8 | 3 |
| 24 | MOBILITYASPIRATION | $\pm 2$ | -1 | -3 | $\pm 1$ | -3 | -2 | 26 | 39 | 32 |
| * 3A | NATURE CAREER | +2.5 | +2.5 | +1 | -1 | $+2.5$ | +2.5 | 29 | 33 | 33 |
| * 4A | STUDENT SATISFACTION |  |  | -1 | +3 | +1 | -2 | 21 | 6 | 9 |
| 27 | SOCIALIZE | - | $+1$ | + | -3 | +1 | +2 | 4 | 18 | 34 |
| 28 | CHURCH ATTENDANCE | + | $+1$ | + | +1 | $\pm 3$ | +2 | 18 | 25 | 22 |
| 29 | SELFPRESENT |  |  | + | -2 | -3 | -1 | 10 | 15 | 6 |
| 30 | SELFPAST |  |  | - | -2 | +3 | -1 | 16 | 26 | 15 |
| 31 | COUNTRYPRESENT | - | + | - | -2 | +1 | -3 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| 32 | COUNTRY PAST | - | + |  | +3 | -1 | -2 | 26 | 11 | 20 |
| - 5A | SCHOLASTICABILITY | $+3$ | $+2$ | $+1$ | +2.5 | +1 | $+2.5$ | 28 | 27 | 28 |
| 34 | SOCIAL REFORM | $+1.5$ | +3 | $+1.5$ | +2 | +1 | +3 | 8 | 3 | 21 |
| 35 | NATIONALISM | $+1.5$ | 3 | +1.5 | +3 | +1 | +2 | 30 | 13 | 16 |
| 36 | ROLERESPONSIBILITY | +1 | +3 | +2 | +2 | +3 | +1 | 5 | 23 | 1 |

[^19]modernity and the three styles of political participation. These hypotheses are based in part on a review of the literature on the modernization process. The other sets of hypotheses are arrived at from a review of recent literature on university students political participation in Latin America and in the United States, and from my knowledge of Venezuelan university students' political milieu.

## Al. Modernization

A review of the literature on the process of modernization shows a positive correlation between individual modernity and political participation. For instance, the work of Almond and Verba (1963) on the "Civic Cultures" of five nations shows that the more modern the nation is, the higher the general level of participation of its population in the political process is. Another indication of a possible relationship between individual modernity and political participation can be obtained from the analysis of the multi-dimensional scales devised to measure modernity (Smith and Inkeles, 1966; Kahl, 1968; Schnaiberg, 1968; Armer, 1970). Items dealing with political activism in these scales have been found to have a high discriminating capacity in scale analysis.

I intend to apply one of the most commonly used modernization scales, the OM ("overall modernity") scale
to Smith and Inkeles, to test a hypothesized connection between individual modernity and political participation. However, I am aware of the problems which are associated with the measurement of individual modernity through the use of any of the four scales of modernization mentioned above. Some of the deficiencies of these scales have been mentioned by Armer and Schnaiberg (1972). By using the four scales to measure the individual modernity of a lower class sample in Uptown Chicago, they arrived at the conclusion that the modernization scales do not demonstrate enough intercorrelation. They also concluded that the modernization scales did not show sufficient validity, since modernization was often confused with other phenomena.

The criticism of the modernization scales levied by Armer and Schnaiberg can be met partially by arguing that the problems associated with the modernization scales are conceptual in nature, an event that they also forsee in their discussion of matters of measures associated with the scales of modernization. If that is the case, then a revision of the conceptual framework related to modernization is as important as the elucidation of problems of methodology.

Several authors have argued for the need to revise that conceptual framework, in order to give more meaning to measures of modernization. It has been contended
that modernization is a vague concept without precise and common meaning. Smelser (1964), for instance, states that the reason modernization is associated with other concepts is that there is a very strong correlation between modernization and structural differentiation. Holden (1972), following the same line of reasoning and, basing his argument in part in Armer and Schnaiberg findings, contends that individual modernity is related to anomia. A redefinition of individual modernity might include the consideration of these relationships.

I agree that a reformulation of the theoretical basis to explain the process of modernization is mandatory. However, a partial reformulation of modernization may be achieved through an elaboration of the tricomponential theory of social action. In fact an analysis of the characteristics of individual modernity types reported in the literature (e.g., Lerner, 1964; Nash and Schaw, 1963) that traditional, transitional, and modern orientations correspond very closely to the three genotypes stipulated in the tricomponential theory of social action--normative, affiliative and purposive. I now proceed by spelling out, for each case, where these assumed similarities lie.

The traditional individual can be regarded as an example of the normative spectator, who is oriented toward the past. His allegiance is given to particularistic type of authority. He possesses a good deal of
fatalism, which hinders more active political participation. Since traditionalism is the crucial element for the normative spectator, I hypothesize that there will be a strong negative correlation (- l) between individual modernity and this style of political participation. The transitional individual can be viewed as an illustration of the affiliative booster, who is oriented toward the present. He shows a conflicting allegiance to particularistic and universalistic type of authority. It has been found that the characteristics associated with the transitional man correspond to the "opinion leader" reported in the diffusion of innovation studies (Rogers, 1962). This leads me to expect that there is a strong affiliative content in this particular modernization type. I hypothesize that there will be a weak positive correlation (+ 3) between individual modernity and the booster style of political participation.

The modern individual can be viewed as the purposive gladiator who pursues rational mastery over his internal processes, as well as objects and persons external to him. The modern individual manifests rational decision making, and a risk-taking orientation. His allegiance is given to universalistic symbols of authority. I hypothesize that there will be a moderate positive correlation (+ 2) between individual modernity and the gladiator style of political participation.

Measures and Findings

To measure modernization $I$ used a short form of the OM scale (Smith and Inkeles, 1966). Since modernization is considered to be a complex phenomenon, different dimensions will be considered. These dimensions are: educational aspirations, change perception and valuation, citizens political reference groups, efficacy of science and medicine, family size (birth control), mass media valuation, openness to new experience, and religioussecular orientations. The questions were:

1 Question 47 (p. ll)--How often do you read the newspapers? 3-a lot; 2-regularly; l-a little, 0-never.

2 Question 47b (p. 11)--Which one of the following kinds of news interests you most? 3-happenings in other countries; 2-Venezuela; l-Caracas; 0 -Sports and religious events.

3 Question 54 (p. 13)--How much schooling do you think children of people like yourself should have? 3-the maximum schooling; 2-just the necessary schooling; l-the same as everybody else.

4 Question 55 (p. 13)--Two twelve-year-old boys took time from their work in the corn fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn with fewer hours of work. 3 -the father of one boy said "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn"; 0-the father of the other boy said "The way to grow corn is the way we have always done it. Talking about change will waste time but not help." Which father said the wiser words?

5 Question 56 (p. 13)--What should most qualify a person to hold high office? 0-coming from the right family background; l-devotion to the old time-honored ways; 2-being the most popular among the people; 3-high education and special knowledge.

6 Question 57 (p. 13)--Which is most important for the future of Venezuela? 3-the hard work of the people; 2 -good planning on the part of the government; l-God's help; 0-good luck.

7 Question 58 (p. 13)--Scientists in the universities are studying such things as what determines whether a baby is a boy or girl and how it is that a seed turns into a plant. Do you think that these investigations are: 3-all very beneficial; 2-all somewhat beneficial; l-all somewhat harmful; $0-a l l$ very harmful.

8 Question 59 (p. 14)--3-some people say that it is necessary for a man and his wife to limit the number of children to be born so they can take better care of those they already have; 0-others say that it is wrong for a man and his wife purposely to limit the number of children to be born. Which of these opinions do you agree with more?

9 Question 60 (p. 14)--If you were to meet a person who lives in another country thousands of kilometers away from Venezuela, could you understand his way of thinking? 3-yes; 0 -no.

10 Question 61 (p. 14)--Do you think a man can be truly good without having any religion at all? 3-yes; 0-no.

I asked these ten questions knowing in advance
that some of them might show very little discrimination for the members of my sample. I was dealing with a university student sample and the responses of this relatively educated sample might tend to agree in the answers to certain items, especially to items 4, 7 and 10 of the previous list.

Taking that into account, I proceeded with the analysis of the ten items. I started by constructing a correlation matrix, and found very little correlation among the items (the mean correlation is .10). I was expecting low intercorrelations because as it has been pointed out by some of the critics of the modernization (Armer and Schnaiberg, 1972) that the multi-dimensionality of the concept produces such a pattern among the items.

I proceeded by examining each one of the ten items, and found that some of them had almost no discriminating capacity. As expected almost all students scored high in Items 4, 7 and l0. Because of this result, these three items were excluded. Items 5, 8 and 9 were also scored highly. These items had better discriminating capacity, but it was not markedly higher than the previously discarded three items. The responses to item 8, which deals with family planning practices really intrigued me. I question, even though birth control is rapidly spreading, that its acceptance is as universal as could be inferred by analyzing the responses to this question. What is possible, however, is that they agree that the statement about the practice of family planning is "socially desirable."

Items 5 and 9 which deal with citizens' political
reference groups and empathy also show a low discriminating capacity probably for the same reasons as item 8. I decided therefore to exclude these three items as well.

After analyzing all the items, I constructed a scale which included items 1, 2, 3, and 6. The low Hoyt reliability is produced by the low intercorrelation between the items which comprise this scale. Table 16 presents the characteristics of the modernization scale.

Table 16
Characteristics of the Modernization Scale

| Mean | Standard <br> Deviation | Hoyt <br> Reliability | Standard <br> Error | Range |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8.95 | 1.36 | .23 | 1.10 | $4-12$ |

The AID results show that this variable is positively related to the booster and gladiator styles of political participation: moderately for gladiator (+ 2), and weakly for booster (+ 3). For spectator the relationship is strong and inverse (- 1). The hypotheses therefore are confirmed in both their direction and strength of relationship.

Modernization, as it has been measured by the items which were included in my scale and which I think represent the concept as presented in the literature, has the strongest predictive power in the systematic replication. A fruitful connection appears to exist between the modernization postulates and the tricomponential theory of social action. As the down ranks indicate, it
is lst, 2nd and l6th for spectator, gladiator and booster, respectively.

## A2. Place of Residence.

In Venezuela, as in most Latin American countries (Liebman, et al.. 1972), provincial educational development lags when compared to that of the capital city. Additionally, there are few provincial universities, and these are considered low prestige educational institutions (Arnove, 1971). Therefore, it is expected that students who completed or had part of their elementary and secondary education in provincial areas will be found in our sample of students from a Caracas based university.

I predict that provincial place of residence will be a strong positive correlate (+ l) of the spectator style of political participation. This prediction is based on the following two reasons: (a) there is higher subscription to tradition and particularistic social norms in the provincial areas, and (b) the provincial student who moves into Caracas is going through a period of adaptation that may hinder his political participation. Since it is considered that most of elementary and secondary school education takes place between the years of 5 and 15, a question about where the students had lived during that period of their life was asked.

Measures and Findings

In the virtual replication part of this research a question on the place of birth of the respondent was asked. If the correlation between place of birth and the place where the respondent lived from age 5 to 15 years of age was too close to unity then this variable by being confused with place of birth should not have been included. An analysis of the data shows, however, that the places of birth and residence from ages 5 to 15 have a correlation of only +.40 . Information about place of residence was obtained from question 108 ( p .22 ): "Where did you live the major part of the time between the ages of 5 and 15?" If the response was Caracas, the question was coded l, if the answer was somewhere else, the answer was coded 0 . It turned out that $67 \%$ of the respondents lived in Caracas during that period of their life, which indicates that some geographical mobility has taken place for the other members of the sample.

The AID analysis confirms the hypothesis that there is a strong positive relationship between place of residence and spectator style of political participation (+ l). For both booster and gladiator this relationship is also positive (+ 2.5), for these two styles.

The evidence that confirmed the hypotheses is
weakened by the consistently low predictive power of this variable for all the three styles of political participation.

Studies of university student patterns of political participation, both in the United States (Lipset, 1971; Astin, 1968) and in Latin America (Liebman et al., 1972), have shown that there is a correlation between activism and student enrollment in particular disciplines. In the Latin American student political milieu, the traditional disciplines (Albornoz, 1972) tend to have higher activism among their students. What is not clear is the effect of SES in the choosing of these careers, and if students were already predisposed toward activism before entering the university through the operation of early socialization.

In the Venezuelan context the typically traditional disciplines have been law, civil engineering and medicine. Traditional disciplines have provided a good number of the Country's leaders, many of whom are either lawyers, or non-practicing medical doctors. ${ }^{l}$ Considering the role played in Venezuela by the traditional disciplines there should be a strong positive relationship (+ l) between this variable and the gladiator style of political participation.
$1_{\text {Archila (1972) and Quintero García (1968) }}$ present, respectively, a listing of prominent Venezuelan medical doctors who have participated in politics and literature.

Measures and Findings

To operationalize this variable the traditional disciplines (medicine and law) were scored l. The nontraditional disciplines (computer science, physics, chemistry, mathematics, pharmacy and architecture) were scored 0. Students enrolled in traditional disciplines comprised about one-fifth of the sample.

It was found in the AID analysis that this variable was strongly and negatively associated with the spectator style of political participation (- l). For gladiator and booster the relationship was positive and moderate to weak (+ 2.5). These relationships reject the hypothesis.

An inspection of the down ranks indicates that the predictive importance of this variable is not impressive: 29 th for spectator and $33 r d$ for gladiator and booster.

A4. Satisfaction with Life as Student

It has been reported (Liebman et al., 1972) that satisfaction with daily life as a student has a negative effect on political activism. Reported satisfaction as student may reflect a contentment with the return the individual receives from the university milieu, and may also affect his desires to change it.

I hypothesize that satisfaction with daily life as a student is a strong inverse (- 1) correlate of the
gladiator style of political participation. No hypotheses are advanced for the relationship between this variable and booster or spectator styles of political participation.

Measures and Findings

A scale of "contentment" was constructed from information obtained in the questionnaire. ${ }^{2}$ Students were asked their opinion about the quality of their instruction, the perceived fairness of the professors, the adequacy of the university facilities, and their opinion of the student government. The questions were as follows:
$\frac{1 \text { Question } 15 \text { (p. 4)--How satisfied are you with }}{\text { your life as student? }}$
Question 16 (p. 4)--Specifically, how satisfied are you with the following aspects of your university life?

2 The professors
3 The courses
4 The installations (physical plant)
5 The examinations
6 The student government
In Table 17 the characteristic of the scale used to measure satisfaction with life as a student are presented.

[^20]Table 17
Characteristics of the Satisfaction with Life As Student Scale

| Mean | Standard <br> Deviation | Hoyt <br> Reliability | Standard <br> Error | Range |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5.77 | 2.22 | .62 | 1.26 | $0-12$ |

The results of the AID analysis show that this variable is strongly and positively correlated with the booster style (+ l) of political participation. This rejects the hypothesis which predicted that the strongest relationship would correspond to gladiator. However a moderate and inverse correlation (-2) was found between satisfaction with life and student and gladiator style of political participation. A weak and positive relationship was found for spectator (+ 3).

The predictive importance of this variable, as indicated by the down ranks, is significant for booster and gladiator (6th and 9th respectively). The predictive importance for spectator is moderate (2lst).

## A5. Scholastic Ability

It has been noted in several studies dealing with the relationship between "intelligence" or "intellectual ability" and political activism (Bay 1967; Katz, 1967; Somers, 1965; Trent and Craise, 1967) that those with the highest ability tend toward political activism. On the
other hand evidence presented by Kerpelman (1972) did not show any relationship between these variables and political activism.

I was interested in studying the possible relationship that ability had to the three styles of political participation. The characteristics of the data collection techniques used made the administration of one of the standard IQ tests undesirable. I considered the use of the Quick Work Test (QWT) devised by Borgatta and Corsini (1964), but that also added too much time to the completion of the questionnaire and $I$ decided against its use as well. I finally opted for considering reported scholastic performance as a general measure of the dimension I was interested in.

Research on scholastic ability, as measured by students grades, shows that those who are more politically active tend to have better marks in school (Blum, 1969; Trent and Craise, 1967). These studies however consider as a measure of scholastic ability "self-reported" grades. But Kerpelman (1970) who took into account "actual" grades found no such differences in political participation. Since most of the evidence reported in the literature indicates a positive relationship between ability and political participation $I$ will accept this assertion

> in formulating the hypotheses. I predict that there is a strong and positive $(+1)$ relationship between scholastic ability and gladiator style of political participation.

Measures and Findings

Information about grades was obtained from question 118 (p. 24) "During your university studies, what would you say has been your grade point average?" Since at UCV the students are graded on a 20 point grade scale, the students were coded according to this grading system. The responses to this question were organized into a six point scale; grades less than 10 were scored l; grades between 19 and 20 were scored 6. The modal category was that which comprised grades from 13 to 14 points, the standard deviation was . 81.

The hypothesis is confirmed with regard to its direction. With regard to the strength of the relationship it is not as hypothesized. This variable is strongly associated to booster (+ 1 ), and moderately to weakly to spectator and gladiator (+ 2.5).

The down ranks, however, are so close (28th, 27 th , and 28 th for spectator, booster and gladiator, respectively) that any definitive conclusion about this variable has to be presented cautiously. The down ranks also indicate that this variable has a low predictive importance for each of the three styles.

## Evaluation of the AID Results for the

Systematic Replication

For the evaluation of the new set of hypotheses I will use the same categories used to evaluate the results of the virtual replication.

Al. "Modernization," shows perfect agreement (Category 1) between the hypotheses and the systematic replication AID results.

A2. "Place of residence," agrees with the hypotheses with regard to the first cross rank (Category 2).

A4. "Satisfaction with life as student," and A5 "Scholastic ability," on the other hand, agree with the hypotheses with regard to the directionality of the (Category 3).

Finally, very little agreement was found between A3, "Nature of career," and the hypothesized relationships (Category 5). This last variable provided the least contribution to the new AID model.

With regard to the down ranks the two variables which offered the greater amount of predictive power are modernization and satisfaction with life as student. In the particular case of modernization this variable has first and second predictive importance for spectator and gladiator styles of political participation.

Besides the contribution that the new variables, especially the two just mentioned, might offer to the model
there is another fact that is worth mentioning. Though five variables were deleted and the same number substituted in their place in the systematic replication model, there is a high degree of stability of the findings. In fact, a rank correlation test of the PEP coefficients for the 31 variables which are included in both the virtual and the systematic replication shows a great deal of correspondence between these results. The implication is, therefore, that these results show independence from variable manipulation. This is a reassuring finding, and allows greater confidence in these results.

## CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this research the generality of a theory of social action based on a three-fold typology of social participation styles has been put to a test. The three genotype concepts on which the theory rests are postulated to correspond to three principal motivational meanings which participation has for different individuals. The three genotypes are called normative, affiliative and purposive. In the particular case of participation in politics, the genotypes are specified in content and linked to three phenotypic styles of political participation, identified as spectator, booster and gladiator. Questionnaire information was collected from a sample of 509 Venezuelan university students. The data dealt with attitudes, personal characteristics and patterns of political participation in their country's 1973 national electoral campaigns. A factor analysis of nineteen participation activities showed the existence of three distinctive contents of participation behavior; these corresponded to the three phenotypes predicated by the
theory. A comparison was made of these three distinctive contents of participation behavior with similar results obtained in an earlier study in which the same dimensions were tested. The degree of correspondence of the dependent variables prescribed the feasibility of the comparison of this research with the previous one. This comparison was based on a replication of the measures of the first study in order to make an evaluation of the findings.

Then I proceeded to determine the motivational structure of each one of the participation styles to evaluate the predictive power of a set of thirty-six social-structural and personality variables. A multivariate technique which allows for interaction was used in performing this evaluation. The comparison of these results with the first study was the "virtual" replication phase of this research.

After comparisons were performed between the hypothesized relationships associated with each style and the results of the two studies, a few of the variables which showed consistently low explanatory power were identified. These variables were substituted in a new multivariate model by others which were thought to have better explanatory capacity. This phase of the research was called the "systematic" replication.

An evaluation of the results of both the virtual and systematic replications shows that the following variables, as prescribed by their degree of correspondence
across time are accurate predictors of all three styles of political participation: parental political interest, assertiveness, intrinsic career involvement and evaluation of self in past. With regard to spectator the variables which have retained their importance over time include: political efficacy, social isolation, punitiveness, social reform orientation, and student role responsibility. All these variables are characteristic of the normative style of social participation, since they stress conformity and support of socio-cultural traditions. With regard to gladiator the variables which have remained important include political efficacy, self-satisfaction and student role responsibility. All these variables indicate the purposive nature of the gladiator style: the expression and attainment of rational mastery over objects and events internal and external to the actor. Finally, for booster participation the variables which have consistent importance include: extroversion and leisure-time socializing. These variables defined the affiliative style; high valuation of and search for affective support.

The additions of new variables in the systematic replication part of this research showed that modernization is an important predictor for booster and gladiator styles. Satisfaction with life as a student is an important predictor for booster and gladiator. These two variables are theoretically linked to the styles where the relationships were found.

After studying the results of several independent tests of the empirical foundations on which the tricomponential theory is based, the evidence seems to justify the assertion that both the conceptual framework and the empirical evidence are sound. No serious discrepancies between the hypotheses derived from the tricomponential theory and the two sets of empirical findings were found. Empirical coincidence represented a major confirmation of the main postulates of the theory.

I feel, however, that the degree of coincidence is greater for the spectator style of political participation. The activities associated with this style are "easier" to perform, and this fact may facilitate the stable identification of the independent variables associated with this style. For booster and gladiator styles, which comprise more "difficult" activities, identification of the independent variables is harder to obtain.

From a methodological point of view I would suggest that for any possible studies trying to further ascertain the strength and generality of the findings obtained so far, it would be advisable to over-sample with regard to gladiator and booster style of political participation. A previous knowledge of the population from which the sample would be drawn would allow for this to be done.

I was conscious from the beginning of this research that the replication of the Finifter research even though
it was the most immediate goal of this dissertation was not its ultimate objective. The greatest asset of the tricomponential theory of social action, from my point of view, is its generality. Social participation can take innumerable forms of which political participation, or electoral participation of the type which was dealt with in this dissertation, is just one facet. The next step for the continuation of this intellectual endeavor would be to apply this general theory to other aspects of social participation such as participation in small formal and informal groups, voluntary associations, and complex organizations.

The encouraging fact is that the findings reported so far, in the original study and in this dissertation, are general enough so that they can be utilized in studying other forms of participation other than the one studied here. The relationship between variables studied so far (such as intrinsic career involvement, assertiveness and punitiveness) and social participation should be investigated outside the political arena in order to further test the generality of the tricomponential theory.

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APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

## SPECIMEN OF LETTERS AUTHORIZING THE STUDY

4 de marzo de 1974

Ciudadano
Prof.Armando Villarroel
Escuela de Sociologia.Fac.Economia Universidad Central de Venezuela Presente

Tengo el agrado de dirigirme a usted en la ocasion de acu sar recibo de su comunicacion de fecha 28-2-74 y en la cual solicita colaboracion para llevar a efecto un estudio acerca de planes vocacionales del estudiantado de esta Ca sa de Estudios; me permito comunicarle que este Decanato no tiene inconveniente en acceder a lo formulado por usted.


Ciudadano
Lic. Armando Villarroel
Escuela de Sociología
Facultad de Economía
U.C.V.

Caracas.

En atención a su carta de fecha 22 de los corrientes, tengo el agrado de comunicarle la conformidad de este Decanato con su solicitud de colaboración por parte de nuestros Servicios de Orientación y Programación Docente para el Estudio sobre Actitudes y Planes Vocacionales del Estudiantado Universitario que se lleva a cabo bajo la dirección de Ud.

A tal efecto puede ponerse en contacto con las responsables de las citadas Dependencias, quienes ya han sido notificadas al respecto.

c.c. Gladys de Drescher, Serv. de Oxientación
c.c. Nancy Zambrano, Oficina de Programación Docente.

LC/jb.

## APPENDIX II

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Amigo estudiante:
Esta es una investigacion cientffica de las actividades y planes vocacionales del estudiantado universitario, la cual está dirigida por un profesor de sociologia de la Universidad Contral do Venezuela. El presente trabajo se concentra en la descripción por parte de los estudiantes de sus problemas, tanto educativos como de otro tipo. Por este medio esperamos obtener una vision clara del proceso de formacion de planes vocacionales, que incluya sus aspectos sociales, economicos, po Ifticos y psicologicos.

Este estudio es absolutamente anonimo, y por esta razon le podimos no escriba su nombre en ninguna parte del cuestionario. Estamos intereados solamente on ten dencias y frecuencias estadisticas, no en casos individuales.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre como llenar el cuestionario por favor levante la mano y será ayudado.

Si Ud. estuviese interesado en recibir a vuelta de correo un sumario de los resultados de esta investigacisn, marque este recuadro $\square$ y suministrenos en un papel aparte su nombre y direccion para poder hacer el envio correspondiente.

CODIGO
1-8,9

2. Z Qué año o semestṛe está cursando ?

| Primer año | 6 | -01 | Primer semestre Segundo semestre Tercer semestre Cuarts semestre Quinto semestre Sexto semestre Septimo semestre Octavo semestre Noveno semestre Décimo semestre |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -2 Segundo año |  | -02 |  |
| -3 -Tercer año |  | -03 |  |
| -4 - Cuarto año |  | -04 |  |
| -5 - Quinto año |  | -05 |  |
|  |  | -06 |  |
|  |  | -07 |  |
|  |  | -08 |  |
|  |  | -09 |  |
|  |  | -10 |  |

3. $\&$ Cuáles razones influye ron en la escogenciá de gu carrera ?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
4. ¿Cuáles son las cosas específicas que más le gustan de la carrera que actualmente cursa?
$\qquad$
1-11
1-12
1-13
$\qquad$
5. \& Y qué cosas especificas de su carrera actual no lo gustan mucho ?
$\frac{\text { CODICO }}{1-25()}$
6. \& Dirla Ud. que su carrera os un medio para lograr otros fines, o un fin en sí misma?


6a. \&Qué fines pursiguc estudiand: su carrera?



6h. ¿Por qué la eonsidera co m un fin en sl misma ?
$\qquad$

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\left.\begin{array}{l}1-27 \\ 1-28 \\ 1-29 \\ 1-30 \\ 1-31 \\ 1-32 \\ 1-33\end{array}\right\}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { a } \\ 1-34 \\ 1-35 \\ 1-36 \\ 1-37 \\ 1-38 \\ 1-39 \\ 1-40\end{array}\right\}\}\end{array}\right\}$
7. Al esooger una carrera a al treanarse un plav genemal de vida musha gente se sigue por el ejemplo dado por individuos a quienes ellos conocen y admiran y a quienes les gustarla paregerse. Ah ra, trate de pensar en las persinas que Ud. conuce. \& Puede pensar en al guna a la que le gustaría parecerse ?


7a. ¿Quién es ?


76: Por ejemplo, algunas perso nas dicen que quieren pare cerse a un miembro de ail. familia, a un profestr que conocen, a un jefe qut tuvieron, o a un srador a quien oyernn. $\&$ Hay alguna persona a la que Ud. le gustaria parecerse?
$1-41$ ()
1-42 ()
1-43 ()


Estamos interesados también en conocer de que temas hablan los estudiantes.
8. ¿Con qué frecuencia diría Ud. que conversa con sus-compañeros de:clase sobre conocimientos adquiridos en clase ? ¿ Diría que es

9. ¿ Y sobre problemas del país ? ¿ Firía que habla con sus compañeros

10. \& Si Ud. tuviera que volver a escoger su carrera, escogería

u

11. Z Repasa Ud, las materias al terminar sus clases en la Universidad

12. ¿ Apr\&ximadamente cuántas horas dedićf Ud. a repasar durante la semana pasada ?
horas
13. ¿ Sedica más $\partial$ menos el mism número de horas cada semana ?
14. ¿Cuándo está repasando, con qué frecuencia siente Jd. que le gustaría estar haciendo otra cosa

CODIGO
15. ¿ Qué $\tan$ satisfecho está Ud, con su vida con ostudianto

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Muy } & \text { Más o menos Muy } \\
\text { satisiecho } & \text { satisfecho } & \text { insatisfechs }
\end{array}
$$

| Los profesores |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Los cursos |  |  |  |
| Las instalaci ones |  |  |  |
| Los exámenes |  |  |  |
| El gobiernว estudiantil |  |  |  |

17. \& Pienga Ud. que al ser estudiante universitorio se tienen oblionciones especiales, aparte de sus estudios, o no se tienen ?


17a. ¿Cuáles son?
18. ¿Piensa Ud. que los estudientes universitarios tienen responsabilidedes especiales en el cambio y desarrollo del país ?


18a. ; Qué cree Ud. que nuedon hacer los esturiontes?

CODIGO

Ahora, queremos hacerle alpunas preguntas acerca de lo que se debe hacer on ciertas situaci mes familiares ?
20. ¿ Qdé creo Ua. que se le debo hacer al hijo que descuida sus estudios ?
21. ¿A la mujer que ergaña a su esposo?
$\qquad$ -
$\qquad$
22... ¿ Al hijə que estó en edad de trabajar, y n quiere trabajar ?

Ahora, algunas personas prefieren pasar la major parte del tiempo con un grupo de amig's, mientres que otros se lo pasan solos.
23. Ud. pasa la mayoría de su tiempn


A continuacion, vamos a presentarla algunas frases, $T$ od? 10 que Ud. tiene que hacer es ronsar sobre cada frase y luegn indicar con una equis ( X ) si está totalmonte de acuerdo, un poco de acierdo, un poco en desacuerds, o totalmente en acuords.
24. Lo más imprrtante es estar de acuerda con tra persina, la cuestión do quién tiene la raźn o quién está equivocado es secundaria.

25. Tengo que estudiar más que mis compañeros de clase para sacar una bue na nota on un examen.

26. Hay muchos estudiantes $j$ sfvenes en este país que se meten en la políti ca por felta de aisciplina.

27. Mis compañeros de clase tienen más suerte que yo.

28. A veces la política y ol gohierno parecen tan complicadas que una per soria como yo no puede realinente ontender qué está pasand.

29. He sentido firecuentemente que no tiene valor tratar de ser algo en es ta vida.

30. Cuánd la gente, está en desacuerds con e?. ģbierno, no debería obedecerle.

31. La religisn tiene una gran importancia en mi vida
Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo Pooo desacuerdn Total desacuerdor
32. Si no ando con cuidado, la gente me explotará

Total acuerdo Pxo acuerdo Poco desacuerdo Total desacuerdor
33. La gente como yo no encuentro sitio en la sociedad

34. Hoy en día una persona no sabe verdaderamente con quien puede contar
Total acuerd Poco acuerdo Preo desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
35. Es poco justo traer niños al mundo, viendo como estarán las cosas en el futurs
Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo Pros desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
36. La única manera en que una persona como ys puede opinar acerca de las eosas que hace el gibierno es votando
Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo Poco desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
37. Es mejor contentarse con ly que uno tionc que incterse en cisas nuevas Total acuerdo Pro acuerds Pocs desacuerdo T.tal desacuerdo
38. Mis ideas religiosas tienen una influencia ennsiderable sobre mis puntos de vista sobre stros asuntos

Total acuerdo
 Total desacuerdo
39. La gente $c(m)$ yo no tiene nada que decir acerca de lo que hace el gobierno

40. Ahəra, que escogería Ud.: "La may ría de la gente está dispuesta a ay dar a los otros" o, "La mayoría de la $\mathfrak{G}$ ente está dispuesta a ayudarse a si misma"

A los otros
A sí misma
41. Ahora, todos nosotros aspiramos a ciertas ensas en la vida. Cuando Ud. piensa en lo que realmente le importa en su vida, $\&$ cuáles son sus deseos y esperanzas para el futuro? En otras palabras, si Ud. se imaginara su futuro de la forma mejor, más optimista posible, \& como deberfa ser su vida entonces, para que Ud. se sintiera feliz ?
$\qquad$
42. Ahora, si pensamos lo contrario de la situacion ideal anterior, ¿cuáles son sus preocupaciones temores acerca del futuro?

- En otras palabras, si Ud. se imagina su futuro dosde el peor punto de vista, de la manera más pesimista, ¿ chmo vería su vida entonces ?
$\qquad$

A continuación eșá el dibuíi de una escalera. Suponga que el - 纤timo peldaño (rímero 10 ; de la escalera representa la mejor vida posible para Ud., y que $\in 1$ primer peldaño (número 0) representa la peor vida posible para Ud.

43a. $\zeta$ En qué peldaño de la escalera siente Ud. que se encuen tra ahora?

Feldaño No $\qquad$
43b. $\zeta$ En qué peldaño de la escalera diría Ud. que esturo hace cinco añs ?

Peldaño $N^{\circ}$ $\qquad$
43c. ZEn qué peldaño de la escalera piensa Ud. que estará dentro de cinco años ?

Feldaño $N^{\circ}$
44. Ahora, ¿ cuáles son sus doşes y coperanzas para el futuro do nuestro pais ? Si Ud. se imaginara el futuro de Venezuela con el mayor optimismo posible, i cómo le parecerían las cosas, di gamos, dentro de dicz años ?
$\qquad$
45. Y, ¿ cuáles son sus temores y prencunaciones acerca del futuro de nuestro país ? Imagínese el futuro de Venegucla con el mayor pesimismo posible, ¿ cómo le parecerían las cosas, digamss, dentr? de diez años ?
$\qquad$ 2-17 ()

Ah ra, viendo nuevamente la escalera de la página 9, suponga que sus mayores esperanzas para Venezuela están en la parte superior de la escalera, y sus peores temores para Venezuela están en la parte más baja.

46a. Z En qué parte de la escalera colscaría Ud. a Venezuela en la actualidad ?

Feldaño $\mathrm{NO}^{\circ}$ $\qquad$
46b. ¿D Snde diría Ud. que estuvo Venezuela hace cincs años ?
Feldaño No $\qquad$
46c. Trate de hacer una suposición lo más acertada posible y díganos, i dŚnde piensa que estorá Venezuela en la escalera dentro de cinco sños?

Peldaño $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ $\qquad$
Tonemos interés también en saber cormo la gente logra las no ticias del día.
47. Tomemos, por ejemplo, Ins perídicos. ¿ Lee mucho, regular, poco, o casi nada sobre las noticios del día ?

$$
\text { Mucho } \quad \text { Regular } \quad \text { Pocs Casi nada }
$$

47s. \&A qué temas de los perisdicos los presta más atención?

CODIGO

2-18 ( )

47b. ¿Y cuál de los siguientes tips de noticias lo interesan a Ud. más ?

```
-1___ Io que pasa en stros países
    2-23
-2__ lo que pasa en Venesuela
-3__lo que pasa en Caracas
-4___ deportes
-5__ eventos religiosos
```



## 13

Ahora, queremos hacerle preguntas de otro tipo
54. ¿ Cuánta educacín piensa Ud. que los hijos de personas como Ud. deberían tener?
55. Dos niños de doce años de edad tomaron tiempo de su trabajo en una plantacín de maíz. Ellos estaban tratando de encontrar u na manera de cultivar la misma cantidad de maíz utilizando menos horas de tiabajz.

A, El padre de uno de los niños dijo: "Esto es algo bueno que debemos considerar, dejenme saber sus ideas de como nosotros deberíamos cambiar nuestra mancra de cultivar maíz"
B. El padre del otro niño dijo: "La manera de cultivar málz es la manera que nosostros siempre hemos utilizado, hablar de cambios de procedimionts es una perrlida de tiempol.
¿ Cuál de las padres pronuncit las palabras más sabias?

padre $B$
56. ¿ Qué es lo que dobe calificar a una persona para ocupar un alto puesto público ?
-1 El ser miembro de una familia adecuada
-3... Su popularidad entro el pueblo
-
57. ¿ Cuál de estas condíciones es la más imporínte para el futury de Venezuela?
-I__. Fl duro trabajo de su pueblo
-2_Io buena planificación de parte de su gobierns
-3_ La ayuda de Dios
-4_La buena suerte
58. Ins cientificos en las universidacies están estudiando tales cosas come que es lo que de,ermina ol sexo de un bebé, y que es lo que permite que una semilla crezen nara convertirse en planta. L Fiensa Ud, que estas investigaciones son:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text {-1_Tuas benefici sas } \\
& \text {-2_- Tvas algo heneficiosas } \\
& \text {-3_Tudas ano perjudiciales } \\
& \text {-4_ Txias muy periudiales }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 14

59. A. Algunas porsonas dicen que es necesario para un hombre y su esposa limitar el número de sus hijos de manera de pody dar más a los hijos que ya tienen
B. Otros piensan que no es correcto que un hombre y su esposa limiten a própósito el número de los hijos por naccr
¿ Con cuál de estas opiniones está Ud. más de acuerdo? $-1 \quad$ Opinion A
60. Si Ud. llegara a conocer a una persona quien vive en otro país distante miles de kilSmetros de Venezuela, $\&$ podría did. ontander la manera de pensar de esa persona ?

61. i Piensa Ud. qi:a un hombre puede ser realmente bueno sin tener ninguana clase de religión?

Esta parte del cuestionario es un poco diferente a lo hecho anterior mente. Las preguntas están relacionadas con la manera como uno se percibe a sí mismo. A continuacion hay una lista de 30 característi cas que las personas usan para describirse. Lea Ud. la lista de caracteristicas y decida hasta que punto cada palabra lo describe MUY BIEN, MAS O MENOS BIEN, O MUY POCO. Piense en como es Ud. EN REALIDAD, no en como Ud. quizás quiera ser.
62. " ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{COMO}$ SE PERCIBE UD. ACTUALMENTE ?

1. Póngase "1" al lado de 55 más palabras que lo describen MUY POCO.
2. Póngase "2" al lado de 56 más palabras que lo describen MAS O MENOS BIEN.
3. Pbnfase "3" al lado de 55 más palabras que lo describen MUY BIEN.


Revise, por favor, si hay al menos 5 palabras on cada uno de los tres grupos marcados "1", "2" y "3".

Ahora, he aquí otra lista con las mismas 30 palabras anteriores. Divida Ud. estetas 30 palabras otra vez en tres grupos, pero en es te caso divídalas según lo que le GUSTARIA SER DESDE UN PUNTO DE VISTh IDEAL. Es decir, no como Ud. cree que es en realidad, o considera que otros descen que Ud. sea, sino cufles son sus IDEAIES PERSONALES.
63. . " " COMO LR GUSTiRIA SER IDEALENTE ?"

1. Póngase "I" al lado de 5 f más palabras que describen MYY POCO lo que a Ud. le gustaría scr.
2. Pongase "2" ai lado do 55 más palabras que describen Mis O MENOS BIEN Io que a Ud. le gustaría ser.
3. Psngase " $3^{n}$. al lado de 5 más palabras que describen MUY BIEN lo que a Ud. le gustería ser.

| SERIO |
| :---: |
| IDFALISTE |
|  |  |
|  |
|  |
| FELIX |
| ESTUDICSO |
| EFICIENTE |
| IVDIVIDUALISTh |
| INDEFENDIEN:E |
| INC:RO |
| RETIEXIVO |
| RE'SPONSABLE |
| ESTIM』0 |
| COOPERLADOR |
| XITTOSO |
| REhLISTA |
| ORDE MDO |
| CONSTAITE |
| DOMTHANTE |
| CUMPLIDOR |
| ESABLE |
| decindo |
| OFiLIISTA |
| IMagThativo |
| SATISFECHO |
| Intiectull |
| Cafaz |
| WTELICEITE |
| POF:Lus. |

Revise, por favor, si hay menos 5 palabras en cada uno de los tres grupos marcados "1", "2" y "3".
64. A nosotros nos gustaría saber también que atención presta la gente

CODIGO generalmente a lo que pasa en la política. Nos referimos a la política de todos los días, cuando no hay campañas electorales on marcha. ¿ Pxirín Uí. decir si sigue la política con
macho inter's, moderado inter'ss, 0 poco inter's $?$
65. ¿ I durante la «ltima campaña electoral? ¿Diría Jd. que estoba muy interessdo , moderadamente interesado , opoco interesad $n$ on la Kilime campaña ?
66. ¿Cuántos alumnos de su facultad considera Ud. que están interesados en la polftica

67. Ahora, algunวs estudiantes so interosen mucho por las actividados pa líticas, mientras que otros no se preocupan tanto ellas. Lo que nos interesa aquí no es a que partido pertenece la gente, sino mediante que actividades una persona participe en la política. Por ejemplo, discute Ud . con sus compañeros sobre la polftica universitaria

Si
No
158. \& Lee perifdicos y revistas sobre temas polfticos en general ?

69. ¿Asiste a reuniones políticas ?

Si
No
70. \& Asiste a mítines polftic 3 s

71. \& Estŝ afiliado a algún partido político?
72. \& Trats de orientar en el voto de otros ?
73. ¿ Fue a alguna comida de carácter político ?

74. ¿ Colocs consignas polítices ?

75. ¿Escribis consignas políticas ?
76. \& Hizo discursos páblicos a favor de un candidato o un partido?

77. \& Distribuys panfletos u otra propaganda política?

78. ¿ Participh on las caravanas políticas de carros ?

## Si


79. ¿ Puso un distintivo polftico on su carro o en su ropa ?

80. ¿ Participa on as ciaciones voluntarias?
81. ¿ Hizo alguna otra cosa ?
es que la gente que triunfa tieno sucrte; es decir, triunfar es cosa de suerte mís que de habilidad y esfuerzo individual.
$\because \cdots$ Total acuerdo , Poco acuerdo Poco desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
85. Una mala ley dobe ser cambiada, por: mientras no se modifique, debe ser cumplida.

86. Mis comrañer as de clase tienen más amigos que yo.
87. A pesar de lo que algunas persmas dieen, la endicisn de la gonte como yo está empe rand, on vez de moj rar.

Total acuerd Poce acuerd P Poce desecucrdy Total desacuerd
88. No valo la pona ocuparse de la política, porque los políticos $n=$ son los individues más prepared's de la s ciuded.

89. La asistencia a los servicis ruijei is os un f́ndice de la moralidad de una nación.

90. Yo trato de hacorme agradehlo a :u s

Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo Focu anscuord Thtal descucrdo,
91. Siempre trath de hacer lo crrost: j attre do acuerds a los principios moralos que me han ensuñad:

92. Siento placer tratando de entendorme a mímism), y conocer mis for talezas y debiliảades.

Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo, Pocn disacuerdn, Total desacuerdos
93. La mayoría dol tiempo me sionto sol.

Total couserdo Poc acuerdo Poo desacuerdo, Total desacuerdol
94. La mayoría de los funcionarios públic s no astán realmente interesadus en los problemas de $l_{\text {a }}$ gente com. $y$.

Total acuerdo Poco acuerdo Pco dosacuerdo Tutal desacuerdo/
95. Es muy poco lo que puedo hacer para canbiar mi vida.

96. Mis opinionss tienen nenos peso que las opiniones de mis compañeros de clase

Total acuerdo
Pow acuerdo Poco desacuerds Total desacuerdo
97. A la hera do la verdэd, nadic va a preocuparso mucho por mí
Total acuerán Poo acuerd Poco desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
98. La natcraleza humana ca fundemon*almente conporativa

> Totol acuerdo Pro scuard Poc desacuerdn Total desacuerdn
99. Mo parece que soy la clase de jersona que tione más mala suerte que buena sucrte
Total acuerdo Per acuerdo Poc desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
100. Hoy en día una pors ma tione que vivir bion el presente, y desatondersc dol futur)
Total acverdo [Foco acuerdo Poco desacuerdo Total desacuerdo
101. Siento que mo equivuqü? de carrere

102. Ahora, algu2es pars ner dicon que pxiemos confiar en la mayoría de la gents, micnrees que otas dicen que es mejor ser desconfiado. ¿ Qué cree Ud.?
Foionos confiar Es mejor ser desconfiade
103. Para concluir tenerixe unas poes pregintons más, del tipo conso con las cuales Ud. está jien faniliarizad" \& Juál es su sexo?
104. ¿Cuántos años tiene Ud. (en su más cercano cumpleaños) ?


106. \& D onde exactamente nacis Ud.?
(CIUDAD O PUEBLO, ESTAIO O PAIS)
107. ¿ Diría Ud. que la ciudad o pucblo donde Ud. NACIO tenía

4-53 -1 menos de 500 habitantes

108. ¿ Donde vivib Ud, por más tiempo cuando or niño (entre las edades de 5 y 15 años) ?
(CIUDAD 0 PUEBLO, ESTADO 0 PAIS)
109. ¿ Diría Ud. que la ciudad o pueblo de donde Jd. se CRIO tenia

110. ¿Están vivos sus padros ?

111. \& Vive Ud. actualmente on

3-36
-1 en la residencia do sus padres
-2 en la residencia de un do sus podros
-3 en hotel opensiśn
$-4=$ con familiaros
$-5=$ en vivienda aporte
12. \& Tiene Ud. hermanาs (as) ?


112a. En relaci'n con cl orden de narimiento suy) $y$ de sus hor manos (as), \& He sid, Ud.

13. $\&$ Hasta que año estudis su padrc ?


- ¿Cuál es (cra) la scupación de su papá ? (EJFECIFIC:iR NOMBRE DE OCUPACION, TAREAS QIE REALIZA, SU POSICION, ETC.)



115a. \& Qué tipo de trabajo tenía su popá durante сза е́рэса?

CODIOR
116. ¿ Liría Ud. que su mamá estó (ostuvo) intoresoda on la política

Prucho, regular ;-0 poco?
117. ¿ Diría Ud. que su papá está (ostuvv) interesad) en la política Much, rogular , , poo ?

117a. Goneralmente, diría Ud. que su papá estó (estuvo) de acuerd, ono con las idoas polfticas suyos ?


117b. Y su mamf, ssté (estuvs) ella genemalmente do a cuordo $\mathfrak{c}$ n sus idvas prifíticas

118. Durante sus estudios universitarj s, ¿Cufl diría Td. ha sidn su promedio de calificaciones ?

4-63

119. \& Está Ud, actualmor.to

$$
\text { Casedo }, \text { sitcro }, \text { Aivorciado }, \text { separado } 0 \text { viudo. } ?
$$

120. ¿ Trabaja Ud. actuaimentc ?

i20a. \& Qué tips do trabojo es ?
CODIGO
4-65 ()
4-66 ( )
SEA ESPECIFICO

4-67 ()
Pública , Privada n) religiosa, Privada religiosa, Otra

121a. ¿ Qué tipo?
122. ¿A qué religín per'tenece Ud, ?

Catsica Iratestaned Judia Oira

(¿Cuál?) ._
122a. \& Cor que frecuencia asiste Ud. a la iglesia (templo) ? (DE NUMEIO DE VECES POR SEMGOA; MES 0 AÑ̃O ESPECIFI(;AR SI ED DOR. SEMLNA; MS: O ANO)

123. ¿CSme crec que sorá su futueo nivol de vida comparodo con el que

4-71 ()

Esto es tod.. Z En gonoral pudría Uã. docirnis cóms le parecis eato cuestionaris? \& Hut, pattes (1me oncontro difícilns que n') lo gus toron ?

A. ¿Cuálos sin ?
B. ¿Por qué fueron difíciles para Ud. (o no le gustar on) ?
$\qquad$

MUCHAS GRACIAS POR SU COOFERACION

## APPENDIX III

CODEBOOK

$$
\mid
$$

Universidad Central de Venezuela
Facultad de Economía

ESTUDIO SOBRE ACTITUDES Y PLANES VOCACIONALES DEL ESTUDIANTADO
DECK 1
Nhmero de columna

1 EN BLANCO
2 NUMERO DEL DECK (1)
3-4 EN BLANCO
5-7 NUMERO DEL CUESTIONARIO
001
521
8 EN BLANCO
$9 \quad$ Pregunta 1 (p. 1) ¿埌 carrera esta estudiando Ud.

1. Derecho
2. Arquitectura
3. Farmacia
4. Medicina
5. Computación
6. Fisica
7. Matemáticas

10 Pregunta 2 (p. 1) ¿Qué año o semestre esta cursando?

1. Primer año ( 0 primer y segundo semestre)
2. Segundo año (ó tercer y cuarto semestre)
3. Tercer año (o quinto y sexto semestre)
4. Cuarto año (ó séptimo y octavo semestre)
5. No contestó

NGmero de columna
(1l-16) Pregunta 3 ( $\mathrm{p}, 1$ ) ¿Cußles razones influyeron en la
A. Ventajas econ 8 micas (perspectivas amplias de empleo, me zusta la carrera por los billetes que se ganan, me proporcionaráa estabilidad económica, una vida facil, independencia económica, etc.)

Ventajas sociales (me permitira superarme socialmente, ser alguien en la vida, obtener prestigio y nombre, salir adelante, etc.)

Ventajas profesionales (mejorar mi posicion profesional, mejorar mi posicion en el trabajo que tengo, etc.)

Relacionado con un emploo que ya tiene o estudios previos sin mencionar posibilidades de conseguir empleo, o superarse.

Como complemento para otra profesion con mencion o implicación de posibilidades de superarse o adelantarse en su posición.

Futuro y campo general de la carrera (amplio campo, futuro abierto, mejores oportunidades sin especificar de que tipo)
5. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contest8
B. Ventajas humanitarias (cooperar con el bienestar de los seres humanos, ayudar al hombre, crear espacios más cómodos fara la vida del ser humano, ayudar a aliviar el sufrimiento de mis semejantes, curar al prójimo, etc.)

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó
C. Razones patrioticas y nacionalistas ( la necesidad que tiene Venezuela de buenos arquitectos ó buenos médicos, esta es la carrera que necesita el país, para ayudar a mejorar el país, por el bien del pals, por su utilidad para Venezuela, etc)
3. Lo menciona
4. No lo menciona
5. No contest8
D. Razones de reforma social (resolver los problemas de la comunidad, para ayudar a resolver los problemas sociales, por el deseo de reformar a la sociedad, etc.)
6. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
7. No contest8

16
Ev Razones de orientación intrínseca hacia la cam rrera (siempre me ha gustado esta carrera, siempre me ha liamado la atenci8n, me gusta:hacer casas, me gusta la carrera en si, desde pegueña me ha gustado esta carrera, oreo que poseo telento para la medicina, etc.)
6. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contestó
F. Razones familiares (por la influencia de mi padre, mi hermano mayor escogió esta carrera antes, por la tradición familiar, vengo de una familia de médicos, etc.)

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó
```
NGmero de
columna
```


## EN BLANCO

Pregunta 4 ( $\mathrm{p}, 1$ ) ¿Cukles son las cosas especificas que más le gustan de la carrera que actualmente cursa?

EL MISMO CODIGO DE LA PREGUNTA 3
A. Ventajas económicas, sociales y profesionales
5. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contestó
B. Ventajas humanitarias

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó
C. Razones patrioticas y nacionalistas
3. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
4. No contestó
D. Razones de reforma social
5. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
6. No contestó
E. Razones de orientación intrínseca hacia la carrera
7. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contestó

23 F. Razones familiares

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó

24

25

26
Pregunta 6 (p. 2) ¿Diría Ud. que su carrera es un medio para lograr otros fines, o un fin en sí misma?
6. Medio
O. Fin en sí misma
8. No contestó
(27-32) $\quad \frac{\text { Pregunta 6a (p. 2) }}{\text { su carrera? }}$ Qué fines persigue estudiando Pregunta 6b (p. 2) Lior qué la considera como un fin en sí misma?

SE CODIFICAN COMO SI FUERAN UNA SOLA PREGUNTA USANDO EL MISMO CODIGO DE LA PREGUNTA 3

27
5. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contest8

Namero de columna
B. Ventajas humanitarias

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó

29 C. Razones patrioticas y nacionalistas

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó
D. Razones de reforma social
3. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
4. No contestó

31 E. Razones de orientación intrínseca hacia la carrera
6. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
8. No contestó

32 F. Razones familiares

1. Lo menciona
O. No lo menciona
2. No contestó

33-40 EN BLANCO

41

42

43

44
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 7 \text { (p. 2) Al escoger una carrera o al tra- }}{\text { zarse un plan general de vida mucha gente se sigue }}$ por el ejemplo dado por individuoa a quienes ellos conocen y admiran y a quienes les gustaría parecerse. Ahora, trate de pensar en las personas que Ud. conoce. ¿Puede pensar en alguna a la que le gustaría parecerse?

1. Si
2. No
3. No contestó

SI RESPONDIO "NO"-A IA PREGUNTA 7
Pregunta 7b (p. 2) Por ejemplo, algunas personas dicen que quieren parecerse a un miembro de su familia, a un profesor aue conocen, a un jefe que tuvieron, o a un orador a quien oyeron. ¿Hay alguna persona a la que Ud. le gustaria parecerse?

1. Si
O. No
2. No contestó
3. No aplicable (respondió "si" a la pregunta 7)

SI RESPONDIO "SI" A LiS FREGUNTAS 7 o 7b Preguntas $7 a$ y $7 b$ (p. 2) ¿?uién es?

1. Un miembro de su familia
O. Otra persona
2. No contestó
3. No aplicable (contestó "no" a las preguntas 7

Estanos interesados también en conocer de aue temas hablan los estudiantes.

Pregunta 8.(p. 3) ¿Con qué frecuencia diría Ud. que conversa con sus companeros de clase sobre conocimientos adquiridos en clase? ¿Diría aue es
6. Frecuentemente
3. Algunas veces
0. Casi nunca
8. No contestó
2. Frecuentemente

1. Algunas veces
O. Casi nunca
2. No contestó
$46 \quad \frac{\text { Pregunta } 10(\mathrm{p} .3)}{\operatorname{coger} \text { su carrera, escogería }}$ ¿Si Ud, tuviere que volver a es-
3. Ia misma carrery
O. Otra carrera
4. No contestó

47 Pregunta 11 (p. 3) ¿Repasa Ud. las materias al terminar sus clases en la Universidad
6. Todos los días
3. Algunas veces
0. Sólo antes de exámenes
O. Casi nunca
8. No contestó

48
EN BLAP'CO
49 Pregunta 12 (p.3) ¿Aproximadamente cuántas horas dedica TId. a renasar durante la semana pasada?
Pregunta 13 (p. 3) ¿Dedica más o menos el mismo número de horas cada semana?
Pregunta 13a (p. 3) SI NO ¿Cuántas horas dedica usualmente
SE CODIFICAN COMO SI fUERAN UNV SOLA PREGUNTA LO OUE NOS INTPRESA ES EL NUMERO DE HORAS OUE EL ESTUDIANTE DEDICA USUALMENTE
6. 30 ó más horas por semana
5. 25 a 29 horas por semana
4. 20 a 24 horas por semana
3. 15 a 19 horas por semana
2. 10 a 14 horas por semana

1. 5 a 9 horas por semana

0 . Menos de 5 horas por semana, o nunca estudia
8. No contestó

NGmero de columna
$50 \quad \frac{\text { Pregunta } 14 \text { (p. 4) }}{\text { quéfrecuencia siente Ud. } \mathrm{f} \text {. que le }}$ le gustaría estar haciendo otra cosa?
O. Frecuentemente
3. Algunas veces
6. Casi nunca
8. No contestó

51 Pregunta 15 ( $\mathrm{p}, 4$ ) ¿Qué tan satisfecho esta Ud. con su vida como estudiante?
2. Muy satisfecho

1. Más o menos satisfecho
O. Muy insatisfecho
2. No contestó
(52-56) Pregunta 16 (p. 4) iEspecíficamente, qué tan satisfecho esta Ud. con los siguentes aspectos de su experiencia universitaria?

SE ODIFICAN DE LA SIGUENTE MANERA.
2. Muy satisfecho

1. Mis o menos satisfecho
O. Muy insatisfecho
2. No contestó
A. Los profesores

54
55
56
B. Los cursos
C. Las instalaciones
D. Los exámenes
E. El gobierno estudiantil

Namero de columna

Pregunta 17 (p. 4) Piensa Ud. que al ser estudiante universitario se tienen obligaciones especiales, aparte de sus estudios, o no se tienen?

1. Si
2. No
3. No contest8

SI RESPONDIO "SI". A LA PREGUNTA 17
Progunta 17a (p. 4) ¿Cußles son?

1. Menciona la obligación de dedicarse a la politica universitaria o a la política en general; menciona obligaciones religiosas o espirituales con implicaciones pollticas, etc.
O. Menciona otras cosas
2. No contestó
3. No aplicable (contest8 "no" a la pregunta 17)

Pregunta 18 (p. 4) ¿Piensa Ud. que los universitarios tienen responsabilidades especiales en el cambio y desarrollo del país?

1. Si
2. No
3. No contest8

SI RESPONDIO "SI" A IA PREGUNTA 18
Pregunta 18a ( $\mathrm{p}, 5$ ) ¿Oué cree Ud. que pueden hacer Ios estudiantes?

1. Mençiona responsabilidades de participación en política, se refiere a la rebeldía estudiantil o al papel que pueden tener los estudiantes universitarios en un país como Venezuela, etc.
O. Menciona otras cosas
2. No contestó
3. No aplicable (contestó "no" a la pregunta 18)

## Número de

 columna
## 61

$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 19 \text { (p. 5) }}{\text { de hacer algo en el proceso de cambio de Venezuela? }}$

1. Si

0 . Ivo
8. No contestó

SI RESPONDIO "SI" a LA PREGUNTA 19
Pregunta 19a (p. 5) ¿Qué puede hacer?

1. Menciona que está en capacidad de hacer algo personalmente on el proceso de cambio de Venezuela
O. Menciona otras cosas
2. No contestó
3. No aplicable (contestó "no" a la pregunta 19)

Ahora, queremos hacerle algunas preguntas acerca de lo que se debe hacer en ciertas situaciones familiares
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 20(\mathrm{p} .5 \text { ) }}{\text { cer aue cree }}$ dad que se le debe ha-
5. Ușo del castigo o coerción física: (lo castigaría, lo sancionaría, lo forzaría a estudiar, insistiria en que estudiara, me convcrtiría en la persona más severa del mundo, etc.)
4. Lo limitaría, le restringiría sus actividades, o le retiraría alguna de sus satisfaciones: (le limitaría su acceso a actividades recreativas o a las cosas que le gustan más, le rebajaría su meșada, lo enviaría interno o lo meteria en el ejército, lo pondría a trabajar, etc)
3. Haría que sintiera vergüenza, que se sintiera culpabie, apelaría a su sentido de responsabilidad, o lo regar̃aría y criticaría: (le enseñaría a tráaes del ejemplo familiar, lo responsabilizaría de sus actos, lo persuadiría, razonaría con ©l, lo regararía, constantemente le recordaría que tiene que estudiar, coerción moral, etc.)
(continúa en la próxima página)
(viene de la pagina anterior)
2. Apelaria a su propio interés: (haré que se dé cuenta que se esta perjudicando a si mismo, lo amenazaria con las posibles consecuencias que sobre su futuro tendría el no estudiar ahora, le señalaría la importancia del estudio parasu futuro, le haré vor que sin estudios él serk un "don nadie", etc.)

1. Trataré de averiguar las causas, ser\& permisivo, evitaré el uso de la fuerza pero no especifica gue acción debe tomarse, o no sabe que hacer: (averiguar\& las causas de la negligencia del hijo, trataré de conocerlo a él y a sus actitudes, con el tiempo se converncerá, dejarß que él encuentre su propio camino en la vida, no le dara demasiada importancia al problema, lo verá como una ocurrencia natural, no todas las personas nacen para estudiar, le dará la libertad de desarrollar sus propias actitudes, no se gana nada for iándolo, la fuerza fracasark, el entrevistado no sabe que hark por que no tiene experiencia sobre ese problema, etc.)
O. Usark enfogues terapéuticos: (trataré de estimularlo, hare que se interese por los estudios, le elevare sus aspiraciones, le inculcard el amor por los estudios, hark que se interese en una buena escuela, hablaré con êl, seré un amigo para él, hablaré con él de amigo a amigo, hablaré de hombre a hombre, hablaré de padre a hijo, tratare de remediar sus faltas, corregir sus defectos, lo enviare a un psicoanalista para encontrar la causa, etc.)
2. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 21 \text { ( } \mathrm{p} . \mathrm{5} \text { ) }}{\text { so? }}$ iA la mujer que engaña a su espo-
3. Usarł el castigo corporal o judicial: (la mataría, la ahorcaría, le daría una paliza, ella debe ser castigada de acuerdo a las leyes, debería ser enviada a prisión u otra pena judicial, la demandaria judicialmente tratando de conseguir el mayor castigo posible, etc.)
4. Se divorciarł (para eso existe el divorcio, me divorciaría inmediatamente, etc.)
5. Se separara de ella $\delta$ usarł ostracismo social: (la separara de la sociedad, la botarf de la casa, la regresará a su familia, la separará de sus hijos, etc.)
6. Úsar̂́ la condena social y el ridículo público, haré que le dé vergüenza, haría que se sintiera culpable, apelaría a sus valores religiosos: (ella debe ser degradada por la sociedad, debe ser condenada, le pondría un letrero y la haría caminar por las calles, haría que se diera cuenta de la seriedad de sus actos, etc.)
7. Trataré de averiguar las causas, seré permisivo: (buscaria las causas, buscar las razones por las cuales engaña, trataría de determinar la culpabilidad del esposo en el asunto, no se le debe hacer nada, dejarle y desearle felicidad, no es asunto que le importe al marido, no puedo decir sin haber tenido la experiencia, dependera de como el hombre es afectado, no sabe, o recomendación indєterminada, etc.)
O. Usarł́ł resocialización terapéutica: (la tendré que ayudar, evitaría que sucediera de nuevo, trataría que regresara al buen camino, trataría de conseguirle asesoría espiritual, ie daría tratamiento psiquiatrico, etc.)
8. No contestó

Pregunta 22 ( p .5 ) ¿Al hijo que está en edad de trabajar, y no quiere trabajar?
5. Usará castigo corporal y coerción física: (le pegaría, lo castigaría severamentc, haría que se lo llevaran preso, lo forzaría a trabajar, etc.)
4. Usarł́ limitaciones categoricas o definitivas: (lo botaré de la casa, lo dejaré morirse de hambre, no le daría ni un centavo, le quitaría toda ayuda de la casa, me negaría a'seguirlo manteniendo, le negaría todo sustento incluyendo las comidas, le quitaría todo apoyo financiero, etc.)
3. Usark limitaciones calificadas o provisorias: (no lo mantendría pero él podrı́a seguir viviendo en mi casa, le quitaría todo menos la comida, etc.)
2. Haré que le dé vergüenza, que se sintiere culpable, apelaría a su sentido de responsabilidad: (lo aconsejaría, le haría ver la necesidad de trabajar, le haría ver que trabajar dignifica le hablaré sobre su sirvenguenzura, le hablare sobre su responsabilidad de trabajar, lo convenceré, usaré la persuasión, le haré ver que él no puede pasar su vida vegetando, etc.)

1. Trataré de investigar las causas, seré permisivo, o dá una recomendación indeterminada: (hablaría con él y trataría de encontrar las razones porque êl no trabaja, uno tiene que tener pacjencia, lo dejaré continuar sin trabajo hasta que él sienta la necesidad, yo estoy en contra de imposiciones esto debe venir por voluntad propia, no pueder decir sin ser un padre con un hijo así, etc.)
O. Usarł rehabilitación vocacional, tomaré las inclinaciones de mi hijo en consideración: (trataré de orientarlo, hablaré con él como un amigo, lo ayudaré como lo debe hacer un padre, trataré de estimularlo, le mostraré incentivos para trabajar, le enseñaré la satisfaciôn que uno obtiene al ganar dinero, tratare de inducirle amor al trabajo, le ayudare a conseguir un buen trabajo, no lo forzaré mientras tanto él se dedique a algo beneficioso como la continuación de su educación, etc.)
2. No contestó
if

Ahora, algunas personas prefieren pasar la mayor parte del tiempo con un grupo de amigos, mientras que otros se lo pasan solos.

Pregunta 23 (p. 6) ¿Ud. pasa la mayoría de su tiempo
3. Solo

1. Depende como me sienta, hago ambas cosas
O. Con amigos
2. No contestó

A continuación, vamos a presentarle algunas frases. Todo lo que Ud. tiene que hacer es pensar sobre cada frase y luego indicar con una equis (X) si está totalmente de acuerdo, un poco de acuerdo, un poco en desacuerdo, o totalmente en desecuerdo

Pregunta 24 ( p .6 ) Lo más importante es estar de acuerdo con otra persona, la cuestión de quién tiene la razón o guién está equivocado es secundaria
O. Total acuerdo
l. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
8. No contestó

Pregunta 25 (p. 6) Tengo que estudiar más que mis compañeros de clase para sacar una buena nota en un exámen
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó
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Námero de
columna
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69

72

Pregunta 26 ( p .6 ) Hay muchos estudiantes jóvenes en este país que se meten en la política por falta de disciplina.
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 27 \text { (p. 6) }}{\text { más suerte que yo }}$ Mis compañeros de clase tienen
O. Total acuerdo
5. Poco acuerdo
6. Poco desacuerdo
7. Total desacuerdo
8. No contestó

Pregunta 28 ( p . 6) A veces la política y el gobierno parecen tan complicadas que una persona como yo no puede realmente entender qué está pasando
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

Pregunta 29 (p. 5) He sentido frecuentemente que no tiene valor tratar de ser algo en esta vida
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuirdo
4. No contestó

- 

,

- .. . . - .... ,

Pregunta 30 (p. 6) Cuando la gente esta en desacuerdo con el gobierno, no debería obedecerle
O. Total acuerdo

1. Foco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

74

O. Total acuerdo

1. Foco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuordo
4. No contestó

75
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 32 \text { (p. 7) }}{\text { me explotara }}$ Si no ando con cuidado, la gente
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó
$76 \quad \frac{\text { Pregunta } 33 \text { (p. 7) }}{\text { sitio en la sociedad }}$ gente como yo no encuentra
5. Total acuerdo
6. Poco acuerdo
7. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
8. No contestó

Número de colurnna

77
Pregunta 34 (p. 7) Hoy en día una persona no sabe verdaderamente con quien puede contar
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

78 Pregunta 35 (p. 7) Es poco justo traer niños al mundo, viendo como estarán las cosas en el futuro
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

79 Pregunta 36 (p. 7) La única manera en que una persona como yo puede opinar acerca de las cosas que hace el gobierno es votando
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó
$80 \quad$ Pregunta 37 (p. 7) Es mejor contentarse con lo que uno tiene que meterse en cosas nuevas
O. Total acuerdo
5. Poco acuerdo
6. Poco desacuerdo
7. Total desacuerdo
8. No contestó
```
Universidad Central de Venezuela
Facultad de Economía
Escuela de Sociología
                                    Enero-Julio 1974
                                    Profesor \Lambdarmando Villarroel
ESTUDIO SOBRE ACTITUDES Y FLANES VCCACIONALES DEL ESTUNIANTADO
    Deck ?
Número de
columna
    1 EN BLANCO
    2 NUMERO DEL DECF (2)
    3-4 EN BLANCO
    5-7 \frac{NUMERO DEL CUESTIONARIO}{001}
    52i
    8
    Pregunta 38 (p. 7) Mis ideas religiosas tienen
        una influencia considerable sobre mis puntos de
        vista sobre otros asuntos
    O. Total acuerdo
    1. Poco acuerdo
    2. Poco desacuerdo
    3. Total desacuerdo
    8. No contestó
    9 Pregunta 39 (p. 7) La gente como yo no tiene na-
        da gue decir acerca de lo gue hace el gobierno
    O. Total acuerdo
    1. Poco acuerdo
    2. Poco desacuerdo
    3. Total desacuerdo
    8. No contestó
```

10
Pregunta 40 (p. 7) Ahora, que escogería Ud.: "La mayoria de la gente está dispuesta a ayudar a los otros" o, "La mayoría de la gente está dispuesta a ayudarse a sí misma"
3. A los otros
O. A sí misma
8. No contestó

11-12 EN BIANCO
(13-15) A continuación está el dibujo de una escalera. Buponga aue el último peldario (número 10) de la escalera representa la mejor vida posible para Ud., y que el primer peldaño (número 0) representa la peor vida posible para Ud.
(LAG PREGUNTAS DE IA $43 a$ A Li 43 c SE CODIFICAN DE LA SIGUEMTE MANEA)
O. La peor vida posible
1.
3.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9. La mejor vida posible

EN BLANCO. No contestó, o no sabe

$$
13
$$

Pregunta 43 a (p. 9) iin qué peldaño de la escalera
siente Ud. que se encuentra ahora?
$14 \quad$ Pregunta 43b (p.9) ¿En qué peldaño de la escalera diria Ud. que estuvo hace cinco años?

15

Pregunta 43 c (p.9) ¿En qué peldaño de la escalera piensa Ud. que estará dentro de cinco años?

Nhmero de .columna
16-17 EN BLANCO
(18-20) Ahora, viendo nuevamente la escalera de la página 9, suponga que sus mayores esperanzas para Venezuela están en la parte superior de la escalera, y sus peores temores para Venezuela están en la parte más baja.

## (LAS FREGUNTAS DE LA 46a A LA 46c $\operatorname{se~CODIFICAN}$ DE LA SIGUBNTE MANERA)

O. Los peores temores para Venezuela
1.
3. 4.
5.
7.
8.
9. Las mayores esperanzas para Venezuela.

EN BLANCO No contestó, o no sabe

Pregunta 46a (p. 11) ¿En guê parte de la escalera
colocaría Ud.
a Venezuela en la actualidad?

19 Pregunta 466 (p. 11) ¿Dónde diría que estuvo Venezuela hace cinco años?

Fregunta 46 c (p. 11) Trate de hacer una suposición Io inás acertada posible y díganos, idónde piensa que estará Venczuela en la escalera dentro de cinco años?
..

Námero de columna

| (21-23) | Tenemos interés, también en saber cómó la gente logra las noticias del día |
| :---: | :---: |
| 21 | Pregunta 47 (p. 11) Tomemos, por ejemplo, los periódicos. ©Lee mucho, regular, poco, o casi nada sobre las noticias del día? |
|  | 4. Mucho <br> 3. Regular <br> 2. Poco <br> 1. Casi nada |
|  | 8. No contestó |
| 22 | Pregunta $47 \mathrm{a}(\mathrm{p} .11)$ ¿A qué temas de los periódicos les presta mas atención? |
|  | 1. Menciona las noticias políticas nacionales o la política en una forma general |
|  | O. Menciona otro tipo de noticias |
|  | 8. No contestó |
| 23 | Pregunta 47b (p. 11) ¿Y cuál de los siguentes tipos de noticias le interesan a Ud. |
|  | 3. Lo que pasa en otros países |
|  | 2. Lo que pasa en Venezuela |
|  | 0 - Deportes |
|  | O. Eventos religiosos |
|  | 8. No contestó |
| (24-25) | Pregunta 48 ( p . 12) Ia mayoría de nosotros tiene algunos pasatiempos o cosas que le interesan fuera de sus estudios o trabaio. ¿@ué hace Ud. en sus ratos de ocio. |
| 24 | A. Actividades políticas |
|  | 1. Menciona actividades políticas O. No las menciona |
|  | 8. No contestó |

Número de columna
B. Escala de sociabilidad

1. Menciona que se pasa las horas de ocio con amigos, en reuniones de amigos, en fiestas, etc.
O. No menciona ninguna de estas cosas
2. No contestó

Precunta 50 (p. 12) De las mencionadas (EN LA PREGUTTA 49 SE LE FETA NJE DIJERA CUALES ERAN LAS CLASES SOCIALES EXISTENTES EN VENEZUVLA GEGUN SU CRITERIO) ¿a cuál diría Ud. que pertenece?

1. Clase baja baja: (extremadamente baja, paupérrimo, gente miserable, aquellos que no tienen con que comer, suner-baja, la clase infra-humana, desposeídos, los abandonados, los cue no tienen nada, los que no tienen donde cacrse muertos, los quc viven en los ranchos, etc.)
2. Clase baja alta: (los que no tienen dinero, los humildes, los necesitados, la clase popular, los proletarios, los que tienen alguito, etc.)
3. Clase media ba.ja: (obreros especializados, la clase media baja, etc.)
4. Clase media media: (la clase intermedia, los de ineresos medios, los de familias sin apellidos, etc.)
5. Clase media alta: (clase media alta, los moderadamente adinerados, los nuevos ricos de la clase media, los burócratas, los profesionales, los intelectuales, los líderes políticos. etc.)
6. Clase alta baja: (los ricos, la clase alta, los de ingresos altos, etc.)
7. Clase alta alta: (los millonarios, los super-ricos, los grandes copitalistas, los grandes industriales, la oligarquía, etc.)
8. No contestó

Pregunta 51 (p. 12) ¿Diría Ud. que está en la parte superior de la (CLASE FSCOGIDA ) o en la parte inferior de esta clase?

1. Parte inferior
2. Parte intermedia
3. Parte superior
4. No contestó

Pregunta 53 (p. 12) ¿Y, qué piensa Ud. sobre esas diferencias? (IA PREGUNTA 52 SE LE PEDIA DIJERA CUALES ERAN I STRERENCIAS mNTRF LAS CLASES SCCIAIES EN VONPZUT,
5. Se opone radicalmente a las diferencias de clases existentes: (las odio, me dan asco, son injustas, son artificiales, son falsas, son inhumanas, las diferencias de clase no deberían de existir, se debe hacer todo lo posible para erradicarlas, etc.)
4. Se opone de una manera moderada a las diferencias de clases existentes. (se debe tratar de reducir las diferencias de, clase, los ricos deben contribuir al erario público proporcionalmena su riqueza, necesitan equilibrarse, son necesarias pero repupnantes, se debe implementar una mejor distribucción de la riqueza, etc.)
3. Es indiferente: (son muy marcadas, son causas de fricción, son muy prandes, etc.)
2. Apoya moderadamente las diferencias de clases existentes: (hebrán siempre pobres y ricos, se deberían de educar a los desempleados para que trabajen, no estoy de acuerdo con las diferencias pero las acepto, la clase media debe de crecer, ctc.)

1. Apoya radicalmente las diferencias de clases existentes: ( las diferencias de clase son normales ó naturales, son necesarias en la sociedad humana, son muy reaonables, son inexorables, etc.)
2. No contestó

Ahora, queremos hacerle preguntas de otro tipo
29
Pregunta: 54 (p. 13) ¿Cuánta educación piensa Ud. que los hijos de personas como Ud. deberían tener?
3. La máxima
2. La necesaria

1. La misma cducación que los demás
2. No contestó

Pregunta 55 ( p .13 ) Dos niños de doce ar̃os tomaron tiempo de su trabajo en una plantación de maíz. Ellos estaban tratando de encontror una manera de cultivar la misma cantidad de maíz utilizando menos horas de trebajo.
A. El padre de uno de los niños di.jo. "Esto os alpo bueno que dabemos considerar, dejenme saber sus ideas de como nosotros deberíamos cambiar nuestra mancra de cultivar ol maíz."
B. El padre de otro niño dijo: "La manera de cultivar maíz es la mancra que nosotros siempre heros utilizado, hablar de cambios de procedimiento es una pórdida de tiempo."
¿Cuél dé los padres pronunció las palabras más sabias?
3. Padre 1
O. Padre B
B. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 56 \text { (p. } 13 \text { ) ¿nué es lo que debe calificar }}{\text { a una persona para ncupar un alto puesto público? }}$
O. El ser miembro de una familia adecuada

1. Su devoción a las tradiciones nacionales
2. Su popularidad entre el pueblo
3. Su buena educación y conocimientos especializados
4. No contestó

Número de columna

32
Pregunta 57 (pe 13) ¿Cuál de estas condiciones es más importante para el futuro de Venezuela?
3. El duro trabajo de su pueblo
2. La buena planificación de parte de su gobierno

1. La ayuda de Dios
O. La buena suerte
2. No contestó

Pregunta 58 (p. 13) Los científicos en las universidades estan estudiando tales cosas como que es lo que determina el sexo de un bebé, y que es lo que permite que una semilla crezca para convertirse en planta. ¿́Piensa Ud. que estas investigaciones son:
3. Todas beneficiosas
2. Todas algo beneficiosas

1. Todas algo perjudiciales
O. Todas muy perjudiciales
2. No contestó

Pregunta 59 (p. 14)
A. Algunas personas dicen que es necesario para un hombre y su esposa limitar el número de sus hijos de manera de poder dar más a los hijos que ya tienen
B. Otros piensan que no es correcto que un hombre y su esposa limiten a propósito el número de los hijos por nacer
\& Con cußl de estas opiniones está Ud. más de acuerdo ?
3. Opinion A
0. Opinión B
8. No contestó

NGmero de columna

(0) De aquí en adelante, hasta el final del Deck 2, las preguntas no siguen la se cuencia establecida en el cuestionario.

Namero de columna

| (46-52) | Pregunta 49 ( p .12 ) Hoy en dia se habla mucho sobre clases sociales. ¿Cußles clases cree Ud. que existen en Venezuela? |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | SE CODIFICAN USANDO EL MISMO CODIGO DE LA PREGUNTA 50 DE LA SIGUENTE MANERA: |
|  | 1. Lo menciona <br> 0. No lo menciona |
|  | 8. No contestos |
| 46 | A. Clase baja baja |
| 47 | B. Clase baja alta |
| 48 | C. Clase media baja |
| 49 | D. Clase media media |
| 50 | E. Clase media alta |
| 51 | F. Clase alta baja |
| 52 | G. Clase alta alta |

53-54 Pregunta 10a (p. 3) ¿Tư carrara escogerfa enton-
O1. Ingenieria (no especifica)
02. Computación
03. Agronomia
04. Música
05. Odontologia
06. Medicina
07. Sociologia
08. Educación
09. Ingeniería eléctríca
10. Ingenieria electrónica
11. Psicología
12. Arquitectura
13. Administración
14. Matemáticas
15. Ingeniería industrial
(continúa en la siguente página)
(viene de la página anterior)
16. Ingeniería de sistemas
17. Oceanografla
18. Estadiatica
19. Quimica
20. Bioanálisis
21. Biología
22. Idiomas
88. No contestó
99. Respondib en la pregunta 10 (p. 3) que escoge-

55 Pregunta 108 ( $\mathrm{p}, 22$ ) ¿DOnde vivi8 Ud, por más Eiempo cuando era niño (entre las edades de 5 a 15 años)?

1. En el area metropolitana de Caracas
O. En el interior
2. En el extranjero
3. No contest8

Pregunta 108 (p. 22) ¿Dónde vivió Ud. pon más Eiempo cuando era niño (entre las edades de 5 a 15 ar̃os)?

1. En el area metropolitana de Caracas
O. En el interior 8 en el extranjero
2. No contestó

57
Pregunta 112a (p. 23) En relacion con el orden de nacimiento suyo $\bar{y}$ de sus hermanos (as), 2 Ha sido Ud.

1. El primero en nacer
2. No fué el primero en nacer
3. No aplicable, es hijo unico

Número de columna

58

Pregunta 112 a (p. 23) En relación con el orden de nacimiento suyo y de sus hermanos (as), íHa sido Ud.

1. El Gltimo en nacer
O. No fué el último en nacer
2. No aplicable, es hijo único

Universidad Central de Venezuela Facultad de Economía Escuela de Sociologia

Enero-Julio 1974
Profesor Armando Villarroel

ESTUDIO SOBRE ACTITUDES Y PLANES VOCACIONALES DEL ESTUDIANTADO DECK 3

## NGmero de

columna

| 1 | EN BLANCO |
| :---: | :---: |
| 2 | NUMERO DEL DECK (3) |
| 3-4 | EN BLANCO |
| 5-7 | NUMERO DEL CUESTIONARIO |
|  | 001 |
|  | -•• |
| (8-37) | 521 Pregunta 62 (0. 15) Esta parte del cuestionario |
|  | es un poco diferente a 10 hecho anteriormente. |
|  | Las preguntas están relacionadas con la manera como uno se percibe a si mismo. A continuaci8n |
|  | hay una lista de 30 caracteristicas que las personas usan para describirse. Lea Ud. la lista |
|  | de caracterîsticas y decida hasta que punto cada palabra lo describe MUY BIEN, MAS O MENOS BIEN, |
|  | - MUY POCO. Piense en como es Ud. EN RFALIDAD, |
|  | no en como Ud. quizas quiera ser. <br> " COMO SE PERCIBE UD. ACTUALMENTE?" |
|  | 1. Pongase "1" al lado de 5 o mấs palabras que lo describen MUY POCO. |
|  | 2. Póngase "2" al lado de 5 ó más palabras que lo describen MAS O MENOS BIEN. |
|  | 3. Póngase "3" a lado de 5 ó más palabras que lo describen MUY BIEN. |
|  | IAS 30 CARACTERISTICAS CORRESPONDIENTES A IA |
|  | PREGUNTA 62 SE CODIFICAN DE LA SIGUENTE MANERA |
|  | 1. LO DESCRIBEN MUY POCO |
|  | 2. lo describen mas o menos biten |
|  | 3. LO DESCRIBEN MUY BIEN |
|  | 8. NO CONTPTSTO |
| 8 | Serio |
| 9 | Idealista |

NGmero de columna
10 Seguro

11 Extravertido
12 Elegante
13 Feliz
14 Estudioso
15 Eficiente
16 Individualista
17 Independiente

18
19
20 Responsable
21 Estimado
22 Cooperador
23 Exitoso
24 Realista
25 Ordenado
26 Constante
27 Dominante
28 Cumplidor
29 Estable
30
31
32
33
34 Intelectual

| 35 | Capaz |
| :---: | :---: |
| 36 | Inteligente |
| 37 | Popular |
| (38-67) | Pregunta 63 ( P 16) Ahora, he aqui otra lista |
|  |  |
|  | Ud. estas 30 palabras otra vez en tres grupos, |
|  | pero en este caso divídalas según lo que le GUSTARIA SFR DEGDE UN PUNTO DE VISTA IDEAL: Es |
|  | decir, no como Ud. cree que es en realidad, o |
|  | considera que otros desean que Ud. sea, sino |
|  | cuáles son sus IDEALES PERSONALES. |
|  | 1. Póngase "l" al lado de 5 ó más palabras que |
|  | describen MUY POCO lo que a Ud. le gustaría |

2. Pónģase " 2 " al lado de 5 ó más palabras que describen MAS O MENOS BIEN lo que a Ud le gustaría ser.
3. Póngase " 3 " al lado de 5 ó más palabras que describen MUY BIEN lo que a Ud. le gustaría ser.

LAS 30 CARACTERISTICAS CORRESHONDIENTES A LA PREGUNTA 63 SE CODIFICAN DE LA SIGUENTE MANERA

1. LO DESCRIBEN MUY POCO
2. LO DESCRIBEN MAS O MENOS BIEN
3. LO DEGCRIBEN MUY BIEN
4. No CONTESTO

Serio
39 Idealista
40 Seguro
41 Extravertido
42 Elegante
43 Feliz
44 Estudioso
45 Eficiente

Número de columna

| 46 | Individualista |
| :--- | :--- |
| 47 | Independiente |
| 48 | Sincero |
| 49 | Reflexivo |
| 50 | Responsable |
| 51 | Estimado |
| 52 | Cooperador |
| 53 | Exitoso |
| 54 | Realista |
| 55 | Ordenado |
| 56 | Constante |
| 57 | Dominante |
| 58 | Cumplidor |
| 59 | Estable |
| 60 | Decidido |
| 61 | Optimista |
| 62 | Imaginativo |
| 63 | Satisfecho |
| 64 | Intelectual |
| 65 | Capaz |
| 66 | Inteligente |
| 67 | Popular |

Universidad Central de Venezuela Facultad de Economía Escuela de Sociologia

Enero-julio 1974
Profesor Armando Villarroel

ESTUDIO SOBRE ACTITUDES Y PLANES VOCACIONALES DEL ESTUDIANTADO D.ECK 4

## Namero de

columna

1
2 NUMERO DEL DECK (4)

$$
3-4
$$



001
521

## EN BLANCO

EN BLANCO la política con
2. Mucho interés

1. Moderado interés
2. Poco interés
3. No contestó
4. Muy interesado
5. Moderadamente interesado
O. Poco interesado
6. No contestó

Pregunta 64 (p. 17) A nosotros nos gustaria saber tambien gue atencion presta la gente generalmente a lo que pasa en la politica. Nos referimos a la politica de todos los días, cuando no hay campañas electorales en marcha. iPodría Ud. decir si sigue

Pregunta 65 (p. 17) iY durante la última campaña

Pregunta 66 (p. 17) ¿Cuántos alumnos de su faculEad considera Ud. que están interesados en la politica
3. Muchos
2. Algunos

1. Pocos
2. No contestó
....
$\square$

- 

| (11-25) | Las preguntas de La 67 a La 81 SE CODIFICAN DE LA SIGUENTE MANERA: |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { 2. } & \text { Si } \\ 0 . & \text { No } \end{array}$ |
|  | 8. No contestó |
| 11 | Pregunta 67 ( p .17 ) Ahora, algunos estudiantes se interesan mucho por las actividades políticas, mientras que otros no se preocupan tanto por ellas. Lo que nos interesa agul no es a que partido pertenece la gente, sino mediante que actividades una persona participa en la política. Por ejemplo, discute Ud. con sus compañeros sobre la polîtica universitaria |
| 12 | Pregunta 68 ( p . 17) iLee periódicos y revistas sobre temas politicos en general? |
| 13 | Pregunta 69 (p. 17) iAsiste a reuniones politicas? |
| 14 | Pregunta 70 (p. 17) ¿Asiste a mítines políticos? |
| 15 | $\frac{\text { Pregunta } 71 \text { ( } \mathrm{p} .17 \text { ) }}{\text { politico? }}$ ¿Está afiliado a algún partido |
| 16 | Fregunta 72 (p. 18) ¿Trató de orientar en el voto de otros? |
| 17 | Pregunta 73 (p. 18) ¿Fue a alguna comida de carácEer político? |
| 18 | Pregunta 74 (p. 18) ¿Colocó consignas políticas? |
| 19 | Pregunta 75 (p. 18) ¿Escribió consignas políticas? |
| 20 | Pregunta 76 (p. 18) ¿Hizo discursos públicos a favor de un candidato o un partido? |
| 21 | Pregunta 77 ( p .18 ) ¿Distribuyó panfletos u otra propaganda politica? |
| 22 | Pregunta 78 (p. 18) ¿Participó en las caravanas politicas de carros? |
| 23 | Pregunta 79 (p. 18) ¿Puso un distintivo político en su carro o en su ropa? |

Número de columna

24
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 80 \text { ( } \mathrm{p} .18 \text { ) ¿Participa on asociaciones }}{\text { voluntarias? }}$
Pregunta 81 (p. 19) ¿Hizo alguna otra cosa?
2. Si
0. No
8. No contest8

Pregunta 8la (p. 19) iPodría decirnos que?
2. Hace mención a otra actividad política específica (fuí testifo ó miembro principal por mi partido ante una mesa electoral, trate de crear conciencia entre el electorado, etc.)
O. No hace mención a actividades políticas
7. Contestó "Si" a la nregunta 81 pero no aclara
8. No contestó
9. No aplicable, contestó "No" a la pregunta 81
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 82 \text { (p. 19) }}{\text { sus amigos }}$ iHabla Ud. de la política con
2. Frecuentemente

1. Algunas veces
O. Casi nunca
2. No contestó

Pregunta 83 (p. 19) LAhora, mirando a esta lista, generalmente que parte toma $U$. en estas conversaciones
O. Aunque tengo mis propias opiniones, generalmente solo escucho
O. En general escucho, pero de vez en cuando expreso mis propias opiniones

1. Tomo igual parte en las conversaciones

2: Hago algo más que dar mis opiniones en las conversaciones: usualmente trato de convencer a los otros que tengo la razón
8. No contestó

Ahora, tenemos unas pocas preguntas más del tipo "Acuerdo-Desacuerdo," como ya le hicimos anteriormente. De nuevo, todo lo que Ud. tiene que hacer es pensar sobre cada frase acuerdo, un poco de acuerdo, un poco en desacuerdo, o totalmente en desacuerdo.

Pregunta 84 (p. 19) La diferencia real entre la gente que triunfa y la que fracasa es que la gente que triunfa tiene suerte; es decir, triunfar es cosa de suerte más que de habilidad y esfuerzo individual
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

Pregunta 85 (p. 19) Una mala ley debe ser cambiada, pero mientras no se modifique, debe ser cumplida
3. Total acuerdo
2. Foco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 86 \text { (p. 19) }}{\text { más amigos que yo }}$ : Mis compar̃eros de clase tienen
3. Total acuerdo
4. Poco acuerdo
5. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
6. No contestó

32
Pregunta 87 (p. 20) A pesar de lo que algunas personas dicen, la condición de la gente como yo esta empeorando, en vez de mejorar
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó

T3
Pregunta 88 (p. 20) No vale la pena ocuparse de la politica, porque los políticos no son los individuos más preparados de la sociedad
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

34 Pregunta 89 (p. 20) La asistencia a los servicios religiosos es un índice de la moralidad de una nación
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 90 \text { (p. 20) Yo trato de hacerme agradable a }}{\text { Otros }}$
3. Total acuerdo
4. Poco acuerdo
5. Poco desacuerdo
6. Total desacuerdo
7. No contestó

36 Pregunta 91 (p. 20) Siempre trato de hacer lo correcto y actuar de acuerdo a los principios morales que me han enseñado
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo

0 . Total desacuerdo
8. No contestó

Pregunta 92 (p. 20) Siento placer tratando de entenderme a mi mismo, y conocer mis fortalezas y debilidades
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta }}{\text { solo }} 93$ (p. 20) La mayoría del tiempo me siento
3. Total acuerdo
4. Foco acuerdo
5. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
6. No contestó

Pregunta 94 ( p . 20) La mayoría de los funcionarios publicos no estan realmente interesados en los problemas de la gente como yo
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 95(\mathrm{p} \cdot \mathrm{-} 20)}{\text { para cambiar mi vida }}$ Es muy poco lo que puedo hacer
O. Total acuerdo
3. Yoco acuerdo
4. Poco desacuerdo
5. Total desacuerdo
6. No contestó

Pregunta 96 (p. 21) Mis opiniones tienen menos peso que las opiniones de mis compaieros de clase
3. Total acuerdo
2. Foco acuerdo

1. Foco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contestó

Pregunta 97 (p. 21) A la hora de la verdad, nadie va a preocuparse mucho por mí
O. Total acuerdo

1. Poco acuerdo
2. Poco desacuerdo
3. Total desacuerdo
4. No contestó

43 Pregunta 98 (p. 21) La naturaleza humana es fundamentalmente cooperativa
3. Total acuerdo
2. Poco acuerdo

1. Poco desacuerdo
O. Total desacuerdo
2. No contest8
$44 \quad$ Pregunta 99 (p. 21) Me parece que soy la clase de persona que tiene más mala suerte que buena suerte
O. Total acuerdo
3. Poco acuerdo
4. Poco desacuerdo
5. Total desacuerdo
6. No contesto
$45 \quad$ Pregunta 100 (p. 21) Hoy en día una persona tiene que vivir bien el presente, y desatenderse del futuro
O. Total acuerdo
7. Poco acuerdo
8. Foco desacuerdo
9. Total desacuerdo
10. No contestó
$46 \quad \frac{\text { Pregunta } 101 \text { (p. 21) Siento que me equivoqué de ca- }}{\text { rrera }}$
O. Total acuerdo
11. Poco acuerdo
12. Poco desacuerdo
13. Total desacuerdo
14. No contestó

NǴmero de

47 Pregunta 102 ( p . 21) Ahora, algunas personas dicen que podemos confiar en la mayoría de la gente, mientras que otros dicen que es mejor ser desconfiado. ¿pué cree Ud.?
3. Podemos confiar
O. Es mejor ser desconfiado
8. No contestó

Para concluir tenemos unas pocas preguntas más, del tipo censo con las cuales Ud. esta bien familiarizado

48 Pregunta 103 (p. 21) ¿Cuál es su sexo?

1. Masculino
O. Femenino
2. No contestó, o no pudo ser averiguado

49-50 Pregunta 104 ( p . 21) ¿Cuántos años tiene Ud. (en su más cercano cumpleanos)?
17. Diez y siete años
-•
-
49. Cuarenta y nueve años
88. No contestó

51
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 105 \text { ( } \mathrm{p} .21 \text { ) }}{\text { el extranjero? }}$ Naci8 Ud . en Venezuela o en

1. Nació en Venezuela
O. Nació en el extranjero
2. No contestó

52 Pregunta 106 (p. 22). ¿D8́nde exactamente nació Ud.?

1. Nació en el Area Metropolitana de Caracas
O. Nació en otra población venezolana, fuera del Area Metropolitana de Caracas
2. No aplicable, nació en el extranjero
3. No contestó

Namero de columna

Pregunta 105a (p. 22) Cilació Ud. en

1. Un país de la América Latina, fucra de Venezuela
O. Fuera de la Amórica Latina
2. No aplicable, nació en Venezuela
3. No contestó

Progunta 106 (p. 22) ¿Cónde exactamente nació Ud.?

Pregunta 107 (p. 22) iniría Ud. que la ciudad o pucblo donde ijd. NACIO tenia
(se codificar como si fuernin uva sola fregunta)

1. Menos de 500 habitantes

Venezucla: San Fedro del Rio, Táchira; Taria, Yaracuy

Extranjero: Talinn, Estonia
2. Entre 500 y 999 habitaritcs

Venozuela: San Jose de Areocuar, Sucre; El Alto, Trujillo; El Guapo, Miranda

Fxtranjero: Jove, España
3. Entre 1.000 צ 2.499 habitantes

Venezuela: San Antonio de los Altos, Miranda; Las Mercedos, Guáricoo Irapa, Sucre: La Vcla, Falcón

Rxtranjero: Rycka, Yugoeslavia
4. Entre 2.500 y 4.999 habitantes

Venczuela: San Casiairo, Aragua Gursipati, Bolívar; Bruzual, Apure; Betijoque, Trujillo
5. Entre 5.000 y 9.999 habitantes

Venezuela: Bocono, Trujillo: El Tigrito; El Callao, Bolívars Judibama, Falcón; Caicara del Orinoco, Monamas
6. Entre 10.000 y 24.999 habitantes

Venezuela: Churuguara, Falcón; Caripito, Monagas: La Guaira, Departamento Vargas: Puerto Ayacucho, Territorio Federal Amazonas: Ia Asunción, Nueva Esparta: San Antonio, Tachira
7. Entre 25.000 y 199.999 habitantes

Venezuela: Lagunillas (Ciudad Cjeda), Zulia: Mérida, Mérida: Maturín, Monagas: Upata, Bolivar: Los Teques, Miranda Anaco, Anzoátegui: Cumaná, Sucre: Carúpano, Sucre: San Cristóbal, Thchira: Puerto La Cruz, Anzoátegui: Ciudad Bolivar, Bolívar: El Tigre, Anzoátegui: Vaile de la Paşcua, Guárico: Acarigụa, Portugueșa: Guare nas, Miranda: Coro, Falcón: San Félix, Bolivar: La Victoria, Aragua: Calabozo, Guarice: Barinas, Barinas: Maiguetia, Departamento Vargas: Guanare, Portuguesą: Barcelona, Anzoátegui: Villa de Cura, Guárico: San Felipe, Yaracuy: Puerto Cabello, Carabobo? San Juan de los Morros, Guárico

Extranjero: Ambato, Ecuadori Valencia, España
8. 200.000 y más habitantes

Venezuela: Area Metropolitana.de Caracasi Maracaibo, Zulia: Valencia, Carabobo: Barguisimeto, Lara: Maracay, Aragua

Extranjero' Sicilia-Augusta, Itìliai Santiago, Chile ${ }^{\text {Sta. MÓnica-California; USA; }}$ San Francisco- California, USA! New York- ${ }^{-N e w}$ York, USA: Madeira, Portugal: Lisiboa, Portugal: Mendoza, Argentina: Buenos Aires, Argentina: Madrid, España: Genova, Italia: Estocolmo, Succia: Barcelona, Espáña: La Coruna, España: Roma, Italia: La Habana, Cuba: Borota, Colombia: Quito, Ecuador

Pregunta 108 (p. 22) ¿Dónde vivió Ud. por más Eiempo cuando era niño (entre las edades de 5 y 15 años) ?
Pregunta 109 ( $\mathrm{p}, 22$ ) ¿Diría Ua, que la ciudad en donde Ud. se CRíO tenía
(se codifican corio si futran una sola pregunta)
(se codifican igual a las fresumets 106 y 107)
Pregunta 110 ( n . 22) ¿Están vivos sus padres?

1. Si
2. No, o uno solo vive
3. No contestó

4. Padre
O. Madre, 8 ambos viven (respondio "si" a la pregunta 110)
5. iNo contestó

Frogunta 111 (p. 23) ¿Vive Ud. actualmente en

1. En la residencia de sus padres
2. En la residencia de uno de sus padros
3. En hotel o pensión (residencia estudiantil)
4. Con familiares
5. In vivienda aparte
6. No contestó

59
Pregunta 112 (p. 23) iTiene Ud. hermanos (as)?
O. Si

1. No, soy hijo único

NGmero de columna

- 1. No asistió a la escuela

2. Primaria incompleta (primero a guinto grado)
3. Primaria completa (sexto grado)
4. Bachillerato incompleto (primero a cuarto año)
5. Bachillorato o educaciôn técnica completa (quinto año)
6. Carrera universitaria (incluyendo pedaróricico) no concluida
7. Carrera universitaria completada
8. No contestó

Pregunta 114 (p. 23) ¿Cuál es (era) la ocupación de SU papa? (ESPECIFICAR NOMBRE DE OCUPACICN, TAREAS QUF RFALIZA, SU POSICION, ETC.)

1. Obreros no Caliticados

Agricultor, chofer, vendedor de combustible, obrero, obrero de puerto, cobrador de peaje, cobrador, vigilante
2. OBRERO CALIFICADOS Y SIEMI-CALIFICADOS

Albañil, talabartelero, soldador, carpintero, zapatero, mécanico, sastre, policía, panadero, costurero de calzado, pintor de brocha gorda, electricista.
3. CONTADORTS OFICINISTAS, PERSONAS EN TRABAJOS NO INDEPENDIENTES, Y FUNCIONARIOS MENORES DEL GOBIERNO

Bolsa de trabajo en la UCV, contador, contabilista, mensurador de terrenos, radio-técnico, decorador de oficinas, técnico en pesas y medidas, técnico en refrigeración, corrector de pruebas, telegrafista, topógrafo, sindicalista, visitador médico, enfermera, promotor de publicidad, auxiliar de farmacia, secretaria, perito agrícola, agente viajero, prefecto, técnico aeronáutico, fiscal del MOP (Ministerio de Obras Públicas), Inspector del SAS (Ministerio de Sanidad y Asistencia Social), fiscal del IAN (Instituto Agrario Nacional), fiscal del BAP (Banco Agrícola y Pecuario), fiscal de la Ingeniería Municipal, relojero, fotografo
4. DUEFOG, COMERCIANTES Y DIRECTORES DE NEGOCIOS PEOUEIOS, hACENDADOS, ADMINISTRADORES Y ASISTENTES

Administrador, comerciante, administrador, dueño de ferretería, contratista, militar, adninistrador de un periódico, jefe de dibujantes, maestro de escuela primaria, profesor de secundaria, profesor de fisica y matemáticas en un liceo, analista programador, laboratorista, perforador de pozos petroleros, aufitor, jefe de mantenimiento en la petroguimica, dueño de un supermercado, preparador de clases en la UCV, importador de especies, representante de una firma comercial, gerente de mercadeo de MICRON C.A., dueño de compañia constructora, Mayor retirado del ejército, dirige red de transporte pesado, jefe de una sccción de personal do la Shell
5. PROFESIONALES Y DIRECTORES DE NIVEL MEDIO

Comisionado del Trabajo, abogado, economista, Jefe de Aduanas, ingeniero electrónico, ingeniero petrolero, accionista de una compañia, médico, ingeniero civil, gerente de editorial, profesor de la UCV, Jefe de Servicio del IVSS' (Instituto Venezolano de los Segurns Sociales), farmaceutico, psicologo
6. POBICION DIRACTIVA DE ALTO NIVEL

Presidente del hipódromo, diplomático, empresario, gerente de ventas y supervisor del area del Caribe de una empresa norteamericana, gerente general de la Pepsi-Cola, director general del SAS (Ministerio de Sanidad y Asistencia Social), presidente de empresa caficultora
7. POSICION TJECUTIVA DEL NIVEL MAS ALTO

Vice-presidente de una compañio norteamericana, Vice-presidente para América Latina de una empresa extranjera, Presidente del Banco de Occidente
8. NO CONTESTO O NO AVERIGUADO

Vive de rentas, rentas, construcción, vivió en el campo, trabajó ayudando a mi abuelo, trabajó en el gobierno cuando Gómez, no sé, no lo veo desde que estaba chiquita

Pregunta 115 (p. 24) ¿Tuvo su papá este mismo trabajo cuando va. era niño?

1. Si
2. No
3. No contestó

NGmero de

64

65

66

67

68
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 115 \mathrm{a}(\mathrm{p} .24)}{\text { su papádurante esa epoca? }}$ tipo de trabajo tenía
(SE CODIFICA IGUAL OUE LA FPRGUHTA 114)
9. No aplicable, respondió "si" a la pregunta 115

Pregunta 116 (p. 24) iDirịa Ud. que su mamáa está (estuvo) interesada en la política
3. Mucho
2. Rectular

1. Poco
2. No contestó, o no sabe

Fregunta 117 (p. 24) ¿Diría Ud. que su pap\& estł (estuvo) interesado en la política
3. Mucho
2. Regular

1. Poco
2. no contestó, o no sabc
$\frac{\text { Pregunta } 117 \text { a (p. 24) iGeneralmente, diría Ud. }}{\text { quesu papa esta (estuvo) de acuerdo o no con las }}$ ideas políticas suyas
3. Si
4. Depende
5. No
6. No contestó, o no sabe
$\frac{\text { Pregunta }}{\text { generalmerite de acuerdo con sus ideas políticas }}$
7. Si
8. Deperdo
9. No
10. No contestó, o no sabe
69
71 Progunta 120 (p. 25) iTrabaia Ud. actualmente?

11. Si
O. Ho
12. No contestó
$72 \quad$ Progunta 120a (p. 25) ¿Cué tipo de trabajo es?
(Ste COdifica igual oue la fregunta 114)
13. Fo aplicablo, respondió "no" a la pregunta 120

14. Pública
15. Privada no religiosa
16. Privada religiosa
17. Otra
18. No contestó

I. Cetíica
1. Irotestan*o
2. Jưía
3. Otra (cristiana: metefósica)
4. Minguna
5. Nio contestó

75 Proqute l22a ine 25) ¿Con cue frecuoncia asiste


FFS: O NO)

1. Nunca
2. De una a dos veces al año
3. De tres a cnce veces al eño
4. Una vez a? mes
5. Ie dos 3 tres veces al mes
6. Una ves a la semana
7. De dos a sois veces o la scmara
8. Todos los dias
9. No contestó
$76 \quad \frac{\text { Prepunta }}{} 123$ (., 25) ¿Cómo cree cue será su futuro sus padres? inire aue sorá
10. Mucho más aito
11. Un yoco mis alto
12. Aproxinadaments al mismo
13. Un ooco més ba,io
14. Macho más bajo
15. Ho contesto

Pregunta de evaluación del cuestionario (p. 26)
Esto es todo. ¿En general podríe Ud. decirnos cómo le pareció este cuestionario? ¿Hubo partes que encontró difíciles o que no le gustaron?

1. Si
2. No
3. No contestó

Parte $\Lambda$ (p. 26) ¿Cuáles son?
O. Muy largo

1. Las preguntas relacionadas con la política
2. Preguntas fi? y 63 (características de personalidad)
3. Preguntas 20, 21, y 22 (que se debe hacer en ciertas situaciones familiares)
4. Preguntas $41,42,44$, y 45 (deseos y esperanzas y preocupaciones y temores con respecto a sí mismo y con respecto a Venezuela)
5. Otras preguntas específicas: por ejemplo la 17 (tienen los estudiantes universitarios obligaciones especiales aparte de sus estudios) y las $43 a, b$ y c y 46a, b y c (la escalera)
6. No me gustan las preguntas de desarrollo
7. Otras razones (no me gustaron las preguntas so-
bbre la religión porque la religión es el opio del pueblo, preguntan muchas tonterías, el cuestionario es fastidioso, etc.)
8. No contestó
9. No aplicable, el cuestionario no le parecio mal ni difícil

Parte B (p. 26) ¿Por qué fucron dificiles para Ud. (o no le gústaron)?

1. El espacio era muy pegueño para contestar algunas preguntas cuya explicación era bastante complicada
2. Preguntas 62 y 63 (características de personali-dad)- es muy dificil definirse a uno mismo
3. Preguntas 20,21 y 22 (situaciones familiares): es miry difícil saber que hacer ante esas situaciones ó nunca me he planteado tal problema (continua en la próxima página)


Namero de columna
(viene de la página anterior)
4. Las preguntas relacionadas con la política: no creo que a tráves de la política se puedan solucionar los problemas de Venezuela ó tongo particular dificultad en contestar este tipo de preguntas
5. Hay algunas pregurtas que no comprendo: se dan como ejemplo las situaciones familiares y los rasgos de personalidad
6. El cuestionario cs muy largo
8. No contestó
9. No aplicable, el cuestionario no le parecio mal ni difícil

## APPENDIX IV

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE CODEBOOK

Dear student:
This is a scientific study of the activities and vocational plans of university students. This research is directed by an instructor of sociology from Universidad Central de Venezuela. The present study concentrates on a description by university students of their problems, both educational and other. By this means we hope to obtain a clear picture of university life, including its social, economic, political and psychological aspects.

The study is absolutely anonymous, and for this reason we request that you do not write in your name or any other indication of your identity as an individual. We are interested solely in frequencies and statistical tendencies, not in individual cases.

If you have any questions about the filling out of the questionnaire, please raise your hand and you will be helped.

If you would be interested in receiving a summary of the results of this research, please check this box $\square$, and write your name and permanent address on a separate paper and return to the questionnaire administrator.

Question 1 (p. 1) What is your major?

1. Law
2. Architecture
3. Pharmacy
4. Medicine
5. Computer Science
6. Physics
7. Mathematics

Question 3(p. 1) What are the reasons that influenced your choice of this field?
A. Economic Advantages (money, financial security, a comfortable life, economic independence, better standard of living)

Social Advantages (prestige, opportunity to move upward socially, to be somebody, to become cultured, to get ahead)

Professional Advancement (to get ahead in a job, to improve one's professional position, etc.)

To achieve a certain style of life; to associate with important people, etc.
(Mobility Aspiration scale)
5. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned
B. Humanitarian Reasons (for the common good, spirit of service, human welfare, a desire to do something for others, Christian ideals of service, better human relations, etc.)
(Humanitarian Social Service Orientation scale)

1. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned
C. Nationalistic, Patriotic Reasons (to help build the country, for the welfare of the country, useful to the country, etc.)
(Nationalism scale)
l. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned
D. Social Reform Reasons (to solve social problems, to realize social justice, desire to reform society, etc.)
(Social Reform Orientation scale)
5. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned
E. Reasons of Intrinsic Career Involvement (positive valence toward specific courses, activities, concepts, intellectual curiosity, the field allows or requires use of certain personal abilities and skills, is creative; personal satisfaction, intellectual satisfactions, in electricity I see the answers to many things, as an ultimate end - it is my maximum aspiration, with the career $I$ can reach all goals I seek, the career in itself, to build, etc.)
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned
F. Family Reasons (influence of father or other family member; because of family traditions; most of my family are in the same career, etc.)
(Family Integration scale)
l. Mentioned
0. Not mentioned

Question 4 (p. I) What specific things do you like best about your field?
(SAME CODES AS FOR QUESTION 3)

Question 5 (p. 2) And what are the specific things about your field that you do not like very much?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. No specific complaints (nothing -- I like everything about it; I do not know; nothing special)
0 . Mention of specific negative aspects of the field (the field is underdeveloped, too specialized, too theoretical, too materialistic, too technical, lacks applicability to real problems; dislike of certain courses such as statistics, penal law; too much work is required; the system of studies is inadequate, too much memorization; corruption in the field, too much competition for jobs, etc.)

Question 6 (p. 2) Would you say that your career is a means to reach other ends, or is an end in itself?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. End in itself
0. Means

Question-6a (p. 2) What goals are you pursuing by studying this career?
Question 6b (p. 2) Why do you consider it as an end in itself?
(SAME CODES AS FOR QUESTION 3)

Question 7 (p. 2) In choosing a career, or in drawing up a general plan of life, many people follow the example given by individuals whom they know and admire, and whom they would like to resemble. Now, try to think of the people you know. Can you think of anyone you would like to be like?

1. Yes

0 . No
(IF "NO" TO QUESTION 7)
Question 7 bb (p. 2) For example, some people say that they would like to be like a member of their family, a professor they have known, a boss they have had, or a speaker they have heard. Is there anyone you would like to be like?

1. Yes
2. No
(IF "YES" TO QUESTIONS 7 OR 7b)
Question 7 a and 7 b (p. 2) Who is it?
(Family Integration scale)
l. Family member
O. Other person

Question 8 (p. 3) We are also interested in knowing which subjects students discuss. How often would you say you discuss classwork with your fellow students?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. Frequently
3. Sometimes
0. Almost never

Question_2 (p. 3) And what about the country's problems?
2. Frequently

1. Sometimes

0 . Almost never

Question 10 (p. 3) If you had to choose your career over again, would you choose
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. The same career
0. Another career

Question ll (p. 3) After you have finished your classes at the university do you review your notes?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. Everyday
3. Sometimes
0. Only before examinations

0 . Almost never

Question 12 (p. 3) Approximately how many hours did you spend studying last week?
Question 13 (p. 3) Do you usually spend about the same number of hours studying each week?
(IF NO): How many hours do you usually spend?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
6. 30 or more hours per week
5. 25-29 hours
4. 20-24 hours
3. 15-19 hours
2. 10-14 hours

1. 5-9 hours

0 . Less than 5 hours, or never study

Question 14 (p. 4) When you are studying, how often do you feel that you would rather be doing something else?
(Intrinsic Career Involvement scale)
0 . Frequently
3. Sometimes
6. Almost never

Question 15 (p. 4) How satisfied are you as a student?
2. Very satisfied

1. More or less satisfied
2. Very unsatisfied

Question 16 (p. 4) Specifically, how satisfied are you with the following aspects of your university experience?
2. Very satisfied

1. More or less satisfied
2. Very unsatisfied
A. The professors
B. The courses
C. The facilities
D. The examinations
E. The student government

Question 17 (p. 4) Do you think that being a university student involves any special obligations, apart from your studies, or not?
(IF YES), Question 17a. What are they?

1. Mention of obligation to become involved in university or general politics; religious or spiritual obligations with political implications; obligation to become involved in politics, to lead, etc.
0 . Other mention

Question 18 (p. 4) Do you think that university students have special responsibilities in the change and development of the country?
(IF THEY DO) 18a. What do you think the students can do?

1. Mention of responsibilities to participate in political activities, to advise others or express dissent in politics, etc.
0 . Other mention

Question 12 ( p .5 ) Do you think that you personally can do anything in the process of change in Venezuela? (IF YES) 19a. What can you do?

1. Mention of contribution through general political activity
0 . Other mention

Now, we are going to ask some questions about what should be done in certain family situations.

Question 20 (p. 5) What do you think should be done with the son who neglects his schoolwork?
5. Would use physical punishment or coercion: (punish him, use sanctions, force him to study, insist that he study; repress him, keep him in check; make myself into the most severe person in the world, etc.)
4. Would use deprivation, restrict activities, or withhold pleasures: (deprive him of his recreation and of the things he likes most; cut his allowance; send him to a boarding school, put him in a military academy; make him go to work, etc.)
3. Would use shame and guilt and appeals to son's sense of responsibility to other persons, or would scold, berate, criticize or reprimand son: (counsel him by family example, make him responsible for his acts; create a sense of conscience; persuade him, reason with him, etc.; scold him, constantly remind him of his studies; moral coercion, etc.)
2. Would use appeals to self-interest: (make him realize the harm he is doing to himself; threaten with possible consequences in son's future for not studying now; point out importance of study for his future, make him see that without study he will be a "Don Nadie," etc.)

1. Would attempt to find out causes, would use laissezfaire, permissive approach, would avoid use of force, but does not specify what course of action should be taken, or do not know: (inquire, investigate the causes of son's negligence; get to know him and his attitudes; do nothing, in time he will convince himself, let him find his own road in life; should never make a big deal of the problem, rather view it as a natural event; not everybody is borm to study; give him freedom to develop his own aptitudes; nothing is gained by forcing him; force will fail; respondent does not know what he would do because of lack of experience, etc.)
2. Would use positive reinforcement or therapeutic approach: (try to stimulate him, encourage him, get him
interested in studies; rouse his aspirations, instill a love for study; get him interested in good schools; talk with him, be a friend to him, friend-to-friend, man-to-man, father-to-son; try to remedy his faults, correct his defects; send him for psychoanalysis to find the causes, etc.)

Question 21 (p. 5) With the woman who is not faithful to her husband?
5. Would use corporal punishment or judicial punishment: (kill her, shoot her, beat her, punish her; she should be punished according to the law; should receive a jail sentence or other judicial penalty; throw the book at her, etc.)
4. Would use divorce: (immediate divorce, etc.)
3. Would use separation or social isolation: (separate her from society; throw her out of the house; send her back to her family; separate her from children, etc.)
2. Would use social condemnation and public ridicule or would use shame, guilt or appeals to family, religious values: (she should be held in contempt by society, be scorned, condemned; put a sign on her and let her walk the streets, etc.; make her realize the seriousness of her acts, reason with her about violation of Christian values or consequences for children, reprimand her, make her feel ashamed, etc.)

1. Would search out causes or would use laissez-faire permissive approach: (look for causes, reasons why she cheated; need to ascertain husband's role in causing her cheating; nothing, there is nothing to be done; leave her and wish her happiness; let her try her luck; forget her, look for another woman; it is none of the husband's business, etc.; or do not know; indeterminate recommendation; cannot say without having had the experience, would depend on how it affects the man, etc.)
2. Would use positive reinforcement or therapeutic resocialization: (have to help her; prevent it from happening again; try to get her to return to good ways; get spiritual counsel for her; get psychiatric treatment for her, etc.)

Question 22 (p. 5) And with the son who is old enough to work, but does not want to?
5. Would use physical punishment and coercion: (beat him, punish him severely; carry him off to jail; force him to work, etc.)
4. Would use categorical or definitive deprivation: (throw him out of the house; let him die from hungerI would not give him one cent; deprive him of all help in the home; refuse to maintain him further; deny him all sustenance, including meals; withdrawal of financial support, etc.)
3. Would use qualified or provisional deprivation: (would not give him anything but he could live in my house; deprive him of everything except meals, etc.)
2. Would use shame and guilt and appeals to sense of responsibility: (counsel, warn, advise him of the need to work; make him see that to work is dignity; make him realize his shamelessness; tell him he has the responsibility to work, convince him, use persuasion; make him see he cannot spend his life vegetating, etc.)

1. Would search out causes, would use laissez-faire, permissive approach, or indeterminate recommendation: (talk to him and try to find out reasons why he does not work; one has to have patience, let him continue without work until he feels the need; I am against impositions- this must come from one's own will; I cannot say without being a father with a son like that, etc.)
2. Would use positive reinforcement, would use vocational rehabilitation, taking son's inclinations into account: (try to orient him, talk to him like a friend, help him like a father should; try to stimulate him, make him ambitious, show him an incentive to work, show him the satisfactions one gains from earning money, try to induce a love for work; help him get a good job; I would not force him to work as long as he would find something else worthwhile to do such as continuing his education, etc.)

Now, some people prefer to spend most of their time with a a group of friends, while others spend their time alone.

Question 23 (p. 6) Do you spend your time
3. Alone

1. Depends on my mood
O. With some friends

In the next questions we are going to present you some statements. All you have to do is think about each statement, and then indicate with an $x$ if you totally agree with it, agree with it a little, disagree with it a little, or totally disagree with it.

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, QUESTIONS 24 TO 40 ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:
O. Totally agree

1. Agree a little
2. Disagree a little
3. Totally disagree

Question 24 (p. 6) The most important thing is to be in agreement with other people, the question of who is right or who is wrong is secondary.

Question 25 (p. 6) I have to study more than my classmates to get a good grade on an exam.

Question 26 (p. 6) There are many young students in this country who get involved in politics too much because of lack of discipline.

Question 27 (p. 6) My classmates have more luck than I do. Question 28 (p. 6) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on.

Question 29 (p. 6) I have often felt that there is no sense in trying to be somebody in this life.

Question 30 (p. 6) When the people disagree with the govermment they should not obey it.

Question 32 (p. 7) If I do not watch out, people will take advantage of me.

Question 33 (p. 7) People like me do not fit in society.
3. Totally agree
2. Agree a little
l. Disagree a little
0. Totally disagree

Question 34 (p. 7) Nowdays a person does not really know whom he can count on.

Question 35 (p. 7) It is not really fair to bring children into the world, seeing how things will be in the future.

Question 36 (p. 7) Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the govermment runs things.

Question 37 (p. 7) It is better to content oneself with what one has than to get involved with new things.

Question 39 (p. 7) People like me do not have anything to say about what the govermment does.

Question 40 (p. 7) Now, which would you choose: "most people are disposed to help others," or "most people are disposed to help themselves?"
3. Help others
0. Help themselves

Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom represents the worst possible life for you.

QUESTIONS 43a TO 46c ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:
O. Worst, dissatisfied
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9. Best, satisfied

Question 43 a (p. 9) Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?

Question 43 b (p. 9) Where on the ladder would you say you stood five years ago?

Question 43 c (p. 9) And where do you think you will be on the ladder five years from now?

Now, looking at the ladder on page 9 again, suppose your greatest hopes for Venezuela are at the top; your worst fears at the bottom.

Question 46 a (p. 1l) Where on the ladder would you put Venezuela at the present time?

Question 46 b (p. 11) Where did Venezuela stand five years ago?

Question 46 c ( p . 11) Just as your best guess, where do you think Venezuela will be on the ladder five years from now?

We are also interested in knowing how people get the daily news.

Question 47 (p. 11) For instance, let us take the newspapers. Do you read a lot, moderately, a little, or almost nothing about the day's news in the newspapers?
3. A lot
2. Regularly

1. A little
2. Never

Question 47 a (p. 11) $T 0$ which topics of the newspapers do you pay most attention?

1. Mention of national political news or politics in general
0 . Other mention

Question 47 b (p. 11) Which of the following kinds of news interests you most?
3. Happenings in other countries
2. Venezuela

1. Caracas
2. Sports and religious events

Question 48 (p. 11) Most of us have some hobby that interests us outside of our studies or work. What do you do in your leisure time?
A. Political Activities
l. Mentioned
0. Not mentioned
(Scale of Socializing)
B. Socializing with friends, visiting, dating, going to parties, etc.

1. Mentioned

0 . Not mentioned

Question 49 (p. 12) There is a lot of talk about social classes. What classes do you think there are in Venezuela?
l. Lower-Lower Class: (extremely low, paupers, miserable people, those who do not eat, ultra-low, the infrahuman class, completely low, deprived, destitute, helpless, abandoned, dispossessed, have-nots, those who have nothing, those who live in the hills, etc.)
2. Upper-Lower Class: (those who do not have money, the humble, poor, needy, low level, inferior, popular class, campesinos, unskilled labor, farm workers, the proletariat, those with at least something, etc.)
3. Lower-Middle Class: (lower middle, skilled workers, the pessimistic middle, technicians, etc.)
4. Middle-Middle Class: (intermediate class, office workers, medium income, families with not well-known surnames, middle working class, etc.)
5. Upper-Middle Class: (high middle, strong income, the monied middle, moderately wealthy, middle burgeoisie, the new rich of the middle class, bureaucrats, professionals, intellectuals, political leaders, the group with power, etc.)
6. Lower-Upper Class: (the wealthy, rich, high class, management class, high bourgeoisie, powerful high administrative officials, large incomes and superficial luxuries, etc.)
7. Upper-Upper Class: (millionaires, the super-elevated, very wealthy, very rich, economically powerful, capitalists, magnates, heads of industry, oligarchy, owners of capital and the means of production, high society, aristocrats, the country clubbers, the privileged class, the old rich, etc.)

Question 50 (p. 12) Of those you have mentioned, to which would you say you belong?
(SAME CODES AS FOR QUESTION 49)

Question 51 (p. 12) Would you say you are in the lower part of (CLASS CHOSEN) or in the upper part of this class?

1. Lower part
2. Intermediate
3. Upper part

Question 52 (p. 12) What do you think are the most important differences between these social classes?

1. Economic differences
2. Educational differences
3. Cultural differences
4. Social status differences
5. Religious and moral differences
6. Political differences
7. Personality and Characterological differences
8. Racial and ethnic differences
9. Occupational differences

Question 53 (p. 12) And what do you think about these differences?
5. Strongly oppose existing class differences: strong negative attitudes; desires for complete class levelling or shifting the base of existing class structure, e. g., from ascription to achievement, etc.: (are hateful to me, disgusting, are terrible, it is unjust, inequitable, workers and campesinos are exploited, all should be equal, they are artificial, accidental, hypocritical, false, illogical, ridiculous, goes against social and distributive justice, are inhumane, socialism will reduce these differences, are the errors of capitalism, class differences should not exist, should do whatever possible to eliminate them, etc.)
4. Moderately oppose existing class differences: attitude of basic discontent with or disapproval, resentment of existing class differences coupled with a willingness to work within existing system to improve rather than replace or destroy it; emphasis on reducing, ameliorating class differences by redistribution of income or other reforms: (have to reduce them, wealthy should contribute proportionally to poor, tax wealthy, would try to make classes more equal, are necessary but repugnant, reform is needed, $I$ am in favor of class struggle - there will always be classes and have to reduce differences, are remediable, need to equilibrate them, it is a necessary evil, need to evolve better distribution, etc.)
3. Indifferent: respondent makes factual observations with no indication of opposition or support: (are very marked, they could be cause of friction, are very large, etc.)
2. Moderately support existing class differences: attitude
of basic acceptance of existing class structure coupled with concessions to poor classes, including noblesse oblige; class differences are inevitable or proper, and should be maintained with ocassional adjustments to reduce friction which might threaten survival of present class system or some viable version of same: (there will always be rich and poor but should help eliminate the poorest, will always exists-- I do not agree but I accept them, should educate the unemployed so they can work, classes have to be but should be reduced, but should not dissapear, the middle class should expand, the upper class has obligations with the lower classes, etc.)

1. Strongly support existing class differences: appeals to natural order to legitimize existing class structure or unqualified acceptance of it: (class differences are normal or natural, they have their origin in a principle of Natural Law and will always exist, should be maintained, are necessary, are very reasonable, logical, must exist, are inexorable, etc.)

Now, we want to ask you a different type of questions.
Question 54 (p. 13) How much schooling do you think children of people like yourself should have?
3. The maximum schooling
2. Just the necessary schooling

1. The same as everybody else

Question 55 (p. 13) Two twelve-year-old boys took time from their work in the corn fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corm with fewer hours of work.
A. The father of one boy said "that is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corm."
B. The father of the other boy said "the way to grow corn is the way we have always done it. Talking about change will waste time but not help."

Which father said the wiser words?
3. Father A
0. Father B

Question 56 (p. 13) What should most qualify a person to hold high office?

0 . Coming from the right family background

1. Devotion to the old time-honored ways
2. Being the most popular among the people
3. High education and special knowledge

Question 57 (p. 13) Which is most important for the future of Venezuela?
3. The hard work of the people
2. Good planning on the part of the government

1. God's help
2. Good luck

Question 58 (p. 13) Scientists in the universities are studying such things as what determines whether a baby is a boy or girl and how it is that a seed turns into a plant. Do you think that these investigations are:
3. All very beneficial
2. All somewhat beneficial

1. All somewhat harmful
2. All very harmful

## Question 59 (p. 14)

3. Some people say that it is necessary for a man and his wife to limit the number of children to be born so they can take better care of those they already have.
4. Others say that it is wrong for a man and his wife purposely to limit the number of children to be borm.

Which of these opinions do you agree with more?

Question 60 (p. 14) If you were to meet a person who lives in another country thousands of kilometers away from Venezuela, could you understand his way of thinking?
3. Yes
0. No

Question 61 (p. 14) Do you think a man can be truly good without having any religion at all?
3. Yes
0. No

Question 62 (p. 15) This part of the questionnaire is a little different from the previous part. The questions relate the manner in which the person sees himself. Following is a list of 30 characteristics that persons use to describe themselves. Read the list of characteristics and decide to what extent.a particular word describes you, very well, more or less, or very little. Tell how you really are, and not how you wish you were.

How do you really see yourself?

1. Put a "l" beside 5 or more words that describe you very little.
2. Put a "2" beside 5 or more words that describe you more or less.
3. Put a "3" beside 5 or more words that describe you very well.

THE 30 CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO QUESTION 62 ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Very little
2. More or less
3. Very well
4. Serious
5. Idealistic
6. Sure
7. Extroverted
8. Elegant
9. Happy
10. Studious
11. Efficient
12. Individualistic
13. Independent
ll. Sincere
14. Reflective
15. Responsible
16. Esteemed
17. Cooperative
18. Successful
19. Realistic
20. Orderly
21. Faithful
22. Dominant
23. Reliable
24. Stable
25. Decided
26. Optimistic
27. Imaginative
28. Satisfied
29. Intellectual
30. Capable
31. Intelligent
32. Popular

Question 63 (p. 16) Now, here is another list of the same 30 words. Divide up these words into three groups, but this time tell how you would' like to be ideally. That is, not the way you think that you really are, nor the way others might wish you were, but your own personal ideal self.

How do you wish you were?

1. Put a "l" beside 5 or more words that you would least like to be like.
2. Put a " 2 " beside 5 or more words that you would say more or less describe your ideal.
3. Put a "3" beside 5 or more words that you would say describe your ideal very well.

THE 30 CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO QUESTION 63 ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Least
2. More or less
3. Very well
(SAME 30 CHARACTERISTICS AS QUESTION 62)
We are also interested in how much attention people generally pay to what goes on in politics - I mean everyday, when the election campaigns are not going on.

Question 64 (p. 17) Could you tell me if you are very interested, moderately interested, or only a little interested in everyday politics?
2. Very interested

1. Moderately interested
2. A little interested

Question 65 (p. 17) And during the last election campaign? Would you say you were very interested, moderately interested in the last campaign?
2. Very interested

1. Moderately interested
2. A little interested

Question 66 (p. 17) How many students in your Faculty do you think are interested in politics?
3. Many
2. Some

1. A few

QUESTIONS 67 TO 81 ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:
2. Yes
0. No

Question 67 (p. 17) Now, some students are very interested in political activities, while others do not bother themselves much with this. What we are interested in here is not to what party a person belongs, but through which activities people participate in politics. For example, do you discuss student or university politics with your classmates?

Question 68 (p. 17) Do you read newspapers and magazines about general political subjects?

Question 69 ( p .17 ) Do you attend political meetings? Question 70 ( p .17 ) Do you attend political rallies? Question 7l (p. 17) Do you belong to some political party? Question 72 (p. 18) Did you try to advise someone else how to vote?

Question 73 (p. 18) Did you go to any political dinners?
Question 74 (p. 18) Did you put up any political signs?
Question 75 (p. 18) Did you write any political signs?
Question 76 (p. 18) Did you make any public speeches in favor of a candidate or party?

Question 77 (p. 18) Did you distribute pamphlets or other political propaganda?
Question 78 (p. 18) Did you participate in the political car caravans?

Question 79 (p. 18) Did you wear or put on your car a political button or sticker?

Question 81 (p. 19) Did you do some other thing?
(IF YES) 8la. Could you tell me what?
2. Mention of active party work

0 . Active party work not mentioned
Question 82 (p. 19) Do you talk about national politics with your friends?
2. Frequently

1. Sometimes
2. Almost never

Question 83 (p. 19) Now looking at this list, what part do you usually take in these conversations?
0. Although I have my own opinion, I usually only listen.

0 . In general I listen, but now and then I express my own opinions.

1. I take an equal part in the conversations.
2. I do more than just give my opinions in the conversations; usually I try to convince others that I am right.

Question 84 (p. 19) The real difference between the people who succeed and those who fail is that those who succeed have luck. That is, success is more a matter of luck than of ability or individual effort.

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, QUESTIONS 85 TO 101 ARE CODED AS FOLLOWS:
3. Totally agree
2. Agree a little

1. Disagree a little
2. Totally disagree

Question 85 (p. 19) A bad law should be changed, but while it stands, it ought to be obeyed.

Question 86 (p. 19) My classmates have more friends than I do.

Question 87 (p. 20) In spite of what some people say, the condition of people like me is getting worse instead of better.

Question 88 (p. 20) It is not worthwhile to bother yourself about politics, because in general, the politicians are not the most qualified individuals in the society.
0. Totally agree

1. Agree a little
2. Disagree a little
3. Totally disagree

Question 93 (p. 20) Most of the time I feel lonely.
Question 94 (p. 20) Most public officials are not really interested in the problems of people like me.

Question 95 (p. 20) There is very little $I$ can do to change my life.
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 88)
Question 96 (p. 21) My opinions carry less weight than the opinions of my classmates.

Question 97 (p. 21) When you get down to it, no one is going to care much what happens to me.
(SAME. CODES AS QUESTION 88)
Question 98 (p. 21) Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

Question 99 (p. 21) I seem to be the type of person that has more bad luck than good luck.
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 88)
Question 100 (p. 21) Nowadays a person has to live for today and not worry about the future.
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 88)
Question 101 (p. 21) I feel I chose the wrong career.
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 88)
Question 102 (p. 21) Now, some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you cannot be to careful in your dealings with other people. How do you feel about it?
3. Most people can be trusted
0. Cannot be too careful

Now we only have a few more questions, the census kind that you are already familiar with.

Question 103 (p. 21) What is your sex?

1. Male
2. Female

## Question 104 (p. 2l) How old were you on your last birthday?

17. Seventeen years

- 

49. Forty-nine years

Question 105 (p. 21) Were you borm in Venezuela or in a foreign country?
l. Born in Venezuela
c. Born in a foreign country

Question 106 (p. 22) Where exactly were you born?

1. Born in Caracas Metropolitan Area
2. Born in Venezuela, but outside Caracas
3. Born abroad

Question 106 (p. 22) Where exactly were you born? Question 107 (p. 22) What would you say the size of the city or town were you were born was?

1. Less than 500 population
2. 500-999
3. 1000-2499
4. 2500-4999
5. 5000-9999
6. 10,000-24,999
7. 25,000-199,000
8. 200,000 or over

Question 110 (p. 22) Are your parents living?
(IF ONLY ONE IS LIVING)
Question lloa (p. 22) Which one has died?

1. Father
O. Mother or both alive

Question 113 (p. 23) Until what grade did your father study?

1. No school
2. Primary incomplete
3. Primary completed
4. High school incomplete
5. High school or technical education completed
6. College incomplete
7. College completed

Question ll4 (p. 23) What is (was) your father's occupation? (SPECIFY NAME OF OCCUPATION, KIND OF WORK, POSITION, ETC.)

1. Unskilled laborers
2. Semi-skilled and skilled laborers
3. Accountants, office workers, minor officials
4. Owners, merchants in small business, administrators
5. Professional and middle management
6. Directors, high level management
7. Top executives in business and government

Question 115 (p. 24) Did your father have the same job when you were a child?
(IF NO) Question $115 \mathrm{a}(\mathrm{p} .24$ ) What kind of work did your father have at that time?
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 114)
Question 116 (p. 24) Would you say your mother is (was) interested in politics?
3. A great deal
2. Moderately

1. Very little

Question 117 (p. 24) Would you say your father is (was) interested in politics?
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 116)
Question 117 a ( p .24 ) Generally, would you say that your father agree with your own political ideas?

1. Disagree
2. Qualified agreement
3. Agree

Question 117 b (p. 24) Generally, would you say that your mother agree with your own political ideas?
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION ll7a)
Question 118 (p. 24) During your university studies, what would you say has been your grade point average?

1. Less than 10 points
2. Between 10 and 12 points
3. Between 13 and 14 points
4. Between 15 and 16 points
5. Between 17 and 18 points
6. Between 19 and 20 points

Question 119 (p. 24) Are you now?
l. Married
0. Single, divorced, separated, widowed

Question 120 (p. 25) Are you now working?

1. Yes
2. No
(IF YES) $\frac{\text { Question 120a (p. 25) }}{\text { do? (BE SPECIFIC) }}$ What type of work do you
(SAME CODES AS QUESTION 114)
Question l22a (p. 25) How often do you go to church (temple)? (GIVE NUMBER OF TIMES PER WEEK, MONTH, OR YEAR. SPECIFY IF IT IS PER WEEK, MONTH, OR YEAR)
3. Never
4. 1 to 2 times a year
5. 3 to 11 times a year
6. Once a month
7. 2 to 3 times a month
8. Once a week
9. 2 to 6 times a week
10. Every day

Question 123 (p. 25) How do you think your future level of life will be compared to what your parents have (had)? Would you say it will be
5. A lot higher
4. A little higher
3. About the same
2. A little lower
l. A lot lower

## APPENDIX V

## CURVES FOR PATTERN OF CURVILINEARITY OF SELECTED VARIABLES

## CURVES FOR PATTERN OF CURVILINEARITY OF <br> SELECTED VARIABLES*

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Booster (Q-Sort)
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Booster (Church Attendance)

*For an explanation of the codes, please see Codebook.

Gladiator (Punitiveness)


Focster (Faith in People)


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[^0]:    $1_{\text {Marsh (1967: 281) states that: ". . . use of survey }}$ procedures can provide data just as reliably and effectively as the more traditional participant observation methods can."
    $2^{2}$ Finifter (1975) points out the importance of secondary analysis of data for replication purposes. The insufficient use of existing data resources has been a product of the undue importance assigned to "fresh" data in certain social scientific circles.

[^1]:    $3^{\text {For }}$ a detailed discussion of these two replication strategies see Finifter (1972c). A third strategy which is also used in replications efforts is the "random subsample replication" (RSSR), which has consequences for the development of this theory, as will be indicated later.

[^2]:    1 Católica Andrés Bello and the UCAB sudy refers to the original study.
    ${ }^{2}$ UCAB has grown from just under 2,800 students in 1963 (Finifter, 1968: 19) to over 7,000 in 1973 (unofficial information).
    ${ }^{3}$ During the second half of 1972 the University was closed by the authorities after no agreement could be reached between militant faculty and student demands for policy changes and the administration position. UCAB was reopened in February 1973, but the aftermath of the crisis was still felt at the time $I$ was choosing a university site. Since several Sociology faculty members were expelled or forced to resign, students continued to ask for their reinstatement and to oppose their replacement by other sociologists. Thus, chances for cooperation from this University were greatly weakened, and all opportunity for my incorporation into the University's staff system was denied.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Universidad Metropolitana (UM), a private university of 2,000 students, and Universidad Simón Bolívar (USB), a public technological university of about 3,000 students.
    $5_{\text {Whenever mentioned UCV refers to the Universidad }}$ Central de Venezuela, the UCV study is this study.
    ${ }^{6}$ According to data obtained from the Oficina Central de Inscripciones $y$ Control de Estudios (Registrar's Office), of UCV.

[^4]:    ${ }^{13}$ For a discussion of university students as "catalysts" of political change in Latin America see Silvert (1964).

[^5]:    ${ }^{21}$ The experience of Professor Finifter, taken from his dissertation and personal conversations, was very helpful in this endeavor. I will detail the modifications and their effects in the following chapter.
    ${ }^{22}$ Guarding against the possibility that this addition could have produced response biases, a comparison between the responses of the students who requested feedback and those who did not was performed. No evidence of response clustering due to this modification of the questionnaire was found.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pizzorno (1970: 38) states that: "Historical analysis has made it possible to clarify two more points. The first that there are several kinds of political activity: political participation as an expression of private position; political participation pertaining to closed associations. The second point is that if political participation reflects not only a problem of consensus, but also of collective action in an inegalitarian structure, something wider than the electoral. process and even wider than what concerns the activity of the state must be meant by the word "politics."

[^7]:    ${ }^{2}$ Examples of in-depth studies in which the motivation to participate in ways other than electoral and to disturb the system, are explored in Van Aken (1964) and Slote (1967).
    ${ }^{3}$ Finifter, who has done extensive research on the topic presents a comprehensive list of these works (1972a).
    ${ }^{4}$ These questions were: Votes, self-rated interest, reads about Republican convention, reads about Democratic convention, listen to Republican convention, listen to Democratic convention, knows who Wallace is, knows who Wilkie is, tries to convince others, is asked advice, does active political work, listen to political speeches.

[^8]:    *Excluded from cluster scales.
    **Corresponding items.

[^9]:    ${ }^{6}$ I could have used more sophisticated tests for factor analysis comparison but the imprecision of survey data, and the fact that statistical conditions were not met, precluded the use of these techniques.
    ${ }^{7}$ Since this is an accesory analysis, I will delay giving an explanation for the operation of AID, PEP, and other measures until the following section. In that section all the procedures for evaluating the virtual replication will be discussed.

[^10]:    ${ }^{8}$ In order to compute the Hoyt reliability I used the computer program FORTAP (Baker and Martin, 1968) based on Hoyt (1941).
    ${ }^{9}$ The biserial correlation was also computed by using FORTAP.

[^11]:    14 For the purpose of comparison the same questions (for all 36 variables) asked in the UCAB study were asked in this study.

[^12]:    ${ }^{15}$ During the campaigns it was believed by some political analysts working for the political parties that the female vote gave the winning edge to President Caldera in the 1968 elections. It was their contention that a particular "only women" COPEI political rally that took place days before the election made the difference. I do not think that a similar effort took place in the 1963 campaign.

[^13]:    16
    This instrument uses Stephenson's Q-Sort technique. For the purpose of the virtual replication $I$ used the same 30 characteristics used in the original study. For detail about how the 30 characteristics were obtained see Finifter (1968: 98-100).

[^14]:    *Decimals have been omitted.

[^15]:    *Excluded from cluster scales. $\rightarrow$ Corresponding item.

[^16]:    ${ }^{13}$ In considering the scale analysis (Table 9) of

[^17]:    ${ }^{21}$ Venezuela is a member of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), and a major oil producer.

[^18]:    ${ }^{22}$ By empirical agreement $I$ mean that the results of the two studies agree with each other but they represent discordance with the hypotheses.

[^19]:    *The new hypotheses and variables are indicated by asterisks.

[^20]:    2 The correlation of this variable and "valuation of self at present" is .22.

