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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

ATTITUDINAL CORRELATES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: ANALYSIS
OF SELECTED ATTITUDES OF PANAMANIAN WORKERS
FOR THE PANAMA CANAL COMPANY

By

WILLIAM ARTHUR PHILIP THOMPSON, JR.

A Dissertation submitted to
the Department of Government
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved:



Professor Directing Dissertation









June, 1974

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an attempt to focus on several of the attitudes generally related to the process of modernization to determine which ones if any most closely correlate with political participation among Panamanian workers. In addition, this study tests whether or not a group of psychological attitudes including alienation, catharsis, self-concept, and the syndrome of insecurity/frustration/anxiety affect political participation. It is hypothesized that during the process of change, that such psychological attitudes may correlate with participation.

The scope of this introductory chapter is to define the broad terms such as "political development": "modernization," and others that form the theoretical perspective for this study. Following this summary on the "Theoretical perspective" are chapters on "Panama, a developing nation," "Review of the Literature on attitudes which may correlate with Political Participation. Chapters including "Research Design" and "Findings" then conclude the dissertation.

A review of the literature on Political Development and Modernization indicates that these terms are used differently within the scope of their research by most

political scientists. Research employing Modernization or Developmental models may be broadly categorized into two classifications: "micro" and "macro" levels. Political scientists who focus on the "macro," analyze the entire society. From the "macro" perspective, research on Political Modernization and Development becomes an analysis of change in society as determined by economic indices, e.g., G.N.P., social indices, e.g., percentage of literacy and political indices, e.g., the extent of political participation as defined by voting statistics.¹

At the "micro" level of analysis in Political Modernization and Development, the political scientist focuses on change in the individual in a particular society. To evaluate change in the individual it is possible to study individual attitudes. To measure attitudes, survey research and interview techniques are tools employed by the social scientist. Individuals in a particular society may be described according to their attitudes and thus compared to individuals in other societies with similar or differing attitudes.

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Introduc'
Illinc'

Palmer, Dilemma of Political Development: An
to the Politics of the Developing Areas (Itaska,
E. Peacock Publishing, Inc., 1973), 2.

This dissertation may be considered to be "micro" research then, and seeks to describe a group of Panamanian citizens on the basis of certain attitudes which are suggested by both a study of the Panamanian social, economic and political environment as well as by a study of the literature on a number of psychological attitudes which are viewed as associated with the stress of change in society. This research places emphasis on the individual's political activity or participation as associated with particular attitudes. To further guide this project it is hypothesized that one's political participation will be dependent on his/her economic, social and political environment. That is to say, one's attitudes ". . . with respect to the various objects in his world become organized . . ." ¹ as a result of environmental conditions.

According to this general hypothesis, a model for research would appear to categorize individuals by their political behavior, as for example, Political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba did in their seminal study *The Civic Culture*. ² Also, as will be seen in the review

¹David Krech, Richard S. Crutchfield, and Egert Ballachey, *The Individual in Society: A Textbook of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962), 139.

²Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963).

of the literature on Political Modernization and Development, classification of individuals based on their political behavior may be divided into three categories: "traditional," "transitional" and "modern."¹

In this dissertation an attempt will be made to understand the nature of the modernization process by questioning which variables or attitudes to be most important in affecting the individual's political behavior. The remainder of this Introductory chapter will be used to define the broad terms such as "attitude," etc. and review various studies of the modernization process, in order to clarify the central concern of this research.

Political scientists who focus on change in the political system, who have studied the process of political modernization and development all have slightly different definitions for what they mean by terms like political modernization and development. But it is apparent that after surveying the literature on this subject that political development and modernization are "umbrellas" for focusing on the process of change in politics. Some political scientists use the terms "modernization" and "development" interchangeably and some take pains to distinguish between the two. A good overview of the concepts and how they relate to change is presented in Samuel P. Huntington's,

¹Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 16-17, and 39-69.

"The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics."¹ In this study, Huntington surveys the historical development of the terminology implied by modernization and development. For according to Huntington, political scientists have borrowed from the other social sciences, particularly Economics and Sociology to focus on the emerging nations in the area of comparative study. So "modernization" like economic development is a process which includes such descriptive characteristics as:

(1) the modernization process as "revolutionary" [". . . the change from tradition to modernity . . . involves a radical and total change in patterns of human life."]; (2) no single factor may describe the process and therefore it is a "complex" process; (3) the modernization process is "systemic" in the sense that the variables which determine modernization are all related; (4) modernization is "global"; (5) modernization is a "lengthy" process; (6) modernization occurs in a series of phases, and it is possible "to distinguish different levels or phases of modernization through which all societies will move. Societies . . . begin in the traditional stage and end in the modern stage. The intervening transitional phase, however, can also be broken down into subphases." (7) Modernization appears to be a "homogenizing" process where there are

¹Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics," Comparative Politics, 3, 3 (April, 1971), 283-322.

"tendencies toward convergence among societies;" (8) once the process of modernization has begun, it is "irreversible;" (9) modernization is a "progressive process."¹ From these characteristics it can be concluded that modernization is a theory involving all of the above characteristics which implies the process of change.

Huntington is not definitive in explaining the distinctions between political development and modernization and thus mirrors most of the ambiguity of political scientists who refer to the concepts.

However, he does present the thematic nature of political development when he cites Lucian W. Pye's attempts at synthesizing the theory of political development into ten different themes including "(1) the political prerequisite of economic development; (2) the politics typical of industrial societies; (3) political modernization; (4) the operation of a nation-state; (5) administrative and legal development; (6) mass mobilization and participation; (7) the building of democracy; (8) stability and orderly change; (9) mobilization and power; (10) one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change."² By including the theme of "political modernization" under the rubric of development, Pye illustrates the lack of succinctness in the

¹Ibid., pp. 288-90.

²Ibid., p. 301. (Quoted from Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development, 1966), 31-48.

terms. But more importantly, Huntington writes that political development as a concept has come to mean ". . . a signal of the scholarly preferences rather than as a tool for analytical purposes/because political development has been/ . . . identified with a single, specific process, e.g., political institutionalization/and therefore/, its redundancy is all the more obvious. What is to be gained analytically by calling something which has a good name by a second name?"¹

But Huntington does attempt to show how modernization must be distinguished from theories of political development in three different ways. One, political development has restricted discussion of change to one "phase of historical evolution," its empirical relevance, and made it difficult, if not impossible to conceive of its reversibility, i.e., to talk about political decay."² Secondly, since political development meant so many things to so many social scientists it caused scholars to consider development as a "complex" rather than as a "unitary" concept. "What does political development mean if it can mean everything?"³ However, if it is defined narrowly, it loses its usefulness. Thirdly, what was the extent to which political development was "descriptive" or teleological concept?⁴

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 301.

³Ibid., p. 302.

⁴Ibid., p. 304.

Since according to these objections raised to the usefulness of political development as a concept there is still need of an "umbrella" to perform the "aggregating function." But with political development there are at least ten different definitions as seen with the list that Pye compiled. So, the concept of political development has neither served to ". . . aggregate nor to distinguish, but rather to legitimate."¹ Therefore, according to Huntington, the concept of modernization has served the purpose as being an umbrella concept because ". . . /it performs/ a distinguishing function, that is, because /it helps . . . to separate out two or more forms of something which would otherwise be thought of as undifferentiated."² In conclusion Huntington says that "The popularity of the concept of political development among political scientists stems perhaps from the feeling that they should have a political equivalent to economic development."³ Conceived in this sense, political development is most closely associated to change in the nature of economic development.

Political development refers to changes in economic, political and social structures in terms of institutional development. To measure economic development the gross national products could be analyzed. Or to determine social

¹Ibid., p. 304.

²Ibid., p. 303.

³Ibid., p. 305.

development, statistics on literacy should be measured. In the political realm, the political variable is less "tangible" and may be only evaluated as Monte Palmer writes by seeing the ". . . role the political system must play if the society as a whole is to enjoy the standard of living and other benefits generally associated with a modern industrialized society."¹

Whether we are speaking of "modernization" or "development," there is agreement among social scientists that change, progress, or development does not occur unless individuals in the societies change their attitudes as well. For example, the literature of economic development beginning with Max Weber and continuing through Everett E. Hagen and David C. McClelland has stressed that in order to have economic development, individuals must exercise initiative.² In terms of social development, the experience in Castro's Cuba to reduce illiteracy suggests that the most important variable was the peasant's attitude of wanting to read in order to participate in the revolution.³

¹Monte Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 2.

²Max Weber, The Rise of Puritanism and the Puritan Ethic. Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962), and David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961).

³Richard Fagen, The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba (Stanford, California: Stanford Press, 1969). trans., Cuba: The Political Content of Adult Education (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1964).

Before relating political participation to the modernization process it is useful to view several definitions and theories of modernization. Alan Pechkin and Ronald Cohen, in their "The Value of Modernization," define modernization also in comparison to "traditionalism" by utilizing a "change" model.¹ Pechkin and Cohen write that modernization ". . . connotes a relative lack of change or of goals directed toward maintaining a way of life adapted to local circumstances in a relatively unchanging environment. Modernization in our terms refers to a set of factors in a society that tends to create change toward goals defined as "modern" for that particular epoch in human history."² Further, they see modernization as a situation which is "characterized by a more open set of values for the individual."³

Traditionalism meant that society relied on order through the strength of the family relationships. As Peshkin and Cohen conclude, the strength of family ties are ". . . powerful, and the member responds by paying due respect to his elders, by living close to home, by supporting members of his kinship group, by accepting financial obligations, and the like. As society changes, the claims

¹Alan Pechkin and Ronald Cohen, "The Values of Modernization," The Journal of Developing Areas, II (October, 1967), 7-22.

²Ibid., pp. 7-8.

³Ibid., p. 8.

of kinship on the individual are not necessarily diminished, but the forces of these claims becomes attenuated. The modern man feels a need for greater freedom of choice which affords him physical, financial, and intellectual mobility."¹ While in a traditional society, traditional man is dominated by ". . . supernatural forces beyond his control, and those are often thought to include the political authorities which govern the society. The social structure is 'marked' by monarchical authority. . . . religion and politics overlap, with the authorities viewed as distant, exalted, and beyond the control of the individual."² Thus as Frank Tachau concludes in his editorial comments in the book, The Developing Nations: What Path to Modernization? that "Modern society . . . is a mass society. . . . Election of government officials means mass participation in the political system. . . ."³

Assessment of this discussion on modernization as a concept may be summarized in Samuel P. Huntington's, Political Order in Changing Societies, where he writes that "Modernization involves . . . the multiplication and diversification of the social forces in society. Kinship,

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²Frank Tachau, ed., The Developing Nations: What Path to Modernization? (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1972), 2.

³Ibid.

racial, and religious groupings are supplemented by occupational, class, and skill groupings. A political organization or procedure, on the other hand, is an arrangement for maintaining order, resolving disputes, selecting authoritative leaders. . . . A simple political community may have a purely ethnic, religious, or occupational base and will have little need for highly developed political institutions."¹

In this dissertation, it is not so important that differences between the terms political development and modernization are completely defined since arguments from social scientists who use the terms separately, interchangeably, and synonymously have been used to discuss the term political participation in both political development and modernization. For the remaining part of this introduction it is important to discuss how political participation and attitude change correlate in order to bring about modernization. In addition, to reduce problems of semantics and epistemological errors, this discussion will use only the term political modernization as the theoretical guide for this study.

In order to focus upon "modernization" and participation, it is necessary to define more thoroughly how these terms are used in this dissertation. First of all,

¹Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968), 8-9.

the terms "modern," and "modernization," are used differently in this project. While Political Development and Modernization have similar connotations, the word "modern," refers more ". . . to an idealized pattern of social, economic, and political arrangements that is yet to be achieved but is approximated by the world's more economically developed areas."¹ Therefore, the idea of "modernization," by definition would be the process of moving toward that idealized set of relationships posited as modern by various social theorists.² So the use of the concept "modern attitudes" would refer to an idealized or abstract belief held by individuals in such societies of Western Europe and the United States.

To determine if an individual is modern, according to the previous discussion it would be necessary to define an individual's attitudes in terms of whether or not they are "traditional" or "modern."

For the purposes of this study, attitudes are the ". . . end products of the socialization process, and significantly influence man's responses to cultural products, to other persons, and to groups of persons."³ Socialization

¹Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 4.

²Ibid.

³Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1967), 1.

would be the ". . . process by which the skills, knowledge, motives, and attitudes necessary for the performance of present or anticipated roles are included in the individual's values."¹ Since socialization and in this case, political socialization, implies that attitudes are learned, it is simpler to define "attitude" as ". . . a learned disposition to respond in an effective way toward a stimulus object."² This definition means that human behavior may be changed within a situational context.³ For example, if a peasant moves from the country to the city, his/her attitudes would be likely to change as a result of being in a new situation.

Now that the terms "modernization," "modern," and attitude are defined, the question of how modernization and participation are related must be analyzed. Alex Inkeles in "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," in describing his research through the perspective of "psychological modernity," writes that "Individual modernity is here conceived of as a complex set of inter-related attitudes, values, and behaviors fitting a theoretically derived model of the modern man, at least as

¹Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 206.

²Frank P. Scioli, Jr., "Political Attitudes: Verbal Behavior and Candidate Selection in Experimental Small Groups," Unpublished Dissertation (Tallahassee, Fla.: The Florida State University, June, 1970), 3.

³Wright and Shaw, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes.

he may appear among the common men in developing countries."¹
 To Inkeles, modernization refers to the process of how the individual becomes a participant in his society. Inkeles uses the word "citizenship" to describe what he means by the relationship between the process of modernization and political participation. The following discussion by Inkeles is included to indicate how participation in the state polity may be achieved through the modernization process.

What modern polities . . . as diverse as the U. S., the U. S. S. R., England, and Japan have in common is most easily grasped if we contrast them with the societies of Europe before the rise of the national state, or with great uncentralized culture areas such as India before and in the early stages of British colonial rule, or with much of tribal Africa today. The contrast can perhaps best be summed up in the word, citizenship. Before the event of the modern centralized state, the individual was a member of a family or tribe and he belongs to a community, but his identity as a person does not include his being a citizen of a nation. When, in such societies, there is a higher and even quite powerful central authority, some king or emperor, the individual may know himself as subject to the sovereign's control but this subjugation is much like his bowing to the wind and waves. In such settings the common man does not believe that he can remotely influence the policy to which he is subjected, let alone make it.²

Inkeles' discussion about "citizenship" manifests the contrast between "modern" and "traditional" man in the modernization process. The relationship between

¹Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63, 4 (December, 1969), 1121.

²Ibid., p. 1122.

modernization and participation or "citizenship" is clearly defined in what Inkeles calls "participant citizenship," a syndrome which ". . . includes freedom from traditional authority or, stated positively, identification with and allegiance to leaders and organizations transcending the parochial and the primordial; interest in public affairs . . . and expressed through participation in civic action. . . ."1

It is the concept of "individual modernity" that must be defined further, since it is the underlying theoretical framework of this dissertation. Modernization on the individual level is summarized as moving from a certain set of attitudes to another attitudinal orientation which is posited in the work of Talcott Parsons' "pattern variables." An individual's attitudes may be studied in the modernization process as moving from one idealized way of thinking to a different way of viewing his environment. Pattern variables include the following opposites of traditional and modern modes of thinking: (1) self orientation to collectivity orientation; (2) particularism to universalism; (3) from ascription to achievement; (4) from specificity to diffuseness.² To be sure these "pattern variables" rely on idealized constructs which Max Weber defined as a

¹Ibid.

²F. X. Sutton, "Analyzing Social Systems," Political Development and Social Change, ed. Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), 21.

. . . one-sided accentuation . . . by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged . . . into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality.¹

In the remaining part of this Introduction, a discussion on "modernization" and its relationship with political participation by the individual is necessary to understand the theoretical perspective of this dissertation. For the purposes of this study, political participation is defined as an individual's behavior relative to his/her political system. Lester W. Milbrath has recognized that participation within the political system may be both active and inactive.² To measure participation, Milbrath has evaluated individual forms of participation on a scale in which ". . . some persons do more of a given thing than other persons."³ In this categorizing of political participation or behavior, Milbrath distinguishes between active and passive participation. Active participation would include voting, protesting, political discourse while passive activity would be forms of obedience to the system such as paying taxes to indifference.⁴ It is most

¹Neil J. Smelser, "Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change," Political Development and Social Change, 2d ed., 27. From Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Ill., 1949).

²Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965), 9-10.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 14.

important to note that political participation does include attitudes or "predispositions," which may be affected by other variables.¹ As such, it is possible to suggest a relationship between participation and various psychological and sociological factors.

David Horton Smith and Alex Inkeles in "The O M Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity," define for the perspective of this dissertation how attitudes and modernity are related in their idea of "attitudinal modernity," the ". . . set of attitudes, beliefs, behavior . . . characterizing persons in highly urbanized, highly industrialized and highly educated social settings."² Smith and Inkeles go on to relate the individual to modernization by defining individual modernity as explained by socio-psychological variables. "Psychological modernity" may be seen to be ". . . a complex set of inter-related attitudes, values, and behavior fitting a theoretically derived model of the modern man, at least as he may appear among the common men in developing countries."³

¹Ibid., pp. 29-38.

²David Horton Smith and Alex Inkeles, "The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measurement of Individual Modernity," Sociometry, p. 353.

³Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63, 4 (December, 1969), 1121.

Modernization and "individual modernity"

involves man as a political participant which is seen in Almonds and Verba's The Civic Culture where they define how political participation links the individual to the system:

/The Participant Political Culture/ . . . is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes . . . to both the input and output aspects of the political system. Individual members . . . tend to be oriented toward an 'activist' role of the self in the polity. . . .¹

Almond and Verba hypothesize that ". . . those who are able to participate in decisions will thereby be more satisfied with the decisions, and will be more attached to the system than are those who cannot participate . . . a mutually beneficial exchange occurs between the individual and the political system."² Modern man is a participant, for as Inkeles concludes, ". . . the same forces which act to make a man modern in other ways should also influence his attitudes toward political life and the style of his political participation/however/. . . political modernity is /not/ all of a piece . . . active citizenship is indeed a cohesive syndrome of related characteristics forming a "resentment syndrome."³ Inkeles goes on to

¹Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture.

²Ibid., p. 191.

³Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," 1124.

describe the modernization syndrome which defines man as a political participant, a la Almond and Verba in The Civic Culture including different forms of participation which vary from voting to ". . . radicalism . . . apathy and alienation. . . ." ¹ Continuing, Inkeles suggests that "alientation, hostility, and radicalism might then also be a syndrome of intimately linked modes of relating to the political order, so that someone markedly characterized by one trait in the set would be so on the others as well." ²

In order to see how "modernication" applies to this project, a discussion of Panama provides a good case history in illustrating how attitudes of individuals change during the process of modernization.

¹Ibid., p. 1123.

²Ibid., p. 1124.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Why is Panama a "developing country?" In this section, the social and economic conditions are surveyed to suggest how the Panamanian environment affects attitudes.

Most of the conditions which apply to developing countries may be found in Panama. To enumerate these conditions one may begin with these observations: (1) there is a low rate of economic growth; (2) the population is concentrated near the canal in the capital city; (3) there is a rural economy, which by definition is self-sufficient and severed from both urban and world markets; (4) the economy is closely tied to the United States; (5) land is owned by a few families; (6) most of the land is not in production; (7) in resorting to industrialization to escape economic difficulties, e.g., unfavorable balance of trade, Panama ". . . may be merely a means of creating a new, or perpetuating the old governing class."¹ These are some of the reasons why Panama is considered to be typical of the developing countries in Latin America.

¹Louis K. Harris, "Panama," in Political Forces in Latin America: Dimensions of the Quest for Stability, ed. by Ben G. Burnett and Kenneth F. Johnson (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1968), 118-119.

Secondly, after answering the question about why Panama can be considered a developing country it is important to define the relationship that exists between economic, social and political variables and political behavior, i.e., attitudes toward political participation. For the purposes of this discussion, on the Panamanian environment an analysis of the concept, "Political Culture," may be included as a method of explaining a link between the political environment and behavior. One definition of "political culture," which is useful for this investigation, summarizes the concept as ". . . the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provide the underlying assumption and rules that governs behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimension of politics. . . . A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of the system, and thus is rooted equally in the public events and private experiences."¹ By using this concept, the political analyst can ". . . relate the psychological dimension of cultural change to

¹Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development (Boston: Little Brown, Company, 1966), 104-105.

the larger issues of political development."¹ It would seem to follow from this definition that an explanation of the social, political and economic structures would be necessary in order to show how attitudes toward, for example, "family," could influence political participation. However, the following brief discussion about Panama is also intended to provide a setting for some of the psychological and social attitudes which are hypothesized to influence political behavior.

Geography, Demography, and Social Conditions

The geography of Panama probably always will be a major cause of social and economic conditions. The Isthmus of Panama, only forty miles wide at the Canal, contains 29,000 square miles. Meandering, "S" shaped between Columbia and Costa Rica, Panama is the "funnel" of world commerce. The country possesses some of the densest and most unexplored rain forests in the world. High mountains run the length of the country to separate the country.

The following factors may be seen as conducive to inhibiting the economy: (1) Panama lies within tropical latitudes with a tropical climate that adversely affects health; (2) the tropical climate creates an "adversion" to work; (3) the tropical jungle and heavy rains, particularly

¹Ibid., p. 104.

from the Canal Zone to the Columbian border, has prevented the construction of highways and railroads which has resulted in a self-sufficient rural economy; (4) the mountains, rivers, and tropical rains have isolated communities and created "regionalism;" (5) Panama's tropical location with resulting climate, and leached soil has helped to produce a "monocultural economy;" (6) then too, the lack of mineral deposits has ". . . made industrialization problematic even if economically and politically desirable."¹

In terms of population, an estimated 1967 count of one and three quarter million is not high in comparison with other Central American republics. Still the uneven distribution and rapid increase (500,000 in seven years) are factors which do affect social and economic conditions. The fact that 50 percent of the population is concentrated in proximity to the Canal and that the urban population is increasing at 45 percent, with the capital city net gain near 50 percent has accelerated problems.² The literature on developing countries is profuse in describing the hardships of peasants fresh from the interior living in the barrios of the Latin American capital cities, in this case Panama City and Colon. One has only to witness such classic ghetto conditions as "Hollywood," outside the Canal Zone where open sewers separate the shacks of thousands

¹Harris, "Panama," p. 118.

²Ibid., p. 123.

of "squatters." These squatters from the interior have been told by the government that the United States controlled Canal Zone will be theirs as soon as the Republic gains sovereignty over "La Zona Canal." In the meantime, the peasants from the interior, who are unemployed gain a living by existing on Government welfare programs.¹

As Panamainian society or the class system is somewhat dependent on race, it is necessary to describe the racial characteristics of the population. Between 50 and 65 percent are mestizo; 10 percent are pure Indian; 10 percent are white or creole; and the remaining 10 percent of the population is negro. In descending order, whites rank first, followed by the mestizos, Indians, and then Negroes. As an indices of public opinion and governmental attitude toward the Negroes in Panama, one of the former presidents of Panama, Arnulfo Arias, suggested that the negroes, largely imigrants from the British West Indies, be repatriated or removed to isolated parts of the country.² Presently, though, the Antillean negroes of "chombos" reside mostly in Panama City, Colon, or in the Canal Zone. As a result of their recent status as British subjects, they are neither "Americanized or Panamanianized . . . are

¹Daniel Goldrich, "Panama," in Political Systems of Latin America, ed. Martin C. Needler (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1964), 134.

²Harris, "Panama," p. 121.

without country and deep roots."¹ Because a large percentage of the population or respondents questioned for this investigation are of West Indian descent, further attention in the "Research Design" is given to describing the West Indian population in Panama.

While the Indians are a notch above the West Indians, they too are far down the social spectrum in terms of prestige. The Indians, however, live in the interior, some aboriginally and generally in self-governing communities like the Cuna, who occupy the Atlantic coast of Panama from Colon to the Columbia border. This Cuna tribe is so remote that one has to fly in by bush pilot to small landing strips. One finds that these tribes still barter with coconuts and live in typical Indian villages that are governed by caciques.² When the Indians do come to the cities, it is to barter their goods. A few are moving to the cities to find work and some are employed by the United States Canal Company.

From the largest element of the population, the mestizos, the still small middle class has emerged. It appears that membership in the middle class is, however,

¹Ibid., pp. 121-122.

²Personal experience of flying to San Blas Islands. Statistical information concerning the Indian population may be found in The Atlas De Panama, (Republic of Panama: 1965), 71-75. According to the 1960 census, they indicate the Indian population to be only 6 percent.

determined by ". . . attractive clothing and secondary or college education."¹ Less than 25 percent can claim to be middle class, however, which is characterized by as ". . . competitive and ambitious, and though likely to be predominantly mulatto-mestizo . . . may include Negroes, whites, a few workers, and members of the professional class."²

At the top of the class pyramid are the few "creole" or white families who dominate the social and economic life of Panama. Traditionally, it is the creole class which has produced the Panamanian political and commercial elites. In fact it is difficult to discuss the economy and political system in Panama without saying that the country has been economically and politically in the hands of an "oligarchia" or oligarchy.³

Historical Perspectives

The question of historical perspective focuses on how history has influenced Panamanian political behavior. Latin American historians agree that the United States "influence" and the Panama Canal are the two issues which

¹Harris, "Panama," 122.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 123. The Atlas de Panama, 76, indicates a 1960 rate of 78.3 percent.

have historically been major factors in determining Panamanian political behavior. Louis K. Harris wrote that Panamanian politics has always been dominated by outside interests, as a result of Panama's position to dominant world powers, a history of conquest which has caused ". . . Panamanians . . . [to be] cosmopolitan and tolerant of dissent. . ." and a short history of self rule dominated by the United States."¹ Because of this, ". . . Panamanians . . . tend to look to external forces and events for solutions to internal problems. The Panamanas are inclined to believe that good fortune will come from either the heavens, foreign powers, or the lottery tickets sold on nearly every street corner."²

Thus it could be assumed that individual Panamanian's feelings of political efficacy, the attitude that one's government ". . . can achieve his goals or is influenced in the decisions that effect his life"³ would be low. In summary, because Panamanians have been accustomed to their country being powerless to the influence of outside forces, individuals in Panama might be expected to be

¹Harris, "Panama," 126.

²Ibid., p. 125.

³Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 202.

fatalists. To conclude it is suggested that individual Panamanians would not be politically participant to the degree that their attitudes are efficacious or fatalistic.

Economic Factors

The Panama economy is based primarily on Canal shipping and banana exports. One sixth of the national income and approximately seven tenths of export income is derived from the Canal. Yet the fact that the Canal is the mainstay of the economy is said to be the ". . . major factor in the limited growth of the economic base."¹ The dependence on the Canal affects population growth of the major cities of Panama City and Colon located at either end of the canal. Only recently, Colon's population has declined as a result of U. S. Canal Zone residents being shifted to Balboa (U. S. Canal Zone city) on the Pacific. In addition, the Canal exerts such social influences as creating a climate of hostility between the West Indians and other Panamanians over competition for employment with the United States controlled Canal Company.² Because the Panamanians have only emphasized the primary importance of the Canal there has been an "underdevelopment" of commerce and industry which has prevented the rise of a strong middle class or industrial "proletariat." In fact, the antilleans

¹Goodrich, "Panama," 133-34.

²Goldrich, "Panama," 134.

who work for the Canal Company, claim to be the only middle class in Panama.

Since, the United States controlled United Fruit Company also dominates the other major industry, bananas, Daniel Goodrich has paralleled economic imperialism in Panama with that of Cuba before Castro.¹ The implications of the similarity between Panama and Pre-Castro Cuba are obvious to politicians in Panama who are asking for sovereignty of the Canal Zone. Examination of the geographical factors combined with the lack of technical skills available in Panama forecast a bleak picture to improve economic development. Possibly one of the key factors as well for predicting any change can be seen that the government is spending all available funds on education and medical care due to the population growth under sixteen.² Thirdly, available capital is being sent out of the country to Swiss banks and not being invested in the country.³

Sociological Factors

How the social system affects political behavior is most central to this investigation on "Social and Psychological Attitudes," as determinants of political behavior. In this

¹Ibid., p. 131.

²Harris, "Panama," 120.

³Goldrich, "Panama," 132.

section, emphasis is placed on discussing such societal values as "personalism" and "familism."¹ It should be emphasized that these values are only considered here within the context of Panamanian society and that they will be discussed further in Chapter III, "Review of the Literature."

To review what has already been said in discussions about demographic and economic considerations, is that race, i.e., Antillean negroes, mestizos, and whites, helps to determine the social structure of Panama. However, sociologists agree that cultural factors are more important in describing social classes than racial characteristics, e.g., skin color. The upper class is made up of the old families of Panama, who are white or creoles, educated, wealthy, and live in the cities. Members of the lower two classes may be white, mestizo or Antillean, but are predominantly mestizo. As it is a stigma to be of Antillean origin, the negroes make up the lower classes. It should be emphasized that approximately one third, or 5,000 of the Antilleans live in the Canal Zone and consider themselves middle class because their income, standard of living and education is superior to most Panamanians outside the Canal Zone.

¹Foreign Areas Studies Division, Special Warfare Area Handbook for Panama (Washington, D. C.: Special Operations Research Office, The American University, 1962). This is the primary source for "Sociological Factors," and unless direct quotes are used may be referred to as such.

Social mobility "whether within a class or between classes, is primarily on an individual basis rather than on a group basis. The only case of group movement is the gradual assimilation of immigrants and their descendants. Wealth, occupation, and birth (that is, racial and family affiliation) are the principal factors affecting individual mobility, which has been mainly from rural to urban and from the lower class to the middle class."¹ "Class solidarity does not exist because there is as yet no homogeneity, particularly in the lower and middle classes. Also, as would be expected from a review of the economic system, social conflict has not been on the basis of strict class lines but has developed over ". . . cultural and national cleavages . . . and has been concentrated in the urban areas where the economic interests of the native and immigrant working-class elements have clashed in competition for employment."² So far, too, no class uprisings or major class conflicts have occurred.

How do the different classes in Panama view politics? According to some sociologists, the older ethnic groups, or those who have been assimilated into the existing society are more active and concerned with politics. The immigrant groups, the Antilleans, are more passive than the native

¹Ibid., p. 94.

²Ibid., pp. 94-95.

Panamanians. Therefore, it would be expected to find that the native Panamanians would be more receptive to arguments concerning nationalism and repatriation of the Canal.

Societal values which appear to be most influential to political behavior are those regarding self, family and friends. First of all, Panamanians regard the family as paramount within a consideration of all relationships. What this means is that the importance of family, or "familism," transcends all other loyalties including those to business, profession, work, or country. In terms of modernization, loyalty to kinship lines or the extended family would mean that this would include Panamanians in a "traditional" framework. However, "familism," is a stronger value for middle and upper class who are ". . . living under conditions which make personal social and economic advancement possible only through supreme effort. . . ." ¹ It would be expected that individuals who agreed with "familism," to be politically participant to the degree that forms of participation were found to be associated with members of that particular family. Further explanation of "familism," and political participation will be reviewed in Chapter III.

Closely associated with "familism," as a societal value would be the emphasis on belief in the self, or the

¹Ibid., p. 188.

value of "personalism." This value may be defined when . . . applied to the individual . . . [to mean] a pre-occupation with the uniqueness and inner dignity of the person."¹ It is a value which governs social behavior and as such represents ". . . a tendency to place emphasis on the interpersonal aspects of all relationships rather than on impersonal formalism."² In Panama, personalism as associated with political attitudes and behavior means that the individual's ". . . drive to self-expression frequently leads to a substitution of rhetoric for action."³ The individual Panamanian is more satisfied with communicating his ideas about politics in an articulate fashion as opposed to overthrowing the government on the barricades. How does the typology of emphasis on "self," and individual effect political behavior or participation? Together with "familism," these are the two societal values which will be most closely analyzed to determine their effect on political participation.

Media in Panama

Before discussing the political conditions, it is important to understand the nature of the media in Panama.

¹Ibid., pp. 188-89.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

As David Lerner hypothesizes in *The Passing of Traditional Society*, ". . . a developmental sequence occurs with increasing urbanization leading in turn to higher levels of education, communications development, and finally political development."¹ It has already been seen that urbanization has increased dramatically with the growth of population around the Canal Zone. Whether or not as a direct result of urbanization, which cannot be ascertained in this dissertation, the media has also been developed. Throughout the country, the radio appears to be the most important channel of public information." But in the urbanized areas of Colon and Panama City, the press remains the primary source ". . . of news and as a means of influencing public opinion."² The government of Panama has recognized that by means of the media, it can influence and control its population. The following discussion of the media in Panama is intended to demonstrate statistically the extent of the media in and around the Canal Zone. All of the T.V. and radio stations in Panama City may be heard in the Canal Zone. Also, Panamanian newspapers are delivered to the door within the Zone.

¹Gilbert R. Winham, "Political Development and Lerner's Theory: Further Test of a Causal Model," American Political Science Review, 64, 3 (September, 1970), 810.

²"Public Information and Propaganda," Special Warfare Area Handbook for Panama, 267.

1. Press.--Close to Panama City there are published papers with a circulation of at least 86,000. The content of these papers has ". . . a propensity for exaggerated language, sensationalism and standard reporting."¹ In addition, the character of the majority of the newspapers endeavors to ". . . exploit anti-United States feeling or stimulate the social and political unrest by printing Castroist or Communist propaganda."²

2. Periodicals.--"Domestic periodicals play a minor role among information media. . . ." ³ However, foreign periodicals, including popular magazines from Germany, the United States, England, Spain and Cuba are readily available in the newstands of Panama City, Colon, and Balboa in the Canal Zone.

3. Radio.--The Government controls the licensing of radio stations and commentators. That is to say, all commentators and announcers have been required to obtain licenses from the Ministry of Government and Justice. The radio stations which are as previously noted, the primary channel of communication, are similar to the newspapers a means of Governmental propaganda. In addition, however, residents of the Canal Zone and the urban areas hear American broadcasts, such as programs which are

¹Ibid., p. 274.

²Ibid., p. 272.

³Ibid., p. 276.

designed for the United States military personnel and Panama Canal employees.

4. Television.--Panamanian television began in 1960 with inauguration of the country's first television station, television from Panama City. Canal Zone residents and Panamanians in the neighboring cities of Colon and Panama City can also hear the Armed forces network.

5. Films.--Panamanians rely exclusively on foreign films. As a result of exposure to a wide variety of foreign films, particularly in the urban areas surrounding the Canal Zone, Panamanians have a unique opportunity to experience or empathize with different cultures. Since the source of most foreign films is from modernized countries like the United States, it is expected that going to films should contribute to changing attitudes. David Lerner has suggested that "empathy" is an important characteristic of "modern" man.¹ It is thus suggested that the Panamanian through his associations and participation in a wide variety of media will be influenced and increase his capacity to empathize with different cultures.

Political Conditions

A survey of economic and social conditions are essential to understanding the political system in Panama. Much of what has already been said in regard to economic and

¹Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society.

societal conditions pertain to Panamanian political behavior. It has already been mentioned that the ruling class comes from the white upper class, composed of the old families of Panama. The ruling class in Panama, traditionally oligarchial in nature, controls the land and commerce, as well as the government. This discussion then is a review of the political forces in Panama which are important in describing the dynamics of the political system. Information from the Panamanian newspapers, La Estrella and The Panamerican, assimilated during a period from December 1971 through June 1972 have been used to gain insights into the political system. No attempt will be made to discuss the existing political situation which appears to be changing rapidly under the direction of General Omar Torrijos, leader of the Guardia Nacional (National Police) and the power behind the military junta. The junta is responsible for directing a revolutionary government which has just written a new constitution and asked the United Nations for help in mediating the dispute over govern of the Canal Zone.

First of all the class structure of Panama has provided the country with an oligarchial form of government. Secondly, the economy dominated by shipping interests, control of which is by a foreign power, has provided an issue which has been used by a succession of demagoges to harangue the people about the virtues of economic nationalism.

In January, 1964, for example, riots broke out in Panama City because of the anti-Americanism inspired by the rejection of demands to fly the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. Those who were killed in the riots became "martyrs" and have been held before the people by successive governmental leaders. According to one political scientist these January riots

marked at least a temporary reversal of an economic trend, and this threatened to aggravate much more deeply the problems associated with political stagnation and defensive nationalism. . . . If for a better life among Panamanians, the riots had caused an immediate decline of substandard proportions that could only have disappointed such expectations.¹

This observation correlates well with Davies' theory of Revolution which holds that revolutions occur where economic expansion has bred high hopes, and then is followed with an acute frustrating decline.² However, despite these riots, most observers of the Panamanian system do not predict real revolutions because of the absence of any large group of proletariat.³ Stability in Panamanian politics continues to be the norm and has

¹Daniel Goldrich, Sons of the Establishment: Elite Youth in Panama and Costa Rica (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966), 39.

²James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review, XXV, II (February, 1962), 5-19.

³Goldrich, "Panama," 136.

resulted from at least five factors: (1) the oligarchy has made moderate reforms; (2) the oligarchy has also promised additional changes; (3) governmental leaders have used economic issues to create a form of nationalism to unite the people from all classes; (4) the existence of the military, or Guardia Nacional has prevented any widespread anarchy; (5) the United States' proximity to Panama has acted to prevent instability in order to insure its own interests; (6) related to reason, number five, the United States has been inclined to favor the government in power.¹

Demonstration of increase in participation may be illustrated by the following chart which serves to show how participation is higher in the urban areas near the Canal Zone. For example, according to Table 1, 95,863 votes were cast out of an eligible electorate of 155,470 or approximately sixty-one percent as compared to the vote cast in the remote interior such as Darien where the participation was 2,761 out of 6,120 or approximately forty-five percent.

To summarize the discussion in the "Introduction" and "Setting," this dissertation is an analysis of some of the social and psychological variables which may correlate with political behavior, in this case, political

¹Harris, "Panama," 131.

TABLE 1.--Official Tabulation of the Presidential Election of May 8, 1960, and Estimated Electoral Population, by Province

Province	Population Eligible to Vote (est.)	Total Votes Cast	Chiari: National Opposition Union (UNO)	Arias: National Patriotic Coalition (CPN)	Goytia: Popular Alliance (AP)
Bocas del Toro	10,940	6,662	4,525	1,523	614
Cocle	37,570	23,932	14,453	7,418	2,061
Colon	40,850	23,803	13,009	7,519	3,275
Chiriqui	72,260	29,376	8,346	11,734	9,296
Darien	6,120	2,761	1,189	1,081	491
Herrera	27,580	17,369	7,948	6,519	2,902
Los Santos	31,140	18,349	7,096	9,166	2,087
Panama	155,470	95,863	33,045	31,733	31,085
Veraguas	53,100	23,842	10,541	9,499	3,802
Total	435,030	241,957	100,152	86,192	55,613

Source: Adapted from U. S. Government sources.

participation. The specific attitudes to focus upon have been suggested by an analysis of the social and economic conditions existing in Panama as well as by a review of the literature of political modernization and development.

The study of social, economic, environmental and political conditions in Panama suggests that a number of forces affect Panamanian attitudes. It has been found that the following statements summarize these forces which may influence Political Participation in Panama:

(1) The family is most important in determining loyalty to employer or nation.

(2) The idea of personalism, the belief in the individual's uniqueness as expressed by the average Panamanian love of "dialogue" and passive reflection appears to be more important than any desire to participate actively.

(3) The average Panamanian living in the urbanized areas adjacent to the Canal Zone is exposed to a wide range of media including U. S. media in the Canal Zone.

(4) Because of its location, Panama has become accustomed to being at the focal point of world trade. Also, a review of Panamanian history indicates that Panama has been conquered and controlled by foreign powers. Consequently, Panamanians have become accustomed to being fatalistic about their destiny.

(5) Political control of Panama has passed from the creole oligarchy to a nationalist junta effectively under General Omar Torrijos. Currently, the Torrijos government is continuing the drive to nationalize the Panama Canal.

Questions to which answers will be sought are as follows:

(1) How strongly does the family affect political participation?

a. Three areas of family involvement in politics, (1) direct "activism" of family members in politics, (2) familial holding of elected or appointed office, and (3) "reliance on family for advice and guidance will be analyzed to determine the influence, if any of these three independent variables on the individual Panamanian's attitudes toward political participation.

(2) How strongly do relationships with friends or peer groups influence political participation?

(3) Are attitudes toward self, e.g., "personalism," an important societal value in Panama equally reflected in influencing individual political participation?

(4) Another attitude which is suggested by a study of the Panamanian history is how do attitudes of political efficacy/fatalism correlate with attitudes toward political participation?

(5) Because Panamanians are exposed to considerable media influence both from the Canal Zone as well as from Panamanian T.V. and radio networks, it is suggested that

exposure to political stimuli from the media would lead to greater political participation.

All of these attitudes will be examined in Chapter III through a review of the literature of research so that hypotheses may be expressed which can be measured through survey research.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In "Review of the Literature, empirical research on the independent variables, including those societal and psychological attitudes which have been suggested by the study of Panama and Political Modernization, will be discussed. It is the purpose here to analyze prior research to determine how the results of this project correlate with other findings and to place the hypotheses in theoretical perspective. Although all of the "attitudes" considered in this research as independent variables could be defined in the introduction to be ". . . end products of the socialization process, and significantly influence man's responses to cultural products, to other persons, and to groups of persons,"¹ it is also possible to classify them as societal and psychological.

To be able to do research on change in attitudes, it is necessary to measure attitudes as concrete entities. Survey research is one such tool and the method by which a particular attitude may be measured and described in this project. Further analysis of attitude measurement will be

¹Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1967), 1.

made in Chapter IV, "Research Design," in the section on the construction of the questionnaire, the particular instrument used to determine attitudinal correlates of political participation.

But a distinction should be made between "attitude" and "value" since "attitudes" and "societal values" are both studied as correlates of political participation in this study. Many social scientists do not distinguish between "value" and "attitude" and use the terms interchangeably. However, Milton Rokeach, has defined the separateness of the two as follows:

Values . . . have to do with modes of conduct and end-states of existence. . . . Once a value is internalized it becomes, consciously, or unconsciously, a standard of criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations . . . attitude differs from value in two ways. While an attitude represents several beliefs focused on a specific object or situation, a value is a single belief which transcendentally guides actions and judgments across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence . . . value, unlike an attitude, is an imperative to action, not only a belief about the preferable but also a preference for the preferable. . . . Finally, a value unlike an attitude, is a standard of yardstick to guide actions, comparisons, evaluations and justifications of self and others.¹

The term "value" is also used to distinguish between "modern" and "traditional" societies as is

¹Milton Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value-Attitude Systems," Journal of Social Issues, 24, 1 (1968), 16.

suggested in the following discussion by Joseph A. Kahl which is included to illustrate how the term "societal value" is used in this dissertation:

Traditional values are compulsory in their force, sacred in their tone, and stable in their timelessness. They call for fatalistic acceptance of the world as it is, respect for those in authority, and submergence of the individual in the collectivity. Modern values are rational and secular, permit choice and experiment, glorify efficiency and change, and stress individual responsibility.¹

A. Societal Values

1. "Familiam," as a societal value has already been defined within the context of Panamanian society to mean feelings and attitudes of deference to the "extended family." But the reason for studying "familism" as an independent variable affecting political behavior necessitates defining the value of "familism" relative to its presumed role in political socialization. Political socialization as previously defined is the process by which the skills, knowledge, motives, and attitudes necessary for the performance of present or anticipated roles are included in the individual's values."² Most research on the socialization process identify family, peer group, and

¹Kahl, The Measurement of Modernism, 6.

²Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 206.

school as important agents in the socialization process. Each of these agencies has received attention in research projects, with the majority of findings concluding that the family is the most important agent of political socialization.¹ However, it is not the intention of this research to enter the controversy of whether school or family is more important, but merely to utilize the findings of abundant research on socialization to demonstrate what has been learned about the influence of the family and thus show how political attitudes learned within the family may be transformed into political behavior.

Perhaps the most important theme associated with the socialization process is the individual's relationship with authority. Patterns of authority established within the family, school, community, and job result in the individual's attitudes towards politics. For an example, Langton's cross national survey of Jamaican and U. S. students resulted in better understanding of differences in

¹The following selections are representative of conflicting findings: Langton, Political Socialization, Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1969), and Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1968). The Hess and Torney study is almost alone in saying that the school is the more important agency.

the socialization of children coming from authoritarian and non-authoritarian families.¹ According to Langton, within the autocratic family, which is synonymous with the authoritarian family, where all of the decisions are made by one individual, usually the father, the result will be that the children will be politically deviant.²

In the literature of modernization as has been previously discussed in the introductory chapter, the concept of the "extended family" is most important in distinguishing between traditional and modern societies. Since the term "extended family" is very close to the meaning of "familism" as it is used in this dissertation, it is appropriate to give an example of the use of "extended family."

Traditionally, the family is central in an individual's life. Its claims are powerful, and the member responds by paying due respect to his elders, by living close to home, by supporting members of his kinship group, by accepting financial obligations, and the like. As society changes, the claims of kinship on the individual are not necessarily diminished, but the force of these claims becomes attenuated. The modern man feels a need for greater freedom of choice which affords him physical, financial and intellectual mobility. Except where such mobility is characteristic of the traditional culture, it seems that a person must first experience situations wherein excessive restraint is felt due to traditional family ties-- then he comes to value the weakening of these ties. In

¹Langton, Political Socialization.

²Ibid., p. 165.

short, the modern man's feelings of responsibility to his kin groups become sufficiently weak so that he can consider accepting an attractive job by relatives which restrict the most productive use of his money and prevent the type of savings needed for economic progress. Finally, his desire for more intellectual autonomy may create conflict with the recognized head of his kinship or domestic group, whose authority extends a large measure of decision-making power over his personal freedom.¹

Secondly, political socialization research focuses primarily on political efficacy as the dependent variable which in this research is used as an independent variable. In this case, political efficacy is considered to mean that the individual believes ". . . that he can effectively participate in politics and in this way . . . has some control over the action of political decision-makers."² It would appear and follow from this definition of efficacy that socialization research would be helpful explaining how the societal value "familism" is linked to participation.

As a way of explaining how the theme of authority, efficacy, and "familism" are related, the research of Dean Jaros, et al., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," examined conjugal patterns of power to illustrate the influence of the family

¹Alan Peshkin and Ronald Cohen, "The Values of Modernization," The Journal of Developing Areas, II (October, 1967), 17-18.

²Ibid., p. 142.

in this case on efficacy.¹ According to Jaros' study, political efficacy is learned in the following manner: ". . . the child's experiences with his immediate authority figure (parent) are somehow projected to include more remote authority figures, including the political. The father . . . becomes the prototypical authority figure."² Hence, if the family is fatherless, children ". . . appear more positive toward the political. . . . One could argue that there is some sort of physic necessity (possibly anxiety-related) to regard authority as benign."³

Jaros went on to explain that the most important finding of his study on how the family transfers political attitudes was that political efficacy was not an universal attitude in the United States, a participant society. While showing that political cynicism can develop in disadvantaged areas, Jaros demonstrated the association of authority patterns with the family and development of certain attitudes, cynical in the case of Appalachia. This would confirm the hypothesis of ". . . direct value transfer . . . of attitudes within the family in affecting political behavior."⁴

¹Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," American Political Science Review, 62, 2 (1968), 564-75.

²Ibid., p. 565.

³Ibid., p. 572.

⁴Ibid., p. 579.

The rationale for studying the role of family in forming participant attitudes may be found in James C. Davies study of "The Family's Role in Political Socialization, where he wrote that ". . . the lack of politicization/political socialization/--that still prevails in most of the world is traceable to the apathy . . . resulting from childhood deprivation/political discussions/ . . . within the family."¹

The family's role of developing perceptions about political behavior ". . . tends to be a conserving rather than an initiating force. . . ./ it attempts to preserve and perpetuate traditional practices and modes of thought."² It is particularly the conservative nature of the family as demonstrated in socialization research that suggests that the family would either inhibit or encourage participant attitudes among its members. Kahl's research on political modernization found that ". . . those who live in a small, closed society with a sense of powerlessness toward nature or men in high status, will cling to relatives for security and, as a correlate, have a high distrust of outsiders."³ In order to have a participant

¹James C. Davies, "The Family's Role in Political Socialization," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 361 (September, 1965), 12.

²Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, 124.

³Joseph Kahl, The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico (Austin: University of Texas, 1968), 20.

political culture, according to Kahl, there would have to be a family structure in which the family ties were reduced to the level of the nuclear family. Thus Kahl would suggest that the nuclear family opposite to the extended family would not block individual initiative, in this case participant behavior.

In this brief discussion of political socialization, an attempt has been made to demonstrate how this concept is helpful in understanding how the family transfers attitudes to the individual. Questions used in this project follow directly from questions used in two separate studies: "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," and "Political Socialization, Student Attitudes and Political Participation: A Sample of Colombian University Students."¹ In addition, Professors Monte Palmer and Larry N. Stern have completed analysis on research using measures to the former two, relating attitudes in the family with political participation.²

Professors Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid's analysis of Student Activism centered on environmental and

¹Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," and Larry N. Stern and Monte Palmer, "Political Socialization, Student Attitudes and Political Participation: A Sample of Colombian University Students," The Journal of Developing Areas, 6 (October, 1971), 63-76.

²Palmer and Stern, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students."

psychological variables influencing political behavior. Focusing on the influence of the family, Reid and Stern found that the social status of the family, political activity of the parents and other close relatives as well as the closeness of the family ties affected political behavior.

Reid and Stern in their Cross Cultural Survey found that both U. S. and Arab students from families where political discussions occur regularly were more likely to be participant.¹ In addition, they found a positive relationship to exist between family political discussion and political activity and political activity by students.² Further, they found that ". . . for the student population as a whole, the salience of politics in the family is more closely related to the structured activity found in student political organizations, than it is to participation in non-violent protest."³

In a similar study, "Political Socialization, Student Attitudes, and Political Participation," Professors Monte Palmer and Stern discovered that a high correlation existed between political activity of family and students.⁴ Specifically, Palmer and Stern found that:

¹Reid and Stern, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activity," 10.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Palmer and Stern, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students."

Over 60 percent of the Colombian students from politically active families were active in politics at the university, compared to 31 percent of those from non-active families. It was also found that 28 percent of the students from politically active families reported playing leadership roles in student organizations. By contrast, only 6 percent of the students from moderately active families and 3 percent of the students from non-active families reported such roles.¹

In addition to analyzing the relationship between family political activity and individual political behavior, both the "cross cultural" and "Colombian Student" studies focused on "familism" or deference to the family and political behavior of the individual members. In the "Colombian Student" survey, Palmer and Stern found that the highest participants were those individuals who expressed the lowest deference to family.² On the other hand, Reid and Stern found that closeness of family ties and deference to family showed a positive relationship with the F.A.M.U. students and moderate one for the Arab students.³ According to Stern and Reid, the reason why F.A.M.U. "familism" increases individual participation would be that participation in student organizations is ". . . encouraged by parents in some cases, at least to a greater degree than is found among the Lebanese. . . ." ⁴

¹Ibid., 66.

²Ibid., 67.

³Reid and Stern, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activity," p. 5-6.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

In summarizing the results of these two empirical studies, the "Cross Cultural Comparison," and the "Political Socialization, Student Attitudes and Political Participation," as well as findings of other socialization literature, it is hypothesized that "familism" and family political activity will affect political behavior of the individual family members.

As a result of reviewing the literature on attitudes believed to correlate with political participation, the following hypotheses are suggested for replication with research in Panama.

(a) Specifically, strength of family relationship should vary inversely with strength of political participation, i.e., strong family ties should not lead to political participation.

(b) However, empirical research suggests that where political activity does occur in such families, the family members will probably be politically participant.

2. Peer Group associations and political participation or behavior has also been explored in the literature of political socialization as briefly mentioned in the discussion of familism" and family political involvement. It is generally concluded in the findings of socialization studies that ". . . the unintentional exposure of a child to material that is explicitly political--the views he hears expressed about

politics or political leaders. . . ." ¹ is of greater importance than the effect of peer group influences at a later age. However, the studies reviewed for "familism" indicated that a group to moderate relationship existed between peer group associations and political participation. In the "Cross Cultural Comparison," Stern and Reid found that ". . . the closeness of student ties is mildly related to political participation for Arab students, but is practically insignificant in our F.A.M.U. sample . . ." ² Opposite findings of peer group influence were found in Palmer's and Stern's "Political Socialization, Student Attitudes and Political Participation," where it was seen that closeness of group relationships correlated significantly with high political activity of members of the groups. ³

The related question of how membership in politically active groups affected participation was shown to have a positive relationship in both studies. Palmer and Stern found in their Colombian sample that ". . . 64 percent of those students reporting high peer group pressures to participate were quite active, as compared to only 35 percent of those not reporting such . . .

¹Almond and Verba, Civic Culture, 269.

²Reid and Stern, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activity," 15.

³Stern and Palmer, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students," 71-72.

pressures. . . ." ¹ In the "Cross-Cultural comparison," Stern and Reid also found that ". . . the relationship between political activity of friends and participation is similar to that found between participation and political activity of the family. . . ." ²

As a result of findings from other studies it is hypothesized that individuals who associate with politically active friends will also likely be politically participant.

3. It has been shown in the study of Panamanian social values, that "personalism," may be related to political behavior. As was defined within the context of Panamanian society, "personalism" ". . . applied to the individual . . . / meant / a preoccupation with the uniqueness and inner dignity of the person." ³ It was also said that in Panama, "personalism" appears to emphasize "rhetoric" instead of "action." In this discussion, it is hoped that a survey of empirical research on "personalism" further suggest how this societal value may affect political behavior.

Specifically, how can "personalism" be measured as a variable in empirical research? To answer this

¹Ibid., p. 71.

²Reid and Stern, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activity," 18.

³See Chapter 2, "Societal Values in Panama."

question, a similar concept to "personalism," "self-esteem," has been defined in empirical research. With the term, "Self-esteem," the idea of uniqueness and "inner dignity," of the individual as defined by "personalism" has not been lost as can be seen by the following description of "self-esteem:"

By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself. It is a subjective experience which the individual conveys to others by verbal report and other overt expressive behavior.¹

Three methodological implications have been observed in conjunction with this definition of self-esteem:

1. ". . ./the/ level of self-esteem is considered to be a relatively enduring characteristic of a person . . .
- /2./ self-esteem results from evaluations of the self as an "object," yet in some of its aspects this object is only available for scrutiny by the subject. This presents an unusually difficult problem regarding the validity of measurement instruments. . . ./3./ self-esteem is based on attitudes toward the self, which suggests that a wide variety of attitude measurement techniques may be

¹S. Coopersmith, *The Antecedents of Self-Esteem* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1967), 4-5.

utilized."¹ In reviewing empirical research on "self-esteem," it can be seen that there is no scale which is used exclusively to measure this variable.

It has been noted that self-esteem as an independent variable is ". . . related . . . to political behavior, social disturbances, and various other forms of personal and group dissatisfaction . . . the usual claim being that people with low self-esteem are also likely to be alienated, unhappy about their lives, and to feel incapable of controlling their futures."² Discussion of related psychological concepts such as "alienation" are included in this chapter. Focusing though on the relationship between self-esteem and political behavior, social scientist Herbert Goldhamer said lack of self-esteem and worry over this lack may cause political apathy.³ As such, it is suggested that individuals with low self-esteem are non participants. Research with secondary school students in New York State has indicated that these subjects are ". . . less likely to report that they follow news of national or international importance in the newspapers or on radio or television; and, on an objective

¹"Measurement of Self-Esteem and Related Constructs," Measurement of Sociological Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1969).

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Herbert Goldhamer, "Public Opinion and Personality," American Journal of Sociology, 55 (1950), 350.

test of knowledge of current political figures, they are less likely to identify these figures correctly."¹ The opposite effect was found with those subjects having high self-esteem as ". . . 53 percent of those with the highest self-esteem level were both frequent and active participants . . ./as compared with/ only 14 percent of those with the least self-esteem."²

It has been hypothesized that a possible cause of why people are non-participant is that individuals with low self-esteem have ". . . a greater fear of the possible scorn, ridicule, or hostility of others."³ Findings by Morris Rosenberg, in "Self-Esteem and Concern with Public Affairs," replicate this hypothesis that non-participation is related to individuals with low self-esteem who in turn are hostile to others. Further, Rosenberg found an additional reason as to why individuals with low self-esteem are non-participant, since he demonstrated that these individuals are ". . . doubtful that they have anything worthwhile to contribute."⁴ Summarizing his research,

¹Morris Rosenberg, "Self-Esteem and Concern with Public Affairs," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26, 2 (Summer, 1962), 202.

²Ibid., p. 203.

³Ibid., p. 207.

⁴Ibid., p. 208.

Rosenberg concluded that three factors ". . . appear to be implicated in the relationship between self-esteem and the tendency to discuss public affairs: inter-personal threat, lack of confidence in interpersonal impact, and self-consciousness."¹

These findings by Rosenberg replicated earlier research by E. Lakin Phillips, "Attitudes Toward Self and Others: A Brief Questionnaire Report."²

Larkin also found that ". . . individuals who are prone to express negative attitudes toward others, to be constant faultfinders . . . /and to/ harbor negative self attitudes."³ So, to conclude this discussion of "personalism" and "self-esteem," there is agreement about the definition and effects of those with low self-esteem. Secondly, social scientists have used different scales to measure self-esteem and have not found a single instrument such as the "F Scale" to measure "self-esteem." Thirdly, in at least two research projects, self-esteem has been found to be related to political behavior.

In contrast to the findings suggested from the Panamanian "Setting," it may be hypothesized that a study of empirical research finds that high self-esteem is associated with political participation.

¹Ibid., p. 209.

²E. Lakin Phillips, "Attitudes Toward Self and Others: A Brief Questionnaire Report," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 15 (1951), 79-81

³Ibid., p. 79.

B. Psychological Attitudes

Although "personalism" was considered as a "societal value, it could just as easily have been discussed together with psychological attitudes which are presumed to affect political behavior. In this section are included attitudes such as empathy, efficacy, and a related group of attitudes: alienation, insecurity/frustration/anxiety, and catharsis. Several of these variables, particularly efficacy are common in the literature of both political participation and modernization. The other psychological attitudes, particularly "catharsis" have not been mentioned as frequently as correlates of participation and modernization.

1. Empathy/Media Exposure.--The fact that residents of Panama City, Colon, and the Canal Zone are exposed to television, radio, movies, and newspapers has already been discussed in the chapter on Panama. How the effect of exposure to political stimuli through the media affects political behavior will be analyzed in this section. Several hypotheses have been suggested, relating political participation to media exposure, such as (1) ". . . the more stimuli about politics a person receives, the greater the likelihood he will participate in politics, and the greater the depth of his participation."¹ Also, as one would expect from the study of the media in Panama, it

¹Milbrath, Political Participation, 39.

would be expected that individuals ". . . living in urbanized environments encounter more stimuli about politics than those living in the country."¹

As to how political stimuli through the media affect attitudes toward participation has been analyzed in David Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society.² This work serves as the basis for hypothesizing about the relationship between an individual's awareness of other ways of life and political participation. Lerner's conceptualization revolves around the individual's ability to empathize, ". . . to see oneself in the other fellow's situation."³ Lerner's theory about empathy and participation is one of the individual in society evolving through successive stages of urbanization, literacy, and media growth which in turn accelerates the spread of literacy. Lerner's major hypothesis governing his research was stated as follows:

. . . high empathic capacity in the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate and participant. . . . Modern society is participant in that it functions by 'consensus'--individuals making personal decisions on public issues must

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East, collaboration of Lucille W. Pervsner, intro., David Riesman (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1968).

³Ibid., p. 50.

concur often enough with other individuals they do not know to make possible a stable common governance. . . . Participant Society are that most people . . . express opinions on many matters which are not their personal business.¹

This concept of empathy and participant society correlates of course with the introductory chapter on participation and modernization. To continue, however, with the discussion of "empathy" and participation, Lerner measured the ability to empathize by the ability of the individuals to have opinions. The beginning of empathy, participation, and modernization was measured by participation involving the mass media: radio, television, movies, and newspapers. Further, to measure empathy the social scientist must question the individual's responsiveness to others as manifestations of an empathetic attitude. What is important to these research efforts, again, is the conceptual nature in which Lerner measured empathy as an index of political participation which can be summarized as follows:

People acquire the capacity for political participation by learning under the permissive conditions of mobility, how to participate in all sectors of public life. The mechanism of empathy and its operation produces opinion on public matters. The outcome is a skill syndrome, a capacity to rearrange one's self-system on a short notice which flourishes in a setting of balanced urbanism, literacy, media participation.²

Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid tested the effect of mass media on participation of students in student

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

organizations and their attitudes toward non-violent protest. In their findings of their "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," Reid and Stern observed significant correlations of .470 and .365 for Lebanese and Florida A. and M. students with participation in student organizations.¹ Also, Reid and Stern had positive findings of .369 and .396 with Lebanese and Florida A. and M. students with attitudes toward non-violent protest.²

In "Political Development and Lerner's Theory: Further Test of a Causal Model," Gilbert R. Winham used aggregate data vis a vis survey testing to study the relationship between democratic political institutions and some social variables.³ Winham found a relationship existing between communications and urbanization, as Lerner had found, that ". . . a developmental sequence occurs with increasing urbanization leading in turn to higher levels of education, communications development, and finally political development."⁴ To test the causality of development increasing as communications and urbanization increases, Winham examined the relationship between the

¹Stern and Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," 26.

²Ibid.

³Gilbert R. Winham, "Political Development and Lerner's Theory: Further Test of a Causal Model," American Political Science Review, 64, 3 (September, 1970), 810.

⁴Ibid., 810.

social variables in Lerner's thesis, i.e., urbanization, education and communications.¹ Winham's findings suggested that indices of participation, for example, voting statistics, increased in conjunction with the growth of urbanization, education and communications.² Secondly, the question of the ordering of Lerner's variables was tested to see if ". . . /the/variables he/Lerner/posits as independent precede in time the dependent variable or variables."³ Again, Winham found positive results in his analysis of aggregate data.

Winham's, Stern's and Reid's findings agree with Lerner's theory. In this project an attempt will be made to find if Panamanians' ability to empathize also effects political behavior..

It is hypothesized that individuals who have the ability to empathize will be politically participant.

2. Efficacy/Fatalism.--In the study of Panama, it has been suggested that Panamanians are fatalistic as a result of historical events and tend ". . . to look at external forces and events for solutions to internal problems."⁴ At the same time because of these fatalistic

¹Ibid., p. 815.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 816.

⁴See Chapter II, "The Setting."

attitudes it is expected that the opposite belief patterns of attitudes of political efficacy would be correspondingly low. It is the purpose of this section to further examine "efficacy" to demonstrate some findings from empirical research.

Some analysis of efficacy has already been made to findings from political socialization studies in reference to "familism" and peer group pressure. It was seen that the socialization process through the effect of family or peer group influenced the individual's feelings of efficacy, the attitude that one's government ". . . can achieve his goals or is influenced in the decisions that effect his life."¹ To review briefly, again, the socialization studies, efficacy is usually the dependent variable with family influences and structures, peer group pressures, mass media, and education acting as independent variables. But there are not many studies using "efficacy" as an independent variable that affects participation. Before analyzing several of the studies which do use "efficacy" as an independent variable, one representative study examining the nature of the development of political efficacy through socialization would be good to use in clarifying the relationship between psychological involvement with politics and efficacy, per se. Roderick

¹Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 202.

Bell, "The Determinants of Psychological Involvement in Politics: A Causal Analysis," questioned whether or not ". . . the flow of causality runs always from involvement in politics through increased attentiveness to more sophisticated modes of evaluating political objects."¹ Bell found that "It makes a good deal of sense to suppose that causality flows the other way as well."² Using this model of causation, i.e., participation influences independent variables or independent variables influences participation, he found that political participation did not correlate with any particular variable except ". . . involvement and level of conceptualization. . . ."³ That is to say, participation also exerted an independent effect and was not effected by, for example efficacious attitudes.

In Stern's and Reid's "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," the authors divided efficacy as goal seeking behavior into three categories, together with their relationship with political participation as follows: ". . . (1) the perceived importance of organized student politics; (2) self-advancement, based on the expectation of being active in community affairs after

¹Roderick Bell, "The Determinants of Psychological Involvement in Politics: A Causal Analysis," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 13, 2 (May, 1969), 237.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 243.

college graduation; and (3) self-actualization, based on the personal satisfaction obtained from political activity."¹ For the first category, correlations of .489 and .337 were obtained for Arab and Florida A. and M. students respectively, indicating that the importance of joining organizations had a strong association with attitudes toward the importance of student government.² The attitude toward a need to join student organizations as the basis for self advancement gave moderate correlations of .567 and .336 for Arab and Florida A. and M. students respectively.³ When attitudes toward joining student organizations in terms of self advancement was correlated with attitudes toward non-violent protest, correlations of .327 and .248 were found for Arab and Florida A. and M. students respectively.⁴ The third category, "self-actualization" did not correlate for either the American or Arab students.⁵

Additional findings obtained in research with student attitudes of Colombian University students relating efficacy in terms of "self-actualization" with attitudes toward "political activism" also had positive findings.⁶

¹Stern and Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," 35.

²Ibid., p. 36.

³Ibid., 38.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 37. Positive findings, however, were found, but were not strong.

⁶Stern and Palmer, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students," 72.

Further analysis of efficacy in research findings which are related to this study are also discussed in the next section on prior research with "Alienation/Trust/Efficacy." It has been seen in the study of Panama from the historical perspective that Panamanians are "fatalistic" due to the extent that "external forces" have dominated their country's politics. As such it was suggested that ". . . Panamanians are inclined to believe that good fortune will come either to the heavens, foreign powers, or the lottery tickets sold on nearly every street corner."¹ According to research a hypothesis may be made that "Fatalistic responses should be related with a low level of activism."² However, actual findings do not support the hypothesis that fatalism is inversely related with political participation.³

Therefore, it is hoped through this research to see if an inverse relationship between fatalism and participation can be supported.

From the discussion of the literature on efficacy and fatalism the following results between political

¹Chapter II, "The Setting."

²Stern and Palmer, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students," 72. Also, see analysis of fatalism in Lane, Political Life, 130-31 and Lucian Pye, Politics, Personality and Nationbuilding (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962).

³Ibid.

participation and these two variables suggest that (1) those individuals who are efficacious will be politically participant; and (2) those individuals who are fatalistic will not be participant.

Alienation/Trust/Efficacy.--Alex Inkeles in his study on "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," found that being psychologically alienated was a mode of behavior that characterized one way of relating to the political order.¹ Contrasted with the alienated individual would be the participant citizen whose ". . . political benignity . . ./exhibited/ tolerance for the other participants and . . ./a/ reasonable respect for those who are trying to run the government."² As such, Inkeles would agree with the authors of the Civic Culture that modern man was not characterized by resentment with the existing regime. However, Inkeles empirically demonstrated that ". . . the men who are informed, interested, and are participant in the political process may also be alienated, anomic, and hostile . . ./in which case/ they are making objective judgments perfectly consistent with their expectations as good citizens."³

¹Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," American Political Science Review, 63, 4 (December, 1969), 1120-41.

²Ibid., p. 1124.

³Ibid., p. 113i.

Inkeles concluded his analysis with the finding that ". . . the same forces which train men in active citizenship may act to increase the demands made on the government for effectiveness, efficiency, innovation and change."¹ Thus alienation would be a manifestation of citizen discontent rather than lack of political participation. Yet findings from research on political alienation reveal that alienation is negatively correlated with political participation.

The following analysis of significant research findings on alienation and political participation is based on Melvin Seeman's definitional article, "On the Meaning of Alienation."² In his study of alienation, Seeman identified five alternative meanings of Alienation: ". . . powerlessness, meaningless, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. . . ."³ Working within the context of the social-psychological point of view, i.e., point of view of the actor, Seeman defined each of the alternatives as follows:

1. Powerlessness . . . the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks.

¹Ibid., p. 1141.

²Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24, 6 (December, 1959), 783-91.

³Ibid., p. 783.

2. Meaningless . . . /characterized/ by a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made.

3. Normlessness . . . /would be similar to anomie/ may be defined as one in which there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.

4. Isolation . . . the alienated . . . assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society.

5. Self Estrangement . . . refers essentially to the inability of the individual to find self-rewarding . . . or self-consummatory--activities--that engage him.¹

In all of these alternative "meanings," the stress is on individual perceptions of his environment. It appears that most researchers after Seeman have cited his definition for their experimentation.² However, to focus more on the problem of this dissertation it is necessary to study another aspect of alienation by asking the question does the alienated individual participate politically. Two accepted operational measures of alienation, trust and efficacy were examined in Joel D. Aberbach's "Alienation and Political Behavior."³ In this

¹Ibid., pp. 784-90.

²Joel D. Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior," American Political Science Review, 64, 1 (March, 1969), pp. 86-99.

³Ibid., pp. 88-89.

excellent review of the literature on alienation, Aberbach concluded that psychological studies on alienation and participation ". . . emphasize negativism of /the/ political alienated," i.e., these individuals tend to vote "no" on referendums.¹ Aberbach ended by defining alienation as ". . . a combination of distrust and powerlessness . . . /as there is/ the expectation that the joint occurrence of the two attitudes produces a unique behavioral tendency. . . ."2

Then there is William Gamson's Power and Discontent, which hypothesized that ". . . the politically mistrustful are more likely to participate than are the trusting. . . ."3 According to this hypothesis ". . . a combination of high sense of political efficacy and low political trust is the optimum combination for mobilization--a belief that influence is both possible and necessary."⁴ Unfortunately, Gamson's hypothesis has not been replicated in Fraser's findings, nor in several other experiments. An attempt will be made in this dissertation to correlate attitudes reflecting alienation and political participation.

According to the literature, the alienated individual should not be politically participant. However, some

¹Ibid., p. 89.

²Ibid.

³John Fraser, "The Mistrustful-Efficacious Hypothesis and Political Participation," Journal of Politics, 32, 2 (May, 1970), 444. (Cited from Gamson's Power and Discontent, p. 48.

⁴Ibid.

findings suggest that the mistrustful may in fact be more politically participant than the trusting.

Insecurity/Frustration/Anxiety.--According to the literature, attitudes which reflect feelings of being insecure about self, frustrated, or anxiety-prone appear to be related to a singular syndrome. However, since all of these attitudes are also singular entities, they will be considered separately. The learned journals in the disciplines of Political Science, Sociology do not have much information which pertains to anxiety which could be directly related to political participation. Therefore, it was necessary to extrapolate from research in Psychology for analyses of the hypothesis of the state of being anxious and causal connections with political participation.

A number of studies in psychology review the scope and definitional idea of anxiety.¹ Psychologist, William F. Fischer has defined anxiety as follows:

It would be experienced as meaninglessness, an inability of the ego to synthesize and sustain consistent meaningfulness. Successful coping with anxiety-arousing conditions would mean that the ego has been able to sustain its already existing organization or that it has reconstituted a new logical synthesis, primarily by consolidating its boundaries. . . . a breakdown in ego functioning,

¹The following studies are pertinent to this research. Eugene E. Levitt, The Psychology of Anxiety (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1967), William F. Fischer, Theories of Anxiety (New York: Harper and Row, Pubs., 1970), C. D. Spielberger, Current Trends in Theory and Research on Anxiety (forthcoming).

would always mean a disruption in the individual's realistic relations with the world.¹

This definition is purely a part of the personality and not so much of being fearful. Should "anxiety" be distinguished from "fear," e.g., of bodily harm? The distinction here is considered by the following observation and definition: "When a person is aware of a threatening object or situation, we should speak of fear rather than of anxiety."² Further, the fact that the state of being anxious lies in the sub-conscious can be seen from Eugene E. Levitt's conclusion that to experience fear is to experience pain while to experience anxiety is ". . . not to know why you are afraid/which/can be catastrophic because you are then deprived of any avenue of escape from the threatening danger."³ So one definitional problem is whether or not anxiety should be analyzed as a conscious or subconscious state of mind. For the purposes of this research, anxiety is considered to be an unconscious state of mind. Another definitional consideration has to do with whether or not anxiety is transitory or transient state of mind. Charles D. Spielberger's definition accounts for this aspect as he finds anxiety to ". . .

¹Fischer, Theories of Anxiety, 17.

²Levitt, The Psychology of Anxiety, 8.

³Ibid.

denote a palpably by transitory emotional state or condition characterized by feelings of tension and apprehension and heightened autonomic nervous system activity."¹ The acuteness of anxiety is accounted for by the length of time feelings of anxiety are experienced. An individual who is prone to feeling anxiety may be seen as a person who has a characteristic personality trait.² Before discussing relevant research findings, the relationship between anxiety as a personality trait and insecurity should be made clear.

Insecurity causes one to be anxious about social blunders or have low self-esteem. Research findings support the idea that an individual with ". . . low self-esteem is an important cause of high anxiety-proneness."³ This finding supports the premise that the psychological state of anxiety is part of a syndrome in which feelings of anxiety and insecurity are associated.

Empirical research in which feelings of insecurity are related to political participation may be seen in several studies similar to research in this dissertation. The question of how attitudes of insecurity relate to participation may be seen when analysis of frustration is included.

¹Charles D. Spielberger, "Current Trends in Theory and Research on Anxiety," Chapter 2, "Anxiety as an Emotional State," 1.

²Levitt, The Psychology of Anxiety, 14-15.

³Ibid., p. 159.

Stern and Reid hypothesized after reviewing empirical research, that some feelings of insecurity and uncertainty, ". . . particularly about the future. may motivate students to participate in politics."¹ However, Stern's and Reid's findings do not vindicate that participation in student activities is related to feelings of insecurity.² But, there is a moderate relationship between insecurity and attitudes toward participation in non-violent protests.³ Questions about feelings toward job insecurity were asked of subjects to determine if the relationship between participation in non-violent protests was a reflection of "personal insecurity" or merely feelings that the political system was poor.⁴ However, no relationship between attitudes of job insecurity and participation in non-violent protest could be determined. Stern and Reid concluded that while ". . . the relationships between insecurity measures and political participation are in the predicted direction, they do not seem to be particularly important on the individual level."⁵ In a related study, Stern and

¹Stern and Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," 37.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 38.

⁵Ibid., p. 40.

Palmer also found that "insecurity" was minimally related to participation.¹

By examining a related attitude, feelings of aggression, it is hoped that some explanation as to how feelings of insecurity and anxiety may lead to acts of political participation.

Aggression according to Psychologists, John Dollard, Leonard W. Doob, et al., is hypothesized to be a consequence of frustration.² It follows from the frustration-aggression hypothesis that ". . . the occurrence of any act of aggression is assumed to reduce the instigation to aggression."³ Thus, it is assumed or extrapolated from this finding that "frustration" defined as ". . . as that condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference,"⁴ is also associated with feelings of insecurity and anxiety and will lead to acts of political participation. At least, this syndrome may be responsible for attitudes, which may be measured with a questionnaire, that are conducive towards political participation.

¹Stern and Palmer, "Political Socialization of Colombian Students," 75.

²John Dollard, Leonard W. Doob, et al., "Frustration and Aggression: Definitions," When Men Revolt and Why, ed. by J. C. Davies.

³Ibid., p. 170.

⁴Ibid.

In the concluding part of this section, pertinent research from the journals may be reviewed in order to formulate a hypothesis that might link political participation with attitudes and feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and frustration. Psychologists Richard M. Suinn and Hunter Hill, "Influence of Anxiety on the Relationship Between Self-Acceptance of Others," tested the relationship between anxiety and insecurity, i.e., "Self-Acceptance," and showed that there ". . . is some tendency for increased anxiety to lead to a . . . lowering of acceptance . . . /of self/."¹ Also, the hypothesis that individuals with low-esteem experience feelings of increased anxiety was also demonstrated in findings by Morris Rosenberg, "The Association Between Self-Esteem and Anxiety."²

Research on the Frustration-Aggression hypothesis indicates that there are no conclusive results on the cathartic effect of aggression or frustration. For example, Jack E. Hokanson, "Psychophysiological Evaluation of the Catharsis Hypothesis," found that ". . . the results show clearly that overt aggression does not inevitably lead to either physiological tension reduction or a

¹Richard M. Suinn and Hunter Hill, "Influence of Anxiety on the Relationship Between Self-Acceptance and Acceptance of Others," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 28, 2 (April, 1964), 118.

²Morris Rosenberg, "The Association Between Self-Esteem and Anxiety," Journal of Psychiatric Research, 1, 2 (Sept., 1962), 135-51.

reduction in subsequent aggression."¹ On the other hand, John Dollard, et al., "Frustration and Aggression," had opposite findings.²

In this study of research findings, the following hypothesis is proposed which associates feelings of anxiety, insecurity and frustration together as a cause of lessening political participation: Workers who are insecure, anxious, frustrated will be least politically participant.

Catharsis.--Feelings of Catharsis are closely related to "aggression" and the aggression hypothesis. According to the "frustration aggression" hypothesis, there is a cathartic effect exhibited when acts of aggression relieve feelings of frustration. The following definition of catharsis includes the "frustration aggression" as part of the definition: Catharsis is defined as "The discharging of emotional tension on objects other than those producing the tension. . . ." ³ Further analysis of catharsis and its similarity with frustration and aggression may be seen in the following discussion:

¹Jack E. Hokanson, "Psychophysiological Evaluation of the Catharsis Hypothesis," The Dynamics of Aggression: Individual, Group, and International Analyses, ed., Edwin I. Megargee and Jack E. Hokanson (New York: Harper and Row, Pub., 1970), 85.

²John Dollard, et al., "Frustration and Aggression," The Dynamics of Aggression, 22-32.

³Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Participation, 201.

Frustrations and aggressions resulting from frustrations, disruptive if unchecked, are displaced or relieved by such means as emotional religious celebrations, the projection of hostile attitudes and behavior toward outgroups, widespread asceticism, and, in many areas, some form of moral laxity, for example, a fairly common use of mild narcotics and/or sexual permissiveness, particularly for males. This process is referred to as catharsis. The precise nature and mixture of frustration-aggression control devices varies markedly from region to region, yet the important fact is the virtual universal existence of such devices and their effectiveness in preventing internal strains and conflict from radically transforming the system.¹

Empirical research and discussion on the nature of catharsis appear to follow in essence from the above definition and may be studied further to suggest relationships between catharsis and political behavior. As has previously been seen, political behavior is directly related to the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis, so therefore since catharsis is related to frustration-aggression, it should also be related to political behavior. Following the idea of the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis, Dollard, et al. hypothesized that the ". . . instigation to aggression inevitably follows frustration. . . ." ² So if catharsis is related

¹Ibid., pp. 21-22.

²John Dollard, et al., "Frustration and Aggression," The Dynamics of Aggression, eds., Edwin I. Megargee and Jack E. Hokanson (New York: Harper & Row, Pubs., 1970), 22.

psychologically to frustration and aggression then the lessening of "instigation to aggression" would be catharsis.¹ Also, catharsis could be said to be the converse of the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis since ". . . the occurrence of any act of aggression is assumed to reduce the instigation to aggression."²

In research, replication of the cathartic effect of the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis has been successful under certain conditions when tested through a study of physiological symptoms. Jack E. Hokanson's, "Psychophysiological Evaluation of the Catharsis Hypothesis," had findings which disagreed with the traditional model which implies that ". . . tension reduction as a concomitant to aggression is an instinctive, structural aspect of an organism's make-up. . . . /the/ alternative conceptualization suggests that the tension-reducing effects of a particular counterresponse to an interpersonal threat is an acquired, learned reaction. . . ." ³

Richard H. Walters, "The Implications of Laboratory Studies of Aggression," questioned the cathartic effect

¹Ibid., p. 27.

²Jack E. Hokanson, "Psychophysiological Evaluation of the Catharsis Hypothesis," The Dynamics of Aggression, 78.

³Ibid.

of seeing a violent movie.¹ Concluding that vicariously experiencing violence was cathartic, Walters summarized his findings that his research indicated that ". . . the presentation of violent models in real life or in fantasy productions may both provide observers with opportunities to learn new ways of expressing aggression and also provide cues that aggression can be socially acceptable."²

Other studies on the catharsis effect of the frustration-aggression hypothesis similarly test physiological symptoms without conclusively demonstrating that catharsis follows, except under certain conditions. For example, Mallick and McCandless in "A Study of Catharsis of Aggression," and using eight and nine year old children found that ". . . Frustration leads to heightened aggressive feelings, but subsequent aggressive behavior does not reduce the aggression. Aggression in the absence of anger is without cathartic value."³

In summarizing this discussion on catharsis, it can be said that studies relating this variable to political behavior do not exist, except through relating

¹Richard H. Walters, "The Implications of Laboratory Studies of Aggression," The Dynamics of Aggression, 124-31.

²Ibid., p. 131.

³Shabaz, Khan Mallick and Boyd R. McCandless, "A Study of Catharsis of Aggression," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 4, 6 (1966), 591.

catharsis to the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis. It is suggested that in some studies, catharsis does result from aggression in reaction to frustration. Also, it is possible that catharsis is achieved vicariously by observing violent behavior. Whether or not catharsis is related to political behavior and political participation, specifically will be tested in this research.

A hypothesis testing the results of research findings would be that aggressive-frustrated attitudes would be relieved, cathartically, through acts of political participation. Further, it should be said that these acts of participation probably would have to be more violent than, e.g., voting vis a vis joining a demonstration.

As a summary of research findings the following hypotheses are suggested:

(1) Strength of family relationship should vary inversely with strength of political participation, i.e., strong family ties should not lead to political participation.

However, empirical research suggests that where political activity does occur in such families, the family members will probably be politically participant.

(2) In contrast to the findings suggested from the Panamanian "Setting," it may be hypothesized that a study of empirical research finds that high self-esteem is associated with political participation.

(3) It is hypothesized that individuals who have the ability to empathize will be politically participant.

(4) From the discussion of the literature on efficacy and fatalism the following results between political participation and these two variables suggests that:

(a) those individuals who are efficacious will be politically participant;

(b) those individuals who are fatalistic will not be participant.

(5) According to the literature, the alienated individual should not be politically participant. However, some findings suggest that the mistrustful may in fact be more politically participant than the trusting.

(6) In this study of research findings, the following hypothesis is proposed which associates feelings of anxiety, insecurity and frustration together as a cause of lessening political participation: Workers who are insecure, anxious, frustrated will be least politically participant.

(7) A hypothesis testing the results of research findings would be that aggressive frustrated attitudes would be relieved, cathartically, through acts of political participation. Further, it should be said that these

acts of participation probably would have to be more violent than, e.g., voting vis a vis joining a demonstration.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN: HYPOTHESES, RESEARCH PROCEDURES, AND STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

Purpose

The purpose of this investigation will be to determine which of the following variables, as suggested by the literature; familism and family involvement in politics, efficacy/fatalism, identification with politically involved peer groups, alienation, catharsis, "personalism," or self concept, insecurity/frustration/anxiety, and empathy are most clearly associated with Political Participation.

Hypotheses

After surveying the literature on the above variables thought to have possible correlation with political participation, the following hypotheses are given.

Dependent Variables are those used to measure both overt political participation and attitudes toward political Participation of Panamanian workers employed by the Panama Canal Company.

The questions used to measure political participation in Panama were taken from a questionnaire used by Monte

Palmer and Larry Stern to study student "political activism" in seven countries including Libya, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Kuwait, Colombia, Iran, and the United States.¹ Analysis of the validity and reliability of the items taken from the "student" questionnaire is included in the section on "Procedures," for the design of the Test Instrument.

Political Participation as reviewed in the chapter, "Review of the Literature," includes both overt behavior, such as attending meetings, or voting as well as positive attitudes towards wanting to take part in political activities. The index of questions or items used to measure participation has been divided into two categories.

I. Overt and Attitudinal Questions

A. Attitudes of Political Participation. The following questions are believed to be an accurate measure of attitudes toward participation.

Item 1. With which of these statements would you most closely agree?

1. I believe that it is not proper for workers to participate in politics.

¹Monte Palmer and Larry Stern, "Multi-National Study of Political Participation Among University Students," (Tallahassee, Fla.: Florida State University) this question has been used to measure student political activism. Results of this research have not yet been published. Reference to this questionnaire is hereby given as "student questionnaire."

2. I believe it is acceptable for workers to participate in politics.

3. I believe workers have an obligation to participate in politics to the extent their goals require.

Item 2. How important would you say politics is to you personally? Very important, moderately important, not at all important.

Item 3. If a certain demonstration or strike were forbidden, I wouldn't participate. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

B. Overt Participation.

Item 4. About how often do you discuss political affairs? Every day, Once a Week, Occasionally, Never.

Item 5. How active are you in a political party or similar organization? Very Active, Member, Not a Member But Occasionally Support, Non-member.

Item 6. Do you attend civic meetings? Regularly, Occasionally, Never.

All of the items included in "overt participation" cover forms of participation allowed by the Panama Canal Company. Regulations for employees of the Panama Canal Company are included in the section on analysis of the respondents. An item pertaining to such forms of participation

as demonstrations and strikes, though forbidden by the Canal Company, was purposely included as an attitudinal measure.

II. "Familism" and Family Political Involvement

As suggested by the study of Panamanian society, the Panamanian family exerts a strong influence on individual members of the family. Secondly, studies in political socialization also indicate that the family may be the most important determinant of political behavior. Thirdly, items used in this questionnaire which measure strength of family ties, influence, and family political involvement have already been found to correlate with both attitudinal and overt political participation in the "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism."¹ Therefore it is hypothesized that family influence will be associated with both forms of political participation.

Specifically, three categories of family involvement in politics, (1) direct activism of family member in politics, (2) familial hold of elected office, and (3) "reliance on family for advice and guidance are measured by items in this questionnaire. The following hypotheses associating

¹Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," (Paper presented, Southern Political Science Association, November, 1971).

these areas of family influence and participation are seen to be useful in analyzing the effect of this variable:

Hypothesis 1.1. Participation is associated with family involvement in politics as measured by the following item:

- Item 1. At least one member of my family is (very active, occasionally active, never active) in political affairs.¹

Hypothesis 1.2. Participation is associated with familial holding of elected office as measured by the following item:

- Item 2. Has your father ever been a village or civic leader? Yes or No?²

Hypothesis 1.3. Participation is related to the degree of "familism" as measured by the following items:

- Item 3. A person should always support his uncles and aunts if they are in need. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 4. The family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts, first cousins) concerning its important decisions. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.²
- Item 5. I feel closest to (1) my family, (2) my religious group, (3) my ethnic group, (4) my country.
- Item 6. I believe that the family is more important than any government in helping me

¹"Student Questionnaire."

²P.D.A. Bardis, "Familism Scale," in Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes, ed. by Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), 416-418. The reliability, using the "split-half reliability" test for this scale has been reported to be .84 and .82. The content validity is above average.

get a job. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹

Item 7. Being a member of a particular family is helpful in getting a job at the company. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Item 8. To which of the following would you go for advice concerning personal problems?²

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| a. family | b. fellow workers |
| c. supervisor | d. religious leaders |

III. Association Between Peers and Participation

An association between peers and participation is suggested by research in political socialization, as seen in the "Review of the Literature." Though the association is not perceived to be as strong as the family influence, peers and peer groups do affect the formation of attitudes. Two dimensions of peer group influence are categorized to measure such relationships as may exist. One, political involvement of friends and two, strength of ties between peer groups is measured to determine any measure of correlation.

Hypothesis 2.1. Participation is associated with political involvement of peers as measured by the following item.

Item 9. Would you say that most of your friends are (very active, somewhat active, occasionally participate or are never involved) in organizations such as civic affairs, unions, etc.³

¹Items "5" and "6" have been created for this investigation after studying related scales.

²"Student Questionnaire."

³"Student Questionnaire."

Hypothesis 2.2. Participation is related to the strength of ties between peers as measured by the following item.

- Item 10. To which of the following would you go for advice concerning social and personal problems? Family, Fellow workers, Supervisor, Religious Leaders.
- Item 11. Opinions of popular workers have a great deal of influence on the attitudes of the average worker. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 12. Most workers are very concerned about what their fellow workers think of them. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹

Hypothesis 2.3. Participation is related to joining peer groups as measured by the following item:

- Item 13. It is generally considered desirable to join a union. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.²

IV. Personalism

As seen from the study of Panamanian society as well as from the review of the literature, "personalism," or attitude toward self is a central concern. The literature suggests that individuals with low self-esteem will be most unlikely to be politically participant. The attitude toward "self" appears to be related to other psychological attitudes studied in this investigation, such as "alienation."³ For an

¹Ibid. Items 10, 11, and 12.

²Ibid.

³Refer to page 59 in Review of the Literature for discussion of relationship between alienation and low self esteem.

example, it has been shown in the "Review of the Literature," that the alienated individual has feelings of being powerless to control his future. Thus it would appear that high self-esteem would be related to participation.

Hypothesis 3. Participation is related to attitudes of high self-esteem as measured by the following items:

- Item 14. I change my opinions in order to please someone else. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 15. I feel that I have very little to contribute for the welfare of others. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 16. It takes me several days or longer to get over a failure that I have experienced. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹
- Item 17. Physically, I would consider myself to be: Extremely Attractive, Above Average Attractiveness, Average Attractiveness.²

V. Empathy

Because Panamanians are exposed to considerable media influence both from the Canal Zone as well as from Panamanian T.V. and radio networks, it is suggested that exposure to political stimuli from the media would lead to greater political participation. In addition, the

¹Items 14-16. E. L. Phillips, "Attitudes Toward Self and Others," in Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes, 428-31. There is no direct evidence of validity for this scale. The reliability coefficient, using "test-retest," has been cited as .84.

²Item 17 was created after reviewing other related scales.

literature also indicates that individuals who are empathetic would be "modern" individuals and thus participant.

Hypothesis 4. Participation is related to the amount of political stimuli that the individual receives from the media as measured by the following items:

- Item 18. How often do you follow accounts of political events on the radio or in the newspapers? Very often, Often, Occasionally, Never.
- Item 19. How often do you go to the movies (Very often, Often, Occasionally, Never).¹

VI. Efficacy/Fatalism

The study of Panamanian society from the "historical perspective" suggests that Panamanians have fatalistic attitudes. In addition the literature on political modernization would reinforce the expectation that individuals from "traditional" societies are fatalistic. On the other hand, individuals from "modern" societies are efficacious, in the sense as defined in the "Review of the Literature" as believing that ". . . one can achieve his goals. . . ." ² Two hypotheses may be given here to indicate the degree of association between fatalism and efficacy with participation.

Hypothesis 5.1. Participation is related to fatalistic attitudes as measured by the following items:

¹"Student Questionnaire," Items 18 and 19.

²Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 202.

- Item 20. When everything is said and done, man is ultimately responsible for shaping his own destiny. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 21. One's success in the company is largely in the hands of fate or God.¹

Hypothesis 5.2. Participation is related to efficacious attitudes as measured by the following item:

- Item 22. Regardless of who (governmental leaders) has power, government efforts to improve socio-economic conditions make little difference. (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree).²

VII. Catharsis

As reviewed in the literature, psychological attitudes such as "catharsis," "alienation," or feelings of "frustration" and "anxiety" are related to each other by definition and in fact form a syndrome. However, each of these attitudes has been considered as separate variables in the "Review of the Literature," and will therefore be investigated separately as well in the "Research Design."

According to the literature, "catharsis," has been defined as the releasing of tension which is provided by attendance at sports contests or possibly through participating in demonstrations.³ From the study of Panama, it has

¹"Student Questionnaire," Items 20 and 21.

²"Student Questionnaire."

³Palmer, Dilemmas of Political Development, 22, 201.

been shown that politically inspired demonstrations are increasing due to the frustrations in part associated with developing countries. Respondents of this questionnaire as will be analyzed in the next section on "Recruitment of Subjects," were workers for the Panama Canal Company and as will be seen not inclined to demonstrate against their employer, the United States controlled Panama Canal Company. It will be interesting to determine then if in fact those "respondents" questioned in this project have feelings of catharsis which is indeed related to indices of participation.

Hypothesis 6. Participation is related to feelings of catharsis as measured by the following items:

- Item 23. People participate in politics primarily because it is fun and exciting. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 24. Whatever else they do, political demonstrations give the people a chance to "let off steam." Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹

VIII. Alienation

As analyzed in the "Review of the Literature," "alienation" has been defined as feelings of ". . . powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. . . ."² Research findings as to whether

¹"Student Questionnaire," Items 23 and 24.

²Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24, 6 (December, 1959), 783.

alienated individuals are participant are divided, viz., Alex Inkeles who found that alienation was more a manifestation of citizen discontent rather than lack of political participation.¹ Several similar attitudes such as "anomy," individual's feelings of powerlessness and "mistrustfulness" are reviewed in the literature. Since feelings of trust are defined by Gamson, Power and Discontent,² to result in opposite behavior, i.e., the mistrustful are politically participant, a hypothesis which links attitudes of mistrustfulness to participation is also considered under the rubric of alienation. The "Review of the Literature" reviews more carefully the research both pro and con as to how participation is determined by alienation.

Hypothesis 7.1. Participation is related to attitudes of alienation as measured by the following items:

- Item 25. Times are getting better. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 26. In the final analysis, everyone is really out for himself. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 27. No one cares about what happens to you. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

Hypothesis 7.2. Participation is related to feelings of trust as measured by the following item:

¹Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries," 1120-41.

²Gamson, Power and Discontent.

Item 28. Most people are honest. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹

X. Insecurity/Frustration/Anxiety

All of these related attitudes, "insecurity," "frustration," and "anxiety: have been discussed and defined in "Review of the Literature." Research on each one of these attitudes has been accomplished but social scientists agree that the three may be considered as a single syndrome. In this investigation, the three "attitudes" are defined as a single dimension or syndrome to mean that ". . . condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference."² Similar to findings of "cathartic" attitudes, it is expected that "frustration" would lead to acts of political participation. Whether "frustration" will lead to acts of positive participation as it is defined in this investigation will be analyzed. Research findings have been mixed as to what type of behavior may be associated with feelings of anxiety, frustration and insecurity as has been previously mentioned in discussions on attitudes of "alienation" and "catharsis."

Hypothesis 8. Participation is related to attitudes of frustration, anxiety, and insecurity, as measured by the following items:

¹Items 25 through 28 were emulated items from other scales which measure "alienation" as an attitude.

²Dollard, Doob, "Frustration and Aggression: Definitions," 170.

- Item 29. Most workers find it difficult to adjust to the demands of the company. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 30. Most people feel very secure about their job situation. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.¹
- Item 31. Fear of social blunders keeps one from having a good time at a party. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 32. It is easy to act natural in a group. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 33. Regardless of what they say, most people are insecure. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 34. I feel secure about my job position. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.
- Item 35. It is difficult to confide in others. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.²

A. General. Other items in this questionnaire asked about ethnic background, specific job category, and housing in the Canal Zone which was pertinent to this investigation but not used in correlation analysis. In addition, much of this investigation included items that may be useful in analyzing in future research projects.

B. Procedures. The specific procedure used in this research was the administration of a paper-and-pencil test measurement of social-psychological and political attitudes.

¹"Student Questionnaire," Items 29 and 30.

²Items 31-35 were taken from other scales which attempt to measure attitudes of "insecurity."

1. Design, Reliability, and Validation of Test

Instrument. Design of the "worker questionnaire," was completed prior to departure to Panama. Questions used in the questionnaire are a composite of many used by Dr. Monte Palmer in his cross-cultural research with students in the Middle East, Yugoslavia, and Latin America.¹ Also questions were chosen from Marvin E. Shaw's and Jack M. Wright's, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes.²

Validation of the questionnaire was accomplished by using the method of "content validity," which is by definition a subjective or judgmental process. Questions or scales used to measure specific attitudes were incorporated because of language content and because they had been used before to evaluate similar attitudes, i.e., as contained in Dr. Palmer's "Student Questionnaire." In order to improve the validity of the instrument for testing Panamanians working for the United States the following procedures were employed.

1. Local validation of the questionnaire was initiated by sending ten questionnaires to the Florida State University Canal Zone office, Albrook Air Force Base, Canal Zone. The director of this program, Dr. Louis Quesada, distributed the questionnaire to his office staff who were Panamanians living in Panama City.

¹Monte Palmer, "Student Questionnaire."

²Wright and Shaw, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes.

Six of these questionnaires were completed and ready for this investigator's perusal by December, 1971. Through a method of questioning the respondents who took the pre-test, certain items were either discarded or altered to make the instrument more applicable to the local situation.

2. From this first pre-test, another questionnaire was compiled and was given to a Mr. Sylvester D. Callender, in charge of community affairs for the Latin Communities in the Canal Zone. Mr. Callender's comments and suggestions about deleting further items were invaluable.¹ Also, Mr. Callender was instrumental in helping to pre-test the questionnaire orally with the Presidents of all three Latin American Communities on the Pacific Side of the Canal Zone. The Presidents of the Latin American communities conduct "civic council" meetings once a month. In addition their role as elected members of their respective communities is to act as a liaison between the Panama Canal Company and community.

Further validation of this questionnaire occurred when it was administered orally to several Panama Canal workers of West Indian origin who made suggestions about improving the questionnaire. Then

¹See Table 1.

by synthesizing all of these "pre-tests," the "Worker's Questionnaire" was validated for use.

C. Recruitment of Subjects. The participants for this study were Panamanian citizens working for the Panama Canal Company. As mentioned briefly in the introductory chapter, the majority of respondents came from three Latin American communities in the Canal Zone, who were of West Indian extraction.¹ Some degree of difficulty was encountered in getting sufficient numbers of subjects to fill out the questionnaire. However, with the assistance of the Presidents of the communities, it was possible to achieve some success. It was suggested by the presidents that this experimenter give talks, at the monthly community council meetings. An article from the Canal Zone Newspaper, concerning one of the talks is included in Appendix B. Members of the community who attended these discussions were by definition the more "participant" citizens in the community, but were also representative of the West Indians working for the Panama Canal Company, in the sense that nearly all were manual workers.² In addition, a prison guard, who happened to attend this researcher's classes in the Florida State University Canal Zone branch, helped to administer the test to Panamanians working in the Canal Zone Prison. This same gentleman was

¹See Table 1.

²See Table 3.

responsible for administering questionnaires to individuals in the Latin American communities who did not attend the civic council meetings.

Three agencies of the Panama Canal Company helped in distributing questionnaires: The Sanitation Department, The Wage and Classification Office, and the Schools Division Office. Respondents from the latter two offices generally worked in a clerical capacity and represented the native Panamanian element in the population.

Both questionnaire administration and validation procedures were accomplished with difficulty because of the existing political situation in Panama. Since most of the subjects recruited for this survey live in the Canal Zone, they were anxious not to "incriminate" themselves unnecessarily. During the treaty negotiations by the Revolutionary Government of Omar Torrijos with the United States, representatives of Panamanian citizens living in the Zone were apprehensive about the implications of a new treaty.¹ For example, these Panamanians were afraid to express any opinions since they have loyalties to both the Republic of Panama and the United States, the latter to whom they are beholden for their jobs. If the treaty was changed, the Panamanians admit that they will be living under a military dictatorship of Torrijos. On the other hand, if they are

¹Introductory Chapter on Panamanian setting.

are critical of U.S. policies, they could lose their privilege of residing in good housing within the Latin American communities. Therefore the tendency, by many Panamanians approached by this researcher, was not to cooperate in answering the survey, is appreciated.

Those authorities who helped in validating the instrument were apprehensive about those questions which alluded to political activity, such as rioting, strike which are expressly not permitted by the Canal Zone Government.¹ Any worker who broke this rule would probably receive a letter and reprimand. Further, those workers living in the Latin American communities are generally the privileged or "model" workers who maintain their advantage over their counterparts living in the barrios by refraining from participatory activity, including answering political questionnaires.

Therefore, the absolute veracity of results obtained in this research cannot be ascertained.

Respondents

Some mention in the Introduction has already been made about the total number of U.S. citizens who are Panama Canal Company employees.² It is the purpose of this section to compare the number of respondents sampled for this

¹"Discipline, Adverse Actions Greviances," Canal Zone Government, Panama Canal Company (Revised, Aug. 1970), 751-18.

²Refer to, "The Setting."

research with the actual number residing in the Canal Zone.
See Table 2.

TABLE 2.--West Indian Workers (Panamanian Citizens) Living in the Latin American Communities and Number of Respondents Sampled in Each Community^a

	Pedro Miguel/ Paraiso	Gamboz/ Santa Cruz	Other (Canal Zone, Republic of Panama)
Number of Employees	498	249	Not relevant
Sample Size	51	10	49

^aJacques, "Comparison of U.S. Citizen Workforce residing in the Canal Zone.

TABLE 3.--Job Description of Non U.S. Employees, "Latin" Communities

Community	Job Description	Number of Employees
Santa Cruz	Non-Manual	61
	Manual	183
	Apprentice	2
	Learner	<u>3</u>
Total		249
Paraiso/Pedro Miguel	Non-Manual	158
	Manual	321
	Apprentice	12
	Learner	<u>7</u>
Total		498

TABLE 4.--Occupations of Sample Population

Category	Sample Size*
Correctional Guard	12
Secretary/Clerk	25
Vehicle Operator	4
Professional	13
Manual Worker	14
Supervisor	15
Housewife	2
Classification Specialist	6
Police	9
Student	1

*This sample only includes those who answered this question.

As a result of a study completed by the Panama Canal Company Personnel Bureau, considerable statistical information is available on its non U.S. employees.¹ Much of this information is useful for describing the population sampled in this research. Of the 9,630 non U.S. employees, 2,002 live in the Canal Zone and 96 percent (1,925) live in the Latin American communities. Of these 1,925 employees, 1,697 hold

¹Emmett J. Jacques, "Comparison of U.S. Citizen Workforce Residing in the Canal Zone" (unpublished report, Canal Zone Wage and Classification Branch, Panama Canal Company), March, 1972.

full time positions with the Panama Canal Company. Seven hundred thirty seven of these, which represents the universe sampled, live on the Pacific side of the canal (refer to appendix for map), and are broken down by community and portion sampled in Table 2.

Ethnically, about 80 percent of the non U.S. employees living in the "Latin" communities are of West Indian descent and 94 percent are Panamanian citizens; the other six percent keep either West Indian or Central American citizenship. Another interesting statistic is that only 2% of the West Indians working for the Panama Canal Company live outside the Canal Zone, in the Republic of Panama. In Tables 3 and 4, job description and age category is given. In regard to the latter, the average employee of the 1,697 full time employees has considerable longevity with the company, or 27.6 years of service. Therefore, it may be assumed that the average respondent questioned for this research may be said to be West Indian, has worked two decades for Americans, is over fifty years of age, and has a relatively lower job description, lower rate of pay in contrast with his U.S. counterpart.

Administration of Questionnaire

Two methods of administering the pencil and paper instrument to respondents were used. One, questionnaires were distributed to civic leaders of the Latin American

communities and to supervisors of several Panama Canal Company agencies. It was at first hoped that the civic leaders of the communities who were versed about the nature of the project and instructed as to how the questionnaires should be answered, i.e., quickly and in pencil, would be able to get a random sampling of their respective communities by distributing the instruments at the monthly meetings. However, the citizens asked that I be present at the meetings to explain the nature of the research and answer questions about particular or threatening questions. This was accomplished by publicizing in the Panama Canal newspaper, The Spillway, that this researcher would be giving a lecture on "Politics in Panama." At the end of the lecture questionnaires were passed out with instructions about how to answer the questions, e.g., "answer all of the questions that you can." The "presidents" who had helped to validate the questionnaires were given additional copies and agreed to administer the questionnaire to other members of their community. Approximately ten questionnaires were completed by this process.

One member of the Pedro Miguel community, who was in this researcher's class in the F.S.U. Canal Zone Branch, was able to distribute questionnaires to all of the employees of the Canal Zone penitentiary. This particular gentleman also was present during the discussion at two of the Civic Council meetings and helped this researcher to gain the trust of the

members present so that individuals did not fear to answer the questions. Instructions given to all respondents included the remark that they could respond freely since they would not have their names on the questionnaire. This fact was insured by seconding remarks from the Civic Council presidents.

Other questionnaires were distributed by giving questionnaires to supervisors of several Panama Canal Company divisions: Schools Division, Personnel Division, and the Sanitary Division. The former two were most helpful in getting their workers to fill out the questionnaires. Similar instructions to those given the Civic Council Presidents, were given to the supervisors who in turn explained it to their workers. Finally, several questionnaires were administered to maids and janitors who worked for Americans at Albrook A.F.B.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical method used in the analysis of correlations between questions about participation and specific attitudes employs the "gamma" statistic. The "gamma" statistic which is used in ordinal data, is based ". . . on the assumption that if two variables are positively related there will be a predominance of like orderings in comparing pairs of subjects."¹ Similarly, a negative relationship, indicated

¹Robert Michielutte, "Measures of Association" (Florida State University, Institute for Social Research, 1969), 10.

by $-.350$ indicates an inverse relationship between two variables. Arbitrarily, for this analysis, "gammas" of at least $.350$ are considered to be significant and "gammas" approaching the $.001$ level indicate a lack of correlation. Since it may be assumed that there is a fifty-fifty chance of having an association between two variables a gamma correlation of either $.350$ or $-.350$ increases the possibility of outcomes with an independent variable by $.350$ or $-.350$, e.g., participation may be associated with a particular attitude.

As a control on the significance of supposed associations, Tau B is used because it ". . . is a conservative measure of association and is relatively insensitive to changes in the strength of an association. Thus, the values for Tau will ordinarily be considerably lower than the values of other measures of association appropriate for nominal scales, and will show less change as the actual strength of an association increases or decreases."¹

¹Ibid., p. 4.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

The six items which are referred to as the "index of participation" and dependent variables have been divided into two groups of three items, with one group measuring attitudinal participation and the other group measuring overt participation. Hypotheses associating the independent variables with the indexes of participation were previously discussed in Chapter Three, Research Design. So to begin this discussion of findings, it might be said that independent variables relating family influence and "empathy" correlated highly with the participation index. Therefore, those hypotheses which had positive findings will be discussed at first and those which did not analyzed in the same order which they were in the Research Design."

Negative coefficients occur frequently when Item 1 of the "Participation Index," is correlated with items from independent variable indices.¹

¹Item 1. With which of these statements would you most closely agree?

1. I believe that it is not proper for workers to participate in politics.

2. I believe it is acceptable for workers to participate in politics.

3. I believe workers have an obligation to participate in politics to the extent their goals require.

The negative correlation may result from the fact that Item 1 of the participation index has responses which go from weak to strong while the independent variables have responses which run from strong to weak, i.e., strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree. Since all items have been coded similarly, i.e., "0" (no response), 1 (first response) etc., regardless if it is strong or weak, explanation must be made for each significant correlation involving Item 1 participation index and items from the independent indices.

Since discussion has already been made at length in "Review of the Literature" about significant research findings about each of the dependent and independent variables no attempt will be given here to further cite the literature. Where necessary all of the results will be given in tables to illustrate whether or not there is association between the variables. In the tables, both "Gamma" and "Tau B," or "C" correlations are given. Hypothesis 1.1, relating family involvement in politics with participation had the most significant correlations as seen in the following table.

It can be seen in Tables 5 and 6 that items associated with Overt Participation correlated consistently. The negative correlations in Table 6 are too close to being zero to analyze. However, the negative correlations in Table 5 associating attitudinal participation with family involvement are close to being significant at the .350 level. As

TABLE 5.--At Least One Member of My Family is (Active) in Political Affairs (Item 1)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1 Believe workers should participate	-.248	-.152 (B)
Item 2 How important is politics	-.340	-.224 (C)
Item 3 Would you demonstrate?	.244	.151 (C)
Overt Participation		
Item 4 How often discuss politics	.297	.186 (B)
Item 5 Are you active politically	.439	.261 (B)
Item 6 (attend civic meetings	-.046	-.027 (C)

NOTE: All items 1-6, referring to dependent variables, are the same throughout all the tables.

previously discussed the negative coefficient for Item 2 included in Table 5 may not involve a negative relationship, since research indicates that the family should exert a positive influence over an individual's participation. Items from the "Overt Participation Index" which are all positive support this conclusion. However, the negative correlation with item 2 indicates a degree of ambivalence. This finding is also realized with Hypothesis 1.2 which measured direct familial holding of office with participation.

TABLE 6 .--Would You Say that Political Questions are Discussed in Your Family (Item 1a)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.071	-.042 (C)
Item 2	-.047	-.033 (B)
Item 3	.457	.317 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.416	.253 (C)
Item 5	.318	.203 (B)
Item 6	.338	.220 (B)

Hypothesis 1.2 Participation is associated with familial holding of elected office had similar result to Hypothesis 1.1 indicating that both hypotheses are essentially the same.

Although negative findings were found for items 1 and 2 of Attitudinal Participation for both Tables 6 and 7, a significant positive result was obtained for item 3 with a correlation of .373.¹ This would seem to give the attitudinal findings an ambivalence which is not shared with the Overt Participation index. Therefore the results given here would acknowledge the fact that both family political

¹See explanation for Table 5.

TABLE 7.--Has Your Father Ever Been a Village or Civic Leader? (Item 2)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.166	-.076 (C)
Item 2	-.223	-.124 (C)
Item 3	.373	.213 (C)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.176	.084 (C)
Item 5	.234	.149 (C)
Item 6	.543	.282 (C)

involvement and familial holding of office is associated with Overt Participation. Also, there is some association with Attitudinal Participation, but whether it is positive or negative cannot be conclusively indicated by this project.

Hypothesis 1.3, which associates "familism" to political participation was not strongly shown by the findings. The six items used to measure familism indicated a weak association especially in comparison to other items linking family influence with participation. Items five and six demonstrated significance for attitudinal and overt forms of participation. The following results were obtained for items five and six:

TABLE 8.--I Feel Closest to my Family (Item 5)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.006	.001(C)
Item 2	.365	.108(B)
Item 3	.053	.013(B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.095	.008(C)
Item 5	-.272	-.073(B)
Item 6	.428	.109(B)

From these results, it can be seen that there was little consistency and more of a random pattern with the possible exception of item six which is presented in Table 9. "Familism" as measured in item 5 is concerned with obtaining a job through family influence and differs from the other items as being a more concrete question. However, results obtained from item seven which essentially measures the same thing as item 6 were inconclusive. Correlations were less than .100 or negative (-.114, item 2 of Attitudinal Participation) with the exception of item 4, Overt Participation which had a Gamma of .235. Therefore the results given by Hypothesis 1.3 cannot be said to substantiate an association between "familism" and participation.

TABLE 9.--I Believe That the Family is More Important Than Any Government in Helping Me Get a Job (Item 6)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.311	.202 (C)
Item 2	-.127	-.094 (B)
Item 3	.239	.173 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.115	.075 (C)
Item 5	-.096	-.065 (B)
Item 6	-.119	-.080 (B)

Hypothesis 4. The result obtained from associating empathetic attitudes with forms of participation, Hypothesis 4, were most interesting since they tend to replicate Daniel Lerner's hypothesis about Empathy and Modernization. Two items were used with this hypothesis and one of them, item 18 determining whether or not following political events in the media was associated with participation had no significant correlations. Item 19, however, about attitudes from movies was conclusive, particularly for items of overt participation. The results of association for Item 19 are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10.--How Often Do You Go To The Movies? (Item 19).

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.127	-.083 (B)
Item 2	.007	.005 (B)
Item 3	.440	.302 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.486	.337 (B)
Item 5	.352	.219 (B)
Item 6	-.119	-.080 (B)

From the results given by items 18 and 19 and especially by the latter, empathy is associated with the Overt form of participation.

Hypothesis 2.1, participation is associated with political involvement of peers had the best association of those variables relating the peer group's political involvement with participation. Table 11 giving the results of Item nine and participation has one item that correlated significantly.

On the basis of the results in Table 11, it is concluded that there is some association between political involvement of peer group and Attitudinal Participation.

TABLE 11.--Would You Say That Most of Your Friends are
Active in Civic Affairs? (Item 9)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.057	-.032 (C)
Item 2	.307	.209 (B)
Item 3	.380	.256 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.066	-.035 (C)
Item 5	.014	.009 (B)
Item 6	.281	.134 (C)

Hypothesis 2.2 relating strength of the relationship between peers and participation had no items (Items 10, 11 and 12) which indicated any significant correlations. It is therefore concluded that Hypothesis 2.2 is a null hypothesis. The results indicated by this project are contrary to those found by Political Scientists Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism."¹ Stern and Reid had reported that ". . . student ties seem to have a slightly greater impact than do family ties."²

¹Larry N. Stern and Sydney A. Reid, "Cross Cultural Comparison of Student Activism," paper presented at Southern Political Association, November, 1971, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

²Ibid., p. 18.

Unfortunately the results of this research do not replicate those findings with students.

A similar result to Hypothesis 2.2 was indicated by the results in Hypothesis 2.3. Hypothesis 2.3 measured what effect joining a union would have on participation. The results indicated that there was no relationship. Since joining a union would simply be an attitude for those working for the Panama Canal Company, the results achieved were not unexpected. That is to say, since Panama Canal Company workers are prohibited from joining unions, it was hoped that the wording in Item 13, "It is generally considered desirable to join a union" would test the attitude vis a vis an overt act.

Hypothesis 3, Participation is related to attitudes of high self-esteem which was measured by Items 14, 15, 16 and 17 and did not indicate any significant correlations. All of the results were less than .350 and most below .200, and were consistently negative correlations as presented in Table 12. If there had been more significant correlations the results would be interpreted to mean that as one's self esteem increased, participation decreased. If this hypothesis had been verified it would have been contrary to prior research.

As none of these items had significant correlations, it is assumed that Hypothesis 3 is null.

TABLE 12.--It Takes Me Several Days or Longer to Get Over A Failure That I Have Experienced (Item 16)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.009	.005 (C)
Item 2	-.011	-.008 (B)
Item 3	-.147	-.100 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.194	-.121 (C)
Item 5	-.093	-.057 (B)
Item 6	-.236	-.156 (B)

Hypothesis 5.1, participation is related to fatalistic attitudes was measured by items 20 (when everything is said and done, man is ultimately responsible for shaping his own destiny) and 21 (one's success in the company is largely in the hands of fate or God). Ambivalent findings similar to the results with "personalism" also do not substantiate this hypothesis. Correlations of less than .200 and .100 in most instances were not indications of association. But the fact that most were negative and particularly the finding of $-.317$ with Item 21 and Overt Participation can be analyzed to mean that as fatalism increases, participation decreases, finding consistent with expected results. (Tables 13 and 14 present the results obtained with Items 20 and 21, associating fatalism with participation.)

TABLE 13.--When Everything is Said and Done, Man is
Ultimately Responsible for Shaping His Own Destiny (Item 20)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.001	.000 (C)
Item 2	.098	.068 (B)
Item 3	-.113	-.074 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.090	-.053 (C)
Item 5	-.076	-.047 (B)
Item 6	-.039	-.025 (B)

TABLE 14.--One's Success in the Company is Largely in the
Hands of Fate or God (Item 21)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.190	.126 (C)
Item 2	-.055	-.041 (B)
Item 3	-.341	-.238 (C)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.306	-.206 (C)
Item 5	-.317	-.225 (B)
Item 6	-.039	-.025 (B)

Hypothesis 5.2, Participation is related to efficacious attitudes, as defined in the literature as the opposite of fatalistic attitudes, was measured by one item. The strongest correlation determined was .319 with Item 5 of Overt Participation. In addition, other correlations were all less than .300 with three less than .200. Also, the Gammas were both negative and positive indicating that there were inconclusive results. Consequently, it was decided that Hypothesis 5.2 as measured by the one Item 22 was a null hypothesis.

Hypothesis 6, participation is related to feelings of catharsis was measured by Items 23 and 24 (and presented in Tables 15 and 16). All the findings were below .100 indicating that no association could be substantiated for participation and cathartic attitudes. Therefore, it is assumed that Hypothesis 6 was null.

Hypothesis 7.1, participation is related to attitudes of alienation was measured by Items 25, 26, and 27. Results similar to those for Hypothesis 6 were found. Slightly higher correlations, but all below .300 with the exception of participation. The following results in Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are given here to indicate the ambivalent findings.

In Tables 17, 18, 19, and 20 strength of association is indicated by the correlations with Overt Participation. Since the negative findings are for the most part below .200,

TABLE 15.--People Participate in Politics Primarily Because
It is Fun and Exciting (Item 23)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.145	.078 (C)
Item 2	-.055	-.037 (B)
Item 3	-.117	-.073 (C)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.154	-.084 (C)
Item 5	-.048	-.028 (B)
Item 6	.156	.104 (B)

TABLE 16.--Whatever Else They Do, Political Demonstrations
Give the People a Chance to "Let Off Steam" (Item 24)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.018	.012 (C)
Item 2	-.062	-.045 (B)
Item 3	-.085	-.059 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.065	-.042 (C)
Item 5	.038	-.027 (B)
Item 6	.035	.023 (B)

TABLE 17.--Most Workers Find it Difficult to Adjust to the Demands of the Company (Item 29)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.069	.045 (B)
Item 2	-.160	-.109 (B)
Item 3	-.102	-.065 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.029	-.018 (B)
Item 5	.289	.174 (B)
Item 6	.483	.346 (B)

TABLE 18.--Fear of Social Blunders Keeps One From Having a Good Time at a Party (Item 31)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.157	.104 (B)
Item 2	-.131	-.094 (B)
Item 3	-.315	-.212 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	-.067	-.045 (B)
Item 5	.203	.127 (B)
Item 6	.599	.423 (B)

TABLE 19.--It is Easy to Act Natural in a Group (Item 32)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.211	-.129 (B)
Item 2	.089	.061 (B)
Item 3	.093	.059 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.027	.018 (B)
Item 5	.042	.025 (B)
Item 6	.510	.371 (B)

TABLE 20.--Regardless of What They Say, Most People are Insecure (Item 33)

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	-.017	-.011 (B)
Item 2	-.007	-.005 (B)
Item 3	.031	.021 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.092	.062 (B)
Item 5	-.086	-.053 (B)
Item 6	.406	.280 (B)

TABLE 21.--It is Difficult to Confide in Others (Item 35) ..

Attitudinal Participation	Gamma	Tau B or C
Item 1	.414	.270 (B)
Item 2	.054	.039 (B)
Item 3	-.129	-.089 (B)
Overt Participation		
Item 4	.039	.026 (B)
Item 5	.071	.044 (B)
Item 6	-.108	-.071 (B)

they are discounted and the strong correlations which are positive are assumed to be the true relationships. If this were so, it could be stated that Overt forms of participation increase as attitudes of frustration and insecurity increase. This would tend to substantiate most research findings. The finding of .414 in Table 5 with attitudinal participation is probably spurious since none of the other correlations approximated this. In fact, the finding of -.211 in Table 17 would contradict a positive correlation of one gamma at .326 for Item 26 and Item 5 of Overt Participation did indicate a stronger association. But mixed positive and negative correlations would have the effect of even

nullifying this association. From the results obtained Hypothesis 7.1 would be null.

Hypothesis 7.2, participation is related to feelings of trust was measured by Item 27. From the results obtained, correlations under .300 and five under .200, no association can be seen. The conclusion would be that Hypothesis 7.2 is null.

Hypothesis 8, participation is related to attitudes of frustration, anxiety, and insecurity was measured by seven items. Results obtained here were ambivalent. The highest results were found with associations with Overt Participation. But the positive results were the most significant correlations throughout this entire project. But the fact that there was no consistency and that there were both positive and negative correlations with the same item would not be enough evidence to indicate an association between attitudes of frustration, anxiety, and insecurity with .414 with the same item measuring attitudinal participation.¹ As a result of the findings given in these tables, Hypothesis 8 relating participation with attitudes of frustration, anxiety, and insecurity is sustained for participation that is overt.

¹See explanation for Table 5.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation an attempt has been made to assess several psychological and sociological factors which may correlate with political participation and ultimately with the process of modernization. Design of an instrument to measure correlates of participation was determined by particular attitudes that have been associated in other studies with participant behavior. In addition, attitudes that appeared to be unique to the situation in Panama were included to determine if they had a significant degree of correlation.

1. It was anticipated from the review of the literature that "familism" would probably be the most significant factor in association with political behavior. In comparison with all of the other variables thought to affect political participation, the role of the family, according to findings, was the most significant variable. Beyond the replication of the role of family correlating with political behavior, the other attitudinal variables were not found to correlate. At best, one psychological variable, "empathy," appeared to correlate with the "overt" form of political participation. Several other variables such as peer group associations

yielded ambivalent results in regard to proving or disproving a hypothesis. All other hypotheses proved to be null hypotheses.

2. One important conclusion would be that psychological attitudes, such as "alienation," "personalism," "catharsis," and the "frustration/anxiety/insecurity," syndrome do not appear to affect political behavior in Panama. Several reasons may be suggested for this finding. One, limitations in the scope of the research may have caused erroneous findings. The possibility that not enough respondents were included might reflect in the validity of the results. Secondly, since most of the respondents were working at good jobs with the United States governed Panama Canal Company, it is assumed that these subjects might not be as alienated or frustrated as for example, Panamanians living in the "barrios" just outside the gates of the Canal Zone. Then too, most of the literature examined use "students" as respondents to study political and psychological behavior. Third, there is the possibility that scales used to measure various psychological attitudes would not adequately do so. Although, an attempt to validate the "scales" was made as was discussed in the Research Design, there is still the possibility that validation was inaccurate. Many of the questions used in the instrument were taken from other studies which had been validated for United States respondents. Although the questions have been modified, with the help of

Panamanian Civic Leaders, to fit the local situation, a measure of doubt concerning the scientific accuracy of the "instrument" remains.

3. What do these conclusions, concerning the relationship of family, peer group, and various psychological variables with political participation, mean or explain about political modernization in Panama?

It is obvious that the respondents whose responses have been analyzed here in regard to political participation are still more attached to family than to state. Their loyalties and obligations are "parochial" rather than "universal." Also there does not appear to be any of the frustrations in these citizens living content within the confines of the Canal Zone which would be expected of those who have moved significantly away for a traditional pattern of life.

That this test instrument may be used with other subjects in Latin America for the purpose of comparative study is suggested by other research such as Smith's and Inkeles' construction of a questionnaire for measuring "individual modernity." Speaking to the subject of comparative study, Smith and Inkeles write that "To us the most fundamental of these observations lies in the evidence we find of the transcultural nature of the human psyche in

regard to . . . / this/ test of 'individual modernity.'¹ According to Inkeles and Smith, concerning their test for individual modernity, the fact that in all six countries in which the test was administered, ". . . the same set of items both cohere psychologically and relate to external criterion variables in a strictly comparable fashion . . . strongly suggests that men everywhere have the same structural mechanisms underlying the socio-psychic functioning despite the enormous variability of the culture content which they embody."²

Future research should attempt to perfect the instrument used in this research in terms of validation procedures. Secondly, a wider selection of respondents could be made by administering the questionnaire to the Latin American communities on the Atlantic side of the Canal Zone. Thirdly, it would be most interesting to administer the questionnaire, orally, to respondents living in the slum areas, immediately adjacent to the zone, to see if results would differ greatly from those obtained of citizens living comfortably in the Canal Zone. It is anticipated that there would be differences particularly of those scales measuring psychological attitudes. Finally, some attempt should be made to compare results of the ethnic groups living in Panama. No attempt

¹Smith and Inkeles, "The OM Scale: A Comparative Socio-Psychological Measure of Individual Modernity," 377.

²Ibid.

was made to do so in this research since most of the respondents were of Antillean origin.

Since this dissertation attempted to say something to the relationship between political participation and "modernization," it is well to conclude with a few existential remarks on the theoretical perspective. In the introduction, it was concluded that while no conclusive definition of modernization existed, the ideas expressed in The Civic Culture about the modern individual's concern to participate in a broader arena than the family appear to be adequate.¹ Also, it is also true as Inkeles suggests that "The same forces which train men in active citizenship may act to increase the demands made on the government for effectiveness, efficiency, innovation, and change. The political system may then become overloaded, or for other reasons fail to meet expectations. Alienation, anomie, and radical forms of political action may result. Then follow those perennial stalemates, coups, revolts, riots, and repressions we have come to know as endemic in so many newly developing nations."² Possibly, there is no single answer, "There is no single problem; there are as many problems as there are individuals,

¹Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture.

²Alex Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries, American Political Science Review, 63, 4 (December, 1969), 1141.

for each individual has to try and make his own peace
between the two worlds/ of traditionalism and modernism/."¹

¹Colin M. Turnbull, The Lonely African (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 205.

APPENDIX A

"WORKERS" QUESTIONNAIRE AND "INSTRUCTIONS"

"WORKERS" QUESTIONNAIRE AND "INSTRUCTIONS"

(Example of Instructions given to Canal Zone
School clerical workers)

This is a questionnaire being given to Panamanians working for the United States. It has been approved by the Governor's office and is now being distributed.

The purpose of the questionnaire is to test attitudes regarding family, government, work, etc., in order to compare differences, if any, between Americans and Panamanians. The idea behind this survey is that non-U.S. workers employed by a U.S. corporation will be affected by U.S. "values." In this way, it is hoped that we will be able to learn something about how society changes.

Remember no one besides myself will see this questionnaire. Do not sign your name. When answering this questionnaire, write quickly without thinking too much about your replies. I appreciate your help in this research project.

W. A. P. Thompson, Jr.
Instructor, F.S.U.

1. Age _____
2. Sex _____
3. Nationality _____
4. Parents or grandparents imigrated from what country

5. What is your job in the company _____
6. How long have you been working with the company _____
7. What is your father's occupation or job _____
8. Has your father ever been a village or civic leader?
yes or no
9. Has your father ever worked for the U.S. Government?
yes or no
10. Would you consider your father's occupation (much better than, better than, the same as, worse than) your grandfather's occupation?
11. At least one member of my family is (very active, occasionally active, never active) in political affairs.
12. I feel very secure about my job position. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
13. What two or three things do you worry about most?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
14. What are the two or three biggest problems facing your country? (political unrest, sex, religion) _____

15. To which of the following would you go for advice concerning personal problems?
- a. family
 - b. supervisor
 - c. fellow workers
 - d. religious leaders
16. I believe that the family is more important than any government in helping me get a job. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
17. Being a member of a particular family is helpful in getting a job at the company. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
18. Most of my friends have the same kind of attitude toward traditions as I do. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
19. Would you consider yourself to be (deeply religious, religious, mildly religious, not at all religious)?
20. My experience and work at the job have generally strengthened my attitudes toward traditional values. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
21. Some corruption in government is acceptable as long as it does not exceed reasonable bounds. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
22. Would you say that any solutions to the economic (money) and social problems facing your country will be (exceedingly complicated, moderately complicated, really very simple)?

23. Regardless of who (governmental leaders) has power, government efforts to improve socio economic conditions make little difference. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
24. When everything is said and done man is ultimately responsible for shaping his own destiny. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
25. One's success in the company is largely in the hands of fate or God. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
26. I like to be recognized as the best worker by my fellow workers. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
27. I am satisfied with my present job because (I don't have to do extra work, I can't get a better job, I have a chance to become a supervisor, It's the best I can do right now)
28. I enjoy competitive sports (as a participant, as a spectator, not at all).
29. I want to be the best worker on the job because (I will make more money, my supervisor will like me, get a better job, I am satisfied with doing as well as my fellow workers)
30. The highest responsibility a man has is towards his job, his earning a living. (strongly agree, agree, disagree strongly disagree)

31. There is not enough work to go around, therefore I'll let the government feed me. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
32. I want to keep the family out of debt. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
33. Most workers would do a better job if they weren't always being checked on by a boss. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
34. Most workers would goof off the job if a boss did not supervise their work closely. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
35. Getting workers to make their own individual work decisions is the best way of getting things done. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
36. When the supervisor is inclined to be excessively tough on the men, should the foreman under him
- a. make things easier for the men when it is possible.
 - b. conduct things exactly as the supervisor would do.
 - c. other reasons _____
37. On the job, whose approval gives you the greater pleasure?
- a. the approval of your bosses
 - b. the approval of the men you supervise
 - c. other reasons _____

38. If workers were given less work to do, it would most likely lead to the men:
- a. pitching in with more energy on the next job.
 - b. getting spoiled
 - c. other reasons _____
39. In general, the tougher a boss is with himself and the men:
- a. the lower the morals
 - b. the higher the morals
40. On the job, whose disapproval do you usually fear more?
- a. the disapproval of my bosses
 - b. the disapproval of the men I supervise
41. Does your immediate supervisor give you an opportunity to prove your ability?
- a. _____ frequently
 - b. _____ yes, but not as often as he could
 - c. _____ rarely
42. If it were not for our unions, we'd have little protection against favoritism, for example working conditions, right of appeal, improper classification, on the job.
(strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
43. I think the best man should be kept on the job regardless of seniority. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

44. Employees of a firm have better wages and working conditions when all of them belong to unions. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly agree)
45. Obey only laws that seem reasonable. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
46. It is alright to evade the law if you do not actually violate it. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
47. A hungry man has a right to steal. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
48. People participate in politics primarily because it is fun and exciting. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
49. Whatever else they do, political demonstrations give the people a chance to "let off steam." (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
50. In spite of some difficulties, most people can get some redress for grievances from the government. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
51. Most people have a high regard for existing governmental institutions. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
52. Politicians pay attention to the views of the ordinary man. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

53. Most persons entering responsible positions from all walks of life have found it exceedingly difficult to resist the temptations of office. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
54. List in order of importance the three most important problems facing your country today: (dissatisfaction with the government, economy, ecology)
- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
55. Economic growth has in the past been obstructed by political factors. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
56. Existing government institutions in this country are a good reflection of our culture, traditions and history. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
57. Times are getting better. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
58. No one cares what happens to you. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
59. In the final analysis, everyone is really out for himself. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
60. Most people are honest. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

61. Most people feel very secure about their job situation.
(strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
62. We have too many laws. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
63. I'm for my country, right or wrong. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
64. I have great respect for the American people. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
65. I feel closest to:
- a. my family
 - b. my religious group
 - c. my ethnic group
 - d. my country
66. Different racial groups, religious and family associations play a very constructive role in the political life of our country. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
67. Racial, previous nationality and religious loyalties:
- a. reinforce and strengthen the individual's attachment to the state.
 - b. have no influence on an individual's attachment to the state.
68. We need more leaders like _____, who have the courage and strength to put our national honor above imperialistic pressure.
69. A person should always support his uncles and aunts if they are in need. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

70. The family should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts, first cousins) concerning its important decisions.
(strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
71. In political terms my parents would be considered
(very liberal, liberal, moderate, conservative, very conservative)
72. My parents are very receptive to new ideas. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
73. Would you say political questions are discussed in your family. (a great deal, somewhat, very little, never)?
74. I would describe my childhood as happy. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
75. I change my opinion in order to please someone else.
(strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
76. I feel that I have very little to contribute for the welfare of others. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
77. It takes me several days or longer to get over a failure that I have experienced. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
78. Physically, I would consider myself to be:
- a. extremely attractive
 - b. above average attractiveness
 - c. average attractiveness
 - d. below average attractiveness

79. My personality would best be described as:
- a. domineering
 - b. forceful
 - c. balanced
 - d. submissive
80. Would you say that the company is usually hardboiled and tough with its employees? (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
81. Does the company sometimes interfere with your personal rights? (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
82. If you had the opportunity, would you go to another country where there were more opportunities with more companies? (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
83. Is your company a good one for a person trying to get ahead? (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
84. Opinions of popular workers have a great deal of influence on the attitudes of the average worker. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
85. Most workers are very concerned about what their fellow workers think of them. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

86. It is generally considered desirable to join a union.
(strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
87. Would you say that most of your friends are (very active, somewhat active, occasionally participate or are never involved) in organizations such as civic affairs, unions, etc.?
88. When watching television or listening to the radio, which type of program do you prefer? (sports, music, news and current events, religion, drama, western, comedy, other)
First choice _____ Second choice _____
Third choice _____ Fourth choice _____
89. How often do you go to the movies (very often, often, occasionally, never)
90. How often do you follow accounts of political events on the radio or in the newspaper (very often, often, occasionally, never)
91. Do you work with a large number of workers (small number, how many)? 1-10, 11-50, 51-100, larger?
92. The mechanics and operation of the government are very difficult to understand. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
93. With which of these statements would you most closely agree?
- a. I believe it is not proper for workers to participate in politics.
 - b. I believe it is acceptable for workers to participate in politics.

- c. I believe workers have an obligation to participate in politics to the extent their goals require.
94. If a certain demonstration or strike were forbidden, I wouldn't participate. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
95. About how often do you discuss political affairs? (every day, once a week, occasionally, never)
96. How important would you say politics is to you personally? (very important, moderately important, not at all important)
97. How active are you in a political party or similar organizations? (very active, member, not a member but occasionally support, non-member)
98. Fear of social blunders keeps one from having a good time at a party. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
99. Regardless of what they say, most people are insecure. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
100. Most workers find it difficult to adjust to the demands of company. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
101. It is difficult to confide in others. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)
102. It is easy to act natural in a group. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

103. Obligations to one's family are a great handicap to a young man today. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

104. Do you attend civic meetings? (regularly, occasionally, never)

105. What was your reason for attending this meeting?

APPENDIX B

ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT: SPANISH VERSION

1. Edad _____
2. Sexo _____
3. Nacionalidad _____
4. Sus padres o abuelos, de que país eran?
5. Que clase de empleo ejerce donde trabaja?
6. Cuanto tiempo tiene de estar trabajando donde trabaja ahora?
7. Cual es el puesto que ejerce su padre?
8. Ha sido su padre caudillo de pueblo? si o No
9. Ha trabajado su padre alguna vez para el gobierno norteamericano?
10. Considera Ud, que su padre ocupa un puesto (mucho mejor que, mejor que, lo mismo que, peor que) el de su abuelo?
11. Por lo menos un miembro de mi familia es (muy active, a veces activo, jamas activo, jamas activo) en asuntos politicos.
12. Me siento bien seguro de mi puesto. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
13. Que dos o tres cosas le preocupa mas?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
14. A cual de estas personas se dirigirla Ud. a pedir consejo sobre problemas personales

a. la familia	b. companeros de trabajo
c. el supervisor	d. al parroco

15. Yo opino de que la familia es mas importante que el gobierno en recibir ayuda para conseguir empleo. (Concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente).
16. El ser miembro de cierta familia lo ayuda a uno a obtener trabajo en la compania. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente).
17. La mayoria de mis amigos tienen la misma clase de punto de vista hacia las tradiciones como yo tengo. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuermente).
18. Se considera usted ser (profoundamente religioso, religioso, levemente religioso, no religioso?)
19. Mi experiencia y el trabajo de mi empleo han fortalecido mis actitudes hacia los valores tradicionales. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
20. Aliso de corrupcion es aceptable en el gobierno, siempre y cuando no se excedan los limites razonables. (concuerto fuertmente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
21. Dirna usted que cualssquier soluciones a los problemas economicos (dinero) y sociales que confronian al pais seran (sumamente complicados, moderadamente complicados, verdaderamente sencillos)?
22. A pesar de quien (lideres gubernamentales) tiene el poder, los esfuerzos del gobierno en mejorar las condiciones socio-economicas causa poca diferencia. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
23. Despues de que todo ha sido dicho y hecho el hombre es a finales de cuenta responsable en formar su propio destino. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
24. El buen exito de uno en la compania donde trabaja esta grandemente en las manos del destino o de Dios. (Concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
25. Mc gusta ser conocido como el mejor trabajador entre mis companeros. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)

26. Estoy satisfecho con mi actual empleo porque (no tengo que hacer trabajo extra, no puedo obtener mejor empleo, tengo oportunidad de llegar a ser supervisor, es lo mejor que ahora puedo conseguir)
27. Gozo los juegos de competencia (como participante, como expectador, no me gustan)
28. Quiero ser el mejor trabajador en mi empleo porque (ganare mas dinero, mi supervisor gustara de mi, obtendré mejor trabajo, me satisfago en hacer mi trabajo tan bien como mis companeros de labor)
29. La mas alta responsabilidad que tiene el hombre es hacia su trabajo, el ganarse la vida. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
30. Quiero mantenerme fuera de deudas. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
31. La mayoría de los trabajadores trabajarian mas si los superisores no estuvieran constantemente vigilandolos. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, descuerdo fuertemente)
32. La mayoría de los trabajadores no trabajarian si el jefe no les superisara su trabajo de cerea. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
33. La mejor manera de que las cosas se hagan es permitiendole al obrero hacer sus decisiones individuales en el trabajo. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
34. Cuando el supervisor se inclina ha hacer las cosas excesivamente dura para los hombres, debiera el capataz subalterno.
 - a. ser mas suave con los hombres, cuando es posible
 - b. Llevar a cabo llas cosas exactamente como lo haria el supervisor
 - c. Otras razones _____

35. En el trabajo, la aprobacion de quien le da mas placer?
- la aprobacion de los jefes
 - la aprobacion de los hombres que usted supervigila
 - otras razones _____
36. Si a los obreros se les daria menos trabajo que hacer, lo mas probales es que conduciria los hombres a:
- trabajar con mas energia en la proxima obra
 - herharles a perder
 - otras razones _____
37. En general, entre mas estricto es el jefe consigo y los hombres:
- mas baja es la moral
 - mas alta es la moral
38. En el trabajo, la desaprobacion de quien teme usted mas?
- la desaprobacion de mis jefes
 - la desaprobacion de los hombres que supervigilo
39. Le da a usted supervisor inmediato la oportunidad de probar su habilidad?
- con frecuencia
 - si, per no tan a menudo como podria hacerlo
 - con rareza
40. Si no fuera por nuestros sindicatos tendríamos poca proteccion contra el favoritismo como por ejemplo, condiciones de trabajo, el derecho de apelar, la clasifieacion impropia en el trabajo. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
41. Soy de la opinion de que el mejor trabajador debe ser mantenido en su puesto sin considerar su antiguedad. (concerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)

42. Los empleados de una empresa reciben mejores salarios y condiciones de trabajo cuando todos pertenecen a los sindicatos. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
43. Uno debe obedecer solamente las leyes que parecen razonables. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
44. Esta bien evadir las leyes si uno no las viola. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
45. El hombre con hambre tiene derecho a robar. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
46. La gente participa primordialmente en la politica porque se goza y es excitante. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
47. Cualquier otra cosa que hagan, las demostraciones politicas le dan a la gente una opo tunidad para desagogarse. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
48. A pesar de algunas dificultades, la mayor parte de la gente puede obtener justicia del gobierno. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
49. La mayoria de la gente le tiene un alto respeto a las insticuciones gubernamentales existentes. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, descuerdo fuertemente)
50. Los politicos le prestan atencion a los puntos de vista del hombre comun y corriente. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, descuerdo fuertemente)
51. A la majoria de las personas, de todas las esferas sociales, y que obtienen puestos de responsabilidad, le es sumamente dificil resistir las tentaciones del puesto. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)

64. Los diferentes grupos raciales, las asociaciones religiosas y de la familia juegan un papel muy constructivo en la vida politica de nuestro pais. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
65. La raza, la nacionalidad previa y las lealtades religiosas
- a. reforan y fortalecen los vinculos del individue hacia al estado.
 - b. no ejercen influencia alguna en los vinculos hacia el estado.
66. Necesitamos mas lideres como _____, quien tiene el coraje y la fuerza para sobreponer nuestro honor nacional por encima de la presion imperialista.
67. Uno siempre debe ayudar a sus tios y tias si necesitan ayuda. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
68. La familia debe consultar a los parientes cercanos (tios, tias, primos-hermanos) concerniente a decisiones importantes. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
69. En terminos politicos mis padres pudieran ser considerados (muy liberales, liberales, moderados, conservadores, muy conservadores)
70. Mis padres son muy receptivos a ideas nuevas. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
71. Diria usted que los asuntos politicos se discuten en su familia? (muy a menudo, a menudo, muy poco, jemas)?
72. Yo diria que mi ninez fue feliz. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
73. Cambio de opinion para asi agradara a la otra persona. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
74. Siento que tengo muy poco que contribuir hacia el bienestar de otros. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)

75. Me toma varios dias o mas para sobreponerme de cualquier fracaso que sufra. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
76. Fisicamente, me considero ser
- a. sumamente atractivo b. bastante atractivo
 - c. normalmente atractivo d. poco atractivo
77. Mi personalidad mayor puede ser descrita como:
- a. dominante b. energetica
 - c. balanceada d. sumisa
78. Diria usted que la compania donde trabaja es dura y desalmada con sus empleados. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
79. Interfiere a veces la compania con sus derechos personales? (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
80. Si tuviera usted la oportunidad, se iria a otro pais donde hubieren mas oportunidades con mas companias? (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
81. Le brinda oportunidad su compania para aquellos que tratan de surgir? (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
82. Las opiniones de trabajadores populares tienen una gran influencia sobre las actitudes del obrero corriente. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
83. La mayoria de los empleados se preocupen por lo que piensan los demas de ellos. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
84. Por regla general se considera deseable unirse al sindicato. (conuerdo fuertemente, conuerdo, no conuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
85. Diria usted que la mayoria de sus amigos son (muy activos, algo activos, a veces participan o jamas participan) en organizaciones civicas o en sindicatos?

86. Cuando usted ve la television o escucha la radio, que tipo de programa prefiere usted? (deportivo, de musica, noticiero, religion, novelas, de vaqueros, de comedias, otras)

Primero _____ Segundo _____

Tercero _____ Cuarto _____

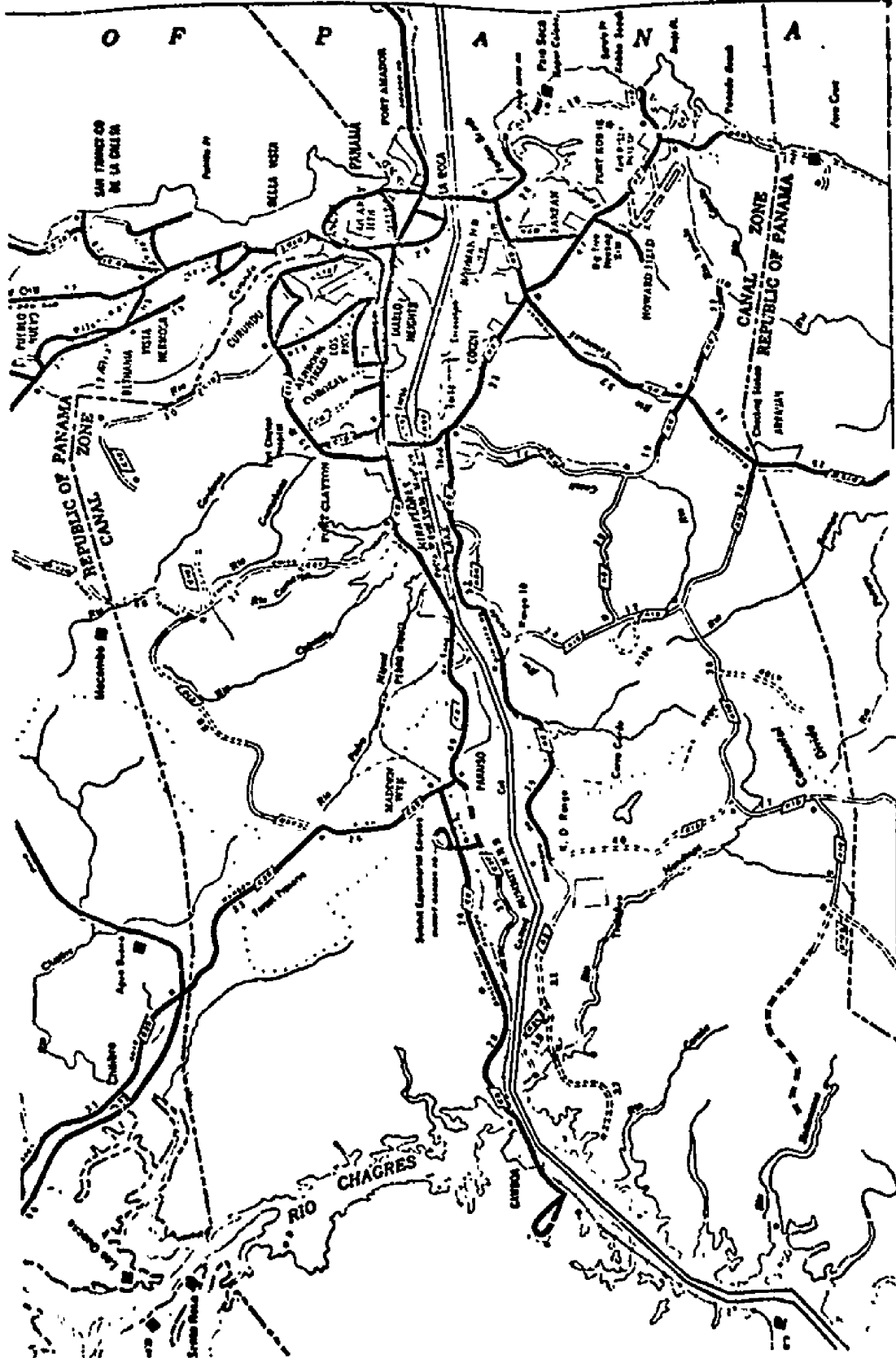
87. La maquinaria y el manejo del gobierno es muy dificil de entender. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
88. Que a menudo va usted al cine? (muy a menudo, a veces, en ocasion, jamas)
89. Que a menudo sigue usted los eventos politicos en la radio o en los periodicos? (muy a menudo, a veces, en ocasion, jamas)
90. Trabaja usted con un grupo grande de trabajadores (pocos, cuantos)? 1-10, 11-50, 51-100, muchos?
91. Con cual de estas declaraciones esta usted mas de acuerdo?
- No es correcto de que los obreros participen en la politica.
 - Creo que es aceptable de que los obreros participen en la politica.
 - Creo que los obreros tienen una obligacion de participar en la politica para alcanzar sus metas.
92. Si se prohibiera una huelga o demonstracion, yo no participaria en ellas. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
93. Que a menudo discute usted asuntos politicos? (todos los dias, una vez a la semana, a veces, jamas)
94. Perdonalmente, cuan importante diria usted que le es la politica? (muy importante, moderadamente importante, nada de importante)
95. Cuan activo es usted en el partido politico u organizacion similar? (muy act-vo, miembro, no soy miembro pero a veces lo respaldo, no soy miembro)
96. El temor de cometer errores sociales no le permiten a uno gozar la fiesta. (concuerto fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)

97. No importa lo que digan, la mayoría de las personas se sienten inseguras. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
98. La mayoría de los obreros lo encuentran difícil ajustarse a las demandas de la compañía. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
99. Es difícil confiar en los demás. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
100. Es fácil actuar con naturalidad en un grupo. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
101. Las obligaciones de los jóvenes hacia la familia son un estorbo hoy en día. (conuerdo fuertemente, concuerdo, no concuerdo, desacuerdo fuertemente)
102. ¿Asiste usted a reuniones cívicas? (con regularidad, a veces, jamás)

APPENDIX C

MAP OF PANAMA CANAL ZONE:

"LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES"



APPENDIX D

**DESCRIPTION OF "TALK" TO
LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES**

APPENDIX C

Exhibit of Article in Latin American Newspaper announcing "Talk". Respondants were chosen from those present at "meeting."

March 10, 1972

THE PANAMA CANAL SPILLWAY

FSU Professor to Address Civic Councils March 13

The joint Paraiso and Pedro Miguel Civic Councils will sponsor a program featuring William A. Thompson, Jr., professor of political science at Florida State University, at 7 p.m., March 13, in Room 126 of Paraiso High School. The public is invited.

Professor Thompson, who earned his master of arts degree from Dartmouth University and his doctor of philosophy from the University of Oklahoma, will discuss "The Republic of Panama, a Developing Country Politically and Economically."

Charla Sobre un Tema Interesante Habrá en Paraiso

El Profesor William A. Thompson, Jr., dictará una conferencia, el lunes 13 de marzo, a las 7 p.m., en la Escuela Secundaria de Paraiso.

Este acto es patrocinado conjuntamente por los Consejos Cívicos de Paraiso y Pedro Miguel que exhortan a los residentes de ambas comunidades a que asistan, pues el tema que tratará el distinguido conferenciante, "La República de Panamá, un país en desarrollo política y económicamente", es de gran interés.

El Profesor Thompson es profesor de ciencias políticas en la Universidad del Estado de La Florida. Obtuvo su Maestría en la Universidad Dartmouth y su doctorado en la Universidad de Oklahoma.

La conferencia será dictada en el Salón 126 de la Escuela Secundaria de Paraiso.

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March 26, 1974

CURRICULUM VITAE

William Arthur Philip Thompson, Jr.

Vital Statistics

Born: January 5, 1934

Place of Birth: New York, N. Y.

Family: Married to Ingrid Tollner, German National; three boys

Home Address: 3101 Tam O'Shanter, Richardson, Texas 75080

Education

Dartmouth College, 1952-56, B.A., Geology, Liberal Arts

Massachusetts Institute of Tech., 1955, Geological Field Training

University of Oklahoma, 1960-66, M.A., History, Philosophy

Fresno State College, 1967-68, School Administration

Harvard Business School, Administrative Seminar, 1969

Florida State University, 1970-74, Ph. D., Political Science

Professional Experience

Wooster School, Danbury, Conn., 1959, Instructor: Physics, Math

Casady School, Oklahoma City, Okla., 1959-63, Science, Math
History

Santa Fe Preparatory School, Santa Fe, N.M., 1963-66,

Assistant Headmaster, Chairman History Department, Math

College of Santa Fe, Santa Fe, N.M., 1966, History Instructor

Venice Hill Preparatory School, Exeter, California, 1966-67,
Headmaster

Alfred B. Maclay, Jr., Day School, Tallahassee, Florida, 1967-70,
Headmaster

Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 1971-72, Instructor, Pol. Sci.

Greenhill School, Dallas, Texas, 1972-Present, Head, Upper School

Honors/Professional Memberships

1960, N.S.F. History/Philosophy of Science

1971, N.S.F. Political Science

1970-71 Teaching assistantship, F.S.U.

American Political Science Assn.

Summer Jobs

Socony Vacuum, 1953-1954, Seismic Exploration, Florida,
North Dakota, Montana

Cultural Reporter, North Star, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1962-63.

Sequoia National Park, 1967, Naturalist

Bandelier National Monument, 1964 & 1965, Archeologist, Geologist

William Arthur Philip, Thompson, Jr.

Publications

**American Federal Government Correspondence Manual, University of
Florida**

Geology of Bandelier National Monument

Witchcraft in Colonial Connecticut (unpublished manuscript)

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