FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN

EIGHT SOUTHWESTERN MANITOBA

TOWNS

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

at the

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

BY

KENNETH C. BESSANT

September, 1978

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SPIRIT WIND

Relentlous wisps of heavy mood
As gray and dark as winter cool
Assess their strength atop of mine
Who knows for what they speak

Old shaky bits of spirit board
All tacked together as if one
How well they serve to shroud my soul
Depends, of course, on you

Can Knowledge fill the yawning gaps
Within this armour worn and spent
Or will it force me out in time
To watch the structure fall

But as I wait to think of such
Time quickly sees a chance to thrust
Great winds against the weakened door
Where I profess to be

"The Solitary Poet"

ABSTRACT

Bessant, Kenneth C. <u>Factors Associated with Political Participation in Eight Southwestern Manitoba Towns</u> (under the direction of Seung Gyu Moon).

Political researchers have long been concerned with the extent and quality of democratic political participation. As a result, the study of participation has become a crucial issue, in the sense that it has been recognized as a central aspect of both democratic theory and democratic political formula. Consequently, recent works have compared political participation in a variety of democratic polities, in order to better understand participation within the context of cross-national and sub-national comparisons. In spite of contemporary interest, however, two basic deficiencies remain in the literature on political participation: the lack of clarity over the meaning of participation itself, and the absence of any generally recognizable theory concerning the explanation of varying processes of politicization.

In an attempt to at least partially address each of these problem-areas, the present study assumed a replicative stance in regard to the investigation of political activity. That is, the research design adopted for this study is roughly approximate to that assumed in many of the survey-research projects conducted on political participation, by a group contemporary American political researchers--Norman Nie, Sidney Verba and associates (1969, 1971, 1972, 1975). As a result, the present study makes use of an urban-oreinted survey research design and theoretical framework in the pursuit of two research objectives, relative to the study of participation.

1. Is political participation a uni-dimensional and/or multi-dimensional phenomenon, and

2. What are the various processes which lead citizens to become active political participants?

What is of special importance, in regard to the present study of participation, is that each of these research objectives was addressed in the context of a rural southwestern Manitoba sample. Eight rural communities, under 3500 population size, were selected as study communities. These eight communities provided 630 personal interview scehdules, which were employed as the rural data base upon which it was possible to test the applicability of survey-research design and theory to the explanation of rural political participation.

In the final analysis, the present study revealed that the data retrieved from the eight rural communities, for the most part documented the relevance of urban-oriented theory to the explanation of rural politics. The analysis also indicated that the variables which proved to be the best predictors of of rural political activity, such as political attentiveness, political efficacy, organizational membership and leadership activity, were generally the same as those identified in the past,by urban participation studies.

In summary, it should be noted that, although the data did not completely confirm or verify the usage of all concepts or hypotheses included in the research design, it did lend a certain amount of support to the urban-oriented study design, in the explanation of rural participation in specific southwestern Manotoba communities. In so doing, the present study, extends the applicability of such a research design, to a hitherto little explored rural socio-political environment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of this thesis has been a sometimes long and arduous task. To this end, I would like to sincerely thank several very close friends of mine, as they often rejuvenated the vitality which this thesis' completion demanded--Phil Kotler, Loiuse Gendreau, Pat Donohue and Ron Henderson. I owe more than I care to admit to their inviting and patient ears.

I would like to extend a very special thank you to my friend and colleague, Erasmus Monu, whose spark of interest and continued support cannot be overlooked. Along with his gracious help, I must also acknowledge Ken McVicar for his patience and intuition, in regard to the thesis' methodology and theoretical framework, as well as good practical judgement, in times of dire need.

I would like to express my gratitude to Seung Gyu Moon and G. A. Kristjanson, who read manuscripts on very short notice and forbore my often on-again/off-again attitude toward the thesis and its completion.

A special thank you goes to Larry Clark of the Community Resource Centre, Brandon University, who consented to my usage of data collected in the study of Leadership Patterns and Social Participation in South-western Rural Manitoba, funded by his organization.

Finally, my very close and dear friend, "The Solitary Poet", must not go overlooked, as he often bore the brunt of many metaphysical-conceptual attacks while I was writing the present thesis. Surely without his help and guidance, this thesis would not have been possible.
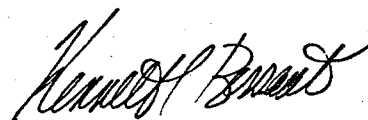
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Much of the current debate concerning democratic political life revolves around the question of political participation (Verba and Nie, 1972:1). In theoretical terms, a democratic political system must make available to its citizens, various participatory mechanisms for direct input into and control over governmental decision-making processes. In this sense, participatory civil liberties are written into the constitution in order to promote and protect a particular kind of democratic political culture. In practical terms, however, the nature or quality of any constitutional democracy must inevitably be tied to the extent to which its citizens take an _active_ interest in ongoing political affairs.

Concomitantly, various modes of political participation represent varying processes by which goals are set and means are chosen relative to a wide range of socio-political issues. As such, participation becomes a crucial point in democratic theory, but more importantly, an issue of central importance to changing democratic political systems. And furthermore, the salience of this relationship between participation and democracy has stimulated a good deal of interest and concern among political philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, and political economists alike.

In recognition of the theoretical and practical significance with which social scientists have endowed political participation and its place in a democratic political system, this thesis makes reference to two basic issue-areas identified in past research on participation. Before proceeding, however, it is important to note that each of the following research topics

have arisen out of primarily <u>urban-American</u> studies of political involve-

ment. This thesis hopes to expand upon the scope of their research appli-

cability through its attempts to pursue each relative to <u>rural</u> participation

in eight southwestern Manitoba towns.

The first of these issues or problem-areas pertains to the question

of whether political participation should be considered a <u>uni-dimensional</u>

or <u>multi-dimensional</u> phenomenon. Over the past half-century, the definition

of political participation has been experiencing a period of conceptual

growth. The earlier works of such noted scholars as Lazarsfeld, Berelson,

Campbell, and Converse demonstrate an overwhelming concern with voter turn-

out and party preference in the American electoral system. Their efforts,

however, have been unable to capture the diversity of political activities

open to the modern-day citizen. A Dunning Trust Lecture (Queen's University,

1968) makes note of this point in stating that,

> Public participation in the political process is as
> important to the health of a liberal democracy as
> representation, but until recently its many forms,
> apart from the act of voting, have received scant
> attention.[1]

Somewhat more recent efforts to study political involvement, such as

those offered by Verba et al. (1971) and Verba and Nie (1972), argue that

participation must <u>not</u> be limited to electoral behavior. In their sense,

political involvement is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and further,

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1. Quoted in Dion 1968, 432.

>...different types of acts are quite distinctive in form and
>function and can almost be thought of as alternative par-
>ticipatory systems...that relate the participant to his
>environment and his fellow citizens in fundamentally diffe-
>rent ways (Verba et al., 1971:8).

As such, Verba and his associates emphasize the theoretical and empirical

distinctions between various dimensions of participation. As a result,

theoretical and analytical links between the predictor variables used to

explain political behavior, have been improved very little since "the

funnel of causality" presented in The American Voter (Campbell et al.,

1960), bringing us to the second problem area of participation

research addressed in this thesis. That is, the problem of understanding

and explaining those processes which engage citizens in various types

of political activity.

At the outset, early sociological studies of political participation

tended to emphasize inter-relationships between a variety of socio-

personal characteristics: i.e., education, occupation, income, age, sex,

organizational activity, and so on.[3] Psychological studies, on the other

hand, made use of individual personality traits,[4] basic predispositions,

as well as short- and long-term attitudes.[5] Subsequently, researchers have

moved beyond sociological categories of description and explanation to

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2. See also, Susan Welch (1975), "Dimensions of Political Participation in a Canadian Sample."

3. For examples, see Laskin, "Factors in Voter Turnout and Party Preference in a Saskatchewan Town," The Canadian Journal of Political Science, III, 3(Sept. 1970), 450-462 and Lazarsfeld et al. The People's Choice (1944).

4. Milbrath and Klein, "Personality Correlates of Political Participation," Acta Sociologica, 6(1962), 53-66.

5. Campbell et al., The American Voter (1960).

include psychological factors in accounting for political behavior. Kurt

Lewin (1951) makes reference to this very point in stating that,

> ...behavior depends on the state of the person and
> his environment. In order to understand or to pre-
> dict behavior, the person and his environment have
> to be considered as one constellation of interdependent
> factors.[6]

In this sense, behavior becomes a manifestation of the individual's

psyche, as well as those environmental features with which the psyche

interacts. This is where psychology connects with sociology and political

science (Glad, 1968:10).

This is not to suggest that theories of political involvement are

limited to sociological and social-psychological perspectives. Recently,

in fact, economic approaches to the study of participation have increasingly

received attention. For instance, Sproule-Jones and Hart (1973), extend

the logic of voting contained in Down's 1957 publication, An Economic

Theory of Democracy. These authors suggest that citizens will participate

in politics according to an economic perspective if the expected benefits

exceed the expected costs of participation. In broad terms, their theore-

tical model includes the argument,

> ...that participation (is) a function of the public
> and private benefits, the public and private costs,
> and the resources of a set of citizen-consumers
> operating within a given mix of public institutional
> arrangements (1973:194).

As we can see, political researchers have borrowed from a number of

behavioral perspectives to facilitate the analysis of political involve-

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6. Quoted in Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica, 6(1962), 2.

ment. It is, however, precisely this kind of inter-disciplinary frag-

mentation which makes the study of political participation a difficult

and complex task. That is, if one is to pursue such research from a

deductive point of view, it is necessary either to accept the confines of

a particular sub-disciplinary perspective, or attempt to synthesize

several theoretical frameworks in the hopes of gaining greater analytical

precision.

As a result, contemporary research has only partially met the challenge

to develop concise theoretical models for the explanation of various

modes of political participation. That is to say, given the multi-

dimensional facets of political involvement, are there also various pro-

cesses or models of participation which engage citizens in specific modes

of political activity? This question, along with that concerning the

dimensionality of participation, will be considered within the context of

rural political life in southwestern Manitoba. More specifically, the

research objectives of this thesis are:

1. To analyze non-electoral and electoral indicators of partici-
   pation, in order to discover whether such political acts
   form <u>uni-dimensional</u> and/or <u>multi-dimensional</u> indices of
   political activity in rural southwestern Manitoba.

2. To <u>construct</u> a social psychological model, an organizational
   model and an overall model of participation, and <u>evaluate</u> each
   in terms of their capacity to account for various dimensions of
   rural political involvement.

The Scope of the Study

As has been mentioned above, this thesis is concerned with rural

participation in southwestern Manitoba. As a result, the study setting

offers special theoretical and empirical value in the sense that it

allows us to pursue contemporary research topics concerning participation within a relatively unexplored rural environment. In addition, this thesis is also able to assess the relevance of urban-oriented survey research and theory to rural participation.

For instance, the first research objective is a reflection of the need to study Canadian political participation as a multi-faceted concept. That is, Canadian participation researchers must not limit their insights to the realm of voter turnout and party choice. By the same token, if dimensionality is to be considered an important research issue at the cross-national and national levels of analysis, it must also be considered so in a sub-national or rural Manitoban sample. In this sense, through the inclusion of non-electoral as well as electoral forms of political activity, this study will probe some aspects of the variegation of participation in rural Manitoba.

The second objective relates to the difficulty associated with constructing and evaluating theoretical-conceptual models of rural Canadian political involvement. This problem stems at least partially from the reluctance of Canadian political researchers to advance and experiment with analytical models of political participation. As a result, this thesis will develop one overall model and two sub-models of parti-cipation, in order to evaluate how well each accounts for different modes of rural participation. In this sense, the ensuing analysis will note whether the theoretical and empirical guides offered by primarily urban-American participation studies can improve our understanding of political participation in general and rural political activity in particular.

Together, these two research objectives form the basis for this study of participation, beginning with Chapter II, a critical exposition of each objective relative to its origin in the research conducted by Verba, Nie and associates (1969, 1971, 1972, 1975). There we note certain fundamental aspects of the authors' inquiry into political participation, and their adaptation and approximate replication within this thesis.

Chapter III details the theoretical framework relative to the study's research hypotheses and the three models of participation: i.e., the social psychological model, the organizational model and the overall model. As such, this chapter speculates about the various processes which bring citizens to become politically active.

Chapter IV pertains to the methodology or research design, including a brief description of the study setting. This chapter also makes reference to the operational definitions employed in the data collection process, as well as some preliminary analysis of the data, in order to costruct composite measures of civic orientations,[7] organizational involvement and political activity.

Chapter V concludes all analysis of the data, with special reference to simple correlation and multiple regression analyses of how certain predictor variables interact, both statistically and theoretically, to account for electoral and non-electoral participation.

Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the empirical findings and comments about their theoretical and practical implications for the study of rural participation.

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7. These civic orientations include political attentiveness, political efficacy, perceived government impact and perceived political understanding.

CHAPTER II

BECOMING POLITICALLY ACTIVE: ILLUSTRATIONS OF
AN ADAPTED COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Perhaps one of the most crucial questions addressed in the literature on political participation is concerned with the problem of understanding the processes which engage individuals as politically active citizens. Political researchers have attempted to develop various conceptual models depicting the processes of politicization, activation and recruitment. Their conceptual and empirical endeavors have progressively improved the explanation and prediction of different systems of participation within a number of cross-national settings.   In recent years, political sociologists such as Verba, Nie and associates (1969, 1971, 1972, 1975) have constructed several models for the explanation of political activity in five democratic nations: i.e., United States, India, Japan, Austria and Nigeria.   Within the context of this analysis, the "standard socioeconomic model of politicization"[8], displayed in Figure 2-1 below, holds special theoretical value in terms of its capacity to account for different _types_ and _rates_ of participation across the five nations.

According to the socioeconomic model of participation, increased socioeconomic status (indicated by increased education, higher income and higher occupational status) is conducive to the development of such _civic orientations_ as political interest and information, concern for politics and feelings of political efficacy. And further, these political attitudes promote greater degrees of political participation.

Socioeconomic
Status $\longrightarrow$ Civic
Orientations $\longrightarrow$ Political
Participation
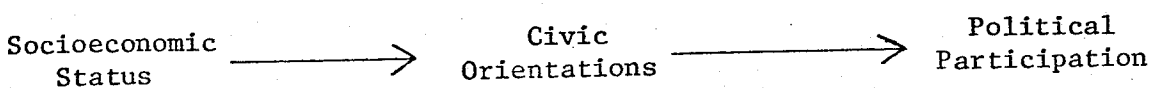
FIGURE 2-1:   A Socioeconomic Model of Politicization

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8. Verba and Nie (1972), 123.

In theoretical and analytical terms, the socioeconomic model of politicization is central to many analyses of participation conducted by Verba and his associates. In a 1972 publication, Participation in America, Verba and Nie make use of this model as a "base-line" for the explanation of four modes of participation in the United States. The effects on political activity of such factors as age, race, organizational involvement and community size are assessed after controlling for specific components of the "base-line" socioeconomic model. In this sense, any variable which does not form part of the model is thought of as expanding or diminishing the participatory distances between various social groups (Verba and Nie, 1972:136). For instance, Verba and Nie suggest that organizations increase the disparity in participation among various social levels, for the simple reason that the more advantaged groups are more likely to be organizationally active. And further, that,

> Upper-status groups are, to begin with, more politically active. They are also more active in organizations. And because the latter type of activity has an independent effect in increasing political activity--over and above the effects of socioeconomic status-- their advantage in political activity over the lower-status groups is increased. In short, when we add organizational affiliation to our standard socioeconomic model, we find the workings of that model accelerated (1972:208).

A second important feature of this research revolves around the question of whether political participation should be approached as a uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional phenomenon. Verba et al. (1971) make reference to this debate in the context of a cross-national survey. The authors suggest that citizens engage in different types or modes of political activity, which relate the participant to the political system in fundamentally different ways. Whereas most earlier studies

of participation have focused on two modes of activity within the <u>electoral</u> process, voting and campaign activity[9], Verba et al. include two other <u>non-electoral</u> forms of political activity. One of these between-election activities is that of citizen-initiated contacts with a government official on a matter of relevance to the citizen's personal or familial situation: i.e., <u>personalized contacts</u>. The second mode of non-electoral participation is referred to as <u>communal activity</u>. This mode of activity includes citizen-initiated contacts with a government official on matters relating to social issues or problems, as well as citizen involvement in voluntary associations or group-related activities organized around local problems.

It is important to note at this point that the authors refer to voting and campaign activity as electoral participation, while personalized contacts and communal activity are grouped under the rubric of non-electoral or between-election participation. As a result, electoral forms of political activity are seen as <u>separate</u> avenues whereby the citizen gains entry to the political system as part of an <u>ongoing</u> process of citizen participation. By shifting their focus away from the electoral process, to the more general or overall system of political activity (which includes non-electoral participation), Verba and his associates are able to draw our attention to the various dimensions of participation. In so doing, the authors not only distinguish electoral from non-electoral activities, but also point to distinctions among all four modes of political participation. In this sense, voting behavior and campaign activity are no longer central to the analysis of participation, as they have been in past research (Campbell et al., 1954, 1960; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, 1954). Instead, each type

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9. For a comprehensive bibliography of such studies refer to Milbrath (1965).

of electoral activity is treated as a different participatory mechanism within a larger network of contacts between the individual and the government. And finally, this larger context of political activity includes other modes of participation which occur outside of the electoral process.

As a result of Verba and his associates' multi-dimensional emphasis, various political acts cannot be addressed as solely uni-dimensional or interchangeable measures of participation. And although the authors would most likely agree that such activities are characterized, to some extent, by a common underlying dimension of participation, they would insist that the four modes of political involvement,

> ...represent significantly different ways in which citizens attempt to influence the government--different in terms of the motivation of the acts, different in terms of the processes that bring people to activity, different in terms of the consequences of the acts (Verba et al., 1971:10).

Verba and his associates argue that the four modes of political participation represent different "systems" by which citizens become involved in the political process. These systems of political action are based upon the "logic" of the modes of participation: i.e., the type of influence which the political acts exert on governmental leaders, the scope of the outcome that may be expected from the act, the amount of conflict which is implied by the act and the amount of initiative required to engage in the act (1972:56).

The type of influence criterion differentiates between political acts on the basis of how much pressure they bring to bear on government officials and/or the amount of information they communicate about citizen preference. For instance, Verba and his associates suggest that voting and campaign activity exert "high pressure" relative to election and re-election needs of the candidates or incumbents. Voting in and of itself, however,

is expected to be low in information, in that it conveys little <u>about</u>

voter preference. That is, the act of voting does not allow the citizenry

the opportunity to articulate explicit verbal or written information

concerning specific aspects of their issue, candidate and party preference.

In contrast, campaign activity may involve more information, as activists

interact with various candidates. The two electoral modes of participation,

on the other hand, are thought to communicate "high information" about

citizen preferences. In spite of the abundance of information, however,

the authors indicate that these activities exert varying degrees of pressure

on political leaders, depending on the status of the issue and the individuals

or groups pursuing its resolution.

The <u>scope of the outcome</u> dimension has to do with whether the political

act is concerned with <u>collective</u> or social impact, as opposed to a

<u>particularized</u> or personal referent. In this manner, Verba and his

associates indicate that voting, campaign and communal activities should

imply outcomes relevant for the wider public. Personalized contacts,

however, pertain to narrower decisions such as those bearing on personal

or familial matters. In other words, the authors distinguish among political

activities on the basis of the number of citizens affected by the act's

potential outcome. In spite of this contention, the whole issue of col-

lective versus particularized outcomes must be qualified by the stipulation

that government decisions relative to very personal referents may have

ramifications for other citizens in similar situations. That is, to the

extent that procedures for making such decisions attain a quasi-formal

status, they establish regularized channels for participation. They may,

in turn, promote collective behavior as groups are encouraged to form

in order to take advantage of these opportunities to participate.

The conflict (versus cooperative) dimension involves the amount of conflict implied by particular types of participation. Verba and his associates suggest that electoral activities bring citizens into contact with conflictual situations in the sense that groups of individuals are pitted against one another in terms of election issues, candidate qualifications and partisanship. On the other hand, the authors believe that both modes of non-electoral participation are usually non-conflictual. However, it should be noted that local community issues and the groups which they attract tend to be emotionally charged. As such, they offer forums for potential social conflict, in spite of the authors' contention

The initiative required to engage in various political activities refers to a dimension similar to the "difficulty of the act" criterion employed by researchers such as Milbrath (1965) and Van Loon (1970). Of the two electoral activities, Verba and his associates believe that voting requires little initiative, while campaign activity necessitates somewhat more initiative, perhaps as a result of the conflictual situation with which it is associated. Under the rubric of non-electoral participation, communal activity may require a moderate to high degree of initiative, in comparison to personalized contacts. The latter requires a high degree of initiative. In a general sense, however, one might wonder how the authors arrive at these particular distinctions in terms of initiative required when they do not clearly define the usage of the dimension in terms of separate political acts. And further, in the sense that this dimension pertains to the level or degree of initiative required, it is difficult to understand how Verba and his associates can generalize with

any degree of accuracy about this dimension for specific political acts in various national contexts. It can also be argued that people who participate frequently may not find participation as demanding or difficult as would the novice in the political arena. In this sense, the frequency of the performance of various political acts bears upon their difficulty and the initiative they require.

Each of the four theoretical criteria mentioned above have contributed to Verba and his associates' analyses of the dimensionality of political participation. Closely related to the question of dimensionality, however, is the interpersonal and social context most often associated with particular modes of political activity. The authors suggest that voting behavior tends to be a highly individualistic activity. Campaign activity, on the other hand, involves much more face-to-face interaction with candidates, fellow campaign activitists and opponents. In the process of campaigning, citizens become immersed in a variety of political party activities including meeting attendance, group discussion and proselytizing. As a result, campaign activity is much more group-oriented in nature than voting behavior, especially in nations as large (geographically) as Canada, with its tendency to diversity relative to various socio-regional settings. In an overall sense, the two political activities share certain similarities, in that both take place in the electoral process in which timing, issue emphasis and the issue agenda are largely controlled by candidates and officials. Although these activities involve mass participation, their timing and content are determined for the citizen.

Communal activity is a highly social form of political involvement, as it refers to citizen-initiated contacts with government officials on

the basis of a social referent, as well as working with or organizing

a group of individuals around a local issue or problem. On the other

hand, personalized contacts are much more individual-based in context

and as such do not involve group-related types of social interaction.

Both of these modes of participation, however, do occur outside the

electoral process and share the advantage of allowing participants to

control the timing, target, medium and substance of their contact with

the political system.

In summary, the analysis conducted by Verba and his co-researchers

usefully distinguishes between the various modes of participation and

the kinds of social contexts in which they occur. It is important to

note that the analysis of social context is not based on the more con-

ventional interpretation offered by stratification. Acts are not thought

to be contextuated by class or socioeconomic status, as some major researchers

have claimed in the past (Campbell et al., 1960). Instead, acts are con-

textuated by group activity, the nature of the issues involved and the

kind of interpersonal contact implied by the mode of participation. Given

this change in focus, it is much more difficult to view participation as

a unitary form of behavior, and it is much more difficult to hold that

persons can be characterized by their social trait profiles.

One final point of special importance in the research conducted by

Verba and his associates is that concerning their usage of cross-national

comparison as a methodological approach to the analysis of political

participation. The authors make several contributions to the literature

on political involvement in their efforts to pursue the similarities

and differences in dimensions and models of participation within

a number of democratic political systems. Analyses such as these transcend national boundaries in order to assess universally valid propositions, while taking into account theoretical frameworks and conditions relevant to particular political and social arrangements. As a result of comparisons of this nature, researchers are able to better understand whether knowledge about participation is bound to a specific cultural or situational context. More importantly, these analyses indicate whether such knowledge has any application across several sub-national and cross-national settings.

In an overall sense, this thesis employs two basic ideas found in the research produced by Verba et al.: the dimensionality of participation and the alternative processes of politicization. These issues are to be addressed within the context of a purely _rural_ Canadian sample. That is, this investigation of political participation attempts to evaluate crucial components of this broader perspective of political activity, in terms of their applicability to rural political life in southwestern Manitoba. And as has been mentioned in the introductory comments of Chapter I, two questions lie at the core of this evaluation.

First, this analysis pursues the problem of dimensionality in political participation within a specific sub-national rural context. And although the design does not include measures of political activity which are identical to those analyzed by Verba and his associates, it does include indicators of electoral _and_ non-electoral participation. Given these restrictions on comparability, the first question is much the same as that addressed by Verba et al.: Is political participation a uni-dimensional or multi-dimensional phenomenon on the basis of measures of rural political involvement?

Second, this thesis constructs three models of politicization and evaluates each in terms of their capacity to account for various modes of rural participation: i.e., a socioeconomic model, an organizational model and an overall model of politicization. As a result of the usage of several different participatory processes or models, this research design facilitates a better understanding of the manner in which citizens in rural Manitoba come to participate in the political process in different types of activity. In the sense that this thesis explicitly relates types of participation to various models of explanatory variable relationships, it performs a valuable analysis of the applicability of such theoretical frameworks to political life in rural Manitoba.

The socioeconomic model outlined in the theoretical framework (Chapter III), closely approximates that presented by Verba and his associates (1971, 1972).[10] As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Verba et al. make reference to a socioeconomic model of participation which indicates that higher social status promotes the development of civic attitudes conducive to increased political activity. This thesis expands upon this model in suggesting that age, sex and community size may be interacting with socioeconomic status in the promotion of those political attitudes generally associated with high political activity. As a result, the focus of this part of the analysis is on the replication of a specific socioeconomic model, and the extension of the conditions included in the model to those implied by a rural sample. The organizational model, however, is developed explicitly for use in the rural setting,

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10. For a brief description of the content of Verba et al.'s socioeconomic model, refer to Figure 2-1 and the accompanying discussion.

in the sense that it emphasizes the impact of community organization and
leadership activity on the various modes of participation. It evolves from
the focus which previous participation researchers have placed on these
two variables, a point which bears special theoretical importance in any
form of rural-community analysis. The <u>overall</u> model presents a simple
combination of the explanatory powers of both of the aforementioned sub-models,
in order to account for rural political involvement. All three models
of participation allow this thesis to address the question of whether rural
Manitoban citizens engage in different <u>types</u> of political activity <u>through</u>
different <u>processes</u> of politicization.

In summary, the overall theoretical-analytical approach to partici-
pation employed in this thesis owes a conceptual debt to those elements of
the research strategy which were first outlined by Verba and his associates
and which were discussed above. In a general sense, our research design repre-
sents a <u>partial replication</u> of some of the key concepts employed by these
authors. In addition, this thesis employs a comparative approach in much
the same spirit, albeit with fewer resources and at a different level of
analysis. As such, this thesis makes reference to similar kinds of issues
in the analysis of participation, all of which must be viewed in the context
of a rural environment. The partial replication and assessment of Verba and
his associates' survey research design and theory relative to rural political
life, becomes the central and embracing aspect of this thesis. In this manner,
the thesis performs a valuable experimentation with comparative methodology
and theory, evaluating the bounds of their applicability to the study of rural
political participation.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sociological variables such as education, occupation, age, sex

and organizational activity have long been employed in the analysis of

political participation. In spite of their prominence in the study of

participation, however, researchers have been unable to clarify the

theoretical and empirical linkages between sociological variables and the

various rates and types of political activity. For instance, why are

highly educated individuals generally more politically active than the

less educated? Or what is it about voluntary associations which stimulates

their active members to become high political participants? Questions

such as these still remain only partially answered.

Of late, Verba and Nie (1972:19) have suggested that the individual's

decision to participate and how to participate depends on his social cir-

cumstances: i.e., the set of social circumstances which define his "life-

space", where he lives, what he does for a living, his education and so

forth. More importantly, however, the authors theorize that social cir-

cumstances generate sets of political attitudes which are either conducive

to or inhibitive of political participation. And further, the level of

political activity and the form it takes are also affected by the nature

of the institutional structure within which the citizen is located. For

Verba and Nie, these various institutional frameworks include voluntary

associations, political parties and community structure. As a result,

institutional and attitudinal variables form an intervening process which

mediates the effects that particular social circumstances have on political

participation. Figure 3-1 below, displays a schematic representation of

this "process of politicization".
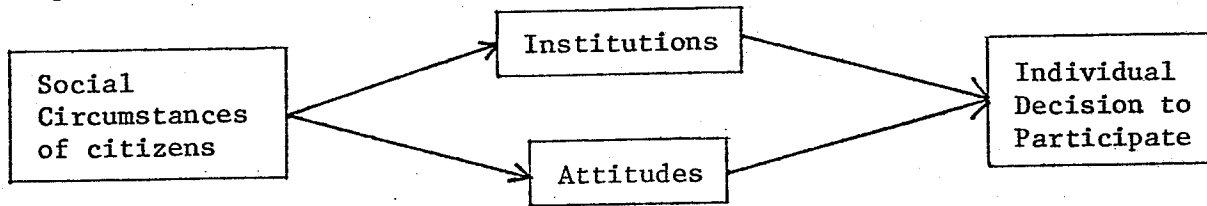
FIGURE 3-1: The Process of Politicization

In a similar manner, this thesis develops and makes use of an overall theoretical framework which simultaneously considers sociological and psychological factors in the analysis of political participation. Figure 3-2 introduces the independent and intervening variables to be included in the overall model, as well as their theoretical arrangements relative to the explanation of participation. As is the case in Verba and Nie's model of politicization (presented above), the intervening process is of primary importance to the formulation and understanding of this theoretical framework.

Each independent variable is theoretically linked to political involvement by way of attitudinal and institutional intervening variables. In this manner, we are better able to conceive of why variation in specific socio-demographic variables should be accompanied by variation in political activity. That is to say, particular characteristics of the individual and his or her environment (education, occupation, age, sex, length of residence, home ownership and community size) are discussed in light of how they are expected to influence the following intervening variables:[11]

a) Political Attentiveness
b) Perceived Government Impact ———————→ POLITICAL ATTITUDES
c) Political Efficacy
d) Organizational Activity ————————→ INSTITUTIONS
e) Leadership Activity

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11. Refer to Chapter IV, for the operational definitions of each of the intervening variables.

It is further suggested that variation in these intervening variables
should have specific implications for the dependent variable, political
participation. That is, the intervening process <u>mediates</u> change form the
independent to the dependent variables. As a result, we may be more
specific as to the interaction between variables, thus allowing for a more
comprehensive theory of participation.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES   *INTERVENING VARIABLES*   *DEPENDENT VARIABLE*
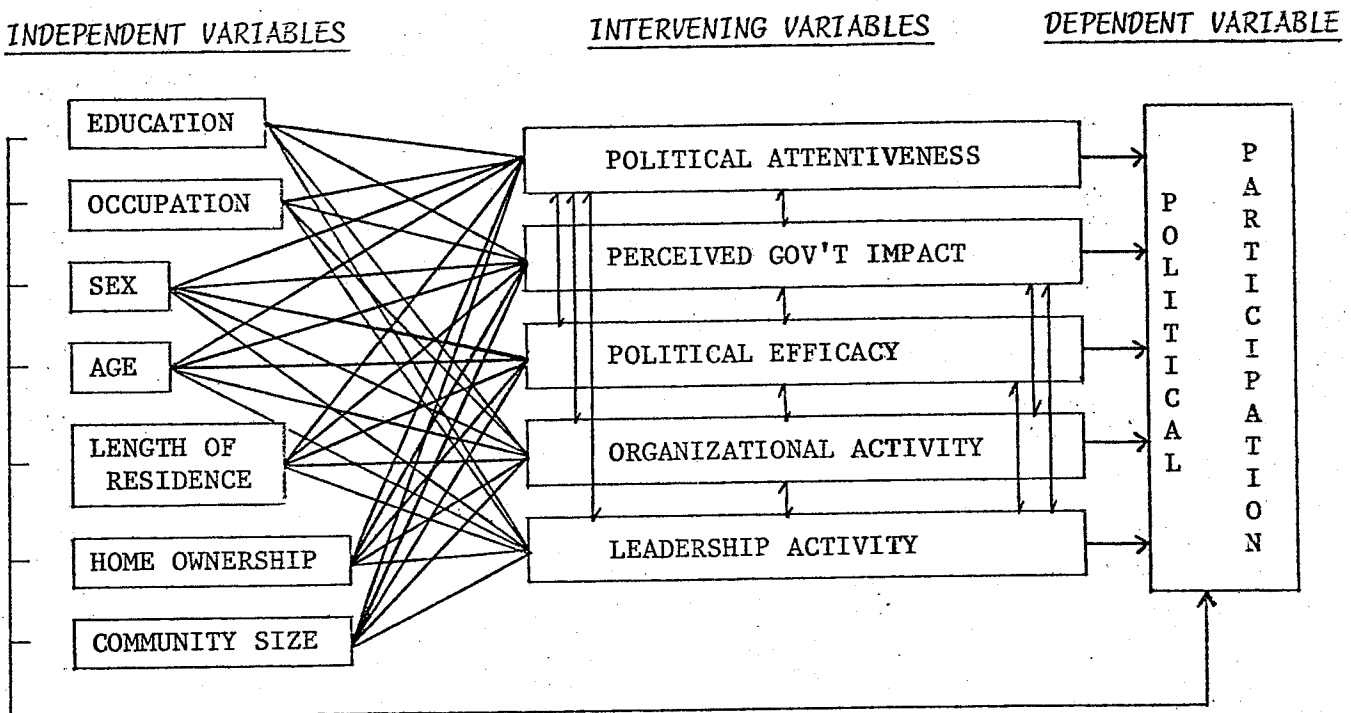
FIGURE 3-2: An Overall Model of Political Participation

On the basis of this overall model, it is possible to derive a number
of research <u>hypotheses</u>[12] and <u>conceptual</u> <u>sub-models</u> applicable to the
study of political participation. And further, these hypotheses and
sub-models allow us to demonstrate how specific sets of socio-demographic,
attitudinal and institutional variables are employed in this thesis to
analyze political activity in rural southwestern Manitoba.

12. For a synopsis of some literature on political participation
    pertaining to these research hypotheses, please refer to
    Appendix A.

Hypotheses and Theoretical Rationale

Hypothesis 1. As the level of education increases so does the likelihood of political participation.

Many explanations of the relationship between education and political

activity contain the following basic concepts (Nie et al., 1969; Verba et al.,

1971; Verba and Nie, 1972, 1975):

Education ──────────⟶ Civic Orientations ──────────⟶ Participation

Individuals of higher education are said to develop such political attitudes

as greater concern for politics, higher perceived stake in politics and increased

feelings of political efficacy. These orientations in turn are said to lead

to political involvement (Campbell et al., 1960 and Verba and Nie, 1972).

If we assume the main fabric of education is that of gaining knowledge

and awareness, the feasibility of this hypothesis becomes more clear.

Educators teach us to explore and know our environments, and having done

so, to act decisively. Of course, to have access to situational knowledge

does not necessitate immediate action. The presence of such awareness,

however, most definitely increases the probability of active participation.

So, if education instructs us to know our world(s), and such knowledge

increases the likelihood of action, we are able to deduce that education

brings with it orientations conducive to increased political involvement.

And furthermore, this view that education promotes efficacy by emphasizing

environmental awareness and manipulation is complimented by the view that

education also promotes self-growth and self-knowledge, both of which lead

to greater efficacy and participation.

Highly educated persons, therefore, possess attitudes which should

lead them into political environments. Attitudes such as political efficacy

and attentiveness open their perceptions to a greater perceived stake in the political system. And further, these individuals become active at the <u>community</u> and <u>political</u> levels, both as conscientious citizens and leaders.[13]

> *Hypothesis 2*: *Higher status occupations are expected to bring with them increased political activity.*

In recent analyses, the causal relationship between occupation (along with education and income) and political participation, has been traced through intervening political attitudes (Nie et al., 1969; Verba et al., 1971; Verba and Nie, 1972). This could in part be due to the strong associationbetween education and occupation (Campbell et al., 1960). That is, the effects of increased learning may be operating through occupational status to create civic orientations conducive to political activity. The interaction between occupation and political involvement, however, cannot be fully explained by education. There are several other factors which must be considered.

Individuals employed in highly ranked occupations may perceive higher than average stakes in government policy. Their occupations create environments in which political stimuli become not only more relevant, but more accessible as well. This interaction becomes <u>cyclical</u> and <u>cumulative</u>. High employment status leads its occupants to treat political stimuli with greater concern. As a result, they become more attentive and subsequently, more politically active.

High status employment positions bring with them increased political efficacy, as well as greater political interest and stimulation. This

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13. Community level activity, in this thesis, refers to organization and leadership involvement, whereas political activity refers to participation excluding that revolving around community-related institutions.

trend may be as a result of higher education and greater perceived stake in the political system. It could also be due to a transfer of occupation-based efficacy to the political environment. In any event, such factors increase feelings of political efficacy, which in turn increase the likelihood of political participation.

Occupational status has also been connected to participation by way of organizational activity and leadership status. Researchers have discovered that as occupational prestige increases, so does organization and leadership activity. And further, community leadership and organizational involvement increase the probability of political participation. Perhaps those skills and stimuli associated with certain high status occupations induce individuals to become actively involved in social and political matters. In addition, high status employment develops and makes use of social and intellectual skills which may carry over to the political arena.

Hypothesis 3: *Males are more likely to become politically active than females.*

Environmental factors are of particular importance in understanding the significance of gender differences for research on political participation. That is, males tend to move in socio-political spheres which increase the likelihood of political involvement. More specifically, males rather than females are employed in white collar and professional-managerial occupations. Because these are high status positions, the advantages associated with them will most definitely come to bear upon political behavior.

A second environmental advantage held by males is their activity in community organization and leadership. That is, because males are more likely to become community organizers and leaders, they become immersed in a milieu of socio-political stimuli. Such activities create environments

in which socio-political skills are developed and employed, skills which induce greater political involvement.

As well, we cannot completely discount the effects of role behavior generally associated with gender differences. An extended history of political socialization has influenced females to think of political matters as part of the male domain. Concomitantly, female political activity may be further restricted by the presence of young children requiring constant attention. That is, if primary responsibility for young children leads to some small reduction in participatory potential, this effect is likely to create a discrepancy in participation between the sexes (Campbell et al., 1960).

More recently, females have become more visible in social and political decision-making processes, as well as in certain highly skilled professional and business-related occupations. In this sense, increased education is beginning to ward off the effects of sex-role socialization, along with changing attitudes towards female participation and towards female child-bearing and child-rearing roles. In other words, as women become more highly educated and gain greater freedom from traditional role and occupational trappings, they gain greater access to high status employment and the politically relevant environments which they imply. In addition, education facilitates the development of those political attitudes necessary for more active political participation.

On the basis of such factors as those mentioned above, we are better able to predict and to some extent explain gender differences in political involvement.

Hypothesis 4: *Political activity should increase with age roughly to the point of retirement (55 to 65 years of age), after which participation is expected to decrease.*

Verba and Nie (1972) base their explanation of this curvilinear pattern upon the problems of "start-up" and "slow-down". In the early years of life, let us say under thirty years of age, individuals may still not be sufficiently settled into either their social or political environments to allow for high political activity. They are likely to be residentially and occupationally mobile, and as a result, lacking in certain civic attitudes conducive to participation. For instance, they have yet to develop the stake in community or political matters which comes with extended residence, home ownership and the like (Verba and Nie, 1972:138). Middle-aged persons (approximately thirty to sixty years of age) on the other hand, are more likely to possess the socio-political skills which induce political involvement.

As an extension of this <u>integrationist</u> theme, middle-aged individuals are more often a part of the community organization and leadership activities. Perhaps it is as a result of their integration into such affairs that they become more actively involved in political affairs. It is the middle-aged members of the community who reach out of the "shadows" of political apathy, into the "light" of political participation, through the encouragement they find in voluntary associations.

What of the older members of the community (sixty years of age and older) and the problem of "slow-down"? Old age brings with it withdrawal from social life, as individuals retire from active employment. Concomitantly, older people are on the average, less educated. Perhaps, it is as a result of such factors that the aged become less involved in social and political matters.

Hypothesis 5: *As with age, length of residence should relate to political participation in a curvilinear fashion.*

Much as is the case with age, length of residence and its relationship with participation can be explained in terms of the integrationist theme. That is, individuals who have resided in the community for extended periods of time, may well develop greater degrees of psychological involvement in community and political affairs. This subjective or perceived stake in social and political environments is expected to increase the probability of active involvement. Integration and perceived stake would seem to interact, promoting inovlvement in community organization and leadership, which in turn induce individuals to act politically beyond the confines of local community affairs, relative to provincial and national level issues and concerns.

Some researchers, however, suggest a point past which this positive relationship becomes a negative one. Alford and Scoble (1968 b:1203) find that length of residence and participation increase together for the first forty-nine years of habitation. Individuals with fifty or more years of residence demonstrate a gradual decline in political activity. This may be explained by a reversal in the integrationist theory, in part due to the hidden relationship between age and length of residence. That is, the elderly or fifty year plus residents may be faced with occupational retirement, a subsistence income and lower than average education. All of these factors affect the individual's psychological and physical involve-ment in community and political matters. Gradually, the interaction between age and residence induces sociological withdrawal from the political activities of yester-year.

Hypothesis 6: *Home owners are expected to be more politically active than renters.*

As a result of becoming home owners, individuals develop a certain degree of socio-economic involvement in their resident community. Theirs is a kind of community and capital investment in the form of a home. It is expected that as a result of this investment, home owners will become more psychologically and actively involved in local community matters through community organization and leadership. These individuals are, therefore, likely to gain socio-political experiences within the community, which will encourage them to become more political active.

In addition to this integration rationale, there are structural reasons for such a hypothesis. Home ownership has become a very serious and costly undertaking, necessitating a reasonable degree of income and occupation stability. Both of these factors are likely to facilitate the development of social and psychological resources conducive to participation.

Hypothesis 7: *As one progresses through the following community size classification there should be an increase in political participation.*

a) 500 to 999 people
b) 1000 to 1999 people
c) 2000 to 3500 people

Small town growth is expected to bring with it a number of structural changes influencing political participation at the community and individual level. Those changes of particular importance to this thesis are those concerned with occupation, education and voluntary associations. In looking at each of these variables and their variability across the three community size categories mentioned above, it is possible to assess certain of the implications small town growth has for political participation.

As communities grow and change, a process of task specialization begins to develop. The division of labor becomes specialized and diversified. That is, secondary business and industry settle in, bringing with them an increased need for skilled blue collar and white collar employment positions. And further, the demand for special services such as those associated with health care, attract greater numbers of professionals to the community in order to practice their occupational specialities. All of these factors have a gradual impact on the community's overall occupational structure, increasing the number of community residents occupying higher social status positions.

Concomitantly, as the occupational structure begins to accomodate more and more skilled workers and professional-managerial employment positions, average levels of education rise. As a result, community residents (in general) begin to develop greater degrees of attentiveness, efficacy and perceived government impact, all of which influence citizens to become more community minded and politically active.

Finally, as communities develop, there is an increase in the number of voluntary associations available to the rural population. The increased opportunity for community involvement and greater exposure to socio-political stimuli are expected to induce political involvement.

Hypothesis 9: *An increase in the perception of government impact should be accompanied by greater political activity.*

The participation literature suggests that higher status and organizationally active citizens participate more frequently as a result of being closer to the "centre" of society. In this sense, such individuals are presumed to be more closely in touch with government in their socio-

economic activities, and as a result, perceive greater degrees of governmental impact. Political attitudes such as these should heighten political awareness and increase political participation as well. One might also expect that individuals who perceive greater governmental impact on their day-to-day lives will be more involved in community-related organizations and events, both of which induce higher political activity.

Hypothesis 10: As political efficacy increases so does the probability of political activity.

Political efficacy is not a simple concept, either in terms of how it is measured, or how it relates individuals to their political system. Within this thesis, a sense of political efficacy is based upon a number of indices: the feeling that one understands political events, the perception that channels exist for grievance mediation, and the expectation that political action will be successful.[14] Efficacy is indicative of one's personal ability to cope with the political world, and not simply one's sense of approval or satisfaction that the political system is generally responsive to active participation (Nie et al., 1969 b:817).

Individuals who are more politically efficacious are likely to assume they can manipulate and control political events (also due, in part to increased political attentiveness). As a result, such politically efficacious people are expected to be more politically involved.

Hypothesis 11: An increase in organizational activity should induce greater political involvement.

Organizational activity has figured in many theoretical treatments of participation in a variety of political democracies (Almond and Verba, 1963;

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14. Refer to Chapter IV, METHODOLOGY, for actual index of political efficacy.

Nie et al., 1969; Verba and Nie, 1972). Such studies demonstrate that organizational affiliation is one of the most powerful predictors of political activity, over and above the effects of social class. In this sense, active participation rests at least partially upon organizational involvement (Verba and Nie, 1972:174).

Verba and Nie (1972:177) suggest that organizations may act as channels for political communication. In other words, as a result of organizational activity, citizens may become exposed to formal discussions initiated by the organization leadership and/or informal political conversations. And further, political discussions (either of a formal or informal nature) are presumed to arouse political activity through the promotion of political interest. It is possible, however, that should specific voluntary associations organize formal discussions relative to political issues and affairs, their respective members may be slightly more politically interested and active than organizational members exposed to informal political conversation.

Local voluntary associations, therefore, operate to increase political participation by giving the citizen an opportunity to become involved in community-related affairs, and once involved, to expose him or her to political stimuli such as political discussion and community activity (Verba and Nie, 1972:191). In addition, organizations bring one into contact with local affaris: exposing one to information, arousing interest and mobilizing support and participation around political goals even in the general absence of those political attitudes implied by higher education (Alford and Scoble, 1968 b).

In summary, although organizational affiliation may not necessarily result in higher levels of general political information and awareness,

the presence of group-initiated political discussion and group-related

information relevant to a specific issue, are expected to increase political

participation.

Hypothesis 12: *Individuals holding leadership status are more likely to become political participants.*

To become community leaders, individuals must involve themselves in

local community affairs. In other words, they will have been exposed to com-

munity experiences which have promoted the development of social and psycho-

logical skills pertinent to socio-political participation. Further, these

skills or resources will have contributed to their emergence as community

leaders. As a result of their leadership status, these individuals will be

more involved in the local socio-political environment. One might presume,

therefore, that community leaders would be highly involved in both community

and political matters.

In addition, political researchers have discovered that community

leaders are not only more politically active, but that they are also

well informed and sensitive to political stimuli. It is also the case that

these attitudes and participation among leaders are not altogether the

result of higher education. Rather, Alford and Scoble (1968 b:271) suggest

that leadership is far more important in regard to sheer quantity and volume

of political activity, while education is more relevant to the quality,

content amd direction of political behavior.

In summary, community leaders have special socio-poltical attitudes,

as well as certain community-related experiential knowledge and information,

which are conducive to higher political participation.

Conceptual Sub-Models

The theoretical rationalizations from which the above hypotheses were derived follow <u>two</u> basic lines of reasoning. This theoretical split lends itself to the formulation of two conceptual sub-models with which to approach the analysis of political participation.

1. *An Attitudinal Model*

Figure 3-3 represents a restricted model for the study of political participation. It is an extension of the <u>socio-economic</u> or <u>standard</u> model employed by Nie et al.(1969a,b), Verba et al.(1971) and Verba and Nie(1972). Their rationale suggests that citizens of higher social and economic status participate more because they develop civic attitudes (psychological involvement, political interest, political efficacy and civic duty) which lead to political activity (Verba and Nie, 1972:126). We have simply included three additional factors expected to interact with the two social status variables, education and occupation. It is further suggested that the interaction of these variables will have particular implications for the development of civic attitudes affecting political participation.
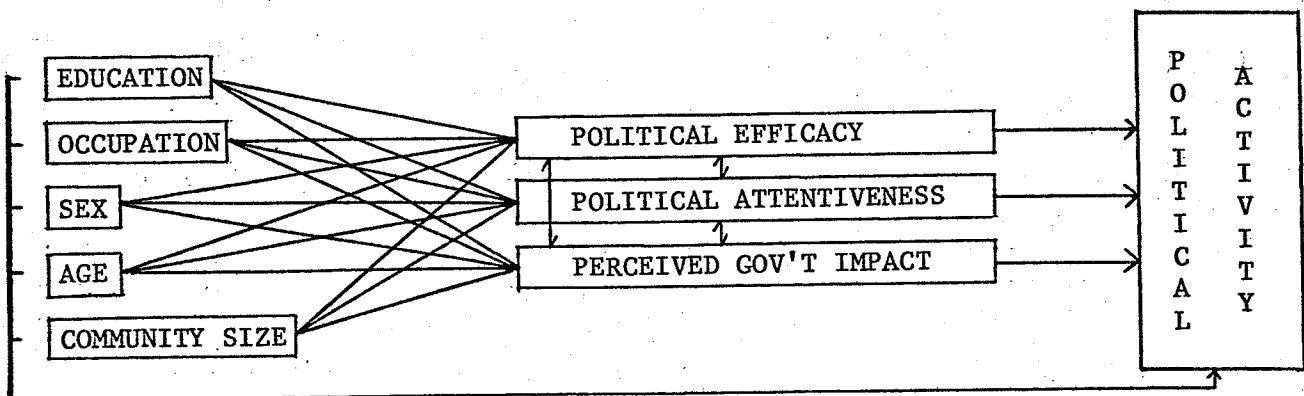
FIGURE 3-3: Influence Process of the Attitudinal Model

2. *An Organizational Model*

A second sub-model considered in this thesis is that displayed in

Figure 3-4. Basically, this model suggests that there are a number

of socio-personal variables acting through organizational activity and

leadership status to influence political participation. That is, parti-

cular combinations of socio-personal characteristics will describe

individuals (or groups of individuals) in terms of their propensity to

become active members in community organization and leadership. This

variation in organization in leadership activity will then increase the

likelihood of active political participation, because they provide an

opportunity for participatory experiences and resources which can be

transferred to the political realm.
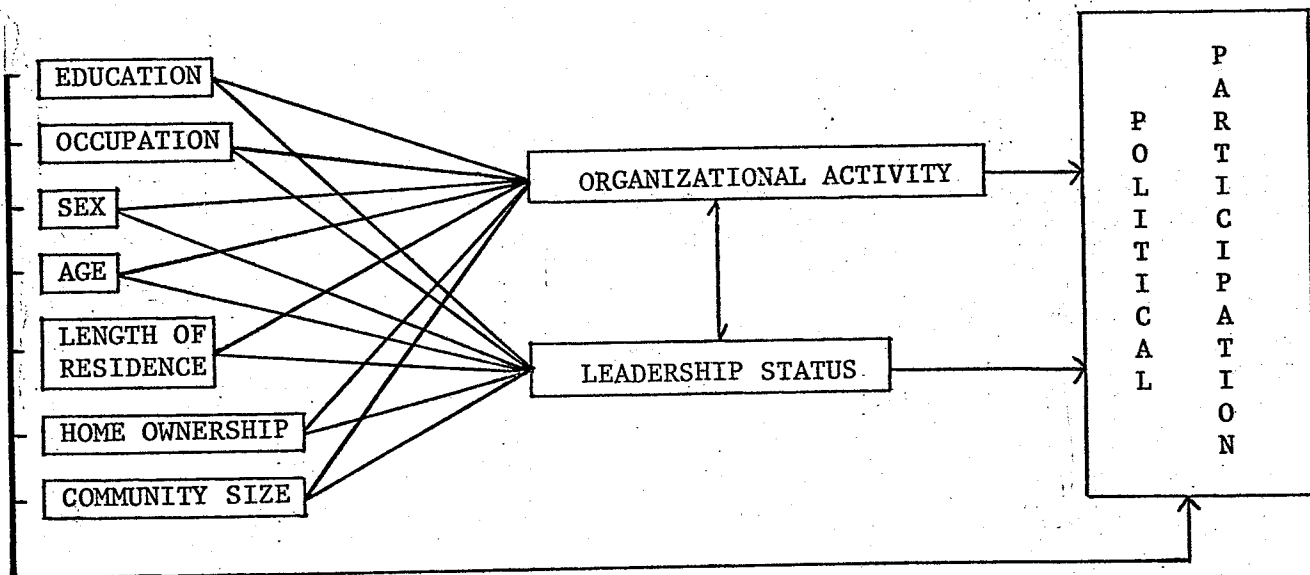
FIGURE 3-4: Influence Process of the Organizational Model

In summary, all three conceptual models presented within the context of our theoretical framework are employed as _experimental_ devices to facilitate the study of participation.[15] They are tentative ways of arranging sets of variables in order to assist methods of data interpretation. And further, these models will be reviewed and revised in light of the data analysis process.

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15. For precise descriptions of how variables interact within these three models of participation, refer back to the section above on hypotheses and theory.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

It should be noted at the outset, that the sample employed in this

thesis was obtained from a somewhat larger research project organized

around the investigation of rural Leadership Patterns and Social Partici-
                                                    16
pation in Southwestern Manitoba.   However, to the extent that both the

present analysis of political particpation and the larger study noted

above were concerned with research relating to various socio-political

aspects of rural Manitoba life, the two research topics were complimentary

in terms of the approved study setting and overall research design.

Furthermore, the larger research design made use of an extensive
                                                           17
semi-structured personal interview method of data collection.   As the

author was closely associated with the development of this interview

schedule, the supervisory staff of the larger study allowed the author

to introduce a number of specially designed questions into the questionnaire.

As a result, the larger study's interview schedule was able to accomodate

a mini-questionnaire designed specifically for the analysis of political

participation in rural southwestern Manitoba.

Although the author was allowed a certain amount of input into the

construction of the interview schedule, all eight study communities

included in the overall study were selected by the supervisory staff of

the larger research project.   As such, the directors of the larger study

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16. Leadership Patterns and Social Participation in Southwestern Rural
    Manitoba was a study organized and funded under the auspices of the
    Rural Community Resource Centre, Brandon University, 1975-77.

17. Refer to Appendix B for the complete interview schedule.

chose rural communities in southwestern Manitoba, which they felt were

representative of the following small town categories:

1. 500 to 999 people--Erickson and Hamiota (225 interviews)

2. 1000 to 1999 people--Carberry, Melita, Boissevain and Rivers
   (251 interviews)

3. 2000 to 3500 people--Killarney and Virden (154 interviews)

After the communities had been selected from each of the respective

community size categories, the author and the field supervisor for the

larger study entered each of the eight rural centers and subdivided each

into sections displaying observable structural distinctions: i.e., resi-

dential, business and new development areas. Interviewers were then in-

structed to call upon every fourth household or business along the various

streets within these sections.

Although the greatest portion of the interviews were retrieved from

within the small towns themselves, interviewers were also instructed to

obtain personal interviews from as many active farmers as possible, within

a twenty mile radius of all towns in the 1999 and under size categories.

This appraoch provided two basic advantages. First, it increased the total

population from which surveys could be drawn for the smaller towns, thus

making interviews somewhat easier to obtain. And second, it ensured that

sufficient numbers of farmers entered the sample population.

Furthermore, interviewers were asked to organize an ongoing list of

both reputational and positional community leaders as defined by Question

four of the interview schedule. Interviewers were then instructed to con-

tact and interview as many of these community leaders as possible so that

we might later distinguish and compare leaders and non-leaders at crucial

points in the data analysis stage of the study.

Upon completion of the interviewing, there were 630 interview schedules in all. A review of the yield of the interviews and their distributions within the community size categories, however, revealed that the field staff had not followed instructions precisely. As a result, it was necessary to evaluate the representativeness of the data set. In order to do so, interview totals were broken down on the basis of age and sex, and compared to population estimates for southwestern Manitoba. In Table 4-1 we see the results of this comparison. It is important to note that population estimates presented in this table reflect 1971 population figures for southwestern Manitoba's farming community and all towns of 5000 people and under within this region.

TABLE 4-1

Comparison of Sample with Population
Estimates by Age and Sex[a]

AGE:	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Estimate	"Sample"	Estimate	"Sample"	Estimate	"Sample"
20-24	10.6%	8.9%	9.2%	11.0%	9.9%	10.1%
25-34	14.9	18.9	15.5	19.5	15.2	19.2
35-44	16.8	20.9	17.0	20.2	16.9	20.4
45-54	18.0	12.3	16.7	16.1	17.4	14.2
65+	21.1	20.2	22.0	18.5	21.5	19.3

[a]The population estimates included in this table are based upon the administrative records of the Health Services Commission. Maki et al. found generally small differences between these and preliminary 1971 census counts (1971:50).

From Table 4-1 we can readily see that in all but two comparisons, the sample percentages vary within four percent of the regional estimates. And although the study design did not permit the selection of a random sample, it would appear that the data set provides a reasonable approximation of the population estimates for southwestern Manitoba.

Operational Definitions

Let us now turn to the operational definitions for each of the

concepts employed in this analysis of political participation. These

operationalizations are categorized into the following variable classifi-

cations:

A. *Socio-personal Variables*

1. Education is measured by the highest grade of school completed

by the respondent.

2. Occupation refers to the respondent's major occupation at the

time of the interview. Specific occupations were later categorized as

either Manual or Non-manual for three basic reasons. First, because of

the relative homogeneity in the occupational structures of small towns,

the dichotomy noted above was employed to allow for a general distinction

in employment status. In addition, it alleviates a certain amount of

the "conceptual straining" which accompanies the narrower occupational

classifications. And third, the Manual/Non-manual distinction is well

suited to the multiple regression and analysis of variance procedures

which will be employed to test the various models of political participation.

3. Age refers to the respondent's age at his or her last

birth date.

4. Sex of the respondent.

5. Length of residence is measured by how long the respondent has

lived in his or her present community.

6. Home Ownership is concerned with whether the respondent owns

or rents his or her present dwelling.

7. Community Size refers to the population size of the respondent's

resident community. Community size is also categorized according to the
following town size classification:

      a) 500 to 999 people
      b) 1000 to 1999 people
      c) 2000 to 3500 people

B. *Intervening Variables*

Before proceeding, it is important to note that three of the five
intervening variables employed in this analysis--political attentiveness,
political efficacy and perceived government impact--are operationalized
in the form of multiple item indices. In designing the interview schedule,
the author attempted to gather several measures of each of these three
civic orientations.

1. Political Attentiveness, as it relates to the present analysis,
refers to the extent to which citizens pay attention to political affairs
and information within the context of various mass communications media.
As a result, the interview schedule included five questions concerning
the frequency with which respondents follow political affairs in such [18]
mass media as newspapers, magazines, radio and television broadcasts.

2. Political Efficacy, in general theoretical terms, refers to the
extent to which citizens feel they have some understanding of and control
over political issues and decisions. To this end, the interview schedule
included questions pertaining to the respondent's perceptions of how well
they understood local and national issues, and whether they felt that the [19]
political system was responsive to their participatory inputs.

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18. Refer to items 44 through 48 of Appendix B.
19. Refer to items 16 and 40 through 43 of Appendix B.

3. _Perceived Government Impact_, refers to the citizen's perceptions

concerning the level of impact or influence they feel the local and national

governments have on their day-to-day lives. Two questions were included

in the interview schedule in an attempt to at least partially gauge the

level of governmental impact that citzens perceived, relative to their

everyday lives.[20]

The analysis of the attitudinal indices begins with Table 4-2 displaying

the simple correlation coefficients among the various measures of political

attentiveness, political efficacy and perceived government impact.[21] The

matrix in Table 4-2 has been arranged with regard to these civic orienta-

tions and their respective indicators. The boxed clusters contain cor-

relations between the various items employed to measure particular attitud-

inal dimensions. In a general sense, the correlations cluster into the

hypothesized types of civic orientations. The average correlation within

the clusters is about .34, while that outside of the clusters is slightly

over .19.[22]

In the first cluster, the five political efficacy items have a

mean correlation of .28, while the average correlation between these

variables and those outside of the cluster is less than .19. It is

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20. Refer to items 49 through 50 of Appendix B.

21. Although Table 4-2 displays Pearson r correlations to compare ordinal
    level variables, the validity of this matrix was checked by computing
    an identical matrix using Spearman rank order coefficients. A visual
    comparison revealed that the majority of these pairs of coefficients
    were separated by approximately .01 and no pair was spread more than .03.

22. All related correlations were transformed into Z scores, summed and
    transformed back into correlations. In comparing the results of the
    Z transformations with mean correlations, it was found that no two
    pairs of correlations varied more than .006.

TABLE 4-2

Pearson r Simple Correlation Matrix Among Twelve Political Attitudes

Attitudinal Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Success in improving community	-	.40	.18	.23	.30	.22	.19	.10	.04	.21	.20	.13
2. Success in changing regulation		-	.38	.22	.30	.20	.24	.10	.02	.20	.15	.09
3. Success in changing law			-	.13	.11	.16	.17	.11	.05	.12	.07	-.01
4. Understands national issues		Political		-	.50	.47	.49	.34	.25	.30	.25	.12
5. Understands local issues		Efficacy			-	.33	.36	.23	.19	.23	.25	.20
6. Follows political affairs						-	.65	.43	.38	.36	.25	.16
7. Follows newspaper accounts							-	.39	.35	.42	.21	.22
8. Follows radio accounts								-	.35	.33	.20	.19
9. Follows television accounts						Political			-	.30	.19	.14
10. Follows magazine accounts						Attentiveness				-	.14	.12
11. Influence of federal government											-	.40
12. Influence of local government						Perceived Gov't Impact						-

N of Cases = 450
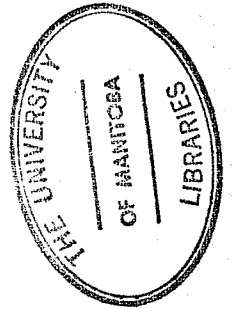
important to note, that the correlations between "Success in changing a
law" and the other efficacy variables are relatively small.[23] In fact,
generally speaking, the correlations between this and the other attitud-
inal variables are quite low (the only exception being the correlation
of .38 in concert with "Success in changing regulation"). This trend,
however, may in part be due to the fact that over 69 percent of the sample
population felt they had no chance at all of changing an unjust or harm-
ful law. And further, less than three percent felt they had more than a
50 percent chance of success. In this sense, the degree of variation on
this item is truncated.

In addition, "Understands national issues" and "Understands local
issues" both exhibit moderate levels of correlation with political attentive-
ness and perceived government impact variables, indicating some degree of
empirical interaction (or overlap) within the attitudinal concepts.
Although, theoretically speaking, it is reasonable to assume that politically
efficacious citizens will also be attentive to political affairs and to some
extent perceive greater degrees of governmental impact.

The second cluster consists of five measures of political attentive-
ness. Their average correlation is about .40 compared to a mean correla-
tion of .20 between the attentiveness and other attitudinal variables.
The measures of political attentiveness also show some variance with the
perceived government impact items, the correlations ranging from .12 to
.25. Again, there is a certain amount of empirical interaction between
the indicators of various attitudinal dimensions.

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23. All of these correlations, however, are significant at the .003
    level at a minimum.

The third cluster contains a single correlation of .40 between the two perceived government impact variables. The average correlation of these measures with the other attitudinal variables is only .16. In a general sense, however, the correlation matrix indicates some degree of statistical interaction among these and certain of the other variables.

In summary, the correlation matrix leaves several questions unanswered about the clustering of the political attitudes. We cannot tell whether we have isolated the only or even the most important factors in the matrix, for the ordering of the variables affects the clustering process. And further, the matrix indicates enough statistical interaction between the variables to suggest that the various attitudinal dimensions are not the exclusive domain of specific sets of questions. For instance, in the sense that political attentiveness is statistically and theoretically associated with both political efficacy and perceived government impact variables (and vice versa), the attentiveness dimension runs through all of the indicators.

In order to more clearly define the statistical-theoretical dimensions within the twelve attitudinal variables, the author made use of a principal-factor analytic technique with an orthogonal quartimax rotation method.[24]

The first attempt to refine the twelve attitudinal variables began with a twelve factor solution produced by the principal-factor program noted above. A visual comparison of the factor loadings in the initial unrotated and terminal matrices revealed that the variables loaded most

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24. Before deciding upon this method of factor analysis, however, it was provisionally compared to both oblique and equimax rotated solutions for the same data. For complete discussions of each of these factor analytic methods, please refer to Nie et al., 1975.

highly on the first four factors. In addition, the first four factors

accounted for 61.9 percent of the total variance in the data, based

upon the initial unrotated factor matrix.[25] As a result, the data were

analyzed again with the same factor-analytic technique and rotational

method to yield the initial and terminal factor matrices presented in

Tables 4-3 and 4-4 respectively.

Table 4-3 presents the initial unrotated factor matrix. Each of the

twelve attitudinal variables display moderate to strong positive associations

with the first factor. This would seem to support the notion that a

common underlying dimension exists in each of the separate attitudinal

variables (in varying degrees, of course). This common or general

dimension may well be representative of a basic civic orientation to

political matters. In other words, although there are specific measures

for the various political attitudes, it is not altogether unlikely that

there is some form of communality among these variables. Verba and Nie

(1972) factor analyzed four sets of civic orientations--psychological

involvement in politics, political efficacy, political information and

a sense of community contribution--and then combined them on the basis

of their loadings on the first component. Their data also support the

contention that, while such orientations differ somewhat, they can be

considered a single set of civic orientations (Verba and Nie, 1972:133).

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25. The customary way of deciding which components or factors are
    significant is to retain those factors with eigenvalues greater
    than or equal to 1.0. Although only the first three factors
    satisfy this "rule of thumb", the fourth was retained because
    its eigenvalue was approximately 0.93.

TABLE 4-3

Initial Unrotated Factor Matrix

Attitudinal Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Success in improving community	.39	.34	.07	-.05
2. Success in changing regulation	.45	.72	-.02	.16
3. Success in changing law	.26	.31	-.11	.16
4. Understands national issues	.67	-.04	-.11	-.34
5. Understands local issues	.58	.13	.07	-.36
6. Follows political affairs	.72	-.19	-.17	.08
7. Follows newspaper accounts	.74	-.16	-.15	.07
8. Follows radio accounts	.53	-.23	-.05	.12
9. Follows television accounts	.44	-.29	-.06	.13
10. Follows magazine accounts	.50	-.07	-.11	.13
11. Influence of federal government	.41	-.02	.39	-.01
12. influence of local government	.35	-.11	.65	.11

TABLE 4-4

Terminal Rotated Factor Matrix

Attitudinal Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Success in improving community	.18	.43	.14	.19
2. Success in changing regulation	.14	.85	.06	.06
3. Success in changing law	.16	.41	-.05	-.05
4. Understands national issues	.57	.13	.02	.48
5. Understands local issues	.38	.24	.17	.51
6. Follows political affairs	.76	.11	.02	.06
7. Follows newspapter accounts	.75	.14	.04	.08
8. Follows radio accounts	.58	.01	.10	-.02
9. Follows television accounts	.53	-.07	.07	-.06
10. Follows magazine accounts	.51	.16	.02	-.01
11. Influence of federal government	.27	.10	.48	.11
12. Influence of local government	.21	.01	.72	-.01

In addition, two of the political efficacy variables, "Understands national issues" and "Understands local issues", along with all five of the political attentiveness variables (items 6 through 10), demonstrate strong associations with the first factor. This particular trend seems to suggest that the first dimension could be one of general attitudinal engagement, refering to the citizen's general interest and attention to politics and political affairs. This argument is substantiated by the factor loadings for these variables in the terminal rotated factor matrix, Table 4-4.

The second factor in the initial solution points to the combination of the first three political efficacy variables, "Success in changing law", "Success in improving community" and "Success in changing law". What is of particular interest is that of the other two efficacy variables, "Understands national issues" loads negative and close to zero, while "Understands local issues" displays a weak association with Factor 2. These latter two variables, however, load high and negative on Factor 4, suggesting a split in the efficacy question in terms of their representative statistical-theoretical dimensions. In this sense, one's understanding of local and national issues is to some extent empirically distinct from one's perceived success in changing socio-political environments.

In addition, the terminal solution supports this "splitting" phenomenon, indicating that two unique dimensions exist within the efficacy variables. First, a sense of political efficacy or a perception that one can control and manipulate the surrounding socio-political milieu (Factor 2). And second, a sense of political understanding or

perception that generally speaking (partially irrespective of the national or local context) one understands political affairs (Factor 4).

In summary, on the basis of the rotated factor matrix in Table 4-4, four composite indices were created to represent the theoretical dimensions associated with the respective factors. Factor scores were calculated for these various dimensions by summing the products of the factor-score coefficients times the standardized values for each of the twelve variables on each of the four factors. For example, from the factor-score matrix produced by Subprogram FACTOR, factor-scores (f_i) were constructed for each case, as follows: [26]

$$f_i = fsc_{1i}z_1 + fsc_{2i}z_2 + \ldots\ldots + fsc_{12i}z_{12}$$

*where fsc_{ji} is the factor-score coefficient for variable j (in this analysis 1 through 12) and z_j is the case's standardized value + (var$_j$ - mean of var$_j$/ standard deviation of var$_j$)).

It is also important to note, that the composite factor-score variables produced by the Facscore option include terms for each of the variables submitted to the factor program, rather than just those with loadings high on the respective factors. In the latter method of index construction, the influence of the non-included variables is not controlled. As a result, these variables will affect the scales through their inter-correlations with the variables used in the scales (Nie et al., 1975:488). And further, in the sense that each factor accounted for at least some of the variance in each of the twelve attitudinal variables, the complete estimation method may be giving us a clearer picture of the four theoretical

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26. In this analysis, f_i refers to factors 1 through 4. For details of this procedure, refer to the Facscore option of the FACTOR subprogram outlined in Nie et al., 1975.

dimensions. Based on this complete estimation method, four composite

indices of political attitudes were constructed as follows:

1. General Political Attentiveness--Factor 1
2. Political Efficacy--Factor 2
3. Perceived Government Impact--Factor 3
4. Perceived Political Understanding--Factor 4

In addition to the four attitudinal variables noted above, there

are two other intervening variables in the overall model of political

participation.

5. Organizational Involvement was measured by two indices of

activity in voluntary associations. First, an index of organizational
[27]
membership status across twelve voluntary associations. Membership

status varied according to the following classification: (1) Never a

member (2) Past member (3) Present member. A frequency distribution for

this variable revealed the mean organizational membership value, which

was used as the cutting point for the membership variable. As a result,

respondents with scores of less than the mean were considered low in

membership activity, while those who scored above the mean were considered

high in membership activity.

Second, an index of organizational meeting activity was computed

by summing the respondent's meeting attendance across the same group of

voluntary associations. Meeting attendance varied according to the fol-

lowing classification, based upon the respondent's perception of his own

activity compared to that of other organizational members: (1) Never

attended meetings (2) Attended less than average (3) Attended meetings

often. Again, the new variable was dichotomized into low and high

organizational meeting activity using the mean as a cutting point.

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27. Refer to item 7 of Appendix B for a list of these associations.

6. Leadership Status is the final intervening variable in the overall model of participation. This variable is defined on the basis of asking respondents who they thought were the individuals most suitable for dealing with important community-related issues, in their town.[28] The names of these individuals were then compiled to form a list of local reputational leaders for each study community. In turn, on the basis of personal interviews with as many of these community leaders as possible, the present analysis is able to ascertain the nature of their sociological and psychological characteristics on a variety of points. On the basis of this interview, it was also possible to discover whether these reputational leaders were positional leaders as well. Positional leaders were defined in this context, as anyone holding present member- ship status on a school board, hospital board, municipal or town council. In any case, both reputational and positional leaders were combined into one group, while non-leaders completed the dichotomy employed here to measure community leadership status.

C. Dependent Variables

Although a number of studies have dealt with political participation, few have paid attention to the alternate ways in which citizens are politi- cally active. This in part stems from earlier studies of participation which used only electoral politics: i.e., voting behavior and perhaps some additional forms of campaign activity (Verba and Nie, 1972:44). Although acts differed in terms of inherent difficulty, they were otherwise thought of as interchangeable (Berelson et al., 1954:24).

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28. Refer to the sequence of questions 3 and 4 in Appendix B.

What was important was the amount of participation engaged in, not the
type of action chosen. Others such as Lane (1959) and Milbrath (1965)
argued for a hierarchy of political acts such that the individual who
engaged in the most difficult act was almost certain to engage in the
easier ones. The general assumption, however, was one of uni-dimensionality
among political acts.

More recently, political researchers have begun to treat participation
as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The works of Verba and Nie (1972,
1975) and Welch (1975) have moved beyond the confines of the electoral
system to consider forms of political involvement other than voting and
campaign-related activites. As was noted in Chapter II, Verba and Nie
(1972) uncover the following four modes of political participation:
(1) Voting (2) Campaign activity (3) Communal activity and (4) Particular-
ized contacts. In the process of analyzing and describing these four
modes of political activity, however, Verba and Nie also suggest that it
is meaningful to talk of a dimension common to each of their thirteen
measures of participation. Principal-component factor analysis revealed
that all of the participation variables displayed high loadings on the
first (general) factor which they describe as "a propensity for political
activity or prime 'activeness' component" (Verba and Nie, 1972:61).
And further, the authors indicate that the various political acts are
interchangeable on the basis of this dimension (1972:62). In addition,
Verba and Nie construct an overall index of political participation from
a higher-order factor analysis of the four factor scales.

The present analysis will evaluate the uni-dimensionality and
multi-dimensionality of the various measures of political participation

obtained through the interview schedule. In this manner, various indices will be constructed in order to analyze specific modes of political activity within the context of a rural southwestern Manitoba sample.

As with the attitudinal variables, the analysis of the dimensionality of rural political participation begins with a simple correlation matrix among the eight measures of political activity, displayed in Table 4-5. The correlation matrix has been arranged according to a general distinction in the form or type of political involvement: i.e., electoral and non-electoral activity. As a result, the outlined boxes encompass correlations between activities of a particular type, while those outside of the boxes represent relationships between activities of different types. The mean correlation within the clusters is about .91, in comparison to an average correlation of just under .65 outside of the clusters.

TABLE 4-5

Yule's Q Correlation Matrix Among
Eight Political Activities

Participation Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Political party member	-	.98	.97	1.0	1.0	.49	.68	.68
2. Political party officer		-	.97	.97	.98	.59	.66	.73
3. Party committee member			-	.93	.97	.36	.80	.83
4. Party meeting attendance*		Electoral		-	1.0	.57	.71	.72
5. General party activity*		Activity			-	.55	.67	.67
6. Talks about public affairs						-	.68	.60
7. Attempted to influence local regulation				Non-electoral			-	.76
8. Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation					Activity			-

*Both meeting attendance and general activity rates are based upon the respondent's perceptions of how active her or she is in comparison to other party members.

The first cluster contains five measures of political party activity with a mean correlation of .98. This mean coefficient value is substantially higher than the average correlation of .65 between the party variables and the measures of non-electoral activity.[29] In this sense, the matrix suggest there is a dimension of political party activity which is to some extent statistically distinct from the other participation variables. The second cluster contains non-electoral measures of activity having a mean correlation of .68, which is only slightly higher than the average correlation of .65 between the electoral and non-electoral variables. In other words, the correlations among the non-electoral measures are very little higher than their correlations with the five party variables. This suggests that the three forms of non-electoral activity do not demonstrate as distinctive a dimension of participation as do the measures of party activity.

In general, we might also note that with the partial exception of "Talks about public affairs", all of the participation variables inter-correlate very highly. In addition, the correlation matrix is indicative of two aspects of dimensionality in the eight measures of political participation. First, with the possible exception of "Talks about public affairs", correlations between the various political acts support the notion that the participation variables have a common underlying dimension. And second, a comparison of the mean correlations both within and without the clusters of activity, suggests that there are also two quasi-distinctive dimensions of participation within this rural sample: i.e., an electoral and non-electoral dimension. In order to further

29. The acutal questions referred to by variables 1 through 6 in Table 4-5 can be found in item 7 of Appendix B. Variables 7,8 and 9 refer to items 37 through 39 in the same appendix.

investigate the scalability of the participation variables, the author

employed the Guttman scaling technique of scalogram analysis.

On the basis of scalagram analysis of the eight participation

variables (included in Table 4-5), the items had a coefficient of

scalability of less that .59.   A visual comparison of the item-by-

item accumulation of errors output by the Guttman scaling program revealed

that item 6, "Talks about public affairs", was responsible for 104 of a
                                                            30
total of 340 errors, or about 31 percent.   In addition to the generally

lower correlations between this item and the other participation variables,

item 6 demonstrated the lowest scale-item correlation coefficient of .45.

As a result, all of the participation variables except "Talks about public

affairs" were re-submitted to the Guttman scaling program. A summary

of the associated output is displayed in Table 4-6 below.

TABLE 4-6

A Guttman Scale Analysis of Seven
Participation Variables

Scale Step	Item	Errors	Percent Discriminated
1	Attempted to influence local regulation	34	56
2	Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation	57	23
3	Political party member	24	16
4	General party activity	15	9
5	Party meeting attendance	15	8
6	Political party officership	6	2
7	Party committee member	11	2

Total cases	612
Coefficient if Reproducibility	.96
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	.85
Percent Improvement	.11
Coefficient of Scalability	.74

30. Refer to Table 1 of Appendix C for a summary of this output. For
    details of the Guttman scaling program refer to Nie et al., 1975.

The standardized coefficients provided above, strongly indicate that there is a common underlying dimension which exists within these seven measures of political participation. In other words, although the specific items may be measuring different types of political activity, the correlation matrix (Table 4-5) and the scalogram analysis provided above, lend support to the earlier contention that the rural participation variables (employed in this analysis) are uni-dimensional in character.

It is also important to note that the two measures of non-electoral activity--"Attempted to influence local regulation" and "Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation"--enter the scaling process on the first and second steps, as the two least difficult activities. The party activity variables assume the last five scale steps in levels of increasing difficulty. This ordering pattern is very similar to that encountered in the preliminary eight item Guttman scale analysis mentioned earlier.[31] In the eight item analysis, the first three scale steps consisted of the three non-electoral measures of participation. And furthermore, the political party variables assumed the same ordering pattern as that displayed in Table 4-6. The ordering pattern of the scale steps in both the seven and eight item Guttman analyses appear to indicate a kind of "multi-dimensional" split in the participation variables, on the basis of an electoral/ non-electoral distinction in the type of political activity.

Why might we expect a distinction such as that mention above? There are two basic methodological-conceptual criteria with which to address this question. From a methodological point of view, there are two fairly

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31. Refer to Table 1 of Appendix C.

salient reasons for expecting the electoral/non-electoral split. If we look closely at the various political acts, we notice that the political party items approximate measures of actual political behavior: i.e., party membership, party officership, party committee membership, party meeting attendance and general party activity. The non-electoral activities, on the other hand, are based on the respondent's perceptions of the nature and extent of their political involvement. For instance, "Attempted to influence local regulation" and "Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation" refer to the respondent's perceptions of whether or not he or she has attempted to influence a political decision. In terms of the item "Talks about public affairs", the respondent must decide to what extent he or she talks about public affairs of their own definition.

A second methodological reason supporting the electoral/non-electoral distinction is based upon a general-specific criterion. That is, the political party items refer to a very narrow or specific range of political activities, whereas questions concerning one's perceived influence over political decisions or the extent of one's political discussion, are much more general in context. The inherent generality within the non-electoral items allows the respondents greater flexibility in terms of what necessitates political influence or discussion.

In addition, the measures of non-electoral activity are phenomenological in nature, to the extent that the respondents are asked to decide what may be considered a political discussion or what constitutes an attempt to influence a local regulation or act of the Manitoba legislature. And further, because we have no specific information concerning the means

of political influence or the subjects of political conversation, we

cannot compare the non-electoral to the electoral variables on the basis
                                                                    32
of how they relate the respondent to the political system.   The present

participation variables, however, allow for a fairly sharp distinction

between electoral and non-electoral activities, based upon an actual-

perceived criterion of political involvement.

In order to statistically evaluate the participation variables in

terms of the electoral and non-electoral dimensions, the political party

items and the non-electoral items were submitted to separate Guttman

scaling programs.   Table 4-7 summarizes the statistical results of
                     33
these analyses.

TABLE 4-7

Guttman Scale Analysis of Electoral and
Non-electoral Activity

Statistic	Electoral	Non-electoral Activity
Coefficient of Reproducibility	.992	.892
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	.925	.669
Percent Improvement	.067	.223
Coefficient of Scalability	.898	.673

The Guttman scale analyses of these two types of political involvement

strongly support the contention that the participation variables are both

uni-dimensional and multi-dimensional in character.   In this sense,

scalogram analysis has statistically described two aspects of these

measures of political participation in rural southwestern Manitoba:

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32. Verba and Nie distinguish between political acts on the basis of the
    following four theoretical dimensions: type of influence, scope of
    outcome, amount of conflict and amount of initiative (1972:47).

33. For the complete outputs for each of these analyses refer to Tables
    2 and 3 of Appendix C.

1. With the exception of "Talks about public affairs", the participation variables may be considered a uni-dimensional and cummulative Guttman scale.

2. Within the eight measures of rural participation, there are two quasi-distinctive dimensions of political activity:

   a) An Electoral Dimension, which includes all five measures of political party activity.

   b) A Non-electoral Dimension, which includes "Talks about public affairs", "Attempted to influence local regulation" and "Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation".

In summary, on the basis of the present analysis of the dependent variable, three indices of political activity were constructed, as representative of the various dimensions mentioned above.

Procedures for Data Analysis

In concluding the methodology chapter, let us briefly take note of certain of the statistical procedures to be employed in the analysis of relationships between independent and dependent variables.

In the process of developing the theoretical framework for this thesis, a number of hypotheses were advanced concerning relationships between specific sets of variables. These hypotheses were arranged to give theoretical form to one full model and two restricted models of political participation. We are now obliged to outline some general statistical methods for analyzing these models. The initial step will involve correlating all the independent variables with the three dependent variables.[34] These simple correlations will serve as provisional tests for the hypotheses and theoretical rationale, as well as a means of sensitizing and focusing our attention toward those factors which might best combine to explain various political acts. In addition to simple cor-

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33. Spearman's rank order correlations and Pearson's r correlations will be employed to test simple bivariate relationships.

relations, multiple regression will be employed to explore the relation-
ships between various sets of variables in the three conceptual models.

Mulitple regression is a general statistical technique used to
analyze the relationships between a dependent variable and a set of
independent variables (Nie et al., 1975:321). As a descriptive tool,
it summarizes and decomposes the linear dependence of one variable on
a number of others. In addition, regression analysis will find the best
linear prediction equation between the independent variables and evaluate
its predictive accuracy (Nie et al., 1975:321). In so doing, this technique
will control for the confounding effects of other variables, in order to
evaluate the contributions of a specific variable or set of variables
(Nie et al., 1975:321). In line with the constraints imposed by the
nature of the data selection method employed in this study, however,
the form of relationships will be emphasized. Consequently, the
analysis will de-emphasize inferences about populations in the statistical
sense, making use of multiple regression analysis more for specification
purposes.

If one thinks in terms of models, regression analysis is the most
easily and usefully employed. Research hypotheses and their theoretical
rationale provide one model of how the data should fit with respect to
the relationship stated. The statistical (or null) hypotheses provide
another. A comparison of these two provide some grounds upon which to
assess the research hypotheses and the accompanying theoretical framework.
As a result, the following chapter on data analysis will make use of
both simple correlations and multiple regression analysis to statistically
evaluate the theoretical framework and associated hypotheses and conceptual
models.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Within the context of the theoretical framework, a number of hypotheses have already been presented. These hypotheses and their supportive rationale illustrate certain expectations concerning the inter-relationships between specific independent variables and political participation (in general). And further, the hypotheses are based upon two broad categories of pre-dictor variables. The first category deals with the individual's socio-demographic characteristics: i.e., education, occupation, age, sex and so on. The second category is concerned with social-psychological or attitudinal factors, in addition to community organization and leadership activity. All of these variables and their correlations with each of the three dependent variables are displayed in Table 5-1.[34] These correlations and their respective levels of statistical significance will serve as separate grounds for the evaluation of each research hypothesis.

Education

Generally speaking, education has been one of the most prominent factors associated with political participation. Many political researchers have uncovered similar trends demonstrating that higher education increases the likelihood of political involvement. The present data support these findings with a zero-order correlation of .23 between education and general participation. In fact, education correlates sufficiently high with all

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34. The Pearson r correlations displayed in this table were compared to Spearman rank-order coefficients for the same data-set. The majority of these paired comparisons revealed differences in the .01 to .03 range.

TABLE 5-1

Pearson r Simple Correlation Matrix
Among Independent vs. Dependent Variables

Independent Variables	General Participation	Non-electoral Activity	Electoral or Party Activity
Education	.23**	.31**	.10*
Occupation	.28**	.35**	.18**
Gender	.30**	.30**	.19**
Age	.16**	.13*	.09*
Length of Residence	.21**	.16**	.15*
Home Ownership	.14*	.13*	.07
Community Size	.10*	.11*	.10*
Political Attentiveness	.39**	.47**	.27**
Political Efficacy	.28**	.38**	.12*
Perceived Gov't Impact	.08	.11*	.02
Perceived Political Understanding	.21**	.24**	.14*
Organizational Membership	.41**	.38**	.29**
Organizational Meeting Activity	.23**	.23**	.16**
Leadership Status	.43**	.44**	.29**

* Significant at the .05 level   ** Significant at the .0005 level

three indices of political activity to meet and exceed the .05 level of statistical significance. As a result, the null hypothesis of no associa- tion is rejected and the alternative hypothesis is accepted that education is positively and significantly related to political participation.

What is it about higher levels of education, however, which may be contributing to greater political activity? One possible explanation is that discussed in Chapter III. There it was theorized that higher education promotes the development of political attitudes such as greater concern for politics, higher perceived stake in political affairs and increased feelings of political efficacy. And further, these civic orientations lead individuals to greater political activity. In this sense, as the years of formal schooling accumulate, they are accompanied by a series of political attitudes conducive to active participation.

In addition, education may be partially related to political involve- ment through its effects upon community organization and leadership status. That is, the more highly educated individuals perceive greater interest and stake in community affairs, and as a result become more active community organizers and leaders. In turn, organizations immerse their members into various milieux containing socio-political stimuli which promote increased political activity.

Table 5-2 below, displays the correlations between education and each of the attitudinal and organizational variables included in this analysis. As seen in this table, an increase in educational attainment is associated with greater political attentiveness. The relationship between education and political efficacy, however, is not as strong. On the basis of the

TABLE 5-2

Zero-Order Correlations Between Education
and Each Intervening Variable

Political Attentiveness	.32**
Political Efficacy	.08
Perceived Political Understanding	.07
Perceived Gov't Impact	.00
Organizational Membership	.18**
Organizational Meeting Activity	.07
Leadership Status	.18**

  * Significant at the .05 level
 ** Significant at the .0005 level

measures of political efficacy employed by this analysis, higher education

among rural southwestern Manitobans does not necessarily mean that such

individuals will perceive greater chances for improving their community,

or changing an "unjust or harmful" regulation at the community or provincial

levels. Nor do more highly educated rural residents perceive a signifi-

cantly better understanding of local or national issues. In other words,

although increased education may create tendencies to become more alert

to political affairs, this does not necessitate increased feelings of

political efficacy or understanding. As a result, higher educational

achievement does not generally dispel the political fatalism which rural

southwestern Manitoba residents may feel towards their impact on or

understanding of socio-political environments. In addition, education has

no correlation with perceived government impact, although one need not

hold a college or university education in order to feel the impact of

provincial and national politics.

Are there any plausible reasons for the pattern with which education inter-correlates with the political attitudes? One possible explanation pertains to a distinction between knowledge of political machinery gained through formal schooling and that gained as a result of political experience. That is, educational institutions may be able to teach individuals how a political system functions, and even that they should be attentive to its political stimuli. Perhaps feelings of political efficacy and understanding, however, are perceptions which result from personal experiences within socio-political environments. For instance, the present data demonstrate that occupational status correlates with political efficacy and perceived political understanding at .22 and .14 respectively. And further, community leadership correlates with the same two variables at the .24 and .22 levels respectively. In this sense, respondents with non-manual occupations and those who are community leaders are more likely to have been involved in socio-political affairs (including organizational activities) and as a result have developed stronger feelings of political efficacy and understanding. And although education may have endowed such individuals with the conceptual skills needed to become non-manual employee(ers) or community leaders, their socio-political experiences may have facilitated the development of certain political attitudes.

Table 5-2, also indicates that education is correlated strongly enough with both organizational membership and leadership status to reach the .0005 level of statistical significance, supporting the earlier hypothesis concerning these variables. The one exception pertains to the .07 correlations between education and organizational meeting activity. Within the context of meeting activity, however, it is possible that

the older members and local reputational leaders (within the respective

organizations) would most likely perceive greater interest and concern in

organizational affairs, and subsequently attend meetings more frequently.

In this particular instance, education may not be the prime mover, so

much as inter-personal knowledge and experiential skill.

In summary, if we refer back to Table 5-1, we notice that with the

exception of perceived government impact, all of the intervening variables

employed in this analysis, correlate high with the scale of general parti-

cipation. In general, their positive and significant correlations with

political involvement support the theoretical emphasis placed upon each in

Chapter III. As for perceived government impact, it is conceivable that

citizens who perceive high levels of governmental impact could as easily

become apathetics as activists, depending upon a variety of personal and

environmental characteristics.

Each of the rationale outlined above facilitate the explanation of

why education should be positively related to general political activity.

Table 5-1, however, indicates that education is more highly correlated

with non-electoral than electoral participation: i.e., .31 and .10

respectively. A brief re-examination of certain elements within each

scale, in terms of their assumed relationships with education, may improve

our understanding of these differential correlations.

Non-electoral activity, as defined in this table, includes measures

of the individual's perceptions of whether or not they have attempted to

influence a local regulation or act of the Manitoba legislature. As a

result, we are gauging the respondent's estimation of his or her own

political activity. In other words, these two indicators of non-electoral

activity are more closely approximate to the citizen's _attitudes_ toward

their own political behavior, than measures of _actual_ behavior. In the

sense that education is generally associated with psychological involvement

in political affairs (and other political attitudes) it is therefore theore-

tically reasonable to assume that higher education should be strongly re-

lated to perceptions of political influence. In addition to these measures

of non-electoral activity, the respondents were asked whether they talked

about public affairs. Again, it is conceivable that the more highly

educated are likely to be more at ease in the exchange of political opin-

ions. That is, their educational pursuits will have placed such indivi-

duals in situations which demand verbal discussions on a variety of topics.

And, as a result, the frequency of political discussion may be positively

influenced by the verbal and intellectual skills associated with higher

education.

Electoral activity, on the other hand, pertains to five measures
                                    35
of political party activity. Education, within the present rural sample,

is correlated with electoral activity at a .10 level of association. Why

is this correlation so low? Let us view this relationship in an _organiza-_

tional context. Political parties, like many other voluntary associations,

offer community residents the opportunity to become socially and politically

active. In this sense, although higher education may be stimulating certain

individuals to become active in political parties, their memberships are

not restricted to the highly educated. And furthermore, political ideology

and partisanship are not the sole domain of such individuals. Higher

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35. Refer to Chapter IV.

education and its associated civic orientations such as political attentive-

ness may well demonstrate strong correlations with a citizen's perceptions

of political influence or discussion. They need not, however, be present

for the expression of partisan support. Education remains a dominant

factor in the promotion of political attentiveness and organizational

activity. It may also supply individuals with the verbal and intellectual

skills needed to exchange and challenge ideas. This does not mean that

the less educated individual will not be concerned with community and

political matters. And further, such concerns may well lead the less
[36]
educated into political parties and community service clubs as well.

Occupation [37]

Table 5-1 indicates that occupation has a correlation of .28 with

general participation, supporting the research hypothesis that these two

variables should be positively related to one another. In addition, the

correlations between occupation and all three indices of participation

are statistically significant at the .0005 level. As a result, we may

reject the null hypothesis that there is no association between occupa-

tional status and political activity.

What kinds of theoretical explanations account for this relationship

between occupation and participation? Recent analyses have traced the posi-

tive effects of occupation (as well as education and income) on partici-

pation through a variety of intervening political attitudes (Verba and Nie,

1972). Similarly, in Chapter III, it was suggested that the effects of

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36. The less educated, however, may be somewhat less represented.

37. Occupation, as referred to in the present analysis, constitutes
a MANUAL/NON-MANUAL distinction in employment status.

educational attainement may be operating through higher occupational

status to promote the development of civic attitudes conducive to

political activity. The present analysis of the relationships between

education and such political attitudes, however, does not support this

contention.[38] Although education and occupation are correlated at .30,

this association may well be a reflection of the process of acquiring

employment skills, rather than the implied acquisition of civic orientations.

Perhaps the nature of the occupational environment is more important

than education to the development of certain political attitudes. That

is, higher status employment positions (in this analysis, non-manual

occupations) may be creating environments in which political stimuli

and experience are more relevant and accessible to their occupants.

And further, feelings of political efficacy could be the result of a

transfer of occupation-based efficacy to both community and political

affairs. In this sense, non-manual employment becomes closely associ-

ated with community organization and leadership, which in turn lead

to increased political involvement.

Table 5-3 below, demonstrates that occupational status is positively

and significantly related to all of the intervening variables except

organizational meeting activity. Occupation has moderate to strong

correlations with leadership status, political efficacy, political

attentiveness and perceived political understanding. This indicates

that high employment status at least partially contributes to the

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38. Refer back to the analysis presented under Education in this chapter.

development of certain civic orientations and leadership activity. In
addition, non-manual employee(ers) appear to perceive somewhat greater
degrees of governmental impact, perhaps as a result of the relevance of
government policy to their occupations.

TABLE 5-3

Zero-Order Correlations Between Occupational Status
and Each Intervening Variable

Political Attentiveness	.16**
Political Efficacy	.22**
Perceived Political Understanding	.14*
Perceived Government Impact	.10*
Organizational Memebership	.09*
Organizational Meeting Activity	.07
Leadership Status	.31**

* Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .0005 level

What is of particular interest in Table 5-3 is that occupational
status has a low correlation of .09 with organizational membership. It
is possible, however, that occupation is affecting organizational member-
ship through its association with leadership and gender differences: i.e.,
.32 and .22 respectively. That is, because leaders and males are more
likely to hold non-manual occupations, the effects of employment status
are transmitted through these two variables. In addition, occupation has
a non-significant correlation of .07 with organizational meeting activity.
As was mentioned in the context of education, however, it is possible that
older residents and local leaders within the organizational memberships
will be more highly concerned with organizational activities. And further,
their inter-personal and socio-political experiences will single them out

as prime actors in organizational meetings.

In summary, the correlations in Table 5-3 lend a certain amount of

support to the earlier contentions that occupational status may be affecting

participation by way of its association with political attitudes and leader-

ship status. In spite of its low correlations with the two measures of

organizational involvement, the occupational variable is in general terms,

more highly associated with the intervening variables than education.

And further, based upon the correlations between these intervening
40
variables and general participation, one might expect that occupational

status will prove to be a fairly dominant factor in the explanation of

overall political activity.

If we refer back to Table 5-1, we also notice that occupation has

correlations of .35 and .18 with non-electoral and electoral activity

respectively. The variation between these coefficients, however, may

be understood in the context of the intervening process or combination

of variables. For instance, we have already seen that increased occupa-

tional status is generally associated with such political attitudes as

attentiveness, efficacy, perceived political understanding and perceived

government impact. We have also noted that the measures of non-electoral

activity pertain to one's perceptions of political behavior rather

than actual political action. In this sense, non-electoral partici-

pation should theoretically be more closely related to the presence of

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39. This is supported by correlations of .20 and .21 for organizational
    meeting activity with age and leadership status respectively.

40. All of these correlations are statistically significant at the .05
    level. Six of the seven correlations between the intervening variables
    and general participation range from .21 to .43. The one exception
    is a correlation of .08 concerning perceived government impact.

certain civic orientations. It is therefore conceivable that the effects

of occupational status are being at least partially transmitted through

its association with the attitudinal variables. Electoral activity,

however, may not be so closely tied to these civic attitudes, and as a

result is less highly correlated with occupation.[41] Perhaps the greatest

impact occupation has on both electoral and non-electoral participation is

indirectly through its association with leadership status.

Gender

Within the context of the theoretical framework, it was hypothesized

that males are more likely to become politically active than females.

Table 5-1 indicates that the correlation between gender and general

participation is .30. Similarly, gender correlates with non-electoral

and electoral involvement at .30 and .19 respectively. Each of these

correlations are statistically significant at the .0005 level, and as

a result the null hypothesis of no association between male-female

difference and political activity is rejected. The data, therefore,

demonstrate that gender and all three indices of participation are

positively and significantly related.

Statistical relationships alone, however, cannot explain why such

an association might exist. For this we must refer to the theoretical

rationale. For instance, in Chapter III it was suggested that males are

more likely to hold professional, managerial and skilled occupations in

the employment structure of small towns. Moreover, to the extent that

occupational status is positively related to the acquisition of civic

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41. Refer back to this discussion under Education.

orientations and socio-political stimuli, its effects are partially

felt through the association between gender and political involvement.

In this sense, the process of sex-role socialization indirectly influences

who will become political participants, by encouraging males to seek higher

status employment positions. In addition, males are expected to be more

active community organizers and leaders than females, and further, such

activities create environments in which citizens may develop and make

use of socio-political skills and resources. On the basis of these

theoretical expectations, it is possible to at least partially predict

and explain gender differences in political activity.

Table 5-4 displays the correlations between gender and the intervening

variables mentioned above.

TABLE 5-4

Zero-Order Correlations Between Gender
and Each Intervening Variable

Political Attentiveness	.15*
Political Efficacy	.23**
Perceived Political Understanding	.25**
Perceived Government Impact	.07
Organizational Membership	.21**
Organizational Meeting Activity	.06
Leadership Status	.41**

* Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .0005 level

The correlations in this table clearly indicate that males are more

likely to follow political affairs, feel they understand political issues

and perceive higher levels of political efficacy. Perceived government

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42. For a more extended discussion of this point refer to the section
in this chapter under Occupation.

impact has a non-significant correlation of .07 with gender. However, this is not surprising in the sense that this variable has very low correlations with all of the other independent and dependent variables employed in this analysis. Leadership status is the only variable with which perceived government impact correlates to any significant extent, and then the coefficient is less than .16. Although, this is theoretically reasonable in the sense that community leaders are expected to be more concerned with political matters and government policy, and as a result perceive greater degrees of governmental impact.

Table 5-4 also demonstrates that gender is strongly associated with organizational membership and leadership status, but only weakly related to organizational meeting activity. The low association between the latter of these variables and gender may in part be due to predominantly male memberships in most local organizations. To the extent that there are more males in certain voluntary associations, the greater are the chances that there will be male members who do not attend meetings frequently. As a result, gender will not correlate well with organizational meeting activity. Perhaps what is more important to this form of organizational involvement is not so much whether members are male (if in fact most of them are), but rather whether they are highly committed to the organization and its place in the community. On the basis of this rationale, it is not difficult to understand why leadership status should correlate at .21 with meeting activity.

In general terms, therefore, the correlations presented in Table 5-4 support the theoretical hypotheses and explanations discussed earlier.

It is also important to note that if we compare Tables 5-3 and 5-4 we notice gender correlates with the intervening variables in a similar fashion to that exhibited by occupational status. This similarity in the correlation matrices and the coefficient of .36 between occupation and gender may be suggesting that some part of the association between gender and the intervening process is attributable to the effects of employment status. In addition, gender and occupation demonstrate comparable correlations with all three of the indices of political participation. In this sense, occupation is expected to remain a dominant factor in the analysis of political involvement after controlling for the effects of gender differences. Gender, on the other hand, may not prove so important a factor in the final analysis once the effects of such variables as occupation and leadership are removed.

In summary, we will comment briefly about the correlations that gender has with the non-electoral and electoral scales of participation. Within the context of the analyses of education and occupation in this chapter, it was suggested that political attitudes should prove more closely related to non-electoral activities by virtue of their perceptual nature. In addition, citizens who are more active in community organizations and leadership roles will most likely feel they have engaged in some form of political influence, even if local in context. Consequently, it is not theoretically unreasonable to find a correlation of .30 between gender and non-electoral participation, in the sense that gender is strongly associated with five of the seven intervening variables. And further, because these intervening variables are not so highly related to electoral activity, it is not surprising that gender is correlated at .19 with this form of

participation.

Age, Length of Residence and Home Ownership

There have been a number of socio-politcal researchers who have made
use of such theoretical concepts as <u>social integration</u> and <u>community attach-
ment</u> to facilitate the explanation of political awareness and behavior.[43]
In a similar vein, it is possible to theoretically weave together some of
the effects of age, length of residence and home ownership to develop what
may be termed an "integrationist" model. The present analysis will proceed
with this theme in mind.

Most studies of political participation have found a <u>curvilinear</u>
relationship between age and political activity. That is, in the early
years after reaching the voting age, individuals have low participation
rates, rising in the middle-years and declining in the later years.[44]
Figure 6 demonstrates a similar pattern. This figure presents the <u>average</u>
scores of the various age groups on the overall scale of participation.

The usual explanations for this relationship are based upon the
"integrationist" concepts "start-up" and "slow-down" (Verba and Nie,
1972:139). Using this line of reasoning in Chapter III, it has been
suggested that citizens in their earlier years of life (let us say under
thirty-six), may not be sufficiently settled into their communities to
develop the kind of attachment or integration which is associated with
the later years of life and long-term residence. Concomitantly, younger
citizens are more likely to be occupationally and residentially mobile,
further detracting from their concern for community affairs.

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43. For instance Sykes (1951) and Lipset et al. (1954).

44. For citations of these findings, see Milbrath, 1965:134-5.
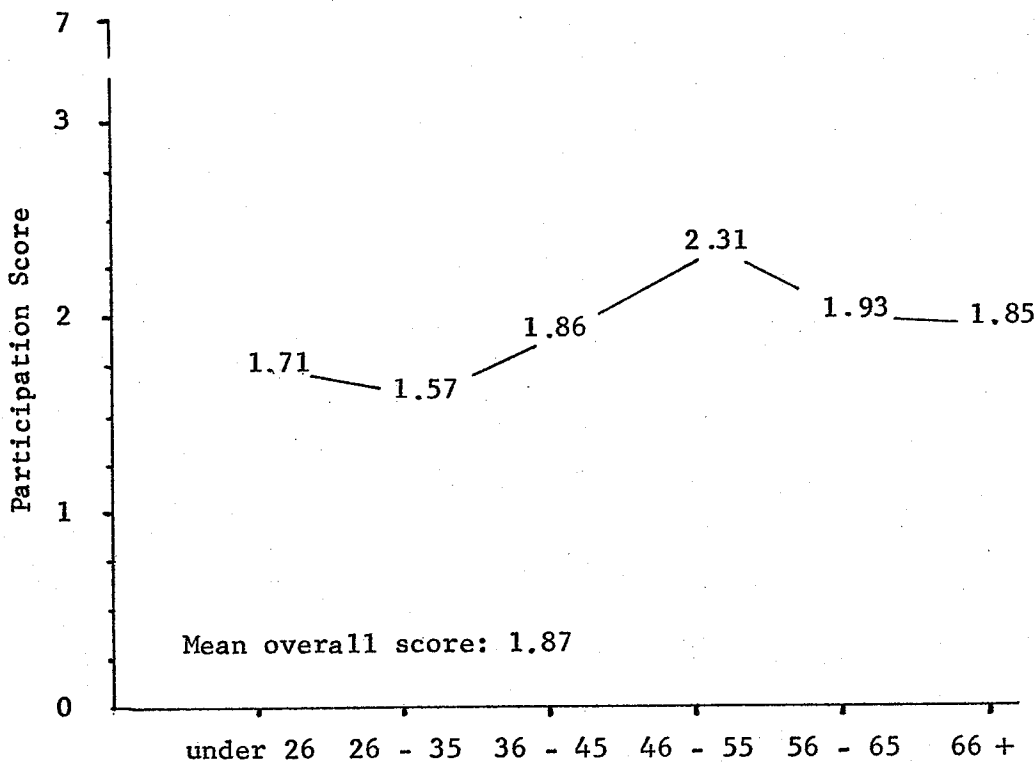
FIGURE 5-1: Age and Overall Participation

In terms of the "integrationist" theme, middle-aged individuals

(approximately thirty-six to fifty-five years of age) are expected to

become more involved in community leadership and organization, partially

as a result of the aging process and its strong positive association with
45
both length of residence and home ownership.   In other words, because

middle-aged residents have generally lived in the community for longer

periods of time, they are expected to have greater subjective and objective

attachments to the community and its future. The subjective or psychologi-

cal attachment will stimulate certain individuals to become more active

in local matters through community organization and leadership. And

further, because residents are more likely to purchase their own home

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45. Age correlates with length of residence and home ownership at
    .38 and .39 respectively.

as they grow older, it is also reasonable to suggest that there will be more middle-aged than younger residents who will become home owners in the community.[46] In so doing, citizens develop a certain degree of capital or objective investment in their home town, which in turn heightens their psychological attachment to the community.

What is of theoretical importance in the preceding discussion is that both the objective and subjective attachments to the community will create greater involvement in community affairs. As a result of this involvement, certain individuals are likely to gain socio-political knowledge and experience which will lead them to increased political activity. In terms of the "integrationist" model, however, both age and length of residence reach a point beyond which community activity begins to decrease. In this sense, socio-political withdrawal and occupational retirement interact to induce lower levels of political participation among the older, long-term community residents.

We have seen from Figure 5-1, that average participation rates do tend to increase from the late twenties on into the early fifties, declining gradually after the age of fifty-five. It is important to note, however, that the data indicate that, on the average, citizens under twenty-six are more politically active than their seniors of ages twenty-six to thrity-five. One possible explanation may be that the younger residents may have slightly higher average levels of education.[47]

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46. This trend toward increased home ownership among middle-aged residents, may partially be a reflection of greater income and occupation stability, as well as a host of marital-familial responsibilities often associated with middle age.

47. This contention is consistent with a correlation of -.25 between age and education.

In this sense, higher education and the increased political attentiveness with which it is associated, will be inducing greater degrees of community and political involvement. Concomitantly, citizens between ages twenty-six and thirty-five may not be sufficiently integrated into their communities to demonstrate the positive effects it has on political participation.

A second explanation for this departure from general findings is concerned with the presence of electoral activities in the scale of overall participation. In looking at the relationship between age and political party activity in the data, we noticed that residents under twenty-six years of age were among the highest participants. During the New Democratic government in Manitoba, however, the younger more highly educated community residents may have been more inclined to express the socialist leanings of their political ideologies through New Democratic Party memberships. As a result of higher party activity within the under twenty-six age group, average participation scores for these individuals are somehat larger than anticipated (relative to other age categories).

Figure 5-2 indicates the relationship between length of residence and overall participation. It presents average participation scores for the various terms of community residence. On the basis of this representation, we notice that the data do not entirely support the "integrationist" suggestion that participation rates will gradually increase with length of residence and at a certain point begin to decline.[48] Figure 5-2 indicates more of a linear relationship between these two variables. That is, participation increases sharply between six and fifteen years of residence,

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48. See for instance Alford and Scoble (1968b).

declining minimally from sixteen to fifty years, and increasing again

for residents of fifty-one years or more. It is not surprising, there-

fore, that length of residence demonstrates consistently high correlations

with all three scales of political involvement in Table 5-1.
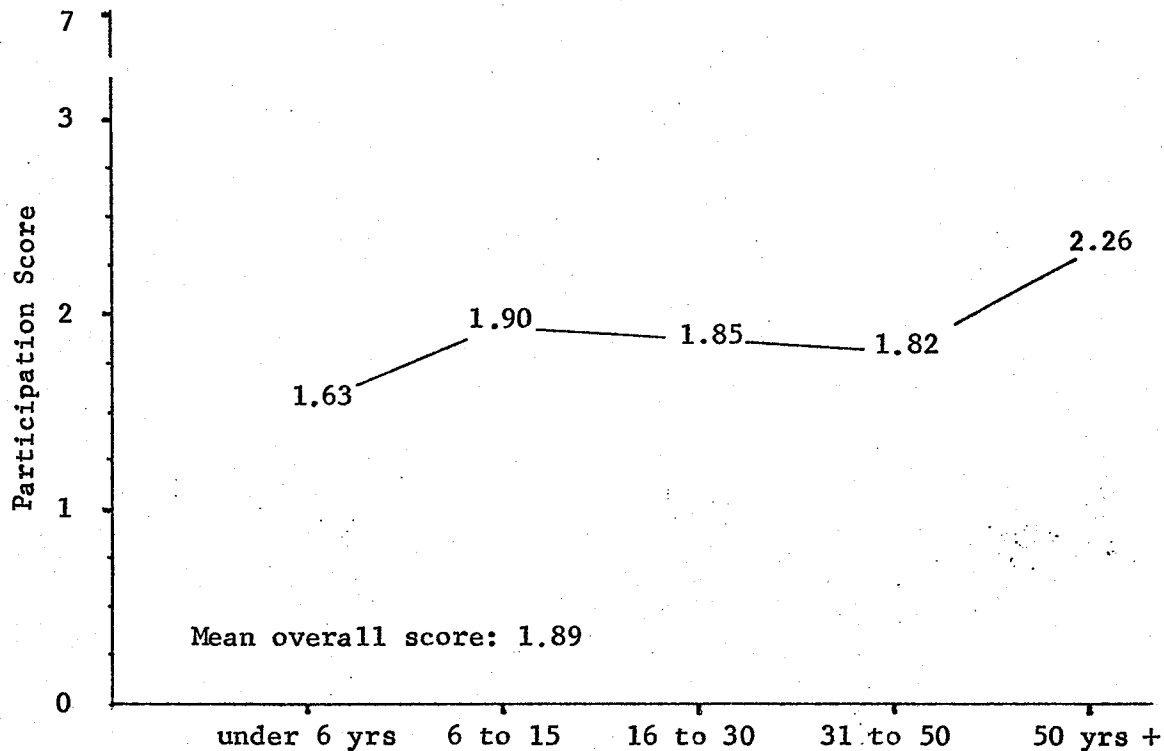
FIGURE 5-2: Length of Residence and Overall Participation

In order to further examine the "integrationist" model, Table 5-5

displays the correlations for age, length of residence and home ownership

with three community-related measures of activity. With the exception of

the correlation between length of residence and organizational meeting

activity, all three of the socio-personal (independent) variables are

positively and significantly related to community organization and leader-

ship activity. In this sense, the "integrationist" model does facilitate

the explanation of how age, length of residence and home ownership are

associated with political participation. The effects of each of these

socio-demographic variables may be theoretically, and to some extent

statistically traced to political involvement through their influence

on the three community-related (intervening) variables noted in Table

5-5. However, in the sense that age, length of residence and home

ownership are highly inter-correlated, simple correlation analysis is

unable to <u>disentangle</u> their respective effects. As a result, multiple

regression analysis will be employed to statistically indicate the

relative effects of each of these variables on political participation,

after controlling for all others included in the study.

TABLE 5-5

Zero-Order Correlations for Age, Length of Residence
and Home Ownership with Three Intervening Variables

Intervening Variables	Age	Length of Residence	Home Ownership
Organizational Membership	.18**	.11*	.17**
Organizational Meeting Activity	.20**	.02	.14*
Leadership Status	.16**	.23**	.11*

* Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .0005 level

In summary, if we refer back to Table 5-1, we notice that age, length

of residence and home ownership have similar correlations with each of the

three participation scales. This is theoretically reasonable, however,

in the sense that these three socio-personal variables also exhibit similar

correlation patterns with the community-related intervening variables in

Table 5-5. And further, it is not surprising that age, length of residence

and home ownership have lower correlations with political party activity,

when we have already seen that organization and leadership activity are

more highly related to non-electoral than electoral participation. It

is also important to note that length of residence has comparable cor-

relations across the different indices of political activity. Unlike age,

however, length of residence and participation tend to increase together

without the usual decline associated with the upper limits of community

residence. As a result, we might expect that length of residence will

prove to be a more dominant factor than age in the analysis of political

participation.

Community Size

The final independent variable included in this analysis refers to

a difference in the size of the study communities: i.e., 500 to 999,

1000 to 1999 and 2000 to 3500 people. In Chapter III it was suggested

that as communities grow and change, they develop a more diversified

business sector as well as more secondary industry. As a result, there

are more skilled workers, businessmen and professionals within the com-

munity's populace, which in turn increases average levels of education.

The data demonstrate that community size has respective correlations of

.11 and .16 with education and occupational status. In the sense that

each of these associations is positive and statistically significant at

the .05 level, the data at least partially support the theoretical rationale.

It was also suggested in the context of the theoretical framework,

that larger communities may offer more voluntary associations to their

residents, and consequently organizational membership was expected to increase

with community size. The data indicate a very minimal correlation of

.04 between community size and organizational membership. Community size,

however, does have a correlation of .22 with political attentiveness,

suggesting that small town growth is accompanied by greater attention to political affairs (among respective residents). Although, this association may well be a reflection of the positive relationship community size has with education and occupation.

In summary, we might theoretically expect that the positive correlates between community size and political participation exhibited in Table 5-1, are partially a function of the relationships this variable has with education, occupation and political attentiveness. And further, once multiple regression controls for the effects of these variables, community size will contribute very little to the explanation of political activity.

Up to this point, the present analysis has been restricted to the evaluation of the hypotheses and their supportive rationale within the theoretical framework. This framework has indicated that the intervening process is of _primary_ importance to the prediction and explanation of political participation. In order to conclude the bivariate correlation analysis section of this chapter, we will note something of the interaction (inter-correlation) within the intervening process.

Table 5-6 presents the correlations among the seven intervening variables. In this table we note that the attitudinal variables are very _minimally_ interactive. The mean correlation within the cluster of political attitudes is only .06. However, we have mentioned earlier in the Chapter IV that the composite indices used to measure these four variables were constructed on the basis of a principal-factor solution with _quartimax_ (orthogonal) rotation. This factor-analytic technique ensures that the various factors (or variables) are uncorrelated (or only marginally so). In this sense, the problem of _multicollinearity_

among independent variables is alleviated in regard to the attitudinal

factors. Consequently, however, the only significant correlation within

the intervening-attitudinal process is between political attentiveness

and perceived political understanding.

TABLE 5-6

Zero-Order Correlations Among the Seven
Intervening Variables

Intervening Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Political Attentiveness	-	.09*	.17**	.04	.33**	.19**	.23**
2. Political Efficacy		-	.07	.00	.18**	.07	.24**
3. Perceived Political Understanding		Attitudinal	-	-.01	.13*	.05	.22**
4. Perceived Gov't Impact		Variables		-	.10*	.04	.16**
5. Organizational Membership					-	.46**	.32**
6. Organizational Meeting Activity						-	.21**
7. Leadership Activity			Organizational Variables				-

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* Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .0005 level
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The second cluster of correlations is that containing the organizational
        49
variables. The mean correlation within this box (outlined in the table above)

is .33. Although, this is consistent with the earlier analysis and theoreti-

cal framework, in the sense that citizens who are highly involved in com-

munity-related activites are likely to become active community organizers

and leaders. And further, even though the attitudinal variables are not

generally inter-correlated with each other, they do tend to correlate well

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49. Although strictly speaking, leadership is not an organizational variable,
    it does have very definite theoretical ties with organizational activity.
    For a discussion, see Chapter III.

with the organizational variables. For instance, all but three of the

twelve correlations outside of the two boxes are statistically significant

at the .05 level.

On closer examination, Table 5-6 reveals that certain of the inter-

vening variables are significantly correlated with all or most of the others

in the intervening process. Leadership, for example, has correlations with

the other variables which are all statistically significant at the .0005

level. In addition, all but one correlation between organizational mem-

bership and the remaining intervening variables reach the .05 level of

statistical significance. And further, four of the six correlation

coefficients between political attentiveness and the other variables in

the intervening process are statistically significant at the .0005 level.

On the basis of the high degree of inter-correlation between these inter-

vening variables, and their strong associations with both the socio-personal
50
(independent) and dependent variables, we might expect that these three

variables will be the most dominant in the final regression analysis of

political participation.

In conclusion, the preceding bivariate correlation analysis has

allowed us to gauge something of the interaction between the predictor

and criterion variables included in this analysis. On the basis of simple

correlations, however, we are unable to determine the relative explana-

tory powers of each predictor variable vis-a-vis each index of political

participation. For this we must refer to stepwise multiple regression

analysis.

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50. Refer to Tables 5-1 through 5-5.

Stepwise multiple regression will be employed to evaluate the linear dependence of each of three scales of political participation discussed in Chapter IV, on the independent variables included in each of the three models presented in the theoretical framwork: i.e., the _overall_, _attitudinal_ and _organizational_ models. In this sense, we will be able to compare the relative explanatory powers of each model in terms of the various measures of political activity. And further, multiple regression will indicate which of the independent variables _within_ each of the separate models best explain the variation in _electoral_, _non-electoral_ and _overall_ _participation_.

Before proceeding, however, it should also be noted that the theoretical framework and the preceding analysis, place a good deal of emphasis on the intervening variables included in this study. Chapter III made reference to three conceptual models employing various combinations of independent and intervening variables to assist the explanation of political activity. What is of primary importance within each of these models is the manner in which the socio-personal (or independent) variables are theoretically _linked_ to political activity _by way_ of several attitudinal and/or organizational variables. In this sense, the theoretical effects of the socio-personal variables upon participation are _mediated_ through the intervening process. As a result, variation in the independent variables is accompanied by variation in the intervening variables, which in turn leads to differing rates of participation.

If our theoretical speculations are correct, we might expect that the statistical effects of the independent variables will for the most part be _subsumed_ within the associations between the intervening process and

political involvement. Stepwise multiple regression will be employed to
indicate to what extent the attitudinal and organizational variables
dominate the statistical explanation of the variance in each of the
three scales of political activity.

Electoral or Political Party Activity

It has already been suggested that electoral activity (as measured
in this thesis) is expected to be more closely associated with the organi-
zational than the attitudinal variables. For instance, Table 5-1 indicates
community leadership and organizational membership both have correlations
of .29 with political party activity. The only comparable correlation
between the attitudinal variables and electoral participation is that
concerning political attentiveness at .27. Although even here, attentive-
ness may be partially a function of organizational activity and somewhat
less a product of such measures of social status as education and occupa-
tion. In a theoretical sense, because political parties are actually part
of the organizational structure of a community, they offer residents the
opportunity to organize around community and political issues. As such,
high social status with its associated political attitudes, may not be so
important to political party activity in rural communities. In other
words, lower status citizens are likely to share certain community and
political concerns which lead to their expression in community and
political organizations.

What follows are the results of a series of stepwise regression
analyses of the linear dependence of electoral participation on the pre-
dictor variables included in each of the three conceptual models. These
results are arranged so as to present the model explaining the least
variance in electoral activity _first_, and that explaining the most

variance, _last_.

1. The Attitudinal Model

As was anticipated earlier, the attitudinal model proves to be the least effective of the models, accounting for only 11.6 percent of the variation in political party activity. Table 5-7 displays the summary table output with this multiple regression equation.

TABLE 5-7

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Electoral Activity with the Attitudinal Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Political Attentiveness	.265	.070	.070	.265
Gender	.306	.094	.023	.189
Occupation	.320	.102	.009	.181
Age	.330	.109	.006	.095
Perceived Political Understanding	.335	.112	.004	.142
Political Efficacy	.338	.114	.002	.123
Community Size	.341	.116	.002	.098
Education	.341	.116	.000	.103

[a]Perceived Government Impact was not included in this equation as it did not meet the default F-level inclusion criterion employed by Nie et al., 1975:346.

$$\underline{\text{Electoral Activity}} = -0.0993 + 0.2096x_1 + 0.2035x_2 + 0.1718x_3 + 0.0532x_4 + 0.0941x_5 + 0.0530x_6 + 0.0526x_7 + 0.0109x_8$$

From this table we notice that only two of the variables in the attitudinal model account for more than _one_ percent of the total variance in electoral participation. Of these two, political attentiveness proves to be the strongest predictor variable, explaining 7 percent of the variance, while gender is responsible for 2.3 percent. Occupation and age are

border line variables, accounting for .9 and .6 percent of the variance

respectively, while all the remaining variables together explain only

.4 percent.

The ordering of these variables and the dominance of the

intervening variable, political attentiveness, are consistent with the

theoretical framework and the preceding simple correlation analysis.

For example, with only one exception, all of the correlations between

attentiveness and the remaining variables in the attitudinal model, are
[51]
statistically significant at the .05 level.   In this sense, it is not

surprising that political attentiveness entered the regression equation

first.   And further, as a result of its inclusion, the other variables

in the model contribute very little more to the explanation of political

party activity.

On the basis of the theoretical framework, we might have expected

that the other attitudinal variables would be of more importance. Perceived

political understanding and political efficacy together, account for only

.6 percent of the variance in electoral activity, while perceived government

impact did not enter the equation at all.   However, perceived political

understanding has respective simple correlations of .25 and .17 with

gender and political attentiveness.   In the sense that these latter

variables enter the regression equation on steps one and two, it is not

surprising that perceived political understanding should have such little

effect on political party activity.   Similarly, political efficacy

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51. The one exception pertains to perceived government impact, which
    did not meet all of the statistical criteria for inclusion.

has respective correlations of .23 and .22 with gender and occupation, both of which enter the equation before political efficacy. As a result, efficacy explains only .2 percent of the variance in electoral participation.

In summary, although the attitudinal model accounts for only 11.6 percent of the total variance in political party activity, the dominance of political attentiveness in this analysis lends some support to the theoretical framework.

2. The Organizational Model

The organizational model of participation explains approximately 4 percent more of the variance in electoral activity than the attitudinal model. The results of stepwise multiple regression analysis of electoral activity with the organizational model, are presented in Table 5-8. This table indicates that 15.5 percent of the variance in political party activity is explained by the variables included in the organizational model.

TABLE 5-8

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Electoral Activity with the Organizational Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Leadership Status	.293	.086	.086	.293
Organizational Membership	.358	.128	.043	.289
Occupation	.371	.137	.009	.181
Length of Residence	.383	.147	.009	.151
Community Size	.391	.153	.006	.098
Gender	.392	.154	.001	.189
Organizational Meeting Activity	.394	.155	.001	.162
Education	.394	.155	.000	.103

[a]Neither age nor home ownership met the default F-level inclusion criterion for this regression equation.

$$\text{Electoral Activity} = -0.5190 + 0.3464x_1 + 0.3635x_2 + 0.1742x_3 + 0.0844x_4 + 0.1059x_5 + 0.0843x_6 + 0.0651x_7 + 0.0226x_8$$

Of the variables included in the organizational model, leadership status and organizational membership (both of which are within the intervening process) are the only two which explain more than one percent of the variance in electoral activity. Leadership status is the most powerful predictor, accounting for 8.6 percent of the variance, while organizational membership is second, explaining 4.3 percent. In addition, occupation and gender each explain .9 percent of the variance in electoral participation, while all of the variables entering on subsequent steps are responsible for only .8 percent.

The ordering and relative predictive powers of these variables, in terms of political party activity, lend a certain amount of support to the theoretical framework. For instance, the two intervening variables, leadership status and organizational membership, account for approximately 12.8 percent of the variance in political party activity. After their inclusion into the regression equation, the remaining variables contribute only 2.7 percent more. In other words, the greatest portion of the organizational model's total predictive capability is subsumed within these two intervening variables. In addition, this is consistent with the simple correlations for leadership and organizational membership with all the other variables in the model. With the exception of only one correlation, both of these variables have correlations with all of the remaining variables which are statistically significant at the .05 [52] level. It is, therefore, not surprising that once leadership status and organizational membership enter the regression analysis, all subsequent inclusion steps contribute little more to the final predictive

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52. The one exception related to the Community Size variable.

equation for electoral participation.

In summary, the organizational model includes certain intervening variables which are better able to account for political party activity. As such, the above analysis tends to support our theoretical speculations concerning the relative importance of the models, and within each of these, the most dominant predictors of political participation in rural southwestern Manitoba.

3. The Overall Model

The conceptual model which best accounts for the variation in electoral activity is the <u>overall</u> model of participation, explaining 17.5 percent of the variance. However, the overall model only improves on the organizational model by approximately 2 percent. Table 5-9 displays a summary of the results obtained from a stepwise multiple regression equation analyzing the linear dependence of political party activity on the variables included in the overall model. We can see that the pattern of inclusion and explained variance is very similar to those shown in Tables 5-7 and 5-8, the differences being largely attributable to the fact that the overall model combines the predictive capabilities of <u>both</u> restricted models: i.e., the attitudinal and organizational models.

The first three variables to enter the regression equation are leadership status, organizational membership and political attentiveness, explaining 8.6, 4.3 and 2.3 percent of the variance respectively. Altogether, these three intervening variables account for 15.1 percent of the variance in electoral activity. Length of residence explains .7 percent of the variance, while occupation contributes an additional .9 percent. All

of the remaining variables together account for approximately .7 percent

of the variation in electoral participation.

TABLE 5-9

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Electoral Activity with the Overall Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Leadership Status	.293	.086	.086	.293
Organizational Membership	.358	.128	.043	.289
Political Attentiveness	.389	.151	.023	.265
Length of Residence	.398	.158	.007	.151
Occupation	.409	.168	.009	.181
Community Size	.412	.170	.003	.098
Perceived Government Impact	.415	.172	.002	.023
Perceived Political Understanding	.417	.174	.001	.142
Gender	.417	.174	.001	.189
Organizational Meeting Activity	.418	.175	.001	.162
Education	.418	.175	.000	.103
Age	.419	.175	.000	.095
Political Efficacy	.419	.175	.000	.123

[a]Home ownership was included in this equation as it did not meet
the default F-level inclusion criterion.

$$\text{Electoral Activity} = -0.2262 + 0.3280x_1 + 0.3077x_2 + 0.1531x_3 + 0.0842x_4 + 0.1767x_5 + 0.0740x_6 + -0.0536x_7 + 0.0496x_8 + 0.0512x_9 + 0.0552x_{10} + -0.0211x_{11} + -0.0129x_{12} + 0.0120x_{13}$$

It is important to note, that while the complete overall model explains

17.5 percent of the variance in political party activity, the first three

variables dominate the analysis with approximately 15.1 percent of the

variance. In addition, given previous comments concerning the high level

of inter-correlation between these three predictors and the other variables in the overall model, the preceding regression equation only proves to mobilize additional support for the theoretical framework. That is, both the hypotheses and the theoretical rationale have indicated that the socio-personal (or independent) variables should have their greatest impact on political participation through their influence on the intervening process. As a result, we expected that the intervening variables would become the most effective predictors of political activity, because their relationships with participation would include (for the most part) the effects of the socio-personal variables. All three tables presented above, support this contention, as we notice that <u>leadership status</u>, <u>organizational membership</u> and <u>political attentiveness</u> are the most dominant factors in the analysis of electoral participation. And further, once these three intervening variables enter into the regression analysis, the remaining variables contribute very little to the final predictive equation.

In conclusion, the overall model demonstrates the best predictive powers in dealing with political party activity. Of the two restricted models, however, the organizational model includes certain variables which are better suited to the analysis of electoral activity in rural southwestern Manitoba. We will now turn to stepwise multiple regression analyses of non-electoral participation.

Non-electoral Activity

In the process of constructing the non-electoral scale of political participation and analyzing its correlations with the predictor variables included in this study, it was suggested that this form of political

activity should be closely related to the attitudinal variables. The

rationale basis for this speculation is closely related to the nature of

the non-electoral activities themselves. In Chapter IV, we noted that

this thesis defines non-electoral participation in terms of the respondent's

perceptions or attitudes toward their own political behavior. In other

words, the respondents must decide whether they have ever attempted to

influence a local regulation or act of the Manitoba legislature, and

further, the extent to which they talk about public affairs. As a result

of the perceptual nature of the non-electoral items, we might expect that

the attitudinal model rather than the organizational model will best account

for this type of political activity. What follows are the results of a

series of stepwise multiple regression analyses of the linear dependence

of non-electoral activity on the predictor variables included in each of

the three conceptual models. The model which explains the least variance

in non-electoral participation is presented first, and that which explains

the most, last.

1. The Organizational Model

Stepwise multiple regression analysis of non-electoral activity

revealed that the organizational model is the least effective of the models

in accounting for variation in non-electoral participation. However, this

model does account for 35.9 percent of the variance in the scale of non-

electoral activity, amounting to over 20 percent more than its explanatory

powers in respect to political party activity. A summary of the results

of this regression equation in Table 5-10, indicates that once again, leader-

ship status and organizational membership prove to be the best predictors

within the organizational model. Leadership status alone, explains 19.2

percent of the variance in non-electoral participation, while organizational membership accounts for an additional 6.1 percent. As a result, these two variables together, explain 25.3 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity. In this sense, the analysis further supports the theoretical framework and the emphasis it places on the intervening process.

TABLE 5-10

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Non-electoral Activity with the Organizational Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Leadership Status	.438	.192	.192	.438
Organizational Membership	.503	.253	.061	.375
Occupation	.550	.303	.050	.348
Education	.571	.326	.023	.311
Length of Residence	.585	.343	.017	.160
Gender	.589	.347	.004	.305
Age	.594	.352	.005	.126
Community Size	.596	.355	.003	.106
Organizational Meeting Activity	.598	.358	.002	.227
Home Ownership	.599	.359	.001	.127

[a] Non-electoral Activity = $-0.8107 + 0.4818x_1 + 0.3639x_2 + 0.3536x_3 + 0.2308x_4 + 0.0987x_5 + 0.1982x_6 + 0.0400x_7 + 0.0816x_8 + 0.1104x_9 + 0.1228x_{10}$

The explained variance results of this analysis of non-electoral activity, demonstrate a somewhat different pattern to those for political party activity. That is, the intervening variables are no longer the only variables in the organizational model which explain more than one percent of the variance. For instance, in Table 5-10, we notice that occupation enters the analysis on the third step accounting for 5.0 percent of the

variance in non-electoral participation, while education contributes an

additional 2.3 percent to the prediction equation. We have commented

earlier, however, that we expected the attitudinal variables to better

explain non-electoral activity. Furthermore, we have already seen in

Table 5-2 and 5-3 in the preceding simple correlation analysis, that

occupation and education are highly related to certain political attitudes,

as well as the scale of non-electoral participation itself. In this sense,

given the fact that the attitudinal variables are not included in the organi-

zational model, it is theoretically reasonable to assume that occupation and

education are able to explain as much of the variance in non-electoral parti-

cipation as they do, partially as a result of their inter-relationships with

certain attitudinal variables. In addition, length of residence accounts

for 1.7 percent of the variance in non-electoral participation, while all

the variables entering the analysis on subsequent steps explain an additional

1.6 percent.

In summary, it is important to note that leadership status and organi-

zational membership are the two best predictors of non-electoral activity

in the organizational model. And further, these two intervening variables

are responsible for over 70 percent of the variance explained by the complete

organizational model, demonstrating that the intervening variables are,

statistically speaking, the most dominant of the predictor variables.

2. The Attitudinal Model

The attitudinal model of participation explains approximately

7.4 percent more of the variation in non-electoral activity than the

organizational model. Table 5-11 indicates the manner in which the

predictor variables in the attitudinal model arrange themselves in order

to account for 43.3 percent of the variance in non-electoral participation. We notice in this table, that seven of the nine variables included in the attitudinal model explain more than one percent of the variance in non-electoral activity. What is of special importance, however, is the observation that the intervening variables, political attentiveness and political efficacy, are the two _best_ predictors of non-electoral participation in this analysis. Attentiveness enters the regression equation on the first step, accounting for 22.3 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity, while efficacy enters second explaining an additional 11.3 percent. In the sense that these two variables are able to account for 33.6 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity, this analysis lends a certain amount of support to the theoretical framework.

TABLE 5-11

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Non-electoral Activity with the Attitudinal Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Political Attentiveness	.472	.223	.223	.472
Political Efficacy	.580	.336	.113	.379
Occupation	.616	.379	.044	.348
Perceived Political Understanding	.628	.395	.015	.244
Education	.637	.405	.010	.311
Age	.646	.417	.012	.126
Gender	.653	.426	.010	.305
Perceived Government Impact	.658	.433	.006	.115
Community Size	.658	.433	.000	.106

[a]_Non-electoral Activity_ = $0.1448 + 0.3648x_1 + 0.3066x_2 + 0.2822x_3 + 0.1718x_4 + 0.1688x_5 + 0.0831x_6 + 0.1021x_7 + 0.1021x_8 + -0.0096x_9$

Occupation explains approximately 4.4 percent of the variance in non-electoral participation, entering the regression equation before the intervening variable, perceived political understanding, which in turn accounts for an additional 1.5 percent. One might expect, however, that the strength of occupation in this analysis, is in part due to its high correlation of .31 with organizational membership, one of the two most dominant factors in the organizational model. In this sense, the effects of organizational membership on non-electoral activity, are being partially transmitted through occupation.

The next three variables entering the regression equation are education, age and gender, in that order. These variables account for 1.0, 1.2 and 1.0 percent of the variance in non-electoral participation resepectively. One possible reason why these variables explain as much variance as they do, may be indirectly as a result of their associations with organization and leadership activity. In addition, the final two variables together, only account for an additional .6 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity.

In summary, it should be noted that three of the first four variables to enter the regression equation are intervening-attitudinal variables. And further, almost 78 percent of the variance explained by the complete attitudinal model, in respect to non-electoral participation, is attributable to political attentiveness and political efficacy. As a result, the analysis is to some extent consistent with the theoretical framework.

3. The Overall Model

In the sense that the overall model combines the explanatory powers of the two preceding restricted models, it is not surprising that it should

account for the greatest amount of the variation in non-electoral activity:
i.e., 47.8 percent. Table 5-12 presents a summary of the results obtained
from this analysis.

TABLE 5-12

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Non-electoral Activity with the Overall Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Political Attentiveness	.472	.223	.223	.472
Leadership Status	.582	.338	.115	.438
Political Efficacy	.640	.410	.072	.379
Occupation	.656	.431	.021	.348
Organizational Membership	.668	.447	.016	.375
Length of Residence	.674	.455	.008	.160
Education	.682	.466	.011	.311
Perceived Political Understanding	.687	.472	.006	.244
Organizational Meeting Activity	.689	.474	.002	.227
Perceived Government Impact	.690	.476	.002	.115
Gender	.690	.477	.001	.305
Home Ownership	.691	.478	.001	.127
Age	.691	.478	.000	.126
Community Size	.691	.478	.000	.106

[a]Non-electoral Activity $= -0.0452 + 0.3184x_1 + 0.3518x_2 + 0.2694x_3 + 0.2722x_4 + 0.1863x_5 + 0.0850x_6 + 0.1436x_7 + 0.1272x_8 + 0.1061x_9 + 0.0551x_{10} + 0.0784x_{11} + 0.0645x_{12} + 0.0139x_{13} + 0.0150x_{14}$

The first three variables to enter the regression equation are the
intervening variables, political attentiveness, leadership status and poli-
tical efficacy, explaining 22.3, 11.5 and 7.2 percent of the variance in
non-electoral participation respectively. Altogether, these three variables
account for 41.0 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity. It is

theoretically important to note that two of these three intervening variables
are political attitudes. In this sense, even in the context of the overall
model, two attitudinal variables prove to be among the best predictors of
non-electoral particpation.

Occupation is the fourth variable to enter the analysis, explaining
2.1 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity, while one other
intervening variable, organizational membership enters on the fifth in-
clusion step, accounting for an additional 1.6 percent. Given the nature
of the theoretical framework, we might have expected that organizational
membership should enter the regression equation before occupation. However,
organizational membership has a mean correlation of .27 with the first three
variables in the analysis, whereas occupation has a somewhat lower average
correlation of .23 with the same variables. In this sense, once attentiveness,
leadership and efficacy are included in the regression equation, occupation
will contribute more to the explanation of non-electoral participation than
organizational membership, after the effects of the first three variables
are removed.

The only other variable in the overall model which explains more than
one percent of the variation in non-electoral activity is education, while
all the variables entering the analysis on subsequent inclusion steps contri-
bute only about 2.0 percent to the final prediction equation.

In summary, stepwise mutliple regression analysis of the linear dependence
of non-electoral participation on the overall model, demonstrates that four
of the first five variables to enter the regression equation are variables
within the intervening process. In addition, attentiveness, leadership and
efficacy are responsible for almost 86 percent of the variance explained by

all of the variables included in the overall model of participation. And further, in the sense that these intervening variables are the most dominant factors in the overall model explaining non-electoral activity, the analysis tends to support our theoretical emphasis on the intervening process.

Overall Political Activity

The scale of overall participation includes measures of both electoral and non-electoral activity. However, in the sense that five of the seven items used to construct this scale are indicators of political party activity, we might expect that certain of the organizational variables will prove more effective in the explanation of overall participation, than the attitudinal variables. The results of a series of stepwise multiple regression analyses of the linear dependence of overall political activity on each of the conceptual models are presented below. The model which explains the least variation in overall political activity is presented first, and that explaining the most variance, last.

1. The Attitudinal Model

On the basis of regression analysis, the attitudinal model proved to be the least effective of the models in explaining overall participation. Even so, however, the attitudinal model accounted for approximately 30 percent of the variation in overall political activity. A summary of the results of this regression equation in Table 5-13, indicates that the three best predictors of overall participation are political attentiveness, gender and political efficacy, in that order. These variables account for 15.4, 6.2 and 3.6 percent of the variance in overall political activity respectively. It is important, however, to note that two of these first three variables are intervening variables: i.e., political attentiveness and political efficacy.

In addition, political attentiveness and efficacy combine to explain 21.6

percent of the variance in overall participation.

TABLE 5-13

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Overall Political Activity with the Attitudinal Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Political Attentiveness	.393	.154	.154	.393
Gender	.465	.216	.062	.304
Political Efficacy	.502	.252	.036	.275
Occupation	.516	.266	.014	.283
Age	.530	.281	.015	.156
Education	.540	.291	.010	.226
Perceived Political Understanding	.546	.299	.008	.213
Perceived Government Impact	.548	.300	.002	.078
Community Size	.548	.300	.000	.100

[a]<u>Overall Political Activity</u> $= -0.2203 + 0.4011x_1 + 0.4582x_2 + 0.2589x_3 + 0.2886x_4 + 0.1496x_5 + 0.1667x_6 + 0.1936x_7 + 0.0732x_8 + 0.0235x_9$

It is interesting to note that occupation enters the regression equation

prior to political efficacy. However, given the fact that the majority of

the overall participation items are measures of political party activity,

and further, that these activities are more closely related to organizational

than attitudinal variables,[53] it is not theoretically unreasonable that gender

should enter before efficacy. That is, gender has fairly strong correlations

with both organizational membership (.22) and leadership status (.41), and

as such, at least part of the influence these latter two variables have on

53. Attentiveness proves to be the only exception to the general observation, having a correlation of .27 with electoral activity.

participation is being indirectly transmitted through gender. In addition, political efficacy has a somewhat lower correlation with overall participation than gender, which may be partially as a result of efficacy's low association (.12) with electoral activity.

Occupation and age are the only two other variables in the attitudinal model which account for more than one percent of the variance in overall political activity, whereas education only explains an additional 1.0 percent. Altogether, the variables entering the regression equation on subsequent steps contribute approximately 1.0 percent to the final prediction equation for overall participation.

In summary, the results of the regression analysis lend a certain amount of support to the theoretical framework, in the sense that two of the three variables explaining most of the variance in overall political activity are intervening variables. As a result, political attentiveness and political efficacy combine to account for over 63 percent of the variance explained by the complete attitudinal model.

2. The Organizational Model

The organizational model of participation explains approximately 4 percent more of the variation in overall political activity, than the attitudinal model. In so doing, the organizational model accounts for 33.9 percent of the variance in overall participation. Table 5-14 summarizes the results of this regression equation.

As was the case with both electoral and non-electoral activity, the three variables in the organizational model which are the best predictors of overall political activity are leadership status, organizational membership and occupation, in that order. In this sense, these variables are consistently

the most dominant factors included in the organizational model, irrespective of the type of political activity. Respectively, these three variables explain 18.3, 8.5 and 2.5 percent of the variation in overall participation. In addition, length of residence accounts for 1.7 percent of the variance in overall political activity, whereas education explains an additional 1.2 percent. Altogether, the variables entering the regression analysis on subsequent steps contribute 1.7 percent more to the final prediction equation for overall participation.

TABLE 5-14

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Overall Political Activity with the Organizational Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Leadership Status	.428	.183	.183	.428
Organizational Membership	.518	.269	.085	.414
Occupation	.542	.294	.025	.283
Length of Residence	.557	.311	.017	.208
Education	.568	.322	.012	.226
Gender	.573	.328	.006	.304
Community Size	.577	.333	.005	.100
Age	.580	.337	.004	.156
Organizational Meeting Activity	.581	.338	.001	.230
Home Ownership	.582	.339	.001	.135

[a]Overall Political Activity = $-1.2046 + 0.6330x_1 + 0.6747x_2 + 0.3481x_3 + 0.1636x_4 + 0.2008x_5 + 0.3026x_6 + 0.1258x_7 + 0.0502x_8 + 0.1100x_9 + 0.1307x_{10}$

It is theoretically important to note, that two of the three variables which best account for the variation in overall political activity are intervening variables: i.e., leadership status and organizational membership.

Together, these two variables explain approximately 26.9 percent of the variation in overall participation. And further, after their inclusion in the regression equation, the subsequent eight variables account for only 7 percent more of the variance in overall political activity. In other words, the greatest portion of the variance explained by the <u>complete</u> organizational model is attributable to leadership and organizational membership.

In summary, the stepwise multiple regression analysis demonstrates that leadership status and organizational membership are the strongest predictors of overall political activity. These two intervening variables account for nearly 80 percent of the variation explained by all of the organizational variables, in terms of overall participation. In addition, the analysis clearly indicates that leadership and organizational member- ship are also the most dominant of the organizational variables explaining both electoral and non-electoral activity. As a result, although the organi- zational model is better suited to the explanation of political party activity, the two intervening variables, leadership and organizational membership, are consistently the most powerful predictors within the organizational model, irresepctive of the type of political participation.

3. The Overall Model

The conceptual model which best accounts for the variation in overall political activity, is the <u>overall</u> model, explaining 38.5 percent of the variance. The overall model improves on the organizational model by explain- ing approximately 4.6 percent more of the variation in overall participation. A summary of the results obtained from this regression equation in Table 5-15,

indicates the manner in which the variables in the overall model combine to

account for overall political activity.

TABLE 5-15

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of
Overall Political Activity with the Overall Model[a]

Variable (x_i)	Multiple R	RSQ	RSQ Change	Simple R
Leadership Status	.428	.183	.183	.428
Political Attentiveness	.525	.275	.092	.393
Organizational Membership	.567	.322	.046	.414
Political Efficacy	.585	.343	.021	.275
Occupation	.596	.356	.013	.283
Length of Residence	.610	.372	.017	.208
Perceived Political Understanding	.613	.376	.003	.213
Education	.616	.379	.003	.226
Gender	.616	.382	.003	.304
Age	.619	.383	.001	.230
Organizational Meeting Activity	.619	.384	.001	.230
Community Size	.620	.385	.001	.100
Home Ownership	.621	.385	.001	.135
Perceived Government Impact	.621	.385	.000	.078

[a]Overall Political Activity = $-0.5199 + 0.5396x_1 + 0.3038x_2 + 0.5254x_3 + 0.1860x_4 + 0.2984x_5 + 0.1554x_6 + 0.1146x_7 + 0.1156x_8 + 0.2020x_9 + 0.0247x_{10} + 0.1009x_{11} + 0.0621x_{12} + 0.0901x_{13} + -0.1363x_{14}$

Table 5-15 clearly indicates that certain of the intervening variables

in the overall model are strong predictors of overall participation. For

instance, there are six variables in the overall model which explain more

than one percent of the variance in overall political activity. Four of

these variables are <u>intervening</u> variables: i.e., leadership status, political

attentiveness, organizational membership and political efficacy. Respectively,

these variables account for 18.3, 9.2, 4.6 and 2.1 percent of the variance in

overall participation, adding to a sum of 34.3 percent of the variance. As

a result of their inclusion in the regression equation on the first four

steps, the subsequent ten variables entering the analysis on successive

steps, explain only about 4.2 percent more of the variation in overall poli-

tical activity.

Occupation enters the regression equation on the fifth inclusion step,

accounting for 1.3 percent of the variation in overall participation, while

length of residence enters on the sixth step, explaining another 1.7 percent

of the variance. Altogether, the variables entering the regression analysis

on all subsequent inclusion steps, contribute an additional .9 percent to

the final prediction equation for overall political activity.

In summary, it is important to note that the first four inclusion steps

of the regression analysis are taken up by intervening variables, which to-

gether account for over 89 percent of the variance explained by the complete

overall model. It is therefore, quite clear that certain of the intervening

variables are the best predictors of overall participation. And further, the

theoretical basis for their predictive strength is easily traced to the

earlier contention that the intervening process <u>mediates</u> variation from

the socio-personal (or independent) variables to influence differing rates

of political participation. In this sense, the effects of the independent

variables on political activity are for the most part <u>subsumed</u> within the

intervening variables. As a result, the intervening variables prove to be theoretically and statistically, highly predictive of participation. The foregoing analysis lends at least partial support to the theoretical framework and in this sense, improves our understanding of the workings of the overall model in explaining overall rates of participation.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

At the outset of this thesis, it was stated that the author intended to pursue two basic urban-oriented aspects of participation research, within the context of a rural study setting. In so doing, it was hoped that the ensuing analysis would shed some light on the theoretical and empirical intricacies of rural political participation, as they compared to the findings of a number of prominant (urban) political researchers. (Nie et al., 1969, 1971, 1972, 1975).

The first of the stated objectives of this thesis pertained to the question of whether rural participation (in southwestern Manitoba) should be considered a uni-dimensional and/or a multi-dimensional phenomenon. In addressing this objective or purpose, this thesis was able to make specific reference to the problem of dimensionality as it related to a rural context. More importantly, however, it allowed us to compare the results of urban-oriented research on dimensionality in political participation, to the present findings for rural southwestern Manitoba.

The second objective was concerned with the development of several theoretical-conceptual models of participation: i.e., an attitudinal model, an organizational model and an overall model. The attitudinal model, one of two restricted models outlined in Chapter III, is an extended version of the socioeconomic model discussed by Verba et al. (1971). Verba et al. make reference to the socioeconomic model of participation, which indicates that higher social status promotes the development of civic orientations

54. For details pertaining to these three conceptual models refer to Chapter III.

conducive to greater political activity. This thesis expanded upon the

socioeconomic model, in suggesting that age, sex and community size most

likely interact with social status in the promotion of such civic attitudes

as political efficacy, attentiveness and psychological involvement in politics.

And further, these political attitudes were felt to increase the citizen's

general propensity to become politically active. As a result, this thesis

becomes a partial replication of Verba et al.'s socioeconomic approach

to the analysis of political participation.

The organizational model, however was specifically developed for use

in a rural setting, in the sense that it emphasized the impact of community

organization and leadership activity on the various modes of rural political

activity. The organizational model is the second of two restricted models

developed for the analysis of political participation.

The overall model, or full model presented a simple combination of the

explanatory powers of the two restricted models mentioned above, in order

to account for rural political involvement. All three models of participation

allowed this thesis to address the question of whether rural Manitoba

citizens engaged in different types of political activity through different

processes of policitization.

In addition, it is important to note that this thesis makes a very

special contribution to the field of research on political participation,

not so much on the basis of the objectives themselves, but moreso as a result

of the rural context in which they are addressed. The rural southwestern

Manitoba sample employed by this thesis, consisted of some 630 interviews

obtained from eight small rural communities ranging in population size

from approximately 500 to 3500 people. As such, the sample allowed

this thesis to pay special attention to the urban-oriented problems of dimenionality and politicization within the relatively unexplored context of rural southwestern Manitoba. In addition, the three conceptual models offered theoretical-empirical guides for the analysis of the data retrieved from the rural study setting. And further, since many of the concepts, hypotheses and theoretical rationale included in these models were urban-oriented as well, this thesis at least partially evaluated the relevance of urban-oriented research design and theory to the study of rural political activity.

Summary of Findings

In Chapter IV of this thesis, Guttman scale analysis was employed to evaluate the dimensionality of the eight measures of rural participation included in this study. On the basis of scalogram analysis, it was concluded that, with the exception of one item, "Talks about public affairs", the participation variables could be considered a uni-dimensional and cummulative Guttman scale. Scalogram analysis also revealed that within the eight rural participation items, there were at least two quasi-distinctive dimensions of political activity:

1. An Electoral Dimension, which included five measures of political party activity--"Party membership", "Party officership", "Party committee membership", "Party meeting attendance" and "General party activity".

2. A Non-electoral Dimension, which included "Talks about public affairs", "Attempted to influence local regulation" and "Attempted to influence Manitoba legislature".

As a result, Guttman scale analysis of the participation items indicated that rural political activity within this sample, could be considered both uni-dimensional and multi-dimensional in nature. It is important also to note that, the present findings in regard to the dimensionality of rural

participation, in general terms, reflect a very similar pattern to that depicted by Verba and Nie (1972). That is, both the present study of participation and that conducted by Verba and Nie, demonstrate that various items of participation have a common underlying dimension. In addition, however, these measures of political activity may also be separated into reasonably distinctive theoretical-empirical dimensions, refering to specific modes of participation.

In the process of developing the theoretical framework to facilitate the explanation of these dimensions of participation, a number of research hypotheses were outlined concerning expected relationships between specific predictor variables and political participation. In order to statistically evaluate the significance of these hypotheses, in terms of the sample data, we employed zero-order Pearson r correlation analysis. Table 5-1 displays all of the inter-correlations pertaining to the research hypotheses. On the basis of these simple correlations, we have discovered that all fourteen of the predictor variables included in this analysis have correlations with non-electoral activity which are statistically significant at the .05 level. In addition, all but one of the predictor variables, perceived government impact, have simple correlations with general participation which are statistically significant at the .05 level. And finally, in respect to electoral or political party activity, home ownership and perceived government impact, are the only two predictor variables whose correlations do not reach the .05 level of statistical significance.

Concomitantly, stepwise multiple regression analysis was employed to further test the theoretical framework. This form of statistical analysis

allowed us to evaluate the linear dependence of each participation scale

on the three conceptual models discussed above. And further, regression

analysis indicated which of the independent and/or intervening variables

within these models were the best predictors of electoral, non-electoral

and overall political activity. In reviewing the results of these multiple

regression analyses, we will be looking at each of the three conceptual

models as they relate to the various participation scales. It is important

to note, however, that in summarizing the results of the preceding analysis,

we will be emphasizing the overall model's explanatory powers as they

relate to each participation scale, as it combines the effects of both

restricted models.

The Attitudinal Model

It has been theorized that because non-electoral activity is

based upon the respondent's perceptions or attitudes towards their own

political behavior, the attitudinal model should better account for non-

electoral participation than the organizational model.[55] Multiple regres-

sion analysis lends a certain amount of support to our theoretical specu-

lations as it demonstrates that the organizational model explains 35.9 percent of

the variation in non-elctoral activity, while the attitudinal model accounts

for 43.3 percent. It is also important to note that there are nine indepen-

dnet variables in the attitudinal model. Of these nine independent variables,

four are intervening political attitudes. In the explanation of non-electoral

participation, three of these intervening-attitudinal variables enter the

regression equation on the first four steps. Altogether, these civic attitudes

are responsible for almost 78 percent of the variance explained by the

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55. Refer to Chapter V, for an extended discussion on the point.

complete attitudinal model (in regard to non-electoral activity).

The attitudinal model, howewer, does not prove to be as effective in
accounting for electoral participation, explaining only 11.6 percent of the
variance in this scale of rural political involvement. And further, to
the extent that five of the seven items in the scale of overall political
activity are electoral measures of participation, it is not surprising that
the attitudinal model is the least effective of the three models, accounting
for 30.0 percent of the variation in general participation. In explaining
electoral and overall (or general) political activity, however, the inter-
vening-attitudinal variable, political attentiveness, was the first of all
the nine independent variables included in the attitudinal model to enter
the regression equation. In respect to electoral political activity, political
attentiveness accounted for just over 60 percent of the variance explained by
the complete attitudinal model. In respect to overall participation, attentive-
ness accounted for approximately 51 percent of the variance explained by the
complete attitudinal model.

In summary, therefore, we note that of the two restricted models of
participation, the attitudinal model is the most effective in explaining non-
electoral participation. And further, within the attitudinal model, and to
some extent irrespective of the type of political activity, the intervening-
attitudinal process contains variables which are the best predictors of
rural political activity.

The Organizational Model

In the sense that political parties offer community residents the
opportunity to organize themselves relative to community and political matters,
it was suggested that the organizational model might better explain electoral

participation than the attitudinal model. Regression analysis somewhat

supports this contention, indicating that the attitudinal model explains

11.6 percent of the variation in political party activity, whereas the

organizational model accounts for 15.5 percent. It is also important to

note that there are ten independent variables in the organizational model.

Of these ten independent variables, three are intervening-organizational

variables. In the regression analysis of electoral participation, two of

these three intervening-organizational variables, leadership status and

organizational membership, enter the regression equation on the first two

inclusion steps. These two intervening variables account for approximately

83 percent of the variance explained by the complete organizational model

(in regard to electoral activity).

The organizational model is the least effective of the three models

in explaining non-electoral participation, much as anticipated earlier. The

organizational model accounts for 35.9 percent of the variance in non-electoral

activity. However, we find that of the two restricted models, the organiza-

tional model provides the better prediction equation for overall participation,

at least partially due to the dominance of electoral measures in the overall

scale of political activity. The organizational model explains 33.9 percent

of the variance in overall political involvement. In explaining non-electoral

activity and overall participation, the two strongest predictors of each of

these participation scales, within the organizational model, are two inter-

vening-organizational variables: i.e., leadership status and organizational

membership. In respect to non-electoral activity, these two intervening

variables enter the regression equation on the first two inclusion steps,

accounting for over 70 percent of the variance explained by the complete

organizational model. In respect to overall participation, the same two intervening variables account for almost 80 percent of the variance explained by the complete organizational model.

In summary, of the two restricted models, the organizational model is better able to explain electoral and overall political activity. Within the organizational model, leadership status and organizational membership are the two best predictors of rural participation, irrespective of the type of political activity. As a result, multiple regression analysis tends to support the theoretical emphasis placed upon the intervening process.

The Overall Model

The conceptual model which best explains the variation in all three scales of political participation is the overall model. The overall model of participation explains 17.5 percent of the variance in electoral participation, 47.8 percent of the variance in non-electoral activity and 38.5 percent of the variance in the overall scale of participation. However, this is not surprising, in the sense that the overall model combines the explanatory powers of both the organizational and the attitudinal models. What is of special theoretical importance is the nature of the predictor variables in the overall model which explain the most variance in the three scales of political activity. For instance, only three of the variables in the overall model, account for more than one percent of the variation in electoral activity. Theoretically speaking, all three of these are intervening variables: i.e., leadership status, organizational membership and political attentiveness, in that order. We should make note of two basic points concerning these three intervening variables. First, of these three predictor variables

two are within the intervening process of the organizational model. In this sense, the present analysis demonstrates that two of the intervening-organizational variables are the strongest predictors of political party activity, indicating some support for the theoretical framework. Second, these three intervening variables combine to account for over 86 percent of the variance explained by the complete overall model, in regard to electoral participation.

As a result of analyzing the linear dependence of non-electoral activity on the overall model, stepwise multiple regression reveals that four of the first five predictor variables to enter the equation are intervening variables. Political attentiveness enters the regression equation first, followed by leadership status, political efficacy, occupation and organizational membership. On the basis of the explained variance results displayed in Table 5-12, we can calculate that the two intervening-attitudinal variables, attentiveness and efficacy, account for approximately 29.5 percent of the variation in non-electoral participation, whereas the two intervening-organizational variables, leadership status and organizational membership explain 13.1 percent. These findings clearly demonstrate that certain political attitudes are the best predictors of non-electoral activity. Altogether, these four intervening variables account for slightly more than 89 percent of the variation explained by all of the predictor variables included in the overall model. As a result, the analysis indicates that the greatest portion of the explanatory power embodied in the overall model, relative to non-electoral participation, lies with certain intervening variables. And furthermore, the two political attitudes have a stronger combined effect on non-electoral activity than leadership and organizational

membership.

In addition, stepwise multiple regression analysis of the linear dependence of overall participation on the overall model, demonstrates that the first four predictor variables to enter the equation are all _intervening variables_. Leadership status enters the equation on the first inclusion step, followed by political attentiveness, organizational membership and political efficacy. In the sense that five of the seven items employed to construct the scale of overall political activity are electoral measures, it is not theoretically unreasonable that the two intervening-organizational variables, leadership and organizational membership, should combine to explain the greatest amount of the variation in overall participation. Together, these two variables ccount for 22.9 percent of the variance in overall political activity, while the two political attitudes, attentiveness and efficacy, explain 11.3 percent. And further, the combined effects of all of the four intervening variables account for more than 89 percent of the variation explained by the _complete_ overall model.

On the basis of Table 5-1 and the summary regression results displayed in Tables 5-7 through 5-15, the analysis clearly demonstrates that certain of the intervening variables are the strongest predictors of political involvement. Within the intervening process, _leadership status, political attentiveness, organizational membership_ and to some extent _political efficacy_ are the most _dominant_ factors in the analysis of political participation in rural southwestern Manitoba.

It should also be noted, however, that this study has certain _limitations_, which must be employed to qualify the findings mentioned above. Let us take a look at two such methodological inadequacies within this

study's research design. <u>First</u>, we have already noted that the conceptual

models are not well-suited to the analysis of political party activity.'

Respectively, the attitudinal, the organizational and the overall models

of participation accounted for only 11.6, 15.5 and 17.5 percent of the

variation in the scale of electoral participation. In a theoretical-

methodological sense, the study could well have benefitted by the inclusion

of a measurement of the respondent's <u>concern for electoral politics</u>, as well

as the citizen's <u>strength of party and leader preferences</u>. Had such variables

been included in the theoretical framework, the analysis of political party

activity may have been more successful.

<u>Second</u>, only 16.2 percent of the total sample population of 630

cases were either <u>past</u> or <u>present</u> members of a political party. In this

sense, the size of the sample did not include a large enough number of cases

or party members to allow for any strongly supported generalizations of

the findings for towns of 3500 people or less in southwestern Manitoba.

However, even though the sample is neither extremely large, or for that

matter, randomly drawn (in a strict methodological sense), Table 4-1 indi-

cates that the sample data are <u>reasonably representative</u> of actual population

estimates for the region, in respect to <u>age</u> and <u>sex</u> distributions. As a

result, the present findings of this study must be considered in terms of

the theoretical-methodological qualifications mentioned above.

Theoretical Implications

The limitations mentioned above, however, do not overshadow the

theoretical contributions offered by this analysis of political participa-

tion. The findings presented above, demostrate strong support for the

theoretical emphasis on the <u>intervening</u> process. In other words, interven-

ing variables such as leadership, attentiveness, organizational membership

and efficacy facilitate the explanation of why individuals with certain socio-

personal characteristics should participate more or less than other citizens.

Firgure 6-1 below, represents an abbreviated form of the overall model

of participation presented in Chapter III. It encapsulates the basic notion

behind the theoretical framework as it attempts to explain the "process of

politicization" (Verba and Nie, 1972).
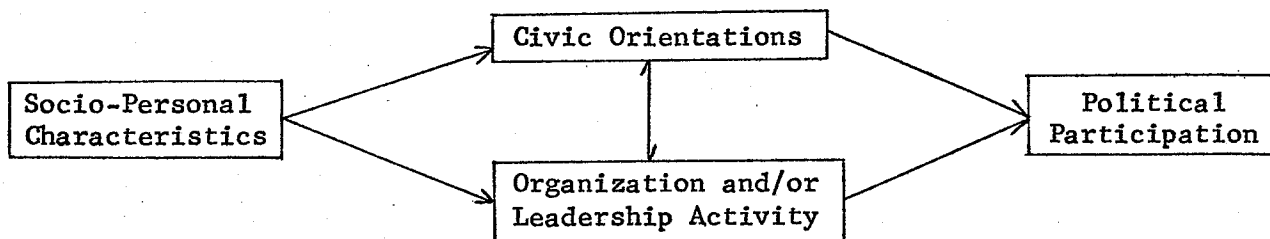
FIGURE 6-1: "The Process of Politicization"

Within the process of politicization outlined in Figure 6-1, citizens

who hold non-manual employment positions are likely to pay greater attention

to political affairs, feel they can affect community and governmental decisions,

while at the same time, preceiving greater political understanding and govern-

mental impact. In addition, non-manual employee(ers) are more likely to become

community organizers and leaders, and as a result become more active political

participants. In this sense, the intervening variables are considered theore-

tical links between the socio-personal variables and political participation.

And further, the analysis indicates that certain intervening variables such as,

leadership, organizational membership, attentiveness and efficacy, are the

best predictors of political activity in rural southwestern Manitoba. As

such, the theoretical emphasis upon the intervening process is at least

partially documented by the empirical findings.

In addition, it is of special importance to note that the theoretical

framework and its constituent models and hypotheses were derived primarily

from urban studies of participation carried out in the United States. This

framework or series of research hypotheses have all been evaluated in the

context of data collected in rural southwestern Manitoba. What is of special

importance, is that for the most part, the theoretical framework is sub-

stantiated by these data. One might have expected that, given this rural

Canadian context, an urban-oriented research design and theoretical framework,

developed primarily in the United States, would be completely out of place.

In spite of the urban-oriented nature of the study design, however, we find

the theoretical framework reasonably well-suited to the explanation of

rural political activity (with the exception, perhaps, of electoral activity).

As a result, this thesis makes a valuable contribution to the body of theory,

relative to political participation, through its attempts to apply an urban-

oriented American theoretical framework to a rural Canadian study setting.

In so doing, this thesis has at least partially tested the limits of applica-

bility of such participation theory, by extending it to a hitherto unexplored

context of analysis.

Practical Implications

Although the data do tend to support the theoretical framework, they

also indicate that overall participation rates (as measured in this study) are

quite low in the present sample population. Table 6-1 displays the percentages

of the respondents who particpate at specific rates on the scale of overall

participation.

TABLE 6-1

Distribution of Residents' Scores on
the Scale of Overall Political Activity

Overall Participation Score	Percentages of Sample Population
0	38.56% (236 cases)
1	34.97% (214 cases)
2	14.22% (87 cases)
3	4.90% (30 cases)
4	1.63% (10 cases)
5	3.76% (23 cases)
6	1.80% (11 cases)
7	0.16% (1 case)

Although overall participation rates are quite low, in the sense that
the analysis has indicated that certain intervening variables are the best
predictors of political activity, perhaps part of the answer to stimulating
higher participation lies within the theoretical framework. For instance,
if community residents were encouraged to become more active in local affairs,
in terms of voluntary associations and community leadership, they would
most likely become more attentive to community and political matters.
And, as a result of this community activity and greater attentiveness,
residents might develop increased feelings of local and political efficacy,
as well as a greater understanding of socio-political issues.

Alford and Scoble (1968b) argue that voluntary associations bring one
into contact with local affairs, in ways exposing one to information, arousing
interest, provoking meeting attendance and voting in elections whether or not
one has the initial predisposition to respond to political stimuli, implied
by higher education. These authors also suggest that leadership is far more

important in regard to sheer quantity and volume of political activity than education (Alford and Scoble, 1968a). The practical implications of such suggestions are quite evident in the present analysis as well. That is, if we are to encourage higher levels of political participation, we must address ourselves to the factors which dominate its explanation. In this sense, community leadership and organizational membership are two feasible avenues through which greater political activity may be induced. If residents are able to develop greater concern and interest in local community matters, chances are that such individuals will become conscientious community leaders and organizers. And further, these kinds of community involvement may well kindle and encourage the development of such civic orientations as political attentiveness and efficacy, which will in turn increase political participation.

A rich associational life has been considered one of the hallmarks of democratic livelihood. Community involvement provides residents with the opportunity to organize themselves on the basis of important socio-political issues, and as a result, change and improve local community services and facilities. The point which bears special reference to political participation is that community involvement exposes residents to socio-political milieux which develop their inter-personal and socio-political skills, to the point where political participation is no longer simply a civic responsibility, but a necessity to preserve the survival of Canadian democracy.

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A REVIEW OF SOME LITERATURE ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

VARIABLE NAME	AUTHOR AND YEAR	ASSOCIATION WITH TYPE OF PARTICIPATION		
		ELECTORAL	NON-ELECTORAL	GENERAL
1. Education	Alford & Scoble(1968a,b)			+
	Almond & Verba(1963)		+	
	Berelson et al.(1954)	+		
	Campbell et al.(1960)	+		
	Lane(1959)	+	+	
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			+
	Simmons(1967)	+		
	Van Loon(1970)	+		
	Verba & Nie	+	+	+
	Verba et al.(1971)	+	+	+
	Welch(1975)	+	+	
2. Occupation	Alford & Scoble(1968b)			+
	Berelson et al.(1954)	+		
	Campbell et al.(1960)		+	
	Lane(1959)	+	+	
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			+
	Verba & Nie(1972)	+	+	+
	Welch(1975)	+	+	
3. Gender	Almond & Verba(1963)		+	
	Lane(1959)	+		
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		
	Lazarsfeld et al.(1944)	+		
	Van Loon(1970)	+		
	Welch(1975)	+	+	
4. Age	Campbell et al.(1960)	curvilinear		
	Lane(1959)	curvilinear		
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		
	Simmons(1967)	+		
	Van Loon(1970)	curvilinear		
	Verba & Nie(1972)	+	+	+
	Welch(1975)	+	+	

[a]All Canadian literature is typed in *script*

VARIABLE NAME	AUTHOR AND YEAR	ASSOCIATION WITH TYPE OF PARTICIPATION		
		ELECTORAL	NON-ELECTORAL	GENERAL
5. Length of Residence	Alford & Scoble(1968b)			curvilinear
6. Home Ownership	Alford & Scoble(1968b)			+
7. Community Size	Campbell et al.(1960)	+		
	Lane(1959)	+		
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			no association
	Scarrow(1967)	-		
	Verba & Nie(1972)		-	
8. Political Interest or attentiveness	Berelson et al.(1954)	+	+	
	Campbell et al.(1960)	+		
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		
	Lazarsfeld et al.(1944)	+		
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			+
	Van Loon(1970)	+		
	Verba & Nie(1972)	+	+	+
	Verba et al.(1971)	+	+	+
9. Political Efficacy	Alford & Scoble(1968b)			+
	Campbell et al.(1960)	+		
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			+
	Van Loon(1970)	+		
	Verba & Nie(1972)	+	+	+
	Welch(1975)	+	+	
10. Perceived Gov't Impact	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			no association
11. Leadership Status	Alford & Scoble(1968a)	+	+	
12. Organizational Involvement	Alford & Scoble(1968b)			+
	Laskin & Baird(1970)	+		+
	Nie et al.(1969a,b)			+
	Van Loon(1970)	+		+
	Verba & Nie(1972)	+	+	+

BRANDON UNIVERSITY, COMMUNITY RESOURCE CENTRE

LEADERSHIP SURVEY

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE   JUNE, 1976

1. Respondent Number

2. Community   Size

3. In your opinion, what are the most important issues facing

    your community?

4. Suppose a committee of citizens was to be formed to study and

    deal with these issues, would you mind suggesting a number of

    citizens you feel would be best suitable for the job?

    <u>NAME</u>   <u>OCCUPATION</u>   <u>AGE</u>

Issue I

Issue 2

Issue 3

Page 2

5. In your opinion, what are the most important issues facing

    rural Manitoba?

6. Suppose a committee of rural Manitobans was to be formed to

    study and deal with these issues, would you mind suggesting

    a number of rural Manitobans you feel would be best suitable

    for the job?

	NAME	OCCUPATION	AGE	COMMUNITY
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				
(6)				
(7)				
(8)				

7. Now we are interested in all of the organizations you ever

belonged to --

(a) Which organizations do you belong to now?

(b) Which organizations have you ever belonged to in the past?

(c) Have you ever been an officer in the last five years?

(d) Have you served on any committees in the last five years?

(e) Would you rate your attendance at meetings as, (1) often,

(2) less than average, (3) never.

(f) How active would you rate yourself? (1) less active,

(2) about the same (3) more active than most.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	(a) PRESENT MEMBER	(b) PAST MEMBER	(c) OFFICER	(d) COMMITTEE	(e) MEETINGS 1,2,3	(f) ACTIVE 1,2,3
Farm Bureau						
Manitoba Farmers' Union						
Women's Institute						
Producer Co-Operatives						
Community Service Groups						
Veterans' Organization						
Parent-Teacher Groups						
Recreational Organization						
Political Party						
Labour Unions						
Church						
Chamber of Commerce						
Consumer Cooperatives						
Other						

8. If you have withdrawn your membership from any of these
   organizations, could you please tell me why you ceased to
   be a member?

9. Have you run for an office in these organizations in the
   last five years?

   1. Yes

   2. No

10. If no, why not?

11. When you think of the overall leadership in your community
    that is, people who have a lot of influence in getting things
    done, name the people whom you consider to be most influential.

    NAME   OCCUPATION   AGE

12. When you think of the overall leadership in rural Manitoba, that is, people who have a lot of influence in getting things done, name the people whom you consider to be most influential.

NAME   OCCUPATION   AGE   COMMUNITY

13. Name the person or persons in your community to whom you would turn for information or advice on some local community issues about which you are unable to make up your mind.

NAME   OCCUPATION   AGE

14. Name three most influential organizations in rural Manitoba, that is, organizations which have a lot of influence in getting things done. (See Question 7)

1.

2.

3.

15. Why have you selected these organizations?

16. To what extent do you ,as an individual, have a chance to bring about changes or improvements in your community?

1. No chance

2. Not much

3. Some

4. Great Deal

17. In your opinion, how much influence do the following have

on provincial government policies which affect rural Manitoba?

(1) None (2) Not much (3) Some (4) Great deal

 1. Rural Voters

 2. Municipal Officials

 3. Farm Organizations

 4. Service Organizations (Kinsmen Club, Lions Club)

 5. Church Organizations

 6. Rural Businessmen

 7. Winnipeg Businessmen

 8. Brandon Businessmen

 9. Winnipeg Voters

10. Brandon Voters

11. Local Provincial Civil Servants

12. Winnipeg Provincial Civil Servants

13. Locals of Political Parties

18. Have you ever run for public office?

 1. Yes

 2. No

19. Would you mind indicating your current or past membership and your position in the following groups?

GROUP	PAST MEMBER	PRESENT MEMBER	POSITION
School Board			
Hospital Board			
Municipal or Town Council			

20. Do you think people have become less interested in running for public office?

    1. Yes

    2. No

21. If Yes, why? (Please state the degree of importance for each reason) 1-not important 2-somewhat important 3-important 4-very important

    a. Media presentation of public officials' actions
    b. Political structure of municipal council is inadequate
    c. Heavy commitment to other voluntary organizations
    d. The salary is not worth all the headaches
    e. Council is too conservative
    f. Cannot afford the time
    g. Council has very little power
    h. Council is too radical
    i. Other (specify)

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22. On the average, a councillor spends 30 hours a month on council

    duties. What amount do you consider as adequate to compensate

    councillors for the time they spend on council staff?

    $_____

23. Do you feel that municipal councils have enough authority to

    get things done?

    1. Yes

    2. No

    3. Don't know

24. If no, in which areas do you feel more authority is needed?

25. Under what conditions would you consider running (or run

    again) for public office?

26. Which of the following concepts of citizen participation most closely fits your own view of participation?

    1. To elect councillors to carry out the functions

    2. To provide information to citizens and let them comment on alternative solutions

    3. To allow citizens to share in decision-making process through such devices as planning committees

    4. To allow citizens to have a direct controlling influence on the elected representative who really serves as a delegate

27. What is the best manner in which a councillor should discharge his duties?

    1. To represent the view of his constituents, using his experience and best judgment.

    2. To represent his constituents after having informed them of the issues and having consulted them.

    3. To help form citizen groups so as to promote active citizen involvement and facilitate extensive consultation.

    4. To serve essentially as a delegate of the citizens of his constituency.

28. Do you believe that the government should actively help

    1. To form citizen groups?

    2. To sustain citizen groups?

    3. No help

29. If 1 or 2, how?

    1. Funding

    2. Provision of planning staff

    3. Provision of secretarial services

    4. Sponsoring community organizers

    5. Giving groups more power within the system

30. If not, why?

31. Where do you believe elected officials get the information they are likely to act on? Please state how important each of these sources is. 1-not important 2-somehow important 3-important 4-very important

    1. From friends and acquaintances

    2. From public hearings or open forums

    3. From polls or surveys

    4. Letters and telephone calls

    5. From meetings with citizens

    6. From the media

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32. Would you say that citizen groups are broadly representative

of their community on

1. all issues

2. most issues

3. some issues

4. no issue

33. Which of the various methods of citizen participation do you

think are the most desirable. Please state how desirable each

of these methods are. 1-not desirable 2-somewhat desirable

3-desirable 4-very desirable.

1. Plebiscites, polls and surveys, referendum

2. Mass meetings and open forum

3. Written submission and presentation

4. Citizen appointment to task forces, advisory boards, etc.

5. Working committees for local planning

34. Have you heard about the Municipal Planning Act?

1. Yes

2. No

35. Could you explain to me briefly what the Planning Act means

to rural Manitoba?

36. Of all the media you see or hear, that is, radio, T. V.,
magazines, newspapers, etc., which ones give you useful
information about rural Manitoba? Please state how useful
each of these sources is to you. 1-not useful 2-somewhat
useful 3-useful 4-very useful
   1. Radio

   2. T. V.

   3. Daily newspapers

   4. Weekly papers

   5. Farm papers and magazines

   6. Magazines (MacLean's, Readers' Digest, etc.)

   7. Other printed materials

37. What about talking about public affairs to other people?
Do you do that?
   1. Never

   2. From time to time

   3. Once a week

   4. Nearly every day

38. Have you ever done anything to try and influence a local
decision?
   1. No

   2. Yes

39. Have you ever done anything to try and influence an act

of the Manitoba legislature?

1. No

2. Yes

40. Thinking of the important national issues facing this

country, how well do you understand them?

1. Not at all

2. Somehow

3. Quite well

4. Very well

41. How about local issues in this community, how well do

you understand them?

1. Not at all

2. Somehow

3. Quite well

4. Very well

42. Suppose a regulation was being considered by this community

that you considered very unjust or harmful, how likely is it

that you would succeed if you made an effort to change this

regulation?

1. Not at all possible

2. Less than fifty per cent chance

3. Quite likely

4. Very likely

43. Suppose a law was being considered by the legislature that you considered very unjust or harmful, how likely is it that you would succeed if you made an effort to change this law?

    1. Not at all likely

    2. Less than fifty per cent chance

    3, Quite likely

    4. Very likely

44. Do you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs? Would you say you follow them -

    1. Never

    2. From time to time

    3. Regularly

45. Would you say you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers?

    1. Never

    2. From time to time

    3. Regularly

46. Do you listen to accounts of public affairs on the radio?

    1. Never

    2. From time to time

    3. Regularly

47. Do you watch accounts of public affairs on the television?

    1. Never

    2. From time to time

    3. Regularly

48. What about magazines? Do you read about public affairs in

    magazines?

    1. Never

    2. From time to time

    3. Regularly

49. Thinking about the federal government, about how much effect

    do you think its activities and the laws passed have on your

    day-to-day life?

    1. None

    2. Some effect

    3. Great effect

50. Now take the local government, about how much effect do

you think its activities and regulations have on your

day-to-day life?

1. None

2. Some effect

3. Great effect

51. In your view, do you feel rural Manitobans receive
adequate information about government programs?

    1. Very inadequate

    2. Inadequate

    3. Adequate

    4. Very adequate

52. What was your age on your last birth date?

53. What is the highest grade of school you completed?

54. What is your present occupation, i.e., what do you do to
earn your living?

55. Do you own or rent your present dwelling?

    1. Rent

    2. Own

56. Could you please indicate what nationality you consider
to be your ancestral origin (e.g., German, British, etc.)

57. Sex

    1. Male

    2. Female

58   How long have you lived in this community?

59. Have you lived in any other town or city for more

   than a year?

    1. Yes

    2. No

60. Which community did you live in last?

   Community_____Province_____Size_____

61. Respondent's Name_____

APPENDIX C

THE STRUCTURE OF PARTICIPATION:

SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS

TABLE 1

A Guttman Scale Analysis of Eight
Participation Variables

Scale Step	Item	Errors	Percent Discriminated
1	Attempted to influence local regulation	67	56
2	Talks about public affairs	104	32
3	Attempted to influence Manitoba legislation	76	23
4	Political party member	38	16
5	General party activity	16	9
6	Party meeting attendance	19	8
7	Political party officer	9	2
8	Party committee member	11	2

Total cases	610
Coefficient of Reproducibility	.93
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility	.83
Percent Improvement	.10
Coefficient of Scalability	.59

TABLE 2

A Guttman Scale Analysis of
Electoral Activity

Scale Step	Item	Errors	Percent Discriminated
1	Political party member	2	16
2	General party activity	4	9
3	Party meeting attendance	3	8
4	Political party officer	6	2
5	Party committee member	9	2

Total Cases = 630

TABLE 3

A Guttman Scale Analysis of
Non-electoral Activity

Scale Step	Item	Errors	Percent Discriminated
1	Attempted to influence local regulation	54	56
2	Talks about public affairs	80	32
3	Attempted to influence Manitoba Legislation	64	23

Total Cases = 610