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FOREIGN GRADUATE STUDENTS' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN TWO DIFFERENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENTS

by

Ragaa Ibrahim Selim

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
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Ragaa Ibrahim Selim

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Regaa Ibrahim Selim, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1984

Student political activism as an area of study has become less attractive to Western writers because of the sharp decline in student activism that was characteristic of the 60s. While the Western nations now discuss student activism as historical events, countries in the developing world are still engulfed with student political activism.

This research is comparative and analytic. It shows that the issue at stake in a political environment is more significant than the political environment itself; that students from the developing world are much more politically active than their counterparts in the developed world; that political participation is an integral part of development; and lack of differences between the degree and intensity of the political participation of the students from the developing world while in the United States.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The doctrine of participatory democracy that was promoted by Thomas Jefferson in the early history of the United States has been revived. It is now known under a variety of names such as citizen participation, interest-group liberalism, participatory management and industrial democracy.

Participation is an ingredient of every political culture. Whether the society is oligarchic or democratic, someone must make such key political decisions as appointing, upholding and removing leaders.

The direct involvement of citizens in the process of policy formation, program implementation, and administrative decision making has direct consequences on the development of the society. The society could be a student organization, a university community, or a country with its political institutions.

This research is about political participation. It highlights the causes and consequences of student activism; the relative strengths of a particular political environment, the dominant political issues, and why students from developing countries are more politically active than their counterparts in the developed world.

The term "developing world" in the context of this

research will mean those countries that produce primary and semifinished products, and achieved independent status at the end of the Second World War. The standard of living of most of their citizens is close to subsistence. These countries are poorly integrated in the sense that their populations are fragmented into multiple religious, ethnic, tribal, and regional groups. Thus, the efforts of many states to pursue programs of rapid development have collapsed because their political systems have been incapable of coping with the stress. Moreover, some political institutions in these countries lack legitimacy among broad segments of their populations.

"Developed countries," on the other hand, refers to the First World, which includes the United States and its industrial allies, and to the Second World which includes the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies. Developed countries have become industrialized centers of massive wealth and power. Their people are well fed, well housed, well educated and enjoy the high standards of living.

There are three types of political institutional capacity which are important to the ability of a regime to achieve its development objectives: the political party, the bureaucracy, and the military. Unlike the developed countries, the bureaucracies of most Third World states are minimally effective. Most of these countries have one

single-party, or political parties exist for the sole purpose of articulating a particular regional, ethnic, religious, or class viewpoint. As such, they tend to be poorly organized, small and short-lived. On the other hand, the political systems in the developed countries, especially in the United States and Western Europe, are democratic; they are based on open competition between two or more reasonably balanced political parties. While there is growing influence of the military in the affairs of government in some developing countries, the military is devoted to securing the protection of the country.

This paper will restrict itself to the classifications of countries as developed or developing. The niceties about the division of the world into "worlds" is outside the scope of this study. Its relevance, however, lies in the fact that the physiological problems that people in most developing countries suffer are distinct and unique. In many instances, the essentials of life: water; shelter; and clothing; are lacking. Clearly in the developed world the issues are no longer strictly those of bread and butter, but of a higher order of nature.

Using the Maslowian analogy, countries in the developed world are no longer primarily in need of satisfying the physiological needs of their populations. Rather, they are more likely concerned with meeting the need for belongingness. This, then, explains the different nature

of the political environment in the "two worlds." Coupled with the above is the fact of life-style in the developed and developing world. In the former, the main refrain is on individualism. Conversely, in the developing world, communalism is the prevailing lifestyle.

These two facts help to explain why in the developing world, the issue at stake is more relevant and dominant than even the political environment itself. "Issue-at-stake" here relates to issues of food, shelter and clothing and with their spill-over effects. In these societies where the state is the main provider of all social and economic facilities, and where communalism is stressed, the only issues that have meaning and relevance are not those relating to high abstract ideals, but to those that border on practicality.

Universities in developing countries are traditionally among the first to react to social discontent and often play an active role. The direct outcome of the dynamic interrelationship between the failure to date to achieve meaningful levels of development among those nations, and the failure to achieve institutionalization of the political process to levels sufficient to contain potential systemic conflict, has been endemic to student political activism.

When students demonstrate in a university in a developing country, the most common causes relate to anti-

Colonialism issues, anti-war, the meals being provided, dormitory facilities, and the perception of the student leaders of the way money which could have been used for these facilities is actually being spent. Because the students profess to being the spokespersons of the masses, they take to the streets whenever they sense some injustice on the part of the university or the state.

In contrast, the issues faced by the students in the developed societies are less fundamental. Because the main emphasis in most of these societies is on individualism, and bread and butter issues arise infrequently, the students in these societies are not as visible and vocal as their counterparts in the developing world. In the developed countries foreign policy instead of domestic policy has been the main stimulus for student activism, for example, the anti-nuclear power and environment movements. In these developed societies, there are articulate groups that play the vital role which the students in the developing world play. In most of them, there are independent media that cherish truth and objectivity; both multiple and single issue groups; and a strong and impartial judiciary. These act as checks and balances on the possible excesses of government.

The Problem

This study attempts a revival of the issue of student

political participation. Its focus has two main dimensions. First, it argues that the issue at stake in a political environment is more important than the environment itself. Second, it submits that the "issue factor" explains why students in the developing countries are much more politically involved than their counterparts in the developed world.

This research has four main objectives. First, it compares and contrasts the impact of the environment and the issue at stake; second, it assesses the differences in the nature and degree of student political participation which is derived from experiencing different political environments; third, it contrasts the differences, if any, between the level and intensity of student political participation in the developing and developed countries; and fourth, it attempts to locate the differences, if any, between the nature and degree of political participation of students from the developing and developed countries while in their home countries and while they are in the United States.

The two societies are different in the degree of development and the nature of their political environments. In developing countries the political style is almost non-democratic, the media are censored by the government, and freedom of speech is to some extent limited.

In the United States, as in many developed societies, in

contrast, there is considerable democracy and freedom of speech and expression.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The verb to participate, according to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1981) is multifaceted. It means among other things to possess, to partake and to have a share in something. Huntington (1976) defines political participation in terms of influence processes which take many forms (p. 3). According to Huntington, political participation can be individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, sustained or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, and effective or ineffective.

He identifies five main forms of political participation. They are electoral activity, lobbying, organizational activity, contacting public officials, and violence.

Political participation is sometimes defined narrowly and sometimes rather broadly. Narrowly, it is defined as "those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take" (Verba et al., 1972, p.2). Weiner (1971) defines it more broadly as:

any voluntary action, successful or unsuccessful, organized or unorganized, episodic or continuous, employing legitimate or illegitimate methods intended to influence the choice of public policies, the administration of public affairs, or the choice of political leaders at any level of government, local or national. (p. 2)

A comprehensive definition of the concept is offered by Milbrath (1965). It embraces both conventional and unconventional, voluntary and involuntary, individual and collective political acts. Political participation is defined as "those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government politics" (p. 2). The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968) defines it as "those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy" (Vol. 12, p. 252). The activities referred to typically include voting, seeking information, discussing and proselytizing, attending meetings, contributing financially, communicating with various public officials, and running for or holding public office.

In this thesis, the term is used in its broadest sense. It is a process whereby an interest group participates in the formulation and implementation of public policy. Political participation is therefore any activity that has a political motive. It may be organized or unorganized. It may be designed to seek for trivial or for fundamental structural changes in society. Because students have few vested interests to protest, they are more likely to be vocal in their call and insistence upon structural changes. The latter may involve the restructuring of the government or even of the entire society.

Used in this general sense, the term "political participation" can also be equated with consultation, joint decision-making, power sharing, decentralization and democratic management. In industrial establishments in Europe, this meaning of political participation is referred to as "industrial democracy."

In the modern world, the demand for political participation is on the increase. Elected officials are concerned about being able to claim a "mandate" by voters. Leaders who gain their position as a result of a power struggle often hold "elections" to obtain a vote of confidence and claim popular endorsement. Although thrones may be claimed on the basis of blood relationship and succession to earlier rulers, elaborate inauguration ceremonies are held by new monarchs to formalize the transfer of power and enhance the legitimacy of their selection. Constant return to the people for feedback concerning crucial policy issues has been an effective way of expanding the level of political participation in governmental decision-making processes. Political participation has been assumed for a long time in the developed world, but it is only beginning to unfold in many of the developing countries. Elections, political parties, organized pressure groups, and privately owned instruments of mass media are new phenomena for many developing countries. Even in societies ruled by totalitarian or communist regimes, po-

litical participation is often fostered to maximize popular support for the existing political order.

This general trend toward higher levels of political participation is a direct consequence of several social and political factors which are currently operating in the developing world. Students of political development have suggested five such forces, each alone or in combination with others, having the potential to generate an increased demand for popular participation. Briefly stated, these forces are:

- a) The increased social mobilization resulting from rapid urbanization, improved education and the spread of literacy
- b) Growth of the middle class as a result of industrialization and commercialization
- c) The emergence of an intelligentsia with a strong commitment to nationalism and egalitarianism
- d) Competition between the elites to mobilize popular support
- e) The expanding scope of government and its concomitant relevance to the broader segments of society (Weiner, 1971, p. 159).

Hierarchy of Political Participation

According to Milbrath (1965) political participation is cumulative. People who engage in one political action engage in others as well. In his hierarchy of political participation he lists the political activities engaged in by large numbers of people at the bottom and those engaged in by few people at the top. The hierarchy in-

cludes most, but not all common political activities that characterize the normal process of democracy. At the bottom of the hierarchy there are informing oneself and initiating a political discussion, and at the top there are holding public and party office or being a candidate for office.

Milbrath asserts that the cumulative characteristic arises from the fact that people who engaged in the higher levels of political behavior are more likely to perform those lower on the list as well. Such a ranking system differs from society to society and from time to time. In the American society, Milbrath has established that about a third of the people are apathetic or passive and therefore are lukewarm to the political influences around them. The other two-thirds participate in politics at some level.

People who are apathetic talk little about politics and tend to feel that the political system is a hopeless venture and incapable of meeting the needs of the society.

As a result, they remain uninformed and shut themselves off to all that goes on around them in the political arena.

On the other hand, within the society, there are activists who discuss politics, vote, belong to pressure groups, work for political parties, and even run for public office. Because of their activity, political activ-

ists are able to promote the passage of legislation geared toward the improvement of their economic and social standing. In addition, activists canvass for the votes of others and try to win over independents and the uncommitted.

Each act of political participation involves a commitment of time and energy. Some acts require money; others require skill. Some of the acts described by Milbrath are discussed below.

In a democratic state, the vote is the most important tool for the expression of one's political point of view.

Voting, the most thoroughly researched of all political behaviors, requires two decisions: first, the decision to engage in the act or not; and second, the decision of which candidate or party to support. By voting on crucial issues, citizens are able to affect changes in certain public policies. Displaying one's partisan or candidate preference with a button or a sticker is another, but relatively weak form of opinion leadership.

People join political associations because of the advantages which they perceive that they will accrue from such association, and people also leave groups when they perceive that such associations no longer serve their interests. In a democratic society, political associations are crucial for the articulation and dissemination of the hopes and aspirations of a people.

Concerned and articulate citizens take the initiative of contacting a public official or a political leader to express their political needs and interests. The contact may be carried out by letter, telegram, telephone, or direct personal contact.

Monetary contribution also forms an important indicator of commitment level of the individual to an organization or a political party. This act may be the first transitional step to becoming a gladiator, or it may be the highest level of spectator activity in which an individual is likely to be involved. Like voting, it requires a decision to perform the act or not, and a second decision as to the direction of the act. Like voting and participating in organizations, monetary contribution is usually voluntary. However, because the survival of modern organizations depend on available funds, members who are committed to the goals of the organizations to which they belong also feel morally responsible to contribute the money necessary to sustain the life of the organization.

In addition to contributing money, members of political parties or interest groups sometimes do campaign work.

Campaign work is a much more difficult political act than mere voting. It involves a citizen in conflictual situations. In such situations, a citizen can work collaboratively with others. Self-confidence and a feeling

of social ease are important prerequisites to political campaigning.

Being an active member in a political party is another indicator of a high level of political participation. There are three ways in which a person could be said to be a political party affiliate or member: psychological identification with a party, formal membership through the payment of dues, and active participation in party affairs.

To some people, one central goal in life is to be elected to public office. Such individuals tend to have great ego strength. In every political culture care is taken to ensure that the people who occupy public office are the people who possess the drive, initiative, stamina, and proven integrity to do the job. These qualities are crucial to the progress and survival of any nation. Needed also is a vision of what the government can and should do to further the goals and objectives of its citizenry.

Seeking public office does not only require commitment and skill, it involves responsibility.

One form of political participation by student groups in various cultures has been that of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations. On various campuses in the developing world, students have forced the closure of many institutions of higher learning. Some of the demonstrations have led to violence and the massive destruction

of property. In developing societies where funds are scarce and the requisite manpower insufficient, massive destruction of lives and property has had the chilling effect of diverting those resources which would have been used for the implementation of new programs into the repair of damaged public property. Milbrath regards participation in demonstrations as an activist type of participation, but he does not view this activity as fitting into the hierarchy he developed. Other political scientists (Verba et al., 1971), viewing political participation as multi-dimensional, are not troubled by the lack of fit.

Factors Affecting Political Participation

Political participation, as we have seen, is a complex phenomenon. There are always a variety of motives that participants carry with them into the political arena. It is therefore difficult to identify all the predisposing factors that help explain why people participate in the political process.

As is usual in the social sciences, a variety of variables have been advanced to explain political participation. These include personality, socio-economic background and personal cognitive processes like decision-making capacity. Also cited are the sociopolitical environment and mass psychological variables (International

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, Vol. 12, p. 253). The following sections will explore these variables.

Socio-economic Status

There are many socio-economic variables associated with political participation. These include education, occupation, income, age, race, religion, sex, mobility and residence.

Participation generally tends to be higher among the better-educated, among members of more prestigious occupational and income groups, among the middle-aged, among members of the dominant ethnic and religious groups of a society, among settled residents, among urban dwellers, and among members of voluntary associations.

The correlations between political participation and some of these variables are high and consistent. For a few of the variables, the correlations are low and unstable. They also vary from one cultural-political context to another. The most consistent variable is education. The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968) explains that education "offers high and reliable correlations with participation, partly because it helps to develop a sense of civic duty, political competences, interest, and responsibility, as well as personality characteristics of self-confidence, dominance and

articulateness" (p. 257). Schools and universities are training grounds for a variety of social and political skills. People learn to join organizations, to fulfill duties, to participate in meetings, to discuss broad social questions and to organize to achieve group goals in schools. Also, educated citizens are more likely to be able to articulate and transmit their political interests to their children. This perpetuates the relationship between education and political participation into future generations.

Psychological and Cognitive Variables

Some of our inner drives are learned while others are genetic. The way we respond to a stimuli, therefore, depends on our genetic or our learned behavior. Psychological variables are therefore those that stem from individual personality traits and from cognitive structures which represent certain characteristic ways of conceptualizing the self and the immediate social and political environment.

Our internalized beliefs and values and our psychological disposition motivate us and create certain attitudes in us. Students of attitude and attitude change emphasize such things as self-esteem, ego strength, and political efficacy as important organizers of political behavior. A strong willed individual has a stronger moti-

vation to participate in the political process.

The Political Environment

"Seek ye the political kingdom of Ghana first, and all other things will be added unto thee," so declared Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. This statement suggests the absolute significance of the political process in the ordering of a nation's sociopolitical life. To political scientists, politics comes first in attempting to answer fundamental social and economic issues. Economists, on the other hand, insist that they are the only ones who are endowed with analytical and econometric tools for resolving social issues.

Whichever side is taken, a too congenial political environment, free from personal bitterness, acrimony, and social instability, is not conducive for political participation. It results in political apathy.

Three areas that shape participation in modern societies are the party system, the nature of election campaigns, and the issues and ideologies associated with elections. Of all the political influences on participation, the party system appears to be the most important.

Its roles are partly expressive and partly instrumental (Encyclopedia, 1968, p. 260-261). The party resembles the nation or the church in its symbolic force and its capacity for arousing affection, devotion, and sacrifice

for its members. The campaign enables the electorate to listen to the candidates, challenges them to explain their positions on issues, and then directs them individually to vote for those candidates with the clearest and most logical program of action. A campaign involves issues and ideology and, some will add, personalities.

The political participation is associated with political awareness. Awareness is in turn highly correlated with interest. Issues and the personalities involved with them also play a significant part in participation.

Political Participation and Development

It is argued by Huntington (1976) that higher levels of socioeconomic development in a society leads to higher levels of political participation. By implication, this leads to a shift from mobilized to autonomous participation. Travers (1974) similarly has said that the historical period and sociopolitical contexts in which a person is socialized shape the development of the individuals' political outlook and can create ideological and behavioral differences among the people.

The main thesis of these arguments is that political participation is the sine qua non for development. Although economists may dispute this assertion, the political scientists' view is that development is for the people and only by involving them in the political process can

development be a meaningful and beneficial process.

One of the key questions that is asked about participation is: What is the process that brings people to participate? The answer is crucial, for it explains why different groups participate at different rates. It also helps to explain variations in the amount of participation from nation to nation, and helps us to understand the connection between social and economic change and change in the rates and types of political participation.

Various models are used to explain the political participation-development scheme. The Verba and Nie (1971, p. 55) model as follows:

Socio-economic status → civic attitude → participation

In this model, rising levels of socio-economic status - in particular more education, but also higher income and higher status occupations - are accompanied by increased civic orientations such as interest and involvement in politics, sense of political efficacy, and adherence to norms that one ought to participate. This leads to participation.

There is a link between socio-economic development and political participation. Increasing levels of socio-economic development are associated with broader, more diverse, and more autonomous patterns of political participation. Higher socio-economic status and more organ-

ized involvement lead to more political participation.

More generally, widespread political participation means more widespread access to political power, and those who gain access to power will insist that the government act to broaden their share in the economic benefits of society.

There are five reasons why this linkage exists. First, within a society, levels of participation tend to vary with socio-economic status. Second, economic and social development involves tensions and strains among social groups: new groups emerge, established groups are threatened, and low status groups seize opportunities to improve their lot. Third, the growing of the economy tends to increase the number of organizations and associations and the involvement of a large number of people in such groups. Fourth, economic development partly requires and partly produces greater expansion of the functions of government. Fifth, socio-economic modernization normally takes place in the form of national development (Huntington, 1976).

As these factors illustrate, education, socio-economic standing, and political participation are related. This close relationship is more visible in the developing countries where an elite armed with education and therefore higher socio-economic standing use the political process as a means of advancing their goals.

CHAPTER III

STUDENT ACTIVISM

Student activism, also referred to as student political participation, is a process whereby students engage in a variety of activities with the expressed intention of influencing the decision-making process.

Research in student political movements, behavior, and attitudes in the past attracted the attention of scholars and analysts. In recent times, however, the topic is no longer a central one. This is so because of the decline in the level of student activism in the United States and Europe from the 1960s to the present. In the developing world, however, the trend is different. Student political participation remains at a high level. For example, students have been involved in political unrest in the past four years in Afghanistan and Iran. This makes student movements interesting to political scientists concerned with development.

Lipset (1970) asserts that student activism and the importance of students in politics has a long history.

According to Lipset:

Students were a key element in the Revolutions of 1848 in Germany and Austria, and student activism stimulated the 'Professors' Parliament, which almost succeeded in toppling several monarchs. In Czarist Russia, students spearheaded various revolutionary movements, and the university campus was a major center of revolutionary activity. In the East European

countries, where education was limited to a small proportion of the population, students were often the carriers of modern ideas of liberty, socialism, industrialization, and equality of opportunity. (Lipset & Altbach, 1970, p. xv).

It was during the years between 1964 and 1969 that the phenomenon of student activism became of world-wide concern. Lipset (1970) states the case graphically and succinctly as follows:

Wherever one looks at stagnant underdeveloped countries like Indonesia, at rapidly expanding economically successful ones like Japan, at right wing dictatorships like Spain, at communist systems such as Czechoslovakia and Poland, and at such Western democracies as Germany, France, Italy and the United States - one finds aggressive student movements that challenge their government for not living up to the different sets of social ideals. (p. 495)

Causes of Student Unrest

The literature that discusses the causes, origins and manifestations of student discontent and subsequently student unrest or revolt addresses the problem on two main fronts. The first school of thought, represented by scholars like Meniston (1968), asserts that late stage adolescence, with its idealism, aspirations, experiments, frustrations, and problem of identity provides a socio-psychological disposition toward activism, protest and revolt (p. 306). These scholars assert that students, by their background, values and motivations, are pre-disposed to act in a certain way or manner. This view tallies with Lasswell's view that political man is made up

of private motives. These motives are displaced onto public objects and rationalized as being in the best public interest. Although profoundly relevant, psychological variables, including personality styles and traits, are still imprecisely associated with student activism as it is manifested in a variety of circumstances and situations.

The second school of thought centers on the situational or contextual factors which are thought to be conducive to student activism and protest. According to Emmerson (1968), "The equality of a nation's modernizing experiences is a critical factor in student politics" (p. 406). The situational scholars raise situational questions. For example, they wonder under what conditions and circumstances student activism and protests are more likely to occur. This approach uses cross-cultural analysis in formulating and analyzing the situational variables. There is, therefore, the linkage of student protests with such independent variables as the nature and characteristics of both political and economic processes, the type and structure of higher education, and the nature of the socialization process for students.

All over the world, student protest movements have represented an important and unique challenge to the political leadership of their respective countries. The roster of governments whose downfall followed major stu-

dent protests in the 1950s and 1960s is long: Venezuela in 1958 (Marcos Perez Jemenez), Japan in 1960 (Nobusuke Kishi), South Korea in 1960 (Syngman Rhee), Turkey in 1960 (Adnan Menderes), South Viet-Nam in 1963 (Ngo Dinh Diem), Bolivia in 1964 (Victor Estenssoro), the Sudan in 1964 (Ibrahim Aboud), and Indonesia in 1966 (Sukarno) (Emmerson, 1968, p. 390). In fact, because of their sporadic and pervasive nature, student activism may even be considered more challenging to the power elite than coup d'etat. The basis of this argument is that while the act of taking control can be carried out much more easily and effectively by the military, failed mutinies are also common. On the other hand, for the government to maintain control at the time of a student protest and uprising is a difficult assignment. The other perspective on this is that while the government's close surveillance and control of the military is perceived by the public as a legitimate act, any attempt to extend the same vigilance and control toward students is considered anathema.

The political participation of students in elections and interest group activities is generally considered good for society and for the individual student. First, it develops the individual as a moral being and as a responsible citizen of society, and second, it makes that government more responsive. On the other hand, student activism of a protest nature is seen by many political scientists

to be dangerous to the existing regime, particularly when it leads to violence and demonstrations against the regime. According to Kim (1980),

Student activism is dangerous to the existing regime because of its spillover effects. A widespread student revolt may lead to a general uprising; it may result in the reduction or suspension of foreign political, economic, or military support, without which serious sociopolitical disruption would be inevitable; and, it may provide an excuse momentum to rival groups in the armed forces for anti-regime actions. (p. 143)

Scholars have debated for a long time now why students are more inclined to resort to violence in order to press for attention to their cause/causes. According to Kim (1980), students find political activism, which he defines as the propensity to get involved in the political process, as the only meaningful mode of articulating and disseminating their concerns. Such collective, direct, and violent acts are resorted to because, unfortunately in some instances, other political activities are frequently considered totally ineffective, or even counterproductive in obtaining the necessary concessions from the political establishment. In such circumstances, violence seems an effective instrument of drawing public opinion to the critical issues at stake.

Student activism is an unorthodox form of political participation. To the political establishment, it represents a clear violation of what the political process stands for, or should stand for. But in the current world

of science and technology, "unconventionalism" may very easily become a part of a nation's socio-cultural life.

Student Activism in the Developing World

In the developing world, both the leaders and the citizens view education as an important investment. As a result, students are always reminded that they are the leaders of tomorrow and should be concerned with what happens in society. As a result students in institutions of higher learning occupy a special place in the political lives of the countries in the developing world. In several Third World countries students have been known to have been effective in stimulating revolutionary social change (Walter, 1968).

Considered as the one of the main instruments of change, students in the developing societies are a consistent, important, and even legitimate part of the political culture. Even the campuses are considered a key part of the political systems.

Factors Explaining the Effectiveness of Students in the Developing World

Many factors explain the relative political effectiveness of the students in the developing world. The following is a summary of the crucial factors which have facilitated this development:

1. Many of the countries in the Third World lack

the established sociopolitical institutions and structures of the advanced countries. It is therefore easy for any organized group or groups, such as students, to have direct political impact.

2. It is a historical fact that many students were involved in the movements for independence that led to the creation of their nation as an entity. As a result, they have been recognized as part of the political apparatus from the beginning. Thus, in contrast to the West, where student activism is perceived as an aberration and an illegitimate intrusion into the political process, Third World students are expected to participate directly and fully in politics.
3. Third World university students are an incipient elite and have, in many countries, a consciousness and awareness that they are somehow special. They are members of a tiny minority who have access to the post-secondary education which later in life will afford them access to positions of power and influence. As a result, their influence in society even as students is significantly greater than that of the average citizen (Barkan, 1975). Recently, however, the unemployment of graduates has somewhat diminished the advantages. The generalization is still substantially true. These advantages, real or imagined, the small size of the student community, and the historical sense of eliteness have all contributed to the possibility of student activism.
4. The location of the major universities in the developing world also contributes to the possibilities of activism. Many are located in capital cities, and thus a large proportion of the student population is within easy reach of the centers of power. This simple fact of proximity makes demonstrations easier to organize and gives the students a sense that they are at the center of power and have access to it.
5. Relatively few Third World countries have effectively functioning democratic systems. As a result, coupled with the widespread problems of illiteracy and poor communication, students are often seen as spokespersons for a broader population. They have, in a sense, authority beyond their small numbers, and those in power often

take student demonstrations and grievances seriously for this reason. In many cases, seemingly small student demonstrations have been effective in quickly mobilizing larger social movements or have a surprising impact on the authorities. In this way, Third World students can be perceived as acting as the "conscience" of their societies.

6. Because Third World students, on the average, come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than their counterparts in the industrialized countries, they have an added impact. Although there may be significant national differences, and the situation is changing as systems of higher education expand in the Third World, a substantial portion of the student population comes from urban elite backgrounds and have, through their families, direct access to powerful segments of society (Altbach, 1981, p. 6-7).

These six major factors in part help to explain the relative effectiveness of student activist movements in the developing world. But this rosy picture should not be taken as the only picture. In many countries and instances, repression has been ruthlessly used and has been effective in destroying some movements. Indeed, violence against students and loss of lives have been much more systematized and organized in the developing world than in the developed countries.

The internal sociopolitical conditions within these countries can alter the scope and impact of student political involvement. In many of the military dictatorships in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, soldiers, ruling by decree, have barred students from playing roles in the political process. In such countries there are organized official repression and suppression.

Student Activism in Developed Countries

Students in both the developed and developing world have similar sentiments. Students in the developed world act essentially as agents of social change. Their most effective role in recent years has been in the cultural and social realm, rather than in attempts to alter political regimes. However, some political issues have attracted their attention.

Students in the United States, for example, were involved in the movement against the war in Viet-Nam. In fact, it can probably be said that this movement emerged from the campuses, and for a long time, was confined to the campuses. Viet-Nam eventually, however, became an agenda item for public debate. Students also played a role in provoking President Johnson's decision not to seek a second elective term. The movement for civil rights for black Americans and racial equality earlier in the 1960s also began in the universities.

Similarly, in Western Europe, students were active and influential in the 1960s. In both France and West Germany, students brought the problem of lack of a true parliamentary opposition to public attention. They also had an important impact in focusing and stimulating reform in academic institutions which were under considerable strain and stress as a result of an expansion which had occurred without much structural change having been under-

taken to handle the expansion.

Since the 1970s, however, student activism has declined in developed countries. However, there are exceptions. Students in Eastern Europe have been important political catalysts in countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. According to Altbach (1981), the causes of the decline in student activism in the developed world in the 1970s are as follows:

1. Student activities towards "life style" questions, such as the use of drugs, music styles, and divorce, are significantly more liberal than those of the mainstream of most societies.
2. The combination of inflation, the oil crisis, and a general slowdown in Western economics placed professional jobs at a premium. Social sciences and humanities graduates, those most active in student politics, had a particularly difficult time finding jobs.
3. The students now participated in university affairs, this institutional participation has involved students in internal university politics and has kept them, to some extent, away from external politics.
4. In the industrialized nations, a decline in the university age population and fiscal problems in higher education have combined to decrease substantially the expansion which was characteristic of the 1960s.
5. Finally, and perhaps most important, external political realities have changed. Student activism movements were primarily stimulated by societal politics rather than internal university-based matters, and changes in politics naturally have a key impact on the student management. Where issues have changed, as the "Viet-Nam War" in the United States, the student movement has been directly affected. The perceived "failures" of the parliamentary systems of France and West Germany during the de Gaulle regime and the coalition between the Socialists

and Christian Democrats have not been repeated in those countries.

The Hypotheses

There are four hypotheses in this study. Each concerns differences in the nature and degree of students' political participation which derive from experiencing different political environments.

First Hypothesis

The political participation of foreign students from developing countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States. The bases for this hypothesis are as follows:

1. The students understand the political cultures of their countries. This understanding and familiarity leads to the deeper appreciation of the issues at hand and consequently active participation. Thus, the political structure is hypothesized to be more politically significant with respect to the political participation than the political environment.
2. The social and educational environment in the United States is markedly different from the various countries from which these students came and thus probably afford few opportunities for most forms of political participation.

Second Hypothesis

The political participation of foreign students from developed countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States. A

probable reason is that although the political environment is similar, the political structure relevant to the main issues which stimulate that political participation is different. The political structure was more immediate and available when the students were in their countries.

Third Hypothesis

The political participation of foreign students from the developing world is higher than the political participation of foreign students from the developed countries when they were in their own countries. The following are likely reasons:

1. The nature of instability of the political process in the developing world has led the students to consider themselves as the legitimate voice of the people, to actively and vigorously participate in the political process. For example, during a military regime formal political participation is banned. It is the students' associations that become the voice of the masses in shaping some of the public policies of the military regime.
2. The examination systems. In most of the developing world examinations are usually conducted only at the end of the academic year. So they have a very substantial amount of free time for political participation. On the other hand, students from developed countries are more occupied with their course load. Besides, most of them work part time. As such, they have little time for political participation on any meaningful scale.

Fourth Hypothesis

The political participation of students from develop-

ing countries is higher than the political participation of students from developed countries while they are in the United States. As the third hypothesis indicates, the students from developing countries were rated higher in political participation than their counterparts from the developed countries while they were at home. They bring this higher level of interest in politics with them while in the United States. So, it is expected that their political participation will be higher than the political participation of the students from developed countries while they are in the United States.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Population of the Study

The population of the study is foreign students who have studied in their own countries at the undergraduate level and are now pursuing their graduate studies at Western Michigan University (WMU). The reason for choosing graduate students is that they are more likely to have experienced university life in the two settings of concern in the hypotheses.

Source of Data

A list of all foreign graduate students registered during the winter and spring semesters was obtained from the International Student Service Office at Western Michigan University. According to this list there were 327 foreign graduate students who were enrolled in the university during the winter and spring semesters of 1984.

The students are classified geographically into five groups - each representing an area which differs geographically, politically and socially from the other. There are 183 students from Asia, 68 students from the Middle East, 27 students from Africa, 23 students from Latin America, and 26 students from developed countries (Europe,

Australia, Canada, and Japan).

Selecting the Sample

For sampling purposes, the population of 327 graduate students was subdivided into two populations made up of 26 students from developed countries and 301 students from developing countries. A 20% sample was drawn from the population of students from developing countries, and 15 of the 26 students were sampled from the developed countries. Hence, the sample size is 60 students from developing countries plus 15 students from developed countries. The sample was randomly selected.

Sample Characteristics

The sample consists of 60 students from developing countries including 36 from Asia, 14 from the Middle East, five from Africa, and five from Latin America. Among the students from developed countries, there are seven from Japan, two from France, two from West Germany, two from Greece, one from Great Britain, and one from Australia.

The males represent 83.3% of the sample from developing countries and 60% of the sample from developed countries. The females represent 16.7% of the sample from developing countries and 40% of the sample from developed countries.

The age of participants from developing countries

range from 22 - 42 years with the mean age being 29 years, while the age of participants from developed countries ranges from 20 - 35 years with the mean age being 26 years.

The field of graduate study of 50% of the sample of the students from developing countries and 73% of the sample of the students from developed countries is in the social sciences and humanities, while the field of graduate study of the other 50% of the sample of the students from developing countries and the other 27% of the students from developed countries is in the physical and applied sciences.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is the major research tool used for the purpose of data collection for this study. The questionnaire utilized for the survey consists of a set of items related to political participation on international, national, and local politics while the student was still in his country, and also for the time period since the student has been in the United States.

Another set of questions included in the questionnaire involve students' political participation in university activities while in the university in their countries and at Western Michigan University. Other questions involve participation in major political activities in

their country, such as whether they are registered to vote, how often they have voted in elections, etc.

The questions in the survey were closed-ended. The respondent was asked to select a response category for each question from among a list of alternatives, for example "often," "sometimes," "rarely," or "never." The concern of most questions was with the frequency of an act of political participation.

The questionnaires were delivered to the respondents' homes. Home delivery afforded this researcher the opportunity to explain to the respondents the purpose and contents of the study. The questionnaire was then left for the respondent to complete, and it was picked up subsequently. Earle Babbie (1973, p. 159) points out that home delivery seems to produce a higher completion rate than is normally achieved in questionnaire surveys by mail.

Data Analysis

The data are presented as percentage distributions.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to determine whether a hypothesized statistically significant difference exists. The chi-square formula for the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is used for the four hypotheses where direction has been predicted. A value of chi-square of 5.991 or better is needed to reject the null hypotheses at the .05 level; a value of 9.210 is needed to reject the null hypothesis

at the .01 level; and a value of 13.815 is needed to reject the null hypothesis at the .001 level. In the tables which report the data of this research, the .05 level will be indicated with one asterisk (*), the .01 level will be indicated, with two asterisks (**), and the .001 level, with three asterisks (***).

CHAPTER V

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter includes four sections presenting four hypotheses to be tested.

Hypothesis I

This hypothesis states that the political participation of students from developing countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

Hypothesis II

This hypothesis states that the political participation of students from developed countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

Hypothesis III

This hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developing world is higher than the political participation of students from the developed countries when they were in their own countries.

Hypothesis IV

This hypothesis states that the political participa-

tion of students from the developing world is higher than the political participation of students from developed countries when they are in the United States.

These four hypotheses predict direction and therefore a one-tailed test is used. For each hypothesis, there are multiple tests; namely, 28 tests for the first hypothesis, 28 tests for the second hypothesis, 43 tests for the third hypothesis, and 31 tests for the fourth hypothesis.

Each test involves different questionnaire items. These items are concerned with acts of political participation. These acts include reading and watching television programs about politics, discussing politics with members of their families, neighbors or friends, and participating in various types of direct participation in student organizations and national politics. Such acts involve issues relating to politics at the international, national, local, and university level.

It is unusual to perform 28 or 31 or 43 tests of the same hypothesis. It is being done in this thesis because the literature supports the stating of general hypotheses rather than specific ones about discussion with family or joining student organizations or watching international news on television. In the test of a general hypothesis involving multiple individual tests, a significant finding with respect to any one questionnaire item in the predicted direction will be identified and each such

result can be viewed as support for the general hypothesis with respect to the particular behavior specified in the questionnaire item. More than 5% of the tests for any one hypothesis must be significant to conclude that general support for the hypothesis has been discovered. Obviously, the higher the proportion of significant test items, the more support that can be concluded concerning the general hypothesis.

First Hypothesis

The first hypothesis states that the political participation of students from developing countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

There are 28 pairs of questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis. Each pair involves the frequency of performing an act of political participation in one's own country as an undergraduate student and the frequency of performing the same act while in the United States as a graduate student.

There are 20 pairs of questionnaire items which are concerned with acts of political participation that are performed frequently by substantial proportions of adults in most countries. Milbrath places such activities at the low end of his hierarchy of political participation. Such acts include reading about politics, watching television

programs about politics, and discussing politics with relatives, neighbors or friends. Such acts can involve international politics, national politics, local politics, and among students, university politics. The inclusion of the various subject matters, i.e. international, national, local, and university politics, accounts for the high number of questionnaire items about this usually frequent but low level of political participation.

The other eight questionnaire items are concerned with activities that Milbrath would place higher on his hierarchy of political participation. These involve membership, wearing a symbol, voting, contributing money, attending meetings, and trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate in a student organization election. Also, there are items about participating in a peaceful demonstration and contacting a public official. It is likely that the research findings will show that these latter activities are performed less frequently overall by the students in the sample. However, it is expected that these activities will have been performed more frequently in their home countries than in the United States, and that is what the hypothesis proposes.

Although the frequencies of participation, by the very act specified in a questionnaire item, will vary, the comparison between the frequency of a particular type of political participation in one's own country and the

frequency of the same type of political participation while in the United States is the issue.

International Politics

The data in Table 1 represent five tests of the first hypothesis. The questionnaire items in this table have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing international politics. Students from developing countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation for two time periods and locations, namely when they were undergraduates in their own countries and while they have been graduate students at Western Michigan University.

The results of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-square values indicated that there are no significant differences in the predicted direction with respect to this type of political participation. By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, a rate of participation for each item can be computed. Using these rates in both time-location situations the students' frequency of political participation with respect to informing oneself and discussing international politics is fairly high.

While at home, 86.7% of the students read about international politics, and 73.3% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 80% of these

Table 1

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing International Politics
by Students from Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about political issues	45.0	41.7	8.3	5.0	38.3	35.0	18.3	8.3	2.352
Watching polit- ical programs on television	51.7	28.3	16.7	3.3	35.3	33.3	8.3	5.0	0.048
Talking with members of his family	11.7	53.3	25.0	10.0	16.7	38.3	25.0	20.0	1.200
Talking with his neighbors	5.0	41.7	40.0	13.3	15.0	30.0	26.7	28.3	2.700
Talking with his friends in the university	35.0	38.3	20.0	6.7	18.3	50.0	21.7	10.0	3.468

students watched political programs about international politics while they were at home, and 68.6% have done so since they have been in the United States.

At home, 65% discussed international politics with members of their families, 46.7% with neighbors, and 73.3% with friends in the university. While in the United States, they have continued to discuss international politics with relative frequency, although for those whose families are in their home countries, such discussion is somewhat difficult. Still, 55% discuss international politics with members of their family, 45% do so with neighbors, and 68.3% do so with friends in the university.

These findings indicate that international politics is a very salient issue in all situations. Students from developing countries, whether they are at universities in their home countries or studying at Western Michigan University, can inform themselves and discuss international politics. The information needed for such activity is available in sufficient quantities that it can be read in newspapers or watched on television, and thus wherever one is located does not make a big difference in the availability of information on this topic.

In general, finding a partner with whom to discuss international politics is also relatively possible in both one's home country and in the United States. Many graduate students have their wives or husbands with them in

the United States, so they have member of the family available for discussions of international politics.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to international politics are systematically a little higher among students from developing countries when they were in their home countries than when they were in the United States, these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, the first hypothesis is not supported with respect to international politics.

National Politics

The data in Table 2 represent five more tests of the first hypothesis. The questionnaire items concern informing oneself about and discussing national politics. Two of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant at the .05 level. Three are not significant.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported discussing national politics with their families (84%) and with friends in the university (78%) when they were at home than when they were in the United States.

The differences with respect to watching television programs about national politics, reading about national politics, or talking with neighbors about these matters were not statistically significant.

The rates of participation with respect to national politics are for all categories, as with international po-

Table 2

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing National Politics
by Students from Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								Chi-Square
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	
Reading about political issues	55.0	30.0	10.0	5.0	36.7	36.7	18.3	8.3	3.888
Watching political programs on television	60.0	25.0	11.7	3.3	41.7	40.0	10.0	8.3	3.888
Talking with members of his family	28.3	56.7	11.7	3.3	23.3	38.3	21.7	16.7	6.348*
Talking with his neighbors	15.0	40.0	36.7	8.3	16.7	35.0	18.3	30.0	5.808
Talking with his friends in the university	43.3	35.0	15.0	6.7	20.0	48.3	20.0	11.7	6.348*

litics, fairly high if one sums the "often" and "sometimes" responses. These findings conclusively support the observations of other scholars that students in developing nations are highly concerned about national politics.

Backman and Finlay (1973) concluded that both national and international issues have fluctuated in importance as more salient issues arise and disappear. On all five of the items in Table 2, the percentage of "often" and "sometimes" when combined is smaller for the time period when they are in the United States, consistent with this explanation, but only statistically significant for two of the items.

Local Politics

The data in Table 3 represent five more tests of the first hypothesis using items concerned with local politics. Three of the five comparisons yielded significant chi-squares at the .05 level.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported discussing local politics with members of their families and with their friends in the university, and reading about local politics when they were at home than while they were in the United States.

While at home, 68.4% of students discussed local politics with members of their families, and 43.2% have done so since they have been in the United States. Similarly,

Table 3

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing Local Politics
by Students from Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about political issues	40.0	53.3	1.7	5.0	18.3	48.3	21.7	11.7	8.112*
Watching polit- ical programs on television	41.7	28.3	21.7	8.3	20.0	45.0	23.3	11.7	5.808
Talking with members of his family	31.7	36.7	23.3	8.3	21.6	21.6	31.7	25.0	7.500*
Talking with his neighbors	21.7	38.3	30.0	10.0	8.3	36.7	26.7	28.3	3.888
Talking with his friends in the university	33.3	36.7	23.3	6.7	10.0	41.7	35.0	13.3	6.348*

70% of these students discussed local politics with friends in the university, and 51.7% have done so since they have been in the United States. 93.3% of these students read about local politics when they were at home and 66.6% have done so since they have been in the United States.

The differences with respect to watching television programs about local politics and discussing local politics with neighbors about these matters were not statistically significant.

The rate of watching television programs about local politics is high whether the students are at home or in the United States. Two complimentary interpretations are involved with this finding. First, students are interested in watching television programs about local politics of their own countries. Second, although they may not be interested in American local politics, it is hard to avoid exposing oneself to media coverage of local politics in the United States because it is extensive and appears in conjunction with the coverage of national and international politics.

These findings probably demonstrate that the students are concerned with local politics of their own countries more than with American local politics.

University Affairs

The data in Table 4 represent five more tests of the first hypothesis using items concerned with university affairs. One of the five, the one involving discussing university affairs with friends in the university, yielded a significant chi-square at the .01 level. A second, regarding reading about university issues, yielded a significant chi-square at the .05 level.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported reading about university affairs and discussing university affairs with their friends in the university when they were at home than since they have been in the United States. While at home, 75% of students read about university issues, and 55% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 73% of these students discussed university affairs with their friends in the university while they were at home, and 51.7% have done so since they have been in the United States. This is due to the fact that students are likely to have more friends in the university at home than they have at Western Michigan University.

The differences with respect to watching television programs, discussing university affairs with members of their family, and discussing this matter with neighbors were not statistically significant.

Table 4

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing University Affairs
by Students from Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about university issues	35.0	40.0	18.3	6.7	11.7	43.3	35.0	10.0	6.348*
Watching programs on television about uni- versity affairs	21.7	36.7	30.0	11.6	13.3	35.0	30.0	21.7	1.200
Talking with members of his family	11.7	48.3	26.7	13.3	16.7	33.3	30.0	20.0	1.200
Talking with his neighbors	5.0	40.0	35.0	20.0	3.3	31.7	33.3	31.7	1.728
Talking with his friends in the university	43.3	30.0	20.0	6.7	15.0	36.7	35.0	33.3	9.408

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations

The data in Tables 5 and 6 represent five more tests of the first hypothesis. The questionnaire items in these tables concern several types of political participation in student organizations. Four of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant. Two of the four are significant at the .01 level. These two involve contributing money to a student organization and attending meetings of a student organization. Two more of the four Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant at the .001 level. These two involve wearing the symbol of a student organization and voting in an election of a student organization. Thus, the first hypothesis is supported with respect to these types of political participation in university student organizations.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported wearing the symbol of a student organization, voting in a student organization, contributing money to a student organization and attending meetings of a student organization when they were at home than since they have been in the United States. While at home, 38.3% of students wore the symbol of a student organization, and 13.3% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 68.3% voted in a student organization while they were at home,

Table 5

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Membership in Student Organizations of Students from Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home		In the United States		
	N = 60		N = 60		
	Levels of Participation				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Chi-Square
Membership of any student organization	53.3	46.7	36.7	63.3	3.072

Table 6

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of
Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations by Students from
Developing Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In The United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Wearing the symbol of a student organization	10.0	28.3	21.7	40.0	5.0	8.3	13.3	73.3	13.872
Voting in a student organization	35.0	33.3	11.7	20.0	10.0	8.3	10.0	71.7	32.448
Contributing money to a student organization	11.6	40.0	21.7	26.7	15.0	16.7	13.3	55.0	9.408*
Attending meet- ings of a student organization	25.0	40.0	16.7	18.3	11.7	25.0	15.0	48.3	10.092

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and 18.3% have done so since they have been in the United States. At home, 51.6% of these students contributed money to a student organization, and 31.7% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 65% attended meetings of a student organization when they were at home, and 36.7% have done so when they have been in the United States.

The higher rate of participation of students in these types of political activities when they were at home than when they were in the United States can be attributed to the fact that an undergraduate student, because of excessive energy and the nature of the undergraduate course load, is much more politically involved in university activities than the mature, more academically occupied graduate student.

Various Types of Political Participation in National Politics

The data in Table 7 represent three more tests of the first hypothesis. The questionnaire items concerned various types of direct participation in national politics. Two of the three Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant. One of the two, the one which concerned trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate, yielded a significant chi-square at the .001 level. A second, regarding participating in a peaceful demonstration, yield-

Table 7

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics by Students from Developing Countries While at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 60				N = 60				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate	11.6	20.0	16.7	51.7	3.3	8.3	11.7	46.7	*** 21.168
Participating in a peaceful demonstration	5.0	15.0	21.7	58.3	0.0	10.0	6.7	83.3	7.500*
Contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion	3.3	10.0	16.7	70.0	1.7	6.7	13.3	78.3	0.768

ed a significant chi-square at the .05 level.

The percentage of students who reported trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate is low when they were at home and when they are in the United States, but it is higher when they were at home than when they are in the United States. While at home, 31.6% of the students tried to get people to vote for or against any candidate, and 11% have done so when they are in the United States. Similarly, 20% of these students participated in a peaceful demonstration when they were in their countries, and 10% have done so when they are in the United States.

The difference with respect to contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion was not statistically significant.

These types of political participation are activities which Milbrath would place high on his hierarchy of political participation. These activities require a greater expenditure of energy and probably require a greater personal commitment than the activities at a lower level in his hierarchy. Most of the students' time and energy is needed for their studies. Thus the finding of infrequent direct participation in national politics is not a surprise.

Summary - First Hypothesis

What we have found from testing the first hypothesis is that 13 of the 28 Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests support the hypothesis in the predicted direction, and 15 do not.

Seven of these 13 tests are significant at the .05 level. These seven involve talking with members of their families about national politics, talking with friends in the university about national politics, talking with members of their families about local politics, talking with their friends in the university about local politics, reading about local politics, reading about university issues, and participating in a peaceful demonstration. Milbrath places six of these activities at the low end of this hierarchy of political participation. The seventh, participation in a peaceful demonstration, Milbrath views as not easily fitting into his hierarchy at all. He calls the six low level activities "spectator activities." These activities require a lower expenditure of energy and less personal commitment than the activities that Milbrath would place higher on his hierarchy of political participation. This spectator level of participation is suitable for the circumstances of students.

Three more of these 13 Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant at the .01 level. These three involve talking with friends in the university about university affairs,

contributing money to a student organization, and attending meetings of a student organization.

Three more of these 13 Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant at the .001 level. These three involve wearing a symbol of a student organization, voting in a student organization, and trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate.

Milbrath places activities such as contributing money to an organization, attending meetings of an organization, and trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate, at the middle of his hierarchy of political participation. He calls these activities "transitional activities." The findings indicate that students from developing countries are more likely to participate in transitional activities at home than in the United States.

Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis states that the political participation of students from developed countries - from non-American Western societies - is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

There are 28 pairs of questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis. Each pair involves the frequency of performing an act of political participation

in one's own country as an undergraduate student and the frequency of performing the same act while in the United States as a graduate student.

There are 20 pairs of questionnaire items which are concerned with acts of political participation that are performed frequently by substantial proportions of adults in most countries. Milbrath places such activities at the low end of his hierarchy of political participation. These acts include reading about politics, watching television programs about politics, and discussing politics with relatives, neighbors or friends. These acts may be directed toward international politics, national politics, local politics, and among students, university politics.

The various subject matters, i.e. international, national, local and university politics, accounts for the large number of questionnaire items which concern this usually frequent but low level of political participation.

The other eight questionnaire items are concerned with activities that Milbrath would place higher on his hierarchy of political participation. These involve membership, wearing a symbol, voting, contributing money, attending meetings, and trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate in a student organization election. Also, there are items about participating in a peaceful demonstration and contacting a public official.

It is likely that the research findings will show that

these latter activities are performed less frequently overall by the students in this sample of students from developed countries. However, it is expected that these activities will have been performed more frequently in their home countries than in the United States and that is what the hypothesis proposes. Because of the very small sample size, a much larger cumulated percentage difference is needed to produce a significant chi-square than with the samples of students from developing areas.

It will be harder to reject the null hypothesis and find support for hypothesis two.

Although the frequencies of participation, by the very act specified in a questionnaire item, will vary, the comparison between the frequency of a particular type of political participation in one's own country and the frequency of the same type of political participation while in the United States is the issue.

International Politics

The data in Table 8 represent five tests of the second hypothesis. The questionnaire items in this table have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about discussing international politics. Students from developed countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation for two time periods and locations, namely, when they were undergraduates in their

Table 8

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing International Politics
by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about political issues	40.0	20.0	26.7	13.3	33.3	26.7	13.3	26.7	0.588
Watching polit- ical programs on television	26.7	33.3	33.3	6.6	13.3	40.0	20.0	26.7	1.200
Talking with members of his family	26.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	6.7	33.3	33.3	26.7	1.200
Talking with his neighbors	0.0	13.3	33.3	53.3	6.6	0.0	26.6	66.6	0.588
Talking with his friends in the university	46.7	6.6	40.0	6.6	33.3	33.3	13.3	20.0	0.588

own countries and while they have been graduate students at Western Michigan University.

The result of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-square values indicate that there are no significant differences with respect to this type of political participation.

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, a rate of participation for each item can be computed. Using these rates in both time-location situations the students' frequency of political participation with respect to talking with members of their families and watching political programs on television are higher when the students were at home than when they were in the United States. While at home, 53.4% of the students discussed national politics with members of their families, and 40% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 60% watched television programs while they were at home, and 53.3% have done so since they have been in the United States.

Talking with their neighbors about international politics recorded a very low rate of 13.3% when they were at home, and 6.6% have done so since they have been in the United States. Reading about international politics records the same rate (60%) when the students were at home and while they were in the United States. At home, 53.3%

discussed international politics with their friends in the university, and 66.6% have done so while in the United States.

These findings indicate that the students from developed countries are not highly concerned with international politics. Also, they indicate that the second hypothesis is not supported with respect to international politics.

National Politics

The data in Table 9 represent five additional tests of the second hypothesis. The questionnaire items concern informing oneself about and discussing national politics.

The result of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests indicate that there are no significant differences in political participation with respect to national politics when the students were at home and since they have been in the United States.

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, a rate of participation for each item can be computed. Using these rates the students' frequency of political participation with respect to talking with members of their families and talking with their friends in the university about national politics, and reading and watching television programs about national politics, are little higher when the students were at home than when they were in the United States.

The rate of talking with their neighbors about

Table 9

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing National Politics
by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about political issues	33.3	26.7	26.7	13.3	26.7	20.0	33.3	20.0	0.867
Watching polit- ical programs on television	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	6.6	46.7	20.0	26.7	2.187
Talking with members of his family	26.6	26.6	46.7	0.0	13.3	33.3	26.7	26.7	0.588
Talking with his neighbors	0.0	20.0	26.7	53.3	0.0	13.3	20.0	66.7	0.588
Talking with his friends in the university	33.3	20.0	46.7	0.0	26.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	0.507

national politics is very low when the students were at home (20%), and since they have been in the United States (13%).

These findings indicate that the students from developed countries are not highly concerned with national politics whether they are at home or in the United States. This can be attributed to the fact that there is political stability in developed countries because of the established sociopolitical institutions and structures. Thus, there are fewer crises to attract the attention of the students in the manner occurring frequently in developing countries.

The differences between the frequencies of political participation with respect to national politics among students from developed countries when they were in their home countries and when they are in the United States are not statistically significant. Thus, the second hypothesis is not supported with respect to national politics.

Local Politics

The data in Table 10 represent five more tests of the second hypothesis. The questionnaire items in this table have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing local politics.

The results of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing Local Politics
by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about political issues	20.0	13.3	46.7	20.0	0.0	33.3	20.0	46.7	1.200
Watching polit- ical programs on television	13.3	26.7	26.7	33.3	0.0	13.3	26.7	60.0	2.187
Talking with members of his family	6.7	20.0	66.7	6.6	0.0	0.0	60.0	40.0	3.267
Talking with his neighbors	0.0	6.6	46.7	46.7	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	3.267
Talking with his friends in the university	20.0	6.6	46.7	26.7	0.0	20.0	33.3	46.7	1.200

square values indicate that there are no significant differences with respect to this type of political participation.

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, a rate of participation for each item can be computed. Using these rates in both time-location situations the students' frequency of political participation with respect to informing oneself and discussing local politics is low.

At home, 26.7% of the students discussed local politics with members of their families, 6.6% with their neighbors, and 26.6% with their friends in the university. While in the United States, they never discuss local politics with their families or with their neighbors, and only 20% discuss this issue with their friends in the university.

While at home, 33.3% of students read about local politics, and the same percentage have done so since they have been in the United States. Similarly, 40% of these students watched political programs about local politics while they were at home, and only 13% have done so since they have been in the United States.

These findings indicate that the students from developed countries have a low level of concern about local politics. These findings support Backman and Finlay's (1973) conclusion that local issues have remained rela-

tively unimportant in all nations in their study about "Student Protest: A Cross-National Study" (p. 14).

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to local politics are systematically higher among students from developed countries when they were in their home countries than when they are in the United States, these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, the second hypothesis is not supported with respect to local politics.

University Affairs

The data in Table 11 represent five more tests of the second hypothesis using items concerned with university affairs. One of the five, the one involving watching television programs about university affairs, yielded a significant chi-square at the .05 level. The other four tests are not significant.

The rates of political participation with respect to university politics are for all categories, as with local politics, fairly low, even if one sums the "often" and "sometimes" responses.

At home, 53.4% of the students read about university affairs, and only 26.7% have done so while they were in the United States. Similarly, 46.6% of them watched television programs about university affairs while they were at home, and none do so since they have been in the United

Table 11

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing University Affairs
by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								Chi-Square
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	
Reading about university issues	26.7	26.7	20.0	26.6	6.7	20.0	40.0	33.3	2.028
Watching programs on television about uni-versity affairs	13.3	33.3	13.3	40.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	6.627*
Talking with members of his family	6.7	20.0	53.3	20.0	0.0	13.3	33.3	53.3	3.267
Talking with his neighbors	6.6	0.0	26.7	66.7	0.0	0.0	26.7	73.3	0.147
Talking with his friends in the university	33.3	26.7	26.7	13.3	6.6	20.0	46.7	26.7	3.267

States.

At home, 26.7% discussed university affairs with members of their families, 6.6% with their neighbors, and 60% with their friends in the university. While in the United States, 13.3% discussed university affairs with members of their families, none discussed these affairs with their neighbors, and 26.6% do so with their friends in the university.

These findings indicate that relatively few students from developed countries are concerned about university affairs. This can be attributed to the fact that universities in the developed countries and in the United States do not face as many problems of academic regulations, poor teaching, crowded residences, book shortages, and high cost of intracity transportation as do universities and their students in developing countries. So, university affairs do not attract students' attention for discussion purposes to the same degree.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to university affairs are systematically higher among students from developed countries when they were in their home countries than when they are in the United States, these differences are not statistically significant. The questionnaire concerned with watching television programs about university affairs is an exception. Thus, the second hypothesis is not supported with

respect to university affairs.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations

The data in Tables 12 and 13 represent five more tests of the second hypothesis. The questionnaire items are concerned with various types of direct political participation in student organizations. One of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests, the one involving voting in a student organization, is significant at the .05 level. Four of the tests are not significant.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported voting in a student organization when they were at home (66.7%) than since they have been in the United States (20%).

If one sums the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the rates of participation with respect to membership, wearing a symbol, contributing money, and attending meetings of a student organization, are fairly low. The difference with respect to all these categories are not statistically significant. Thus, the second hypothesis is not supported with respect to political participation in student organizations.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics

The data in Table 14 represent three more tests of

Table 12

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Membership in Student Organizations by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home		In the United States		
	N = 15		N = 15		
	Levels of Participation				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Chi-Square
Membership of any student organization	20.0	80.0	26.7	73.3	0.000

Table 13

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Wearing the symbol of a student organization	0.0	13.3	6.7	80.0	0.0	6.6	6.6	86.7	0.147
Voting in a student organization	20.0	46.7	13.3	20.0	6.7	13.3	6.7	73.3	8.427*
Contributing money to a student organization	13.3	13.3	26.7	46.7	6.7	0.0	20.0	73.3	2.028
Attending meet- ings of a student organization	20.0	26.7	26.7	26.6	20.0	6.7	13.3	60.0	3.267

Table 14

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics by Students from Developed Countries while at Home and in the United States

	At Home				In the United States				
	N = 15				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate	13.3	6.6	26.6	23.3	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0	0.867
Participating in a peaceful demonstration	0.0	26.7	33.3	40.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	86.7	6.627*
Contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	93.3	0.507

the second hypothesis. The questionnaire items concern various types of direct political participation in national politics. One of the three, the one which asked about participation in a peaceful demonstration, yielded a significant chi-square at the .05 level.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported participation in a peaceful demonstration when they were at home (26.7%) than when they were in the United States (13.3%).

The differences with respect to trying to get people to vote for or against a candidate for national public office and contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion were not statistically significant.

The rates of participation with respect to involvement in direct political participation in national politics are fairly low if one sums the "often" and "sometimes" responses. Thus, the second hypothesis is not supported with respect to direct political participation in national politics.

Summary- Second Hypothesis

Twenty-eight Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of the second hypothesis were computed. The findings indicate that only 3 of these 28 tests are significant at the .05 level. These three support the second hypothesis. The remaining

25 tests do not support the second hypothesis.

The three that support the hypothesis involve watching television programs about university affairs, voting in student organizations, and participating in a peaceful demonstration. Milbrath places the first two of these activities at the low end of his hierarchy of political participation. The third is a higher level of participation although not included in Milbrath's hierarchy.

The findings from testing the second hypothesis indicate that the students from developed countries were not highly concerned with international and national politics whether they were in their own countries or in the United States. At the same time, they reported very little involvement in local and university politics, in direct political participation in student organizations, and in direct participation in national politics whether they were in their own countries or in the United States. These findings support the conclusion in the study undertaken by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Naep. 1978; Jones. 1979) which found that in a national sample of high school students, levels of political participation and political information declined from 1969 to 1976, while attitudes toward the governmental process became more negative over the same period (Travers, 1982, p. 328). This low rate of political participation can be attributed to the fact that the students from developed

countries are more occupied with their course load than with politics. Most of them work long hours besides their studying, because they like to live independently from their parents. Moreover, students' concerns have become linked to personal and spiritual improvement, and to the betterment of campus conditions.

More important changes in politics have a key impact on the students' activism, but there is no dramatic political change in the developed world to attract the students' attention. Studies on student activism in the developed world assert that the level of political participation and political information declined from 1969 to 1976.

Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developing world was higher when they were in their own countries than the political participation of students from developed countries when they were in their own countries.

There are 43 questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis. Each involves the frequency of performing the same act of political participation for students from developing and students from developed countries in their own countries as undergraduate students.

There are 24 questionnaire items which are concerned

with acts of political participation that are performed frequently by substantial proportions of adults in most countries. Such acts include reading about politics, and discussing politics with relatives, neighbors, or friends. These acts involve international politics, national politics, local politics, and university politics. The various subject matters account for the large number of questionnaire items for this usually frequent but low level of political participation.

The other 19 questionnaire items are concerned with registration to vote in elections, various types of direct political participation in university organizations and in national politics, and various types of direct political participation in political parties and interest groups. It is likely that the research findings will show that these latter activities are performed less frequently overall by the students in the sample. However, it is expected that these activities will have been performed more frequently by the students from developing countries than by their counterparts from developed countries when they were in their own countries, and that is what the hypothesis proposes.

The comparison between the frequency of a particular type of political participation between the students from developing countries and the same type of political participation of the students from developed countries in

their own countries is the issue. Thus, there are 43 tests of the first hypothesis.

International Politics

The data in Table 15 represent six tests of the third hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing international politics. Students from developing and developed countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation when they were undergraduates in their own countries.

The result of six Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-square values indicate that one of these six is significant at the .05 level, the one involving discussing international politics with neighbors. Five are not significant.

A significantly greater percentage of students from developing countries (46.7%) than from developed countries (13.3%) reported discussing international politics with their neighbors.

The differences with respect to watching television programs, reading about international politics, or talking with members of their families, friends in the university, friends from childhood, and neighbors about these matters were not statistically significant.

The rates of participation with respect to inter-

Table 15

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing International Politics
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about political issues	45.0	41.7	8.3	5.0	40.0	20.0	26.7	13.3	1.387
Watching political programs on television	51.7	28.3	16.7	3.3	26.7	33.3	33.3	6.6	3.000
Talking with members of his family	11.7	53.3	25.0	10.0	26.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	0.691
Talking with his neighbors	5.0	41.7	40.0	13.3	0.0	13.3	33.3	53.3	7.680*

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Talking with his friends in the university	35.0	38.3	20.0	6.7	46.7	6.6	40.0	6.6	1.920
Talking with friends from childhood	6.7	28.3	45.0	20.0	13.3	6.7	53.3	26.7	1.080

national politics are higher among the students from developing countries than from among the students from developed countries when they were at home, but the differences are not large enough to be significant except in one instance.

National Politics

The data in Table 16 represent six more tests of the third hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing national politics. One of the six Kolmogorov--Smirnov tests is significant at the .01 level, the one involving discussing national politics with neighbors. Five are not significant.

At home, a significantly greater percentage of students from developing countries reported discussing national politics with their neighbors than did students from developed countries. While at home, 55% of the students from developing countries discussed national politics with their neighbors, and 20% of the students from developed countries have done so.

The rates of participation with respect to national politics are for all categories, except the item that concerns discussing national politics with friends from childhood, higher for the students from developing countries than the students from developed countries, if one

Table 16

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing National Politics
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about political issues	55.0	30.0	10.0	5.0	33.3	26.7	26.7	13.3	3.000
Watching political programs on television	60.0	25.0	11.7	3.3	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	3.499
Talking with members of his family	28.3	56.7	11.7	3.3	26.6	26.6	46.7	0.0	4.915
Talking with his neighbors	15.0	40.0	36.7	8.3	0.0	20.0	26.7	53.3	13.483**

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Talking with his friends in the university	43.3	35.0	15.0	6.7	33.3	20.0	46.7	0.0	3.000
Talking with friends from childhood	16.7	31.6	35.0	16.7	13.3	20.0	40.0	26.7	1.080

sums the "often" and "sometimes" responses.

In their own countries, 85% of the students from developing countries discussed national politics with members of their families, and 53.3% from developed countries have done so. Similarly, 78.3% of the students from developing countries discussed national politics with friends in the university, and 53.3% of students from developed countries have done so. At home, 85% of the students from developing countries read and watched television programs about national politics, and 60% of the students from developed countries read about national politics, and 66.6% of these students watched television programs about national politics. While 30.3% of the students from developing countries discussed national politics with friends from childhood, 33.3% of the students from developed countries have done so.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to national politics are systematically higher among students from developing countries while they were at home than among the students from developed countries while they were at home, these differences are not statistically significant, except for the item which concerns discussing national politics with neighbors.

The results of the six tests of the third hypothesis with respect to national politics indicate that students from developing countries are more highly concerned with

national politics than the students from developed countries while they were at home but the differences are not large enough to be significant.

Local Politics

The data in Table 17 represent six more tests of the third hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing local politics. Students from developing and from developed countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation when they were undergraduates in their own countries.

Four of the six Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant. Two are not significant. Two of the six are significant at the .05 level, namely, the two involving discussing local politics with members of their families and with friends in the university. Another one of the six, involving discussing local politics with neighbors, yielded a significant chi-square at the .01 level. A fourth test involving reading about local politics, yielded a significant chi-square at the .001 level.

A significantly greater percentage of students reported reading about and discussing local politics with members of their families, neighbors or friends from the university when they were in their own countries than the students from developed countries when they were in their

Table 17

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing Local Politics
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about political issues	40.0	53.3	1.7	5.0	20.0	13.3	46.7	20.0	32.275***
Watching political programs on television	41.7	28.3	21.7	8.3	13.3	26.7	26.7	33.3	4.032
Talking with members of his family	31.7	36.7	23.3	8.3	6.7	20.0	66.7	6.6	8.068*
Talking with his neighbors	21.7	38.3	30.0	10.0	0.0	6.6	46.7	46.7	13.483**

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Talking with his friends in the university	33.3	36.7	23.3	6.7	20.0	6.6	46.7	26.7	8.875*
Talking with friends from childhood	13.3	31.7	33.3	16.7	20.0	0.0	40.0	40.0	3.000

own countries.

At home, 68.4% of the students from developing countries discussed local politics with members of their families, and 60% discussed local politics with neighbors, 70% of these students discussed local politics with friends from the university, and 93.3% of these students read about local politics. While 26.7% of the students from developed countries discussed local politics with members of their families, 6.6% of these students discussed local politics with neighbors, 26.6% of these students discussed local politics with friends in the university, and 33.3% of these students read about local politics.

What we have learned from the six tests of the third hypothesis with respect to local politics is that students from developing countries are more highly concerned with local politics than were students from developed countries while they were at home. The third hypothesis is supported with respect to discussing local politics with members of their families, neighbors, and friends in the university, and reading about local politics.

University Affairs

The data in Table 18 represent six more tests of the third hypothesis. These tests involve questionnaire items about informing oneself about and discussing university

Table 18

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing University Affairs
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about university issues	35.0	40.0	18.3	6.7	26.7	26.7	20.0	26.6	2.323
Watching programs on television about uni-versity affairs	21.7	36.7	30.0	11.6	13.3	33.3	13.3	40.0	3.783
Talking with members of his family	11.7	48.3	26.7	13.3	6.7	20.0	53.3	20.0	5.227
Talking with his neighbors	5.0	40.0	35.0	20.0	6.6	0.0	26.7	66.7	10.603**

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Talking with his friends in the university	43.3	30.0	20.0	6.7	33.3	26.7	26.7	13.3	0.811
Talking with friends from childhood	13.3	23.3	26.7	36.7	0.0	33.3	20.0	46.7	1.387

affairs. One of the six Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests is significant at the .01 level, namely, the one involving talking with neighbors about university affairs. Five are not significant.

A significantly greater percentage of students from developing countries (45%) reported discussing university affairs with neighbors than of students from developed countries (6.6%) while they were at home.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to watching television programs, reading about university affairs, or talking with members of their families, friends in the university, and friends from childhood about these matters are systematically higher for students from developing countries while they were in their home countries than for the students from developed countries while they were in their home countries, these differences are not statistically significant, except for the item concerned with discussing university affairs with neighbors.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations

The data in Tables 19 and 20 represent five more tests of the third hypothesis involving questionnaire items about several types of direct political participation in student organizations. One of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests is significant at the .05 level,

Table 19

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Membership in Student Organization by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries		Students from Developed Countries		
	N = 60		N = 15		
	Levels of Participation				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Chi-Square
Membership of any student organization	53.3	46.7	20.0	80.0	5.227

Table 20

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Wearing the symbol of a student organization	10.0	28.3	21.7	40.0	0.0	13.3	6.7	80.0	7.680*
Voting in a student organization	35.0	33.3	11.7	20.0	20.0	46.7	33.3	20.0	1.080
Contributing money to a student organization	11.6	40.0	21.7	26.7	13.3	13.3	26.7	46.7	3.000
Attending meetings of a student organization	25.0	40.0	16.7	18.3	20.0	26.7	26.7	26.6	1.555

namely, the one involving wearing the symbol of a student organization. Four of the tests are not significant. A greater percentage of students from developing countries (38.3%) reported wearing the symbol of a student organization when they were in their own countries than did students from developed countries when they were in their own countries (13.3%).

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the rates of participation, with respect to membership, voting, contributing money, and attending meetings of a student organization, are higher for the students from developing countries than for the students from developed countries while they were at home. However, these differences are not statistically significant.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics

The data in Tables 21 and 22 represent six more tests of the third hypothesis involving questionnaire items about several types of direct political participation in national politics.

The results of the four Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-square values indicate that there is no significant difference between the students from developing and developed countries while they were at home with respect to this type of political participation.

Table 21

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate	11.6	20.0	16.7	51.7	13.3	6.6	26.6	23.3	1.555
Participating in a peaceful demonstration	5.0	15.0	21.7	58.3	0.0	26.7	33.3	40.0	0.120
Contacting a public official in person to express a political opinion	6.7	16.7	23.3	53.3	13.3	6.7	13.3	66.6	0.941

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Contacting a public official by mail or by tel. to express a political opinion	3.3	10.0	16.7	70.0	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0	0.480
Holding an elective government office	1.7	10.0	13.3	75.0	13.3	6.7	0.0	80.0	0.120

Table 22

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Registration on a Voting List
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries		Students from Developed Countries		
	N = 60		N = 15		
	Levels of Participation				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Chi-Square
Registration on a voting list in his country	68.3	31.7	100.0	0.0	4.915

These findings support the literature related to these issues. One of the major conclusions within the vast literature on political participation is that young persons do not participate in political activity. According to Converse (1971), "In the United States, as in other democracies around the world, non-voting is relatively common among cohorts of young people who have been eligible to vote only a short period of time. Where other forms of political participation which extend beyond the act of voting are concerned, such as attending political rallies and working for party organizations, young people are still nonparticipants" (Converse & Niemi, 1971, p. 443).

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the rates of participation with respect to trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate, participating in a peaceful demonstration, and contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion are low for the students from developing countries and developed countries while they were in their own countries. The percentages are systematically higher, with one exception, for the students from developing countries than for the students from developed countries, although the differences are not significant. The exception is the questionnaire item about registration to vote in national elections. A higher percentage of the students from

developed countries than the students from developing countries reported being registered to vote at home. This is contrary to the direction predicted in hypothesis three.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation related to a Party and an Interest Group

The data in Table 23 represent eight more tests of the third hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with frequency of some types of direct political participation with respect to a political or an interest group. Students from developing and from developed countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation when they were undergraduates in their own countries.

One of the eight Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests, the one involving wearing the symbol of any interest group, is significant at the .05 level. Seven are not significant.

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the rates of participation with respect to the following activities, namely voting in any political party, attending a meeting concerning a political election, attending a meeting of a politically relevant interest group, contributing money to a politically relevant interest group, is a little higher among the students from developed countries when they were at home than among the students from developing countries when they were at home.

Table 23

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation Related to a Political Party or an Interest Group by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while at Home

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Wearing the symbol of a political party in his country	3.3	18.3	11.7	66.7	0.0	20.0	0.0	80.0	0.811
Voting in any political party in his country	30.0	16.7	16.7	36.6	33.3	20.0	13.3	33.3	0.000
Contributing money to any political party in his country	11.7	8.3	16.7	63.3	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	1.387
Attending any meetings concerning political election in his country	8.3	31.7	20.0	40.0	13.3	33.3	6.7	46.7	0.000

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Wearing symbol of any interest group in his country	3.3	16.7	25.0	55.0	0.0	20.0	33.3	66.7	6.571*
Attending a meeting of a politically relevant interest group in his country	6.7	30.0	33.3	40.0	0.0	40.0	13.3	46.7	0.253
Contributing money to a politically relevant interest group in his country	6.6	10.0	21.7	61.7	13.3	13.3	6.7	66.7	0.120
Running for an elective government office in his country	3.3	6.7	10.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3	0.811

Milbrath places activities such as attending meetings of a politically relevant interest group, contributing money to a political party or interest group, and contacting a public official at the middle of his hierarchy. He calls these acts "transitional activities." Acts such as wearing the symbol of a political party and voting in an election, Milbrath places at a lower level of his hierarchy. He calls them "spectator activities."

The higher rate of political participation for the students from developed countries than for the students from developing countries can be attributed to the fact that, unlike the developed countries, in most developing countries there is one political party, or political parties are banned. Moreover, in most developing countries there are no well organized interest groups. So, the rate of this type of political participation for the students from developing countries is low.

Summary - Third Hypothesis

What we found from testing the third hypothesis is that 9 of the 43 Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests support the hypothesis. Thirty-four are not significant and, therefore, fail to support the hypothesis.

Five of these nine tests are significant at the .05 level. These five involve: talking with neighbors about international politics, talking with members of their

families about local politics, talking with friends in the university about local politics, wearing the symbol of a student organization, and wearing a symbol of any interest group.

Three more of the nine tests are significant at the .01 level. These three involve talking with neighbors about local, national, and university politics. The last one of the nine tests, which involves reading about local politics, is significant at the .001 level. Four of these nine tests concern discussing international, national, local, and university politics with neighbors.

One consistent conclusion derived from these nine tests is the importance attached to interpersonal relationships in the developing world. Whereas relationships among neighbors in the developed world is impersonal and cold, such relationships are personal and warm in the developing world.

Moreover, six of these nine are concerned with discussing politics with relatives, neighbors and friends.

Two more of these nine concern wearing the symbol of a student organization or interest group. Also, with respect to local politics four of these nine are significant.

These kinds of activities are at the bottom of Milbrath's hierarchy of political participation.

Although the results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are not significant with respect to international and national politics, the data reveal a higher rate of political participation for the students from developing countries than for the students from developed countries when they were at home. The percentages are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

Although the chi-square values are not significant with respect to all types of direct political participation in student organizations or in national politics, excluding wearing the symbol of a student organization and of an interest group, generally the rates of political participation with respect to these types of political participation are higher for the students from developing countries than for the students from developed countries.

This can be attributed to the fact that students from the developing countries are more active politically than are those from developed countries. This is so because in the developing countries, students see their role in society as important.

In most developing countries, a large university is in the capital. In the capital city students have easy access to political information and to a readily available national audience via the capital-centered communication media. This tends to facilitate the task of the activist.

Moreover, the Third World lacks the established socio-political institutions and structures of the advanced countries. This causes political instability and provokes students' unrest. Research and theory in the field of political socialization suggest that the historical period and socio-political contexts in which a person is socialized shape the development of the individual's political outlook (Travers, 1982, p. 327). Students in these societies see their role as the spokespersons for the silent masses. These students also have a very substantial amount of free time during the year. Exams are held only once a year and generally only at the end of the academic year.

In the developed countries, students are not active because there are already developed and established institutions which are articulated for the purpose of input into decision making with the formal structures of government. So, it does not matter who controls the government since all interests have some form of access and have long since been assigned quotas as far as sharing of the amenities is concerned.

During the 1980s, the economic downturn has stimulated students to turn from the social sciences and humanities to professional fields in order to ensure brighter career prospects. In addition, universities in some developed countries are less crowded than during the pre-

vious decades because the students have moved out in search of jobs.

Fourth Hypothesis

The fourth hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developing world is higher than the political participation of students from the developed countries while they are in the United States.

There are 31 questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis. Each test involves comparing the frequency of performing an act of political participation by students from the developing and the developed countries while they are in the United States as graduate students.

There are 20 questionnaire items which are concerned with acts of political participation that are performed frequently by substantial proportions of adults in most countries. Such acts include reading about politics, and discussing politics with relatives, neighbors or friends. Such acts involve international politics, national politics, local politics, and among students, university politics.

The other 11 questionnaire items are concerned with membership in student organizations, and various types of direct political participation in the affairs of student organizations and in national politics.

It is likely that the research findings will show

that these activities are performed more frequently overall by the students from developing countries than by the students from developed countries while they are in the United States.

International Politics

The data in Table 24 represent five tests of the fourth hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing international politics. Students from the developing and developed countries were asked to report the frequency of this type of political participation while they have been in the United States as graduate students.

Two of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant at the .05 level. These two involve discussing international politics with neighbors and watching television programs about international politics. Three are not significant.

While 45% of the students from developing countries discuss international politics with their neighbors in the United States, only 6.6% of the students from developed countries have done so. Similarly, 86.6% of the students from developing countries watch television programs about international politics, while only 53.3% of the students from developed countries have done so since they have been in the United States.

Table 24

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing International Politics
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about political issues	38.3	35.0	18.3	8.3	33.3	26.7	13.3	26.7	1.732
Watching political programs on television	53.3	33.3	8.3	5.0	13.3	40.0	20.0	26.7	7.680*
Talking with members of his family	16.7	38.3	25.0	20.0	6.7	33.3	33.3	26.7	1.080
Talking with his neighbors	15.0	30.0	26.7	28.3	6.6	0.0	26.7	66.7	7.300*
Talking with his friends in the university	18.3	50.0	21.7	10.0	33.3	33.3	13.3	20.0	0.480

The fourth hypothesis is supported with respect to discussing international politics with neighbors and watching television programs about international politics. It is not supported with respect to discussing international politics with members of their families and friends in the university or with respect to reading about international politics.

National Politics

The data in Table 25 represent five more tests of the fourth hypothesis. The questionnaire items involve informing oneself about and discussing national politics.

Students from the developing and developed countries were asked to report the frequency of these types of political participation while they were in the United States as graduate students.

One of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests is significant at the .05 level, namely, the one involving talking with neighbors about national politics. Four are not significant.

A significantly greater percentage of students from developing countries reported discussing national politics with neighbors (51.7%) than did students from developed countries (13.3%) while they were in the United States.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to discussing national politics with members

Table 25

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing National Politics by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Reading about political issues	36.7	36.7	18.3	18.3	26.7	20.0	33.3	20.0	3.244
Watching political programs on television	41.7	40.0	10.0	8.3	6.6	46.7	20.0	26.7	5.880
Talking with members of his family	23.3	38.3	21.7	16.7	13.3	33.3	26.7	26.7	1.080
Talking with his neighbors	16.7	35.0	18.3	30.0	0.0	13.3	20.0	66.7	7.300*
Talking with his friends in the university	20.0	48.3	20.0	11.7	26.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	1.080

of their families and friends in the university, reading, and watching television programs about national politics are systematically higher among students from the developing countries than among students from developed countries since they have been in the United States, these differences are not statistically significant. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is not supported with respect to national politics for these four categories. It is only supported with respect to talking about national politics with neighbors.

Local Politics

The data in Table 26 represent five more tests of the fourth hypothesis. The questionnaire items have to do with informing oneself about and discussing local politics. Three of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant. Two of the three are significant at the .01 level. They involve discussing local politics with neighbors and watching television programs about local politics. The third test, which is concerned with discussing local politics with members of their families, is significant at the .05 level.

While they have been in the United States, 43.2% of students from the developing countries reported discussing local politics with members of their families; none of the students from developed countries reported having done so.

Table 26

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing Local Politics
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi Square
Reading about political issues	18.3	48.3	21.7	11.7	0.0	33.3	20.0	46.7	5.880
Watching political programs on television	20.0	45.0	23.3	11.7	0.0	13.3	26.7	60.0	12.979**
Talking with members of his family	21.6	21.6	31.7	25.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	40.0	8.875*
Talking with his neighbors	8.3	36.7	26.7	28.3	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	12.979**
Talking with his friends in the university	10.0	41.7	35.0	13.3	0.0	20.0	33.3	46.7	5.548

Similarly, 44.3% of the students from developing countries discuss local politics with their neighbors, while none of the students from developed countries have done so since they have been in the United States. While 65% of the students from the developing countries watch television programs about local politics, only 13.3% of the students from developed countries reported doing so.

On all five of these items, the percentage of "often" and "sometimes" when combined is higher for the students from the developing countries than for the students from developed countries when they are in the United States.

University Affairs

The data in Table 27 represent five more tests of the fourth hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of informing oneself about and discussing university politics. Three of the five Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests are significant. Two are not significant. Two of the three, the two involving discussing university affairs with members of their families and neighbors, yielded a significant chi-square at the .05 level. The third of the three, regarding watching television programs about university affairs, yielded a significant chi-square at the .01 level.

Since they have been in the United States, 50% of the students from the developing countries discuss university

Table 27

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Discussing University Affairs
by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Reading about university issues	11.7	43.3	35.0	10.0	6.7	20.0	40.0	33.3	3.763
Watching programs on television about uni- versity affairs	13.3	35.0	30.0	21.7	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	11.059**
Talking with members of his family	16.7	33.3	30.0	20.0	0.0	13.3	33.3	53.3	6.571
Talking with his neighbors	3.3	31.7	33.3	31.7	0.0	0.0	26.7	73.3	8.467*
Talking with his friends in the university	15.0	36.7	35.0	33.3	6.6	20.0	46.7	26.7	3.000

affairs with members of their families, and 13.3% of the students from the developed countries have done so. While 35% of the students from the developing countries discuss university affairs with neighbors, the students from the developed countries have not done so since they have been in the United States. Similarly, 48.3% of the students from developing countries watch television programs about university affairs, and the students from developed countries have not done so since they have been in the United States.

Although the frequencies of political participation with respect to university affairs are systematically higher among students from the developing countries than among the students from developed countries while they are in the United States, these differences are statistically significant for three of them and not significant for the other two. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is supported with respect to discussing university affairs with members of their families and neighbors in the university, and watching television programs about university affairs.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations

The data in Tables 28 and 29 represent seven more tests of the fourth hypothesis, this time involving questionnaire items about several types of direct political participation in student organizations.

Table 28

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Membership in Student Organizations by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries		Students from Developed Countries		
	N = 60		N = 15		
	Levels of Participation				
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Chi-Square
Membership of any student organization	36.7	63.3	26.7	73.3	0.480

Table 29

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Wearing the symbol of a student organization	5.0	8.3	13.3	73.3	0.0	6.6	6.6	86.7	0.811
Voting in a student organization	10.0	8.3	10.0	71.7	6.7	13.3	6.7	73.3	0.043
Contributing money to a student organization	15.0	16.7	13.3	55.0	6.7	0.0	20.0	73.3	3.000

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Attending meet-ings of a student organization	11.7	25.0	15.0	48.3	20.0	6.7	13.3	60.0	0.691
Running for elective office in a student organization at Western Michigan University	5.0	8.3	1.7	85.0	0.0	13.3	6.7	80.0	0.120
Holding an elective office in a student organization at Western Michigan University	10.0	13.3	3.3	73.3	13.3	6.6	13.3	66.6	0.043

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the students' frequency of political participation with respect to these items is fairly low for both students from the developing and developed countries when they are in the United States.

The differences with respect to various types of direct political participation in student organizations such as membership, wearing the symbol, voting, contributing money, attending meetings, running for elective office, and holding an elective office, are not statistically significant. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is not supported with respect to these aspects of political participation in student organizations.

Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics

The data in Table 30 represent four more tests of the fourth hypothesis. The questionnaire items included have to do with the frequency of several types of direct political participation in national politics. Students from developing and developed countries were asked to report the frequency of several types of direct political participation such as trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate, participating in a peaceful demonstration, contacting a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion and contacting an official in the embassy by mail or by telephone about per-

Table 30

Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics by Students from Developing and Developed Countries while in the United States

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some-times	Rarely	Never	Chi-Square
Trying to get people to vote for or against any candidate	3.3	8.3	11.7	46.7	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0	0.120
Participating in a peaceful demonstration	0.0	10.0	6.7	83.3	0.0	13.3	0.0	86.7	0.076
Contacting a public official by mail or by tel. to express a political opinion	1.7	6.7	13.3	78.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	93.3	1.080

(table continues)

	Students from Developing Countries				Students from Developed Countries				
	N = 60				N = 15				
	Levels of Participation								
	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Chi- Square
Contacting an official in the embassy by mail or by telephone about personal problems while in the United States	11.6	31.7	10.0	46.7	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0	5.322

sonal problems while they are in the United States as graduate students.

By combining the "often" and "sometimes" responses, the rates of participation for all these categories are fairly low.

The results of the four Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests computed on these questionnaire items and reported as chi-square values indicate that there is no significant difference between the students from the developing countries and developed countries while they are in the United States with respect to these categories. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is not supported with respect to these types of political participation in national politics.

Summary - Fourth Hypothesis

The results of testing the fourth hypothesis indicate that 9 of the 31 Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests support the hypothesis. Twenty-two are not significant. Six of the nine are significant at the .05 level. These involve talking with neighbors about international politics, watching television programs about international politics, talking with neighbors about national politics, talking with members of their families about local politics, talking with members of their families about university affairs, and talking with their neighbors about university affairs.

Three more of the nine are significant at the .01 level. These three involve talking with their neighbors about local politics, and watching television programs about university affairs.

By examining these nine significant tests, there are six of them concerning only talking with members of students' families and neighbors about international, national, local, and university politics. Three more of the nine tests involve watching television programs about international, local and university politics. Such activities are at the low end of Milbrath's hierarchy of political participation.

In general, although the rates of political participation of the students from the developing countries are a little higher than the political participation of the students from the developed countries with respect to international, national, local, and university politics, and several types of direct political participation in student organization and in national politics, the rates of political participation for both groups are low. The reason for this is that students from the developing and developed countries, while they are in the United States, live in the same environment which represents a new culture which is different from their home culture. Moreover, these are graduate students. They are older than the undergraduate students. Most of them are married and have

families and have to combine the tasks of education and family care. A study of the university of San Carlos students in Guatemala found that leaders were in fact on the average younger than nonleaders. Moreover, data from Argentina and Columbia suggest that political activity and leftist radicalism increase through roughly the first three years in the university and then decline as the majority of students in terminal classes turn from politics toward occupational concerns, leaving a few who remained active, maintaining their radical views, and perhaps becoming 'professional' student politicians.

(Emmerson, 1968, p. 393). They are surrounded by many kinds of pressures and the constant demand for success.

In this case it is obvious that the psychological environment and emotions are more important than the political environment which surrounds them.

Summary and Conclusion

Table 31 and Figure I present the mean percent of the combined "often" and "sometimes" responses for the seven categories of political participation considered throughout this thesis. These categories are: international politics, national politics, local politics, university affairs, several types of direct political participation in student organizations, several types of direct political participation in national politics, and several types

Table 31

The Mean Percentages of Various Types of Political Participation
of Students from Developing and Developed Countries

	Students from Developing Countries		Students from Developed Countries	
	N = 60		N = 15	
	At Home	In the U.S.A.	At Home	In the U.S.A.
International Politics	70.28	53.04	48.00	45.30
National Politics	77.66	67.34	50.62	42.66
Local Politics	72.34	54.30	26.64	13.32
University Affairs	62.34	48.00	38.66	13.32
Various Types of Direct Political Participation in Student Organizations	55.30	27.34	34.66	17.34
Various Types of Direct Political Participation in National Politics	21.63	10.00	17.77	8.90
Various Types of Direct Political Participation Related to a Party and an Interest Group	28.80	--	29.50	--

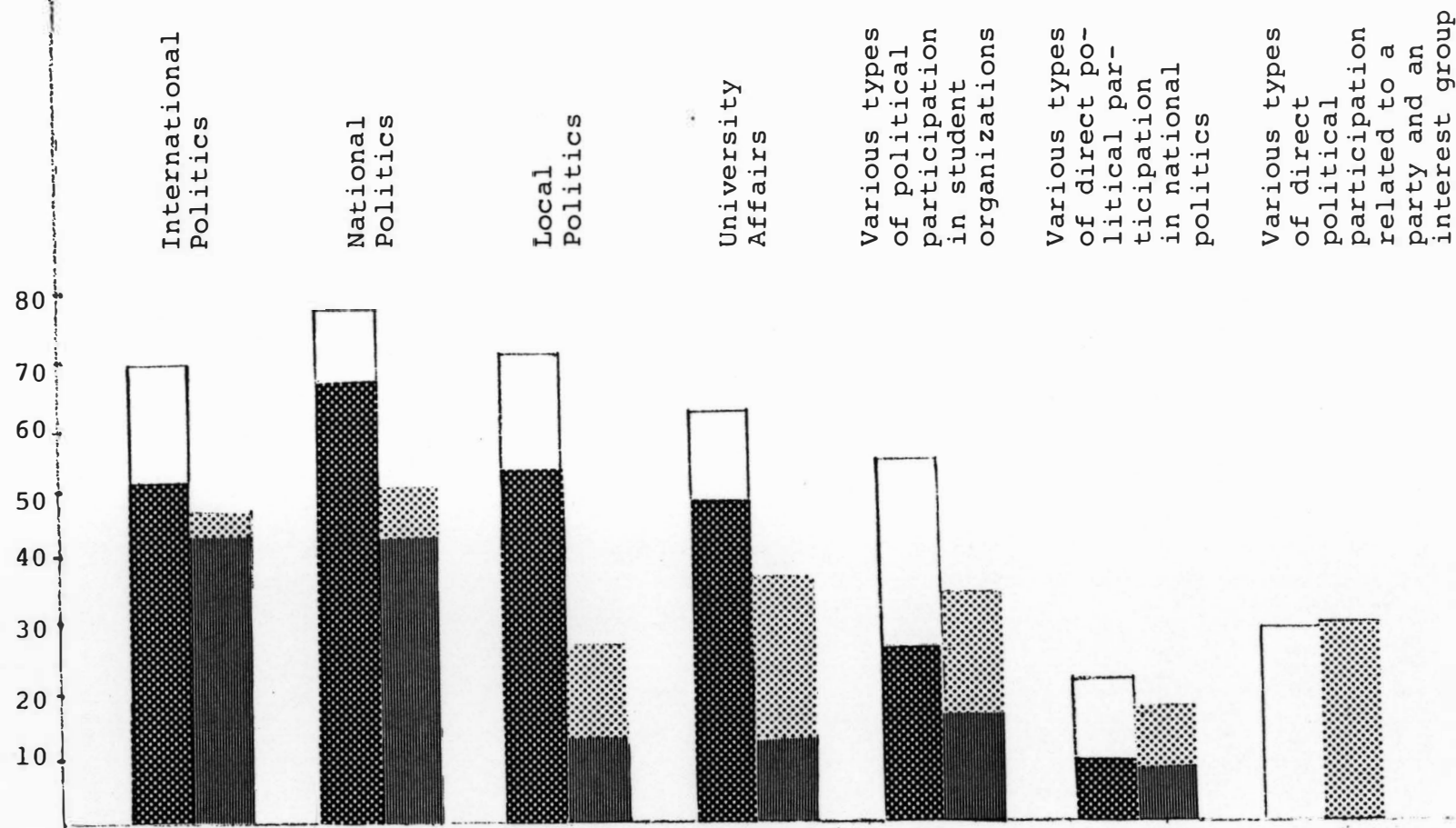


Figure 1. Bar Graph of the Mean Percentage of Various Types of Political Participation of Students from the Developing and Developed Countries

Students from developing countries while in the United States
 Students from developed countries while at home

Students from developing countries while at home
 Students from developed countries while in the United States

of direct political participation related to a party and interest group. The mean percentages have been calculated for these categories.

The table shows that the mean percent of political participation of the students from the developing countries when they were at home is high with respect to international politics (70.3%), national politics (77.7%), local politics (72.3%) and university affairs (62.3%). The mean rate of participation is moderate with respect to various types of direct political participation in student organizations, and low with respect to direct political participation in national politics and participation in political parties and interest groups.

The mean rate of political participation of students from the developing countries while they were at home is higher than when they were in the United States. This is also true for students from developed countries but the differences are not as large.

The mean percentage of political participation of the students from the developed countries when they were at home with respect to national politics is moderate, at the same time this average is very low with respect to the other six categories of questionnaire items.

The mean percentage of political participation of the students from developing countries while at home is systematically higher than the mean percentage for the

students from the developed countries with respect to the six categories of items. The average of the seventh category, which concerns political participation in political parties and interest groups, is lower for the students from developing countries than for the students from the developed countries, although the difference is very small.

Finally, the mean percentage of political participation of the students from the developing countries while in the United States is systematically higher than for the students from developed countries with respect to the six categories of questionnaire items.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter presents a brief review and summary of the purpose and design of the study, and discusses the findings.

The focal points of the study were to compare and contrast the impact of the environment and the issue at stake, and to contrast the differences between the nature and degree of student political participation in the developing and developed countries while in their home countries and while they are in the United States.

Summary of the Study

This study is organized into five parts. The first part sheds light upon the purpose and the problem of the study. The second part explains the concept of political participation and the factors that affect it. In this thesis, the term of political participation is used in its broadest sense. It is a process whereby an interest group participates in formulation and implementation of public policy. Political participation is therefore any activity that has political motives.

The political activities engaged in by a large number

of people are at the bottom of the hierarchy of political participation, and those engaged in by few people are at the top. These activities include most common political activities that characterize the normal process of democracy.

Political participation is a complex phenomenon. It is associated with socio-economic status, psychological and cognitive variables, and the political environment.

The third part explains student activism. Student political participation, or student activism, is a process whereby students engaged in a variety of activities with the expressed intention of influencing the decision process. Because of the importance of their role, student political movements, behavior, and attitudes have attracted the attention of scholars and analysts in the past and in recent times.

While the level of student activism has declined in the developed countries since the 1960s, student activism in the developing world remains at a high level. Many factors explain the decline in the level of political participation for the students from the developed countries and its high level for the students from the developing countries. These factors can be summarized in; the nature of socio-political institutions, historical circumstances, socio-economic variables, and university variables.

The fourth part presents the research procedures. A

sample was selected randomly from the foreign students who have studied in their own countries at the undergraduate level and are now pursuing their graduate studies at Western Michigan University. The sample consists of 60 students from the developing countries and 15 students from developed countries. The research instrument used to gather data was a closed-ended questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of a set of items related to political participation on international, national, local politics, and university activities while the students were in their own countries, and also for the time period since they have been in the United States. These questionnaires were delivered to the respondents' homes.

This research has four hypotheses and and six broad classifications. The classifications are with issues relating to politics at the international level, national level, local level, university level, various types of direct participation in student organizations, and various types of direct participation in national politics. The distinction between the two categories which involve national politics is that the former involves only reading or talking about politics, while the latter is related to direct participation and actually getting involved in the political proces..

The fifth part of the research was concerned with

testing the hypotheses. There are four hypotheses in this study. The chi-square formula for the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used for the four hypotheses where direction has been predicted.

These multiple tests; namely 28 tests for the first hypothesis, 28 tests for the second hypothesis, 43 tests for the third hypothesis, and 31 tests for the fourth hypothesis. The following are a summary of the findings.

Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis states that the political participation of students from developing countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

There are 28 questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis.

This hypothesis proved to be supported with respect to the following 13 tests; talking with members of their families and friends in the university about national politics, talking with members of their families and friends in the university about local politics, reading about local politics and university issues, participating in a peaceful demonstration, talking with friends in the university about university affairs, contributing money, voting, attending meetings, wearing the symbol of a student organization, and trying to get people to vote for or

against any candidate.

Moreover, the percentages, with respect to international politics, are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

Hypothesis II

The second hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developed countries is higher when they were in their own countries than when they are in the United States.

There are 28 pairs of questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis.

This hypothesis proved to be supported with respect to the following three tests; watching television programs about university affairs, voting in a student organization, and participating in a peaceful demonstration.

Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developing world is higher when they were in their own countries than the political participation of students from the developed countries when they were in their own countries.

There are 43 questionnaire items involved in the test of this hypothesis.

This hypothesis proved to be supported with respect

to the following nine tests; talking with neighbors about international politics, national politics, local politics, and university affairs; talking with members of their families about local politics; talking with friends in the university about local politics; reading about local politics; wearing the symbol of a student organization; and wearing the symbol of any interest group.

Moreover, the percentages with respect to international and national politics are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

Hypothesis IV

The fourth hypothesis states that the political participation of students from the developing world is higher than the political participation of students from the developed countries while they are in the United States.

There are 31 questionnaire items in the test of this hypothesis.

This hypothesis proved to be supported with respect to the following nine tests; talking with neighbors about international politics, national politics, local politics, and university affairs; talking with members of their families about local politics and university affairs; watching television programs about international politics, local politics, and university affairs.

Conclusions

Based on this summary of the findings of these hypotheses the following conclusions are made.

First, that the issue at stake in a political environment is more important than the environment itself. "Issue-at-stake" as defined here relates to the issues of bread and butter. A comparison of the differences between the political environment in the developing and developed world shows that there are significant differences in the discussion of issues that should become of national importance. In most of the developing world, the political environment is characterized by social and political instability; lack or minimal provisions of the basic necessities of life such as water, shelter and clothing; ownership and control of the mass media's regimes that are essentially illegitimate as well as a system of communalism.

Conversely, in the developed, industrialized countries, the environment is characterized by institutionalized structures: regime legitimacy and stability; a life-style of individualism; and private ownership of the mass media.

Consequently, the issues that attract considerable attention in most of the developing world are physiological and political. In the developed world however, the issues are of a higher order, namely, belongingness. What therefore becomes a serious political issue in the devel-

oped world, for example foreign policy, may hardly commend itself to the people in the developing world.

Second, foreign students from the developing world who are studying at Western Michigan University are much more politically conscious than their counterparts from the developed world. As is evidenced by this study, lack of interest in international affairs and established political structures has made students from the developed world who are studying in the United States less politically conscious than their counterparts in the developing world. It has also been shown that because of the individualistic nature of these societies and its strong emphasis on wealth, its students acquire the culture and pre-occupy themselves with acquiring wealth at the expense of concerning themselves with issues in the political arena.

Although these factors are viewed here to explain the students' apathy, it is also possible that the existence of strong independent media, various interest groups that lobby for the passage of various favorable legislations, and a strong independent judiciary have rendered invalid militant student activism. It is significant, therefore, to note that the students from the developing countries are active for the very reasons that have made their counterparts from the developed countries less active.

Third, that political participation is an integral part of development, and indeed, in many circumstances, it

is essential for development. Development is taken here to mean the improvement in the quality of living by the reduction of poverty. Citizens' involvement in the political processes of their societies is positively significant for several reasons. First, the more citizens are involved in the planning and management of their own affairs, the more they will have a sense of commitment and involvement in the issues that affect these societies. Second, the more there are inputs to a political system, the more there is the likelihood of better outputs. Third, if the public's agenda is to be tabled, discussed, and implemented, the very public should be involved in the formulation and execution of the said agenda. The level of citizen inputs in the political life of the developing countries perhaps explains the reason why development has so far persistently eluded the countries.

Finally, that there is no significant difference between the degree and intensity of the political participation of the students from the developing countries who are studying at Western Michigan University. This is significant because the main thesis of this research is that the knowledge of the issues and their relevance to students' lives is more important than the environment in which one lives. If the political environment were the only decisive factor triggering political participation, students from the developing countries studying in Western

Michigan University would be much more active politically because of the conducive political environment. But because the issue at stake in the political environment of the United States is not relevant to them, their level of political participation is low while in the United States.

Recommendation

Modern communication and technology have created a new world whereby what happens in one part has consequences beyond its boundaries. This explosion has linked both the developed and developing countries together.

To create a better understanding of each of these systems will require exchange programs of people from each of these societies and studies that help in their development.

In view of this, the following are offered as suggestions that might be developed into meaningful studies:

1. Extending the study to the foreign graduate students in other universities in the United States.
2. A comparative study of the political participation of the students from the developing and developed countries in a developing country.
3. Student exchange programs as a way of promoting cultural understanding.
4. Conducting a study that highlights the predo-

minant programs of study that foreign students are engaged in while in the American universities and seeing how these are related to the development needs of their countries.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING
POLITICAL INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION

QUESTIONNAIRE

We would appreciate it if you would carefully fill out this questionnaire concerning political interest and participation.

We do not need to know your name. The information which we receive from this questionnaire will be tallied and reported in percentages. Should you have comments about the questionnaire, we would appreciate it if you would write them down either on the back of the questionnaire or on another sheet of paper.

Please answer the following questions.

- 1- Your Country -----
- 2- Age -----
- 3- Sex Male ----- Female -----
- 4- Major field of study in WMU -----
- 5- How long have you been in the U.S.A. -----
- 6- What is your interest in Politics?
 Very Much --- Some --- A Little None ---
- 7- During your childhood how often did your parents
 discuss politics?
 Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 8- During your childhood how often did your parents
 participate in political activities?
 Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

Please respond to each of these questions with respect to international politics, national politics, local politics and university affairs.

	While you were still in your country	International Politics				National Politics				Local Politics				University Affairs			
		Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never
9-12	How often did you talk about politics with members of your family?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
13-16	How often did you talk about politics with your neighbors?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
17-20	How often did you talk about politics with your friends in the university?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
21-24	How often did you talk about politics with your friends from childhood?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
25-28	How often did you read about political issues?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
29-32	How often did you watch political programs on T.V.?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Please respond to each of these questions with respect to international politics, national politics, local politics and university affairs.

For the time period since you have been in the U.S.A.		International Politics				National Politics				Local Politics				University Affairs			
		Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never	Often	Some- times	Rarely	Never
33-36	How often did you talk about politics with members of your family?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
37-40	How often did you talk about politics with your neighbors?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
41-44	How often did you talk about politics with your friends in the university?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
45-48	How often did you read about political issues?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
49-52	How often did you watch political programs on T.V.?	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- 53- Are you registered on a voting list in your country?
Yes --- No ---
- 54- Were you a member of any student organization during your studies in the university in your country?
Yes --- No ---
- 55- How often have you worn the symbol of a student organization in your country?
Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 56- How often have you voted in any student organization elections in your country?
Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 57- How often have you contributed money to a student organization or its activities in your country?
Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---
- 58- How often have you attended any meetings of a student organization in your country?
Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 59- How often have you worn the symbol of a political party in your country?
Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 60- How often have you voted in any political party election in your country?
Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---
- 61- How often have you contributed money to any political party in an election in your country?
Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

62- How often have you attended any meetings concerning a political election in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

63- How often have you talked to people to try to get them to vote for or against any candidate in an election in your country?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

64- How often have you worn the symbol of any interest group in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

65- How often have you attended a meeting of a politically relevant interest group in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

66- How often have you contributed money to a politically relevant interest group in your country?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

67- How often have you participated in a peaceful demonstration in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

68- How often have you run for an elective government office in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

69- How often have you held an elective government office in your country?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

70- How often have you contacted a public official in person to express a political opinion in your country?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

71- How often have you contacted a public official by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion in your country?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

72- Are you a member of any student organization at WMU?

Yes --- No ---

73- How often have you worn the symbol of a student organization at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

74- How often have you voted in any student organization election at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

75- How often have you contributed money to a student organization or its activities at WMU?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

76- How often have you attended a meeting of a student organization at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

77- How often have you talked to your friends or your classmates to try to get them to vote for or against any candidate for an election in a student

organization at W.M.U.?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

78- How often have you run for elective office in any student organization at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

79- How often have you held an elective office in a student organization at WMU?

Often --- Sometimes --- Rarely --- Never ---

80- How often have you participated in a peaceful demonstration about political issues in your country while you were at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

81- How often have you contacted an official in the embassy of your country by mail or by telephone to consult about a personal problem while you were at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

82- How often have you contacted an official in the embassy of your country by mail or by telephone to express a political opinion while you were at WMU?

Never --- Rarely --- Sometimes --- Often ---

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