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THE INTERACTION OF POLITICAL ALIENATION AND INFORMATION IN A LOCAL MILLAGE ELECTION CAMPAIGN: A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

THE INTERACTION OF POLITICAL ALIENATION AND INFORMATION IN A LOCAL MILLAGE ELECTION CAMPAIGN: A CASE STUDY

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Researchers from a variety of fields have investigated the role played by alienation in political participation and media use. The research has shown that alienation is integral to these processes. Two dimensions that have appeared in many of the studies as being interrelated are trust in government and political efficacy.

This study examined how political alienation, defined as trust in government and political efficacy, related to information acquisition in a local school millage election campaign by proposing and testing a model of awareness, information and information source. The model predicted that varying levels of awareness, correctness of and source of information would be found based on scores on trust in government and political efficacy scales. The scales were made situation specific, referring to "school board" rather than government.

Data were collected from 109 registered voters in Shiawassee County, Michigan, between April 12 and June 10, 1979. An attempt was made to recontact all respondents during the week following the June 11 election.

Major findings of the study included:

1) Levels of awareness differed among the four alienation groups.

2) Different levels of information did not exist, nor were significant differences as to source of information moted, among the four groups.

3) The proportions aware of and holding correct information about the election did not increase significantly as the election neared.

4) Age was negatively, but not significantly, related to favorability.

5) The presence of children in the home was a significant factor as was casting a previous vote for a school millage.

6) Favorability increased as education increased. This did not occur with income or occupation level.

7) Alienation was found to have little impact on either the likelihood of casting a favorable vote or the self-report of the actual vote on the millage.

The major conclusion was that the school millage was a low information, low interest election situation. The study proposed that one cause was the media situation in the county: a plethora of media from other areas overpowering the local media, the source of most information about the election.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the underlying precepts of the United States' Republican form of government is the concept of the informed electorate, an electorate that bases its voting determinations on accurate and complete information about the candidates and/or issues in any given election campaign. A major premise of the First Amendment[1] is to assure that the electorate is informed, thereby supporting a democratic form of government where the individual is sovereign.[2] Berelson, et al point out:

> The democratic citizen is expected to be interested and to participate in political affairs. His interest and participation can take such various forms as reading and listening to campaign materials, working for the candidate or the party, arguing politics, donating money, and voting. . . . The democratic citizen is expected to be well informed about political affairs.[3]

The role the mass media has assumed in this process is one of providing the necessary information to the electorate on which to base on "informed vote". There are situations, however, where the mass media may not fulfill that role. Areas of the country exist where there are virtually no local media.[4] Suburban areas surrounding a city, and within the metropolitan area, provide one example. Such communities as Farmington Hills, Michigan, and Sun City,

Arizona, have local weekly newspapers[5] but daily information comes from the media (i.e., radio, television, newspapers) of Detroit and Phoenix, respectively, which may not provide adequate coverage of the local issues facing these outlying areas.[6] Local election information, then, may not be readily available in the media relied on daily as a source of political information. This local information must be sought elsewhere.[7]

This lack of readily available local information is even more critical in school millage elections.[8] Whereas, in regular primary and general elections voters may receive information from political parties on issues and candidates, no such information vehicles exist in a school or other millage election.[9] Voters must rely on mass media, quasi-mass media such as flyers and brochures, or personal communication as sources of information. The fact that this information comes mainly from the school entity sponsoring the election may further complicate matters as voters may view the information as necessarily biased.[10] Voters must make a concerted effort to acquire information concerning the election, or even an awareness that an election has been called.

Not all voters are willing to make this effort. One such type has come to be known as the "alienated voter". According to Levin, the alienated voter is hostile to politics and disenchanted with the political process, wary of candidates who spend large sums of money during a

campaign, skeptical of candidates and issues endorsed by powerful public figures, tends to believe that campaign promises and platforms are meaningless and tends not to vote at all.[11] Nettler found that the alienate is one who has been estranged from and made unfriendly toward his society, its culture and its political process.[12] This type of voter, or non-voter, is one with relatively deepseated "feelings of estrangement, rejection, negativism and unhappiness with the political system or its salient parts".[13]

Alienation may have a different impact in local voting on ballot issues. According to Templeton:

> Unlike national politics, local political systems maximize both the access and the potential impact of interested individual citizens. To the extent that local political systems are democratic in terms of the increased potential for individual participation, they provide their alienated constituents an avenue for expression. . . . Our data suggest that the uses to which political participation is put are considerably more varied than would be expected on the basis of classical democratic theory. Indeed, there is reason to believe that a democratic system of participation increases the possibility for participation based upon the individual's hostility to and rejection of that system.[14]

Hamilton and Cohen posit similar behavior in school referenda:

> Alienation probably is endemic and to some extent omnipresent in school elections, since referenda furnish what our other political structures deny alienates, a convenient, direct opportunity to project their distrust, fears and discontents, to strike back at "they" and resist policy plans of the elite.[15]

Kowalski supports this view:

> In most communities voters make no decisions

> regarding taxes for the national military budget, for local roads, for state income tax, among other issues. Therefore . . . a school issue for operating funds for new buildings is usually the only tax issue in which the voter has a say and he or she may vent frustrations over all high taxes on school elections.[16]

Alienation, then, can be expressed in a number of ways in a referendum or school financing election. Predicting what action will be taken may depend, in part, on a refinement of the political alienation measure. Milbrath and Goel, building on the work of Finifter[17], have proposed one such refinement: that alienation is two-dimensional, comprised of trust in government and political efficacy.[18] Their model (see Figure 1) deals with types of political participation dependent upon high and low feelings of trust in government and political efficacy. They point out that the various types of alienated action can be explained by this dichotomization of political alienation.

		Trust in Government	
		High	Low
Political Efficacy	High	Active Allegiant and Conventional Participation	Radical Action or Unconventional Participation
	Low	Supportive, Patriotic and Ritualistic Participation (e.g. voting, enlisting)	Withdrawal from Politics

Figure 1: Political Participation Typology[19]

If the dichotomization holds for political participation, one should be able to extend the concept to

information and awareness as well, since the literature shows that alienation and its two components are related to media use in unique ways.[20] This study proposes and tests such a derivative model (see Figure 2). The model predicts three measures of information (awareness, correctness of information, source of information) from two components of political alienation (trust in government and political efficacy).

		Trust in Government: High	Trust in Government: Low
Political Efficacy	High	High Awareness Correct Information Information from Media	High Awareness Incorrect Information Information from Personal Sources
	Low	Low Awareness Correct Information Information from Media	Low Awareness Incorrect or No Information Information from Personal Sources

Figure 2: Information Typology

This study is, in essence, a case study of one local millage campaign in one county.[21] It will examine the campaign from the voters' point of view focusing on where they get their information.[22] It will examine the concept of alienation and its effects on information seeking and holding. It will also examine those demographic characteristics which may affect this information-holding.

Shiawassee County Background

The study took place in Shiawassee County, Michigan. The local election was a county-wide millage election held by the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District on June 11, 1979. The issue under consideration was whether the district should build and operate a centralized vocational education center for the county, a measure which had failed twice in the previous ten years (1969 and 1972).

Shiawassee County is located in the south central portion of the state with an area of 540 square miles.[23] The population in 1975 was 69,218[24] with an estimated 1977 population of 69,500.[25] The county is 62.4% rural.[26] The population is 99.6% white[27] and 49% male[28]. Slightly more than one third (36.6%) of the population is under the age of 18 with 55.7% between 18 and 64, and 7.7%, 65 or older.[29] The per capita income is $5904.[30]

The county has one AM-FM combination (WOAP) that simulcasts during the daylight hours and one daily newspaper (The Argus Press, circulation: 14,933) both based in Owosso.[31] There are also two weekly newspapers: the Durand Express (circulation: 2,386), published in Durand, and the Shiawassee Journal (circulation: 6,035), published in Perry. The county has no local television station.[32]

Various portions of the county receive Lansing, Detroit and Flint/Saginaw radio stations, resulting in low levels of listenership to WOAP (30% in a recent study).[33] Lansing, Flint and Detroit newspapers circulate in the

county with most respondents to an earlier study receiving The Argus Press and one other newspaper.[34]

To complicate media matters further, WOAP and The Argus Press are cross-owned and Owosso is one of the seventeen markets where divestiture had been ordered because of a potential media monopoly situation.[35] Because of these factors, information concerning local elections may be difficult to locate in the media used as a daily source of information requiring a seeking-out of such information.

Justification of the Study

The impact of political alienation, as defined by the Milbrath and Goel model, has not been applied to the concepts of information-seeking and information-holding. The application, however, seems reasonable. If alienated voters experience frustration and anxiety whenever they attempt to engage in political action and as a result tend to withdraw from all such action as proposed by Templeton,[36] this withdrawal should apply to information-seeking as well with the alienated voter not participating in such a behavior. The consequences of such a withdrawal could have a dramatic impact on the political structure of the United States if that segment of the voting population increases in size. Candidates could be elected and issues decided by a small segment of the population, with a portion of that segment being under-informed, thus calling into question the concept of the rational, informed voter.

The Milbrath and Goel model of political alienation, with trust in government and political efficacy as its component parts, was developed to deal with the conflicting results that had been noted in research on the alienated voter. Levin and Eden found that alienation actually encouraged certain types of voting behavior.[37] Aberbach found that it was positively related to traditional political activities, such as voting.[38] On the other hand, Erbe found that the positive correlation between alienation and political participation disappeared when socio-economic status and involvement in non-political organizations were held constant[39] and Olsen found that respondents who felt incapable were less likely to act politically.[40] In a study of school bond issues, Thompson and Horton found that those who felt powerless and isolated in community affairs voted in lower numbers, but were also more likely to cast protest votes, stating that a "no" vote in a bond issue was a vote against the existing power structure.[41]

The primary concern of the Milbrath and Goel model, as originally conceived, was to explain differing types of political participation. In its derivative form in this study it was used to examine information-seeking and information-holding in a manner similar to studies done in information diffusion. The longitudinal nature of the study allowed for a finer picture of the information-seeking process. Most information diffusion research, specifically that dealing with a news event, has been cross-sectional

in nature and has dealt with critical events: Eisenhower's decision to seek the Presidency a second time;[42] the launching of an early satellite, Alaskan statehood and President Eisenhower's illness;[43] a local racial incident;[44] the dropping of Eagleton as Vice-Presidential candidate;[45] and, the assassination of President Kennedy.[46] While these studies are valuable in assessing media use for diffusion, the dramatic nature of the events studied may have had an unaccounted-for impact on the rate and nature of the diffusion. Troldahl has pointed out that more study is needed of localized, undramatic events and that more attention should be paid to issues rather than events.[47] The Shiawassee millage election provided an opportunity to study one such localized, undramatic issue-event where interest was minimal.[48]

The focus on a school referendum was intentional.[49] Numerous studies have been undertaken to examine the electoral process for Presidential and Congressional races.[50] Referenda, particularly school referenda, have been virtually ignored. Hamilton and Cohen state the problem succinctly:

> Referenda campaigns are communication processes about which little is known except what goes on at the transmitting end. Although the activities and strategies of the campaigns are easily observed, considerably less is known about the less visible activities and tactics of opposition and there is a dearth of anything beyond speculation and casual observations about the effects of referenda campaigns: How much of the campaign messages actually gets through? What proportion of the voters receive information and via which channels? What

> is the extent and accuracy of the voters' knowledge? How much are voters influenced and what influences them? These aspects of school elections have been almost totally neglected by the research to date.[51]

This study was undertaken in an effort to respond to a number of those issues: awareness levels, proportion of voters receiving information via what channels, extent and accuracy of information, the impact of demographic characteristics and the influence of political alienation.

The millage election situation provided a unique opportunity to study one element of the United States political system in process. The study of interrelationships between information disseminated and awareness and knowledge, and the impact of political alienation on this relationship, provided for an opportunity to examine how voters use media in a local election campaign.

Organization of the Dissertation

The report is structured into six major divisions: five chapters and an appendices section. The background, need and purpose for the study have already been discussed in the first chapter. It also contained a description of Shiawassee County. The second chapter presents a review of pertinent literature and a presentation of hypotheses. The third chapter explores the methodology that was used in the study including research design, sampling procedure, questionnaire development, data collection and analysis. The fourth chapter presents the results of the study in tabular

form with an explanation of them. It also analyzes and discusses the results of the study in light of the literature discussed in the second chapter. The last chapter includes the summary and conclusions of the findings, and some suggestions for further research. The material in the appendices includes a copy of the questionnaire and a copy of the codebook used in the data coding stage of the methodology.

Endnotes

[1]The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of press, of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. U.S., Constitution, amend. I.

[2]See, for example, Thomas I. Emerson, Toward a General Theory of the First Amendment (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), especially the discussion on pp. 8-11; Alexander Mieklejohn, "The First Amendment is an Absolute" in Philip B. Kurland, ed., Free Speech and Association: The Supreme Court and the First Amendment (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 1-22.

[3]Bernard R. Berelson, Paul E. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 307-8.

[4]Bogart and Orenstein examined one such situation. See Leo Bogart and Frank E. Orenstein, "Mass Media and Community Identity in an Interurban Setting," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Spring 1965):179-88.

[5]Farmington Hills, Michigan is served by the Farmington Observer and Sun City, Arizona by the Sun City Citizen.

[6]Conway studied a similar situation in the mid-1960s in a city election in College Park, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, D.C. She found that subscribers to the local weekly paper were more likely to vote than those who subscribed only to a metropolitan daily or no paper. M. Margaret Conway, "Voter Information in a Nonpartisan Local Election," Western Political Quarterly 21 (March 1968):69-77.

Tichenor and Wackman, in a 1971 study set in a suburb of Minneapolis found that knowledge of local public affairs was highest among local paper readers who also had high daily metropolitan usage. Philip J. Tichenor and Daniel B. Wackman, "Mass Media and Community Public Opinion," American Behavioral Science 16 (March-April 1973):593-607.

[7]This behavior may not always take place. Palmgreen found that generally people tend to seek information about, talk about, and learn about, only those issues which happen to be in the media spotlight. Philip Palmgreen, "Mass

Communication and Political Knowledge: The Effects of Political Level and Mass Media Coverage on Political Learning" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1975).

[8]A millage is taxation in mills per dollar of valuation. A mill is equal to one-tenth of a cent. In the present situation it refers to an increase in property taxes to cover the cost of additional educational facilities.

[9]Fleitas terms these situations minimal information elections which are characterized by a dearth of information as to election issues and partisan considerations. Daniel William Fleitas, "The Underdog Effect: An Experimental Study of Voting Behavior in a Minimal Information Election" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1970).

[10]Hamilton and Cohen point out that in Austintown, alienated voters did not believe the facts presented by the school board, claiming that the information was biased in order to get a favorable vote. Howard D. Hamilton and Sylvan H. Cohen, Policy Making by Plebiscite: School Referenda (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974), pp. 140-42.

[11]Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960).

[12]Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review 22 (December 1957):672-74.

[13]Lester W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics, 2d ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1977), p. 62.

[14]Frederic Templeton, "Alienation and Political Participation: Some Research Findings," Public Opinion Quarterly 30 (Summer 1966):261.

[15]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, p. 205.

[16]Joan P. Sullivan Kowalski, Voter Behavior and Campaign Strategies in School Finance Elections (Arlington, Va.: Educational Research Service, Inc., 1977), p. 18.

[17]Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review 64 (June 1970):

407.

[18]Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation, p. 70.

[19]Ibid.

[20]This is developed in detail in the Review of Literature in Chapter II.

[21]The study is part of a larger effort undertaken by a team of researchers from Michigan State University using a metric multi-dimensional scaling technique known as Galileo. The larger study was designed to track attitudes of registered voters in the county concerning vocational education across time and to provide the funding agency with information on the optimal campaign messages to assure passage of the measure.

[22]Anderson and Meyer point out the importance of the study of source of information: "Finally we desperately need field research which will document the behaviors of individuals vis a vis their communication outlets. We need scientists who will systematically observe the rich variety of behaviors related to information flow of which information diffusion research is at least a beginning". James A. Anderson and Timothy P. Meyer, "Functionalism and the Mass Media," Journal of Broadcasting 19 (Winter 1975):21.

[23]Michigan Department of Commerce, Office of Economic Expansion, Economic Profile of Shiawassee County (Lansing, Michigan, September 1966).

[24]U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1977 City County Data Book: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, D.C., 1977).

[25]David I. Verway, Michigan Statistical Abstracts, 13th ed. (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Graduate School of Business Division of Research, 1978), p. 42.

[26]Ibid., p. 47.

[27]Ibid., p. 69.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., p. 383.

[31]Ibid, p. 925.

[32]The Detroit media include two daily newspapers (The Detroit Free Press and The Detroit News), twenty-eight radio stations (twenty FM and eight AM) and eight television stations (four VHF, one of which is from Canada, and four UHF). The Lansing media include one daily newspaper (The Lansing State Journal), eleven radio stations (three FM and three AM from Lansing and three FM and two AM from East Lansing) and three television stations, one of which is UHF. The Flint media include one daily newspaper (The Flint Journal), eleven radio stations (five FM and six AM) and five television stations, three of which are UHF.

[33]These results are from the baseline study undertaken prior to the introduction of the overall message campaign. Martin Block and Joseph Woelfel, Area Vocational Education Campaign Strategies and Techniques Project, Phase I: Campaign Strategies (East Lansing, Michigan: College of Communication Arts and Sciences, Michigan State University, September 1978), p. 19.

[34]This result is from the baseline study.

[35]Federal Communications Commission, Amendment of Multiple Ownership Rules (Newspapers), Second Report and Order, 50 F.C.C. 2d 1046, 32 RR. 2d 954, 40 Fed. Reg. 6449 (1975); On reconsideration 53 F.C.C. 2d 589, 33 R.R. 2d 1063 (1975). The FCC decision was appealed to the Court of Appeals (D.C. Circuit) where the decision was overturned. Upon appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the FCC decision was upheld. National Citizen's Committee for Broadcasting v. F.C.C., 555 F.2d 938 (D.C. CIR. 1977), 39 R.R. 2d 1463; FCC v. National Citizen's Committee for Broadcasting, 436 U.S. 775, 98 S. Ct. 2096 (1978).

[36]Templeton, "Alienation and Political Participation," p. 256.

[37]Murray B. Levin and Murray Eden, "Political Strategy for the Alienated Voter," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (Spring 1962):47-63.

[38]Joel Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969): 86-99.

[39]William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review 29 (April 1964):198-215.

[40]Marvin E. Olsen, "Two Categories of Political Alienation," Social Forces 47 (March 1969):289-99.

[41]Wayne Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces 38 (March 1960):190-95.

[42]Wayne A. Danielson, "Eisenhower's February Decision: A Study of News Impact," Journalism Quarterly 33 (Fall 1956):431-41.

[43]Paul J. Deutschmann and Wayne A. Danielson, "Diffusion of Knowledge of a Major News Story," Journalism Quarterly 37 (Summer 1960):345-55.

[44]Donald I. Warren, "Mass Media and Racial Crisis: A Study of the New Bethel Church Incident in Detroit," Journal of Social Issues 28 (1972):111-32.

[45]Kenneth G. Sheinkopf and M. Timothy O'Keefe, "The Eagleton Affair: A study of News Diffusion," paper presented to the Mass Communication Division of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada, 25-28 April 1973, cited in Sidney Kraus and Dennis Davis, The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behavior (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 167-68.

[46]Harold Mendelsohn, "Broadcast vs. Personal Sources of Information in an Emergent Public Crisis: The Presidential Assassination," Journal of Broadcasting 8 (Spring 1964):147-56.

[47]Verling C. Troldahl, "Studies of Consumption of Mass Media Content," Journalism Quarterly 42 (Autumn 1965); 596-606.

[48]Turnout for the election was 12% of all registered voters.

[49]Stone points to the need for expanding the alienated voter concept to include the study of alienation in the context of the local political process. Clarence E. Stone, Local Referendums: An Alternative to the Alienated Voter Model," Public Opinion Quarterly 29 (Summer 1965):215.

[50]For information on voting in Presidential elections see, for example, Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960); Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954); Warren E. Miller and Teresa E. Levetin, Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1976); Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); and, Rebecca Colwell Quarles, "Mass Media and Voting Behavior: The Accuracy of Political Perceptions Among First Time and Experienced Voters," Communication Research 64 (October 1979):407-36. For information on Congressional elections see, for example, Angus Campbell, "Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change," Public Opinion Quarterly 24 (Fall 1960):397-418; Andrew T. Cowart, "Electoral Choice in the American States: Incumbency Effects, Partisan Forces and Divergent Partisan Majorities," American Political Science Review 67 (September 1973):835-52; Barbara Hinckley, C. Richard Hofstetter and John H. Kessel, "Information and the Vote: A Comparative Election Study," in Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, eds., Controversies in American Voting Behavior (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman Company, 1976), pp. 274-96; Gerald H. Kramer, "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review 65 (March 1971):131-43; Donald E. Stokes and Warren E. Miller, "Party Government and the Saliency of Congress," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (Winter 1962):531-46; and, Edward R. Tufte, "Determinants of the Outcome of Midterm Congressional Elections," American Political Science Review 69 (September 1975):812-26.

[51]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, p. 137.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Any study that crosses academic disciplines must, of necessity, touch upon a large body of literature. The present study took a political science model and applied it to a number of media variables in an educational setting. This necessitated an exploration of the literature from the areas of media use, political participation research and school referenda to present the theoretical underpinnings of the derivative model.

Media Use

Demographics

The earliest research into media use focused almost entirely on the demographic characteristics of users of various media. For example, in 1950 Star and Hughes reported that the college educated were much more likely to expose themselves to informational or public affairs mass communication.[1] Another area of research explored time spent with the media. Ross and Bostain, in a three-day diary study with 523 Wisconsin farm families, found that television was the leading medium in average time use with radio second and reading third.[2] Men spent one-fifth of their waking time in contact with mass media while women spent one-fourth.

The research into demographic differences proved to be more prolific. Westley and Severin, in a study of the adult population in Wisconsin in 1961-62, were able to develop a demographic profile of the daily newspaper non-reader as someone:

> . . . low on the scale of occupations, low in education, low in income and likely to regard himself as "working class" rather than "middle class" . . . much more likely to be a farmer than a city dweller and, among the non-farm population, somewhat more likely to be a resident of a place under 10,000 population than a larger . . . no more likely to be of one sex or the other . . . tends to be either in his 20's or in his 70's or older.[3]

In addition they found the non-reader to be likely to belong to few formal organizations, an infrequent church attender and visitor of friends and relatives. On political variables,[4] the non-reader tended to have no political identification or leaning and to be a non-voter.

A study undertaken in 1959 allows for a similar time period comparison of the non-television household. Westley and Mobius, in a survey in Madison, Wisconsin, found that the non-television household was characterized by certain high-status and certain low-status occupations, by a chief wage earner with less than a high school education or who has gone beyond college, and by a household with two adults and more than one child between the ages of five anf fifteen.[5]

Samuelson, Carter and Ruggels, in a study with 203 adult males in Redwood City, California, found that the more educated persons do not, on the average, use the broadcast media as much as the less educated. They relate

the difference to available time:

> Clearly, however, the time demands of role activities reduce the amount of time that the more educated man might otherwise be inclined to spend viewing television and, to a lesser degree, listening to radio and reading newspapers.[6]

Westley and Severin, again relying on data collected in their 1961-62 Wisconsin study, found demographic differences in groups who assign high credibility (operationalized as responses to the question "As between television, radio and newspapers, which one do you feel gives the most accurate news?") to the various media.[7] Those who rated newspapers most credible tended to be persons of high socio-economic status with the education factor in this measure positively related to high newspaper credibility and negatively related to trust in television as a source of news. The authors point out that "the relationship of education to media credibility is one of the strongest and most consistent in the entire study".[8] On the political variables, the person who sees newspapers as most credible is most likely to be an independent. Those who voted in the last general election at the time of the study had a slight tendency to rate the newspaper as higher and television lower than those who did not vote.

Greenberg uncovered demographic differences between those relying on television and those relying on newspapers as the principal source of news.[9] Newspaper readers tended to be male with some college education. Slightly more men over forty fell into this group than men under forty

(71% compared with 65%). Women with some college and over the age of forty tended to rely on newspapers, while all other categories of women relied more heavily on television. Males with less than thirteen years of school relied slightly more on newspapers (under forty, 52%; over forty, 56%). On media credibility measures, those rating newspapers as more credible tended to be older males of high education levels, a confirmation of earlier findings regarding education.

Athens, Ohio was the setting for a study by Sargent and Stempel.[10] To explore the relationship of media use, poverty and alienation[11], the researchers used two sets of respondents: 39 families in the poverty group and 114 in the general population. They report that the general population had a high, although not significant, use of newspapers and a significantly lower use of radio and television. The general population also had a significantly lower use of radio and television as news media.

Wade and Schramm found that television is more likely to be used as a source of political information by those with little education, females, nonwhites, farm and blue-collar workers.[12] Newspapers, on the other hand, were more likely to be used by highly educated groups, whites, males, professional, managerial and white-collar workers, and high income groups. Television was used by approximately 55% of the population while newspapers were used by 25%.

Kline, using path analysis to discover the extent to which media use in contemporary society is related to lifestyle or ecological demographic location, found that older families and those higher on the occupational ladder are more likely to read newspapers.[13] He also discovered that the better educated spent less time with the newspaper, but felt this could be a result of education leading to an improved capability for selective and/or faster reading.

Clark and Ruggels also found an education-newspaper link.[14] They report, in their survey of 1250 male and female heads of households in Seattle, that education was positively related to a preference for newspapers as a source of public affairs information. Becker, Sobowale and Casey also found a newspaper-education link with both education groups reporting newspaper dependency for national and local news but with the better educated group being more dependent on newspapers than television.[15] The younger members of their sample were more television dependent, particularly for local news. Vinyard and Sigel report that reliance on a diversity of media increases as education increases.[16] Barnett and Hughes note that increased media use produced an increase in political knowledge that was most pronounced for those with less than a high school education and almost non-existent for college graduates.[17]

This trend to examine media use demographically continues. In a recent study of approximately 1200 adults, Poindexter developed four categories of television news

usage: non-news viewers (21%), non-network news viewers (7%), non-local news viewers (5%), and, news viewers (67%). She found that the younger the age group, the more pronounced the tendency not to view television news; that those with high school and technical degrees were least likely to view; and, that those with large incomes were also least likely to view. Most non-viewers, however, did read daily newspapers.

The research clearly points to media use differences based on demographics. Newspaper reliance is strongly associated with higher education levels, higher occupational status and higher incomes. Additionally, newspaper reading is associated with being older, being male and being white. Conversely, television viewing is associated with lower levels of education, income and occupational status as well as being young, being female and being non-white.

Political Activity

A second major area of research into media use focuses on its relationship to various forms of political activity. This focus is based upon the assumption, as Burstein states:

> . . . that contact with national political centers, directly or indirectly, through contacts with educational institutions, government bureaucracies, mass media, formal organizations, or informal groups, produces an inclination to participate actively in political life.[19]

Some of the earliest voting behavior studies considered media use variables. Lazarsfeld, Berelson and

Gaudet, in their study of the 1940 Presidential election in Erie County, discovered that about half of the population ignored front page news stories and political broadcasts at the peak of the campaign.[20] They also found that those highly exposed to one medium tended to be highly exposed to other media as well. Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, in a study of voters in Elmira, New York during the 1948 Presidential election found that of the total populace only 36% in June and 38% in October reported paying a great deal of attention to news about the election in the mass media.[21] As in the Erie County study, they found that those highly exposed to one medium tended to be highly exposed to others as well. In addition, demographic differences were found relating to high and low exposure levels.[22]

Glaser examined television's effect on voting turnout as compared with other mass media.[23] He found that the differences existed between those who do and those who do not vote: television viewers have a higher turnout than non-viewers, and newspaper readers have a higher turnout than non-readers. He also found that the association between newspapers and turnout was higher than that between television and turnout, and that those differences remained when controlled on demographic variables.

Media usage and political activity were compared by Becker and Preston.[24] Media usage was operationalized as the number of media used by the respondent while political activity was determined through psychological involvement

in the campaign, political efficacy, voting tendencies and actual involvement (other than voting). The study also examined effects of education and income. No clear profile patterns were discovered. Media usage was found to be more highly associated with concern about the election outcome, interest in the campaign, voting in 1964, and attempts at personal persuasion. Education was associated with political efficacy, voting in previous elections, time of voting decision, and tendency to write letters.

Prisuta examined the relationship between media exposure and political variables dealing with voting turnout, time of voting decision, information level, interest level and political involvement using data from the 1968 Presidential election.[25] He found that newspapers were the only medium to correlate significantly with voter turnout; that there was no relationship between media exposure and time of voting decision; that information level correlated strongly with media usage (as exposure rises so does information level) with newspapers exhibiting the strongest relationship; and, that the same tendency was apparent in interest level but that this did not carry over into the political activity area. He concluded that lack of involvement in the political system may be a result of low media exposure but that "it is also at times a cause, which involves the deliberate avoidance of media information due to apathy, socialization or cross-pressure".[26]

Chaffee and McLeod report what they believe to be a

consistent information-seeking habit by the most informed.[27] In a study of gubenatorial and Congressional races in Madison, Wisconsin, they found that those subjects with the most knowledge about the campaigns and those who expected to discuss the campaigns in the future were the groups most likely to request informational pamphlets about the candidates.

O'Keefe and Mendelsohn report that the non-voter was less likely to attend to news and public affairs media content and that television was the prime medium of political information for this group.[28] Exposure to newspapers and television news, and attention to news content generally, increased with age, education and political interest.

Dreyer utilized data from five Presidential elections (1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968) to examine the extent to which the American electorate employs the mass media to follow the progress of Presidential campaigns.[29] He reported that the larger intake of current political information that results from a more active monitoring of campaign activities through the mass media did not have the same impact as the smaller intake among those less actively exposed. The latter group was far more susceptible to the "slightest dose of current information, since their understanding and 'mass' of stored political knowledge is so impoverished".[30]

Newspapers, of all media types, seem to have the greatest impact on political knowledge and activity. Alexander, using data collected in 1968, found that in local

elections a clear understanding of candidates and issues was garnered through newspapers (40%), followed by television (26%), radio (6%) and magazines (1%).[31] Twenty-three percent reported that their information came from other people. Barnett and Hughes, in a preliminary investigation using thirty-five students in a Communications class at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, found that newspaper reading was a better predictor of "level of certainty" than was exposure to any other media,[32] while in a much earlier study, Nafziger and his colleagues found that avid readers of newspapers tended to be better informed than light readers.[33] O'Keefe, Mendelsohn and Lui, using a panel of voters in Summit County, Ohio, found a shift in media reliance between 1972 and 1974.[34] In 1972, television ranked above newspapers as the dominant source of political information. In 1974, newspapers ranked above television and fully 43% of those who had named television in 1972 named newspapers in 1974.[35]

Newspaper readership also appears to be directly related to voting. Buchanan reported in 1956 that voters were significantly more likely to be subscribers to a local weekly newspaper and to a nearby daily and that newspaper subscription related to voting even when education was held constant.[36] In a study of the 1965 city election in College Park, Maryland, Conway found that newspapers were the major source of information about the campaign.[37] Additionally, she found that subscribers to the local weekly papers were

much more likely to vote than those who subscribed to no paper or only to the metropolitan dailies. McLeod and his colleagues also found a newspaper-vote relationship with the frequent newspaper readers being more likely than other young people to turn out to vote.[38] Quarles, similarly, in an analysis of 1972 Presidential election voting data, suggested that first time voters were more likely to respond to campaign stimuli and to learn about candidates and issues through newspapers.[39]

Media use, then is related to political activity in two ways. First, increased media use leads to more concern about election outcomes, more voting, more attempts at personal persuasion, greater turnout, increased information levels and an increased likelihood to request more information. Second, political behavior is related to type of media used with newspaper reliance associated with greater turnout, a clearer understanding of candidates and issues, a greater level of certainty, voting and being better informed. Television, on the other hand, is seen as the prime political information medium for the non-voter.

Political Attitudes

A third area of related media use research is the exploration of its relationship to political attitudes. It is held by some that media use is not directly linked to political action, as proposed in the previous section, but rather is a contributor to a process in which various types

of political predispositions are formed which ultimately influence political action.[40] In other words, the influence that media presentations will have on people will depend on what people bring to the media:

> Their interests, their forms of receptiveness, indifference or opposition, their sophistication or naivete', and their established schemes of definitions set the way in which they initially receive the presentations.[41]

The research falls into several areas. A number of researchers have examined the relationship of media to political interest.[42] Clark and Ruggels, in a sample of Seattle voters, found that while television was less preferred as a source of political information than newspapers, the broadcast media were the major sources of information for those having average or below average knowledge of and interest in public affairs.[43] Similarly, Atkin, Galloway and Nayman report that the amount of political reading in newspapers is the strongest correlate of both political interest and political knowledge.[44] Education and social class were both found to be moderately related to print media but unrelated to electronic media use, and that when these two demographic variables were controlled the print media correlations with political interest and knowledge were only slightly reduced. McCombs and Mullins found that while level of education showed a strong relationship with media exposure to public affairs, political interest was consistently as strong a correlation.[45] In their sample of college students, the "extra" media use associated with high

political interest consisted "disproportionately of exposure to national and international news, analyses of social issues and editorials".[46]

The relationship of alienation and media use has captured the attention of a variety of authors. Pietila points out:

> The concept of alienation is important in mass-media research precisely because the so-called "information explosion" may indeed be one factor contributing to a feeling of alienation. The amount of information available is so enormous that it may be difficult to form a crystallized and articulate conception of events and their causes; under such conditions the individual may easily feel helplessly caught up in the train of events.[47]

In a study of Finnish voters, Pietila found that alienated individuals use newspapers, television and radio for vicarious reasons more than the non-alienated who use media more for informational reasons.[48] McLeod, Ward and Tancil found that the more alienated respondent was relatively uninterested in nonsensational headlines devoted to political and economic affairs.[49] They concluded that the alienated should have little interest in government news. Katz and Foulkes investigated the escape function of the media and found that alienation produces a desire to escape.[50] They note that, according to popular culture, people who are alienated turn to the entertainment fare of the mass media as a substitute gratification, which in turn brings about a further withdrawal from political and social action.[51]

Alienation and the desire to escape have been

operationalized as avoidance of specific media content. Blumler and McQuail, in their study of British electoral behavior, identified nine reasons for avoiding party broadcasts.[52] Previous vote decision (37%), distrust of politicians' messages (35%) and lack of interest in politics (26%) received the most mentions. McLeod and Becker, using substantially the same list of reasons, uncovered three underlying dimensions: partisanship, relaxation and alienation.[53] They found that heavy television users tended to be high on all three avoidance dimensions and that entertainment fans were more likely to prefer to relax when watching rather than watching political material. Partisanship was the best predictor of avoidance. Those avoiding the campaign media were less interested in politics, exposed themselves less often to general public affairs media and discussed politics less.

Semlac and Williams investigated avoidance in the 1976 election campaign and found that while those high on avoidance tended to view more television daily, they viewed less network news.[54] They suggest that study of the concept of alienation could offer some insight into the question of what might be inherent in the context of political media that forces people to avoid both political messages from the media and the entire political decision-making process.

Political efficacy and trust in government have also been related to media use. Eldersveld found that personal contact brought out voters who felt they were politically

efficacious.[55] This group also has a greater tendency to be exposed to other media during the campaign, especially newspaper coverage. Eulau and Schneider report that the degree of "relatedness" a person feels to the political process is associated with media usage.[56] Defining relatedness as a combination of the degree to which a person has internalized political expectations and the degree to which that person is efficacious, they found that highly related individuals expose themselves to the major media of political communication with much greater frequency. In a more recent study of white, black and Mexican-American adults, Tan found that white adults who felt politically efficacious were more likely to use the mass media for public affairs information than those who felt inefficacious.[57] The relationship did not hold for the other two groups. The study also found that political participation significantly predicted mass media use for public affairs information among all three groups and that politically active respondents were more likely to use newspapers and television for public affairs information than those not actively involved.

Becker, McLeod and Ziemke, in a multiple regression analysis of the relationships between demographic variables, social-psychological variables, several political orientations, and uses and avoidances of the political content of the media, found that while the demographic and social-psychological variables showed little relationship to media use or avoidance orientations, political orientations were

quite strongly related to political media use orientations.[58] Persons scoring highly on the efficacy scale were found to be frequent users of the media for vote guidance and surveillance purposes while persons with high levels of trust in government tended to be the highest excitement seekers. O'Keefe, approching the same problem from a different perspective, found that high reliance on the mass media for political purposes was associated with more positive or integrative citizen orientations toward the political system.[59] He reported that the greater the reliance on television, the more likely the respondent would believe that politicians are altruistic and that their vote is efficacious and the less likely they would feel powerless and alienated. Newspaper reliance was even more strongly associated with these ideas.

In their examination of the relationship between media use and voting, Lang and Lang point out that "persons with above-average political sophistication (and therefore less subject to a 'chronic distrust' of politics) are in the habit of checking one source of information against another".[60] For those who feel debarred from any channels of political influence (the inefficacious) the authors wonder if they would distrust all mass media sources and believe only what their friends tell them. They also noted that television has an especially strong appeal for the chronically distrustful.

Robinson supports this final contention with data

from an examination of television users on three attitudinal variables.[61] He found that of those relying only on television as a source of information, 91% felt they couldn't understand politics, 34% thought that government leaders were crooked, and 68% thought Congressmen lose touch with their constituents after the election. Comparable figures for those who do not rely on television were 63%, 21% and 47%, respectively.

In a study in Syracuse, New York in 1977 with 460 heads of households, Becker, Sobowale and Casey found further support for the relationship between media use and trust.[62] Newspaper dependency at the local level was found to be positively related to trust of local officials. Television dependent persons tended to be less favorable towards and trusting in local leaders than those not dependent on that medium.

Political attitudes are related to media use such that the less the alienation, distrust and inefficacious feeling, the more the use of media for public affairs information. Newspaper readership is associated with high levels of both trust in government and political efficacy. The amount of reading is also the strongest correlate of both political interest and political knowledge. Television, on the other hand, appeals to the inefficacious and distrustful, those high on alienation and avoidance.

Summary

A distinct pattern emerges from the literature. Newspaper readership is clearly related to feelings of attachment to the political system and behaviors that demonstrate that attachment. These include feelings of trust and efficacy, a high level of political interest and political knowledge, a clearer understanding of candidates and issues and voting. Television viewing is associated with alienation, distrust, inefficacy, a limited amount of information and non-voting. Additionally demographic differences can be seen with newspaper readership being associated with higher socio-economic status. It is also important to note that an increase in media use for political information leads to an increase in interest, knowledge, trust, sense of efficacy and voting.

Political Participation and Attitudes

Demographics

A variety of demographic factors are related to political participation: age, sex, race, social class, income, education and socio-economic status (a combination of the previous three). In an early study, Connelly and Field, focusing in the non-voter in the 1940 Presidential election, developed a profile of the non-voter.[63] They determined that races other than white had a lower percentage of voters. Women and the young were also less likely to vote as were service workers (e.g., domestics, firemen, policemen,

waitresses, etc.) and manual workers, whether skilled or unskilled. The relationship between income, or, in their terms, economic security, and education with non-voting is less clear cut. Whereas non-voters were located primarily at the lower end of both scales, when combined, economic security appeared to be more influential. A larger proportion of non-voters were found among those with maximum education and minimum economic security than among those with minimum education and maximum economic security. Similarly, Lang and Lang found that non-voters in California contained a high concentration of older people with little education (non-high school graduates who are over 55).[64] This group also exhibited, generally, less involvement in the outcome of the election and in the campaign that led up to it.

A national sample of non-voters undertaken in July, 1976 by O'Keefe and Mendelsohn showed that this picture did not change substantially in thirty-six years.[65] The non-voter was found to be female (52%) more often than male (48%), young (55% of the non-voters were between eighteen and thirty-four), and at the lower end of the economic scale (51% had incomes of less than $10,000; 23% had incomes between $10,000 and $14,999). The non-voters' educational level was also low with 21% having an eighth grade educational attainment or less and another 61% having an educational attainment of the ninth to the twelfth grade. Since the 1940 study offers no percentages as to race, a

comparison between the two studies cannot be made. However, O'Keefe and Mendelsohn report that of their non-voters,73% were white, 17% were black, 1% Oriental, 8% Chicano and 1% other. The authors point out that traditionally the non-voter has been characterized as "likelier to be young, less educated, less affluent, single, female, geographically mobile",[66] and their data appears to add new support to that contention.

Eulau and Schneider, using a national area probability sample, examined the relationship of political relatedness, a combination of political efficacy and responsibility, and demographics.[67] They found that persons scoring highly on political relatedness were more often among those with higher incomes, those of higher occupational status, urbanites and the better educated. Low scorers were more often found at the opposite end of these demographic groupings. Thompson and Horton reached a similar conclusion.[68] In their Berkeley, California sample, they found a high incidence of non-voting and disinterest among those with lower socio-economic status.

Erbe reports that those with higher social status are more likely to register, to vote, to be interested in politics, to discuss politics, to belong to a politically relevant organization and to attempt to influence the political views of others while for those with a lower social status, the reverse is true.[49] Bennett and Klecka, utilizing national election data for 1964, 1966 and 1968,

found education to be the best predictor of political actions when compared with occupation and income.[70]

Milbrath and Goel, citing a wide variety of studies, report that those with a higher social class standing, higher income and higher level of educational attainment are more likely to participate.[71] Men are more likely to participate than women, and whites are more likely than blacks. The relationship between age and participation was found to be curvilinear with participation increasing steadily until the middle years after which it begins to decline as age advances.

The relationship between social status and participation takes an unexpected turn on a community level. Minar analyzed aggregate voting data on elections and referenda in forty-eight suburban elementary school districts in Cooke County, Illinois.[72] He found that communities with higher aggregate status levels tended to show lower participation and lower levels of dissent.

Demographic characteristics have also been found to be related to political attitudes, particularly political alienation and its two components, political efficacy and trust in government. Thompson and Horton and Templeton both found that alienation was closely related to those in the lower socio-economic strata.[73] While the former suggests that political alienation may be a mediating factor between socio-economic status and political participation which provides an alternative to "subcultural orientations

or self-interest explanations of political behavior"[74] among that group, the latter claims that alienation is manifested in a withdrawal from political life. Templeton found in his 1960 Berkeley, California sample that the alienated were found disproportionately among blacks, manual workers, those with less than a college education, those who identify with working or lower classes and those in the lower two socio-economic quartiles (as determined by the interviewer). Levin found similar results in Boston: feelings of powerlessness were greatest among elementary or high school graduates, those employed in blue or white collar jobs and those in lower income groups, although the data only implies the relationship of income and powerlessness.[75]

Dean, in a study in Columbus, Ohio, found that there was a negative correlation between social status, defined as a combination of occupation, education and in-income, and alienation; a positive correlation between advancing age and alienation; and, a negative correlation between a rural background and alienation.[76] The correlations were statistically significant but low. Dean concludes that, in general, alienation decreases as status increases. He points out, however, that alienation may not be a "personality 'trait', but a situation-relevant variable".[77]

Middleton examined the relationship between race, education and alienation in a central Florida sample in the

summer of 1962.[78] He found that the percentage of blacks who felt alienated was far higher than the percentage for whites for every type of alienation except cultural estrangement.[79] For both racial groups, education was inversely related to alienation, such that as education level increased, the degree of alienation decreased. Olsen found similar results in a study of race and alienation in Detroit in the late 1950's.[80] Blacks were more alienated than whites even when occupation was controlled. For occupation, as status increased, alienation decreased, an association that was evident for both races. Education and income were both significantly and negatively related to alienation among both blacks and whites, however, the relationship almost disappeared when occupation was controlled. Finally, he found that age was not related to alienation and that men were slightly more alienated than women.

The relationship between alienation and perception of political strength in a school tax levy election was examined by Eckhardt and Hendershot.[81] They found that alienation was associated with social position in the power structure. The alienated were largely found among those of a lower socio-economic status whether measured by occupation or educational attainment. Additionally, the older members of the sample were more likely to be alienated as were those who had resided in the community for a longer period of time.

Bennett and Klecka noted that a strong sense of

political efficacy was dependent upon knowledge about politics and the capacity to use information properly, a result of the educational process.[82] Using data from three national elections (1964, 1966, 1968) they found that political efficacy was related to education, income and occupation and that of the three, educational attainment was the strongest predictor of efficacy. Similarly, Vinyard and Sigel found that social class was related to efficacy with middle class respondents generally rating higher in the sense of efficacy than working class respondents.[83]

Mendelsohn and O'Keefe, in a study of the 1972 election in Summit County, Ohio, found that 40% of their respondents rated high on political cynicism.[84] They note that "the more detached, alienated and remote the voters were from the mainstreams of social, economic and political activities, the more likely they were to express a high degree of political cynicism".[85] Those respondents who were apt to score high on political cynicism were "low socio-economic status voters, the least affluent, the downwardly mobile with regard to social class, and voters undergoing the greatest degree of economic stress".[86]

Low socio-economic status (low income, occupation status and education level), then, is related to alienation from the political system which is manifested in a withdrawal from politics (nonparticipation and non-voting). Alienation decreases as status increases. The higher levels of socio-economic status are associated with participation,

voting, trust in government and a high sense of political efficacy.

Political Participation

The research into the effects of certain political attitudes on participation is broad, having been undertaken by researchers from the fields of psychology, sociology, political science and communication. The one attitude that has attracted the most attention has been that of alienation. For example, in the 1959 mayoral campaign in Boston, Levin found an attitude of alienation in a large number of voters:

> Our analysis of this post-election survey has shown that a large proportion of the electorate feels politically powerless because it believes that the community is controlled by a small group of politically powerful and selfish individuals who use public office for personal gain. Many voters assume that this power elite is irresponsible and unaffected by the outcome of elections. Those who embrace this view feel that voting is meaningless because they see the candidates as undesireable and the electoral process as a sham. We suggest the term "political alienation" to refer to these attitudes.[87]

The research seems to point to the fact that the alienated withdraw from political life.[88] Nettler found this type of behavior in an in-depth study of thirty-seven "alienates" from across all demographic groups. The common ground beneath them was "a consistent maintenance of unpopular and averse attitudes toward familism, the mass media and mass taste, current events, popular education, conventional religion and the teleic view of life, nationalism and the voting process".[90] He discovered that, as a group, they were politically disenchanted, regarded national

voting as a type of "non-rational circus" and showed only a slight interest in current events. Levin and Eden paint an even grimmer picture of the alienated voter as one who is hostile to politicians, disenchanted with the political process, tends to believe that campaign promises are "empty verbiage", and casts votes against rather than for anything when actually voting, which is rare.[91] Campbell found that alienation was high among those most withdrawn from party politics and that this is an active, rather than a passive, rejection of political matters.[92] Further, their orientation towards the world of politics is one of suspicion, distrust and cynicism, viewing the whole political process as a fraud and a betrayal of public trust.

In support of this withdrawal hypothesis, Kraus and Davis claim:

> Alienated persons are those who cannot understand social institutions, and in particular, their own relationships to those institutions. Consequently, they experience frustration and anxiety whenever they attempt to engage in political action. These persons should tend to withdraw from all political action and develop attitudes which rationalize or reinforce this withdrawal.[93]

This withdrawal has been noted in a variety of studies. Dean found that alienation was related to interest apathy (a lack of personal involvement in political interests), influence apathy (lack of interest in influencing others) and behavior apathy, but not related to voting apathy.[94] Erbe reports a negative relationship between alienation and political participation as does Clark

who found the same negative relationship between alienation and participation in the affairs of an agricultural cooperative.[95] McLeod and Becker, in their study of avoidance, found that the alienation dimension associated highly with a lack of interest in the campaign and less attention to political advertising.[96]

The most visible and most basic form of political participation is voting. Alienation has been found to influence behavior in this area in two distinct ways: not voting at all or protest voting. McDill and Ridley found that the politically alienated were less likely to have voted but if they voted, were less likely to vote in favor.[97] They point out:

> Political alienation involves not only apathy as a response to political powerlessness but also a general distrust of political leaders who are the wielders of this power. Consequently, if feelings of political alienation find expression in voting behavior, the vote is likely to be a vote of resentment against the political powers that be.[98]

Key, noting that turnout rates do provide a measure, albeit a rough one, of the extent of political involvement within the population, points out that non-voting may be "the product of disillusionment and lack of faith in the democratic process".[99] Hamilton also examined turnout rates in a city elections and found that those with a low sense of political efficacy voted at a much lower rate (27%) than those with a high sense of political efficacy (41%).[100]

O'Keefe and Mendelsohn, in a 1976 sample of non-voters, found that the most important reasons for non-voting

were a distruct towards the candidates, a lack of concern with politics and a lack of information about the candidates.[101] Pomper, noting that less than 55% of those 18 and over voted in 1976, found that there was a widespread feeling of powerlessness:

> An increasing proportion of Americans believe themselves unable to control the government, which they see as dominated by special interests and uncaring leaders. These feelings are the root cause of non-voting. Greater turnout will follow not from reforms in registration forms, but from actions that increase the voters' sense of political efficacy.[102]

Feelings of alienation, then, have an impact on political behavior. If alienation is present there appears to be a withdrawal from politics. The alienate is hostile, disenchanted, suspicious, distrustful, apathetic and cynical. He demonstrates a lack of interest in political campaigns, does not pay attention to political advertising and, if he votes at all, casts protest votes.

Political Attitudes

Political alienation is not a simple, one-dimentional concept. Cohen found that alienation combined factors of distrust of authorities, ethnocentrism, resistance to change and an orientation toward populism.[103] Kraus and Davis note an inconsistency in the findings on alienation: that it has been found to be negatively correlated with traditional institutionalized forms of political action but also positively correlated with involvement in non-traditional social movements.[104] They point out that some forms

of alienation may increase rather than decrease the likelihood that certain types of political action will occur in certain election situations.

Any number of researchers have attempted to define the concept. Seeman identified five basic ways alienation, as a term, is used: powerlessness, which has to do with an individual's sense of influence over socio-political events; meaninglessness, or the individual's sense of understanding the events in which he is engaged; normlessness, or a belief that socially unapproved behavior may be required to achieve given goals; isolation, or the detachment of the intellectual from the popular culture standards; and self-estrangement, or a loss of intrinsic meaning or pride in work.[105] Dean posits that alienation can be defined as a combination of powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation.[106]

Finifter identifies four ways alienation toward the political system may be expressed: political powerlessness, political meaninglessness, perceived political normlessness and political isolation.[107] She proposes a provisional typology of political participation based on the interaction of political powerlessness and perceived political normlessness.[108] Education was the most powerful predictor of powerlessness followed by occupation and income. For normlessness, the predictors were race, then income and education. Males exhibit more normlessness, while females, more powerlessness.

Olsen defines two categories of alienation:

incapability, operationalized as political efficacy, and discontentment, or political cynicism (distrust of government).[109] Incapability was inversely and moderately strongly correlated with education, occupation and income; was prevalent in those over the age of sixty; and in women more than men. Discontentment was also inversely correlated with education and income, but not as strongly as in the case of incapability; and was more common among women. Applying the scheme to political participation, he found that non-voting was slightly correlated with political incapability but not with discontentment. Overall, attitudes of incapability towards politics were moderately associated with a lack of participation in political activities, but that attitudes of political discontentment had very little effect on political activities.

Other researchers have noted the relationship between efficacy and trust in government as two components of political alienation. Thompson and Horton state:

> The suggestion is that political inefficacy may result in political alienation which involves not only apathy or indifference as a response to awareness of powerlessness, but also diffuse displeasure at being powerless and mistrust of those who do wield power. Given the opportunity for expression, political alienation would be expected to be translated into either an undirected vote of resentment or an organized vote of opposition.[110]

Stokes, using 1958 national election data, found a correlation between political efficacy and political trust.[111] He hypothesized that under certain conditions one could find subjective powerlessness linked with a positive

attitude toward government, but that generally "feelings of powerlessness toward public authority tend to create feelings of hostility toward the authority."[112] Litt proposes a close link between cynicism about politics and feelings of ineffectiveness in politics.[113] He found a relationship between personal trust and political cynicism. He concludes that "a high level of political cynicism may exist independent of the belief that one may exert some influence upon these politicians who are regarded as hacks unconcerned about satisfying any notion of community interest".[114]

Aberbach uses trust and efficacy as two operational measures of alienation.[115] He points out that "the fundamental reason for defining alienation as a combination of distrust and powerlessness is the expectation that the joint occurence of the two attitudes produces a unique behavioral tendency".[116] Using data from the 1964 national election, he found that the powerless vote less often than the powerful no matter what the level of political trust. Miller notes that political cynicism is related to feelings of political inefficacy and that both have been viewed as components of the more general concept of political alienation.[117] Accordingly, one would expect that "the relationship between efficacy and political trust would be a critical determinant of whether one acts politically and the direction that action takes".[118] In the 1972 election, for example, 89% of those who felt both efficacious and trusting turned out to vote whereas only 62% of the inefficacious and

distrustful did likewise.[119]

These two dimensions of political alienation, political efficacy and political trust, have been investigated separately. Two early studies dealt with trust in government. Connelly and Field noted that non-voters seemed to be more trusting of government.[120] This group did not see anything particularly wrong with the conduct or caliber of politicians and were satisfied with the politicians in their state. A greater proportion of non-voters than voters disagreed that politics makes men dishonest, but, the researchers note, fewer non-voters had opinions on the issue at all. In the other study, Lang and Lang, after an examination of media use and distrust, report that prior research indicated that television has a strong appeal to the chronically distrustful.[121]

Agger, Goldstein and Pearl found that age, income and education were all related to political cynicism.[122] Those with less education, a lower income and who were older tended to be more cynical. Relating cynicism to political potency, they report that the sense of political impotence goes hand in hand with a cynical view of politics and politicians. Aberbach and Walker warn that resentment and distrust are elements of dissatisfaction which can lead to resistance, noting that "the existence of distrustful citizens who are convinced that the government serves the interests of a few rather than the interests of all is a barrier to the realization of the democratic ideal".[123]

Miller makes a similar point in noting the increase in political cynicism among both blacks and whites since 1966:

> . . . widespread discontent prevalent in the United States today arises, in part, out of dissatisfaction with the policy alternatives that have been offered as solutions to contemporary problems.[124]

Citrin points to the lack of homogeneity of low scorers on the trust in government scale.[125] They include "'ritualistic cynics' and partisans of the 'outs' as well as respondents who see no viable alternative to the incumbent authorities and reject the constitutional order".[126] His date refute the popular proposition that low trust in government brings about a withdrawal from conventional political participation. On the other hand, Milbrath and Goel report that negative evaluations of the political system are associated with low levels of political activity.[127] Two studies by Mendelsohn and O'Keefe also provide supportive data for the low trust-withdrawal hypothesis.[128]

Political efficacy has been defined as:

> . . . the feeling that individual political action does have or can have an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change.[129]

Its negative component includes a sense of futility, insignificance, powerlessness and incompetence.[130] This sense of inefficaciousness has been found to be a determinant of lack of participation in the political system. As early as 1951, Rosenberg identified powerlessness

(inefficacy) as one of the factors fostering apathy and inactivity:

> The giant economic and power blocs typified by giant corporations and unions, thrust the individual about with pressures too powerful to resist. As a consequence the individual is likely to feel overwhelmed and powerless. Given this feeling, the idea that his puny strength can match the giants is absurd, and he feels that a lonely individual can do nothing to change the way society is run. Raising his weak voice against the massive roar of the mass media and political giants is futile. For this reason many people with political conviction do no more than vote, convinced that they can have no substantial effect in any event.[131]

In a later work delineating the determinants of political apathy, Rosenberg identified a sense of the futility of political activity. This was based on a sense of personal inadequacy and unmanageability of political forces--a classical example of the sense of political inefficacy.[132]

Seeman defines alienation as powerlessness, the "expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurence of the outcome he seeks".[133] Tying powerlessness to knolwedge acquisition, he found that those high in powerlessness were less interested in political activities and had a lower level of knowledge acquisition.[134] Wolfinger and his colleagues, in an examination of the radical right, found that the alienated do not necessarily become social isolates.[135] The alienated group they term "crusaders" are not possessed by feelings of powerlessness, but rather have a strong sense of political efficacy and a high level of political participation in political campaigns. Iyengar notes

that the sense of subjective political efficacy does not appear to be closely intertwined with evaluations of the incumbent government.[136] It is not "a fleeting response to current political realities but is, instead, a more firmly embedded attitude concerning the responsiveness of the regime".[137]

Milbrath and Goel, citing numerous studies, report that those who feel efficacious are more likely to participate in the political process, and that higher levels of efficacy are associated with those of upper socio-economic status.[138] Eulau and Schneider found that efficacy alone was not a sufficient condition for involvement.[139] A sense of responsibility was also necessary. They determined that an individual may be a regular voter even if low on efficacy, if that person rates high on civic duty or responsibility.

Persons who feel a duty to participate in politics are much more likely to do so.[140] Demographically, those who are in the upper socio-economic strata, especially those with high education levels, are more likely to develop this sense of citizen duty. Nie, Powell and Prewitt found that the direct impact of socio-economic characteristics on political participation, including voting, was weakened by the presence of five attitude sets toward the political system.[141] These included a sense of civic duty, political efficacy, political knowledge, perceived importance of political outcomes, and attentiveness to mass media political content.

Feelings of alienation, distrust and inefficacy have been found to influence political behavior, as well as attitudes and opinions on political issues and problems.[142] Horton and Thompson propose that:

> . . . voting down local issues may be in part a type of mass protest, a convergence of the individual assessments and actions of the powerless who have turned politics into a "phobic" sector by projecting into available political symbols the fears and suspicions growing out of the alienated conditions of their existence.[143]

Erbe found that alienation can be expressed in two distinct ways.[144] Retreatist alienation leads to disenchantment, despair and the feeling that the world promises nothing in the way of comfort or support. Rebellious alienation, on the other hand, leads to a "desire to strike back at or to somehow violently manipulate the world from which the individual has become estranged," the kind of "energy that activates the 'true believer'".[145] Templeton determined that "alienation is reflected in hostility toward the agencies of government and is not significant in the formulation of policy judgements".[146]

Finifter suggested that the varying levels of powerlessness combined with varying levels of perceived political normlessness would be associated with different types of political participation.[147] Those high on both would be characterized by a complete withdrawal from political participation, while those low on both would conform to the standard modes of participation. Those high on normlessness and low on powerlessness would have a reform

orientation, working to change the system from within, while those high on powerlessness and low on normlessness would exhibit apathy and very little political activity. In confirmation, Paige reports that mistrust of local government, when combined with a strong sense of political efficacy, fostered participation in riot activity in Newark in 1967, while Gamson points out that "a combination of a high sense of political efficacy and low political trust is the optimum combination for mobilization - a belief that influence is both possible and necessary".[148]

Seeman notes that normlessness threatens the development of trust and that powerlessness (inefficacy) is related to protest voting. He concludes:

> Thus, if the studies of voting in local referenda and of ghetto violence (and possibly campaign activity as well) tie activism to powerlessness, while powerlessness is also associated with non-participation, retreat from knowledge and unwillingness to act, then clearly some distinctions have to be made concerning kinds of knowledge, and the like.[149]

Milbrath and Goel propose a relationship between efficacy, trust and participation:

> The low efficacy-low trust combination likely leads to withdrawal from participation, for why get involved when one's actions have such a low probability of influence. Those who have both efficacious and trustful orientations are likely to choose conventional modes of participation because they are perceived as producing the desired outcomes. In contrast, the efficacious mistrustful persons may be inclined toward radical action because such action is perceived as both necessary and possible. Those who trust political leadership but doubt their own capability for political influence most likely engage in supportive and ritualistic activities (voting, flying the flag, enlisting, and so on).[150]

A number of authors support the contention that alienation is composed of trust in government and political efficacy. Each dimension affects political behavior. For example, distrust leads to discontent, low participation and non-voting. A low sense of political efficacy is related to low interest, low level of knowledge acquisition, low levels of participation and non-voting. Together they interact to bring about unique behaviors. Low trust and high efficacy leads to increased participation but of a rebellious or protest sort while low efficacy and high trust brings about participation limited almost exclusively to voting. Persons high on both are participants while persons low on both tend to withdraw totally.

Summary

Alienation's impact on political behavior is clear. It is most closely associated with groups of lower socio-economic status. When present it can lead to a withdrawal from politics as seen in a lack of interest, lack of knowledge, lack of participation and lack of voting. When defined as the interaction of trust in government and political efficacy, allowance can be made for the fact that in some instances alienation leads to protest voting.

School Referenda

The literature regarding school referenda, as concerns the present study, falls into three general areas of concern: Awareness/knowledge, source of information and

voting correlates, including both demographics and alienation.

Awareness/Knowledge

Research on awareness levels in school referenda shows mixed results at best. Hamilton and Cohen cite three studies where awareness levels were determined.[151] A study conducted in Bowling Green, Ohio, the week after the election which asked voters the purpose of the four fiscal propositions on the ballot found that levels of correct responses were 95% for two propositions, 80% for one and 60% for the fourth. Eighty percent of the voters knew of the proposed cutbacks if the school levy failed and 70% were aware that teachers' salaries were below the regional average. In Austintown, only 40% had heard the school-closing warning and 33% knew teachers' salaries were lower than those in the surrounding communities. A survey of a bond election in DeKalb County, Georgia, found few voters who had acquired information on the ten measures on the ballot and few who were aware of the activities and positions of civic and professional groups.

Awareness and knowledge seem to be related to participation. Kowalski reports a positive relationship between knowing the names of neighborhood principals and school board members and voting.[152] Carter found that the extent of knowledge about the school was slight but that the more the knowledge, the more participatory the voter.[153]

A study undertaken by the Washington State Legislature hypothesized that knowledge of school elections would be distinctly greater among yes voters.[154] After surveying eighteen communities, they report that "don't know" responses on a battery of factual items was two to three times greater among no voters.

School referenda, then, are generally characterized by low awareness levels and low levels of knowledge. Awareness and knowledge are related to voting and to participation such that as awareness and knowledge increase, so do participation and voting. Knowledge is also related to vote cast with correct information characterizing yes voters and little or no information, no voters.

Source of Information

An early campaign manual lists twenty-six types of media and materials a school entity can utilize in a school election including open letters from the board of education to the electorate, endorsements of the proposals, a manual of information, meetings, radio, material in newspapers, material in private house organs, material in school publications, personal letters, posters, billboards, tags, stickers, and school reports.[155] While all of these outlets are used to communicate with the electorate during a campaign, research to date shows that newspapers are the predominant source of information regarding school issues, including school referenda. Carter found that while

two-thirds of the voters said they would turn to a school official for information about the schools, when queried about actual channels of information the majority of the respondents identified newspapers as their primary source.[156] Hamilton and Cohen confirmed this finding in their Bowling Green study in the mid-1960's.[157]

Rowe came to a similar conclusion in a study of voters in a bond election in San Diego, California.[158] He also found that newspapers were not viewed as part of the school district's public information campaign. This may partially explain Rarick's findings that 42.2% of the respondents said they would take the advice of the newspaper in a local bond election compared to only 32.8% in Presidential elections.[159] Krischak, in a study of an unsuccessful rural Michigan community college millage election, found that more voters relied on the newspapers than any other source of information; that almost all voters were exposed to information during the election campaign; that radio did not appear to affect voter decision; and, that there was an indication that voters who got their information from a secondary source were more inclined to vote against the millage request.[160]

Greenberg found that in a school bond election, those who thought their side would win exposed themselves to more sources of information than those who thought their side would lose and that those who held consistent cognitions relied more heavily on print sources such as bulletins and

leaflets.[161] Generally, however, personal communication with friends, students and school employees follows newspapers in usefulness while pamphlets, leaflets and school bulletins rank third.[162] The pre-eminence of newspapers as information sources is the product of three givens in school elections:

> Most voters are not parents of school children, most people do not attend meetings where the school proposal is discussed, and the press is inclined to be generous in reporting school news and publishing campaign press releases.[163]

Sigel points out, however, that the importance of the press relative to other communication channels is the function of the size of the school district with more reliance placed on the press in larger districts while in smaller districts the emphasis shifts to a doorbell campaign utilizing leaflets and pamphlets.[164]

Newspapers, then, are the dominant source of information regarding school referenda. Personal communication and other printed materials follow in importance with radio a distant fourth. The research also indicates that voters who get their information from a secondary source, generally in the form of personal communication, are more inclined to vote against the issue.

Voting Correlates: Demographics

Certain demographic variables have been found to be closely related to positive voting in school referenda. Carter found that the most favorable voter was young (under

fifty-one) with children in school, a recent resident of the community with an occupation as a skilled worker or in clerical and sales, while the most unfavorable voter was also young but without children in school, a long-time resident of the community with a professional or technical occupation.[165]

Hamilton and Cohen found that the highly educated are more supportive, that endorement of levies by voters in the top income bracket was twice the rate of those in the bottom bracket and that professionals were distinctly more favorably inclined than businessmen and far more supportive than those in manual occupations.[166] They also found an inverse relationship between age and support with support decreasing as age increased. They also report that parents were more supportive as were women, that renters voted less often but not differently than owners, and that religious affiliation was a situational variable coming into play only when the percentage of parochial school students was high.

Kowalski reports similar results with some refinement.[167] Occupations were ranked from most to least favorable: professional, managerial, white collar, manual, farmer. As for parental status, those with children in the public schools, specially grades ten and under, were more positive than non-parents or those with no children in school either because they have not entered yet or have already completed their schooling.

The relationship between income and voting was

further examined by Wilson and Banfield who point out that middle income homeowners often vote against proposals approved by the very poor (renters) and the very well-to-do (owners).[168] Alexander and Bass found that the highest income class and managerial and professional occupations are associated with greater election support.[169]

Kowalski also examined the relationship between past and present voting and found that a person's past voting record was a prime determinant of a future vote.[170] She states that the chances are three out of four that a person who previously voted in favor of a school proposal will vote positively the next time.

Support for school referenda is generally found among those with children in school, those with higher levels of education and income, those with very low incomes (renters), those with high occupation levels and women. Those who have voted for a referendum in the past are also most likely to be supportive.

Voting Correlates: Alienation

Alienation has also played a part in school monetary elections. In a study of school bond issues, Thompson and Horton found that those who felt powerless and isolated in community affairs voted in lower numbers, but these people were also more likely to cast protest votes, stating that a no vote on a bond issue was a vote against the existing power structure.[171] Piele and Hall point out that the

alienated group, individuals who are extremely distant from the center of the community, generally avoid participation in the decision-making process (i.e., voting) but occasionally, when certain political situations arise, like a school referendum, will register a protest against school government by voting negatively.[172] Reeder also points out that a lack of confidence in the board of education, in the superintendent of schools or in some phase of the management of the school, constitutes one of the major reasons for a no vote.[173] Templeton found that on a series of items designed to test the respondent's knowledge of the propositions to be included on the ballot, "alienated respondents were consistently less likely to give correct responses than nonalienated respondents".[174] This finding is substantiated by Horton and Thompson in their research into the relationship between powerlessness and local referenda activity.[175]

Eckhardt and Hendershot, in an examination of the relationship between alienation and the perception of political strength in a school tax levy election, found that the alienated were worse assessors of political opinion at both the precinct and the community level.[176] The alienated, they report:

> . . . are more likely to overestimate their political strength in the community in comparison to the unalienated, and this perception of political strength may in turn induce a feeling of "powerfulness" among the alienated which accounts for their political participation at the community level.[177]

Hamilton and Cohen found that no voting was an expression of general distrust on the part of the politically alienated.[178] In studies undertaken in Corning and Ithaca, New York, there was striking evidence of alienation and negative voting, a relationship which remained even when socio-economic status was controlled. In their Austintown study, one-fifth of the actual voters were high in alienation. Four-fifths of those alienated voters voted no compared with only one-fifth of those scoring low in alienation. Alienation was one of the underlying factors found in Youngstown, Ohio using a Q sort factor methodology. This factor contained "nearly all the elements of alienation: parochialism, ethnocentrism, local chauvinism, aggressiveness, distrust of authority, suspiciousness, and a persecution complex".[179]

Carter investigated the sense of efficacy, a feeling that the voter's participation would be meaningful, and one of the dimensions of political alienation under study.[180] He found that one-third of the voters felt that they had little to say about what the schools did; almost one-half felt that the only voice voters had was the act of voting; that one-fourth felt that school officials did not care what the average voter thought; and, that two-fifths thought that educational policy was too complicated for persons like themselves to understand. He concluded that the presence of low efficacy almost assures a negative view of the schools. Wirt and Kirst found that the efficacious voter was younger, more

educated and felt the pressure to be involved in school policies.[181] Giles, Gatlin and Cataldo determined that trust and efficacy were positively related to support for school taxes.[182]

Hamilton and Cohen propose that trust in government and efficacy be examined as two components of political alienation that may affect the outcome of school referenda;

> Perhaps both popularity and vagueness stem from the proliferation of dimensions that have been added to the phenomena: thus it may be popular because alienation can be used to explain so much in the way of behavior and yet it may be vague because the domain has become unmanageable as a single concept. To the perceived lack of power in community affairs and distrust of those who hold power, there has been added interpersonal distrust (Do you trust people?) and personal inefficacy (Do you feel personally ineffective?). The additional sources of alienation seem to be especially significant for referenda, where the so-called alienated voter can be politically efficacious, and who was for six consecutive elections in Youngstown.[183]

The alienated, then, are less likely to vote but more likely to cast a protest vote in school elections. The no vote is seen as an expression of general distrust. The alienated are also less likely to have correct information about school referenda. Low efficacy is associated with a negative view of the schools while high levels of trust and efficacy are positively related to support for school taxes.

Summary

School referenda are low awareness, low knowledge, low participation elections. They are characterized by the participation of alienates protesting the current system

authorities. Support is generally found among those most closely associated with education, either because of school age children or because of high levels of educational attainment.

Hypotheses

This study was designed primarily to examine the relationships proposed in the derivative model. The model posits differences in level of awareness and correctness and source of information based on varying levels of trust in government and political efficacy. The literature supports this typology. Those persons high on trust and efficacy are generally found among those with higher levels of socio-economic status.[184] Both high levels of trust and efficacy and higher socio-economic status are related to the use of newspapers as a source of political information,[185] and to yes voting in school referenda.[186] Support for such issues, finally, is related to level of correct information.[187] Those scoring high on both trust in government and political efficacy should be aware of the election, hold correct information regarding the issue and receive the majority of their information from the media, in this case, newspapers.

A strong sense of political efficacy and a distrust of government has often been associated with protest voting in referenda.[188] No voting is related to having little information[189] and with getting information from secondary

sources.[190] Low trust is associated with a reliance on television as a source of political information.[191] In this case television is not available as a source of political information. Therefore this group is expected to be highly aware as a result of strong feelings of efficacy,[192] but to have little or no information as a result of no local television. Information, then, should come from personal sources.

Those scoring low on efficacy but high on trust have been found to be supportive of the system.[193] Low efficacy is related to apathy and inactivity[194] but this is tempered by high trust which is related to voting.[195] Those high on trust are more likely to use media as a source of information,[196] while newspaper readership is related to voting.[197] Given these findings, those low on efficacy and high on trust should have little awareness of the election but those who are aware should have correct information and should acquire that information from the media, in the present instance, newspapers.

The final group, those low on both trust and efficacy, is the easiest to type. This group should withdraw from all political activity.[198] The alienated have been found to avoid political information,[199] to distrust the media generally,[200] and to utilize television rather than newspapers.[201] Those low in trust and low in efficacy should, therefore, have little awareness of the campaign, have little or no information about the issue and to have

gained that information from personal sources.

Three major hypotheses and six sub-hypotheses were used to test these differences in the groups as proposed in the derivative model. The first set of hypotheses dealt with the level of awareness:

H_1: There will be significantly different levels of awareness among the four groups.

H_1: $(A)GI \neq (A)GII \neq (A)GIII \neq (A)GIV$

H_0: $(A)GI = (A)GII = (A)GIII = (A)GIV$[202]

Where (A) equals the number aware and GI to GIV the groups.[203]

H_{1a}: The proportion of those aware in Group I will be significantly greater than the proportion aware in Group II.

H_{1a}: $(PA)GI > (PA)GII$

H_0: $(PA)GI \leq (PA)GII$

Where (PA) equals the proportion aware.

H_{1b}: The proportion of those aware in Group III will be significantly greater than the proportion aware in Group IV.

H_{1b}: $(PA)GIII > (PA)GIV$

H_0: $(PA)GIII \leq (PA)GIV$

H_{1c}: The proportion of those aware in Groups I and II combined will be significantly greater than the proportion aware in Groups III and IV combined.

H_{1c}: $(PA)GI+II > (PA)GIII+IV$

H_0: $(PA)GI+II \leq (PA)GIII+IV$

The second set of hypotheses examined the differences in correctness of information:

H_2: There will be significantly differential levels of correct information among the four groups.

H_2: MGI≠MGII≠MGIII≠MGIV

H_0: MGI=MGII=MGIII=MGIV

Where M equals the mean level of correct information held by the group.

H_{2a}: The mean level of correct information of Group I will be significantly greater than the mean level of correct information of Group III.

H_{2a}: MGI>MGIII

H_0: MGI≤MGIII

H_{2b}: The mean level of correct information of Group II will be significantly greater than the mean level of correct information in Group IV.

H_{2b}: MGII>MGIV

H_0: MGII≤MGIV

H_{2c}: The average of the mean levels of correct information of Groups I and II will be significantly greater than the average of the mean levels of correct information of Groups III and IV.

H_{2c}: MGI+MGII>MGIII+MGIV

H_0: MGI+MGII≤MGIII+MGIV

The third major hypothesis focused on source of information:

H_3: Groups I and III will report media sources in a significantly greater proportion than Groups II and IV.

H_3: (PM)GI+III>(PM)GII+IV

H_0: (PM)GI+III≤(PM)GII+IV

Where (PM) equals the proportion in the combined groups reporting relying on newspapers and radio as their sources of information.

In addition to testing the derivative model,

hypotheses were tested dealing with the major areas discussed in the review of literature. The fourth hypothesis, then, examined awareness levels in the sample throughout the campaign:

H_4: There will be significant increases in the proportion aware of the election as the campaign progresses.

H_4: $(PA)W1 < (PA)W2 < (PA)W3 < (PA)W4 < (PA)W5 < (PA)W6 < (PA)W7 < (PA)W8 < (PA)W9 < (PA)W10$

H_0: $(PA)W1 \geq (PA)W2 \geq (PA)W3 \geq (PA)W4 \geq (PA)W5 \geq (PA)W6 \geq (PA)W7 \geq (PA)W8 \geq (PA)W9 \geq (PA)W10$

Where (PA)Wn equals the proportion of the sample called that week that was aware that a special election had been called.

Hypothesis five dealt with correctness of information:

H_5 The proportion of those holding correct information about the issue will increase significantly across the campaign.

H_5: $(PC)W1 < (PC)W2 < (PC)W3 < (PC)W4 < (PC)W5 < (PC)W6 < (PC)W7 < (PC)W8 < (PC)W9 < (PC)W10$

H_0: $(PC)W1 \geq (PC)W2 \geq (PC)W3 \geq (PC)W4 \geq (PC)W5 \geq (PC)W6 \geq (PC)W7 \geq (PC)W8 \geq (PC)W9 \geq (PC)W10$

Where (PC)Wn equals the proportion of the sample contacted during the week holding correct information about the election.

Hypothesis six examined source of information:

H_6: A significantly higher proportion of the respondents in Owosso-Corunna will receive their information from the newspaper than respondents in the outlying districts.

H_6: $(P)NPO\text{-}C > (P)NPOTHERS$

H_0: (P)NPO-C≤(P)NPOTHERS

Where (P)NP equals the proportion of the respondents who reported receiving their information about the election from the newspaper; O-C represents the combined school districts of Owosso and Corunna; and OTHERS, the remaining six school districts.

Hypotheses seven through twelve examined various factors influencing favorability to the issue of an area vocational education center.

H_7: Favorability toward the issue will decrease significantly as age increases.

H_7: $(I)X_{age} \neq (I)X_{favor}$

H_0: $(I)X_{age} = (I)X_{favor}$

Where (I)Xn represents an increase in the mean of of the variable indicated.

H_8: Parents with children at home will be significantly more favorable towards the issue than those without children at home.

H_8: $X_I > X_{II}$

H_0: $X_I \leq X_{II}$

Where X represents the mean level of favorability, I represents the group with children at home and II, the group of parents without children at home.

H_9: Favorability will increase significantly as education level increases.

H_9: $X_1 < X_2 < X_3 < X_4 < X_5 < X_6 < X_7 < X_8$

H_0: $X_1 \geq X_2 \geq X_3 \geq X_4 \geq X_5 \geq X_6 \geq X_7 \geq X_8$

Where X represents the mean favorability score for the subscripted level of education.[204]

H_{10}: Favorability will increase as income level increases.

H_{10}: $X_1<X_2<X_3<X_4$

H_0: $X_1\geq X_2\geq X_3\geq X_4$

Where Xn represents the mean level of favorability for the subscripted income level.[205]

H_{11}: There will be significant increases in favorability as occupational status increases.

H_{11}: $X_1<X_2<X_3<X_4<X_5$

H_0: $X_1\geq X_2\geq X_3\geq X_4\geq X_5$

Where Xn represents the mean level of favorability for each occupation status level.[206]

H_{12} Those reporting a yes vote in the past will be significantly more favorable than those reporting a past negative vote in a school millage election.

H_{12}: $X_I>X_{II}$

H_0: $X_I\leq X_{II}$

Where X represents the mean favorability level; I, the group voting yes in the past; and II, the group voting no.

Hypotheses thirteen and fourteen examined the influence of alienation on favorability and negative voting.

H_{13}: Alienation will be a significant independent predictor of favorability.

H_{13}: $F=a+b_1X_1$

H_0: $F\neq a+b_1X_1$

Where F represents level of favorability and

X_1, the level of alienation.

H_{14}: Alienation will be a significant independent predictor of negative voting.

H_{14}: $V=a+b_1X_1$

H_0: $V\neq a+b_1X_1$

Where V represents the self-report of the person's vote on the issue after the election and X_1, the level of alienation.

Definitions

"Awareness" is defined as knowing, either aided or unaided, that a speical county-wide election has been called. Level of "correct information" is defined as the number of correct responses to a series of questions concerning who had called the election, what the election was about, and the amount of millage requested. "Source of information" is defined as newspaper, radio, a friend, a flyer or brochure, a poster, and a meeting. "Favorability" is defined as a self-report of the respondent's likelihood of voting in favor of the millage with 0 meaning no chance and 100 meaning definitely in favor. "Alienation" is defined as a combination of the scores on the trust in government and sense of political efficacy scales such that the higher the score the greater the sense of alienation.

Limitations

The model is being tested in a unique situation: a school millage election in a minimal local media county.

The results may not be generalizable to a partisan election, or a media-rich area or both.

The data collected were an added feature to a larger project. The researcher therefore had limited control over the other portions of the study. The length of the interview, inexperience of the interviewers and difficulty of the main instrument may have biased the results in ways that would not have occured in a different research setting.

Endnotes

[1]Shirley A. Star and Helen MacGill Hughes, "Report on an Educational Campaign: The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations," American Journal of Sociology 55 (January 1950):389-401.

[2]John E. Ross and Lloyd R. Bostain, "Communication Activities of Wisconsin Farm Families in Wintertime," Journal of Broadcasting 2 (Fall 1958):319-28.

[3]Bruce H. Westley and Werner Severin, "A Profile of the Daily Newspaper Non-Reader," Journalism Quarterly 41 (Summer 1964):156.

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[9]Bradley S. Greenberg, "Media Use and Believability: Some Multiple Correlates," Journalism Quarterly 43 (Winter 1966):665-70, 732.

[10]Leslie W. Sargent and Guido Stemple III, "Poverty, Alienation and Mass Media Use," Journalism Quarterly 45 (Summer 1968):324-26.

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[16]Dale Vinyard and Roberta S. Sigel, "Newspapers and Urban Voters," Journalism Quarterly 48 (Autumn 1971):486-93.

[17]George A. Barnett and Carol E. Hughes, "The Effects of Media Exposure on Uncertainty Reduction and Voting: A Preliminary Analysis," paper presented to the International Communication Association, Chicago, 1978, p. 3.

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[19]Paul Burstein, "Social Status and Individual Political Participation in Five Countries," American Journal of Sociology 72 (May 1972):1096.

[20]Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

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[27]Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, "Individual vs. Social Predictors of Information Seeking," Journalism Quarterly 50 (Summer 1973):237-45.

[28]Garrett J. O'Keefe and Harold Mendelsohn, "Non-voting: The Media's Role" in Charles Winick, ed., Deviance and Mass Media (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1978).

[29]Edward C. Dreyer, "Media Use and Electoral Choices: Some Political Consequences of Information Exposure," Public Opinion Quarterly 35 (Winter 1971-72):544-53.

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[31]Herbert E. Alexander, "Communications and Politics: The Media and the Message," Law and Contemporary Problems 34 (Spring 1969):255-77.

[32]Barnett and Hughes, "The Effects of Media Exposure on Uncertainty".

[33]Ralph O. Nafziger, Warren C. Engstron and Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr., "The Mass Media and an Informed Public," Public Opinion Quarterly 15 (Spring 1951):105-14.

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[35]It must be noted that the 1972 election was a Presidential election and 1974, only a Congressional election. The switch from television to newspapers may be the result of this fact rather than a massive overall shift from television to newspapers as the primary source of all

public affairs information.

[36]William Buchanan, "An Inquiry into Purposive Voting," Journal of Politics 18 (May 1956):281-96.

[37]M. Margaret Conway, "Voter Information in a Non-partisan Local Election," Western Political Quarterly 21 (March 1968):69-77.

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[42]See also, Becker and Preston, "Media Use"; Prisuta, "Mass Media Exposure"; Chaffee and McLeod, "Individual vs. Social Predictors"; and, O'Keefe and Mendelsohn, "Non-voting".

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[47]Viekko Pietila, "Alienation and the Use of Mass Media," ACTA Sociologicia 13-14 (1970):238.

[48]Ibid., p. 241.

[49]Jack McLeod, Scott Ward and Karen Tancil, "Alienation and Uses of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly 29 (Winter 1965):584-94.

[50]Elihu Katz and David Foulkes, "On the Use of the Mass Media as 'Escape': Clarification of a Concept," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (Fall 1962):377-88.

[51]This view is supported by van den Haag who sees the mass media as "alienating people from personal experiences and, though appearing to offset it, intensifies their moral isolation from each other, from reality and from themselves". E. van den Haag, "Of Happiness and of Despair We Have No Measure," in B. Rosenberg and D.M. White, eds., Mass Culture (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 529.

[52]The nine reasons were: 1) Because my mind is already made up; 2) Because you can't always trust what politicians tell you on television; 3) Because I'm not much interested in politics; 4) Because they hardly ever have anything new to say; 5) Because I prefer to relax when watching TV; 6) Because some speakers talk over one's head; 7) Because some speakers talk down to the audience; 8) Because I dislike being "got at" by politicians; and, 9) Because politics should not intrude into the home and family affairs. Jay G. Blumler and Denis McQuail, Television in Politics: Its Use and Influence (London: Faber and Faber LTD, 1968), p. 56.

[53]The items related to these dimensions were: Partisanship--1) Because I'm not much interested in politics; and, 2) Because my mind is already made up. Relaxation--1) Because I prefer to relax when watching television. Alienation--1) Because you can't always trust what politicians tell you on television; 2) Because some candidates talk down to the audience; 3) Because some candidates talk over one's head; and, 4) Because they hardly ever have anything to say. Jack M. McLeod and Lee B. Becker, "Testing the Validity of Gratification Measures Through Political Effects Analysis," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., The Use of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 137-64.

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[59]Garrett J. O'Keefe, "Political Malaise and Reliance on Media," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Spring, 1980):122-28.

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[61]Michael J. Robinson, "American Political Legitimacy in an Era of Electronic Journalism: Reflections on the Evening News," in Douglass Cater and Richard Adler, eds., Television as a Social Force: New Approaches to TV Criticism (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), pp. 97-139.

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[63]Gordon M. Connelly and Harry H. Field, "The Non-Voter--Who He is, What He Thinks," Public Opinion Quarterly 8 (Spring 1944):175-87.

[64]Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Voting and Non-Voting (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdale Publishing, 1968), p. 81.

[65]O'Keefe and Mendelsohn, "Nonvoting".

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[68]Wayne Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces 38 (March 1960):190-95.

[69]William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review 29 (April 1964):198-215.

[70]Stephen E. Bennett and William R. Klecka, "Social Status and Political Participation: A Multivariate Analysis of Predictive Power," Midwest Journal of Political Science 14 (August 1970):355-82.

[71]For a listing of these studies, the reader is referred to Milbrath and Goel: social class, pp. 90-96; income, pp. 96-98; education, pp. 98-102; sex, pp. 116-118; age, pp. 114-116; race, pp. 119-122. The complete citations for these studies can be found at pp. 161-214. Lester W. Milbrath and M.L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics, 2d ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1977).

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[75]Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 65.

[76]Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: It's Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review 26 (October 1961): 753-58.

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[78]Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review 28 (December 1963): 973-77.

[79]Six areas were used by Middleton to define alienation: powerlessness or efficacy, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, social estrangement and estrangement from work.

[80]Marvin E. Olsen, "Alienation and Political Opinions," Public Opinion Quarterly 29 (Summer 1965):200-12.

[81]Kenneth Eckhardt and Gerry Hendershot, "Transformation of Alienation into Public Opinion," Sociological Quarterly 8 (August 1967):459-67.

[82]Bennett and Klecka, "Social Status".

[83]Vinyard and Sigel, "Newspapers and Voters".

[84]Political cynicism was measured by responses to four items: 1) People like me don't have any say about what government does; 2) Politicials never tell us what they really think; 3) I don't think public officials care much what people like me think; and, 4) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. Items one, three and four are very similar to three items used to measure trust in government in the present study. Harold Mendelsohn and Garrett O'Keefe, The People Choose a President: Influences on Voter Decision Making (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1976).

[85]Ibid., p. 45.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Levin, The Alienated Voter, p. 58.

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[102]Gerald M. Pomper, "The Presidential Election," in Marlene M. Pomper, ed., The Election of 1976, Reports and Interpretations (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), p. 72.

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Referenda: An Investigation of Attitudes and Other Determinants by Q Technique and Survey Research" (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1971). See also, Howard D. Hamilton and Sylvan H. Cohen, Policy Making by Plebiscite: School Referenda (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1974).

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[105]Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review 24 (December 1959):783-91. For a further refinement, see Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement," in Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse, eds., The Human Meaning of Social Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 467-527.

[106]Dean, "Alienation and Apathy".

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[108]Ibid., p. 407. Finifter related political normlessness to political cynicism as per the work of Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein and Stanley A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," Journal of Politics 23 (August 1961):479.

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[132]Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly 18 (Winter 1954-55):350.

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Referendums," American Journal of Sociology 67 (March 1962):485-93.

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[162]This is confirmed by Carter, Voters and Their Schools, pp. 204-206; Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, pp. 137-38; and, Rowe, "Factors Influencing Voter Response".

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[184]See Bennett and Klecka, "Social Status"; Mendelsohn and O'Keefe, The People Choose a President; Agger, Goldstein and Pearl, "Political Cynicism"; and, Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation.

[185]See Greenberg, "Media Use"; Wade and Schramm, "Media and Sources of Public Affairs"; Kline, "Media Time Budgeting"; Clarke and Ruggels, "Preferences Among News Coverage"; Eldersveld, "Experimental Propaganda Techniques"; Eulau and Schneider, "Dimensions in Involvement"; Tan, "Political Participation"; and, O'Keefe, "Political Malaise".

[186]See Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making; Kowalski, Voter Behavior; Alexander and Bass, School, Taxes and Voter Behavior; and, Giles, Gatlin and Cataldo, "Parental Support".

[187]See Temporary Special Levy Commission, Summary Report.

[188]See Thompson and Horton, "Political Alienation"; Horton and Thompson, "Powerlessness"; Erbe, "Social Involvement"; Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement"; Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation; and, Piele and Hall, Budgets, Bonds and Ballots.

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[191]See Lang and Lang, "Mass Media and Voting"; and, Becker, Sobowale and Casey, "Newspaper and Television Dependencies".

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Communication; Dean, "Alienation and Apathy"; Erbe, "Social Involvement"; and Clark, "Measuring Alienation".

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[200]See Rosenberg, "Determinants of Apathy"; and, van den Haag, "Of Happiness and Despair".

[201]See Lang and Lang, "Media and Voting"; O'Keefe, "Political Malaise"; and, Eldersveld, "Experimental Propaganda Techniques".

[202]The symbol Hn will be used throughout to indicate an hypothesis; the symbol H_0 its null.

[203]Group I includes those who are high in efficacy and high in trust; Group II, those high in efficacy and low in trust; Group III, those low in efficacy and high in trust; and, Group IV, those low in efficacy and low in trust. See Chapter III for information on assignment of respondents to groups.

[204]1=8th grade or less; 2=some high school; 3=high school diploma; 4=trade school after high school; 5=some college; 6=college degree; 7=some graduate school; and, 8=graduate degree.

[205]1=less than $10,000; 2=more than $10,000 but less than $20,000 (also includes those reporting $10,000); 3=more than $20,000 but less than $30,000 (also includes those reporting $20,000); and, 4=$30,000 or more.

[206]1=farming; 2=blue collar; 3=white collar; 4=manager; and, 5=professional.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study is part of a larger, twelve-month study undertaken a Michigan State University using a metric multidimensional scaling technique known as Galileo.[1] The larger study was designed to track attitudes of registered voters in Shiawassee County concerning vocational education across time and to provide the Michigan State Department of Education and the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District with information on the design of the best campaign messages to assure passage of the millage for the Area Vocational Technical Education Center. This study focuses on that portion of the data collected after the actual millage election had been called.

The main study began in June 1978 with a series of indepth interviews with both a scientifically selected sample of Shiawassee County residents and a sample of community leaders. Based on the results of these interviews the main-wave metric multidimensional questionnaire was developed and administered to approximately one hundred residents of the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District beginning the week of July 17, 1978, and continuing through August

1978. These data provided the baseline information for the development of the message campaign. Interviewing resumed on January 2, 1979, and continued through June 10, 1979. Interviews were conducted daily and interim reports on changes in attitude structure were provided on February 28, April 15, April 29, May 17 and June 4. The data for this study are drawn from the interviews conducted between April 12, the day the election was formally announced, and June 10, 1979, the day before the election was held.

A telephone survey was utilized as the primary method to collect data for the larger study. This method was selected for the original study for a number of reasons. First, the study required that attitudes be tracked daily to measure possible changes brought about by the message campaign being presented by the Intermediate School District. This meant that the data be collected using either a telephone survey or a personal interview rather than a mail survey where it would be impossible to make daily contact with potential respondents. Second, the complicated nature of the data collection instrument necessitated personal contact between the respondent and interviewer, once again pointing to the need for either a personal or telephone interview. Of the two methods considered, personal interview or telephone survey, the latter was chosen due to the third factor, the geographic dispersion of potential respondents.[2] The cost of data collection was also lessened considerably by adoption of the telephone as the instrument of

data collection as personal interviews involve travel which is costly in both time and money.[3]

Telephone surveys have the advantage of a reasonable cost, rapid completion and a relatively high response rate.[4] The sampling technique generally involves minimum expense and call backs are simple and economical.[5] Additionally, interviewers can clarify any misunderstandings[6], a particularly important factor in a study utilizing a new type of questionnaire. Finally, it is simple to train, supervise and monitor the performance of interviewers.[7]

The major disadvantage of telephone surveys is the fact that a percentage of homes do not have telephones, particularly in rural areas such as Shiawassee County or in inner city areas[8], or have unlisted numbers.[9] It is not known if some crucial differences exist among homes with listed telephones, unlisted telephones and no telephones.

The Sample

The sample of 1108 potential respondents for the main study was drawn from the 1978 Shiawassee County Voter Registration lists using a systematic random sampling technique. It had been determined that, to complete several calls a day between January 2 and June 10, a sample of eleven hundred would be needed. Based on this figure and 42,129, the number of registered voters in Shiawassee County, a skip interval of thirty-eight was calculated. From a random starting point every thirth-eighth name was selected

resulting in a sample of 1108, 2.6% of all registered voters in Shiawassee County. As the voter registration lists did not contain telephone numbers, the appropriate telephone directories and directory assistances were consulted to finalize the sample.

Interviews were completed with 257 respondents for the main survey, a 23.2% completion rate. Of these, 148 (57.6%) were accomplished between January 2 and April 11 while 109 (42.4%) were completed between April 12 and June 10. It is upon these latter respondents that this study focuses. It should be noted that the low completion rate was due in part to the length of the interview (thirty-five to forty-five minutes on average) and in part to the fact that telephone numbers were, at times, unavailable.

The in-tab sample for the main study was not truly representative of the school districts as Laingsburg was not represented at all while, for the April to June segment, New Lothrop was not represented as well. Care must therefore be taken in generalizing to the county as a whole. Table 1 shows the 1978 voter registration data from Shiawassee County by school district and the sample data.

Questionnaire Development

The questionnaire for the overall study collected information in six general areas: attitudes toward centralized vocational education using a metric multidimensional scaling design, political efficacy and trust in government

TABLE 1

POPULATION/SAMPLE COMPARISON

District	Population	%	Sample	%	January-April	%	April-June	%
Byron	2,461	6	6	2	5	3	1	1
Corunna	6,392	15	41	16	24	16	17	16
Durand	6,930	16	41	16	12	8	29	27
Laingsburg	2,026	5	--	--	--	--	--	--
New Lothrop	2,491	5	3	1	3	2	--	--
Morrice	1,730	4	13	5	6	4	7	6
Owosso	15,672	37	115	45	78	53	37	34
Perry	4,427	11	24	9	9	6	15	14
TOTAL	42,129	99[a]	243[b]	94[c]	137[d]	92[e]	106[f]	97[g]

[a]Total does not equal 100% due to rounding.

[b]Fourteen cases were not identified as to school district.

[c]Percent is based on 257 cases.

[d]Eleven cases were not identified as to school district.

[e]Percent is based on 148 cases.

[f]Three cases were not identified as to school district.

[g]Percent is based on 109 cases.

scales, awareness of the upcoming election, media use and information sources, voting, and demographics. The follow-up questionnaire collected data regarding respondent's information about the election, the source of that information, contact prior to the election, whether or not the respondent had voted and how they had voted.

The primary methodology employed in the examination of the first item was the Galileo system, a series of procedures for making a "mental map" of the audience for a persuasive campaign, in this instance a campaign to convince voters of the need to construct a centralized Area Vocational Technical Education Center to serve the needs of high school students in Shiawassee County. The system identified the main concepts registered voters in the county used to understand and define centralized vocational education and measured the beliefs and attitudes about those concepts. This was accomplished through twenty-five indepth personal interviews with registered voters in Shiawassee County. The unstructured interviews, lasting on average about twenty-five minutes, focused on the respondent's feelings and ideas about vocational education and elicited approximately thirty-four concepts about this topic. Of these, nine concepts receiving at least twenty mentions were chosen for inclusion: tax increase, expensive, practical training, work skills, needed, job opportunities, college, duplication of programs and discipline problems. Four other concepts (your vote for, your vote against, area skills center,

Intermediate School District) were incorporated into the final instrument. Each concept was then paired with each of the others and respondents were asked to estimate the distance between two concepts based on a unit difference of ten, in the present case, the distance between practical training and work skills being ten units apart. How this is accomplished can be seen by examining the instructions and questions 1 through 78 on the instrument included in Appendix 1. As stated earlier, data from this first section of the questionnaire was analyzed elsewhere.[10] The remaining items are of concern here.

The model developed for this study proposed that two dimensions of political alienation, political efficacy and trust in government, can be used as predictors of information use.[11] Respondents were asked, therefore, to indicate agreement or disagreement to two series of attitude statements. The first six items dealt with the respondents' sense of political efficacy. The items used were drawn from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center's Political Efficacy Scale[12], however, as suggested by Aberbach and Walker[13], the items were localized so as to deal specifically with the School Board. For example, item one read "People like me don't have any say about what the School Board does" rather than the standard ". . . what the government does.". Respondents may feel inefficacious about an amorphorous "government" but highly efficacious when that government is something quite local, like a school board.

Since the study dealt with a truly local event, a millage, a localized version of the scale was developed and used. The remaining five items of the scale, then, were as follows:

--Voting is the only way people like me can have a say about how the School Board is run.

--Sometimes School politics seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

--I don't think school officials care much what people like me think.

--Generally, those people we elect to the School Board lose touch with the people pretty quickly.

--School Board members are only interested in people's votes and not in their opinions.

Five items comprised the trust in government scale, drawn from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center's Trust in Government Scale.[14] As with the previous scale, this was also localized to maintain continuity in thought and to make sure that the two scales dealt with attitudes toward the same government entity. As the two scales were to be combined to yield a single measure of political alienation, it was necessary that both measure the same concept. It is possible to trust "government" but not the school board, or vice versa. Combining a sense of political efficacy toward the school board with trust in an amorphorous "government" would be the attitudinal equivalent of mixing apples and oranges. The items, then, used in the scale were:

--First of all, do you think that people on the School Board waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much at all?

--How much of the time do you think you can trust the School Board to do what is right--just about always, most of the time, or only some of it?

--Would you say the School Board is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or is it run for the benefit of all the people?

--Do you feel almost all of the people running the School Board are smart people or do you think quite a few of them don't seem to know what they're doing?

--Do you think quite a few of the people running the School Board are crooked, not very many are crooked, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

The third section of the instrument dealt with awareness of the election. Respondents were first asked if they were aware of any upcoming special, county-wide elections, a measure of unaided awareness. If the respondent indicated he was aware of such, he was queried as to who had called the election (County Attorney, Intermediate School District, State Department of Education, or Someone Else), the issue of the election (millage for a new grade school, area vocational technical education, or special education) and the amount of the millage (less than one mill, between one and two mills, more than two mills). Those respondents who answered negatively to the unaided recall item were asked if the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District had called any special elections in the near future, an aided awareness item. If awareness was indicated, they were asked the specific questions of issue and amount of millage.

The fourth section of the questionnaire dealt with the respondent's media use and source of information

regarding the election. Respondents were asked to indicate if they regularly read a newspaper, which newspaper(s) they read and the newspaper(s) to which they subscribed. The second set of media items dealt with radio listenership: hours of listening per day, to which stations they listened, and if it was the local radio outlet whether they listened to AM, FM, or both. As Shiawassee County has no local television outlet, no questions were asked regarding television viewing.

To determine source of information, respondents were asked if they had heard anything about Area Vocational Technical Education "since last Monday" and, if they had, to identify the source: newspaper, radio, friend, flyer or brochure, poster, meeting.[15]

The fifth section of the instrument dealt with the respondent's past voting behavior in both general and school elections in the past two years, when they had last voted in a school millage election and how they had voted in that election. To measure expected voting behavior, respondents were first given the particulars of the election under study and then asked if they thought they might vote in it and if they would, the chances they would vote in favor of the millage.

Demographic items made up the final section of the questionnaire. Most of the items used were standard demographic questions found in most surveys: home ownership, education, presence of children in the home, age of

respondents, employment (full or part-time), occupation, income and sex of respondent. Several additional study-specific items were included. To measure sample representativeness, respondents were asked in which school district they resided. To determine if participation in vocational education could bias attitudes toward it, respondents were asked whether they or any of their children had ever taken a vocational education class in high school. Finally, respondents were asked whether they worked in the county or somewhere else to see if favorability toward the issue was higher among those working within the county.

The follow-up questionnaire included seven questions. Respondents were asked to identify the ballot issue and the millage amount. These two items provided a measure of unaided awareness. Respondents were then asked if they had "heard" anything about Area Vocational Technical Education, and if so, the source, including personal contact by the Intermediate School District or Citizen's Committee. Finally, respondents were asked if and how they had voted in the election.

Pretest

The majority of the survey instrument had been utilized in the field prior to the election being called (See Appendix 1). This included the metric multidimensional scaling portion and certain of the demographic items.

Problem areas in these sections had been eliminated prior to this phase of the study.

The final questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was pretested in the field under actual survey conditions. Ten potential respondents were randomly selected from the voter registration lists and were contacted by telephone. Upon completion of the instrument, they were asked if there had been any problem areas with the questionnaire. Based on the results of the pretest, it was not necessary to revise the instrument further.

Data Collection and Preparation

Data for the study were collected continuously from April 12, 1979, the date of the announcement that the election had been called by the Intermediate School District, through June 10, 1979, the day before the election. Interviews were conducted throughout this period.

Telephone calls were placed Sunday through Friday evenings between 6:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. In addition, calls were made during the afternoon hours on Saturday and Sunday. Four attempts, at different times and on different days, were made to reach each sample member. Interviewers were instructed to make an appointment if the individual was unable to participate at that time.

For the follow-up data collection, an attempt was made to contact all original respondents to the entire study. Calls were placed between June 12 and June 19, 1979,

the week immediately following the election on the same calling schedule as before: Sunday through Friday between 6:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. and Saturday and Sunday afternoon. Respondents were not told that they were drawn from those previously contacted. Rather, they were told that the caller was from Michigan State University and was doing a study of voting behavior in Shiawassee County.

The questionnaire utilized for the study was of the pre-coded type. The data were coded on the instrument itself, then keypunched and verified. The data were computer analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)[16] on the CDC computer at Michigan State University. Additional data analysis was performed by hand where the needed tests were not available from SPSS.

Data Analysis

A variety of statistical tests were employed to test the hypotheses outlined in Chapter II. The first hypothesis stated that there would be different levels of awareness among the four groups. Sub-hypotheses specified that the proportion aware in group one would be significantly greater than the proportion aware in group two; the proportion aware in group three would be significantly greater than the proportion aware in group four; and, that the proportion aware in groups one and two combined would be significantly greater than the proportion aware in groups three and four combined. To test this hypothesis, respondents were

assigned into one of the four groups on the basis of their responses to the political efficacy and trust in government scales.

Each efficacy item had an efficacious and an inefficacious response. Based on responses to each item, a total score was computed for each respondent.[17] Those respondents scoring a six to nine were considered high in political efficacy; those ten to twelve, low in political efficacy. Likewise, each trust in government item had a trustful and a distrustful response. Additionally, three of the items had a middle response. For example, when asked about the School Board wasting tax money respondents could answer "waste a lot", "waste some" or "don't waste very much at all". Again, total scores were computed for each respondent.[18] Those respondents scoring a five to nine were considered high on trust, those ten to fifteen, low on trust. Assignment to each of the four groups was made on the following basis:

Group I: High in Efficacy (6 to 9), and
High in Trust (5 to 9);

Group II: High in Efficacy (6 to 9), and
Low in Trust (10 to 15);

Group III: Low in Efficacy (10 to 12), and
High in Trust (5 to 9);

Group IV: Low in Efficacy (10 to 12), and
Low in Trust (10 to 15).

The first hypothesis was tested using a Chi-Square test to determine if the distribution among the four groups of those aware differed significantly from chance. The

three sub-hypotheses were tested using a difference of proportions Z-test. The Z-test was chosen for the sub-hypotheses because interest was in the proportion aware, not in the number aware. It was also recognized that the four groups might have different numbers of respondents. Examination of the proportions would equalize the groups in case this did occur. Rejection of the null hypothesis took place at an alpha level of .05.[19]

The second hypothesis stated that there would be significantly differential levels of information among the four groups. The sub-hypotheses specified that the mean level of information would be significantly greater for group one than for group three; greater for group two than for group four; and, the average of means for groups one and two greater than the average of means for groups three and four. To test the hypothesis, a correctness of information variable was created. Respondents deemed aware of the election without aid were asked who had called the election, the issue and the millage amount; those aware with aid, the issue and the amount. Each respondent received a score of zero to three depending on the number of correct responses. The hypothesis was tested using a one-way analysis of variance. The three sub-hypotheses were tested using planned comparisons and a t-test difference of means.

The third hypothesis explored media use differences proposing that groups one and three would rely on media sources to a significantly greater extent than groups two

and four. The first step in testing this hypothesis was the creation of a source of information variable. The questionnaire had included a series of six items for those respondents who had heard anything about the issue "since last Monday". If the respondent answered affirmatively for an item, a score of one was assigned; a negative response, a zero. Two sources, newspaper and radio, were considered media; the remaining four (friend, flyer or brochure, poster, meeting) were deemed to be non-media sources. The proportion of media sources used was calculated for each group. Groups one and three were combined as were groups two and four. A difference of proportions Z-test was performed to test the hypothesis that groups one and three would report media sources in a significantly greater proportion that groups two and four. Again, the difference of proportions test was used due to the unequal number of respondents in each group.

The fourth hypotheses stated that there would be significant increases in the proportion of those aware of the election as the campaign progressed. To test this hypothesis, the proportion of those aware each week was calculated. The proportion aware for each week was compared, using a difference of proportions test, with the proportion aware the previous week to determine if significant increases were taking place. The difference of proportions Z-test was specifically selected to allow for directional comparisons and, because the number contacted each week

varied, to provide a means of equalizing the groups across time.

Hypothesis five is similar to four in that it proposed that the proportion of those holding correct information would increase significantly across the campaign. The proportion of those responding correctly to all three information items concerning the election and thus scoring a three on the correctness of information variable created for hypothesis two was compared across the weeks of the campaign. Nine differences of proportions tests were performed to test this hypothesis, as per the tests done for hypothesis four.

The sixth hypothesis stated that a significantly greater proportion of respondents in Owosso-Corunna would receive their information from newspapers than respondents in the outlying school districts. To test this hypothesis, respondents were sorted into two groups: those residing in the Owosso-Corunna school districts and those residing in the remaining six districts. The proportion of those who had read of the issue in the newspaper was calculated for each group. A difference of proportions Z-test was performed to test the statistical significance of the hypothesis.

The seventh hypothesis examined the relationship between favorability towards the issue and age and predicted that as age increased, favorability would decrease. Favorability towards the issue was based on the respondent's

self-reported likelihood of voting in favor of the issue. As both age and favorability were measured at at least the interval level, a Pearson Product-Moment Correlation was performed between the two vairables with a Student's t statistic utilized to determine statistical significance.[20]

The effect of the presence or absence of children in the home on favorability towards the issue was tested in hypothesis eight. The respondents were divided into two groups based on whether or not they had children currently living at home. The mean favorability level was computed for each group and a difference of means t-test was performed to determine if the difference was statistically significant.

Hypothesis nine predicted that favorability towards the issue would increase significantly as education level increased. To test the hypothesis, a mean favorability level for each educational level was calculated. A difference of means t-test was performed between each education level and the next highest one to determine if support for the hypothesis was present in the data. This method of statistical testing was selected because education was not measured at the interval level, hence a correlational analysis was not possible, and because it would allow for directional testing.

The relationship between income and favorability, such that as one increased the other would as well, was the subject of hypothesis ten. To test the prediction, a

mean favorability level was calculated for each income level. As income was not measured at the interval level, it was not possible to test the hypothesis using correlations. Therefore, a difference of means t-test was performed between each income level and the next highest.

The eleventh hypothesis stated that there would be a significant increase in favorability towards the issue as occupational status increased such that the professional would be more favorable than, in decreasing order, the managerial, the white collar, the blue collar and the farmer. To test the hypothesis mean favorability levels were calculated and a difference of means t-test was performed between each occupational level and the next lowest.

Hypothesis twelve examined past voting and favorability proposing that those who had cast a "yes" vote on a school millage in the past would be more favorable towards the current issue. The respondents were sorted into two groups based on their self-report of past voting behavior. A mean favorability level was calculated for each group and a difference of means t-test performed between the two groups to test the hypothesis.

The thirteenth hypothesis predicted that alienation would be a significant independent predictor of favorability.[21] To test the hypothesis an alienation variable was created by combining (summing) a respondent's scores on the political efficacy and trust in government variables. Those respondents receiving large scores on the created

variable were said to be more alienated than those receiving smaller scores. A multiple regression analysis was then performed on the data with favorability as the dependent variable and alienation, presence of children in the home, someone in the household taken vocational education, home owner, work in Shiawassee County, age, income and sex as the independent variables. All independent variables, save alienation, age and income, were coded as dichotomous dummy variables. A variable was considered an independent predictor if the probability associated with the individual F statistic was less than or equal to .05.

The final hypothesis proposed that alienation would be a significant independent predictor of negative voting. To test hypothesis fourteen, a discriminant analysis was performed as the dependent variable was dichotomous. The dependent variable was drawn from the self-report of voting behavior during the follow-up portion of the survey. The independent variables were identical to those used in hypothesis thirteen. As above, a variable was considered an independent predictor if the probability associated with the individual F statistic was less than or equal to .05.

In addition to the testing of the fourteen hypotheses in the study, a demographic profile of each source type was developed. A demographic profile for the sample as a whole was also created to check sample representativeness against other published data regarding the demographic composition of the county.

Endnotes

[1]For a discussion of Galileo, see Joseph Woelfel and Edward L. Fink, The Measurement of Communication Processes: Galileo Theory and Method (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Joseph Woelfel, "Foundations of Cognitive Theory: A Multidimensional Model of the Message-Attitude-Behavior Relationship" in Donald P. Cushman and Robert D. McPhee, eds., Message-Attitude-Behavior Relationship: Theory, Methodology and Application (New York: Academic Press, 1980); and, Joseph Woelfel and Jeffrey E. Danes, "Multidimensional Scaling Models for Communication Research" in Peter R. Monge and Joseph N. Cappella, eds., Multivariate Techniques in Human Communication Research (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

[2]Selltiz, et al point out that telephone interviews are particularly advantageous in this type of situation. Clair Selltiz, Lawrence S. Wrightsman and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Sciences 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 299.

[3]Ibid.

[4]S. Sudman, Reducing the Cost of Surveys (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1967); Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph P. Dominick, Mass Media Research: An Introduction (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1983), p. 130.

[5]Wimmer and Dominick, Mass Media Research, p. 130.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Seltiz, Wrightsman and Cook, Research Methods, p. 299.

[8]Ibid., p. 298.

[9]Wimmer and Dominick, Mass Media Research, p. 130.

[10]Martin Block and Joseph Woelfel, Area Vocational Education Campaign Strategies and Techniques Project, Phase I: Communication Strategies (East Lansing, Michigan: College of Communication Arts and Sciences, Michigan State University, September, 1978); Martin Block and Joseph Woelfel, Area Vocational Education Campaign Strategies and Techniques Project, Phase II: Campaign Development, Phase III: Campaign Evaluation (East Lansing, Michigan: College of

Communication Arts and Sciences, Michigan State University, June 29, 1979).

[11]For a complete explanation of these items, see the Review of Literature in Chapter II.

[12]John P. Robinson, Jerald G. Rusk and Kendra B. Head, Measurement of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, September 1966).

[13]The authors state:

> "However, items in many scales designed to measure political distrust often involve simple cliches about the quality of politics and politicians with little or no indication as to the governments or figures involved . . . it would seem vitally important that the subject be stimulated to think about some more focused symbol than 'politicians'."

Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker, "Political Trust and Radical Ideology," American Political Science Review 64 (December 1970):1201. Other authors have also implied the need for the "localization" of scales. Citrin suggests many political cynics focus their dissatisfaction on incumbent authorities rather than system values. Dean stated, "It might be profitable to develop - instead of a general alienation scale - scales to be specifically applied to various institutional areas of social life". McClosky points out that "It is impossible in the present context to determine the extent to which scores contained in these tables signify genuine frustration and political disillusionment and the extent to which they represent familiar and largely ritualistic responses". Jack Citrin, "Comment: Political Relevance of Trust in Government," American Political Science Review 68 (September 1974):975; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces 38 (March 1960):189; and, Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideologies in American Politics," American Political Science Review 58 (June 1964):370.

[14]Robinson, Rusk and Head, Measurement of Political Attitudes.

[15]As there was a dearth of media in Shiawassee County and as the School Board itself was relying on less-than-mass media and interpersonal methods of distribution, it was necessary to include a wide range of sources of information. The model tested herein also presumes that certain types of people will rely on varying types of information sources.

[16]Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean G. Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner and Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975).

[17]The efficacious response was assigned a one, the inefficacious response, a two.

[18]The most trustful response was scored a one, the middle response, a two and the most distrustful response, a three.

[19]This alpha level is used throughout the study for rejection of the null hypothesis. As such, it will not be mentioned with each hypothesis. The reader is to assume that the level of rejection is .05.

[20]Student's t is the statistic reported in the PEARSON CORR procedure of SPSS. See Nie, et al, Statistical Package, p. 281.

[21]For a complete discussion of alienation as used in this study, the reader is referred to the Review of Literature and Definition sections of Chapter II.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

Demographics

The greatest majority of respondents to the survey own their own homes (n=86; 86.9%) while 8.1% (n=8) are renters. More than half are employed full-time (n=56; 56.6%) while 8.1% (n=8) work part-time and 35.4% (n=35) do not work outside the home. Of those that are employed, thirty-eight (59.5%) work in Shiawassee County and twenty-six (40.6%) are employed elsewhere. The blue collar category was the largest occupation group with 41% (n=25) of the respondents reporting occupations classified as such. The second largest category was white collar (n=19; 31.2%) followed by professional (n=10; 16.4%) and managerial (n=6; 9.8%). Only one respondent (1.6%) reported farming as an occupation.

The overall education level of the sample as a whole was low. Fully 63.4% (n=64) of the respondents have only a high school diploma or have attended trade school after high school. Twenty-nine respondents (28.7%) have not completed high school. Twenty-three respondents (22.8%) have some college and nine (8.9%) have earned a college degree. Five

respondents (4.9%) had attended graduate school with three of them (3.0%) having earned a graduate degree. Few respondents (n=10; 19.2%) had ever taken a vocational education class in high school or had children who had taken such courses (n=21; 24.7%).

Income levels were fairly low with 17.7% (n=17) reporting a total household income of less than $10,000 a year; 25% (n=25), an income of between $10,000 and $20,000 a year; and, 32.3% (n=31), an income of between $20,000 and $30,000 a year. Only 18.7% (n=18) report a total household income of greater than $30,000 a year.

Almost 63% (62.4%; n=63) of the sample had childern living at home. The sample was fairly evenly distributed across all age groups: 20 to 29: n=19, 17.8%; 30 to 39: n=23, 21.5%; 40 to 49: n=22, 20.6%; 50 to 59: n=19, 17.8%; 60 to 69: n=12, 11.2%; and, 70+: n=6, 5.6%. Thirteen respondents (15.5%) were 65 years of age and older. Finally the sample was 38.1% male (n=40) and 61.9% female (n=65).

The characteristics of the sample of respondents utilized in this study point to the kind of area Shiawassee County is. It is a relatively stable area with a majority of home owners and few renters. It is also a "bedroom community" of sorts with a substantial minority of those who work being employed outside the county (40.6%). It is also primarily a blue collar area with many residents being employed in the automotive factories in the surrounding counties.

The education and income levels are reflective of the occupational standings in the county. Few respondents have attended any schooling past high school. These respondents, for the most part, make up the blue collar and white collar occupational rankings. The fact that 57% of the sample reports incomes of between $10,000 and $30,000 a year further supports the assumption that the county is primarily a middle class areas. One interesting, and somewhat unexpected, finding was the fact that less than one-fourth of the respondents had taken, or had someone in the family take, a vocational education class in high school. Given the employment picture in the county one would expect this figure to be quite a bit higher.

Attitudes

Six items were used to measure a sense of political efficacy as it relates to the School Board and school politics. On two of the items, the sample registers feelings of inefficacy while on the remaining four, the majority have efficacious feelings (see Table 2). The sample is more likely to agree that voting is the only way they can have a say about how the School Board runs things and that sometimes school politics seems so complicated that they can't really understand what's going on. Respondents are more likely to disagree that people like themselves don't have any say about what the School Board does, that they don't think school officials care much what people like themselves

TABLE 2

POLITICAL EFFICACY

Item	Agree	Disagree	Depends	N
People like me have no say about what the School Board does.	34.3% (n=34)	62.6% (n=62)	3.0% (n= 3)	99
Voting is the only way to have a say.	61.0% (n=61)	34.0% (n=34)	5.0% (n= 5)	100
School politics seems to complicated	53.5% (n=53)	42.4% (n=42)	4.0% (n= 5)	99
School officials don't care what people think	34.0% (n=33)	54.6% (n=53)	11.3% (n=11)	97
People on the School Board lose touch.	41.1% (n=39)	50.5% (n=48)	8.4% (n= 8)	95
School Board members are only interested in votes.	28.9% (n=28)	60.8% (n=59)	10.3% (n=10)	97

think, that people on the School Board lose touch prety quickly after being elected, and, that School Board members are only interested in people's votes and not their opinions.

The attitude statements point to differences between the Shiawassee sample and other studies investigating the presence or absence of political efficacy in school referenda. Carter had found that one-third of the voters felt they had little say in what the School Board did.[1] The Shiawassee sample agreed (34.3%) with this finding. Where only one-half of Carter's sample believed that the only voice voters had was the act of voting, 61% of the Shiawassee sample agreed with this statement. Two-fifths of Carter's sample felt that educational policy was too

complicated for persons like themselves to understand. Using a similar item, more than half of the Shiawassee sample believed school politics was too complicated for them to understand (53.5%). Carter found that one-fourth felt that school officials did not care what the average voter thought. Two items measured this concept in the Shiawassee study. In both instances the present sample is less efficacious, more likely to agree that school officials don't care what people think (34%) and that School Board members are only interested in votes (28.9%). Carter concluded that the presence of low efficacy would almost assure a negative view of the schools. If that is indeed the case, the negative view would be stronger in Shiawassee County.

Five items comprised the trust in government, in this case the School Board, scale. An examination of the items shows that the sample is generally trustful of the School Board. Only 18.1% (n=17) of the respondents believe that the School Board wastes a lot of money paid in taxes while 59.6% (n=56) feel they waste some of it and 22.3% (n=21) feel they don't waste very much at all. When asked how often they thought they could trust the School Board to do what is right, 63.3% (n=63) reported that they could be trusted most of the time; 8.1% (n=8), just about always; and 28.3% (n=28), only some of the time. The majority of the respondents (n=54; 61.4%) felt that the School Board was run for the benefit of all the people while only 38.6%

(n=34) felt it was run by a few big interests looking out for themselves. Almost three fourths of the respondents (73.9%; n=65) felt that the people running the School Board are smart people while 26.1% (n=23) felt that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they're doing. Finally, 70.8% (n=68) believe that hardly any of the people running the School Board are crooked while 25% (n=24) believe not very many are crooked and 4.2% (n=4), that quite a few of them are crooked.

While the trust in government items point to a sample that is generally trusting of the School Board, a closer examination of the items points up some interesting trends. On two of the items, wasting tax dollars and being trusted, the majority of the sample selected the middle response, that the School Board wastes some of the money paid in taxes (59.6%) and can be trusted most of the time (63.6%). These two responses show a less than total trust of the School Board. Further 23% of the sample thought that some of the people running the School Board were crooked, again a less than total trust response. On the two items with no middle response, substantial minorities are found to be distrustful of the School Board: 38.6% believe the School Board is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and 26.1% believe that quite a few of the the people on the School Board don't seem to know what they are doing. It would appear, then, that the Shiawassee sample is not totally enamoured of the School Board. This level of

distrust did not bode well for the issue under study.

Awareness and Information

Less than half of the respondents were aware of any upcoming special county-wide elections (43.6%; n=44). The directed inquiry as to whether the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District had called any special elections netted three respondents who answered in the affirmative. Only fifteen respondents (34.1% of those aware unaided) knew that the election had been called by the Intermediate School District while nine (20.5%) thought it had been called by the County Attorney and one (2.3%) by someone else. Of those aware that an election had been called, 59.6% (n=28) knew that the election concerned a millage for Area Vocational Technical Education while 6.4% (n=3) thought it was a millage for special education and 8.5% (n=4) each for a nursing home or something else. A large percent also correctly identified the amount of millage as being between one and two mills (44.7%; n=21) while six respondents (12.8%) thought it was more than two mills and three respondents (6.4%), less than one mill.

One of the most disconcerting findings of the study was this low level of overall awareness that an election had been called (43.6%). Coupled to this was the low level of correct information held by those respondents who were aware of the election. Only twelve respondents could correctly identify who had called the election, the issue being voted

upon and the amount of millage requested. This represents 11% of the overall sample. The turnout for the election was 12% so perhaps only those holding correct information voted. This is unlikely. That means that voters were going to the polls to vote without complete information, a not-too-pleasant thought in a republican democracy.[2]

Media Use

The majority of respondents to the survey (n=83; 76.2%) report reading a newspaper regularly. Many of these subscribe to and read the local newspaper, the Owosso Argus Press. Second in both readership and subscription was the Detroit Free Press followed by the Flint Journal, the Lansing State Journal and the Detroit News. There was little readership and subscription to the local weekly newspapers (see Table 3).

Most respondents spend time each day listening to the radio (see Table 4). However, little of that listening involves WOAP, the local radio station. Only nineteen respondents (21.8% of radio listeners) report that they usually listen to WOAP. Twenty-three respondents (26.4%) listen to stations from Lansing, nineteen (21.8%) to Detroit stations, sixteen (18.4%) to Flint-Saginaw stations and six (6.9%) to other Michigan stations. Listenership to WOAP is fairly evenly distributed between AM (n=5; 26.3%) and FM (n=7; 36.8%) with five respondents (26.3%) listening to both.

TABLE 3

NEWSPAPER READERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTION

Newspaper	Readers	Subscribers
Owosso Argus Press	58	54
Detroit Free Press	28	16
Flint Journal	14	11
Lansing State Journal	10	9
Detroit News	7	5
Durand Express	5	2
Shiawassee Journal	5	2
Out-of-State Papers	3	1
Jackson Citizen Patriot	1	0

TABLE 4

RADIO LISTENERSHIP

Hours	Number	Percent
None	22	20.8%
One	24	22.6%
Two	13	12.3%
Three	8	7.6%
Four	13	12.3%
Five	6	5.7%
Six	7	6.6%
Seven+	13	12.3%
Total	106	100.2%

It was not surprising that little more than half of the respondents read the Owosso Argus Press and 17.4% listened to the local radio outlet, WOAP. Shiawassee

County is not media poor in its truest sense. However, so much media from other markets reaches into the area that there is little need to attend to the local media. Additionally, given that a sizeable portion of the employed work outside the county, there may be little sense of community associated with the county. If you work in Lansing, you read the Lansing newspaper and listen to Lansing radio stations.

Source of Information

Thirty-five respondents (32.1%) reported having heard something about Area Vocational Technical Education "since last Monday". Many of these had received information form a variety of sources rather than a single source. Twenty-three respondents had read about Area Vocational Technical Education in the newspaper while seven had heard of it on the radio. Of the non-media sources, eleven had received information from a friend, nine from a flyer or brochure, seven at a meeting and two from a poster.

These results follow from the previous ones. With so little attention paid to local Shiawassee County media, it is not surprising that so few had heard anything about Area Vocational Technical Education. This is also in line with the low levels of awareness noted in the County.

Voting

Few respondents (n=14; 12.8%) indicated having not voted in a general election in the past two years (1976-

1978) while forty-five respondents (41.3%) voted in all general elections (see Table 5). Turnout among respondents for school elections was poorer with twenty-eight respondents (25.7%) voting in none in the past two years and only thirty-seven (33.9%) voting in all of them. It should be noted that there had been one general election and one school election during the time period under study which raises the vote levels of 63 (57.8%) for the general election and 53 (48.6%) for the school election.

TABLE 5

TIMES VOTED IN 1976-1978

Number of Times	General		School	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
None	14	12.8%	28	25.7%
One	18	16.5%	16	14.7%
Two	13	11.9%	9	8.0%
Three	1	.9%	1	.9%
One or Two	0	---	5	4.6%
Two or Three	3	2.8%	0	---
Most All	3	2.8%	0	---
All	45	41.3%	37	33.9%

Twenty respondents (18.3%) indicated they had never voted in a school millage while sixty respondents (55%) had voted in one within the past year.[3] Six respondents (5.5%)

had voted in a school millage two years ago and three respondents (2.8%) each, three years and more than three years ago. Of those respondents who would reveal their previous vote in a millage election, forty-three (66.2%) had voted in favor and twenty-two (33.9%), against.

The majority of respondents indicated they would vote in the upcoming election (n=82; 75.2%). Seven (6.4%) said they would not vote and ten (9.2%) were not sure. Of those who reported they would vote in the election, 41.5% (n=34) indicated they would definitely vote in favor of the millage. Twenty respondents (23.4%) said the chances were greater than fifty but less than one hundred while nine (11%) said the chances were fifty and eight (9.8%), less than fifty, that they would cast a favorable vote.

The sample reports a very high level of voting in past elections. Only 12.8% indicated they did not vote in a general election in the previous two years. Overall national turnout for the 1976 Presidential election was only 54% of all eligible citizens.[4] This would mean that voters in Shiawassee County are much more likely to vote than the general population. This is not necessarily the case.[5] What is more likely is that respondents were providing socially accepted responses. This is even more clear when one considers the fact that 75% of the respondents indicated they would vote in the upcoming millage election. Either the sample voted at a much higher rate than the general population, as overall turnout was only 12%, or, socially accepted

responses were being provided.

Sample Representativeness

Shiawassee County is made up of eight school districts, only six of which were represented in the survey (see Table 1). No completions were achieved in either Laingsburg or New Lothrop. Of the remaining six districts, none is present in the sample proportionate to its size in the population. The districts of Byron and Owosso are under-represented while Corunna, Durand, Morrice and Perry are over-represented. Even though the two districts not included are relatively small, the results may not be generalizable to the county as a whole because of their absence.

The survey respondents do cover a broad range of demographic groups. Several groups are not represented accurately, however. Census data reports that the county is 62.4% rural[6] while of the respondents, only one reports farming as an occupation. While it is entirely possible that many of the respondents live in rural settings and are employed in urban areas, it is unlikely that this would explain a difference of 60.7%. The sample, therefore, underrepresents the rural community in Shiawassee County, posing potential problems for the generalizability of the results.

The sample over-represents those age 65 and older. Census data reports that 7.7% of the population is 65 years of age and older[7] while 12.2% of the sample is in that age group. There are several possible explanations for this

discrepancy. First, the sample was drawn from voter registration lists. It has been found that younger members of the population vote in fewer numbers than those who are older.[8] This lower voting turnout may also be reflected in a lower rate of voter registration. Thus, the sampling frame may have contained a larger share of older voters than is found in the population as a whole. It is also possible that the older respondents were more willing to complete the questionnaire so that it was not the sample that was unrepresentative but rather the in-tab sample. Again, this discrepancy could bias the results.

The final group that was under-represented was the male portion of the population. Comprising 49% of the county population[9], males make up only 38.1% of the in-tab sample. The reasons for this are unclear. One plausible explanation for this is that males were less likely to be willing to complete the survey than females, as males and females were fairly equally represented in the sample.

Finally, the sample is more likely to subscribe to the Owosso Argus Press (53.2%) than the population as a whole (21.5%). It is less likely to report listening to WOAP (21.8%) than has been found in previous studies (30%).

The sample, then, is not truly representative of the population as a whole. While most demographic groups are represented in the sample, the few discrepancies may result in unknown biases in the results.

Hypotheses

The Derivative Model

The study was undertaken primarily to test the derivative model described in Chapter I. This model proposed that differences would exist as to awareness, level of information and information sources based on differing levels of trust in government and political efficacy. To test the model, trust in government and political efficacy variables were created and then the sample was distributed into the cells of the model based on their scores on the two variables (see Table 6).

TABLE 6

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION ON TRUST AND EFFICACY

Political Efficacy	Trust in Government		
	High	Low	Total
High	56 (51.4%)*	12 (11.0%)	68 (62.4%)
Low	11 (10.1%)	30 (27.5%)	41 (37.6%)
Total	67 (61.5%)	42 (38.5%)	109

X^2=33.2928; df=1; p<.001.

*Percentages are percent of total (109).

Slightly more than half (51.4%) of the respondents were found to be high in both trust in government and a sense of political efficacy while slightly more than one-fourth (27.5%) scored low on both variables. An almost

equal number of respondents were high in efficacy but low in trust or vice versa. It is also interesting to note that an almost equal number of respondents were high on efficacy (n=68) or high on trust (n=67). The relationship between the two variables, as represented by the distribution, is highly significant.

The statistical significance of the overall distribution of respondents on trust in government and political efficacy, addressed specifically to the School Board and school politics, coincides with the work of Finifter[11] and Milbrath and Goel[12] (see Table 6). The two dimensions do differentiate between respondents with the distribution being significantly different from chance. As expected, the greatest number of respondents scored high on both variables. It had been hoped that the high trust-low efficacy group would be second. This would have indicated a participative population. The low trust-low efficacy group, however, was second largest. The stating of the trust and efficacy items to relate specifically to the School Board and school politics may have been the cause of the fact that more than 25% of the respondents feel both distrustful and inefficacious. As Carter[13] and Hamilton and Cohen[14] discovered, these feelings are often present in school referenda and can account for low turnouts. The size of the protest vote would be expected to be small as the low trust-high efficacy gorup was quite small. Given the substantial size of the high trust-high efficacy group, the

turnout would have been expected to be large. The fact that it was not points to the fact that other factors were at work in this particular election that disrupted the normal or expected impact of alienation. In this case, the media-poor environment may have been a mediating factor. The results of the study seem to point that way.

The first set of hypotheses examined the level of awareness among each of the four groups. The main hypothesis predicted that there would be significantly different levels of awareness among the four groups. This was indeed the case (see Table 7). The greatest level of awareness was found in group three, the group scoring high in trust and low in efficacy where nearly three-fourths of the respondents (72.7%) were aware that an election had been called. Half of those in group two, those low in trust but high in efficacy, were aware while 41.7% of group four, those low in both, were aware. The lowest level of awareness was found in group one, the group high in both trust and efficacy.

The three sub-hypotheses predicted significant differences among the four groups when compared individually. No support was found for these three hypotheses. The first sub-hypothesis had predicted that the proportion aware in group one would be greater than the proportion aware in group two. The data show that the opposite is true. The proportion aware in group two was larger, though not significantly larger, than the proportion aware in group one. The second sub-hypothesis had predicted that the proportion aware

TABLE 7

AWARENESS BY ATTITUDE GROUP

Political Efficacy	Trust in Government		
	High	Low	Total
High	20 (35.7%)*	6 (50.0%)*	26 (54.2%)**
Low	8 (72.7%)*	14 (46.7%)*	22 (45.8%)**
Total	28 (58.3%)**	20 (41.7%)**	48 (44.0%)*

X^2=8.0655; df=1; p<.01.
*Percentages are percent of total in cell aware. See Table 6.
**Percents are percent of total in Table.

in group three would be greater than the proportion aware in group four. The data show that this is indeed the case, that the proportion aware in group three was larger than the proportion aware in group four. With a Z score of 1.508, the difference approached, but did not reach, significance.[10] The third sub-hypothesis predicted that the combined proportion aware in groups one and two would be greater than the combined proportion aware in groups three and four. As with the first sub-hypothesis, the opposite was the case. The combined proportion aware for groups one and two was only 38.2% while 53.6% of groups three and four combined were aware.

The overall awareness level was quite low. Only 44% of the respondents were aware that an election had been called (see Table 7). This may be partially explained by

the fact that only 53.2% of the sample subscribed to the local paper, the Owosso Argus Press, and 21.8% of those who listen to the radio listen to the local radio outlet, WOAP-AM-FM. These two channels provided most of the readily available information concerning the election. If the respondents did not attend to the local media, information about the election may not have been received. The distribution of awareness according to the two dimensions of alienation is highly significant. Those high on both dimensions comprise 41.7% of those aware and those low on both, 29.2%. Those high in trust and low in efficacy make up 16.7% of those aware while those low in trust and high in efficacy represent 12.5% of those aware. The distribution supports the contention that those low in alienation would exhibit a greater interest in, and therefore awareness of, political activity.[15] The proposed withdrawal from politics is not noted in the low trust-low efficacy group.[16] It could be that this withdrawal is from party politics as suggested by Campbell[17] and not a significant factor in school elections where alienation may result instead in protest voting.[18]

The study had hypothesized certain relationships based on awareness levels but found that these did not exist in the data. Rather than having the highest proportionate level of awareness, the high trust-high efficacy group had the lowest. The highest proportionate level of awareness was found in the low efficacy-high trust group. This group

been found to be generally supportive of the system[19] and while inefficacious feelings generally relate to apathy, in the present case the high levels of trust may be the determining factor.[20] It was expected that a large proportion of those high in efficacy and low in trust would be aware however the proportion was smaller than expected.

Awareness of the election is related to alienation although not in the expected ways. Differences exist but these differences do not reflect the research to date. The setting, again, may be the cause. School elections generate little interest as found here. They may indeed be deviant cases. The limited availability of information via television may also have influenced the results. Other factors may be affecting information-seeking behaviors, factors that may exert a greater influence upon potential voters than alienation.

The second set of hypotheses focused on the level of correct information held by the four groups. Table 8 presents the mean level of correct information held by each group. The scores on correct information ranged from zero to three. The highest mean level of correct information was 1.833 for the low trust-high efficacy group followed by 1.57 for the high trust-high efficacy group. The lowest level of recall was 1.071 for the low trust-low efficacy group.

The main hypothesis predicted that significantly different levels of correct information would exist between the four groups. This was not the case. Table 9 presents the

TABLE 8

LEVEL OF CORRECT INFORMATION

Group	Mean	Standard Deviation	Total
High Trust-High Efficacy	1.570	1.165	21
Low Trust-High Efficacy	1.833	1.169	6
High Trust-Low Efficacy	1.125	1.246	8
Low Trust-Low Efficacy	1.071	1.141	14

results of an one-way analysis of variance performed on the level of correct information variable. The within group sums of squares was substantially larger than the between group. More variance within the scores is left unexplained than is explained by the trust in government-political efficacy divisions. The F ratio reflects this and is not significant. Difference of means tests were used to test the three sub-hypotheses. No significant differences were found.

TABLE 9

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE--LEVEL OF CORRECT INFORMATION

Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F ratio
Between Groups	3	3.86	1.12867	.9379 (n.s.)
Within Groups	45	61.78	1.3728	
Total	48	65.64		

The model proposed that correctness of information would be related to alienation. Again, this did not occur. Overall levels of correct information were low. The low trust-high efficacy group had the highest mean. This was unexpected as low trust is usually associated with use of television as the primary source of political information[21] and, in Shiawassee County, no local television exists. The high trust-high efficacy group did not show the level of information expected. This group is generally thought of as being supportive of school referenda and to hold correct information as a result of this support. In this case, information regarding the issue may have been so sparse that even members of this group had difficulty locating it. The only case where the result was truly expected from the literature was the low level of correct information for the low trust-low efficacy group. Past research had shown that those in this category avoid political information[22] which appears to be substantiated by the data.[23] The similarlity in means and standard deviations between the four groups is the reason for the lack of significant differences noted between the groups (see Table 8).

The third hypothesis focused on a comparison of media sources and personal sources across all four groups. Table 10 details the number of media and personal sources for each group. The sample, as a whole, reports hearing about Area Vocational Technical Education from an almost equal number of personal and media sources. Differences do

TABLE 10

SOURCE OF INFORMATION BY GROUP

	Group	Source		Total	Per Person
		Media	Personal		
I	High Trust-High Efficacy (56)	12	14	26	.46
II	Low Trust-High Efficacy (12)	2	6	8	.67
III	High Trust-Low Efficacy (11)	4	0	4	.36
IV	Low Trust-Low Efficacy (30)	12	9	21	.70
	TOTAL	30	29	59	

exist between the groups. Those high on both variables consulted the most number of sources followed closely by those low on both. The two middle groups consult few overall sources. This pattern changes when the number of sources per person ratio is examined. This shows that the group low on both variables consulted the most number of sourcer per person (.7) followed closely by those low in trust but high in efficacy (.67). Those high in both variables ranked third and those high in trust but low in efficacy, fourth.

The model proposed that groups one and three would rely on media and groups two and four on personal sources. This holds for groups two (personal) and three (media) but not for groups one and four. Group one mentions more

personal sources and group four, more media sources. The third hypothesis had predicted that groups one and three combined would rely on media sources to a significantly greater extent than groups two and four combined. The proportion of media sources for groups one and three is .5333 while for groups two and four the proportion is .4827. The first is greater than the second, but the difference is not significant.

The prediction that those high in both trust in government and political efficacy and those high in trust but low in efficacy would report media sources in a significantly greater proportion than those in the remaining two groups had been based on the findings that high trust and efficacy are related to the use of newspapers as a source of political information.[24] This study did not bear this out. The high trust-high efficacy group reported slightly more personal sources and the low trust-low efficacy group more media sources. The remaining two groups follow the hypothesized direction. It would appear that in a minimal mass mediated information election, the relationship between efficacy and trust and type of information source is not the same as that between the two components of alienation and source in a more information-rich setting. Those high in both trust and efficacy represent those most involved and active in the political system. In a standard general election, information about candidates and issues is readily available in the mass media so no further information-seeking

behavior is necessary to be informed. In the Shiawassee County situation the mass media may not have provided sufficient information for the highly involved group necessitating consultation of personal sources. The low trust-low efficacy group poses more of a problem in explaining. It would appear that in Shiawassee County in this particular situation, a high degree of alienation, as determined by high levels of distrust and inefficacy, does not lead to withdrawal from politics[25] and an avoidance of political information,[26] but rather to an observer status--one who watches but does not participate.

The derivative model did not hold up to empirical examination as well as had been predicted. In only one instance was a significant relationship discovered. There are several possible explanations for this occurence.

The derivative model assumed that the original Milbrath and Goel model was correct in its characteristics of levels of participation based on differing levels of trust in government and political efficacy.[27] Using their descriptions as a guide, for example, that those high on both dimensions would be "active allegiant" and have "conventional participation" while those low on both would "withdraw from politics", the literature was searched to determine how these characteristics related to demographics and media use, among others. Additionally the literature was perused to determine how political efficacy and trust in government related to information variables and to school

referenda settings. Melding all this information, the derivative model was developed.

The Milbrath and Goel model, however, had never been tested in its entirety in a single study. The assignment of participation characteristics to each cell was done on the basis of a perusal of the literature as was done for the derivative model. It is possible that, in a single setting with a single sample, the Milbrath and Goel model may not be valid. If that is the case, the same would possibly hold true for its derivative. Until further research is undertaken on the Milbrath and Goel model, it is impossible to tell if this is indeed the reason why so many elements of the derivative model were not substantiated by the data collected in Shiawassee County.

A second possible explanation for the failure of the model to explain the behavior of the sample concerns the utilization of items specifically dealing with the School Board and School politics as the individual items in the trust in government and political efficacy scales. The Milbrath and Goel model, and the work of Finifter upon which it is based, both used the standard items for both of these scales. It may be that the model holds for the less defined "government" items and not for more specific items as were used in the present study. The use of the more specific items had been suggested by Aberbach and Walker, Citrin, Dean and McCloksy.[28] The specific political efficacy items had also been used in the work of Carter.[29] There appeared

to be sufficient justification for their adoption in the Shiawassee study.

The development of the derivative model cell characteristics was based on published research. Much of this research had been done using more general trust and efficacy items. It could be that the model of information would hold if those items were used rather than the more specific ones. Until more research is accomplished using specific items, the final determination of whether this was the cause for the failure of the model will not be known.

A third possible explanation for the inability of the model to predict behavior has to do with the setting of the study. This included both a low interest election and a low information area. The development of the Milbrath and Goel model had been accomplished using data from general elections rather than school referenda. It could be that the model holds in the more general situation but not in the specific one. If that is the case, the derivative model may hold in a general election situation where it did not hold in the school election.

Complicating this is the fact that there was so little interest in the millage election. The fact that so few were aware or had correct information regarding the issue may have biased the results. It may not be the model that is at fault, but rather that the Shiawassee County millage election was a deviant situation even for a school election. It may also be that the problem lies not with the

rationale underlying the model but rather with the information setting. The county receives a plethora a media from the surrounding counties.[30] It may be impossible for the two local media outlets to compete for the attention of county residents. In a more normal media setting, the model may be a better predictor.

Given the results from the Shiawassee County study, the derivative model should be redesigned to resemble Figure 3. Support for such a model, however, is not found in the literature. Few of the assignments could be justified. Only those marked with an asterisk would be undergirded by previous research results. It is much more likely that the setting caused the failure of the model and that the model as proposed would be supported in a more traditional situation.

		Trust in Government	
		High	Low
Political Efficacy	High	Low Awareness *Correct Information Information from Personal Sources	Low Awareness Correct Information *Information from Personal Sources
	Low	High Awareness Incorrect Information *Information from Media	*Low Awareness *Incorrect Information Information from Media

Figure 3: Shiawassee County Derivative Model

Campaign Awareness and Information

Hypotheses four and five dealt with increasing levels of campaign awareness and information as the campaign progressed. It was predicted that as the election neared, an increasing proportion of respondents would, first, be aware than an election had been called and, second, hold a high level of correct information regarding the election. The results were mixed at best (see Table 11). First, the awareness level did not increase as predicted. Week two (.5385) was larger than week one (.1667), but not significantly so. Week two, however, was also larger than week three (.4286) and week four (.3), with three being larger than four as well. For week five the pattern shifts with five (.3333) slightly larger than week four, but equal to week six. Week six was larger than week seven (.2), as was week eight (.2857), the predicted direction but not a significant increase. Week nine (.75) was significantly greater than week eight ($Z=2.27$; $p<.05$). A major drop in awareness took place in week ten with only 28.6% of those contacted aware that an election had been called for the following Monday.

The data on correctness of information were even more disappointing. Only twelve respondents (11% of 109) could correctly identify who had called the election, the issue being voted on and the amount of the millage. For five of the weeks (one, five, seven, eight and ten) not one respondent was found to have correct information regarding

TABLE 11

AWARENESS AND INFORMATION BY WEEK

Week	Number Contacted	Awareness	Information
1--April 2-8	6	1	0
2--April 9-15	13	7	2
3--April 16-22	14	6	2
4--April 23-29	10	3	1
5--April 30-May 6	3	1	0
6--May 7-13	12	4	2
7--May 14-20	10	2	0
8--May 21-27	7	2	0
9--May 28-June 3	25	18	5
10--June 4-10	7	2	0
Total	107[a]	44 (.4142)	12 (.2727)

[a]Two of the questionnaires were not dated so were not included in this analysis.

the election. This included the final week before the election (week ten). The hypothesis had predicted that the proportion of those holding correct information would increase significantly as the campaign progressed. This was not the case. The proportion holding correct information during week two (.2857) was larger than for week one but this was not significant. Week three was larger than week two but, again, was not significantly so. Week three was equal to week four. During the fifth week, no one was

found who had correct information. Week six was larger than all previous weeks, however, this was not the beginning of a trend. For weeks seven and eight no one held correct information, while for week nine only 27.8% of those aware could correctly identify all three elements. During the final week before the election no one, once again, held correct information.

The fourth hypothesis had assumed that as the date of the election neared, an increasing proportion of registered voters would be aware that an election had been called. This was based on the fact that the opportunities to be exposed to campaign information would have increased as the amount of information available in the community increased. As the data in Table 11 show, this did not occur. No pattern of increase or decrease in awareness levels is discernible (see Figure 4). The awareness proportions peak at week two and week nine. It would appear that even less than one week before the election it was easy to have missed any and all information regarding the upcoming election, or to have seen but not recalled any information because of lack of interest in the issue.

Hypothesis five had assumed that, as with awareness, the proportion of those holding correct information would increase as the election date neared. Once again, this did not occur (see Table 11 and Figure 4). There is even less of a discernible pattern with the correctness of

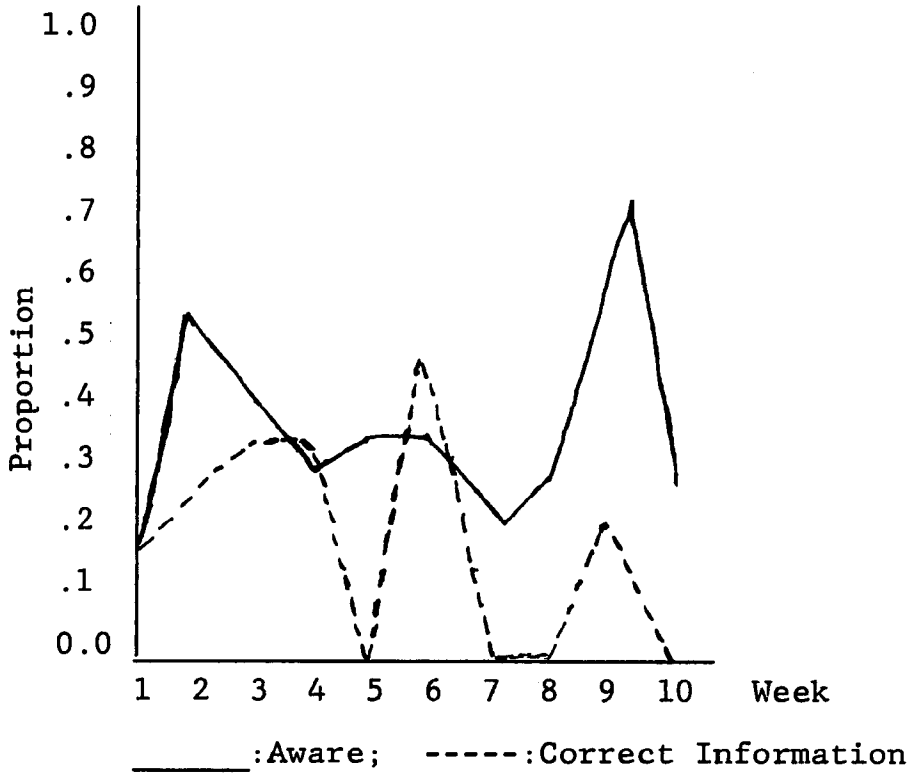

Figure 4: Awareness and Information by Week

information data. In fact, the level of correct information does not follow the pattern of awareness. The fact that this was a low interest election is spotlighted by the data. Few respondents were aware that the election had been called and fewer still could correctly identify who had called it, the issue to be decided and the amount of the millage being requested.

It should be noted that the assumption of increasing awareness and information may not be valid. Similar analyses need to be undertaken in local media-rich areas and general election settings to determine if the assumption or the setting in this instance caused the failure of the

hypothesis to predict behavior.

Hypothesis seven predicted that respondents living in the Owosso and Corunna school districts would receive their information regarding the election from the newspaper to a greater extent than respondents in the outlying districts as the major local daily was based in Owosso. It was first necessary to identify those respondents who had heard anything about Area Vocational Technical Education "since last Monday" (see Table 12). The majority of the respondents (68%) had heard nothing about Area Vocational Technical Education recently. The sample is almost evenly split between Owosso-Corunna and the other six districts combined, however, a larger proportion of respondents in Owosso-Corunna (39%) had acquired information recently (others: 25%). This distribution is not statistically significant.

TABLE 12

INFORMATION ACQUISITION BY SCHOOL DISTRICT

"Heard anything since last Monday?"	School District Owosso-Corunna	Others	Total
Yes	21 (.60)* (.39)**	14 (.40) (.25)	35 (.32)
No	33 (.45) (.61)	41 (.55) (.75)	74 (.68)
Total	54 (.50)	55 (.50)	109

*Row Percent **Column Percent

Table 13 presents the distribution of newspaper and non-newspaper sources by school district. The newspaper garnered the most number of mentions as the source of recent information regarding the issue. Respondents living in Owosso-Corunna were more likely to have heard about Area Vocational Technical Education from the newspaper (76.2%) than respondents living in the outlying districts, however the distribution is not significant. The main focus of the hypothesis was not the distribution but the proportion mentioning newspapers. The data show that 29.4% (16 of 54) of all respondents from Owosso-Corunna noted newspapers compared to 12.7% (7 of 55) of all respondents in the outlying districts. The difference was found to be statistically significant ($Z=2.169$; $p<.05$).

TABLE 13

SOURCE BY SCHOOL DISTRICT

School District	Source		Total
	Newspaper	Other	
Owosso-Corunna	16 (.76)	5 (.24)	21 (.60)
Other Districts	7 (.50)	7 (.50)	14 (.40)
Total	23 (.66)	12 (.34)	35

Owosso and Corunna are the two central school districts in the county. They are also the two largest communities and are situated abutting each other. The local

newspaper and radio outlets are located in Owosso. Given these facts, it was assumed that respondents in these two districts would differ in information acquisition from those in the outlying districts. The study found that respondents in Owosso-Corunna were more likely to have heard of Area Vocational Technical Education. The centrality of their location may have been the determining factor. They were geographically close to the source providing information regarding the election and thus were more likely to hear something about it. The data also show, as expected, that respondents in Owosso-Corunna were more likely to have received information from newspapers (76.2%) than respondents in the other districts (50%). The lack of significance here can be explained by a closer examination of Table 13. While for Owoss-Corunna, the distribution between the two source categories is quite dramatic, for the outlying districts the distribution is identical to what one would have expected by chance. Given this fact, a significant chi-square was not possible. The trend toward greater use of newspapers by the two central districts is present in the data and the proportion mentioning newspapers is significantly greater, as stated in the hypothesis. It would seem then that proximity to the site of publication and information acquisition from the newspaper in an area such as Shiawassee County are related such that as proximity increased the likelihood of acquisition of information from that newspaper increased.

Favorability

The next six hypotheses examined the effect of several variables on favorability towards the issue of Area Vocational Technical Education. The first of these dealt with the age of the respondent. It was predicted that a negative relationship would exist between these two variables such that as age increased favorability would decrease. Such a relationship did exist in the data, however, the relationship was not significant ($r=-.17688$; $t=1.5964$; $df=160$; $p<,10$).

The presence or absence of children in the home has also been said to be a determining factor in the level of favorability toward school monetary issues. In the present case, fifty-two respondents had children residing with them and thirty did not. The mean favorability level for those families with children present in the home was 79.4615 (standard deviation: 29/0283) while the mean favorability level for those respondents without children living in the home was 56.667 (standard deviation: 39.8993). The difference was highly significant ($t=2.9376$; $df=80$; $p<.001$) indicating that the presence of children in the home significantly affects favorability.

Table 14 details mean favorability level by educational attainment. It was necessary to combine several of the education categories due to the extremely small number of respondents in the cells. Only one respondent indicated an eighth grade education or less. This person was added to

the some high school group and a new category, first to eleventh grade, was created. For the graduate work category, three respondents reported graduate degrees and two, graduate work. Therefore, these two categories were combined.

TABLE 14

FAVORABILITY BY EDUCATION

Education Level	Favorability		n*	N**
	Mean	Standard Deviation		
First-Eleventh	50.65	39.803	20	28
High School Degree	76.944	33.569	18	24
Trade School	70.000	31.358	10	13
Some College	77.105	30.519	19	24
College Degree	85.555	20.683	9	9
Graduate Work	99.800	.442	5	5

*Number responding to favorability item.
**Number in sample.

Several factors need to be noted regarding these two variables. First, as education level increased the proportion responding to the favorability item grew from 71% for the least educated to 100% for the most. Second, the variability of scores decreased as education level increased as can be seen in the decreasing size of the standard deviation. Thirdly, except for one deviant case, the mean favorability level did increase as education increased as

predicted.

Difference of means t-tests were performed between each education level and the next lower. Two were significant and two were not. The mean favorability level for those with a high school degree was significantly greater than the mean favorability level for those with less than a high school degree ($t=2.1492$; $df=36$; $p<.05$). The other significant difference was found at the opposite end of the education scale. Those with graduate work were significantly more favorable towards the issue than those with a college degree ($t=1.94$; $df=12$; $p<.05$). The two where no significance was found were between those with some college and those with high school degrees, and those with college degrees and those with some college. No t-test was performed between high school degree and trade school as the mean favorability score for the lower educational attainment was higher and thus not in the predicted direction.

It was also predicted that favorability would increase as income level increased. This was not the case (see Table 15). The relationship appears to be curvilinear with those earning less than $10,000 and those earning more than $30,000 being less favorable towards the issue. The only significant difference of means occured between those earning less than $10,000 a year and those earning between $10,000 and $20,000 a year with the mean of the latter group being significantly greater than the mean of the former ($t=1.7366$; $df=32$; $p<.05$). The other two comparisons were

not in the predicted direction, i.e., the mean favorability level decreased as income increased.

TABLE 15

FAVORABILITY BY INCOME LEVEL

Income Level	Favorability		n*	N**
	Mean	Standard Deviation		
Less than $10,000	62.307	34.5576	13	18
Between $10,000 and $20,000	82.149	24.8783	21	26
Between $20,000 and $30,000	72.885	36.6653	26	30
More than $30,000	68.167	37.5290	18	21

*Number responding to favorability item.
**Number in sample.

It had been predicted that as occupational status increased, favorability would increase significantly. This was found to be partly the case (see Table 16). The occupational variable originally had five categories. The category "farmer" was dropped from the analysis as there was only one respondent identifying herself as such. The manager and professional categories were combined due to the low number in each (four in the former and nine in the latter).[31] The two comparisons were not significant although the first, blue collar with white collar, approached significance ($t=1.48$; $df=33$; $p<.10$).

The final favorability item examined that variable

TABLE 16

FAVORABILITY BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Favorability Mean	Standard Deviation	n*	N**
Blue Collar	64.368	39.3604	19	25
White Collar	80.000	19.4963	16	19
Manager/Professional	81.077	29.6800	13	16

*Number responding to favorability item.
**Number in sample.

in light of a previous vote for a school millage. The hypothesis predicted that those who had cast a previous vote in favor of a school millage would be more favorable towards the issue than someone who had cast a prior negative vote. The data support the contention. Thirty-nine respondents reported a previous positive vote on a school millage. Their mean favorability level on the current issue was 76.8947 (standard deviation: 30.9862). Seventeen respondents reported a prior negative vote. Their mean favorability level in the present case was 43.7059 (standard deviation: 40.3). The difference was highly significant ($t=2.9479$; $df=54$; $p<.01$).

The researchers into school referenda voting correlates have uncovered a variety of factors relating to the likelihood of a favorable vote. In some instances the results have been mixed with a characteristic being positively related to a favorable vote in some studies and in

others, negatively related. A variety of these factors were tested in Shiawassee County.

Carter had found that the most favorable voter was under the age of fifty-one[32], while Hamilton and Cohen reported that support decreased as age increased.[33] This trend was present in the Shiawassee County data. Eighty-one respondents provided answers to both items. Overall mean age was 44.07 years while mean favorability was 71.96. The Pearson product moment correlation between the two was negative indicating an inverse relationship between the two however the result was not significant. This study did not compare age with a favorable vote but rather with a self-report of the likelihood of casting a favorable vote. It is possible that were age compared to vote in the present study, a significant relationship would be found. This, in fact, did not occur as shall be seen shortly.

Carter had also found that parents with children in school were most supportive of school referenda.[34] Hamilton and Cohen found parents to be more supportive[35], as did Kowalski, who determined that those with children in the public schools in grades ten and under would be more supportive than non-parents or parents with no children in school.[36] This finding was tested in Shiawassee County and was found to be true. The mean favorability level of those with children present in the home was almost 23 points higher than the mean for those without children present in the home. It would appear that parents form a special interest group

when it comes to schools such that they register support for the schools across a wide variety of financial issues, including, in the present case, an increase in property assessment to cover the cost of building and maintaining a centralized center for the vocational and technical education of high school students.

Hamilton and Cohen had found that the highly educated were more supportive of school referenda.[37] Alexander and Bass supported this view.[38] It was hypothesized for this study, then, that favorability would increase as level of education increased. Favorability towards the issue did increase with one notable exception. Those completing trade school after high school were less favorable towards the issue than those with a high school degree. This may be situation-specific. The millage request was for funds to construct and maintain a centralized vocational technical center for high school students. It is possible that those who gained their technical skills in a trade school setting may be opposed to this type of education on the high school level, believing that a trade school is the more appropriate place for such training. Given the results of the study, it can be said that increased education is related to increased favorability. Even though several of the relationships were not significant, the limited size of the sample may have influenced this, the trends in the data point to the validity of such a claim.

Several studies had also examined the relationship of

income to favorability towards the school referenda. Hamilton and Cohen found that respondents in the upper income brackets were twice as supportive as those in lower brackets.[39] Alexander and Bass support this finding.[40] Wilson and Banfeild, however, found that middle income voters (homeowners) were much more likely to vote against school proposals than the very poor or the very rich.[41] The results in Shiawassee County do not follow either of these patterns. In the present situation, those earning the least and those earning the most were both less favorable towards the issue than respondents in the middle two income brackets. Those earning less than $10,000 a year were, for the most part, older and retired, living on fixed incomes. Their opposition to the issue may have been related to this fact. It may be their age and life situation as much as their income that led to the low mean favorability rating. Those respondents who were more affluent yet not favorably inclined are more difficult to explain. Once again, however, it may not be income level but rather other factors that are reflected in the lower mean. Few of the respondents were located in the managerial and professional categories. This means that some of those located in the blue and white collar categories may be included in the upper income bracket. These job categories are, traditionally, much less inclined to vote in favor of school referenda. This being the case, it is possible that the presence of these respondents in the upper income category

lowered the mean favorability level for that income level. Another possible explanation for the lower mean favorability level for the upper income group has to do with the specific issue being considered. They may believe that money should be spent on the schools but not for vocational education. This would lead to an unfavorable rating. This explanation is not as plausible, however, as the occupation-income relationship, as will be seen.

Researchers have found that favorability towards school monetary issues is related to occupational status. The results, however, have not been consistent. Carter, on the one hand, found that the most favorable voter had an occupation as a skilled worker or in clerical and sales areas while the most unfavorable voter had a professional or technical occupation.[42] Hamilton and Cohen, on the other hand, found that professionals were more favorably inclined than businessmen and far more supportive than those in manual occupations.[43] Alexander and Bass found that managerial and professional occupations were associated with greater election support[44] while Kowalski ranked occupations from most to least favorable: professional, managerial, white collar, manual and farmer.[45] The data from Shiawassee County support the latter researchers. Those employed in professional/managerial positions were most favorable towards the issue followed closely by white collar and distantly by blue collar. The difference in means of the blue and white collar categories was significant, however

that between the white collar and professional/managerial was not. This second relationship may have been influenced by the fact that the professional and managerial categories had been combined due to the limited number of respondents in each. If this combining had not taken place the results would have been different.

The mean favorability level for the manager category was only 58.75, considerably lower than the white collar mean of 80.0. However, only four respondents fell into the managerial category making the result less stable than for the other categories. The mean favorability level for the professional category was 91.0, substantially higher than the mean of the managerial category. While the results as presented in Table 16 appear to support the work of Kowalski, Hamilton and Cohen and Alexander and Bass, there is some question as to whether this would indeed be the case given a larger sample. It could also be that the Shiawassee County results as they relate to the managerial class are deviant.

The final favorability item examined was the relationship between a past favorable vote in a school millage election and the likelihood of a favorable vote in the present situation. Kowalski had found that past voting record was a prime determinant of a future vote.[46] Shiawassee County data support this contention. Those who reported a prior positive vote on a millage had a mean favorability level 33 points higher than those reporting a

past negative vote. It would seem that those who are supportive of the schools are supportive regardless of issue. This needs future testing, however.

Profiles of the most favorable and least favorable voters can be drawn from the Shiawassee County data. The most favorable voter is young, has children living in the home, has at least a college degree, has an income of between $10,000 and $20,000 a year, has a professional occupation and has cast a positive vote on a school millage issue in the past. The least favorable voter is older, has no children living in the home, has not completed high school, earns less than $10,000 a year, is employed in a blue collar occupation and has voted against a school millage in the past.

Alienation

The most surprising finding in this study was the limited role that alienation played in the determination of either the likelihood of a favorable vote or in the self-report of the actual vote. Alienation was defined as a combination of the scores on trust in government and political efficacy. This dual dimension had been proposed by Olsen[47], Thompson and Horton[48], Stokes[49], Aberbach[50], Milbrath and Goel[51], and Finifter.[52] Sufficient research support seemed to be present to permit the definition of alienation in the present study as trust and efficacy.

Alienation had been proposed as relating to voting

in known ways. Several researchers, including Nettler, Levin and Eden, Campbell, Kraus and Davis, Dean, and Erbe, found that the alienated withdraw from political participation, including voting.[53] McDill and Ridley found that the alienated, if they vote, are less likely to vote in favor.[54] Hamilton found that those low on political efficacy are less likely to vote.[55] Aberbach and Walker found that the distrustful citizen was likely to cast a protest vote.[56] Feelings of distrust and inefficacy, according to Horton and Thompson, lead to negative voting[57] while Seeman reports similar behavior.[58]

Studies specific to school referenda have reached similar conclusions. Thompson and Horton and Piele and Hall both determined that the alienated are less likely to vote but, if they vote, are much more likely to register a negative vote.[59] The work of Hamilton and Cohen, Carter, and Giles, Gatlin and Cataldo also support this view.[60]

Given the extensive body of research supporting the importance of alienation, and supporting the defining of alienation as trust in government and political efficacy, alienation was proposed as a significant negative factor in both favorability towards the issue and a favorable vote. In both cases, however, alienation was found to have little if any influence.

The final two hypotheses, then, examined the impact of alienation on favorability and voting. The first proposed that alienation would be an independent predictor of

favorability towards the issue. This was not the case although alienation was negatively related to favorability and the multiple regression analysis performed to test the hypothesis was significant.

Table 17 presents the correlation matrix for the nine variables involved. Four of the variables were negatively related to favorability. The data show that as alienation and age increase, favorability decreases. The weak negative correlations between favorability and presence of children in the home and home ownership point to a tendency among the sample for homeowners and those with children in the home to be less favorable towards the issue. The strongest remaining correlations with favorability were someone in the household having taken vocational education and sex. Additionally, sex is strongly associated with vocational education while children in the home is related to age and working in the county (negative). The matrix shows that no problem with multicolinearity exists in the data, the largest correlation being .52010 between sex and having taken vocational education.

Table 18 presents the beta weights for the variables involved in the regression. The best predictor of favorability was someone in the household having taken vocational education with a beta of .5161 ($p<.003$) when all other variables were controlled. Income is the only other positive beta in the equation, with a weak, nonsignificant relationship. All other variables register negative

TABLE 17

CORRELATION MATRIX

	Favorability	Alienation	Children in Home	Vocational Education	Own Home	Work in County	Income	Age
Alienation	-.05463							
Children in Home	-.04819	.07896						
Vocational Education	.45764	-.04450	.20549					
Own Home	-.12105	.05335	.03078	.14827				
Work in County	.08008	-.05870	-.26835	-.05257	-.16523			
Income	-.00751	.08804	-.15334	-.13745	-.01934	-.00244		
Age	-.31363	.10648	.31184	-.23611	-.14427	-.13753	-.04754	
Sex	.25835	-.15370	.14862	.52010	-.21049	-.17381	-.21594	-.1013

relationships, however none are significant. It had been hypothesized that alienation would be a significant independent predictor of favorability as evidenced by a significant beta. The data show this was not the case.

TABLE 18

BETAS FOR REGRESSIONAL ANALYSIS

Variable	B	Beta	Standard Error of B	F	Sig.*
Vocational Education	36.6254	.5162	11.4403	10.2492	.003
Own Home	-17.0199	-.2614	9.3156	3.3381	.075
Age	-1.1859	-.2373	.7317	2.6270	.112
Sex	-12.0368	-.1133	17.8721	.4536	.504
Children at Home	-9.5189	-.0671	20.3512	.2188	.642
Work in County	-6.0103	-.0569	14.6105	.1692	.683
Income	2.2808	.0480	6.1068	.1395	.711
Alienation	-.1637	-.0121	1.7448	.0088	.926
Constant	172.7077		56.6545	9.2929	.004

*Significance Level

The prediction equation, however, is significant (see Table 20). The eight independent variables explain 31.6% of the variance in favorability ($F=2.478$; $df=8$; $p<.026$). The variable contributing the greatest change in R^2 was vocational education (.20762) followed by age (.05164) and home ownership (.03350) (see Table 19).

TABLE 19

SUMMARY TABLE

Variable	F to Enter or Remove	Sig*	Multiple R	R Square	R Square Change	Simple R
Alienation	.0088	.926	.0546	.0029	.0029	-.0546
Vocational Education	10.2492	.003	.4589	.2106	.2076	.4575
Work in County	.1692	.683	.4619	.2133	.0027	.0301
Income	.1395	.711	.4678	.2188	.0055	.0075
Own Home	3.3381	.075	.5024	.2523	.0335	-.1211
Age	2.6270	.112	.5514	.3040	.0516	-.3136
Children in Home	.2188	.642	.5553	.3083	.0043	-.0482
Sex	.4536	.504	.5617	.3155	.0072	.2584

Overall F: 2.478
Significance: .026

*Significance.

TABLE 20

REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE

Multiple R	.56174				
Standard Deviation	66.38105				
R Square	.31555				
Analysis of Variance	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F	S*
Regression	8	87353.197	10919.149	2.478	.026
Residual	43	189477.111	4406.444		

*Significance.

The multiple regression analysis, performed to determine the role of alienation in the likelihood of casting a favorable vote, had mixed results. Alienation was negatively correlated with favorability, as expected, as well as with vocational education, working in the county and sex. The strongest correlation was with sex followed by age and income. Alienation was only fifth in strength of its correlation with favorability.

The regression discovered that alienation was the weakest predictor of favorability with a beta of only -.0121, compared to .5162 for vocational education, the best predictor of the dependent variable. The only portion of the hypothesis that found support was that alienation would be negatively related to favorability.

The fact that someone in the household having taken

vocational education was the best predictor of favorability towards a millage for a centralized Area Vocational Technical Center is not surprising. Someone who had experienced this type of educational training would be most favorably inclined to its continuation and expansion. The finding that home ownership is negatively related to favorability supports the work of Wilson and Banfield.[61] The negative relationship of age to favorability was also expected.

The negative beta for sex indicates that women were more favorable towards the issue as were those who work outside the county which is also negatively related to the dependent variable. The last is not surprising as many of the technical jobs held by respondents were located outside the county. The positive beta for income was expected however the negative beta for children in the home was not. The final items seems to say that those with no children in the home are more favorable towards the issue. No support for this is found in the literature.

The eight variables included in the regression explain approximately 32% of the variance in favorability. While this finding is significant, much of the variability in the dependent variable remains unexplained by the equation. With so much of the variance left unexplained, the likelihood of predicting whether an individual would be favorable towards the millage issue based on knowledge of their scores on the independent variables is small.

A discriminant analysis was performed to test the

final hypothesis that alienation would be a significant negative factor in a favorable vote for the millage. Fifty-two respondents reported their votes in the June 11 election. Of those, forty-two reported voting for and ten, voting against, the millage. Table 21 reports means and standard deviations for the two groups and for the sample as a whole. Both groups score relatively high on alienation, which had an upward limit of thirty-one, and are almost equally alienated (difference of means: .08). Group one, the group reporting a yes vote in the election had a mean favorability level of one hundred while the no group had a ninety-two, indicating little difference between the two groups on a pre-election report of likelihood of voting in favor of the issue. Members of group one are more likely to work in Shiawassee County, be older, have a higher income and be male. Members of group two are more likely to own their own homes and to have taken, or had someone in their family take, a vocational education class.

Table 22 presents the standardized discriminant function coefficients. As there were only two groups, only one function was determined. The variable sex represents the largest contribution, albeit a negative one, to the function. It contributes most to the differentiation of the two groups along the dimension. Someone in the home having taken vocational education ranks second, followed by the age of the respondent (negative) and likelihood of a favorable vote (negative). Of the nine variables,

TABLE 21

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
FOR VOTING GROUPS

Variable	Group I-"Yes" Mean	S.D.*	Group II-"No" Mean	S.D.	Total Mean	S.D.
Alienation	22.38	5.74	22.30	4.35	22.37	5.76
Children in Home	1.38	5.39	1.20	.42	1.35	.52
Favorable Vote	100.00	81.68	92.00	17.51	98.62	73.68
Vocational Education	.48	.99	.70	1.25	.52	1.04
Own Home	1.02	.99	1.50	1.58	1.12	1.13
Work in County	.45	.74	.40	.52	.44	.70
Age	44.95	15.75	38.90	8.25	43.79	14.74
Income	.86	1.70	.50	.53	.79	1.55
Sex	.45	.74	.20	.42	.40	.69

*Standard Deviation.

TABLE 22

STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT
FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

Variable	Coefficient
Alienation	-.0478
Children in Home	-.3927
Favorable Vote	-.4475
Vocational Education	.8001
Own Home	-.0073
Work in County	-.3685
Age	-.5483
Income	-.2828
Sex	-.8784

alienation ranks eighth in relative importance.

Only 13.8% of the variance in the function is explained by the two groups (see Table 23). The nine variables produced a small degree of discrimination between the two groups as indicated by the large lambda and small canonical correlation for the function.

TABLE 23

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS SUMMARY TABLE

Eigenvalue	Canonical Correlation	Percent of Total	Wilks Lambda	Chi-Square	DF	Sig
.1597	.3711	100	.8623	6.7405	9	.664

In spite of the nonsignificant result, the function does classify a significant percent of the fifty-two known cases correctly (see Table 24).

TABLE 24

DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS PREDICTION RESULTS

Actual Group	Predicted Group Membership Yes Voters	No Voters	N
Yes Voters	28 (66.7%)	14 (33.3%)	42
No Voters	4 (40.0%)	6 (60.0%)	10

Chi-Square=4.923; df=1; p=.027

Sixty-five percent (65.4%) of the known cases were classified correctly. A slightly greater percent were classified correctly for the group of yes voters than for the group of no voters.

In the discriminant analysis performed to determine if alienation was a significant factor in a favorable vote for the millage, this was found not to be the case. Of the nine variables included in the analysis, the largest contribution to the function is supplied by the variable sex. Group one, the yes voters, contains many more males and it is this group that reported a favorable vote on the issue. Sex of the respondent, then, is the best discriminator for favorable or unfavorable votes on the issue. Someone in the household having taken vocational education is the second best discriminator with those who have been exposed to vocational education in this way the most likely to vote in favor of the millage. The remaining variables, in descending order of their importance as discriminators, are: age, likelihood of a favorable vote, children in the home, work in the county, income, alienation and home ownership. Alienation, then, is not important as a discriminator of persons on the favorable vote dimension. The data also show that the likelihood of a favorable vote prior to the election is not a good discriminator of actual vote on the issue.

The nine variables included in the analysis do not do very well in explaining the function. The results of

the analysis were not statistically significant. Other factors would have to be considered in the Shiawassee study to determine the vote function. The function, however, does well in predicting group membership. It is slightly better at predicting membership in group one, the yes vote group, than for the no vote group.

Alienation, then, was not a significant factor in either of these two analyses. There are several possible explanations for this finding. First, much of the research into alienation was accomplished using general election data. A low interest, low information election may not resemble a general election to a great enough degree for the findings of the latter to apply in the former. Second, the research into school referenda and alienation relied upon the generic trust in government and political efficacy statements. This study used situation-specific items. It is possible that alienates on the specific statements do not behave as alienates on the generic. The research, then, would not be a good predictor of behavior in the present case. Thirdly, as has been mentioned previously, Shiawassee County may be a deviant case. Identical research in another setting may provide completely different results and may find that alienation, as defined herein, does significantly relate to both the likelihood of a favorable vote and the actuality of such a vote.

"Source of Information" Types

Information about the millage election was distributed to voters through newspaper articles, radio news programs, meetings, posters and brochures. Additionally, information was received by voters through conversations with friends. It was predicted that differences would exist between source types--respondents who gained information from the various sources. Two types of analysis were performed to determine if this was the case. First, source types were compared on a variety of variables under study. No attempt was made to identify a respondent as relying on only one source. The respondent was included in the profile of each source mentioned. Second, respondents were assigned uniquely to one category depending on the type of source mentioned: mass media only (newspapers, radio); personal only (friend, meeting); quasi-mass only (brochure, poster); mass and quasi-mass media; mass media and personal; and, mass, quasi-mass and personal sources.

Source Profiles

Table 25 presents the source of information by efficacy-trust group. Differences do exist between the six information sources. Newspaper readers are more likely to fall into the high efficacy-high trust group as do those who report getting information from friends and meetings. Those receiving information from brochures are more likely to fall into the high efficacy-low trust group, while those

using radio, the low efficacy-low trust group. As only two respondents mentioned posters, it is difficult to note a trend.

TABLE 25

SOURCE OF INFORMATION BY GROUP

Source	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	N
Newspapers	10 (43.5)	2 (8.2)	3 (13.0)	8 (34.8)	23
Radio	2 (28.6)	0	1 (14.3)	4 (57.1)	7
Brochure	2 (22.2)	4 (44.4)	0	3 (33.3)	9
Poster	0	1 (50.0)	0	1 (50.0)	2
Friends	8 (72.7)	0	0	3 (27.3)	11
Meeting	4 (57.1)	1 (14.3)	0	2 (28.2)	7

Group I: High Efficacy-High Trust
Group II: High Efficacy-Low Trust
Group III: Low Efficacy-High Trust
Group IV: Low Efficacy-Low Trust

Awareness and levels of correct information also vary between the source groups (see Table 26). The highest levels of awareness are in the groups getting information from friends and meetings[62], while the lowest level of awareness is found among those receiving information from radio. The highest level of correct information is found among those receiving information regarding Area Vocational

Technical Education at a meeting followed by brochures and newspapers.

TABLE 26

AWARENESS AND INFORMATION BY SOURCE

Source	Awareness	Number of Items Correct 3	2	1	0	N
Newspaper	18 (78.3)[a]	6 (33.3)[b]	7 (38.9)	3 (16.7)	2 (11.1)	23
Radio	5 (71.4)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)	0	2 (20.0)	7
Brochure	7 (77.8)	4 (57.1)	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	0	9
Poster	2 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	0	0	0	2
Friend	10 (90.9)	3 (30.0)	4 (40.0)	2 (20.0)	1 (10.0)	11
Meeting	7 (100.0)	5 (71.4)	1 (14.3)	0	1 (14.3)	7

[a]Percent of N aware.

[b]Percent of aware holding that level of correct information.

Differences also exist among the groups on attentiveness to local media (see Table 27). Those receiving information from radio and newspapers are most likely to read the Argus Press while those hearing about the issue on radio are most likely to listen to WOAP, the local radio outlet. Those receiving information from personal sources are least likely to read the newspaper while those using a brochure for information are least likely to listen.

TABLE 27

LOCAL MEDIA USE BY SOURCE

Source	Read Argus Press	Listen to WOAP	N
Newspaper	19	4	23
Radio	6	3	7
Brochure	6	1	7
Poster	1	0	2
Friend	6	2	11
Meeting	4	2	7

Those who had heard of the issue at a meeting were most favorably inclined with five of seven indicating a 100% likelihood of voting in favor of the millage and a mean favorability level of 84.25. The least favorable group was that group receiving information from newspapers with only eight of the twenty-three reporting a 100% likelihood of a favorable vote and a mean of 57.95. The mean favorability levels of the radio and friends groups were almost equal (radio: 76.77; friend: 73.77) while the mean for the brochure group was considerably less (67.14).

Table 28 compares source group and school district. Those receiving information from newspapers are found primarily in Owosso and Corunna, radio listeners in Durand and Owosso. Owosso contains the most brochure readers and the largest percentage of those gaining information from friends.

TABLE 28

SOURCE BY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Source	District					N
	Corunna	Durand	Morrice	Owosso	Perry	
Newspaper	7 (30.4)	5 (21.7)	1 (4.4)	9 (39.1)	1 (4.4)	23
Radio	0	3 (42.9)	0	3 (42.9)	1 (14.3)	7
Brochure	2 (22.2)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	4 (44.4)	0	9
Poster	0	0	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0	2
Friend	2 (18.2)	3 (27.3)	0	4 (36.4)	2 (18.2)	11
Meeting	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	1 (14.3)	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	7

Tables 29 and 30 present the delineation of source type by various demographic variables. The majority of respondents in each group own their own homes. Few respondents or their children have ever taken a vocational education class in high school. There is variance between the groups on the presence of children in the home with those getting information from meetings being most likely and those hearing about the issue on radio least likely to have children living in the home.

Differences exist as well between the groups on economic variables. Full-time employment ranges from 71.4% for meetings to 47.8% for newspapers. The majority of workers in each group are employed in the county. The

TABLE 29

SOURCE BY HOME OWNERSHIP, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND CHILDREN AT HOME

Source	Home Ownership	Taken Vocational Education	Children at Home	N
Newspaper	20 (87.0)	6 (26.1)	11 (47.8)	23
Radio	7 (100.0)	1 (14.3)	3 (42.9)	7
Brochure	7 (77.8)	0	4 (44.4)	9
Poster	1 (50.0)	0	1 (50.0)	2
Friend	10 (90.9)	1 (9.1)	7 (63.6)	11
Meeting	5 (71.4)	1 (14.3)	6 (85.7)	7

highest reported income was found among those who received information at meetings while the lowest income levels were noted among those getting information from newspapers and friends.

Those attending meetings are the best educated group while those using radio, friends and newspapers have the lowest levels of educational attainment. Those getting information from a brochure or a meeting are the youngest and those using radio, the oldest. Finally women are the majority in each group, however, men are more likely to be present in the groups reporting information from newspapers and at meetings.

TABLE 30

SOURCE BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Variable	Source					
	NP (23)	Rad. (7)	Broc. (9)	Post. (2)	Frie. (11)	Meet. (7)
Employment						
Full Time	11	4	6	2	6	5
Part Time	3	0	1	0	1	1
In County	12	3	5	2	5	4
Income						
<$10,000	5	1	2	0	1	0
$10-20,000	6	2	2	1	4	1
$20-30,000	5	3	1	1	3	3
>$30,000	6	1	3	0	2	3
Education						
Grades 1-11	6	2	0	0	3	0
High School/ Trade School	8	4	4	1	2	1
Some College	4	0	3	1	3	3
College Degree	2	0	2	0	0	1
Graduate Work	4	1	0	0	3	2
Mean Age	48.0	49.0	39.7	50.5	45.7	40.0
Sex						
Male	9	2	2	1	3	3
Female	14	5	7	1	8	4

NP=Newspaper; Rad=Radio; Broc=Brochure; Post=Poster; Frie=Friend; Meet=Meeting

The differences between the source of information types points to specific differences between the sources themselves. As demonstrated by Table 26, information received from radio is fleeting. Of all the types, this group had the lowest level of awareness and for those aware, the lowest level of correct information. Information from friends, being word of mouth, has a tendency to be at least partially incorrect. Those sources where the greatest attention must be paid have the highest levels of correct information: meetings, brochures and, to a lesser extent, newspapers.

The data on local media use point out the limited readership of the Argus Press and, likewise, the limited listenership of WOAP. Respondents not receiving information from one of these two sources are not likely even to attend to them. The two local media, then, do not seem to hold the attention of the community at large.

Personal contact seems to relate to favorability towards the issue. Those most favorable received information from meetings and to a lesser extent from friends. This group is also most likely to be found in the least alienated group, those high on both trust in government and political efficacy (see Table 25). They are also most likely to hold correct levels of information among groups with more than two respondents (see Table 26).

Profiles of Source Types

Previous research into media use had found that those using different types of media as sources of information differed from others in unique ways.[63] This is substantiated in the present study. Profiles developed for each source type show that differences do exist.

Twenty-three respondents indicated they had heard about Area Vocational Technical Education from the newspaper. This group is fairly evenly split between the high efficacy-high trust (43.5%) and the low efficacy-low trust (34.8%) groups (see Table 25). The Newspaper-type was more likely than not to be aware than an election had been called, however several other types were more likely to be aware than this type (see Table 26). Level of correct information is also quite high among this group with 56.5% of the group providing two or three correct responses. As expected, the Newspaper-type is more likely than not to read the Owosso Argus-Press (only one group exceeds its readership level) but is not likely to listen to WOAP, the local radio outlet (see Table 27). The Newspaper-type is not favorably inclined towards the issue with a mean favorability level of only 57.95, the lowest of the six types. Thys type is most likely to live in Owosso or Corunna, with 69.5% of the group residing in these two communities, and to own their own homes. They are less likely to be employed full time but more likely to work on a part time basis, and generally to work in the county. They are spread fairly

evenly across all income groups. Of all source types, the Newspaper-type is more likely to have attended trade school and to have taken, or had someone in the family take, a vocational education class in high school. Finally, the type is most likely to be in her late forties and to be female.

The Radio-type, even though it is a mass media type, shows some definite differences. This type is more likely to be found in the low trust-low efficacy group (57.1%). While its awareness level is high (71.4%), this type is most likely to have incorrect information with 40% having no correct information and only 20% getting all three items right. The Radio-type reads the local newspaper but, while the proportion is the greatest, less than 50% of this type report listening to the local radio outlet, WOAP. It seems likely, however, that they do listen to WOAP but do not consider it a station that they listen to regularly. This type is likely to favor the millage (mean: 76.67), even though they have little-to-no personal experience with vocational education either in high school or trade school. The Radio-type owns his own home either in Durand or Owosso and may or may not have children living at home. This type has little-to-no education past high school with one each having attended trade school and having a graduate degree. The Radio-Type is more likely to be employed full-time in the county, to be middle aged (mean: 49), to make more than $20,000 a year in total household income and to be female.

The third source type got information from a flyer or brochure. The Brochure-type is more likely to be low in trust in government with 44.4% scoring low in trust and high in efficacy and 33.3% rating low in trust and low in efficacy. The Brochure-type was aware that an election had been called and had a high level of correct information (three correct: 57.1%; two correct: 28.6%). This type reads the Argus Press (66.7%) but does not listen to WOAP (11.1%). This type is not very favorable towards the issue (mean: 67.14) possibly because no one had had personal or family experience with vocational education in high school although 22.2% had attended trade school upon completion of high school. They are also more likely to have attended college (55.6%). The Brochure-type is most likely to own a home in Owosso and to work full time in Shiawassee County, but is less likely to have children living in the home. The Brochure-type, finally, is most likely to be in the late thirties and to be female.

The fourth type is an interpersonal type, getting information about Area Vocational Technical Education from friends. This Friend-type is most likely to be high in both trust in government and political efficacy (72.7%) and to be aware than an election had been called (90.9%). The type is more likely than not to have some correct information about the issue (two or three correct: 70%). The Friend-type is fairly favorable towards the issue and attends to the local paper (54.6%) but not to the local radio outlet (18%).

This type owns a home and is more likely to live in Owosso or Durand (63.3%). The type is fairly well-educated (54.6% with at least some college; 18.2% with graduate degrees) and is more likely than not to be employed full time in Shiawassee County. The Friend-type is not characterized by having taken, or had someone in the family take, a vocational education class in high school. This type is more likely to be in the mid-forties, have children living at home and to be female.

The fifth source type got information ragarding Area Vocational Technical Education at a meeting. The Meeting-type tends to be high on both trust in government and political efficacy although a substantial minority is low in both. This type is aware that an election had been called and is most likely to hold correct information concerning the issue. The type is also most likely to be favorable towards the issue (mean: 84.25). The Meeting-type reads the Owosso Argus Press and is more likely than all but the Radio-Type to listen to WOAP. This type is spread throughout the county although they are slightly more likely to live in Owosso and Corunna. The Meeting-type is a homeowner who works full time in Shiawassee County and has children living at home. This type tends to be fairly highly educated (85.7% with at least some college) but to have little personal contact with vocational education in high school. The Meeting-type is approximately forty years of age, earns a total household income of more than $20,000 a

year and can be either male or female.

The final type received information about the issue from a poster. As there were only two respondents in this category, the determination of a profile is difficult. However, several characteristics can be noted. The type is low in trust in government, found in the low trust-high efficacy and low trust-low efficacy groups. As a type, they are aware of the election and hold correct information concerning the issue. The Poster-type is employed full-time in the county, has a medium range income and is approximately fifty years of age.

Unique Source Types

Six unique source types were identified: personal sources only (n=5), quasi-mass only (n=2), mass media only (n=12), mass and quasi-mass (n=5), personal and mass (n=8), and a group using all three (n=2). Differences exist between these six groups on a number of items.

Table 31 presents the comparison of source type by alienation categories. Those mentioning only personal sources all fall into the high efficacy-high trust group. This is the only source group where this pattern occurs. The other source types are spread across alienation groups. Users of mass media are evenly distributed in three of the groups while users of quasi-mass, mass-personal and mass-quasi-mass-personal are each evenly divided between two groups. Only the mass-quasi-mass group differs with two

respondents each in the high trust-high efficacy and high trust-low efficacy groups and one in the low efficacy-low trust group.

TABLE 31

SOURCE TYPE BY ALIENATION GROUP

Source	Alienation				N
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	
Personal	5	0	0	0	5
Quasi-mass	0	1	0	1	2
Mass Media	4	0	4	4	12
Mass-Quasi-mass	2	2	0	1	5
Mass-Personal	4	0	0	4	8
Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass	0	1	0	1	2

Group I: High Efficacy-High Trust
Group II: High Efficacy-Low Trust
Group III: Low Efficacy-High Trust
Group IV: Low Efficacy-Low Trust

Differing levels of awareness and correctness of information also occur among the types (see Table 32). The highest level of awareness is found among that group using both mass and personal sources.[64] The highest level of correct information was found among those receiving information from personal sources.[65] Mean favorability levels also vary from a high of 93.75 for those reporting information from personal sources to 57.5 for those indicating both mass and quasi-mass sources of information.[66]

TABLE 32

AWARENESS AND INFORMATION BY SOURCE

Source	Awareness	Number of Items Correct 3	2	1	0	N
Personal	4	3	0	1	0	5
Quasi-mass	1	1	1	0	0	2
Mass Media	7	1	3	1	2	12
Mass-Quasi-mass	4	1	2	1	0	5
Mass-Personal	8	2	3	1	2	8
Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass	2	2	0	0	0	2

Table 33 presents the data on local media use by source type. The highest level of readership was found among those groups reporting having "heard" about the issue from the newspaper while the highest level of listenership was among those reporting personal sources.

TABLE 33

SOURCE TYPE BY LOCAL MEDIA USE

Source	Read Argus Press	Listen to WOAP	N
Personal	1	2	5
Quasi-mass	1	0	2
Mass Media	10	3	12
Mass-Quasi-mass	4	1	5
Mass-Personal	5	1	8
Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass	1	0	2

Source types are not distinguishable by school districts (see Table 34). Demographic differences exist, however (see Tables 35 to 37). Home ownership was widespread across the groups. Few respondents had taken or had children who had taken vocational education in high school. Only two source categories have direct experience with vocational education (mass and mass-personal). Those indicating information from mass and mass-quasi-mass sources are less likely to have children present in the home.

TABLE 34

SOURCE TYPE BY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Source	District					N
	Corunna	Durand	Morrice	Owosso	Perry	
Personal	1	1	0	1	2	5
Quasi-mass	0	1	0	1	0	2
Mass Media	3	3	1	4	1	12
Mass-Quasi-mass	2	1	0	2	0	5
Mass-Personal	2	2	0	3	1	8
Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass	0	0	1	1	0	2

Those reporting mass-personal sources have the highest levels of educational attainment while those mentioning only mass media, the lowest. The mass media group has the highest mean age (52.16) and quasi-mass, the lowest (27). Examination of the groups by sex reveals that two groups are predominantly female (personal: 80%;

mass-quasi-mass: 100%) while the remainder each contain half males and half females. Those reporting information from media sources are least likely to be employed full-time but are most likely to work in Shiawassee County. Finally, those reporting information from mass and personal sources report the highest levels of income while those indicating mass media only, the lowest.

TABLE 35

SOURCE BY HOME OWNERSHIP, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND CHILDREN IN HOME

Source	Home Ownership	Taken Vocational Education	Children In Home	N
Personal	4	0	4	5
Quasi-mass	2	0	1	2
Mass Media	11	4	5	12
Mass-Quasi-mass	4	0	2	5
Mass-Personal	7	2	6	8
Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass	1	0	1	2

TABLE 36

SOURCE BY AGE AND SEX

	Source					
	Per (5)	Quas (2)	Mass (12)	MasQua (5)	MasPer (8)	MQP (2)
Mean Age	40.0	27.0	52.2	40.4	44.3	50.5
Male	1	1	6	0	4	1
Female	4	1	6	5	4	1

TABLE 37

SOURCE BY EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

Variable	Source					
	Per[a] (12)	Quas[b] (2)	Mass[c] (12)	MasQua[d] (5)	MasPer[e] (8)	MQP[f] (2)
Education						
Grades 1-11	1	0	4	0	2	0
High School/ Trade School	1	1	7	2	1	2
Some College	2	0	0	2	1	0
College Degree	1	1	1	1	0	0
Graduate Work	0	0	0	0	4	0
Employment						
Full-Time	3	1	4	2	5	2
Part-Time	1	0	2	1	0	0
In County	2	1	5	2	4	2
Income						
<$10,000	0	0	3	2	0	0
$10-20,000	1	1	4	0	2	1
$20-30,000	1	0	4	0	3	1
>$30,000	2	1	1	2	3	0

[a]Personal; [b]Quasi-mass; [c]Mass Media; [d]Mass-Quasi-mass; [e]Mass-Personal; [f]Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass

Profiles of Source Category Types

Profiles were developed for each unique group. The first type reported getting information about Area Vocational Technical Education from personal sources, defined as at a meeting or from a friend. All five respondents in this grouping are high on political efficacy and trust in government, a direct contradiction of the proposed model. The Personal-type is aware that an election has been called, holds correct information regarding the issue and is most likely to vote in favor of the millage. This type does not read the local newspaper but is somewhat inclined to listen to WOAP. The Personal-type is a homeowner with children living at home. He or she has had no personal experience with vocational education and is more likely than not to have attended college. The type is employed either full or part-time, but not necessarily in Shiawassee County, and earns more than $20,000 a year in total household income. The Personal-type is approximately forty years old and is much more likely to be female than male.

The Mass Media-type is not characterized by a single alienation category, being evenly divided among the high trust-high efficacy, high trust-low efficacy and low trust-low efficacy groups. This type is only slightly more likely to be aware of the election than unaware and is not very likely to hold correct information regarding the issue or to be favorably inclined towards it. The Mass Media-type reads the local newspaper but tends not to listen to the

local radio outlet. They tend to own their own homes but not to have children living in those homes. Of all types, they have the greatest tendency to have taken, or had someone in the family take, a vocational education class in high school. They tend to be less educated than the other types with only 8.3% having attended college. The Mass Media-type is less likely to be employed either full or part-time but, for those who are employed, is quite likely to work in the county. The income of the type ranges from $10,000 to $30,000 a year in total household income. The Mass Media-type, finally, is the oldest of the six types and is evenly divided between males and females.

Only two respondents mentioned only Quasi-mass sources defined as brochures and posters. As was mentioned earlier, this is too few for a true profile to be drawn but several characteristics should be noted. The Quasi-mass-type is low in trust being found in both the low trust-low efficacy and low trust-high efficacy groups. They are young homeowners who have never taken a vocational education class, who may or may not have children living in the home and who may or may not be employed full-time.

Eight respondents mentioned both media and personal sources. The Mass-Personal-type may be either high on both trust in government and political efficacy, or low in both. The type was aware than an election had been called and was more likely than not to have some correct information concerning the issue. They are fairly favorably

inclined towards the issue. This type tends to read the Owosso Argus Press but not to listen to WOAP. The Mass-Personal-type is a homeowner with children living at home and has had some personal experience with vocational education. The type is more likely than not to be employed full-time, to work in Shiawassee County and to earn a total household income of more than $20,000 a year. They are more likely to have attended graduate school. The Mass-Personal-type is approximately forty-four years of age and can be either male or female.

The Mass-Quasi-mass-type tends to be high in efficacy but either high or low in trust in government. This type is aware of the election and is as likely as not to hold some correct information regarding the issue. Favorability, however, is low. They attend to the Owosso Argus Press but not to WOAP. The Mass-Quasi-mass-type tends to be a homeowner in either Owosso or Corunna but not to have children living at home. The type has had no personal contact with vocational education in high school but has a tendency to have attended trade school after high school. A tendency to have attended college is also characteristic of this type. The Mass-Quasi-mass-type is more likely to work than not and is characterized by either a low income (less than $10,000 a year) or a high income (more than $30,000). The type is approximately forty years of age and is female.

respondents who mentioned receiving information from personal, quasi-mass and mass media sources. This Combination-type included only two respondents and will be dealt with briefly. This type is low in trust in government but mixed in political efficacy. The type was aware of the election and held correct information concerning it. They may or may not read the local newspaper but do not listen to the local radio outlet. This type has not attended college, has not taken a vocational education class in high school, works full-time in Shiawassee County, makes between $10,000 and $30,000 a year in total household income. is approximately fifty years of age and may be either male or female.

A Research Update

Since the completion of this research, new evidence has come to light regarding the unidimensionality of the political efficacy scale and the relationship of efficacy to trust in government. Beginning with the work of Balch[67], many researchers have uncovered data which point to the separation of political efficacy into two distinct but related attitude sets: internal or personal efficacy and external or "political" efficacy.

Craig attempted to distinguish between these two dimensions of political efficacy and then examined them and their individual relationships with the concept of political trust.[68] He defined internal efficacy as input efficacy, the degree to which an individual perceives he has access to the political system. This dimension includes feelings

of competence and is measured by responses to "Voting is the only way people like me can have a say in what the government does" and "Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me can't understand". External or output efficacy is the degree to which the individual believes his political activities can be successful and is measured by responses to "People like me can have no say about what the government does" and "Politicians don't care what people like me think". Craig points out that these are fundamentally different concepts stemming from different origins with input being a function of personal qualities such as socio-economic status and output reflecting variations in evaluations of government performance.

Utilizing data collected from students in five Chicago area colleges and universities, Craig found that output efficacy was related to both political trust and input efficacy but that input efficacy was not related to political trust. Political participation was more closely related to input efficacy than to either output efficacy or political trust. Input efficacy was also rather strongly related to community involvement regardless of level of trust. Finally, he reports that those who are both trustful and efficacious are less likely to condone unorthodox political activities.

Baloyer proposes that political cynicism (distrust of government) is a form of criticism associated with social conditions and a consequence of partisan and

ideological oppositions.[69] Utilizing data from a national sample in Venezuela, he reports that his findings establish that "it is more appropriate to treat the sense of political efficacy as dependent on criticism rather than the other way around".[70] Efficacy does not appear to have much impact on participation while it (participation) does fluctuate with an individual's evaluation of the performance of the government. He proposes that in the United States, the increased criticism-reduced efficacy relationship may be at work to lower levels of political participation.

Craig and Maggiotto examined the effects of internal efficacy, the indivicual's self-perception that he is "capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts," and policy dissatisfaction upon the relationship between political behavior and political discontent, defined as political trust, diffuse support and external efficacy.[71] They point out that the lack of external efficacy expresses itself in the belief that the individual cannot influence political outcomes because the government leaders and institutions are unresponsive to his needs.[72] This belief that the system is unresponsive could provide a strong motivation for political action among the internally efficacious, those citizens who believe themselves to be "entitled to political power".[73] They found that discontent was most strongly associated with the respondent's degree of acceptance of political protest and violence among the internally efficacious and

among those individuals who express dissatisfaction with the government's political performance. This was particularly true for the association of external efficacy with the degree of acceptance among the internally efficacious.

Pollock posits four distinct types of alienative attitudes.[74] In the social arena, internal efficacy is characterized by feelings of personal control while external efficacy finds its outlet in ideology control. In the political arena, internal efficacy is related to political competence, the extent to which the individual believes political outcomes are affected by his own attempts to influence them, while external efficacy is related to political responsiveness, whether or not the individual feels that political institutions are responsive to popular control.[75] Examining involvement in purposive organizations such as political clubs and special interest groups, he found that this type of activity corresponded to lower levels of political alienation, defined as external political efficacy.[76]

Pollock also examined the participatory effects of internal and external efficacy.[77] He found that those low on internal efficacy but high on external efficacy are likely to participate in a traditional manner, especially the act of voting. This group also had the lowest propensity for unconventional behavior. Those with high internal but low external efficacy were in an optimal state for nonconformist behavior, however, they also had a tendency

to participate conventionally, particularly in the areas of campaigning and contacting others.[78] He also found that the politically competent but mistrusting individual did not view political participation as a simple choice between traditional behavior such as voting and extemist action.

In an examination of turnout as a measure of political participation in Presidential elections, Miller found that internal political efficacy could not account for decreases in participation.[79] While these beliefs about personal political efficacy were strongly associated with turnout, they had not declined while turnout had declined considerably over the last two decades.

Abramson and Aldrich also examined the decline of political participation since the early 1950's.[80] They suggest that the decline in turnout is the result of two attitudinal trends: "the weakening of party loyalties among the American electorate and declining beliefs about government responsiveness, that is lowered feelings of 'external' political efficacy".[81] The authors point out that those persons who feel politically capable, the internally efficacious, may feel psychologically motivated to participate while those who feel overwhelmed by the entire political process may withdraw from all such action. Utilizing national election data, they found that the decline in feelings of external political efficacy appeared to be a partial explanation for the decline in electoral participation and could account for as much as half of the

decline in turnout in Presidential elections.[82]

Finally, in a study of voting in school financial elections, Cataldo and Holm found that political efficacy, defined as responses to three of the scale items (don't have a say, politics seems so complicated and politicians don't care), was positively and significantly related to voting in favor of an increase in operating levies for the schools.[83] Trust in government (trust to do what's right and waste tax money), a child in school and willingness to support increased taxes for mass transit were also positively and significantly related to a favorable vote.

If the political efficacy scale is no longer unidimensionsl as the research seems to suggest, then the combining of the four items into a single scale could mask any real differences present in the data. For example, a person high on internal efficacy but low in external efficacy would be scored in an identical manner to a person low on internal efficacy but high on external efficacy. The differences in the relationships each has to the political system would not be noted in the analysis.

Further, the research suggests that each of the two concepts of political efficacy is related to trust in government in a unique way. As Craig points out, external efficacy may be related to trust in government while internal efficacy may not have the same relationship.[84] This means that a person who believes the government is responsive will also trust that government while it is not necessary to

trust the government to feel that the individual can have an impact upon it. Given these differences, the combining of the political efficacy scale and the trust in government scale to create one measure of political alienation compounds the problem. Differences in the relationship of efficacy to trust and then the relationship of these two variables to likelihood of a favorable vote and self-report of actual vote may have become so entangled that, as the research reported herein seems to suggest, alienation, defined as efficacy and trust, would appear to have no impact on vote. This finding is not present in any of the literature to date, as noted earlier. The reconceptualization of political efficacy may provide the explanation.

Endnotes

[1]Richard F. Carter, Voters and Their Schools: A Technical Report from the Institute for Communication Research (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 30 June 1960), pp. 132-36.

[2]It must be noted that many of the respondents who were contacted in the early weeks of the campaign may have acquired information about the issue as the campaign progressed.

[3]Thirty-one of the sixty respondents noted they had voted in the "last one" with no definite time given. Fifteen had voted in one last fall, two in June and twelve, one year ago.

[4]Gerald M. Pomper, "The Presidential Election," in Marlene M. Pomper, ed., The Election of 1976: Reports and Interpretations (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), p. 72.

[5]Turnout for the 1976 Presidential election was 62.8%. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1977 City County Data Book: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington, D.C., 1977).

[6]David I. Verway, Michigan Statistical Abstracts, 13th ed. (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Graduate School of Business Division of Research, 1978), p. 47.

[7]Ibid., p. 69.

[8]Warren E. Miller and Teresa E. Levetin, Leadership and Change: The New Politics and the American Electorate (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 27, 219-33; and, Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 85-88, 234-38.

[9]Ibid.

[10]A Z-score of 1.65 is needed for a difference to be significant at an alpha level of .05 for a one-tailed test.

[11]Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review 64 (June 1970):

89-410.

[12]Lester W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics 2d ed (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1977).

[13]Carter, Voters and Their Schools, pp. 132-36.

[14]Howard D. Hamilton and Sylvan H. Cohen, Policy Making by Plebiscite: School Referenda (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974), p. 230.

[15]Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation.

[16]See, for example, Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960); Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review 22 (December 1957):670-77; Sidney Kraus and Dennis Davis, The Effects of Mass Communication on Political Behavior (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976); Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces 38 (March 1960): 185-95; William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review 29 (April 1964):198-215; and, John P. Clark, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System," American Sociological Review 24 (December 1959):349-52.

[17]Angus Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," in Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, eds., Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 175-88.

[18]Philip K. Piele and John Stuart Hall, Budgets, Bonds and Ballots: Voting Behavior in School Financial Elections (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), p. 129.

[19]See Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation, and Finifter, "Dimensions of Alienation".

[20]See Morris Rosenberg, "The Meaning of Politics in Mass Society," Public Opinion Quarterly 15 (Spring 1951): 5-15; Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement," in Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse, eds., The Human Meaning of Social Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), pp. 467-527; Garrett J. O'Keefe and Harold Mendelsohn, "Nonvoting: The Media's Role," in Charles Winick, ed.,

Deviance and Mass Media (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1978); Jack Citrin, "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government," American Political Science Review 68 (September 1974):973-88; and, Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation.

[21]See Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Mass Media and Voting," in Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck, eds., American Voting Behavior (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959):217-35 and Lee B. Becker, Idowu A. Sobowale and Willian E. Casey, Jr., "Newspaper and Television Dependencies: Their Effects on Evaluation of Government Leaders," paper presented to the International Communications Association, Chicago, 1978.

[22]See Elihu Katz and David Foulkes, "The the Use of the Mass Media as 'Escape': Clarification of a Concept," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (Fall 1962):377-88; Jay G. Blumler and Denis McQuail, Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influence (London: Faber and Faber, LTD, 1968); Jack M. McLeod and Lee B. Becker, "Testing the Validity of Gratification Measures Through Political Effects Analysis," in Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz, eds., The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1974), pp. 137-64; and, William Semlac and Wenmouth Williams, Jr., "Uses, Gratifications and Avoidance: Voting Decisions in the 1976 Presidential Debates," paper presented to the International Communications Association, Chicago, 1978.

[23]Examination of the source of information variable will show that this is not necessarily the case.

[24]See Bradley S. Greenberg, "Media Use and Believability: Some Multiple Correlates," Journalism Quarterly 43 (Winter 1966):665-70, 732; Serena Wade and Wilbur Schramm, "The Mass Media as Sources of Public Affairs, Science and Health Knowledge," Public Opinion Quarterly 32 (Summer 1969):197-209; F. Gerald Kline, "Media Time Budgeting as a Function of Demographics and Life Style," Journalism Quarterly 48 (Summer 1971):211-21; Peter Clarke and L. Ruggels, "Preferences Among News Media Coverage of Public Affairs," Journalism Quarterly 47 (Autumn 1970):464-71; Samuel J. Eldersveld, "Experimental Propoganda Techniques and Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review 50 (March 1956):154-65; Heinz Eulau and Peter Schneider, "Dimensions in Political Involvement," Public Opinion Quarterly 20 (Spring 1956):128-42; Alexis S. Tan, "Political Participation, Diffuse Support and Perceptions of Political Efficacy as Predictors of Mass Media Use," Communication

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[25]See Levin, The Alienated Voter, and Nettler, "Measures of Alienation".

[26]See Semlac and Williams, "Uses, Gratifications," and Blumler and McQuail, Television in Politics.

[27]Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation.

[28]See Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review 64 (December 1970):1199-1219; Herbert McCloskey, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review 58 (June 1964):361-83; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation: It's Meaning and Measurement," American Sociological Review 26 (October 1961):753-58; and, Citrin, "Comment".

[29]Carter, Voters and Their Schools, pp. 132-36.

[30]See Endnote 32, Chapter I, for a listing of all media available in the county.

[31]Mean favorability for the manager category was 58.75 and for the professional, 91.0.

[32]Carter, Voters and Their Schools, p. 67.

[33]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, pp. 78-84.

[34]Carter, Voters and Their Schools.

[35]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making.

[36]Joan P. Sullivan Kowalski, Voter Behavior and Campaign Strategies in School Finance Elections (Arlington, Virginia: Educational Research Service, Inc., 1977), pp. 28-30.

[37]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making.

[38]Arthur J. Alexander and Gail V. Bass, School Taxes

and Voter Behavior: An Analysis of School District Property Tax Elections (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, April 1977), p. 65.

[39]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, pp. 78-84.

[40]Alexander and Bass, School Taxes and Voter Behavior.

[41]James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review 58 (December 1964):876-87.

[42]Carter, Voters and Their Schools, p. 67.

[43]Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making, pp. 78-84.

[44]Alexander and Bass, School Taxes and Voter Behavior, p. 65.

[45]Kowalski, Voter Behavior and Campaign Strategies, pp. 28-30.

[46]Ibid., p. 32.

[47]Marvin E. Olsen, "Two Categories of Political Alienation," Social Forces 42 (March 1969):288-99.

[48]Wayne Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces 38 (March 1960):190-95.

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[50]Joel Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior," American Political Science Review 63 (March 1969):86-99.

[51]Milbrath and Goel, Political Participation, p. 69.

[52]Finifter, "Dimensions of Alienation".

[53]See Murray B. Levin and Murray Eden, "Political

Strategy for the Alienated Voter," Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (Spring 1962):47-63; Nettler, "Measure of Alienation"; Campbell, "Passive Citizen"; Kraus and Davis, Effects of Mass Communication; and Erbe, "Social Involvement".

[54]Edward L. McDill and Jeanne Clare Ridley, "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology 68 (September 1962):205-13.

[55]Howard D. Hamilton, "The Municipal Voter: Voting and Nonvoting in City Elections," American Political Science Review 65 (December 1971):1135-40.

[56]Aberbach and Walker, "Political Trust".

[57]John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," American Journal of Sociology 67 (March 1962):485-93.

[58]Seeman, "Alienation and Engagement".

[59]See Thompson and Horton, "Alienation as a Force," and Piele and Hall, Budgets, Bonds and Ballots.

[60]See Michael W. Giles, Douglas S. Gatlin and Everett F. Cataldo, "Parental Support for School Referenda," Journal of Politics 38 (May 1976):442-51; Hamilton and Cohen, Policy Making; and, Carter, Voters and Their Schools.

[61]Wilson and Banfield, "Public-Regardingness".

[62]The two respondents noting posters will be noted in the tables but not in the text as any conclusions drawn from only two respondents could be highly misleading.

[63]See the Review of Literature, Chapter II, for a detailed discussion.

[64]Those noting all three categories are also aware, however the low number in the category makes the result less stable.

[65]Once again, the small overall number in the quasi-mass and mass-personal-quasi-mass groups casts doubt on the reliability of the finding.

[66]The other mean favorability levels were: Mass-Personal, 71.125; Mass Media, 58.64; Quasi-mass, 70 (based on two respondents); and, Mass-Personal-Quasi-mass, 100 (based on one respondent).

[67]George I. Balch, "Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept 'Sense of Political Efficacy'," Political Methodology 1 (1974):1-43.

[68]Stephen C. Craig, "Efficacy, Trust and Political Behavior: An Attempt to Resolve a Lingering Conceptual Dilemma," American Politics Quarterly 7 (April 1979): 225-239.

[69]Enrique A. Baloyar, "Criticism, Cynicism and Political Evaluation: A Venezuelan Example," American Political Science Review 73 (December 1979):987-1002.

[70]Ibid., p. 1000.

[71]Stephen C. Craig and Michael A. Maggiotto, "Political Discontent and Political Action," Journal of Politics 43 (May 1981):515.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid., p. 516.

[74]Philip H. Pollock III, "Organizations and Alienation: The Mediation Hypothesis Revisited," The Sociological Quarterly 23 (Spring 1982):143-55.

[75]Ibid., p. 147.

[76]For further data on the impact of political efficacy on other areas of life, see David O. Sears, Richard R. Lau, Tom R. Tyler and Harris M. Allen, Jr., "Self-Interest vs. Symbolic Politics in Policy Attitudes and Presidential Voting," American Political Science Review 74 (September 1980):670-84; and, J. Maxwell Elden, "Political Efficacy at Work: The Connection Between More Autonomous Forms of Workplace Organization and a More Participatory Politics," American Political Science Review 75 (March 1981):43-58.

[77]Philip H. Pollock III, "The Participatory Consequences of Internal and External Political Efficacy,"

The Western Political Quarterly 36 (September 1983): 400-409.

[78]Ibid., p. 405.

[79]Warren E. Miller, "Disinterest, Disaffection, and Participation in Presidential Politics," Political Behavior 2 (1980):7-32.

[80]Paul R. Abramson and John H. Aldrich, "The Decline of Electoral Participation in America," American Political Science Review 76 (September 1982):502-21.

[81]Ibid., p. 502.

[82]Ibid., p. 515.

[83]Everett F. Cataldo and John D. Holm, "Voting on School Finances: A Test of Competing Theories," The Western Political Quarterly 36 (December 1983):619-31.

[84]Craig, "Efficacy, Trust and Political Behavior". See also, Paul R. Abramson and Ada W. Finifter, "On the Meaning of Political Trust: New Evidence from Items Introduced in 1978," American Journal of Political Science 25 (May 1981):297-307; and, Burt Useem, "Trust in Government and the Boston Anti-Busing Movement," The Western Political Quarterly 35 (March 1982):81-91.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Over the past several decades, researchers from a variety of fields have investigated the role played by alienation in political participation, media use, attitudes towards schools, interpersonal relationships, societal structures and communication patterns. The research had shown that alienation was integral to many of these processes. This attitude set had a major impact on how people interacted with each other and the societal system around them.

The various components of alienation had also been investigated by a variety of authors from the fields of political science, communication and sociology. Two dimensions that had appeared in many of the studies as being interrelated were trust in government or political cynicism and political efficacy or powerlessness. These two components of alienation were said to explain the varieties of political participation observed in voting studies during the last forty years.

Taking this body of literature as a guide, this study proposed to examine how political alienation defined

as trust in government and political efficacy related to information holding in a local election campaign. Since the research into school referenda was slight, and since the opportunity presented itself, the study was designed to test this relationship in a school millage election. The study proposed and tested a model of awareness, information and information source based on trust in government and political efficacy derived from a model of political participation developed by Finifter[1] and Milbrath and Goel.[2]

The derivative model predicted that varying levels of awareness, correctness of information and source of information would be found in the sample based on their scores on trust in government and political efficacy scales. Following the suggestions of Aberbach and others,[3] the scales were made situation specific. Rather than referring to "government" and "government officials" the items referred to the "school board," "school board members" and "school politics".

The study took place on Shiawassee County, Michigan in the Spring of 1979. The Shiawassee County Intermediate School District was attempting to pass a millage for the construction and maintenance of a centralized Area Vocational Technical Education Center. The millage effort had failed twice in the previous ten years. A research team from Michigan State University, funded by the Michigan State Department of Education, undertook a study of the County and the issue in an effort to bring about a favorable

vote. The study was part of that larger effort.

Data were collected by telephone from 109 respondents between the day the election was called (April 12, 1979) and the day before the actual election (June 10, 1979). Additionally, an attempt was made to recontact all respondents during the week following the election. The original questionnaire collected information in six general areas. The first area dealt with political attitudes and included the six items dealing with a sense of political efficacy and the five items measuring trust in government. The second section included items measuring awareness of the election and knowledge of who had called the election, the issue to be decided, and the amount of millage requested. Thirdly, the instrument collected data dealing with media use, specifically newspaper readership and subscription and radio listenership. Television was not included as there are no local television outlets in the county.

The fourth area of interest on the questionnaire was a series of questions measuring information source from those who had heard something of Area Vocational Technical Education "since last Monday". Fifthly, data were collected on voting in general elections, voting in millage elections, and the likelihood of casting a favorable vote in the election under study. The final area of the questionnaire measured demographic characteristics including home ownership, education, age, income, children present in the home and sex of respondent. The questionnaire also included a

series of items measuring attitudes toward centralized vocational education using a metric multidimensional scaling design.

Fourteen hypotheses and several sub-hypotheses were tested. In addition, profiles were developed of the most favorable voter, least favorable voter, source of information types and source category types. The first three hypotheses examined the validity of the derivative model. The first hypothesis predicted that levels of awareness would vary significantly between the four alienation groups: those high on efficacy and trust, those low on efficacy and trust, those high on efficacy but low on trust, and those low on efficacy but high on trust. Support was found for this hypothesis which was highly significant. Sub-hypotheses had proposed that levels of awareness would vary in specific ways and these were not supported. It had been predicted that the proportion aware in the group high on both variables would be greater than the proportion aware in the group high in efficacy and low in trust. The reverse was true. It had also been predicted that the proportion aware in the group low on efficacy and high on trust would be greater than the proportion aware in the group low on both. This was found to be so but the difference was not significant.

The second hypothesis examined level of correct information according to group membership. It predicted that significantly different levels of correct information

would exist between the four groups. This was not the case. The analysis of variance showed no significant difference. The sub-hypotheses were also not significant.

The third hypothesis predicted that groups would vary as to primary source of information, either depending primarily on media or personal sources. The high efficacy-high trust and high trust-low efficacy groups were to rely on media sources. The other two were to have used personal sources to a greater extent. Partial support was found for this hypothesis. The high-high and low-low groups did not follow the expected pattern. Those high on both variables mentioned more personal sources while those low on both, more media sources. The two middle groups did fall as expected. No significant difference was found.

Hypotheses four and five predicted that as the election neared, the proportion holding correct information about the election and the proportion aware that the election had been called would increase. This did not occur. Rather than increasing, in many instances the proportion aware or with correct information dropped as the election neared. Only one significant difference was found. The proportion aware during Week nine was significantly greater than the proportion aware during Week eight.

Hypothesis seven predicted that those respondents living in the Owosso and Corunna school districts would report getting information from the newspaper to a greater extent than those respondents living in the outlying

districts. Support was found for this contention. The difference in the proportion reporting newspapers for the Owosso-Corunna districts was significantly greater than the proportion from the other districts.

The next six hypotheses examined favorability towards the issue of Area Vocational Technical Education. A variety of demographic variables were tested to determine if they were associated with the likelihood of casting a positive vote on the issue. Age was found to be negatively related but the correlation was not significant. The presence or absence of children in the home was significantly related. The mean favorability level of those with children was significantly greater than the mean favorability level of those with no children in the home.

Favorability did increase as education increased, with one notable exception. Those who had attended trade school after high school were less favorably inclined toward the issue than high school graduates. Two significant differences were found. Those who had completed high school had a significantly greater mean favorability level than those with less than a high school education and those with graduate work, including those who had earned a graduate degree, had a significantly greater mean favorability level than those with a college deagree but no further study.

The relationship of income to favorability was mixed. Favorability did not increase as income level increased. Instead a curvilinear relationship was noted

with favorability increasing as income increased from less than $10,000 a year to between $10,000 and $20,000 a year. For the next two categories of income, however, favorability decreased. The increase just noted was significant.

Occupational status was not related to favorability as had been expected. While favorability did increase as occupational status increased when the managerial and professional categories were combined, separation of these two categories showed managers to be much less favorable towards the issue than white collar workers.

The final favorability item was significant. Those who had cast a positive vote in a school millage election in the past were substantially more likely to report a greater likelihood of voting in favor of the present issue.

The final two hypotheses examined the relationship of alienation to the likelihood of casting a favorable vote and the actual vote on the millage. In both instances, a multiple regression analysis and a discriminant analysis, alienation was found to have little or no impact on either of the two dependent variables. Of seven predictors of the likelihood of a favorable vote, alienation was the least important. Of nine variables used in the discriminant analysis, alienation was eighth in relative importance.

The study also created profiles of source types and source category types. The Newspaper-type was generally aware that an election had been called, had correct

information regarding the issue, read the local newspaper but did not listen to the local radio station, was not very favorable towards the issue. He owns his own home, works in the county, has been exposed to vocational education, is in his late forties and "he" is more likely to be a "she".

The Radio-type is aware of the election but has incorrect information about the issue, reads the local paper and listens to the local radio station. They favor the millage but have little experience with vocational education. They are homeowners, have not attended school past high school, are employed full time in the county, are middle aged and female.

The Brochure-type is aware of the election and has correct information regarding it. They read the local paper but do not listen to the local radio station. They are not favorable towards the issue and have had little experience with vocational education. They are home owners, are employed full time in the county, do not have children living at home, are in their late thirties and are generally women.

The Friend-type is aware of the election but has incorrect information regarding it. They are fairly favorable towards the issue, read the local paper but do not listen to the local radio station. They are well-educated home owners who are employed full time in the county. They are in their mid-forties, have children and

are female.

The Meeting-type is aware and has correct information. They are most favorable towards the issue, read the paper and listen to the radio station. They are home owners who work full time in the county, are fairly highly educated and are in their early forties.

There were four unique source category types containing more than two respondents. The Personal-type is high on both efficacy and trust, is aware of the election and holds correct information regarding it. This type does not attend to the local media, is a home owner with children present in the home, is employed, earns more than $20,000 a year, is approximately forty years old and is female.

The Mass Media-type is not aware of the election and does not hold correct information concerning it. The type reads the local paper but does not necessarily listen to the local radio station. They are home owners, with little education past high school and are in their mid-forties.

The Mass-Personal-type is aware of the election and has correct information concerning it. They read the paper but so not listen to the radio station. They are home owners with children, are employed full time in the county, are highly educated and are in their mid-forties.

The Mass-and-Quasi-mass-type is aware of the election but is likely to hold incorrect information about it. They attend to the local paper but not the local radio station. They are home owners with no children at home,

have attended college, have either a high or low income, are in their forties and are female.

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from the study. First, a number of hypotheses were confirmed. Levels of awareness do differ significantly among the four trust in government-political efficacy groups. Respondents in the Owosso and Corunna school districts do report getting information from the newspaper to a greater extent than those respondents living in the outlying districts, perhaps indicating that respondents in those two districts generally rely on the local newspaper more than those in the other districts. The mean favorability level of respondents with children in the home was significantly greater than the level for respondents without children in the home pointing to the possibility that parents form a unique interest group regarding school issues. There were several significant relationships between favorability and various income and education levels. Past positive voting did relate significantly to the self-report of the likelihood of casting a favorable vote in the present case. Finally, the multiple regression equation was significant with the nine variables included as independent explaining 32% of the variance in favorability.

Second, the derivative model did not predict behavior for several possible reasons. The original model

had not been tested in a research setting as a whole. If the original model is invalid then the derivative model may be invalid as well. It is also possible that the use of the situation-specific items was problemmatic. It is possible that the setting in a low information election undermined the validity of the model. It may also be that the new research on the bi-dimensionality of the political efficacy scale used herein as a unidimensional scale explains the lack of predictive power of the model. It is too early to conclude that the model is entirely invalid. At this point in time, all that can be said is that the model, in this situation, did not operate as well as expected.

The third conclusion that can be drawn from the study is that the school millage election is a low interest election situation. The low levels of both awareness and correct information and the eventual low turnout all point to an election setting where few people were informed, and fewer still cared enough to vote. This finding is consistent with the literature on elections. The school millage does not attract the interest that a general election does. This is substantiated here.

Fourthly, attention to local media in a situation where that media must compete against a large number of voices from outside the community is low. Shiawassee County is a media-rich area with many radio stations, television stations and newspapers available in the area. This plethora of voices, however, overpowers the local outlets.

With few people attending to the local media, information regarding local issues and events will be limited. This seems to have occurred here. Those who read the local paper were much more likely to be aware of the election than those who had no contact with the local media. The concept of an informed electorate, then, may be in danger in areas similar to Shiawassee County where much information is available but little-to-none of it is community specific.

Fifth, a variety of demographic variables influence favorability towards a school referendum issue. This study as well as others in the past agree that certain factors will lead to a favorable or unfavorable vote. School officials planning on using referenda need to be aware of the presence or absence of these factors to determine the approach to take in assuring passage of the proposal.

Sixth, alienation, defined as trust in government and political efficacy, does not seem to play a large part in the likelihood of a favorable vote or in an actual "yes" vote when combined with a variety of demographic factors. It is possible that the role assigned to alienation has been overblown. It is also possible, however, that alienation works differently in a school millage election, generally, or that its impact, or lack thereof, in this instance was situation specific. A better explanation, though, based on recent research, is that the effect of alienation was dissipated by the conceptualization of alienation used in this study. If alienation had been treated as three

separate variables, its true effect may have been noted.

Seventh, it appears advisable to localize political attitude scales. While no comparison data of generalized scales have been offered herein, recent research points to the necessity of specific referents for political attitudes.[4]

Eighth, the source profiles point to the need for research into a community when planning a campaign for a school monetary proposal. Favorability levels varied between source types. School officials should be aware of the sources to which their most favorable supporters attend and to which their opponents attend and should plan their information campaigns accordingly.

Finally, media planners for all types of elections need to be aware of the media situations in which they will be working. In general elections, where the party has a primary role to play, the media environment must be understood so that party cues can be transmitted to the voter. In an area like Shiawassee County, this may mean a reliance on personal and quasi-mass sources rather than on mass media sources, as it appears that newspapers and radio are not used by voters as a source of information. In nonpartisan elections, the same advice can be offered, however, in this situation exploration of media alternatives may be more crucial as the party cue is absent.

Limitations

Several limitations need to be noted. First, the sample for the study was small. This was the result of a low response rate brought about by a number of factors. Because this study was part of a larger study, it was necessary to complete the primary portion of the questionnaire before asking the respondent for further information. The first portion of the questionnaire was difficult and lengthy. Respondents may not have been willing to complete the instrument because of this and therefore were not included. Problems were also found with the voter registration lists. The lack of telephone numbers and the high incidence of incorrect addresses led to the inability of the interviewers to locate sample members. The combination of these two factors resulted in the samll sample size.

The small sample size leads to a second limitation of the study. In some of the statistical tests, the subgroups being compared are extremely small. The statistics, then, are highly unstable. Significance, or a lack thereof, may be the result of the smallness of the individual cells rather than a true relationship, or a lack thereof, in the population as a whole. Generalization to the population is extremely difficult, then, because of the limited number of respondents.

Thirdly, no attempt was made to equalize the number of respondents in the four cells of the model. Respondents were assigned on the basis of an arbitrary division of the

scale scores at the mid-point with no consideration given to the number of respondents in each. This uneven cell size may have influenced the results in unknown ways.

A fourth limitation is sample-related as well. As noted in Chapter IV, the sample is not representative of the county as a whole. Two school districts are not represented at all and the others are not represented proportionate to their size in the population. The sample also underrepresents the rural community and men and over-represents those over the age of sixty-five. The biases that may have resulted from these factors are unknown and limit the generalizability of the results to the county as a whole or to other locations.

The fifth limitation of the study is the setting of the study. Attempting to test a derivative model for the first time in a low-information, low-interest election setting may be problemmatic. As the situation is so different from the more common general election, the results, or lack thereof, may not be generalizable. The fact that so few people were aware of the election and fewer still had correct information, made the testing of the model difficult at best. The very real possibility that the Shiawassee County school millage election was a deviant situation imits the usability of the results of the study in different situations.

Suggestions for Future Research

There are several suggestions for future research that can be made. First, it seems most crucial that the Milbrath and Goel model of political participation and political alienation, defined as trust in government and political efficacy, be tested in a research setting. The model needs to be subjected to empirical testing as a whole to see if the proposed relationships can find support in data drawn from a single study.

Second, the derivative model needs to be tested in a variety of situations. It should be tested in a more isolated area, one where little outside media spill in. It should also be tested in a media-rich area where the level of local media is quite high, a metropolitan setting, for example. It also needs to be tested in a general election setting, either Congressional or Presidential or both, as well as in local-only elections and school elections. Only after such extensive testing has been accomplished can the validity of the model be judged.

Along with the second suggestion, the model needs to take the bi-dimensionality of political efficacy into consideration. This can be accomplished by eliminating the items found to correlate with internal efficacy and including only those items found to relate to external efficacy. The model could also be reconceptualized as a four-by-two table with two levels of trust in government and two levels each of internal and external political efficacy. In this way,

the varying relationships among the three variables could be determined as well as their individual impacts on communication and political participation variables.

Fourth, more research needs to be accompliches using situation-specific attitude scale items. The trust in government and political efficacy items need to be localized and specialized to meet the needs of particular research questions. The scales need to be investigated to see it their unidimensionality no longer holds in specific as well in generic situations.

Fifth, research into media use in school elections needs to be explored. Little research has been undertaken in this area. Focus must be placed on the role of mass, quasi-mass and personal sources as means of information acquisition. This may be the most crucial need. As media become more specialized and with the advent and widespread adoption of cable television, the theories based on mass media may no longer be valid. New ways of looking at communication media need to be developed in order to understand the impact of these new media on the electorate.

Finally, more emphasis needs to be placed on the role alienation plays in voting, media use and communication patterns. It would appear that alienation may not be as important as previous research has indicated. Other factors may exert a greater influence on the voter. Concepts must change as situations change. This may be the case with alienation, that the theories and suppositions that held

several decades ago are no longer valid. This needs to be determined if the body of literature on alienation is to be kept current and generalizable.

[1]Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review 65 (June 1970): 389-410.

[2]Lester W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why People Get Involved in Politics 2nd ed., (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1977).

[3]See Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker, "Political Trust and Racial Ideology," American Political Science Review 64 (December 1970):1199-1219; Jack Citrin, "Comment: The Political Relevance of Trust in Government," American Political Science Review 68 (September 1974):973-88; Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces 38 (March 1960):185-95; and, Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideologies in American Politics," American Political Science Review 58 (June 1964):361-83.

[4]See Paul R. Abramson and Ada W. Finifter, "On the Meaning of Political Trust: New Evidence from Items Introduced in 1978," American Journal of Political Science 25 (May 1981):297-307; and, Bert Useem, "Trust in Government and the Boston Anti-Busing Movement," The Western Political Quarterly 35 (March 1982):81-91.

APPENDIX 1

FIRST WAVE QUESTIONNAIRE

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY CENTRALIZED
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent Name _____
Telephone Number _____
Callbacks _____
Date _____ Time _____ Interviewer _____

Hello, I'm _____ calling from Michigan State University. We are conducting a survey of attitudes toward vocational education in Shiawassee County and would like to ask you a few questions. You have been randomly selected from the county voter registration lists. Of course your participation is completely voluntary and your answers will be confidential and used only in combination with the answers of others. Your cooperation is extremely important to insure adequate representation of countywide attitudes and to make the survey a success. I can call back at a more convenient time (MAKE APPOINTMENT IF NECESSARY),

In the questions that follow I'll give you a pair of words or ideas that persons such as yourself from Shiawassee County have used to describe vocational education. Then, you'll ask yourself how different each of the pair is from the other according to your opinion. If you think that the two items are very similar, then you could say that they are very close together. If you think that they are very different, then you could say they are very far apart. Instead of using words like "close togther" or "far apart" you could easily use a number.

Take cold rain and warm sunshine for example. If you think that these two are similar, seem to go together, or are often associated with each other, then you would say a small number. On the other hand, if you think that cold rain and warm sunshine are different, do not seem to go together, or are seldom associated with each other, then you would say a large number.

Thus a large number would mean that two items are very different; a small number would mean that the two are very similar. Zero would mean that they are the same, identical, that there is no difference between them.

In order to help make your estimates more accurate, I'll give you a mental ruler. Think of what "practical training" means to you. Now think of "work skills." Think of the difference between "practical training" and "work skills." Call this difference ten. In other words, we'll say that pratical training and work skills are ten units apart; that the distance between them is now ten on your mental ruler. Keep this difference ten in mind and compare the

other pairs to it. You will compare each pair of items to the difference between practical training and work skills which is now ten.

Also, use any number that accurately reflects your opinion. You may use decimals, fractions, or whole numbers. Zero is the lower limit and there is no upper limit. Of any pair cannot be estimated, just tell me to go on the the next.

Here are a few practice pairs. Remember, the difference between pratical training and work skills is ten.

How far apart are: (**WRITE RESPONSES ON RESPONSE SHEET**)

Cold rain and warm sunshine?.....

Good and bad? .....

Good and Practical Training?.....

Work Skills and Necessary? .....

Concerned and Your Friends? .....

Happy and Yourself? .....

Would you like to review any part of the instructions?

Also, any time that you would like the instructions reviewed, just ask.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers only your opinion.

Are you ready to begin? OK.

In other words, if you think that the items are farther apart than Practical Training and Work Skills then you would say a number larger than ten. If, in your opinion, the two items are closer together than Practical Training and Work Skills, then you would use a number smaller than ten.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

Cold rain and warm sunshine _____
Good and bad _____
Good and practical training _____
Work skills and necessary _____
Concerned and your friends _____
Happy and yourself _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are the following pairs?

1. Job opportunities and practical training? _____
2. Job opportunities and work skills _____
3. Job opportunities and college _____
4. Job opportunities and expensive _____
5. Job opportunities and centralized vocational education _____
6. Job opportunities and tax increase _____
7. Job opportunities and duplication of programs _____
8. Job opportunities and needed _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

9. Job opportunities and discipline problems _____
10. Job opportunities and intermediate school district _____
11. Job opportunities and your vote for _____
12. Job opportunities and your vote against _____
13. Practical training and work skills _____
14. Practical training and college _____
15. Practical training and expensive _____
16. Practical training and centralized vocational education _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

17. Practical training and tax increase _____
18. Practical training and duplication of programs _____
19. Practical training and needed _____
20. Practical training and discipline problems _____
21. Practical training and intermediate school district _____
22. Practical training and your vote for _____
23. Practical training and your vote against _____
24. Work skills and college _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

25. Work skills and expensive _____
26. Work skills and centralized vocational education _____
27. Work skills and tax increase _____
28. Work skills and duplication of programs _____
29. Work skills and needed _____
30. Work skills and discipline problems _____
31. Work skills and intermediate school district _____
32. Work skills and your vote for _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

33. Work skills and your vote against _____
34. College and expensive _____
35. College and centralized vocational education _____
36. College and tax increase _____
37. College and duplication of programs _____
38. College and needed _____
39. College and discipline problems _____
40. College and intermediate school district _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

41. College and your vote for _____
42. College and your vote against _____
43. Expensive and centralized vocational education _____
44. Expensive and tax increase _____
45. Expensive and duplication of programs _____
46. Expensive and needed _____
47. Expensive and discipline problems _____
48. Expensive and intermediate school district _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

49. Expensive and your vote for _____
50. Expensive and your vote against _____
51. Centralized vocational education and tax increase _____
52. Centralized vocational education and duplication of programs _____
53. Centralized vocational education and needed _____
54. Centralized vocational education and discipline problems _____

55. Centralized vocational education and intermediate school district _____
56. Centralized vocational education and your vote for _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

57. Centralized vocational education and your vote against _____
58. Tax increase and duplication of programs _____
59. Tax increase and needed _____
60. Tax increase and discipline problems _____
61. Tax increase and intermediate school district _____
62. Tax increase and your vote for _____
63. Tax increase and your vote against _____
64. Duplication of programs and needed _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

65. Duplication of programs and discipline problems _____
66. Duplication of programs and intermediate school district _____
67. Duplication of programs and your vote for _____
68. Duplication of programs and your vote against _____
69. Needed and discipline problems _____
70. Needed and intermediate school district _____
71. Needed and your vote for _____
72. Needed and your vote against _____

Remember: If practical training and work skills are ten units apart, in your opinion how far apart are:

73. Discipline problems and intermediate school district _____
74. Discipline problems and your vote for _____
75. Discipline problems and your vote against _____
76. Intermediate school district and your vote for _____
77. Intermediate school district and your vote against _____
78. Your vote for and your vote against _____

Now I have just a few more questions:

79. Do any other ideas or feelings about vocational education come into your mind, besides those

which we have already mentioned? _____

80. Who do you usually talk to to get information about school-related topics? PROBE IF NECESSARY. _____

81. What do they do for a living? _____

82. Do you regularly read a newspaper? _____

(1) YES (2) NO (GO TO Q.84)

83. Which One? (RECORD 1 FOR ALL MENTIONED)

___Detroit Free Press ___Lansing State Journal
___Detroit News ___Flint Journal
___Owosso Argus Press ___Other:_____

84. About how many hours of television did you watch yesterday? _____

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9+

85. About how many hours of radio did you listen to yesterday? _____

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9+

86. Which radio station do you usually listen to? _____

(1) WOAP OTHER: _____

87. There are different ways that high school level Vocational Education can be offered --by the local high school, or by a co-operative effort between school districts. Which of these do you prefer -- the local high school or a cooperative effort between school districts? _____

(1) LOCAL HIGH SCHOOL
(2) COOPERATIVE EFFORT AMONG SCHOOL DISTRICTS
(3) BOTH
(4) CAN'T SAY
(5) OTHER: _____

88. If the local high school did not have enough money or enough students to offer training in several kinds of Vocational skills, would you be in favor of a centralized Vocational Program to serve all of the high schools in the County. _____

(1) YES
(2) NO
(3) CAN'T SAY

89. Would you approve of the Shiawassee Intermediate School District planning, organizing and operating a centralized Vocational Program for all high schools in the county? _____

(1) YES
(2) NO
(3) CAN'T SAY

90. If additional millage, up to 2 mill(s) were necessary to finance a centralized Vocational Education Program, based on how you feel now, would you vote for or against such a millage request? _____

(1) FOR
(2) AGAINST
(3) UNDECIDED/CAN'T SAY

91. If there was a millage election for a centralized Vocational Education Program, what kinds of information would you like to know about the millage request before the election? _____

92. What school district are you in? _____

(1) Byron
(2) Corunna
(3) Durand
(4) Laingsburg
(5) New Lothrop
(6) Morrice
(7) Owosso
(8) Perry

93. How much education have you completed? _____

(1) 8th Grade or less (GO TO Q.95)
(2) 9th-12th Grade
(3) H.S. Degree
(4) Trade School After H.S.
(5) Some College
(6) College Degree
(7) Graduate Work
(8) Graduate Degree

94. Did you ever take a Vocational Education class in high school? _____

(1) YES (2) NO

95. Do you have any children? _____

(1) YES (2) NO (GO TO Q.98)

96. What are their ages? (RECORD TO THE NEAREST YEAR) _____ _____

97. IF CHILDREN 13 YRS, OR OLDER: Have your children ever taken a vocational education class in high school? _____

(1) YES (2) NO

98. Would you tell me your age? _____

(RECORD TO NEAREST YEAR)

99. Do you currently have either a full or a part-time job? _____

(1) Full time (2) Part Time (3) NO (GO TO Q.103)

100. What is your occupation? _____

101. Do you work in Shiawassee County or somewhere else? _____

(1) Shiawassee (2) Somewhere Else (GO TO Q.103)

102. What county do you work in? _____

(1) Ingham (Lansing)
(2) Genesee (Flint)
(3) Other: _____

103. Is your total household income more or less than $10,000? _____

(1) Less than $10,000 (GO TO Q.104)
(-) More than $10,000

103a. Is it more than $20,000?

(2) No (GO TO Q.104)
(-) Yes

103b. And finally, is it more than $30,000?

(3) No (GO TO Q.104)
(4) Yes (GO TO Q.104)

(5) Student
(6) Unemployed
(7) Retired
(8) Refused

104. RECORD SEX: (1) MALE (2) FEMALE _____

(Thank you very much for your time. We appreciate your help.

APPENDIX 2

MAIN WAVE QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION AND QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 78 IDENTICAL TO FIRST WAVE QUESTIONNAIRE.

Now I'm going to read you some things that people have told me when I have interviewed them and ask you to tell me if you agree or disagree with them. After I read each statement, just tell me whether you agree or disagree with it.

79. People like me don't have any say about what the School Board does. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

80. Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the School Board runs things. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

81. Sometimes school politics seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

82. I don't think school officials care much what people like me think. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

83. Generally speaking, those people we elect to the School Board loose touch with the people pretty quickly. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

84. School Board members are only interested in people's votes and not in their opinions. ____

____AGREE
____DISAGREE
____DEPENDS
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

Now I have a few more questions along this same line that I'd like to ask you.

85. First of all, do you think that people on the School Board waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it at all? ____

____WASTE A LOT
____SOME OF IT
____NOT VERY MUCH AT ALL
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

86. How much of the time do you think you can trust the School Board to do what is right -- just about always, most of the time, or only some of it? ____

____JUST ABOUT ALWAYS
____MOST OF THE TIME
____SOME OF IT
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

87. Would you say the School Board is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people? ____

____A FEW BIG INTERESTS
____BENEFIT OF ALL
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

88. Do you feel almost all of the people running the School Board are smart people or do you think that quite a few of them don't seem to know what they're doing? ____

____SMART PEOPLE
____DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE DOING
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

89. Do you think quite a few of the people running the School Board are crooked, not very many are crooked, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked? ____

____QUITE A FEW
____NOT VERY MANY
____HARDLY ANY
____DON'T KNOW
____NO RESPONSE

90. Are you aware of any upcoming special county-wide elections in Shiawassee County? ____

____YES (GO TO 90a)
____NO (GO TO 90b)

90a. IF YES: Who has called that county-wide election: is it the County Attorney, the Intermediate School District, the State Department of Education or someone else? ____

____COUNTY ATTORNEY
____ISD
____STATE ED DEPT.
____SOMEONE ELSE
____OTHER
____NO RESPONSE

90b. IF NO: Has the Shiawassee County Intermediate School District called any special elections for the near future? ____

____YES (GO TO 91)
____NO (GO TO 93)

91. What is that county election about -- a millage for a new grade school, a millage for area vocational technical education or a millage for the expansion of the special education programs? ____

____NEW GRADE SCHOOL
____AREA VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION
____SPECIAL EDUCATION
____OTHER
____NO RESPONSE

92. How much millage is being asked in that county-wide millage election -- is it less than one mill, between one and two mills, or more than two mills? ____

____LESS THAN ONE
____BETWEEN ONE AND TWO
____MORE THAN TWO
____OTHER
____REFUSED

MEDIA

93. Do you regularly read a newspaper? ____

____YES ____NO (GO TO 94)

93a. Which newspaper or papers would that be? ____

____DETROIT FREE PRESS
____DETROIT NEWS
____OWOSSO ARGUS PRESS
____LANSING STATE JOURNAL
____FLINT JOURNAL
____OTHERS (SPECIFY: _____)

94. Which newspapers do you subscribe to or receive at your home? ____

____DETROIT FREE PRESS
____DETROIT NEWS
____OWOSSO ARGUS PRESS
____STATE JOURNAL
____FLINT JOURNAL
____OTHERS (SPECIFY: _____)

95. How many hours a day to you listen to the radio? ____

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 OR MORE

96. Which radio station do you usually listen to? ____

____WOAP ____LIST OTHER STATIONS MENTIONED
____(GO TO 97)

96a. Is that WOAP AM, FM or both? ____
____AM ____FM ____BOTH

97. Since last Monday, have you heard anything about Area Vocational Technical Education? ____

____YES (GO TO 97a) ____NO (GO TO 98)

97a. IF YES: Was that in the newspaper? ____

____YES ____NO

97b. On the radio? ____

____YES ____NO

97c. From a Friend? ____

____YES ____NO

97d. Was it in a flyer or brochure? ____

____YES ____NO

97e. Was it a poster? ____

____YES ____NO

97f. Was it at a meeting? ____

____YES ____NO

VOTING

98. How many times have you voted in a general election in the past two years? ____

99. How many times have you voted in a school election in the past two years? ____

100. When was the last time you voted in a school millage election? ____

(IF NONE, GO TO 102)

101. Would you tell me how you voted in that school millage election? ____

____FOR ____AGAINST ____DON'T KNOW
____REFUSED

During the school election on June 11, voters in Shiawassee County will be asked to vote for or against a 1.95 millage to finance area vocational technical education.

102. Do you think you will vote in that election? ____

____YES
____NO (GO TO 104)
____DON'T KNOW
____REFUSED

103. If 0 means no chance and 100 means definitely in favor, what's the chance that you will vote in favor of the millage? ____

____DON'T KNOW
____REFUSED

104. What school district are you in? ____

____BYRON ____NEW LOTHROP
____CORUNNA ____MORRICE
____DURAND ____OWOSSO
____LAINGSBURG ____PERRY
____OTHER

105. Do you own or rent the place you are living in? ____

____OWN
____RENT
____OTHER (SPECIFY: _____)

106. How much education have you completed? ____

____8TH GRADE OR LESS ____SOME COLLEGE
(GO TO Q. 107) ____COLLEGE DEGREE
____9TH-12TH GRADE ____GRADUATE WORK
____H.S. DEGREE ____GRADUATE DEGREE
____TRADE SCHOOL AFTER H.S.

107. Did you ever take a vocational education class in high school? ____

____YES ____NO

108. Do you have any children that currently live at home with you? ____

____YES ____NO ____NOT MARRIED (GO TO 110) ____REFUSED

109. Have your children ever taken a vocational education class during high school? ____

____YES ____NO ____CHILDREN NOT IN HIGH SCHOOL YET

110. Would you tell me your age? ____

____ RECORD TO NEAREST YEAR

111. Do you currently have either a full or a part-time job? ____

____FULL TIME ____PART TIME ____NO (GO TO 114)

112. What is your occupation? ____

_____

113. Do you work in Shiawassee County or somewhere else? ____

____SHIAWASSEE
____SOMEWHERE ELSE

114. Is your total household income more or less than $10,000? ____

____LESS THAN $10,000 (GO TO Q.115)
____MORE THAN $10,000

114a. Is it more than $20,000?

____NO (GO TO Q.115)
____YES

114b. And finally, is it more than $30,000?

____NO (GO TO 115)
____YES (GO TO 115)

____STUDENT
____UNEMPLOYED
____RETIRED
____REFUSED

115. RECORD SEX: (1) MALE (2) FEMALE ____

(Thank you very much for your time. We appreciate your help.)

APPENDIX 3

CALL-BACK QUESTIONNAIRE

SHIAWASSEE PROJECT....CALL-BACK QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION:

Hello, my name is _____, calling from Michigan State University. We're doing a study of voting behavior in Shiawassee County and I have a few questions I'd like to ask you. This will just take a few minutes and I'd appreciate your help.

1. First, an election was held in Shiawassee County on June 11. Would you tell me what was on that ballot? (IF DOESN'T MENTION AREA VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION, OR SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THAT, PROBE.)

   IF MENTIONS AVTE, CHECK YES.
   IF DOESN'T, CHECK NO.

2. How much millage was being asked for the Area Vocational Education Center?

   IF RESPONDS 1.95 OR BETWEEN ONE AND TWO MILL, CHECK YES.
   ANY OTHER RESPONSE, CHECK NO.
   IF DON'T KNOW, CHECK DK.

3. During the past few months did you hear anything about Area Vocational Technical Education?

   IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 4.
   IF YES, Where did you hear about it?

   CHECK APPROPRIATE COLUMN: NEWSPAPER, RADIO, TELEVISION, CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE, FRIENDS/ NEIGHBORS, BROCHURES

4. Were you contacted by the Intermediate School District or the Citizen's Committee regarding voting in the June 11 election for the Area Vocational Technical Education Center?

   IF YES, CHECK YES.
   IF NO, CHECK NO.

5. Did you vote in the election on June 11?

   IF YES, CHECK YES. (GO TO 6)
   IF NO, CHECK NO.

6. Would you please tell me whether you voted for or against the millage for the Area Vocational Technical Education CEnter?

   IF FOR, CHECK FOR.
   IF AGAINST, CHECK AGAINST.

Thank you very much for your time. Your help is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX 4

CODEBOOK

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY CENTRALIZED
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION CODEBOOK

CARD 1

COLS.	QUESTION NUMBER	
01-08		Identification number
	Col.	
	01	Sex (1) Male (2) Female
	02	School District (1) Byron (2) Corunna (3) Durand (4) Laingsburg (5) New Lothrup (6) Morrice (7) Owosso (8) Perry (9) Other
	03	Vote (1) For (2) Against (3) Undecided/Can't Say (4) No Response
	04-06	Questionnaire ID Number
	07-08	Card Number (00) Card 1 (01) Card 2 (02) Card 3 (03) Card 4 (04) Card 5 (05) Card 6 (06) Card 7 (07) Card 8 (08) Card 9 (09) Card 10 (10) Card 11 (11) Card 12

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

09-12		2021
13-17		Cold rain and warm sunshine
18-21		2223
22-26		Good and bad
27-30		2425
31-35		Good and practical training
36-39		2627
40-44		Work skills and necessary
45-48		2829
49-53		Concerned and your friends
54-57		3031
58-62		Happy and yourself

CARD 2

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	1	0102
13-17		Job opportunities and practical training
18-21	2	0103
22-26		Job opportunities and work skills
27-30	3	0104
31-35		Job opportunities and college
36-39	4	0105
40-44		Job opportunities and expensive
45-48	5	0106
49-53		Job opportunities and centralized vocational education
54-57	6	0107
58-62		Job opportunities and tax increase
63-66	7	0108
67-71		Job opportunities and duplication of programs
72-75	8	0109
76-80		Job opportunities and needed

CARD 3

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	9	0110
13-17		Job opportunities and discipline problems
18-21	10	0111
22-26		Job opportunities and intermediate school district
27-30	11	0112
31-35		Job opportunities and your vote for
36-39	12	0113
40-44		Job opportunities and your vote against
45-48	13	0203
49-53		Practical training and work skills

54-57	14	0204
58-62		Practical training and college
63-66	15	0205
67-71		Practical training and expensive
72-75	16	0206
76-80		Practical training and centralized vocational education

CARD 4

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	17	0207
13-17		Practical training and tax increase
18-21	18	0208
22-26		Practical training and duplication of programs
27-30	19	0209
31-35		Practical training and needed
36-39	20	0210
40-44		Practical training and discipline problems
45-48	21	0211
49-53		Practical training and intermediate school district
54-57	22	0212
58-62		Practical training and your vote for
63-66	23	0213
67-71		Practical training and your vote against
72-75	24	0304
76-80		Work skills and college

CARD 5

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	25	0305
13-17		Work skills and expensive
18-21	26	0306
22-26		Work skills and centralized vocational education
27-30	27	0307
31-35		Work skills and tax increase
36-39	28	0308
40-44		Work skills and duplication of programs
45-48	29	0309
49-53		Work skills and needed
54-57	30	0310
58-62		Work skills and discipline problems
63-66	31	0311
67-71		Work skills and intermediate school district
72-75	32	0312
76-80		Work skills and your vote for

CARD 6

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	33	0313
13-17		Work skills and your vote against
18-21	34	0405
22-26		College and expensive
27-30	35	0406
31-35		College and centralized vocational education
36-39	36	0407
40-44		College and tax increase
45-48	37	0408
49-53		College and duplication of programs
54-57	38	0409
58-62		College and needed
63-66	39	0410
67-71		College and discipline problems
72-75	40	0411
76-80		College and intermediate school district

CARD 7

01-08		Identification number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	41	0412
13-17		College and your vote for
18-21	42	0413
22-26		College and your vote against
27-30	43	0506
31-35		Expensive and centralized vocational education
36-39	44	0507
40-44		Expensive and tax increase
45-48	45	0508
49-53		Expensive and duplication of programs
54-57	46	0509
58-62		Expensive and needed
63-66	47	0510
67-71		Expensive and discipline problems
72-75	48	0511
76-80		Expensive and intermediate school district

CARD 8

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	49	0512
13-17		Expensive and your vote for
18-21	50	0513
22-26		Expensive and your vote against
27-30	51	0607
31-35		Centralized vocational education and tax increase

36-39	52	0608
40-44		Centralized vocational education and duplication of programs
45-48	53	0609
49-53		Centralized vocational education and needed
54-57	54	0610
58-62		Centralized vocational education and discipline problems
63-66	55	0611
67-71		Centralized vocational education and intermediate school district
72-75	56	0612
76-80		Centralized vocational education and your vote for

CARD 9

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	57	0613
13-17		Centralized vocational education and your vote against
18-21	58	0708
22-26		Tax increase and duplication of programs
27-30	59	0709
31-35		Tax increase and needed
36-39	60	0710
40-44		Tax increase and discipline problems
45-48	61	0711
49-53		Tax increase and intermediate school district
54-57	62	0712
58-62		Tax increase and your vote for
63-66	63	0713
67-71		Tax increase and your vote against
72-75	64	0809
76-80		Duplication of programs and needed

CARD 10

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	65	0810
13-17		Duplication of programs and discipline problems
18-21	66	0811
22-26		Duplication of programs and intermediate school district
27-30	67	0812
31-35		Duplication of programs and your vote for
36-39	68	0813
40-44		Duplication of programs and your vote against

45-48	69	0910
49-53		Needed and discipline problems
54-57	70	0911
58-62		Needed and intermediate school district
63-66	71	0912
67-71		Needed and your vote for
72-75	72	0913
76-80		Needed and your vote against

CARD 11

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09-12	73	1011
13-17		Discipline problems and intermediate school district
18-21	74	1012
22-26		Discipline problems and your vote for
27-30	75	1013
31-35		Discipline problems and your vote against
36-39	76	1112
40-44		Intermediate school district and your vote for
45-48	77	1113
49-53		Intermediate school district and your vote against
54-57	78	1213
58-62		Your vote for and your vote against

CARD 12

01-08		Identification Number (SEE ABOVE)
09	79	People like me have no say about what the School Board does (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
10	80	Voting only way to have say (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
11	81	School politics too complicated (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response

12	82	School officials don't care what people think (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
13	83	People on School Board loose touch (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
14	84	School Board only interested in votes (1) Agree (2) Disagree (3) Depends (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
15	85	School Board wastes tax monies (1) Waste a lot (2) Some of it (3) Not very much at all (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
16	86	Trust School Board to do right (1) Just about always (2) Most of the time (3) Some of it (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
17	87	School Board run by a few big interests (1) A few big interests (2) Benefit of all (4) Don't Know (5) No Response
18	88	People running School Board are smart people (1) Smart people (2) Don't know what they're doing (4) Don't know (5) No Response

19	89	People running School Board are crooked (1) Quite a few (2) Not very many (3) Hardly any (4) Don't know (5) No Response
20	90	Any upcoming county-wide elections (1) Yes (2) No (9) No response
21	90a	Who called election (1) County Attorney (2) ISD (3) State Ed. Dept. (4) Someone else (5) Other (8) NA (9) No response
22	90b	Has SCISD called election (1) Yes (2) No (8) NA (9) No response
23	91	What's election about (1) New grade school (2) Area vocational technical education (3) Special education (4) Other-nursing home (5) Other (8) NA (9) No response
24	92	How much millage is being asked (1) Less than one (2) Between one and two (3) More than two (4) Other (8) NA (9) No response/refused

MEDIA

25	93	Read newspaper regularly (1) Yes (2) No (9) No response

	93a	Which one(s) (below coded 1 if yes, 0 if no)
26		Detroit Free Press
27		Detroit News
28		Owosso Argus Press
29		Lansing State Journal
30		Flint Journal
31		Others (1) (2) (3) (4) . . . (9) No response
	94	Which newspapers subscribed to (coded 1 if yes, 0 if no)
32		Detroit Free Press
33		Detroit News
34		Owosso Argus Press
35		State Journal
36		Flint Journal
37		Others (1) (2) (3) (4) . . . (9) No response/refused
38	95	Hours listen to radio (0) None (1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) Four (5) Five (6) Six (7) Seven or more (9) No response
39	96	Radio station listened to (1) WOAP (2) (3) (4) . . . (8) NA (9) No response

40	96a	WOAP AM, FM or Both (1) AM (2) FM (3) Both (8) NA (9) No response
41	97	Heard anything about area vocational technical education (1) Yes (2) No (8) Refused (9) No response
		Source (coded 1 if yes, 2 if no, 8 if NA and 9 if no response)
42	97a	In Newspaper
43	97b	On radio
44	97c	From a friend
45	97d	Flyer or brochure
46	97e	A poster
47	97f	At a meeting
48	98	Times voted in a general election in past two years (0) None (1) One (2) Two (3) Three (4) . . . (8) Refused (9) No response
49	99	Times voted in school election (0) None (1) One (2) Two (3) Three (8) Refused (9) No response
50	100	Last time voted in school election (0) None (1) (2) (3) . . . (8) Refused (9) No response

51	101	How voted (1) For (2) Against (3) Don't know (4) Refused (8) NA (9) No response
52	102	Likelihood of voting June 11 (1) Yes (2) No (3) Don't know (4) Refused (9) No response
53-55	103	Likelihood of voting in favor Code number as given except: (777) Refused (888) NA (999) No response
56	104	School district (1) Byron (2) Corunna (3) Durand (4) Laingsburg (5) New Lothrup (6) Morrice (7) Owosso (8) Perry (9) Other
57	105	Own or rent (1) Own (2) Rent (3) Other (8) Refused (9) No response
58	106	Respondent's education (1) 8th grade of less (2) 9th-12th grade (3) H.S. degree (4) Trade school after high school (5) Some college (6) College degree (7) Graduate work (8) Graduate degree (9) No response/refused

59	107	Ever taken voc ed (1) Yes (2) No (7) NA (8) Refused (9) No response
60	108	Children at home (1) Yes (2) No (3) Not married (8) Refused (9) No response
61	109	Children taken voc ed (1) Yes (2) No (3) Children not in high school yet (7) Refused (8) NA (9) No response
62-63	110	Respondent's age (code as given)
64	111	Employment status of respondent (1) Full (2) Part (3) No (8) Refused (9) No response
65-67	112	Occupation of respondent (000) Unknown job listed (100) Housewife (300) Retired (400) Farmer (500) Blue collar (600) White collar (700) Managerial (800) Professional (888) NA (999) Refused
68	113	Work in Shiawassee County (1) Shiawassee (2) Somewhere else (7) NA (8) Refused (9) No response

69	114	Total household income (1) Less than $10,000 (2) More than $10,000 but less than $20,000 (3) More than $20,000 but less than $30,000 (4) More than $30,000 (5) Student (6) Unemployed (7) Retired (8) Refused (9) No response
70	115	Sex of respondent (1) Male (2) Female

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