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**The effect of alienated and anomic perceptions of social structure on intention to vote, registration, and attitudes toward political participation: the 1972 presidential election.**

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THE EFFECTS OF ALIENATED AND ANOMIC PERCEPTIONS  
OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON INTENTION TO VOTE, REGISTRATION,  
AND ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:  
THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

A Thesis Presented

By

FRED EGON KOERNER

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## C H A P T E R   I

### Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the concepts of alienation and anomie. It is hypothesized that the two concepts differ in several respects, and that these differences translate into attitudinal and behavioral differences. Groups of individuals were differentiated on the basis of combinations or patterns of scores on measures of alienation and anomie. The behaviors of interest in this study are registration and voting intention; the attitudinal measures are concerned with attitudes toward forms of political participation in the electoral process. In order to assess the relative effects of alienation and anomie, an attempt was made to note systematic relationships between the patterns of scores on alienation and anomie, and various attitudes relative to political participation, as well as intention to vote and frequency of registration.

Alienation is difficult to define, partly because it is a multidimensional concept (Neal and Rettig, 1967) which tends to be used in different ways (Nettler, 1957). Alienation is a central feature of human existence, but few people understand what it means to say that someone is "alienated" (Schacht, 1971, p. 2). The vagueness surrounding the definition of alienation is not entirely surprising, given that the term has been of theoretical importance since the nineteenth

century, and has been used by philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, economists and psychologists to explain a wide range of phenomena.

Exacerbating the confusion in understanding "alienation" has been the tendency by some authors to use it to describe the individual, while others have conceptualized it as describing society. Still others use the term alternately to describe both the individual and society.

In Hegel's (1952) use of the term "alienated", in the early nineteenth century, it is generally the object which has become alien to the individual that is termed alienated. Thus, according to Hegel, the social structure would be described as "alienated" when the individual ceases to identify with it. Another early use of the concept of alienation was that of Karl Marx (1964), in his Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. He spoke of the alienation of the worker from the product of his labor, which becomes a power independent of the worker and oppresses him (pp. 106-119). However, Schacht (1971) points out that in another context Marx uses alienation to describe the essence of society as he conceived it (p. 106). In The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, written in the early part of the twentieth century, Max Weber (1958) described society as impersonal, a condition which engenders in man the feeling of being controlled in ever-widening spheres of his life, thus producing apathy and fear. Alexis de Tocqueville (1945), who wrote in



the mid-nineteenth century, saw alienation from society coming about as a result of the discrepancy between the ideology of a society and the actual fulfillment of social goals. A particularly alienating characteristic of society, according to Tocqueville, is the overwhelming nature of the masses, which crushes man and makes him feel powerless (p. 145). Erich Fromm (1955) described the alienated individual as one who does not feel himself to be productively related to his society (pp. 164ff.). However, Fromm also characterized the society as alienated in the same book (p. 114).

This brief sample of the application of the alienation concept should serve to illustrate its varied usage. The term has been used alternately to describe characteristics of a society, and the individual's response to it. Seeman (1959), responding to the need for a synthesis of the various uses of the concept, has developed five sub-scales representing different dimensions of alienation, conceptualized in terms of expectancy of control. These are: powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Powerlessness is viewed as the expectancy held by the individual that he cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes he seeks (p. 784). Normlessness, which is derived from Durkheim's concept of anomie, refers to a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals" (p. 788). Meaninglessness refers to the unintelligibility of the world, and the individual's expectancy

that satisfactory predictions about future occurrences cannot be made. Isolation is viewed as being the individual's rebellion against goals and values that are typically highly valued in society (p. 789). Self-estrangement describes an individual who engages in activities for the benefit of other people, rather than because the activities are gratifying by themselves (p. 790). Seeman emphasizes the necessity for making distinctions among the five sub-scales.

As with the notion of alienation, the concept of anomie appears to be surrounded by a similar lack of clarity. An early conception of anomie is one set forth by Durkheim (1951), in his book on Suicide, written in 1897. According to this formulation, anomie exists when societal reality can no longer support the needs of individuals in the society (p. 388). When the need for order and stability is not met, normlessness results, and people's aspirations rise beyond all possibilities of their being realized (Clinard, 1964, p. 7). Merton (1957) elaborates the notion of anomie as describing an inadequate society in which there is a breakdown of the cultural structure, "particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the social structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them" (p. 162). Merton contends that this disjunction exerts pressure on certain individuals to engage in non-conforming conduct (p. 132) because there is no alternative way of achieving goals within the structure. This is the

concept of normlessness -- the high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are necessary to the achievement of goals in society. Thus, anomie, a condition of society, engenders normlessness, a condition of man, in the following way: An anomic society is perceived as being characterized by widespread corruption and rulelessness, which reduces the stigma surrounding corruption, and engenders the belief that illegitimate practices are acceptable as a means of achieving goals (Levin, 1962, p. 233).

The foregoing discussion testifies to the fact that definitions of alienation and anomie vary considerably. However, it seems possible to extract a "working definition" of each from the literature in these two areas. In general, alienation, as it has been most consistently used, has been viewed as a psychological state of the individual which is characterized by a subjective feeling of distance between the individual and his social world. Anomie has typically been viewed as a societal concept, referring to a state of affairs which is characterized by a discrepancy between cultural norms and goals and the institutionalized means of achieving them. The societal state of anomie engenders feelings of normlessness in individuals; i.e. the expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve goals. While the two preceding "working definitions" might, in theory, be acceptable to most researchers in the area of social and political behavior, actual application of the concepts of



alienation and anomie is, in fact, quite variable, and therefore does not reflect a consistent definition of either of the concepts.

It is clear from the discussion of alienation and anomie that the two notions share some important similarities. One notable similarity is that they both refer to the inadequacy of society in meeting the needs of some portion of its members. Another important communality is the notion of a discrepancy between stated societal goals and their actual fulfillment. However, it is this very similarity which points to the crucial distinction between alienation and anomie. Note that in the case of alienation the discrepancy between social goals and their fulfillment leaves the individual feeling powerless (Tocqueville, 1945); society is perceived as massive and impersonal, and the individual feels weak with regard to those who wield power. The discrepancy also engenders a pervasive sense of meaninglessness about social/political participation; i.e. social goals do not have substance, since they are probably not going to be fulfilled, so that social or political involvement becomes pointless. In the case of anomie, however, the discrepancy or disjunction to which Merton (1957) refers does not seem to leave the individual feeling powerless. On the contrary, some authors (Merton, 1957; Levin, 1962) contend that the inability of society to meet the individual's needs pushes some individuals into non-conforming or deviant forms of social partici-

pation. This is in sharp contrast to the meaninglessness, powerlessness, and withdrawal, which are characteristic of the participation of alienated individuals. In this regard, Clinard (1964) suggests that deviant behavior results precisely because anomic individuals do perceive some opportunity to achieve goals, albeit through illegitimate means. Further, he suggests that Seeman's (1959) normlessness dimension of alienation -- the high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors will achieve goals -- is closest in meaning to anomie. Schacht (1971) even suggests that normlessness and alienation may be conceptually distinct (p. 192, p. 199).

Thus, it seems clear that while alienation and anomie undoubtedly share some common elements, the two concepts are different (Nettler, 1957). For the purposes of this study, the dimensions of meaninglessness and powerlessness will be used to define a measure of alienation. The dimensions of isolation and self-estrangement are not being included, for reasons of parsimony, as well as because the dimensions seem to lack the clarity of definition that meaninglessness and powerlessness have (Schacht, 1971, p. 165). In addition, the dimension of self-estrangement seems to have a psychopathological connotation, and is more concerned with "intrapsychic" characteristics of the individual, than with his perception of the social structure, which is the primary interest in this study. Anomie will be viewed as the normlessness di-

mension often associated with alienation (Seeman, 1959).

Both alienation and anomie will be treated as psychological variables, i.e., despite the widespread acceptance of anomie as a societal variable, it will be posited that even a "societal" variable has psychological implications in terms of behaviors and attitudes (note Clinard's (1964) reference to Mac Iver (1950) and Riesman et al. (1956) in this regard). An individual, then, can be considered to be anomic insofar as he perceives his society as normless; such an individual is likely to see the overstepping of traditional limits as legitimate, and necessary to the achievement of goals in society. This use of "anomic" as describing a person, rather than a society, is consistent with McClosky and Schaar's (1965) characterization of the anomic person as one for whom "the norms governing behavior are weak, ambiguous and remote" (p. 19).

It is difficult to assess the relative effects of anomie and alienation upon voting behavior in the literature, because of the aforementioned confusion in definitions. One other potential source of confusion regarding the concept of anomie has been the use of the term anomia to refer to the psychological counterpart of anomie. As Clinard (1964) and Schacht (1971, pp. 196-197) point out, in many studies anomia is virtually indistinguishable from alienation, but bears little apparent relation to the concept of anomie from which it was derived. In other words, anomia looks more like



alienation than anomie. Because of this confusion, the term anomia will not be used in the present study, and reference will be made to either alienation or anomie, as previously defined.

### Alienation, Anomie, and Attitudes toward Political Participation

The present study involves an examination of voting behavior. It is hypothesized that an individual's generalized perception of the social structure (i.e., his level of alienation or anomie) impinges upon his voting behavior, as well as on his attitudes toward political participation. This line of thought is consistent with a view which conceptualizes alienation and anomie as a set of intervening variables (Neal and Rettig, 1967), mediating between the social structure, on the one hand, and behavior and attitudes, on the other (Seeman, 1966).

On the basis of a post-election survey in Boston in 1959, Levin (1962) concluded that individuals who are politically alienated tend to feel that voting is meaningless and the electoral process a sham. According to Levin there are three common responses of an alienated individual to the election: non-voting; voting, but with the feeling that his vote will be of little consequence; and voting on the basis of what the individual feels are inadequate standards, such as negative voting, based on the "lesser of two evils" philosophy, or

voting on the basis of emotional, as opposed to issue-oriented considerations (Levin, p. 232). Josephson and Josephson (1962) point out that individuals who find politics incomprehensible (meaningless) will tend to withdraw from the political decision-making process, and rely on others to interpret and decide for them (p. 41). This engenders a feeling of powerlessness in deciding one's fate. Templeton (1966), however, found no relationship between political alienation and intention to vote in the 1960 Presidential election, but he did find a difference in the quality of participation by alienated and non-alienated individuals, the alienated citizens being characterized by inconsistent (random) voting behavior, and voting on the basis of the "lesser of two evils" philosophy alluded to above. Templeton explains his failure to find a difference in voting intentions of alienated and non-alienated individuals by postulating that alienation is important in local, rather than national elections, since local elections give the alienated voter an opportunity to validate his personal rejection of the political system, whereas national elections (because of their anonymity) do not afford such an opportunity. In part, the purpose of this study is to look at the relationship between alienation and intention to vote in the national election.

Keniston (1967) speaks of uncommitted youth, who stand against society and are "unmoved by it" (p. 74). The overriding philosophy among alienated youth is that society is,

by its very nature, not worth participating in (p. 186), that any attempt to change things usually makes things worse (p. 194). This pessimistic view of the value of political participation is consistent with the alienation dimension of meaninglessness; i.e., political participation is a meaningless venture which bears no fruit. The non-involvement aspect of the alienated individual's philosophy is analogous to a sense of powerlessness, the low expectancy on the part of the individual, that he can determine the political outcomes he seeks. Keniston emphasizes that the alienated individual's feeling of powerlessness is voluntary -- withdrawal is chosen as a response to society, rather than being imposed on the individual by society. It could be argued, however, that the powerlessness is not really voluntary at all, but that it is an unavoidable response to a hostile society. Whichever argument is the more viable one, it is clear that the dominant response of an alienated individual is withdrawal.

Keniston's (1968) discussion of the political participation of radicals or activists is quite different from his earlier (1967) treatment of alienated individuals. Whereas uncommitted or alienated youth tend to be on the periphery of societal involvement, the activists or radicals tend to feel personally and directly responsible for social change (1968, p. 124). This sense of commitment to the societal process tends to be more action- and change-oriented than the commitment of conforming individuals; activists are disillusioned



sioned by societal institutions, which they feel will not be responsive to the need for social change, and they have consequently resolved to involve themselves in the social process in order to remedy the injustices of the status quo (p. 129). As regards participation in the electoral process, Keniston notes that the radical's goal is "not to win the next election, but to increase the social and political consciousness of the American people and to confront central issues" (p. 286). This commitment to action which characterizes the activist's political philosophy implies a perception that his activity will be fruitful (i.e., the activist experiences low feelings of powerlessness). Note the correspondence between Keniston's (1968) formulation of the radical's commitment to action, and Merton's (1957) observation that anomic individuals perceive some opportunity to achieve goals through illegitimate activity (p. 140).

Thus, there seems to be some support for the conception of anomie as normlessness, frequently considered to be a component of alienation, referring to a tendency to perceive society as devoid of adequate structure, and to go about the achievement of social goals through activity which is not sanctioned by conformist society. It is this conception of anomie which will be assumed in this study. It clearly seems to represent a distinct notion from that of alienation, which implies withdrawal and apathy. This conceptual distinction between alienation and anomie has been suggested also by Schacht (1971, p. 192).

Predictions. In accord with a framework which posits a connection between perception of the social structure (i.e., as alienated, anomic, etc.) and behavior, it is predicted that individuals with different perceptions of the social structure will be characterized by different behaviors and attitudes vis à vis the election. In order to test that prediction, a typology was established, consisting of four groups of individuals who were differentiated with respect to their perceptions of the social structure. Differentiation of these four groups was on the basis of combinations or patterns of scores on the meaninglessness, powerlessness, and normlessness scales. Rationale for the differentiation of groups derives from the theoretical considerations regarding alienation and anomie which were discussed above. The typology of four groups was defined as follows:

GROUP 1 -- Individuals with an alienated perception of social structure: Such individuals were characterized by high scores on both the meaninglessness and powerlessness scales, and either high or low scores on the normlessness scale. The rationale for this pattern of scores is the great emphasis in the literature on meaninglessness and powerlessness as defining aspects of alienation. It was felt that the concurrent high scores on both meaninglessness and powerlessness would, in a sense, override the normlessness scores, so that membership in Group 1 was contingent on high meaninglessness and powerlessness, but not on normlessness. The ration-

ale for this arbitrary decision was based on the assumption that two scales were more "powerful" than one. Individuals in this group experience a sense of apathy vis à vis the sociopolitical process.

GROUP 2 -- Individuals with an anomic perception of the social structure: Since anomie has often been defined as normlessness, it was assumed that the most important characteristic of an "anomic" individual would be a high score on the normlessness scale. This is consistent with the formulation that such individuals perceive the social structure as devoid of adequate norms, and that they view the violation of these norms as necessary to the successful achievement of social goals. Thus, membership in this group was contingent upon the attainment of a high normlessness score. However, in the event of a respondent scoring high on normlessness, and concurrently scoring high on meaninglessness and powerlessness, the respondent was placed in Group 1, i.e., alienated perception of social structure. As elaborated previously, the rationale for this was the assumption that high scores on both meaninglessness and powerlessness would outweigh the effect of normlessness.

GROUP 3 -- Individuals with a conforming perception of the social structure: These individuals are neither alienated nor anomic, and are characterized by low scores on the meaninglessness, powerlessness and normlessness scales. Since these individuals tend to subscribe to values which



coincide with those of society, meaninglessness scores can be expected to be rather low; since conformity suggests a comfortable fit between social goals and the individual's perception of his ability to attain them, low powerlessness would be expected as well. Normlessness scores would be expected to be low, by definition of conformity as congruence with socially approved values and norms.

GROUP 4 -- Individuals with an intermediate perception of the social structure: Respondents in this category were characterized by random responding to the meaninglessness, powerlessness, and normlessness scales. Specifically, such respondents were not "pure" alienated, anomic, or conforming, and could, therefore, not be included in Group 1, Group 2, or Group 3. Members of this group can be thought of as being in the middle of a continuum ranging from an alienated to an anomic perception of the social structure, but not "purely" enough to merit inclusion in either group. It was expected that individuals in Group 4 would respond to the political participation questions in ways consistent with a middle-of-the-road orientation toward the world.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the extent to which an individual's perception of the social structure, as a generalized outlook toward the sociopolitical structure, would be related both attitudinally and behaviorally to the way in which he approaches a specific sociopolitical situa-

tion, in this case the Presidential election.

Specifically, it was predicted that:

- 1) Generalized perception of the social structure would have a significant impact on intention to vote, with the alienated perception of social structure group (GROUP 1) expressing the least intention to vote, and the conforming group (GROUP 3) expressing the most intention to vote.
- 2) Generalized perception of the social structure would have a significant effect on frequency of registration, with the alienated perception of social structure group (GROUP 1) reporting the lowest frequency of having registered to vote, and the conforming group (GROUP 3) reporting the highest.
- 3) Individuals with an alienated generalized perception of the social structure (GROUP 1) would be more likely than any other group to endorse statements which reflect alienated attitudes toward participation in the electoral process.
- 4) Individuals with an anomic perception of the social structure (GROUP 2) would have more anomic (i.e., action-oriented) attitudes toward political participation than individuals in any other perception of social structure group.
- 5) Individuals with a conforming perception of the social structure (GROUP 3) would be more likely than individuals in any other group to endorse conservative or conforming attitudes regarding participation in the election.

6) Individuals with an intermediate perception of the social structure (GROUP 4) would tend, more than any other perception of social structure group to have inconsistent attitudes toward political participation, which would be reflected in their tendency to advocate voting on the basis of criteria which are other than issue-oriented.

In addition, it was expected that various demographic variables would bear significant relationships with both the attitudinal measures (i.e., attitudes toward participation in the election) and the behavioral measures (i.e., intention to vote, and frequency of registration). Interaction effects of the demographic variables with the generalized perception of social structure typology were explored.



## C H A P T E R   I I

Method

Subjects. One-hundred fifty-seven male and female students attending the University of Massachusetts at Amherst served as Ss or respondents in this survey. Most of the respondents were undergraduates, selected from two introductory Psychology courses and one Human Development course. There was also a small sample of graduate students selected from among the graduate student population in Psychology.

Of the 157 subjects in this study, 53 were males and 104 were females. Respondents ranged in age from 18 to 30 years, with a mean age of 20 years. Social class was measured by combining the level of education and occupational status attained by the respondent's father. Using this measure of social class, only a very small proportion of the sample consisted of individuals from the lower socioeconomic strata. The "average subject" in this study had a father who had received some college education, and who held a semi-professional job. Thus, respondents in the present study were from predominantly middle or upper-middle class socioeconomic backgrounds. In terms of subjects' own aspirations for occupational achievement, the large majority (85%) held aspirations for semi-professional or professional careers. It can be seen, then, that respondents in the present study were se-

lected from a relatively homogeneous population with respect to age, socioeconomic background, and future occupational aspirations.

Questionnaire. The five-page questionnaire (see Appendix) consisted of four major sections, as follows:

1) an instruction sheet.

2) items designed to assess demographic characteristics of respondents, such as sex, age, town size, level of education, political party preference, parents' occupational status, parents' education, and aspirations for future careers.

3) meaninglessness, powerlessness, and normlessness items taken from scales used in Groat and Neal's (1967) study on the effect of alienation variables upon urban fertility. These items derive from Seeman's (1959) framework which defines dimensions of alienation in terms of expectancy of control. Items in these scales were answered on a scale ranging from 1 to 4, with 1 representing "strongly agree" and 4 representing "strongly disagree".

4) "political" items, i.e., intention to vote, as well as attitudes toward forms of political participation in the Presidential election. Items in this scale were constructed on the basis of theoretical considerations regarding alienation and anomie, and the attitudes that might be expected to be associated with alienation and anomie.

Most of the items in this scale had been used in a pilot study. When adequate criteria for internal consistency were met

(i.e., when there was a significant correlation between the item and other items within the same scale) the item was retained for use in the present study. Those items whose internal consistency was not satisfactory were replaced. Items in this scale were answered in terms of the correspondence between the attitude expressed in the item, and the respondent's own feeling, on a scale of 1 to 4, 1 representing the attitude as being "very much like me", and 4 representing "very much unlike me".

Design. The main independent variable in this study was "generalized perception of the social structure", as defined by patterns of scores on the meaninglessness, powerlessness, and normlessness scales (part 3 of the questionnaire). A typology based on four categories of perception of the social structure was used for purposes of a comparison: alienated, anomic, conforming, and intermediate perception of social structure. (See Predictions in the Introduction for a detailed description of the patterns of scores as well as the rationale behind the typology). Secondary independent variables were demographic characteristics of respondents, such as age, sex, commitment versus non-commitment to a political party, and various socioeconomic indices (part 2 of the questionnaire). Dependent variables were intention to vote, self-reports of whether the respondent had registered or not, and attitudes toward various forms of participation in the election (part 4 of the questionnaire).



Factor analysis was executed for the purpose of answering the question of a conceptual distinction between alienation and anomie. In order to investigate the main effect of perception of the social structure upon the behaviors of interest (i.e., intention to vote and frequency of registration, Hypotheses 1 and 2), one-way analyses of variance were performed. A series of one-way analyses of variance was performed to test Hypotheses 3 through 6, thereby investigating the main effect of perception of the social structure upon attitudes toward political participation. Multifactor analyses of variance were conducted to explore the main effects of the demographic variables, as well as the interaction effects of the demographic variables with generalized perception of social structure.

Procedure. Administration of the questionnaire occurred during the last week preceding the Presidential election of 1972. Respondents were told that the questionnaire was a survey of political attitudes and political behavior. They were asked to indicate their name and student identification number on the questionnaire, as well as on the modified OpScan answer sheet, heretofore to be referred to as the "coding form". Respondents were allowed thirty minutes to complete the questionnaire. With the exception of several of the demographic items, which were answered on the questionnaire itself, and coded at the later time by the administrator, all responses were recorded on the coding form.

Selection of scale items to be used in the study. In order to determine which of the items would be used for the analysis of the data, a series of factor analyses was performed. Originally, all of the items (i.e., items from both the perception of social structure scale and from the attitudes toward political participation scale) were analyzed together using Varimax rotations in an attempt to discern dimensions of attitudes toward the social structure and political participation. A number of different solutions were tried out, calling for ten, eight, and six factors to be generated. However, since perception of social structure was the independent variable, and attitudes toward political participation, a dependent variable, it was felt that more meaningful factors would emerge by separating the two sets of items and performing an independent factor analysis of each scale. Table 1 is a presentation of the factor analysis of the perception of social structure scale items (i.e., items from the meaninglessness, normlessness, and powerlessness scales). In order to maximize the purity of each of the subscales, it was decided to select the seven items from each scale which loaded most heavily on the factor. Consequently, 21 items were ultimately used to determine perception of the social structure. Similarly, the purity of the attitudes toward political participation scale was maximized by performing a factor analysis of the items and selecting four items for each attitude sub-scale (i.e., alienated, anomic, conforming and in-

TABLE 1

Factor Analysis of Perception  
of Social Structure Scale Items

<u>Item Number*</u>	<u>Powerlessness (Factor 1)</u>	<u>Normlessness (Factor 2)</u>	<u>Meaninglessness (Factor 3)</u>
18	.10570	.23865	.32771
19	.13387	.19428	.22573
20	-.10381	-.04351	.40466
21	.07987	.05684	.28466
22	.21222	.15872	.37744
23	.19284	.11828	.56147
24	.07631	.01089	.59160
25	.25886	.16474	.24927
26	.37185	.03052	.11642
27	.43709	.08746	.22300
28	.74146	.02000	.07583
29	.63948	.21159	.24667
30	.31750	.18149	.15147
31	.62114	.21521	.23970
32	.54155	.29400	.26036
33	.43001	-.03828	.43264
34	.58215	-.02535	.20773
35	.66289	.19735	.15821
36	.49252	.11559	-.13166
37	.41967	.41297	-.07367
38	.43116	.23924	-.07450
39	.30979	.43482	-.07555
40	.14960	.70362	.11157
41	.21245	.59723	.14240
42	.08561	.38019	.06137
43	-.08581	.61174	.18649
44	.05691	.39764	.03547

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\*See Questionnaire in the Appendix.



intermediate attitudes toward political participation). Thus, 16 items were ultimately employed to measure attitudes toward political participation. Table 2 contains the results of this factor analysis.

Measurement of reliability of the items. To provide a further check on the purity of the items to be used in the study, reliability was assessed in two ways. The "uncorrected correlation" consisted of the correlation between each individual item and the sum of all the other items within that subscale, including the item under consideration. The "corrected correlation" measured the correlation between the individual item and the sum of the other items within the subscale, but excluding the item. Table 3 presents the corrected and uncorrected correlations for each item in each subscale. It can be seen that in all cases, the significance of the correlations exceeded .003.

Establishment of typologies representing four Perceptions of the Social Structure. In order to test the effect of "generalized perception of the social structure" upon the behaviors and attitudes of interest, a typology of four perception of social structure groups was set up. These groups were established by combining scores on the meaninglessness, powerlessness, and normlessness scales. The rationale for the particular combinations was explained earlier (see pp. 13-15). The initial step in the establishment of the typology

Table 2

Factor Analysis of Attitudes  
toward Political Participation Items

<u>Item Number*</u>	<u>Conforming (Factor 1)</u>	<u>Intermediate (Factor 2)</u>	<u>Alienated (Factor 3)</u>	<u>Anomic (Factor 4)</u>
45	-.37754	.04548	.60943	-.24090
46	.70141	.06889	-.12171	.07144
47	.20409	-.11914	-.16877	.45832
48	-.04406	.58373	-.02334	-.01507
49	-.09177	-.14234	.54314	.08722
50	.67275	.04077	-.06063	.11858
51	-.11508	-.36853	.04746	.01814
52	-.10304	.54566	.08926	-.06329
53	.23647	.43164	.31150	-.14542
54	.44460	-.09971	-.08597	-.01671
55	.24398	.20592	-.02646	.30362
56	-.25916	.31047	.20361	.08374
57	-.03937	.21719	.32561	-.13518
58	.59558	.07486	-.18252	.20543
59	.04220	-.05226	-.17496	.63618
60	-.00320	-.03486	.05150	.38114
61	-.32225	.20830	.49664	-.19872

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\*See Questionnaire in the Appendix.

Table 3

Corrected and Uncorrected Correlations\*  
of Items with Their Subscales

<u>Item</u>	<u>Uncorrected r</u>	<u>p &lt;</u>	<u>Corrected r</u>	<u>p &lt;</u>
<u>Meaninglessness</u>				
18	.5075	.001	.2915	.001
20	.4785	.001	.2636	.001
21	.4865	.001	.2317	.002
22	.5764	.001	.3464	.001
23	.6591	.001	.4721	.001
24	.6819	.001	.5108	.001
25	.4882	.001	.2459	.001
<u>Powerlessness</u>				
28	.7405	.001	.6120	.001
29	.7840	.001	.6720	.001
31	.7407	.001	.6303	.001
32	.6994	.001	.5704	.001
34	.6802	.001	.5552	.001
35	.7743	.001	.6831	.001
36	.5586	.001	.4062	.001
<u>Normlessness</u>				
37	.6145	.001	.4096	.001
39	.5932	.001	.4146	.001
40	.7433	.001	.6008	.001
41	.6754	.001	.5338	.001
42	.5454	.001	.3512	.001
43	.6379	.001	.4666	.001
44	.5062	.001	.3147	.001
<u>Alienated Attitudes</u>				
45	.7876	.001	.5250	.001
49	.6319	.001	.3347	.001
57	.5969	.001	.2905	.001
61	.7049	.001	.4530	.001
<u>Conforming Attitudes</u>				
46	.7669	.001	.5658	.001
50	.7675	.001	.5441	.001
54	.6590	.001	.3626	.001
58	.7309	.001	.5702	.001
<u>Anomic Attitudes</u>				
47	.6449	.001	.3568	.001
55	.5873	.001	.2264	.003
59	.6974	.001	.3704	.001
60	.6106	.001	.2447	.002
<u>Intermediate Attitudes</u>				
48	.6573	.001	.3767	.001
52	.6914	.001	.3902	.001
53	.6039	.001	.2841	.001
56	.6226	.001	.2227	.003

\*Uncorrected r = r between item and subscale with item included; corrected r = r between item and subscale without item included.



was to look at the frequency of responses to the meaningfulness, powerlessness, and normlessness scales. Responses were split at the median, thus yielding high and low scores on each of the scales. All possible combinations of high and low scores on the three scales were obtained, resulting in eight combinations of high and low scores on meaningfulness, powerlessness, and normlessness. Table 4 presents a description of the eight groups, along with the percentage of respondents corresponding to each group. The eight groups were then condensed into four (i.e., alienated, anomic, conforming, and intermediate perception of social structure) by combining Groups 1 and 4 for the alienated group, Groups 2, 7, and 8 for the anomic group, Groups 3 and 6 for the intermediate category, and using Group 5 for the conforming group. These combinations were based on the patterns of high and low scores which were felt to define each group, as elaborated earlier. While these combinations seemed to have legitimate theoretical rationale behind them, it can be seen that often these combinations required designating certain groups to different typology categories even though they shared high scores on a given sub-scale. For example, while groups 1 and 3 both shared high meaningfulness scores, they were not ultimately assigned to the same typology. That is, group 1 was designated as "alienated" on the basis of a concurrently high powerlessness score, while group 3 was designated as "intermediate", because it satisfied none of the requirements for

Table 4

Eight Perception of Social Structure Typologies Derived  
from Combinations of Scores on Meaninglessness,  
Powerlessness, and Normlessness Scales

<u>Group</u>	<u>Meaninglessness</u>	<u>Powerlessness</u>	<u>Normlessness</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH	21.0
2	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	8.9
3	HIGH	LOW	LOW	10.8
4	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	11.5
5	LOW	LOW	LOW	21.7
6	LOW	HIGH	LOW	8.9
7	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	11.5
8	LOW	LOW	HIGH	5.7
				<hr/> 100.0

inclusion in the other three "pure" groups, and was, therefore, by definition, "intermediate". In order to justify this procedure of assigning groups 1 and 3 to different categories, it seemed necessary to demonstrate a difference between the two groups in terms of their meaningfulness scores. That is, even though both groups were high in meaningfulness, group 1 should have a higher meaningfulness score than group 3, since group 1 was designated as "alienated", and group 3 as only "intermediate." Therefore, a t-test was performed to test the difference between the means of groups 1 and 3 on meaningfulness. The same procedure was followed in other cases where means had to be compared in order to justify separating groups which shared high scores on the same measure, but which were assigned to different categories of typology. It can be seen in Table 5 that there were some differences between the means of the groups under consideration, and that the differences were in directions which justified the condensation of the original eight groups into the typology of four groups, as originally intended. Table 6 presents the final combinations of scores comprising the four groups representing different perceptions of the social structure.



Table 5

Two-tailed T-tests of Difference between Means  
 of Groups with High Scores on the Same Variable,  
 But Which Were to Be Assigned to a Different Perception  
 of Social Structure Typology

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Groups</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>T-Value</u>	<u>T-Probability</u>
Meaning- lessness	1	33	15.8485	2.138	1.89	.066
	3	17	16.8824	1.654		
Meaning- lessness	3	17	16.8824	1.654	0.16	.872
	4	18	16.9772	1.812		
Power- lessness	4	18	15.3572	2.613	1.23	.229
	6	14	16.2957	1.637		
Power- lessness	1	33	14.3030	2.899	2.97	.005
	6	14	16.2857	1.637		

Table 6

Final Combination of Original Eight Perception  
of Social Structure Groups into Four Typologies

<u>Typology Name</u>	<u>Original Group</u>	<u>Meaning- lessness</u>	<u>Power- lessness</u>	<u>Norm- lessness</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
ALIENATED	1	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH	21.0
	4	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	11.5
					<u>32.5</u>
ANOMIC	2	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	8.9
	7	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	11.5
	8	LOW	LOW	HIGH	5.7
					<u>26.1</u>
CONFORMING	5	LOW	LOW	LOW	<u>21.7</u>
INTERMEDIATE	3	HIGH	LOW	LOW	10.8
	6	LOW	HIGH	LOW	8.9
					<u>19.7</u>
				TOTAL	100.0

## C H A P T E R   I I I

Results

In order to investigate the effect of the main independent variable, generalized perception of the social structure (henceforth to be referred to as PSS) upon voting intention, a one-way analysis of variance was performed relating PSS typology to intention to vote. Table 7 presents the means and standard deviations on intention to vote for the four PSS groups. As hypothesized, a generalized perception of the social structure has a significant effect on respondents' intention to vote ( $F = 3.041$ ,  $p < .031$ ). As can be seen by comparing the means of voting intention, Group 1 (alienated PSS group) intended to vote less frequently than any other PSS group. Similarly, it can be seen that respondents in Group 3 (conforming PSS group) intended to vote more frequently than those in any other group. The bottom portion of the table displays the subsets of groups whose means differ significantly from each other (means connected by underlining do not differ at the .05 level of significance). It can be seen that Group 1 and Group 3 differ significantly from each other in the predicted direction. Thus, hypothesis 1 is confirmed.

In order to determine the effect of generalized PSS upon frequency of registration prior to the election, a one-way analysis of variance was performed relating PSS typology to Registration. Table 8 presents the means and standard devia-



Table 7

Means\* and Standard Deviations on Intention  
to Vote for Four Perception of Social Structure (PSS) Groups

<u>PSS Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>F-ratio</u>	<u>F-probability</u>
GROUP 1 (Alienated PSS)	2.0000	1.6492	3.041	.031
GROUP 2 (Anomic PSS)	1.5714	1.0625		
GROUP 3 (Conforming PSS)	1.2424	.9024		
GROUP 4 (Intermediate PSS)	1.3871	.8823		

\*Lowest means signify greatest intention to vote

Sub-sets of Groups Whose Means Differ Significantly

(Groups connected by underlining do not  
differ significantly at  $p < .05$ )

GROUP 3	GROUP 4	GROUP 2	GROUP 1
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Table 8

Means\* and Standard Deviations on Registration to  
Vote for Four Perception of Social Structure (PSS) Groups

<u>PSS Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>F-ratio</u>	<u>F-probability</u>
GROUP 1 (Alienated PSS)	1.1961	.4481	1.342	.263
GROUP 2 (Anomic PSS)	1.1667	.3772		
GROUP 3 (Conforming PSS)	1.0606	.3482		
GROUP 4	1.0645	.2497		

\*Lowest means signify highest frequency of registration to  
vote

Sub-sets of Groups Whose Means Differ Significantly

(Groups connected by underlining do not  
differ significantly at  $p < .05$ )

GROUP 3	GROUP 4	GROUP 2	GROUP 1
<hr/>			

tions on respondents' self-reports of having registered or not having registered to vote. Although Group 1 (alienated PSS) did obtain the lowest mean frequency of registration, and Group 3 (conforming PSS) the highest, as predicted, the difference did not reach statistical significance ( $F = 1.342$ ,  $p < .263$ ). Consequently, the analysis does not support Hypothesis 2.

In order to investigate the effect of an individual's generalized perception of social structure upon various attitudes specific to participation in the electoral process, (i.e., Hypotheses 3 through 6) a series of one-way analyses of variance was performed. To test Hypothesis 3, that individuals with an alienated PSS (Group 1) would be more likely than individuals in any other PSS Group to endorse statements reflecting alienated attitudes toward participation in the election, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted relating PSS typology to alienated Attitudes toward Political Participation (henceforth to be referred to as APP). Table 9 presents the means and standard deviations on the alienated APP scale for the four PSS groups. A comparison of means shows that respondents in Group 1 (alienated PSS) had significantly more alienated attitudes toward participation in the election than respondents in any other PSS group ( $F = 9.212$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The bottom portion of the table presents the contrasts (i.e., the subsets of groups whose means differ significantly). It can be seen that Group 1 was significantly





different from all the other PSS groups in terms of alienated attitudes, thereby confirming Hypothesis 3.

In order to investigate the relationship between a generalized anomic orientation to the social structure and anomic attitudes toward participation in the election (Hypothesis 4), a one-way analysis of variance was performed relating PSS typology to anomic APP. Means and standard deviations on the anomic APP scale for each of the four PSS groups are presented in Table 10. It can be seen that the effect of generalized perception of social structure upon respondents' anomic attitudes toward the election approaches statistical significance ( $F = 2.474$ ,  $p < .064$ ). However, contrary to the prediction, Group 2 (anomic PSS) did not obtain the highest mean score on the anomic APP scale, and did not differ significantly from the other PSS groups in terms of anomic attitudes. Consequently, the analysis does not support Hypothesis 4.

To test Hypothesis 5, that individuals with a conforming perception of the social structure (PSS Group 3) would be more likely than individuals in any other PSS group to endorse statements reflecting conservative or conforming attitudes toward political participation, a one-way analysis of variance was conducted relating PSS typology to conforming APP. Table 11 presents the means and standard deviations on the conforming APP scale for the four PSS groups. It can be seen that the results were not in the predicted direction, and that there was no significant effect of generalized per-

Table 10

Means\* and Standard Deviations on Anomic Attitudes  
toward Political Participation for Four Perception  
of Social Structure (PSS) Groups

<u>PSS Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>F-ratio</u>	<u>F-probability</u>
GROUP 1 (Alienated PSS)	9.3725	2.1996	2.474	.064
GROUP 2 (Anomic PSS)	9.0476	1.9994		
GROUP 3 (Conforming PSS)	8.3226	2.4274		
GROUP 4 (Intermediate PSS)	9.6667	1.7440		

\*Lowest means signify highest scores on Anomic Attitudes

Sub-set of Groups Whose Means Differ Significantly

(Groups connected by underlining do not  
differ significantly at  $p < .05$ )

GROUP 3	GROUP 2	GROUP 1	GROUP 4
<hr/>			
	<hr/>		



Table 11

Means\* and Standard Deviations on Conforming Attitudes  
toward Political Participation for Four Perception  
of Social Structure (PSS) Groups

<u>PSS Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>F-ratio</u>	<u>F-probability</u>
GROUP 1 (Alienated PSS)	8.6061	2.7944	.856	.466
GROUP 2 (Anomic PSS)	9.5000	2.9155		
GROUP 3 (Conforming PSS)	9.6471	3.3456		
GROUP 4	9.4839	3.0970		

\*Lowest means signify highest scores on Conforming Attitudes

Sub-set of Groups whose Means Differ Significantly

(Groups connected by underlining do not  
differ significantly at  $p < .05$ )

GROUP 1	GROUP 4	GROUP 2	GROUP 3
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ception of the social structure upon endorsement of conforming attitudes toward participation in the election ( $F = .856$ ,  $p < .466$ ). Therefore Hypothesis 5 does not receive support.

The final hypothesis regarding the relation between a generalized outlook and specific attitudes was Hypothesis 6, which predicted that the intermediate PSS group (Group 4) would be most likely to endorse statements which reflect an intermediate approach to the election (i.e., intermediate APP). In order to test this prediction a one-way analysis of variance was conducted which related PSS typology to intermediate APP. The means and standard deviations on the intermediate APP scale for the four PSS typology groups are shown in Table 12. Although a significant effect of PSS on intermediate attitudes was obtained ( $F = 3.284$ ,  $p < .023$ ), Group 4 was not the highest on the intermediate APP scale, as was predicted. In fact, Group 1 (the alienated PSS group) obtained the highest scores on this scale. While Group 4 (intermediate PSS) did obtain the next highest mean score on the intermediate APP scale, it can be seen by looking at the display of subsets of groups whose means differ significantly (bottom portion of the table), that Group 4 did not differ significantly from any other PSS group in terms of intermediate attitudes toward participation in the election. Therefore the analysis does not support Hypothesis 6.

In preparation for looking at the main effects of the demographic variables, and the interaction effects of the

Table 12

Means\* and Standard Deviations on Intermediate Attitudes  
toward Political Participation for Four Perception  
of Social Structure (PSS) Groups

<u>PSS Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>F-ratio</u>	<u>F-probability</u>
GROUP 1 (Alienated PSS)	12.0784	2.2077	3.284	.023
GROUP 2 (Anomic PSS)	13.5758	1.9530		
GROUP 3 (Conforming PSS)	13.0000	2.1909		
GROUP 4 (Intermediate PSS)	12.6190	2.3987		

\*Lowest means signify highest scores on Intermediate Attitudes

Sub-sets of Groups Whose Means Differ Significantly  
(Groups connected by underlining do not  
differ significantly at  $p < .05$ )

GROUP 1	GROUP 4	GROUP 3	GROUP 2
<hr/>			
<hr/>			



demographic variables with generalized PSS an exhaustive series of Chi-Square tests was executed. This was done as a preliminary step, in order to determine those demographic variables which seemed to be worth pursuing in the analysis, as well as those which clearly did not seem to have any effect on registration, voting intention, and attitudes toward political participation. Demographic variables were split at the median score, thus yielding high and low categories for each demographic variable. On the basis of the Chi-Square tests, it was apparent that the following variables could be eliminated from the analysis of the data: size of town, degree toward which the respondent was working, respondent's mother's occupation and mother's education, and respondent's choice for the next president from among the candidates. The variables which, on the basis of the Chi-Square tests seemed to merit further consideration in the data analysis were: age of respondent, sex of respondent, respondent's father's occupation and father's education, respondents' aspirations for future occupational status, and whether the respondent was committed or uncommitted to a political party preference. In order to obtain a single measure of socioeconomic status, scores on father's education and father's occupation were combined, yielding a single score on social class.

In order to test the main and interaction effects of generalized PSS (Typology), sex, age, political party, class, and future occupational aspirations, a  $4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$

design would have had to be used. The infeasibility of performing a six-factor analysis of variance with 128 cells for 157 subjects dictated that a series of three-factor analyses be conducted. The results of this series of analyses are presented in Tables 13 through 32.

Looking first at intention to vote as the dependent variable, it can be seen that, in addition to the significant main effect of perception of social structure (i.e., Typology) which was also found in the one-way analysis of variance investigating Hypothesis 1, there was a significant main effect of Age. Table 13 presents the analysis of variance of Typology x Sex x Age. The means on intention to vote for the two Age groups are presented at the bottom of the table. The older respondents (age 20 and above) intended to vote significantly more often than the younger respondents ( $F = 5.194$ ,  $p < .024$ ). No significant effect of sex of respondent was found. There were no significant interaction effects.

Table 14 presents the analysis of variance of Typology x Social Class x Party Commitment. Aside from the previously-reported significant effect of Typology, there were no significant main or interaction effects. However, there was a trend for respondents who were committed to a political party to intend to vote more often than respondents who were not committed to a political party ( $F = 2.745$ ,  $p < .10$ ). Table 15 presents the analysis of variance of Typology x Sex x Future Occupation. Neither sex nor aspirations for future oc-

Table 13

Analysis of Variance of Typology  
 (Perception of Social Structure) by Sex by Age  
 Dependent Variable: Intention to Vote

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.775	3.974	.009*
S	.020	.101	.752
A	1.013	5.194	.024*
TxS	.226	1.161	.327
TxA	.123	.633	.595
SxA	.240	1.232	.269
TxSxA	.124	.635	.593

Means on Intention to Vote for the Two Age Groups

	<u>Mean**</u>
Group 1 (18 and 19 years)	1.377
Group 2 (20 years or older)	1.212

\*\*Note: Lower mean signifies greater intention to vote



Table 14

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment

Dependent Variable: Intention to Vote

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.775	3.887	.010*
C	.038	.192	.662
P	.547	2.745	.100
TxC	.216	1.082	.359
TxP	.129	.645	.588
CxP	.108	.539	.464
TxCxP	.118	.594	.620

Table 15

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)  
Dependent Variable: Intention to Vote

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.775	3.917	.010*
S	.020	.099	.753
F	.001	.002	.964
TxS	.267	1.349	.261
TxF	.062	.316	.814
SxF	.324	1.638	.203
TxSxF	.321	1.621	.187

cupational status distinguished respondents in terms of intention to vote, and there were no significant interaction effects.

The next dependent variable to be considered is frequency of registration, as measured by respondents' self-report of having registered versus not having registered to vote. Tables 16 through 18 present the analyses of variance for Typology x Sex x Age, Typology x Class x Party, and Typology x Sex x Future Occupation, respectively. It can be seen that there were no significant main effects of any of these variables on frequency of registration to vote, and there were no significant interactions.

In order to investigate the main and interaction effects of perception of social structure (typology) and the "demographic" variables upon attitudes toward political participation, a series of three, 3-factor analyses of variance was conducted for each attitude. Tables 19, 20 and 21 present the analyses for the alienated attitudes toward political participation (APP). The previously reported significant effect of Typology (perception of social structure) on alienated APP (Hypothesis 3) was corroborated. Furthermore, there was a significant main effect of commitment to a political party ( $F = 5.602$ ,  $p < .019$ ; see Table 20). An examination of the means for the two Party groups, presented at the bottom of the table reveals that uncommitted respondents endorsed significantly more alienated attitudes toward participation



Table 16

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Age

Dependent Variable: Frequency of Registration

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.208	1.593	.194
S	.023	.176	.676
A	.110	.840	.361
TxS	.058	.444	.722
TxA	.342	2.626	.056
SxA	.013	.098	.755
TxSxA	.222	1.700	.170

Table 17

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment  
Dependent Variable: Frequency of Registration

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.208	1.507	.215
C	.049	.354	.553
P	.043	.315	.576
TxC	.103	.744	.528
TxP	.046	.332	.802
CxP	.001	.005	.945
TxCxP	.141	1.026	.383

Table 18

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)

Dependent Variable: Frequency of Registration

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	.208	1.517	.213
S	.023	.167	.683
F	.005	.039	.844
TxS	.062	.451	.717
TxF	.078	.570	.636
SxF	.292	2.127	.147
TxSxF	.108	.786	.503



Table 19

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Age

Dependent Variable: Alienated Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	51.174	9.255	.001*
S	4.673	.845	.360
A	2.228	.414	.521
TxS	5.084	.919	.413
TxA	3.994	.722	.540
SxA	.236	.043	.837
TxSxA	11.943	2.160	.100

Table 20

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment  
Dependent Variable: Alienated Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	51.174	9.441	.001*
C	2.820	.520	.472
P	30.366	5.602	.019*
TxC	5.024	.927	.430
TxP	10.329	1.906	.131
CxP	1.450	.267	.606
TxCxP	1.659	.306	.821

Mean on Alienated Attitudes toward Political  
Participation for the Two Party Commitment Groups

	<u>Mean**</u>
Group 1 (committed to a party)	11.769
Group 2 (not committed to a party)	10.674

\*\*Note: Lower mean signifies higher score on Alienated APP

Table 21

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)

Dependent Variable: Alienated Attitudes

toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	51.174	9.122	.001*
S	4.673	.833	.363
F	.037	.007	.936
TxS	4.976	.887	.450
TxF	1.848	.329	.804
SxF	5.943	1.059	.305
TxSxF	9.232	1.655	.180



in the election, than did respondents who had expressed a preference from among the available political parties. No significant main effects were found for Sex, Age, Social Class, or Future occupational aspirations, and no significant interaction effects emerged.

Regarding anomic APP, it can be seen in Tables 22 through 25 that the main effect of perception of social structure (typology) approached significance, but as reported earlier (Hypothesis 4), the anomic PSS group did not attain the highest score on the anomic APP measure. No significant main effects were found for respondent's sex, age, social class, political party commitment, or aspirations for future occupational status. However, there was a significant interaction between Typology and Party ( $F = 3.786$ ,  $p < .012$ ; see Table 23). In order to determine which groups differed significantly, t-tests were performed. Table 24 presents the means on anomic APP for the eight Typology x Party Commitment groups, as well as the t-tests for differences among the several group means. The most striking difference was that for respondents who did not commit themselves to an established political party, significantly more anomic APP were found among those respondents whose perception of social structure was intermediate, than among respondents with a conforming PSS. Likewise, uncommitted respondents expressed significantly more anomic APP if their generalized perception of social structure was intermediate rather than alienated. It can also be seen that for

Table 22

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Age

Dependent Variable: Anomic Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	10.994	2.408	.070
S	2.031	.445	.506
A	.372	.082	.776
TxS	5.556	1.217	.306
TxA	4.573	1.002	.394
SxA	.101	.002	.882
TxSxA	1.128	.247	.863

Table 23

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment

Dependent Variable: Anomic Attitudes

toward Political Participation

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	10.994	2.602	.055
C	1.792	.424	.516
P	9.547	2.260	.135
TxC	6.141	1.454	.230
TxP	15.993	3.786	.012*
CxP	.039	.009	.923
TxCxP	2.161	.512	.675



Table 24

T-tests for Differences among Several Means:

Typology by Party Interaction

Dependent Variable: Anomic Attitudes

toward Political Participation

Party		Typology (Perception of Social Structure)			
		Alienated	Anomic	Conforming	Intermediate
Party	Committed	Mean=8.33	Mean=9.04	Mean=9.13	Mean=8.79
	Uncommitted	Mean=9.94	Mean=9.04	Mean=10.11	Mean=7.94

Note: Lower means signify more anomic APPCritical Difference for  $p < .05$  (2-tailed) = 1.34

Groups	Larger Mean- Smaller Mean	Differ.	Signifi.
Comm/Alien vs. Comm/Anomic	9.05-8.33	.72	NS
Comm/Alien vs. Comm/Conf	9.13-8.33	.80	NS
Comm/Alien vs. Comm/Inter	8.79-8.33	.46	NS
Comm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Alien	9.94-8.33	1.61	Signifi.
Comm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Anomic	9.04-8.33	.71	NS
Comm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Conform	10.11-8.33	1.78	Signifi.
Comm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Inter	8.33-7.94	.39	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Comm/Conform	9.13-9.05	.08	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Comm/Inter	9.05-8.79	.26	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Alien	9.94-9.05	.80	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Anomic	9.05-9.04	.01	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Conform	10.11-9.05	1.06	NS
Comm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Inter	9.05-7.94	1.11	NS
Comm/Conform vs. Comm/Inter	9.13-8.79	.34	NS
Comm/Conform vs. Uncomm/Alien	9.94-9.13	.81	NS
Comm/Conform vs. Uncomm/Anomic	9.13-9.04	.09	NS
Comm/Conform vs. Uncomm/Conform	10.11-9.13	.98	NS
Comm/Conform vs. Uncomm/Inter	9.13-7.94	1.19	NS
Comm/Inter vs. Uncomm/Alien	9.94-8.79	1.15	NS
Comm/Inter vs. Uncomm/Anomic	9.04-8.79	.25	NS
Comm/Inter vs. Uncomm/Conform	10.11-8.79	1.32	NS
Comm/Inter vs. Uncomm/Inter	8.79-7.94	.85	NS
Uncomm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Anomic	9.94-9.04	.90	NS
Uncomm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Conform	10.11-9.94	.17	NS
Uncomm/Alien vs. Uncomm/Inter	9.94-7.94	2.00	Signifi.
Uncomm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Conf	10.11-9.04	1.07	NS
Uncomm/Anomic vs. Uncomm/Inter	9.04-7.94	1.10	NS
Uncomm/Conform vs. Uncomm/Inter	10.11-7.94	2.17	Signifi.

Table 25

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)

Dependent Variable: Anomic Attitudes

Toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	10.994	2.486	.063
S	2.031	.459	.499
F	2.367	.535	.466
TxS	5.181	1.172	.323
TxF	5.429	1.228	.302
SxF	6.147	1.390	.240
TxSxF	4.693	1.061	.368

alienated PSS respondents, significantly more anomic attitudes were found in those respondents who had a commitment to a political party than in respondents who were uncommitted. Finally, significantly more anomic APP were endorsed by alienated respondents with a political party commitment than by conforming respondents without such a commitment.

The analyses of variance performed to test the relationship between the various independent variables and conforming APP are presented in Tables 26 through 29. Although perception of social structure did not affect endorsement of conforming attitudes, there was a significant main effect of political party preference ( $F = 6.367, p < .013$ ). It can be seen in Table 28 that respondents who were committed to a political party preference had significantly more conforming APP than did respondents who were not committed to a political party. No significant effects were found for Sex, Age, Social Class, or aspirations for Future Occupational status. However, there was a significant interaction between sex and age of respondent ( $F = 3.939, p < .049$ ; see Table 26). Table 27 presents the means on Conforming APP for the four Sex x Age groups. T-tests for differences among several means revealed that for males, age made a difference in endorsing conforming APP. Specifically, younger males had significantly more conforming attitudes toward participation in the election than did older males. Although this relationship also emerged for females, the difference was not significant.

Table 26

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Age

Dependent Variable: Conforming Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	8.086	.869	.459
S	12.924	1.389	.241
A	4.798	.516	.474
TxS	4.058	.436	.727
TxA	12.494	1.343	.263
SxA	36.646	3.939	.049*
TxSxA	9.982	1.073	.363



Table 27

T-tests for Differences among Several Means:

Sex by Age Interaction

Dependent Variable: Conforming Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

		Age	
		Younger than 20 yrs. (Y)	20 yrs. or older (O)
Sex	Male (M)	Mean = 9.04	Mean = 10.47
	Female (F)	Mean = 9.30	Mean = 9.94

Note: Lower means signify more conforming APPCritical Difference for  $p < .05$  (2-tailed) = 1.43

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Larger Mean- Smaller Mean</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Significance</u>
MY vs. MO	10.47-9.04	1.43	<u>Significant</u>
MY vs. FY	9.30-9.04	.26	NS
MY vs. FO	9.94-9.04	.90	NS
MO vs. FO	10.47-9.94	.53	NS
MO vs. FY	10.47-9.30	1.17	NS
FY vs. FO	9.94-9.30	.64	NS

Table 28

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment  
Dependent Variable: Conforming Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	8.086	.986	.445
C	.224	.025	.875
P	57.469	6.367	.013*
TxC	18.876	2.091	.104
TxP	10.814	1.198	.313
CxP	.128	.014	.905
TxCxP	8.731	.967	.410

Means on Conforming APP for the Two Party Commitment Groups

	<u>Mean**</u>
Group 1 (committed to a political party)	8.886
Group 2 (not committed to a political party)	9.870

\*\*Note: Lower means signify a higher score on conforming APP

Table 29

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)

Dependent Variable: Conforming Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	8.086	.855	.466
S	12.984	1.366	.244
F	4.539	.480	.490
TxS	3.389	.358	.783
TxF	9.480	1.002	.394
SxF	.695	.074	.787
TxSxF	18.448	1.950	.124

The final dependent variable was intermediate APP. The analyses of variance for these are presented in Table 30 through 32. The analysis corroborated the significant main effect of perception of social structure which was reported in investigating Hypothesis 6. As explained earlier, however, the significant effect of PSS upon intermediate APP cannot be used to support hypothesis 6, since the intermediate PSS group did not attain the highest scores on intermediate APP. The analysis did not reveal any significant main effects for Sex, Age, Social Class, Party Commitment, or Future Occupational Aspirations. There were no significant interaction effects.



Table 30

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Sex by Age

Dependent Variable: Intermediate Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Age

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	16.006	3.303	.022*
S	.001	.001	.990
A	8.742	1.804	.181
TxS	6.414	1.324	.269
TxA	2.080	.429	.732
SxA	4.610	.951	.331
TxSxA	7.867	1.624	.187

Table 31

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social  
Structure) by Social Class by Party Commitment

Dependent Variable: Intermediate Attitudes  
toward Political Participation

Typology x Class x Party

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	16.006	3.248	.024*
C	.679	.138	.711
P	3.072	.623	.431
TxC	4.457	.904	.441
TxP	4.956	1.006	.392
CxP	16.297	3.307	.071
TxCxP	.828	.168	.918

Table 32

Analysis of Variance of Typology (Perception of Social Structure) by Sex by Future Occupational Aspirations (F)

Dependent Variable: Intermediate Attitudes

toward Political Participation

Typology x Sex x Future

<u>SV</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
T	16.006	3.240	.024*
S	.001	.000	.990
F	7.188	1.455	.230
TxS	7.509	1.520	.212
TxF	2.207	.447	.720
SxF	.637	.129	.720
TxSxF	4.028	.815	.487

## C H A P T E R   I V

Discussion

The conceptualization of alienation and anomie as a set of intervening variables mediating between the social structure, on the one hand, and attitudes and behaviors, on the other (Seeman, 1966; Neal and Rettig, 1967) was applied in this study specifically with regard to attitudes and behaviors relevant to voting in a Presidential election. Although the overall results of the study were not as clear-cut as had been hoped they might be, several explanations can be advanced to account for the findings, and some conclusions may be drawn.

Perception of social structure and intention to vote.

The results of this study strongly support the notion that a generalized perception of the social structure has an impact on intention to vote in a national election (Hypothesis 1). An alienated orientation to the socio/political arena is strongly associated with withdrawal, i.e., non-voting, while a conforming orientation is related to engagement, i.e., voting. This is consistent with findings from previous research and theoretical writings (e.g., Levin (1962) and Josephson and Josephson (1962)). However, the results of this study contradict those of Templeton (1966) who found no relationship between alienation from the political structure and in-



tention to vote in the 1960 Presidential election. The present study would seem to suggest that, despite what Templeton refers to as the "anonymity" of national elections, the individual does, in fact, find an opportunity to validate his personal rejection of the political system. Thus, contrary to Templeton's explanation, this study suggests that alienation is important in national elections.

Perception of social structure and registration to vote.

Although the effect of PSS on frequency of registration did not reach statistical significance in this study, it was found that the alienated respondents reported having registered to vote less than the conforming respondents. While it may be tempting to conclude on the basis of this disappointing finding, that perception of social structure is not a potent enough factor to affect behavior, the author feels that such a conclusion would be hasty. Rather, it would seem that the non-significant relationship between PSS and Registration may have been due to the fact that the variability in response to the question was too small to afford any meaningful distinctions among the four PSS groups. Specifically, the question itself (i.e., Question 62, "Have you registered to vote?") allowed for only one of two responses, i.e., "yes" or "no". A factor which may have further reduced the amount of variability in response to the Registration question, was the fact that 85% of the respondents in the study answered that they had registered. Since registration was

measured on the basis of respondents' self-reports of having registered or not, rather than on the basis of their actual behavior, it is conceivable that a sizable social desirability component inflated the "yes" response to the question. It would have been interesting to have been able to obtain an actual behavioral measure of frequency of registration, and then to look at whether perception of social structure had differential effects on the behavioral measure.

Perception of social structure and attitudes toward political participation. The relationship between PSS and attitudes toward political participation was even less clear-cut than the relationship between PSS and the "behaviors" (intention to vote and registration) which were discussed previously. The most lucid finding was that the alienated PSS group attained significantly higher scores on the alienated attitudes scale than any other PSS group (Hypothesis 3). This finding supports the notion that, at least insofar as alienation is concerned, a generalized perception of the social structure has ramifications for attitudes vis à vis a specific socio/political situation, in this case, participation in the election. An additional conclusion to be drawn from the positive finding is that it may serve to validate the alienated attitudes items. That is, because of the clear-cut relationship between alienated PSS and the alienated attitudes toward political participation items, the latter items, which were constructed specifically for this study, may be assumed to actually be measuring alienated attitudes toward the elec-

toral process. Therefore, these attitude items may be used in future research with reasonable confidence in their validity.

The remainder of the findings regarding the relationship between PSS and anomic, conforming, and intermediate attitudes suggests that the author may have been somewhat misled about the subtle nuances in the definitions of these concepts. Nonetheless, the disappointing results did offer the opportunity to reconceptualize, and these reconceptualizations have repercussions for a theoretical understanding of alienation and anomie, as well as for future research on perception of the social structure and its attitudinal and behavioral concomitants.

Contrary to the prediction (Hypothesis 4), an anomic orientation to the social structure did not carry over into anomic attitudes toward political participation. While it is reassuring that the anomic PSS group obtained the second highest scores on the anomic attitudes measure, it is problematic that the conforming PSS group achieved the highest scores on this measure, because this finding runs counter to the intuitive formulation of anomie and conformity as being different (the former implying deviance or non-conformity, and the latter, conformity). There are two possible explanations for this confusing finding. The most compelling explanation derives from a re-examination of Seeman's (1959) meaninglessness, normlessness, and powerlessness items, which



were used to assign respondents to PSS groups in this study. Looking back at the normlessness items which were used to define the anomic orientation, it is striking that these items have less of a "personal" connotation than do the meaninglessness and powerlessness items. That is, the latter items seem to ask for both an evaluation of the social structure, and an implication that the individual can believe or act in certain ways, given this evaluation. The normlessness items, on the contrary, only reflect a perception or evaluation of the political structure, but have no implication for the individual's attitudinal or behavioral response to the social structure, given the perception. Thus, the normlessness items do not seem to have the demand characteristics which are implicit in the meaninglessness and powerlessness items. Some examples may serve to clarify this:

Meaninglessness items: (#20): "It's hard to sleep nights when you think about recurrent crises in the world and what would happen if they exploded."

(#18): "The international situation is so complex that it just confuses a person to think about it."

Powerlessness items: (#29): "There's very little that persons like myself can do to improve world opinion of the United States."

(#35): "It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large."



These items reflect the individual's perception of something in his environment, and also refer to, or imply the individual's response, given this perception (i.e., the main theme in these items is that society is overwhelming, and that, therefore, there is not much that the individual can do, given this situation). The normlessness items, on the other hand, do not contain both elements:

(#39): "Those running our government must hush up many things that go on behind the scenes, if they wish to stay in office."

(#43): "In order to have a good income, a salesman must use high-pressure salesmanship."

It can be seen in the above examples that the normlessness items reflect a certain perception of other people's behavior, but have little implication for the respondent's attitudinal response to his perception of this behavior. Consequently, one explanation of the failure to find a significant relationship between an anomic orientation to the social structure and anomic attitudes, is that the demand characteristics of the normlessness items, which were used to define the anomic orientation, do not necessarily have any implications for the individual's attitudes, but, rather, only refer to a perception of an external event.

The second explanation that is being advanced to account for the failure of the anomic PSS group to attain the highest scores on anomic attitudes is related to the first explana-

tion regarding the normlessness items. It is suggested here that the normlessness scale as Seeman constructed it seems to tap into a cynical orientation to the social structure. It would seem that the perception on the individual's part that corrupt practices are prevalent in the political arena would tend to make the individual cynical. If this is the case, as, indeed, it would seem to be on the basis of the content of the normlessness items, then it would hardly be surprising that an individual with a normless (cynical) orientation should be disinclined, rather than inclined to express the deviant attitudes of which he disapproves. In other words, normlessness, as it is defined by Seeman, does not necessarily reduce the stigma surrounding corruption, nor does it engender the attitude that illegitimate practices are acceptable as a means of achieving goals, as Levin (1962) contends (p. 233). More importantly, if, as Clinard (1964) and Plasek (1974) suggest, Seeman's normlessness dimension is closest in meaning to Merton's (1957) conception of anomie, then it would seem that the normlessness scale is not adequately tapping into the deviance which is implicit in the notion of anomie. In other words, it is conceivable that normlessness as it was measured in this study did not provide an adequate measure of the anomic orientation. The implications of this explanation for future research are extremely important. In order to gain some understanding of any differences which exist between alienation and anomie, the measure of anomie



needs to be revised in order to make it consistent with the definitions expounded by the elaborators of the concept (Durkheim, 1897; Merton, 1957). Until such refinement in the measurement of anomie is effected, there will continue to be the conceptual confusion regarding alienation and anomie, as well as confusion regarding their differential attitudinal and behavioral effects. Recent authors (Schacht, 1971; Plaset, 1974) also point to the need for a clarification of the differences between alienation and anomie.

Another confusing finding was that, contrary to the prediction (Hypothesis 5), the conforming PSS group did not have the most conforming attitudes toward political participation. It is interesting to note that the highest scores on conforming attitudes were obtained by alienated respondents. It is conceivable that this confusion may be due to some misconceptions regarding conformity which led the author to conceptualize alienation and conformity as opposites, alienation implying withdrawal and conformity implying engagement. The results of this study suggest that they are less dissimilar than was originally thought. Gould (1969) in this regard suggests that alienation may have two aspects, i.e., marginality and conformity, the former implying non-involvement in socio/political goings-on, and the latter implying involvement.

Another source of confusion is found in the "intermediate" categories of perception of social structure and at-

titudes toward political participation. In assigning respondents to PSS groups, all respondents whose patterns of scores were not "purely" alienated, anomic, or conforming were relegated to the intermediate group, which was conceptualized as representing a compromise between alienation and anomie. The finding that the intermediate respondents did not have the most "intermediate" attitudes (Hypothesis 6) is explainable on the basis of the impurity of the intermediate categories. In addition, an examination of the intermediate attitude items shows them to be quite similar to the alienated attitude items. For example: #53: "About all one can do is to try and understand the political situation, not to change it."; and #56: "Whether or not I vote in this election, I feel that I have no sound basis for deciding among the possible candidates." Given the similarity in the alienated and intermediate attitude items, it is not altogether surprising that the alienated PSS group obtained the highest scores on intermediate attitudes. In future research formulations it may prove fruitful to avoid utilizing an intermediate category as a "dumping ground" for those respondents whose patterns of scores do not readily lend themselves to explanation.

Demographic variables and interactions. The failure of perception of social structure to account for all of the behavioral and attitudinal differences in response to the election testifies to the need for an exploration into other fac-



tors impinging on political attitudes and behaviors. The characteristics which were investigated in this study were sex, age, social class, future occupational aspirations, and commitment to a political party.

No significant effects of the demographic variables on frequency of registration were found in this study. As explained earlier, the measure of registration allowed for only a dichotomous choice, so that the variability in response to the registration question was extremely small. Also, the distribution of responses was skewed toward the "yes" end, probably because of social desirability. Although it would be pragmatically difficult to obtain an actual behavioral measure of registration, such a measure would be beneficial for future research for the purpose of investigating the relationship between registration and various demographic characteristics of respondents.

Age of respondent was found to have a significant impact on intention to vote. Individuals age twenty years or older expressed significantly greater intention to vote than those younger than twenty. A possible explanation for this relationship is that the first two years of college constitute an adjustment period, during which time students experience a variety of "identity crises", among which may be feelings of alienation from the political process. In contrast, toward the end of one's four years of college, such identity disturbances become resolved as the individual begins to formalize plans for his future life, including perhaps, marriage

and career plans. It is conceivable that such resolutions also lead to a moderation of the individual's alienated stance vis à vis the socio/political system. Thus, increased voting intention would not be surprising.

Significant effects of commitment to a political party on alienated and conforming attitudes were found, with respondents who were not committed endorsing more alienated attitudes, while committed respondents endorsed more conforming attitudes. This is what one would expect intuitively, since commitment to an established institution would seem to be an indicator of engagement, rather than withdrawal. A further implication of this result is that it lends credence to the measure of alienated and conforming attitudes toward political participation. A related finding was the trend for respondents who were committed to a major established political party to intend to vote more often than those respondents who were not committed. What may have been operating here is an expectancy on the part of "committed" respondents that their vote would determine the outcome of the election. In contrast, the fact that some respondents were uncommitted to a political party was one manifestation of their alienation from the political process. With that in mind, it is not surprising that committed respondents intended to vote more often than uncommitted respondents.

The finding of a significant interaction between perception of social structure and political party commitment as

regards anomie attitudes (see Table 24) suggests a cumulative effect of one's general orientation to the socio/political structure and one's alignment with a specific institution within that structure. If the original formulation of anomie attitudes as deviant and action-oriented can be assumed to be accurate, then the interactions found here take on an interesting meaning. In general, it seems that among respondents who did not find a political party with which to align themselves, more anomie (deviant and action-oriented) attitudes were found with increasing dissatisfaction with the social system. However, for alienated respondents, whose typical response is withdrawal and inaction, more anomie attitudes were found if they were committed to a political party than if they were not. The findings here suggest that, in general, individuals who are uncommitted to a political party will express more deviant attitudes the less conforming an orientation they have to the social structure, and that even alienated individuals will express deviant, as opposed to apathetic attitudes, providing that they perceive some minimal opportunity to validate their feelings somewhere in the political/social arena, in this case via political party alignment.

A significant Sex x Age interaction was found for conforming attitudes toward political participation (see Tables 26 and 27). For males, younger respondents had more conforming attitudes than older respondents. However, females were



characterized by greater homogeneity in conforming attitudes. It is conceivable, then, that the identity crisis which was discussed earlier to explain the differential voting intentions by age groups, may be more a factor for male students than for female students.

No main or interaction effects were found for sex, social class and future occupational aspirations. The failure to demonstrate relationships between these variables and the attitudes and behaviors which were investigated in this study may have been due to the relatively homogeneous demographic composition of the population from which respondents were selected. Respondents in this sample were extracted from a small segment of the population, comprised mostly of white middle or upper-middle class people ranging in age from eighteen to thirty years of age. While the homogeneity in demographic characteristics can be considered a strength of the study, in that the student population is an important one to study, on the other hand, more striking results may have been obtained if respondents had exhibited a broader range of demographic characteristics.



## C H A P T E R V

Conclusion

The results of this study lend support to the notion that there is a relationship between the individual's perception of social structure, as a generalized orientation to his social and political context, and a specific "behavior", i.e., intention to vote. This is an important finding because it suggests that a certain portion of the electorate will validate their general alienation from the social structure by withdrawing from the social/political process in specific situations.

However, the relationship between PSS and various political attitudes did not emerge as clearly as had been expected. The association between an alienated PSS and alienated attitudes was the most striking example of a consistency between the generalized orientation and a concomitant attitude in a specific situation. While the other relationships were not in accord with the predictions, these findings serve to elucidate some misguided assumptions regarding the concepts which were studied.

It was proposed that normlessness, as defined by Seeman (1959) does not seem to be measuring anomie, but, rather, cynicism or disillusionment. This has been discussed also by Schacht (1971), who further suggests that anomie may be independent of alienation (pp. 199-203). Future research efforts

should give top priority to the development of a scale which is sensitive to the nuances in the definition of anomie as it was intended to be used. Until such refinement in scale construction is achieved, researchers in the social sciences will continue to exacerbate, rather than ameliorate, the confusion surrounding the concepts of alienation and anomie. While this study did not find compelling differences between alienation and anomie, the results indicate at the very least, that they are not identical in their effects on attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, the hypothesis of a distinction between alienated and anomic perceptions of the social structure seems worth pursuing in future research.

Although some consistent differential effects of conforming and alienated perceptions of social structure were found (e.g., on voting intention and on alienated attitudes), the finding of a significant relationship between alienated PSS and conforming attitudes suggests that a reconceptualization of conformity may be in order. It seems conceivable that these two perceptions of the social world are not orthogonal, but, at least, somewhat overlapping.

Although different generalized perceptions of social structure do seem to have differential effects on attitudes and behaviors, vis à vis the electoral process, the effects are not striking enough to warrant the conclusion that all, or even most political behavior and attitudes are determined by PSS. On the contrary, the only moderate effects of PSS on

attitudes toward political participation points to the complexity of the variables governing political attitudes and behavior, and the need for further exploration into these variables. The results of this study suggest that, even within the relatively homogeneous population of a University, some demographic variables combine with each other and with PSS to mediate the individual's attitudinal and behavioral responses. Further research needs to be conducted to clarify the role of such factors as sex, age, political party commitment, aspirations for future occupation, and social class. The present study suggests that commitment to a political party and perception of social structure are cumulative in their effects on deviant attitudes. For example, party commitment increases the tendency for alienated PSS students to express deviant attitudes.

The failure to find striking effects for the demographic characteristics may be a reflection of the homogeneity of the population, which may have hidden any real effects of such variables in the general population. Perhaps the utilization of a more representative sample in future studies would facilitate the emergence of these relationships.

A more thorough understanding of PSS may be gained by exploring its effects on other dependent variables besides voting behavior and attitudes toward political participation. In order to achieve closure on the question of the conceptual distinction between alienation and anomie, other beha-



vivors typically associated with either withdrawal (alienation) or engagement/deviance (both implicit in anomie) should be used as dependent variables. For example, if alienated and anomic PSS were shown to have differential effects on delinquent behavior, racial prejudice, or mental illness, then one may conclude that alienation and anomie are, in fact, different.



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## APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTSStudent Survey Department of Psychology

Fall, 1972

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a survey of political attitudes and political behavior. Your responses to this questionnaire will remain confidential; however, for the sole purpose of a possible follow-up to this study, I will ask you to please indicate your name and student ID number on this sheet, as well as on the CODING FORM, as indicated.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

I.D. # \_\_\_\_\_

Please put your ID number in boxes 1 to 7 on the CODING FORM; box 8 is left blank. Then please proceed to the remaining items, all of which can be answered on the CODING FORM, with the exception of items 15, 16, and 17, which are to be answered on the question sheet. Please don't forget to leave these items blank on the CODING FORM.

In filling out your answers on the CODING FORM, please notice that the first choice is zero (0). ZERO IS NEVER USED!!

Please return the questionnaire and the CODING FORM to me when you are finished.

In the event that you cannot fill out the questionnaire now, please take it home and following the above instructions, as well as these additional instructions:

-please allow yourself only 15 minutes to fill out the questionnaire and fill it out in one sitting. In other words, do not answer part of the questionnaire and then return to it later.

-please fill out the questionnaire alone.

-please return all questionnaires and CODING FORMS within one day. I (Fred Koerner) have two mailboxes -- one in the Graduate Student Lounge of Bartlett Hall, and one on the first floor of Berkshire House -- use whichever mailbox is more convenient for you.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY!!



Questions 9 to 14 are answered on the CODING FORM

9) Sex

1-Male

2-Female

10) Age

1-Under 18

2-18

3-19

4-20

5-21

6-22

7-23

8-24

9-25 or older

11) What is the approximate size of the town or city where you have lived most of your life?

1-5,000 or under

2-5,000 to 30,000

3-30,000 to 100,000

4-100,000 to 250,000

5-250,000 or more

12) What is the degree toward which you are working now?

1-Bachelor's

2-Master's

3-Doctorate

13) What year do you expect to receive your degree?

1-1972

2-1973

3-1974

4-1975

5-after 1975

14) What political party preference do you have?

1-Democratic

2-Republican

3-Independent

4-Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Questions 15, 16, and 17 are answered ON THIS SHEET. Please be sure to leave questions 15, 16, and 17 blank on the CODING FORM.

15) Please indicate your father's usual occupation; highest level of education achieved.

16) Please indicate your mother's usual occupation; highest level of education achieved.

17) Please indicate your anticipated career plans within the next ten years.

Listed below are significant issues about which there are differences in point of view. Since these issues are important ones, we wish to have your opinions about them. In marking this section, please forget about the "good" and "bad" and simply present the facts AS YOU SEE THEM. Please check the answer which most nearly represents your own opinion. If you aren't sure about some of these matters, then just give your estimate about the situation. Please answer all the questions.

Begin with item #18 on the CODING FORM and use the following scale:

- 1-Strongly agree
- 2-Agree
- 3-Disagree
- 4-Strongly disagree

18) The international situation is so complex that it just confuses a person to think about it.

19) One should live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

20) It's hard to sleep nights when you think about recurrent crises in the world and what would happen if they exploded.

21) With so many religions around, one doesn't really know which to believe.

22) The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.

23) The tensions in the world today make one wonder whether he will be around in a few years or not.

24) Current political events have taken an unpredictable and destructive course.

25) Most people live lives of quiet desperation.

26) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better.

27) A lasting world peace can be achieved by those of us who work toward it.

28) This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

29) There's very little that persons like myself can do to improve world opinion of the United States.

- 1-Strongly agree
- 2-Agree
- 3-Disagree
- 4-Strongly disagree

- 30) Wars between countries seem inevitable despite the efforts of men to prevent them.
- 31) The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions.
- 32) People like me can change the course of world events if we make ourselves heard.
- 33) More and more, I feel helpless in the face of what's happening in the world today.
- 34) I think each of us can do a great deal to improve world opinion of the United States.
- 35) It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large.
- 36) There's very little we can do to keep prices from going higher.
- 37) In order to get elected to public office, a candidate must make promises he does not intend to keep.
- 38) Having "pull" is more important than ability in getting a government job.
- 39) Those running our government must hush up many things that go on behind the scenes, if they wish to stay in office.
- 40) In getting a good paying job, it's necessary to exaggerate one's abilities (or personal merits).
- 41) In getting a job promotion, some degree of "apple-polishing" is required.
- 42) Success in business can easily be achieved without taking advantage of gullible people.
- 43) In order to have a good income, a salesman must use high pressure salesmanship.
- 44) Those elected to public office have to serve special interests (e.g. big business or labor) as well as the public's interest.



Listed below is a series of statements, each of which represents some kind of feelings about the coming Presidential election. Please rate each statement according to how accurately or inaccurately the statement describes YOUR FEELINGS. There are obviously no "good" or "bad" answers, so please answer in terms of your feelings, and answer as honestly as possible.

Begin with item #45 on the CODING FORM and use the following scale:

- 1-very much like me
- 2-somewhat like me
- 3-somewhat unlike me
- 4-very much unlike me

- 45) I feel that voting in the Presidential election is futile.
- 46) I feel that good Americans vote whenever they can.
- 47) Voting is just a start; one should do more in order to really be involved in society.
- 48) Any reason for voting for a candidate is as good as any other.
- 49) This election is but another example of how politicians try to deceive the people.
- 50) If someone does not vote, he has no basis for complaining about the state of affairs of our society.
- 51) One cannot fully express one's political beliefs by simply voting.
- 52) Since candidates rarely differ on issues, I might as well vote for the candidate who most appeals to me personally.
- 53) About all one can do is to try and understand the political situation, not to change it.
- 54) I would be embarrassed if I had to admit to someone that I had not voted in the election.
- 55) If a person believes firmly and sincerely in his candidate, he should be willing to do anything necessary to ensure his election, regardless of the cost to himself or others.
- 56) Whether or not I vote in this election, I feel that I have no sound basis for deciding among the possible candidates.



- 1-very much like me
- 2-somewhat like me
- 3-somewhat unlike me
- 4-very much unlike me

57) The outcome of the election will have little impact on me or people like me.

58) Voting is a moral duty which all citizens should adhere to.

59) I would be willing to do volunteer work for a political candidate who promised to change society for the better.

60) Voting against a candidate is as valid as voting for a candidate.

61) Attempts to change things through the electoral process are fruitless, so why bother?

62) Have you registered to vote? 1-Yes 2-No

63) How likely are you to vote?

- 1-I will definitely vote
- 2-I will probably vote
- 3-I will probably not vote
- 4-I will definitely not vote

64) Whether or not you intend to vote, who is your choice for the next President of the U.S.?

1-Nixon

2-McGovern

3-Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_



