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A Study of Some Psychological Dimensions of Voting Behaviour with Special Reference to Bangladesh

Ziauddin, Syed Mohammad

University of Rajshahi

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**A STUDY OF SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL
DIMENSIONS OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
BANGLADESH**

*A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(in Psychology)*

D-1497

by
Syed Mohammad Ziauddin

*Under the Supervision of
Dr. Shawkat Ara,
Associate Professor of Psychology*



Department of Psychology
University of Rajshahi
December, 1989.

A B S T R A C T

The study focused on some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour as related to Political-Apolitical group composition, sex and urban-rural residential background in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. Several theoretical approaches such as psychoanalytic theory, socio-political attitudinal approach, political participation model of voting behaviour and political socialization paradigm in voting behaviour were utilized.

The study was conducted in the real life of social setting in Bangladesh in order to show empirically the functional relationships existing among various dimensions of voting behaviour. Socio-political attitude, authoritarianism and locus of Internal-External control were also studied for understanding the mode of political involvement and political activism relating with the voting behaviour of the people. Thus the broad objective of the study was to explore the patterns of voting of political and apolitical students in Bangladesh as related to partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign, issue orientation, socio-political attitudinal preference, personality factors and demographic variables. More specifically the objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To study pattern of voting behaviour as a function of political activities in terms of partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation.

2. To study patterns of similarities and differences in voting behaviour as related to socio-political attitudes.

3. To reflect on political and apolitical orientation of the students as related to voting behaviour.

4. To study male-female differences in voting behaviour in Bangladeshi socio-political context.

5. To study similarity and differences in voting behaviour as related to authoritarian and non-authoritarian personality of the voters.

6. To study patterns of voting behaviour as function of locus of control in internally and externally controlled individuals.

7. To study the differences in voting behaviour as related to urban-rural residential background.

The measures used in this study were as follows :

1. Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)
2. Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)
3. Internal-External control scale (I-E)
4. Authoritarian Scale.

The study used student sample. A total of 320 Ss equally divided into Political and Apolitical groups were used. Each group was again equally sub-divided into Male and Female. Each Male and Female category was again sub-divided into Urban and Rural according to their residential background. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of group composition (Political/Apolitical), 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Residential Background (Urban/Rural) were used.

Analysis of results was computed in two parts. In the first part a factorial ANOVA using 2 x 2 x 2 design was used on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale and conservatism-radicalism scale. In the second part, t-test was computed on the scores of authoritarian scale and Internal-External control scale. The study made three specific hypotheses. These were as follows :

1. Political group of Ss would have significantly higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to apolitical groups in Bangladesh.
2. Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on voting attitude scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh.
3. Male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh.

The findings of the results strongly supported the predictions. It showed that regardless of sex and residential background, political Ss expressed significantly more favourable voting attitudes as compared to apolitical Ss. Again male Ss irrespective of group composition and residential background showed significantly higher preference for voting attitudes in comparisons to female Ss. Also Ss with urban background expressed significantly more attitudinal preference towards voting than rural Ss regardless of group composition and sex. Furthermore, the results revealed that regardless of sex and residential background, Apolitical Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes than political Ss. Again Female Ss were found significantly more conservative attitude than Male Ss. Also rural Ss were found significantly more conservative than urban Ss. Lastly, it was found that in political groups, Urban Male and Rural Male Ss were more internally controlled followed by Urban female and Rural female Ss. For apolitical groups male Ss were more internally controlled followed by rural male, urban female and rural female Ss. In authoritarian dimension urban female Ss of political group were more authoritarian than urban male, rural male and rural female Ss. Again urban female Ss of apolitical group were more authoritarian than urban male, rural male and rural female Ss.

In conclusion the findings of the present study revealed with considerable clarity that a phenomenon as complex as voting behaviour is intimately embedded in the matrix of socio-contextual factors such as social, political and economic history of the people and nation.

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This is to certify that the dissertation entitled
" A Study of Some Psychological Dimensions of Voting Behaviour with Special Reference to Bangladesh " submitted by Syed Mohammad Ziauddin was done under my supervision and constitutes his own work.

December, 1989.



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guidance and proper insight whenever I approached him and asked for a solution of the problem relating to the research work. I extend my deep sense of appreciation for him.

My deep regards are expressed for my father Late S. M. Rafiuddin and my mother Mrs. Firoza Begum, who always gave blessings and inspired me to continue this work. Specially my mother have gone through all the sufferings and sacrifices. She spared her valuable five years without asking a dime from me. Rather, all the way, she played the role of an energy supplier and protector in the family affairs, where I was most urgently needed. Moreover, she managed to bear all the family burdens by her own hand. I am very much proud of her. I extend my love and respect for her.

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I lovingly dedicate this thesis to the memory of my late father S. M. Rafiuddin.

Syed Mohammad Ziauddin
1.12.89
(Syed Mohammad Ziauddin)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. PUM = political urban male
2. PUF = political urban female.
3. PRM = political rural male.
4. PRF = political rural female.
5. AUM = apolitical urban male.
6. AUF = apolitical urban female.
7. ARM = apolitical rural male.
8. ARF = apolitical urban female.
9. Ss = Subjects.
10. I-E = Internal-External.
11. VAS = Voting Attitude Scale.
12. C-R = Conservatism-Radicalism.
13. ANOVA = analysis of variance.
14. UM = urban male.
15. UF = urban female.
16. Rm = rural male
17. RF = rural female.
18. PM = political male.
19. PF = political female
20. PU = political urban.
21. PR = political rural.
22. AM = apolitical male.
23. AF = apolitical female.
24. AU = apolitical urban
25. AR = apolitical rural.
26. n.s = none significant.
27. df = degree of freedom.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The classic declaration by President Abraham Lincoln (1863) that " Government of the people, by the people and for the people", contains man's political aspirations that he has a choice to elect a government from the people and this choice is his fundamental political right recognized by the free nations of the world. This choice of electing a government is exercised through the system of voting in a democratic state.

Beginning from the small national city states of ancient Greece in 300 B.C. up to our present day of large democratic states, voting as a political behaviour is conceived as the main vehicle for expressing one's inner political dispositions and ideological preference. Thus, in its political frame of reference, voting is an overt act in favour or against governmental policies but in its ideological preference and attitudinal orientation, voting falls within the domain of political

psychology. Hence it is possible that social psychological processes would underlie the voting behaviour and would play decisive role in determining its dynamic nature. Thus social psychological explanations given by various theoretical paradigms relating to voting attitudes would provide a basis for understanding the phenomenon of voting as a political right of human beings. Arguably then the present study was conducted to make an empirical investigation of some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with reference to the political development in Bangladesh.

Viewed from its historical perspectives, Bangladesh achieved her sovereignty as an independent state through devastating war with the Pakistani brethren leading to great havoc and enormous blood-shed. Curiously enough the genesis of freedom fighting in Bangladesh is closely associated with demand of the people for establishing adult franchise and voting rights in the process of democratization of the government. During British colonial rule, Muslims of Bengal earned the majority in legislative assembly in 1940 provincial election and it proved the importance of voting as a political right against colonial administration. During Pakistan Regime also political crisis in the country and particularly in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) became acute centering round the voting rights of the people. The separatist germ of Pakistan was, in fact, supposed to be originated from the 1970 general election in Pakistan conducted by the martial law government. The

absolute majority of the then Awami League in Eastern part and absolute majority of people's party in Western part initiated a cleavage in the national unity of Pakistan resulting in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state. These historical events and political activities showed that voting rights, voting attitudes and consequential effects of group play an important role for the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign state.

Political changes in Bangladesh after her independence gave us the idea that military rule and army intervention for the political solution of leadership and party politics leading to democratization cannot reach to a amicable settlement for establishing the rule of law in the country. On the contrary army dictatorship as well as political leaders are increasingly demanding that polls are the real solution to meet political crisis and a fair election should be arranged for facilitating the people to exercise their voting rights properly.

In the perspectives of above observations of historical changes and socio-political activities in the country, the present study has been conducted to explore the pattern of similarities and differences in socio-political attitudes of political as as apolitical voters related to personality variables, sex differences and demographic factors in the context of socio-political development and historical changes in Bangladesh. However, prior to outlining the specific design and method of the study it is necessary to have an overview of related theories in the area of political psychology which provide the theoretical frame-work for the present study. The

main theoretical approaches reviewed for this purpose are as follows : (I) Psychoanalytic approach, (II) Socio-political attitudinal approach, (III) Political participation model of voting behaviour and (IV) Political socialization paradigm in voting behaviour.

PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH :

Psychoanalytic explanations of voting attitudes is varied in its nature. Freud (1921), for example, presented a theory of group which is based on his concept of ' Libido ' as the basis for the emotional bond among members. According to him group members share an identification with the group leader. Group leader, on the otherhand, serves as an ideal in the maintainance of group stability. Thus, Freud's view about leadership, individuals and their reciprocal relationship in the society is closely determined by a given culture where members emphasize the impulsive and irrational elements of behaviour in interpersonal relationship. Thus, Freud have under rated man's rationality and potentialities for communication and cooperation. Conceived in this sense, voting attitudes in individuals is an emotional attachment of unconscious motives. It is instinctual in nature and works as impulsive behaviour to meet the individual impulsiveness and aspiration for getting shelter in significant persons in society such as leaders. Freudian analysis of group behaviour finds ideal expression in Max Weber's (1947) concept of the leader's charisma.

Since the introduction of Freudian psychoanalytic view point, a large number of investigators (Brodbeck, 1959 ; Alexander, 1959 ; Renneker, 1959) have dealt with phenomenon of group behaviour, choice of leaders and members preference for specific type of leadership and ideological orientation within the theoretical paradigm of psychoanalysis. Brodbeck found psychiatric research findings in the direction of understanding voting preference of the individuals. As a result, he tried to make an integrative approach for explaining psychological processes of attitude formation with the psychiatric explanation of abnormal behaviour. He argued that underlying psychological processes of voting behaviour and abnormal patient resemble each other. He has identified the principles of permanence and change working in same intensity and the mechanism for mobilizing forces within the personality of voters as well as neurotic persons. In the process of psycho-therapy, it is found that permanence and change are two important personality dispositions that help to accept or reject some ideas imposed on the individual from outside agent. Brodbeck found similar processes of acceptance and rejection in voters during election campaigning. According to him voting act may be a total act of personality or a partial involvement on the part of the voter. In case of total act of personality, the voter incorporates the candidate and his party within his self and there is no gap left in it. It is a total unification and it is a complete act. In such cases the voter rejects the competing party and its candidate with a total investment in the decision.

In case of partial involvement the voters give emphasis on certain exciting issues neglecting the candidate and his party. Thus, the acceptance of permanence and change in case of partial involvement centres round greater clarity and consensus. As Brodbeck has observed, there are certain consequential effects of the principle of permanence and change in total and partial voting acts. The act of total voting is ended with the marking of ballot paper and returning of the desired candidate. But partial voting act is complete only when something occurs after the party has come into power. In this way Brodbeck has discovered inherent similarities between psycho-therapy and voting acts. Struggle for power ^{is found} in voters in both the cases. Only difference is that in political campaigning the struggle for power is direct whereas in psycho-therapy it is symbolic.

In elaborating his view points Brodbeck has pointed out that both the acts of election campaigning and psycho-therapy adopt a common strategy of selective attention. Observation of patients undergoing psycho-therapy has shown that they refuse to profit from significant experiences present in their life history by not voting them. While they refuse to recognize the important events in their life cycles, yet it is strangely noticed that they are frequently relevant about their goals and they make effort to achieve that goal. Thus the patients are found to have selective attention on some specific goals to attain. The task of the psycho-therapist is to modify the selective attentions of the patients. One important characteristic of this selective attention is that it is irrational and

as such it is incompatible with democracy.

Accordingly Bordbeck argues that while campaigning for voting requiring the voters to cast their votes in their favour, the candidate and his party reinforce selective attention among his supporters. The experienced politicians use the technique of psycho-therapy and induce selective attention among their nonsupporters also. It is true that in the application of the psycho-analytic technique of modification of behaviour, it is quite natural that the phenomenon of resistance may appear. But repeated attempt to cope with the modification technique would help to overcome the problem of resistance. Thus, the psychoanalytic theory of personality and behaviour modification may be profitably used by the candidate and his party to change the incongruent attitude and to strengthen the congruent attitude in favour of party Identification, Leadership Image and Election Campaign. Furthermore, formation of partisan attitude as well as issue oriented attitude is largely conditioned by the various psychological processes inherent in the structure of personality conceived in terms of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Alexander (1959) also has attempted to understand voting behaviour from psycho-analytic view point. He compared the independent voters with the deviant and concluded that independent voters have no proper voting intention. In his analysis, Alexander emphasizes on unconscious and preconscious motivation

in voting behaviour and concludes that there is a significant group of voters whose decision is more influenced by emotional factors originating in past family experiences but the group members are unconscious about it. Furthermore, Alexander argues that since the political and economic issues overlap in election campaigning, the voter's attitude is determined chiefly by irrational, emotional and unconscious factors. Explained within the frame-work of psycho-analytic theory, the independent and deviant voters would decide their issue depending on whether the candidate is identified as father image in order to fulfil his emotional needs and conflicts. Thus, Alexander has brought the concept of identification and oedipus complex of Freudian psychoanalysis in order to explain the voting behaviour of independent deviant voters.

Renneker (1959) explores more elaborately the relationship between the voting behaviour of a patient and the dominant parent. On the basis of his observations of patients during American Presidential Elections of 1948, 1952, 1956 ; Renneker concludes that party fixated parents generally tend to influence their children toward the same party orientation. He found in his patients that emotional influence of the significant parents was more important than religious influence. He has summarized his findings of the case study as follows :

(i) Positive father with political convictions has a decided influence on his son's subsequent voting behaviour.

(ii) Negative father with political convictions can produce significantly divergent political views in his sons against a candidate of competing party.

(iii) Non-political parents seem to produce politically conscious sons.

(iv) New voters are deeply narcissistic in characters. Sometimes they appear semi withdrawn and sometimes precariously balanced.

(v) Women are in political agreement with their husbands in their preference for a candidate for voting.

(vi) Narcissistic patients are found to express intense feeling for voting behaviour. They make early decision and carry the decision into final vote.

In summary, the psychoanalytic theory states that the disposition of man in the form of unconscious motivation, impulsive thought and instinctive impulse accounts for the choice of candidate's voting attitudes towards certain issues and in making decisions for or against certain specific type of ideological preference. However, it may be assumed that psychoanalytic theory gives emphasis on emotional and motivational aspects of voting attitudes and enters into the depth of the personality in search of some inherent predisposition hidden in the unconscious region of mind. So the theory is one-sided and neglects the socio-economic factors and the process of political socialization that are supposed to have greater influence and relatively permanent impact on the phenomenon of voting behaviour as a whole. Thus, voting behaviour is not an individual act which takes place within the individual's psyche and it cannot be understood purely in terms of intra-individual psychological processes. Voting behaviour involves both emotional,

motivational socio-economic and political factors, and in political socialization, the process is a complex dialectical one.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDINAL APPROACH

The relationship between socio-political attitude and voting behaviour has been investigated by a large number of psychologists (Campbell et.al.,1960 ; Berelson et al,1954;Mc. Closky, 1958, Brenden,1962 ; Lasswell,1948,1960 ; Smith,et. al. 1956). Berelson and his associates (1954) has described the psychology of voting interms of S-O-R formula. According to this formula, changes of opinion and final decisions come about through the repeated chain of stimulus-Organism-response. Three segments of this change are (i) implementation (ii) motivation and (iii) perception. When the emphasis is on the manifest response in relation to stimulus-organism and social environment, it is the psychology of implementation. When the emphasis is on the state of organism and its history, it is the psychology of motivation, Lastly,if the focus is on stimulus in relation to the state of organism,it is the psychology of perception. Berelson and his associates argue that implementation falls within the domain of social psychology and it refers to the way in which dispositions,intentions and interests regarding specific subject matter may lead to the performance of a specific act. Thus implementation is a dynamic force from social psychological points of view and it is the mechanism through which the individual takes decision or performing

specific type of action. Hence, the act of voting for a candidate belonging to a party involves the social psychological processes of implementation. The implementation segment of S-O-R paradigm contains all the attitudinal characteristics such as cognitive, affective and action tendency. This forms an attitudinal constellation, a nucleus and permanent disposition in mind so that social and political factors are polarized in a specific ideological frame of reference. Thus Berelson and his colleagues^a make an effort to use behaviouristic explanation for understanding socio-political attitudes in relation to all acts of voting. Due to lack of laboratory experiments in the area of the psychology of implementation the S-O-R paradigm failed to give empirical findings about the factors affecting voting behaviour. However, a group of German psychologists focused on S-O-R paradigm and studied the psychology of implementation and called it 'will'. In fact, 'will', 'desire' and 'intention' are psychological concepts and may be paraphrased in concept of attitude. Kurt Lewin (1951), for example, focused on implementation and conceived it in its negative connotation. In fact, Lewin studied the psychology of action and explained intentions as 'obstructions' by outside interruption. Lewin's conception of 'Locomotion through space' is similar to that of implementation and it has been understood in terms of realization.

Socio-political attitudinal approach in the study of voting behaviour has become popularized in United States of America. The survey research centre of Michigan University

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conducted studies on American Presidential elections of 1952 and found a different social psychological orientation in the formation of voting attitudes. The theoretical analysis underlying the Michigan studies is that the immediate determinants of an individual's behaviour lie more ostensibly in his attitudes and perceptual organization than in his social position or other objective situational factors. To be more specific, events impinge upon an individual's attitudes which is built up partly by his past experiences and partly by his contemporary needs. Thus, individual's attitudes serve to screen out impinging stimuli and modify his mental attitude. Hence the theory holds that attitudes are the major determinants of behaviour and as such they are most useful in understanding and predicting voting behaviour. In this respect, three specific attitudes are found to be correlated with voting behaviour. These are candidate orientation, party-orientation and Issue-Orientatation.

The most widely used research model in voting behaviour and socio-political attitudes is based on Ajzen and Fishbein's theory of reasoned action (1967, 1973, 1980). The theory states that people consider the implication of their actions before engaging in a behaviour. The determinants of behavioural intentions are reflected in attitudes towards the behaviour and subjective norms. The determinants of subjective norms are the normative structures of beliefs about the expectation of specific forms of action. Thus the normative structures of belief determines the behavioural actions leading to certain

outcomes and evaluations of those outcomes. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) modified their theory in their subsequent studies and introduced the concept of targets such as environment, people or Institutions in explaining behavioural actions. Accordingly they argue that normative structure of beliefs are preceded by motivation and they are combined to form specific attitudes towards targets or objects. Thus an integral part of the theory is that external variables influence behaviour, and behavioural intentions are completely mediated by the act of external variables. Thus, the external variables represent the models of normative and attitudinal components (Loken, 1982).

Bagozze (1981), on the other hand, argues that if subjective norm is determined by persons' normative belief and motivation, then it is possible that behaviour also may be affected by the perceptions of referent expectations. Thus, the relative salience of reference may affect the person's desire to comply with social influence. Viewed from these perspectives, the theory seems to provide an explanation about the relationship of voting attitudes with the situational factors, individual's beliefs, intentions and overt behaviour.

The theoretical paradigm of socio-political attitudes relating to voting behaviour have been found to play decisive roles in explaining real situations in election affairs in several earlier studies. For example, Campbell et al. (1960) demonstrated psychological involvement in politics. They found that the predisposition to take part in public affairs lead

to a higher rate of voting. Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) reported in an earlier study that the political efficacy and political participation have positive relationships. Thus the socio-political attitudinal approach as developed by contemporary social psychologists may trace their origin in previous classic studies as conducted by Campbell and his associates.

In conclusion, it can be said that the socio-political attitudinal approach is based on certain assumptions. Firstly, the decision to vote for a given party rests immediately on some psychological forces. Secondly, the dimensions of socio-political attitudes appear to have the character of political orientations. Thirdly, the psychological forces acting on the present decision are influenced by ideological frame of reference. Fourthly, people's participation in voting is determined by constellations of attitudes towards political life. Lastly, political orientations help people in the acquisition and processing of information about political matters.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MODEL OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The theoretical interpretation of voting has been attempted from various perspectives. A large number of investigations (Lazarsfeld, et. al. 1944, Dhapola, 1979 ; Harun, 1986) focused on political participation for providing a theoretical model of psychology of voting. The political participation model may be viewed on the following dimensions. These are (i) Partisanship (ii) Party Identification (iii) Issue Orientation and (iv) Election campaign.

Voting behaviour may be said to emerge from political participation. Stokes, Campbell and Miller (1958) have provided a theoretical interpretation of voting act as a result of partisanship. According to them, the elements of partisanship may be identified in the attitudinal preference of the voters reflecting group interest, domestic and foreign policy, performance of party members etc. The voter is supposed to perceive and evaluate all these factors positively or negatively before making a choice for a candidate in an election. The primary importance of voting act lies in the identification of relevant factors relating to partisanship. Most of the voters carry out the partisan decision at polls but the decisions of many voters are influenced by some additional forces such as the perceived preference of primary group associates. For example, the spouse or parents have some bearing on the voting preferences of their wives, husband and children. Thus, in addition to partisanship it is found that family, work associates and friends may exert influence on the decision of the voters toward the selection of key leaders.

Campbell (1960) found in his theoretical analysis of voting behaviour that party identification constitutes an important field of force that determines the actions of the individual in ^{the} form of positive or negative evaluation for a candidate belonging to a political party. The concept of party identification is characterized by the individual's affective orientation to an important group in his environment. Both

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reference group theory and small group studies influence may converge upon the attractive or repelling qualities of the group. Thus party Identification underlies the factors influencing a group. In the act of voting, the political party serves as the group towards which the individual may develop a positive or a negative identification. The political party acts as an opinion forming agency to the individual. The party supplies the individual informations about important events of national issues. The individual learns from the party about the state policy and these may have great impact on his voting preference. Thus the party seems to raise a perceptual screen through which the individual tends to see what is favourable to his partisan orientation. Again, the stronger the party bond, the more the person's perceptual field is distorted in favour of exaggerating the process of election. In this way, the consistent party Identification produces a psychological tie and it strengthens commitment of the person towards the party ideological preference.

The formative influence of party identification on reevaluation essentially differs from its influences on newer elements of politics. The influence of party identification extends through time, and its working capacity can not be fully understood at a particular moment. Hence the voting act can be explained by the strength and direction of group cohesiveness. This forms an important aspect of partisanship and provides internal consistency of attitudinal preferences in the

direction of favourable voting. These attitudinal preferences, in turn, may account for stable partisan identification.

However, some intervening variables may appear between party identification and voting behaviour. For example, if some one has little perception of the candidates, if he has little knowledge about the party records or if the individual raises questions about public issues and groups interests, in such cases these things may intervene between the decision making processes and formation of favourable attitudes for the party candidate. Presumably then party identification has a more direct influence on the behaviour of loyal and blind supporters of group members than on the behaviours of persons with well-elaborated view of politics. Thus, the loyal members of the party have stable allegiance and accept party decision in the choice of candidates without any mediating influence of individual perception of objects, events and personal likings of the candidates.

Campbell and his associates further elaborated their theory about voting behaviour and argued that specific issue may play an important role in making voting decision. According to them issue orientations in choice of voting must fulfil three conditions. These are :(i) The issue should get cognizance in the form of pragmatic as well as ideological value. (ii) The issue would be capable to raise minimal intensity of feelings. (iii) The issue must be accompanied by the person's perception that the party in choice would represent the person's perception appropriately and in a better

way than other parties. On the basis of their empirical findings, Campbell et. al. concludes that if any of these conditions is not fulfilled, then it is expected that the issue will not be able to give any sense upon the partisan preference. On the other hand, if all the conditions are fulfilled, in that case also it cannot give genuine assurance that the issue would play a major role in determining the voter's choice. This is because other forces in the psychological field may be strong, and dominant and these may help to neutralize the effects of issue orientation in the choice of a candidate.

The political participation model of voting behaviour further states that the loyal party members would feel most comfortable in accepting the party's position on some important matters. There are, however, three important ways through which individual's issue position and the perceived position of the party may find a converging point. Firstly, when the sequence of events in making a choice of party expects congruence between rank and file opinion and leadership policy, then the individual's issue position and the perceived position may coincide. Secondly, when the party is recognized and valued as the source of political attitude formation, then there would be congruence in issue position between party and individual. It would produce substantial consensus among the supporters of the party as to their respective policy position. Thirdly, when there is a cluster of attitudes forming specific ideology, then the stability of party identification passes over time.

In such cases, issue positions between party and individual becomes identical.

Thus, ideology can provide stable existence to a party throughout long period of time involving consensus of opinion about its political activities. In fact, continuation of a political party over a long period of time is possible and practicable only when the party identification is based on ideology. Ideology provides a common thread running through various issues enabling the individual to make a common decision with other party members in their voting preference for the choice of a candidate.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION PARADIGM IN VOTING BEHAVIOUR

A social psychological account of voting behaviour has been attempted by Hyman (1972) in his formulation of political socialization paradigm for explaining the origin, formation and change of political opinion. Hyman has emphasized the political socialization of children and post-adolescents and found that socialization of democratic ideals forms an integral part of political behaviour. Furthermore, political sophistication, political information processing, voting behaviour and electoral change fall within the theoretical paradigm of political socialization. The potential utility of these dimensions of political behaviour have been reported by systematic empirical studies.

Hyman (1959) reported that development of partisanship in childhood is, perhaps, the basic assumption for understanding the act of voting. He observed that most Americans adopt a life long commitment to their parents' party in childhood. Hyman (1959) and Hess and Torney (1965) cited West's observation that " a man is born into his political party just as he is born into probable future membership in the church of his parents ". Thus early perceptions of differences between parties give birth to political awareness in children. A large number of studies (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954; Hess and Torney 1967 ; Greenstien, 1965) reported that children make primary policy differences between the parties after eighth grade.

According to Hyman, political socialization in children may be studied through the observation of child's orientation towards adult figures. In a series of such studies, it was found that the child's ego-ideal was determined by asking him to express his preference about the adult figure. In most cases, the children was found to point out the names of those persons they admired most. These findings show that the classification of adult persons as like or dislike reflects the children's preference for politics in terms of political participation. Thus children incorporate political ideology in resembling a person of political figure. Thus the types of ego-ideal preferred by the children work as a model. The

children's conduct are determined by the model of ego-ideal and it motivates them in the direction of congruent ideology in the environment. Thus boys are directed towards politics at an early age.

Furthermore, sex differences in politics have also been found as the result of early socialization in political ideology. Remmers and his associates (1952) have pointed out that boys are consistently superior as compared to girls in political knowledge such as candidate characteristics polling place, political party, ballot, platform, primary election etc. Remmers and his associates have also shown that the left-right ideological cleavage and The democratic Vs. Republican patterns of voting begin in childhood. They observed the mode of political orientations among different sub-groups of youth and concluded that social differentiations in voting preference are almost complete at the pre-adult level.

Socialization of political ideology is closely associated with social stratification in terms of high, middle, and low income groups. Roper (1942) provides evidence from a national survey of high-school students and concludes that the children belonging to poorer classes and lower occupational groups are more favourable to unions. Davidson (1943) have also concluded from his study that the poorer children

were significantly more liberal than wealthy children. Again the middle income group of children were also found to adopt liberal position. On the basis of these findings it may be concluded that class differences may help to adopt specific type of political orientation and this phenomenon of political preference is found to manifest in children at an younger age.

While explaining the importance of political socialization paradigm in voting behaviour, Hyman has laid great emphasis on the formation of Authoritarian-Democratic attitudes in early childhood. Adorno and his associates (1950), for example, showed that political attitudes in the form of Authoritarian or Democratic personality originate in the experiences of early childhood. They showed that the children of authoritarian parents tend to develop the symptoms of fascism and anti-democracy in their political attitudes. If the parents are rigid in rearing their children, it gives rise to various personality syndromes of authoritarianism. Thus the phenomena of superstition, stereotypy, destructiveness or cynicism are inferred as the projection of early childhood experience.

Hymen observed that parents are most important influencing agents for the development of party preference of the children. Other agents that are crucial in inducing political influence in children are the teachers, peer groups and the

mass media. Numerous studies (Greenstein, 1965a ; Hess 1963; Hess and Torney, 1967; Hyman, 1959) have reflected on the agents of socialization and have concluded that the social environment may produce such parent-offspring political agreement and the teachers' ideological preference may provide a guideline for the modification of parents' political thought embedded in children. The previous effect of mass media has also been shown to induce modification in child's political orientation. Thus Hyman argued that political socialization may be manifested in children through a large number of external agents. The constellation of ideological preference and political orientation in children is determined through a compromise between conflicting ideologies and competing agents in the environment.

The presentation of the theoretical approaches relating to voting behaviour revealed that political orientation is necessarily closely associated with internal predisposition and inherent capacities of the individual along with external conditions and situational factors in the environment. Conceived in this sense attitudinal constellation of ideology, socio-economic conditions, existence of various political parties and various agents of socialization may be combined for exerting influence for the choice of a candidate in exercising the act of voting in the modern political system of a pluralistic society. Thus in the study of voting behaviour, both historical, developmental and cultural factors merit attention. The theoretical approaches

reviewed here is an attempt to integrate all these factors in the study of voting behaviour.

As stated at the outset, the present study concerns it-self with the investigation of patterns of similarities and differences in socio-political attitudes of political as well as apolitical voters in the context of socio-political development and historical changes in Bangladesh. It is, therefore, necessary to trace the background of social and political history of Bangladesh. In order to fully appreciate the design and methods employed for the study, it is also necessary to reflect on the cultural background of Bangladeshi people and economic growth and political development in the country. It has been presented in chapter-III. Furthermore, it is necessary to review the relevant literature related to voting behaviour involving partisan attitude, party identification, leadership Image, election campaign and issue orientation. In order to understand voting behaviour in relation to socio-political attitudes, political activism, personality, and demographic variables such as gender differences and urban-rural background, extensive review is attempted for arriving at an integrative analysis of the study. Chapter-II, therefore, is an extension of the theoretical approaches outlined in this chapter. The reviews presented in the next chapter will be cited from the empirical studies supporting the theoretical approaches.

CHAPTER - II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

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The social psychological study of voting behaviour has been attempted by a large number of investigators. Most of the studies have used survey method to understand the causal relationship between voting attitudes and political behaviour as related with partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation. It is expected that a review of the recent studies in the above given areas would provide a useful background for the development of the present study. For the purpose of clarity, the reviews have been arranged as follows : (1) Dimensions of voting behaviour, (2) Socio-political Attitudinal preference in voting, (3) Personality factors in voting attitudes, (4) Demographic variables and voting choice, (5) Voting patterns of Bangladesh election.

DIMENSIONS OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Partisan Attitude :

Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) conducted a series of empirical studies for measuring partisan attitudes in election campaign. They made a survey of 1952 and 1953 elections in U.S.A. and found the impact of partisan attitudes on the perception of voting. They identified six dimensions of partisan attitudes. These are (1) personal attributes of the candidates, (2) Group involvement in politics, (3) Group interest (4) Issues relating to domestic policy (5) Issues relating to foreign policy and (6) Comparative records of the contesting parties in managing the governmental affairs. They concluded that the evaluative orientations of the voters on these dimensions lead to the formation of partisan attitude and influence the voting behaviour.

Stokes, Campbell and Miller (1958) made another survey of 1965 presidential election of U.S.A. The purpose of the survey was to take account of the voter's attitudes towards more than a single element of politics. For this purpose they considered attitudes towards the presidential candidate and partisan feeling relating to the issues of domestic policy as focal point in their survey and asked the voters to evaluate these two dimensions jointly. The results showed that the simultaneous presentation of two dimensions increased the ability of the voters for making a choice favouring partisanship. It showed that measuring a second psychological force may account for the act of voting.

Aronson, Turner and Carlsmith (1963) concluded empirical study on opinion formation in political issues, The purpose of this study was to show the impact of previously unknown or neutrally evaluated issues on opinion formation in the choice of a candidate. On the basis of their findings in the study, Aronson and his associates concluded that source of information is the crucial factor in changing the attitudes of the voters. When the information relating certain issue comes from an unknown source, the individual makes a neutral evaluation and it is highly susceptible to change. But when the source of information about the issue is located in his own party and it comes from the leaders and significant party members, it helps to form a congruent attitude in favour of the candidate in the election. Thus Aronson and his associates showed that political party might exert substantial influence on opinion formation of the voter for making a positive evaluation in favour of the candidate.

Kelley and Lamb (1957) also reported similar findings in their study. They distinguished between strong opinions and trusted sources. They showed that when the opinions are intense, strong and matters of personal certainty, it is very difficult to change. Again when the individual is ego-involved about some issue or when the individual is committed to them, it is very difficult to bring a change inspite of persuasion. Miller (1965) focused on the similar problem in opinion change and made an empirical study on the dimensions of information sources and position of such sources on political issues. He concluded that inner motivations in the

form of self-satisfaction and commitment have greater influence on opinion change irrespective of external imposition from political party. Freedman (1965) reported similar findings and concluded that high ego-involvement reduces opinion changes most noticeably. When the source and subjects of opinion are highly discrepant. Previous studies on these dimensions have been reported by Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955). They found that when a revered leader takes a position disagreeable to his followers, then pressure to change is created. Again change may occur when the individual experiences least tense about the political issues. McGuire (1966) found in his study some variations in the implications of the previous findings. He showed that opinion change is a psychological process and it is conditioned by both internal and external factors. Hence the relative strength of these factors will determine the degree of change of opinion about some issue. He concluded that consensus of opinion is a deciding factor that may induce the individual to change his opinion in order to maintain a consistency in the perception of environment. These findings have been supported in previous study conducted by Hovland and Weiss (1951). According to them sources of information which are regarded as expert opinion or which are believed as trustworthy might appear as influential factors for opinion formation and decision making acts of voting attitudes.

These studies about sources of information and political issues as related to opinion change are closely related

with partisan attitude. In fact, making a decision is an individual act. Both internal and external factors are considered in the act of decision making. Whether the individual will change his opinion or will show a consistency of opinion in congruence with his own political party is an important issue in itself. The empirical studies cited above have provided various explanations but these are not conclusive in nature. In fact, consensus of opinion about a political issue has greater impact on the decision making act of a loyal and devoted party member. It is suggested that partisanship can not alone give a satisfactory explanation of voting behaviour.

Party Identification :

An important dimension of voting behaviour is party identification. In fact party identification and partisan attitude are closely related and these two dimensions are found to overlap in many studies.

Campbell and his associates (1960) found in their survey of 1952 and 1956 elections several important dimensions as related with the voting attitudes of the individuals. Among these dimensions, party identification were found to be directly related in shaping the decision of voters in the election. They used a party identification scale which revealed that party identification of the voters has emerged as the strong force governing voting behaviour in

the election. According to the findings of the survey they categorized voters as strong democrats, weak democrats, Independents, weak Republicans and strong Republicans. On the basis of these findings, Campbell and his associates have formulated a statistical model which would express the probability that a given individual would vote in a given partisan direction. The points on party Identification scale ranged from most likely to vote democratic to most likely to vote Republican. Thus the strength and direction of attitudes towards the various elements of party identification were identified and the probability of voting for Republican or Democratic was calculated. The results showed that the effect of party in changing the attitudes of the voter proceeded from strong Democrats to strong Republicans. Furthermore, it was observed that the probabilities vary widely within each of the party identification groups. In some cases persons identified with one party were shown to be inclined by their attitudes to vote for the opposite party. This demonstrates that party allegiance is not the sole determinant of the attitude supporting behaviour. It is thus evident that the survey results, as reported by Campbell and his associates, give us contradictory findings. This necessitates to focus on all the dimensions of voting behaviour in its global perspective.

Tarrow (1971) conducted a study in France on Urban-Rural cleavage in political involvement. In this study he found party identification as an important dimension of political involvement. He used the content analysis technique in the investigation. His sources of content analysis was

historical studies of the peasants in national politics published by French rural communities and evidence from French and comparative sample survey. These survey instruments reflected cross sectional differences in historical studies of France. The results of content analysis showed that commitment to a political party is a main force for partisan politics and interest in politics means commitment to a political party for the voter. Thus the study concluded that involvement in politics is necessarily an indication of involvement in party system.

The importance of party Identification in individual voting choice has been studied by Converse (1963). He made follow-up studies using 1956-1958-1960 panel in the U.S.A. and performed a reliability test. He found that party identifiers tend to hold the expected position on such issues having to do with special legislation and government intervention in the economy. In case of electoral choice, it was found that party identifiers have not exhibited a strong inclination to vote on the basis of issue position. On the basis of these findings converse concluded that party identification is more important than issues in making a decision in the act of voting. These findings were based on data gathered by Survey Research Centre.

A number of political behaviour studies (Stoke, 1966 ; Polsby and Wildavsky, 1968) have recognized that the individual's perception of political objects is often distorted by pre-existing partisan attitudes. In these studies data were

first analysed to discover what kind of issues were salient to Democrats and to Republicans. The purpose of this analysis was to identify the issues which the party identifiers mentioned most frequently. The results revealed a tendency for Democrats to mention pro-Democratic issues and for Republicans to select issue on which their party has been favourably evaluated. These findings prove that party identification controls the selection of issues in order to maintain cognitive balance.

In analysing the Survey Research Center's open ended questions about parties and candidates in 1964, Repass(1971) found that many strong party identifiers have more to say about the candidates than the independents and weak identifiers. This indicated that strong party identifiers have a powerful motivation to seek information about their candidate.

Wright, Erikson and Melver (1985) conducted survey based estimates of party identification and ideology in American states. The estimate was based on 76000 respondents. These respondents were selected from fifty polls taken from 1974 through 1982. The investigators used a sampling design and used same question for party identification and ideology throughout the time period. Three types of polls were available for this type of analysis. These were (I) adult population, (II) Registered voters and (III) the voters who cast their vote on primary and general election day. The first two categories were Telephone interviewers and they were used as respondents in the study. However, the third category was

excluded from the study. The respondents were asked about their party affiliation in all fifty-one surveys while they were asked about their liberalism-conservatism in forty-eight surveys. The total number of respondents was 76614. It was found that 74667 respondent were in favour of party identification and 71565 respondents were in favour of ideological identification.

Fleishman (1986) used a cluster analytic approach for the study of party identification and presidential choice. The study was based on the standard CPS sevenpoint scale, with 0 indicating strong Democrat, 4 being Independent 6 being strongly Republican. It was found that clusters differ significantly in party affiliation. Democrats score fall between 0 - 1 and the Republicans score fall between 5 - 6. The liberals were found to cluster in Democrats and conservatives were found to cluster in Republicans. The Moderates were found to spread themselves along the political spectrum. The quasi-liberals were found to identify with the Democrats less frequently. Thus the cluster analysis of political attitude structure as related with party identification show a pattern of voting behaviour. The results reveal that the liberals occupy one extreme and conservative occupy the other extreme and other groups tend to be in the middle. Thus the investigator showed that party identification and ideological preference may coincide when cluster analytic approach is adopted using multi-dimensional scaling procedure.

Several other studies have reported similar findings and showed that party identification and liberalism-conservatism ideological dimension are positively correlated. For example, Wattenberg (1987) showed that Republican identification in 1984 election in America raised where the plurality of Democrats over Republican reached to its lowest level. During this period both the parties had a weak image in the public mind and an uncertain role in the future of American government. It was assumed that the decline of public affection for the parties was not due to any greater negative feelings about the Democrats and Republicans. It was rather caused by an increasing sense that the parties just no longer matter much in the governmental process. The investigator used a series of 4 open-ended questions about the political parties to identify the causes of apathy towards the political parties. It was found that the political apathy was caused by the lack of knowledge about the parties themselves. This study is an indirect indication that party identification can stimulate the voters to adopt a definite ideological preference for the choice of the candidate in election.

Similar findings have been reported by Robinson and Fleishman (1988). The investigators collected data from election surveys of the centre for political studies (CPS). The data on ideological self identification revealed that self-identified liberals and conservatives differ more meaningfully and significantly on political issues than do self-

identified Democrats and Republicans. It indicated that ideology is significantly related to vote and party identification is controlled by the ideological preference of the voter. Thus the study showed that both party identification and ideology may appear as the major predictors of vote in American presidential elections.

A large number of studies have shown that party identification and partisanship may promote levels of political consciousness and may impose external and internal control in voting. Narain (1972) conducted empirical study about political parties in India. He found that political parties in India tried to develop their base by means of a variety of activities including membership drives, education of the members, political meetings, publication of party literature, mass political activities and several other similar activities. Narain observed that politically interested citizens are drawn to these parties and continue to support them through development to partisan attitudes. On the basis of these findings the investigator concluded that through a series of interactions, people develop psychological attachment to this or that party leading to the formation of party identification. Such an identification are found to be positively correlated with political activities including voting.

Another study on party identification and the act of voting in Indian context was conducted by Sheth (1970, 1971 and 1975). Sheth distinguished between party identification and partisanship.

Sheth (1970) conducted a study on 1969 mid-term election in four states. The study showed that 39 percent of the voters covered by the study reported their liking for the party as the main consideration for voting for the party. There were others about 23 percent, who also showed political interest and motivation but did not feel strongly attached to specific party. In another study (1971), Sheth used voting and certain other behavioural criteria for study. The study identified 36 percent voters as strong partisan, 34 percent voters as weak partisan and 30 percent voters as non-partisans. The partisans showed higher interest and great concern as to who won the election. They were consistently high on various items on campaign involvement as compared to the non-partisans. They reflected greater awareness of competitive politics. They had greater information about the elections. They were more able to relate and talk about political issues than the non-partisans. The study also reported that nearly 82 percent of the strong partisans and 75 percent of the weak partisan favoured observance of the norms of parliamentary democracy. They regarded elections and parties as legitimate institutions of a democratic society.

Sheth reported the findings of another study in 1975. In this study he found a very significant correlation between party identification and voting for congress party ($r=0.6$) and for Jansangh party ($r=0.5$).

On the basis of the findings reported in these three studies, Sheth concluded that party identification and partisanship do not always go together. In his study reported in

1970, Sheth found that 73 percent of the partisan supported the same party for which they had voted earlier. This was a clear indication of partisanship tendency. But only one-third of such open partisans supported policies, programmes and ideologies of the party and they were considered high on party identification. One-fourth of the open partisans, on the otherhand, were low on such party identification. These findings indicated that favourable psychological predisposition towards a given party works as an important source of motivation for voting for the party.

In several studies in Indian context, personality was found as an important correlate of party identification. These studies tried to prove the hypothesis that people who seek affiliation with some political party have something to interest them in the programme and policies of that party. Bhushan (1969), for example, conducted a study on the personality of the workers of political parties. He administered California F-scale on the workers. The results showed that the Jansang workers scored high and the communist workers scored lowest on this scale. The congress (N) and PSP workers were on the middle. In the perspective of these findings Bhushan concluded that the F-scale is a measure of right authoritarianism in view of the policies and programmes of the Jansang.

Sarkar and Hasan (1973) conducted a separate study with 200 undergraduate students. The results showed that economic conservatism, political affiliation and authoritarianism were interrelated : Students showing economic conservatism in their attitudes were also inclined to have authoritarian

personality. They also showed tendency to seek affiliation with like-minded parties.

In a study of school children and teachers, Mehta (1975) and Rao (1975) found direct evidence of a relationship between conservative social and political authoritarianism. They selected those schools for study which are managed by social and political groups known for their conservatism and authoritarian attitudes and thinking. The findings revealed that conservatively oriented people seek such political affiliations which tend to satisfy some of their personality needs.

Leadership Image :

It is important to note that Image of the candidate may have an impact on voters preference and may influence electoral outcomes. A few studies are available in the literature which show that apart from their political party affiliations and issue positions, the personal qualities of the candidates importantly influence the choice of the voters. These include the non-verbal aspects of the candidates presentation to the public. Evidence supporting this claim has long been offered by students of public opinion. Stokes (1966), for example, conducted a survey on various issues relating with presidential election in U.S.A. On the basis of his findings he argued that it is the change in candidates from one presidential election to the next which has the greatest impact on shifting party fortunes. Proceeding along different lines, Kelley and

Mirer (1974) conducted research on image of a candidate and the electoral outcome. The results showed that it is the voters evaluation of the candidate which first influences his or her choice. Other factors play a role only when the voter has no clear preference for any particular candidate. Markus and Converse (1979) also conducted survey research on voters perception of the candidates' personal qualities and indicated that people's attitude of the candidates importantly influence the attitudes of the voters.

More recently political scientist have begun to explore more fully how candidates are perceived by the voters and what is the consequential effect of this perception. Kinder and his associates (1980) conducted empirical investigation on these aspects of elections and showed that consideration of the personal qualities of candidates plays a central role in candidate perception. Guided by the social psychological research on person perception, some other investigators (Conover, 1981 ; Kinder and Abelson, 1981 ; Miller et al. 1982 ; Lau, 1984) have explored about the character and non-verbal communication of the candidates seeking for votes. The research suggested that there are several dimensions along which candidates are perceived. These dimensions have several general characteristics. These are as follows : (I) They focus on the performance-related qualities of the candidates, (II) They are shared by most members of the voting population and (III) They tend to remain the same from election to election. On the basis of

these observations, the investigators concluded that the under lined assumption is that the perception of the candidate's character influences how voters choose to vote.

An enormous amount of research on non-verbal aspects of communication has been conducted by psychologists in recent years. For example, Mann and Wolfinger (1980) conducted an empirical study and showed that candidates' appearance and style are significantly related with voters decision in the preference for a candidate. Hinckley (1981) and Jacobson (1981) also conducted empirical studies reflecting on the issue of how perception of the candidates' are formed. Their research has demonstrated that candidates appearance and style do affect voter's perceptions and preferences.

There are other studies which has demonstrated that the non-verbal behaviour accompanying a communication is as influential as the verbal content of the message in determining how an individual is perceived. Mehrabian (1981), Dovidio and Ellyson (1982) and Erickson and Schultz (1982) conducted several empirical investigations on these dimensions. As a general strategy of investigation, the researchers had isolated different channels of communication. These are (I) eye contact, (II) body posture and (III) Interpersonal distance. The results showed that each of channels was influential in determining an observer's perception of such characteristics of the communicator as warmth, dominance, anxiety and responsiveness. Thus these findings indicate that candidate's

appearance and style help to form an image of him and it determines voters preference.

Rosenberg and McCafferty (1987) examined the role of non-verbal aspects of candidate presentation on image making and voters' preferences. In a series of three related studies conducted at the time of the 1984 national election in U.S.A. investigators assessed the impact of different photographs of the same candidate. In the study one, the subjects were asked to judge the different photographs of the same individual. Eighty undergraduates of California University participated in this study of the relationship between appearance and image. The average age of the subjects was 21. The study was conducted during the final weeks of the 1984 U.S.A. national election campaign. Subjects were asked to evaluate the various photographs of each of the 4 men. Questions were designed to evoke evaluations of specific personality traits such as competence, trustworthiness, likeableness and general fitness for public office. The findings of the study suggested that different presentations of the same person can yield quite different images of that person's character. Relatively minor changes in photographic presentation, a different camera angle or addition of a slight smile were found to produce significant differences in how a person is perceived. Such changes have been demonstrated to affect the degree to which an individual is perceived to be fit for public office as well as the degree to which he is perceived to possess the qualities of competence,

integrity and likeableness. Thus the investigators concluded that different visual presentation of the same person can produce different and politically relevant images of his character and it is suggested that these different presentations have great impact on voter's preference.

The study two examined the impact of different presentations of the same candidate on the vote. One hundred and four undergraduates of California University participated in the study. The average age of the subjects was 19. Each subject was presented with pairs of campaign flyers and he was asked to vote for the candidate of his choice. Each flyer included a photograph of the candidate, his party affiliation and his position on three significant issues. The results showed that different presentations of a candidate's appearance significantly affected voters preference. Furthermore, when clear and substantial information on a candidates' party affiliation and position on major campaign issues were presented, then also different photographs of the same candidates produced a strong and consistent difference in vote. Thus the investigators concluded that different photographs of the same candidate may provide voters with different images of that candidate's character and fitness for office. It indicates that leadership image may influence in an important way the electoral choices of the voters.

In study three, the investigators collected additional data and the study was a replication of the second study.

There were, however, two important modifications. The research was taken out of the laboratory and it involved participation of a more representative subject population. The subjects were one hundred adult shoppers. The average age of the shoppers was 41. Males and females were represented in equal proportions. The stimulus materials were the same as those used in study two. The results of the study supported the findings reported in earlier studies. It was found that different presentation of a candidate's appearance yielded differences in the vote that candidate receives. Again, photographs of the candidates were found to exercise a strong and consistent influence on electoral choices. It was found that a positive image provided the candidate with more voters than a negative image. On the basis of the results of these three studies, Rosenberg and McCafferty suggested that a candidate's image can be shaped in such a way as to manipulate voter's preferences.

The relationship between leadership image and voting attitudes have been extensively studied in laboratory settings in terms of interaction rate and liking ratings. Stang (1973) concluded such an investigation in laboratory in order to find out the empirical evidence concerning the causal direction of these relationships. In this study interaction rate was manipulated and then leadership and liking ratings were obtained. Three scripts were used as ^{measures} in this study. Each script had three parts such as "gives suggestions", "asks for suggestion" and "integrates". These instructions were used to affect the

leadership ratings. The subjects in the study were 30 undergraduate women in an introductory psychology course at the University of Toronto. These subjects were run in three groups. Thus each group was composed of 10 subjects and they were required to hear one reading of each of the three scripts. Thus each subject heard all 9 speakers.

The results of the above experiment showed that the speakers were liked better when reading the medium length part than when reading the long or short parts. Again, speakers were rated as exerting more leadership when reading the long part than when reading the short part. On the basis of these findings the investigator concluded that paralexical speech qualities are influential in interpersonal perception. The study also demonstrated that the quality of speech can influence liking and leadership ratings. Thus the experiment seems to indicate that in the act of speaking, one momentarily exerts leadership. The overall leadership ratings would be proportional to overall interaction rate. The interaction rate and liking may be explained in terms of social norms. The present investigation demonstrated that interactions rate can influence liking and leadership ratings and suggested that this may be the case in small groups.

Wattenberg (1987) conducted a survey from 1956 to 1984 presidential elections in America. The purpose of this survey was to reflect on growing predominance of candidates over parties. For this purpose he compared the images of the

parties and candidates in 1984 with those of 1956. He used open-end questions and examined the responses of the subjects by various content dimensions. The survey revealed a variety of images that are becoming more candidate oriented and less party oriented. The analysis of data showed that the most salient images of the parties in past elections were the perception for or against socio-economic or ethnic groups. By contrast, the figures for the candidate questions on these dimensions were 29.4% for 1984 compared to 16.2% in 1956. Examining the entire 1952-1984 time series, the investigator concluded that the salience of group benefits in candidate evaluations reached an all time high in 1984 and party evaluations were found to be diminished at the lowest level. The party revitalization did not occur in 1984 elections. This indicated that leadership image in American presidential election is gaining momentum simply because candidates' characteristic personal qualities, appearance, style fitness for office have been positively evaluated by the people.

Election Campaign :

Election campaigning has been conceived as a determining factor that influences voting behaviour. Many politicians, political scientists and communication researchers have tried to demonstrate that election evening news have an effect for understanding whether people vote and how they vote. There are essentially two procedures that are used to measure media effects on voting. One is macro approach and the other is micro

approach. A macro approach compares total voter turnouts in different areas of elections. A micro approach uses surveys of individual voters and non-voters. A good number of studies have focused on this issue of election campaigning and media effects in the act of voting. Epstein and Strom (1981) conducted a survey on these political issues. He compared voting behaviour and other human behaviours and concluded that in both the cases benefits and cost are determining factors for guiding the individuals to take decision for or against an issue. The study revealed that citizens decide to vote in the election when they perceive that the benefits of voting are clearly outweighs the cost.

Tannebaum and Kosterich (1983) have also focused on macro analysis of voting behaviour and found that the benefits of voting are related to the perceived importance of the election, the perceived closeness of the election and more general ideas about the importance of voting in democracy. The study revealed that some people vote regardless of the characteristics of the election. But many people try to make a balance between value of voting and perceived costs of voting. They consider the distance and convenience of the polling place, time required to reach there and the waiting time required to vote. Interference with other personal activities and discomfort like getting wet while standing in line were also considered as deciding factors as to whether or not the individual would attend the polls. On the basis of these findings, the investigator concluded that election campaign

through mass media and persuasive communication may influence these potential voters in the direction of attending the polls and casting the votes in the election.

Jackson (1985) have discussed this issue in greater details citing various cases of 1940, 1960, 1968, 1976, 1980 and 1984 elections in America. On the basis of the observations of these elections, Jackson had pointed out that the turnout and perceived closeness of the election are the consequences of mass media effects. The investigator concluded that election campaigning may help to induce such an effect in the audience that every voter behaves in the same way. Mass media effect may encourage some voters to vote in order to be identified as sure winners in the election. Simultaneously mass media effect may discourage some voters to cast their votes in favour of some candidates in order to avoid the loss of election. Some other voters however, may vote to reduce the magnitude of the anticipated winning margin.

Furthermore, Jackson (1983) used data from the University of Michigan presidential election study 1980 and attempted a micro level analysis of voting behaviour. He used a sample of 1814 respondents. They were interviewed before the election for determining their likelihood of voting. They were reinterviewed 2 months after the election. They were asked to report about their exposure to different kinds of news coverage. The actual voting behaviour of respondents was obtained by checking voting registers. The results of this study showed that 12% of voters were affected by the early

news of voting results of the election. It showed that mass media can affect voting behaviour in a substantial way.

Delli Carpini (1984) also reported an interesting survey research using the method of aggregate analysis in understanding the effects of the news of exit polls and other election night news of 1980 election. The data used by Carpini were simply aggregate voting data by congressional district. The source of data was a statistics summarized by the congressional Quarterly. The researcher compared the percentage of registered voters of 1980 with 1968, 1972 and 1976 elections for the states. In these places the polls were open after 8 P.M. when NBC announced the results of their exit survey. On the basis of these results Della Carpini concluded that republicans were unaffected, but the Democrats were affected by hearing the early results. Thus the study indicated that the voters who had early voted Democratic exhibited a tendency of decline in postpoll districts election. Thus it was obvious that knowledge of outcome of election provided by mass media may deter supporters of winners more than supporters of losers.

Sudman (1986) have summarised the findings of this study about the effects of exit polls on voting behaviour. He used both macro and micro methods for the analysis of data. It was found that exit polls appear to cause small declines in total voting in areas where the polls close late. This decline was found in those elections where the

exit polls predict a clear winner. These survey reports cited here from the study of different investigators show that voting behaviour has its own peculiarity depending on a large number of intervening variables. In fact influence of exit polls may be considered as an intervening variable closely associated with election campaigning and having relatively lesser influence on the act of voting in comparison to other correlates of voting.

Garramone and Atkin (1986) conducted a survey investigation for observing the effects of mass communication of political socialization that might determine the act of voting. They administered a questionnaire on seventh-grade (N=149) and Tenth-Grade (N=139) students of a public school. The questionnaire contained items measuring the four type of media exposure. Political knowledge and behaviour, age, scholarly orientation, political interest, gender and socio-economic status. Four types of media exposure were Television news, radio news, News paper news and News magazine. The results were reported on three headings. These were (I) relationship between media exposure and political knowledge, (II) relationship between media exposure and political behaviour and (III) the contingent analysis, Zero-order correlations and regression analysis were computed for the analysis of data. The results of both correlation and regression analysis revealed that broadcast news exposure is more strongly related to

overall political knowledge than print news exposure. Again broadcast exposure was found as a better predictor of current event knowledge than of fundamental knowledge. Furthermore, broadcast news exposure was found more closely related to interpersonal discussions than to anticipated participation. Lastly, print news exposure was found more strongly related to participation than to discussion. These findings indicate that exposure of political news and current events through mass media is a form of election campaigning that appears as powerful force to influence the act of voting.

There are some important studies in Indian context that have reflected election campaign and political issues together. In fact political issues are projected through different techniques of election campaigning. Hence it is convenient to review some studies that have dealt with election campaign and issue orientation jointly.

Election campaigns have been found to play an important role in competitive politics. The various political parties try to influence the thinking of the electorate by various means at their disposal. In fact, the awareness, consciousness and preference about the act of voting are done through election campaigns. A large number of survey studies are available on election campaigns in Indian context. These studies cover a large area of dimensions that are generally used by the political parties to influence the choice of candidates in the act of voting. For example, 1971 elections in

India produced some kind of revolution in voting behaviour. Ray (1974) found that the strength of organizational offensive and effective projection of party programmes probably played an important role in motivating the people to accept a candidate in election.

Heginbotham (1971) provided an analytical presentation of 1971 election in India. He concluded that the electorate was actually sized with an issue of great national importance and the congress party was capable to provide an answer to such a question through election campaign using various effective techniques such as arranging meetings at different important places of the country. As an effective technique of election campaigning, Mehta (1975) found that both congress and Jansang parties devoted one-fourth of their election meeting theme to projecting their respective view points on national issues. Mehta observed that the Jansang continued to project on local issues and local achievements and they devoted nearly 13.3% of all their themes to such small issues. Congress party, on the otherhand, continuously prepared the electorate for the major issues of national leadership and those concerning radical economic policies.

Shesadhari and Jain (1972) also conducted a survey on 1971 Indian elections and reflected on the regional issues as major dimension of election campaign in certain regions of the country. They found that the emotionally and culturally loaded regional issues of Telengana in Andhra Pradesh

emerged as dominating force to sway over the mind of the electorate. As a result about 30% shift in voting choice in rural areas of Andhra Pradesh was noticed.

In a study of civic elections in Bombay, Badhe and Rao (1970) found that illiterate voters belonging to communist party switched their support to the Shiv Shena. The researcher explained this shifting as a result of election campaigning. It was concluded that parochial and divisive forces were trying to capitalize on emotionally and culturally changed regional tendencies. The study pointed out the salience of such regional issues for the electorate.

Hardgrave and Neidhard (1975) found the effectiveness of mass media to influence the voting preference of the citizens of Tamilnadu politics. They found a close relationship between attraction for MGR and the support for DMK party. After the differences within the DMK party, the investigators thought that the popularity of MGR was partly due to his position in Tamil films. The investigators also reported that the involvement of both Karunanidhi and Annandurai with Tamil films was a vital factor in DMK's rise to power.

Mehta (1975) showed in his analysis of 1971 election in India that socio-economically weaker sections of the electorate tend to be influenced more by election campaigns. It was found that the audience tended to give a positive response to themes based on hope oriented positive appeal and negative responses to fear-oriented negative appeal. Further-

more, Mehta observed that citizens exposed more to newspapers radio and other means of communication were found to show greater political awareness, greater sense of political efficacy and greater issue consciousness. It was also found that exposure to communication promoted awareness and increased consciousness with positive appeals evoking better response than the negative fear arousing appeals.

Issue Orientation :

One traditional view about the operation of democracy is that parties should offer certain vital issues related with current events or economic policy of the country. In fact electoral change of voting depends on the issues selected for contesting election. A large number of studies have reflected on political issues as the vital factors for influencing the choice of the voters. Agger (1959) and Converse (1964) reported empirical findings about American Presidential election. They were able to identify some highly issue-oriented independent voters. Converse, Clausen and Miller (1965) have also used data from American Presidential election and found that senator Goldwater's success in the South in 1964 election was due to his popular racial stand. In this election voters were found to ignore their party identification and emphasized issue orientation like racial problems for selecting a candidate in the election. Ross, Crawford and Pettigrew (1966) also focused on political issues

in contrast to party identification and found that Louise Day Hick's successes in Boston may be attributed in part to the fear of neighbourhood desegregation on the part of white Bostonians. The impact of issue orientation on voting behaviour has also been reported by Campbell (1966). In this analysis of data of survey study of presidential election in America, he focused on electoral change and found that alternative policy of the party toward the political issues have a critical role in changing voter's attitudes towards the candidate.

Miller (1967) have cited two examples from the 1956-1960 period about the changes in issue stands. Miller observed that when the voter's positions change between elections toward positions favoured by the party, it improves its vote over the same period. The analysis of election results from 1956-1960 period showed that voters' partisan attitudes on foreign policy favoured the democrats increasingly from 1952 to 1960. This issue orientation towards foreign policy was accounted for increasing democratic vote.

A more direct approach to correlate voters' issue stands with the presidential preferences was reported by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954). They analysed the "issue partisanship" aspect of American Presidential election and found that 1952 election raised the issue of Korean war. The study revealed that 92.6% Democrats showed their voting preference in accord with own issue position and 76.8% Republican favoured their own issue position. The total respondents

in this study was 2239. In this connection the example of 1964 California senatorial race is relevant. The defeat of the Democratic candidate in this election was blamed by some of his stand against a referendum opposing fair-housing. The vote clearly was correlated with attitudes from the referendum. This study was conducted by Anderson and Lee (1965).

Anderson and Lee observed that the critical voters in the senatorial race were pro-referendum Democrats. This study showed that issue position and candidate preference are very highly correlated. The 1964 California Presidential voting revealed that senatorial voting was positively correlated with the fair-housing referendum.

Key (1966) attempted to establish that issue positions are correlated with changes in voter's presidential preferences. In his analysis, he presented the policy position of those who defected from their presidential vote and who did not vote in the previous election. A substantial correlations were found between a wide variety of policy positions and vote changes during the period 1936-1960. According to Key's analysis, in 1940 the important issues concerned the domestic programmes of the New Deal. Similarly the campaign of 1948 shaped antagonisms along New Deal and Anti-New Deal lines. Defection to Eisenhower 1952 were attributed to the concern about the Korean situation. Thus Key concluded that issue stands may introduce substantial changes in voting pattern of the citizens.

Miller (1967) also conducted empirical study using survey method and explored to find out correlations between issue position and voting changes. He showed that the appropriate policy opinion based on vital issues preceded the voting change. Miller took a first step in this direction by relating policy opinion changes to vote changes over a four-year period. He found that the direction of change is the same and the changes occur in most cases but Miller did not find any significant correlation between them. So Miller concluded that the issue positions often represent a post hoc rationale for a vote decision reached on some other grounds.

Grofman (1985) have provided a model of status quo and issue voting and attempted to show their relationship in American Presidential election. This model was similar to that of Downsian (1957) model of voting behaviour. Traditionally it was believed that party differential in issue-voting model is based on a comparison of party and candidate platforms and the voters were supposed to choose the platform to which he is closest. This spatial model of voting was rejected by Anthony Downson (1956). According to him shifts in the location of status quo may account for longrun dynamics of electoral policy. Following this principle, Grofman attempted special modeling of voters choice in terms of issue voting. On the basis of the survey analysis, Grofman concluded that voter's choice and subsequent change in electorate

is based on the directionality and magnitude of expected shifts from the status quo. Thus he observed that citizens do not look merely at the positions of party or candidate platforms but also they evaluate how successful potential office holders are likely to be in implementing changes from the present status quo in the expected direction.

An additional issue in the current investigation of voting behaviour relates to the statistical analytical procedures used to explore relationship among variables. Lampert (1981) demonstrated a simple scaling device to provide the researcher with attitude measures on continuous numerical scales. Using Lampert's scaling procedure, Lampert and Tziner (1985) designed to investigate the voting behaviour in a multi party political system of Isaraeli general election held in 1977. The investigation was conducted in order to contrast between the Isaraeli pattern of voting which is a multiparty system and American pattern of voting which is predominantly a two party system. According to Isaraeli system, the more votes a political entity receives, the more seats are allocated to it in the Isaraeli parliament which is composed of 120 seats. In this study voting intention was operationalized as an intervening variable which mediates the relationship between voter attitudes and voting behaviour in the general election.

Participants in this study were 186 eligible voters randomly selected from the metropolitan area of

Jerusalem. This area approximates the whole Isaraeli population in terms of socio-demographic characteristics such as level of education and ethnic origin and also socio-economic characteristics such as income level. Hence it was assumed that this populations was the representative of Isaraeli population and will show Isaraeli typical voting patterns. The 186 voters were approached twice such as ten day's prior to the election day and the next day of election. Each participant was asked to state the extent to which he would like to see in power each of the political entities standing for election. The responses constituted the voter attitudes. In addition, the voters were asked for their voting intentions using the question that if the election were held to day, for which political entity you would vote. In the second time, the voters were asked to state how he had actually voted. The responses to these questions constituted voting behaviour.

The analysis of results indicated that 81% of the voters who expressed their voting intention earlier participated in actual voting. While 47% voters who expressed their intention of not to vote in earlier study were actually found not to cast their vote in the election. Thus the study explored the potential contribution of certain variable to voting behaviour. These are prior voting behaviour in previous election and the extent to which the parties or candidates run for election. On the basis of these findings the

investigators concluded that voting experience and election campaigning may be conceived to be instrumental in bringing about variable outcomes in the election. This study seems to indicate that ideology in terms of democracy and liberalism can influence voting intention as well as actual voting of the voters. Also individuals' perception as to the candidates' image may appear important to him for making a decision in actual voting. In the perspectives of these observations, Lampert and Tziner reached to the conclusion that intention to vote is a closer approximation of actual vote and intention may be regarded as the voice of commitment. So accurate prediction of voting behaviour can be made on the basis of voting intention.

An empirical investigation of psycho-social factors relating to voting attitudes was conducted by Ara, Huq and Ziauddin (1986). In this study voting attitudes were correlated with partisan attitudes, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue oriented attitudes. A total number of 100 students from Rajshahi University between 20-25 years of age constituted the sample of the study. The subjects were equally divided into male and female. The results indicated that male and female did not differ significantly on five dimensions of voting attitudes. However, partisan attitudes was found to be positively correlated with all the dimensions. However, partisan attitude was found to be positively correlated with all the dimensions, But leadership image was found to be significantly correlated

with election campaign and issue oriented attitude in positive direction. On the basis of these findings the investigator concluded that voting attitudes of the students may reflect the political activities of the people in the country.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDINAL PREFERENCE IN VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The attempts to determine the relationship between political ideology and voting behaviour has been made by a large number of investigators. Stotsky and Lachman (1956), for example, found California F-Scale scores among people favouring different potential presidential nominees. They conducted a study in order to find out the differences in political and social attitudes of Pro-Eisenhower and Pro-Stevenson students. The sample of the study constituted 102 college students. A questionnaire containing 11 personal data items and 10 items from Conservatism-Radicalism questionnaire, 7 items from E-Scale and 30 items from F-Scale, *was used.* It was found that those favouring Eisenhower and Stevenson had the lowest F-Scale scores. No relationships appeared to exist between candidate preference of the respondents and party preference of parents. Candidate preference was not related to income or occupational group of parents. These findings suggest that voting preference is significantly related with political attitudes and social orientations of the people.

Sherman and Ross (1971) conducted an investigation reflecting on the dimensional salience in the perception of political figures and its relationship with liberalism-conservatism ideological preference. The study used 56 subjects and they were asked to make judgement of similarity between 20 politicians. The results were analyzed by the method of multidimensional scaling. The results revealed a seven-dimensional stimulus configuration and the subjects' salience was found to correlate with their scores on measures of political, social and economic liberalism-conservatism. It was found that higher political conservatism of subjects was significantly related to lower salience of a power-within-party stimulus dimension and a greater salience of a liberalism-conservatism-within-party stimulus dimensions. Thus the results showed that power within party was more salient for political liberals and liberalism-conservatism within party was more salient for political conservatives. It was thus evident that specific ideological factors have greater influence in political activities of the parties that may influence voters' attitudinal preference for the choice of a candidate in the election.

Fishkin, Keniston and McKinnon (1973) attempted to test the relationship between level of moral reasoning, political behaviour and political ideology. They used Moral Development Ratings and Measure of Ideology for the collection of data. In applying Measures of Ideology, each subject was asked to respond to a list of 31 political slogans by

indicating on a 5-point scale the extent of his liking or disliking for each slogan. Then subjects were classified into pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional groups and analysis of variance on political ideology was computed. Responses to the 31 slogans were also factor analysed using the Thurstone principal components method. 5 factors were extracted which together accounted for 5% of the total variance. The first factor in the principal-components analysis was clearly identifiable as a radical versus conservative factor. It accounted for 45% of the common variance. The results indicated a striking and highly significant association between conventional level of moral reasoning and conservatism. On the basis of these findings, the investigators concluded that the results of this study underline the theoretical importance and empirical fruitfulness of adopting a developmental perspective in the study of socio-political ideology and action.

Haan and his associates (1968) conducted an empirical study on student activism ^{and} found that level of moral reasoning was intimately related to participation in the Free-Speech Movement sit-in at Berkely in 1966. Haan and others used Kohlberg Moral Judgement Interview in this study. The study revealed that the students with extremely high and extremely low levels of moral development were massively over-represented among the Free Speech Movement arrestees. But the students with modal conventional stages of moral reasoning did not participate in Free Speech Movement. Thus the study showed close relationship between single personality measure and observed

student activism. Thus the study reflects on the development of socio-political attitudes, moral reasoning and political action and showed that activism is a function of ideological preference.

Eysenck and Coulter (1972) designed a study for empirical investigation regarding certain structure of attitudes posited to the political beliefs and voting patterns of the major and minor parties in Great Britain. The subjects were collected from working class British communists and facists. The subjects were classified into three groups. These were communist party member (N=43), Facist party member (N=46) and a control group consisted of 86 soldiers. All the subjects were male persons, ^{and} their mean age was 23. The results showed that the communists expressed radical attitudes but the facists expressed conservative attitudes. Both communists and facists were identified as tough minded. Liberals, on the otherhand, were identified as Tender minded but they were neither radical nor conservative in socio-political attitudes. Thus the study attempted to analyse the political beliefs and voting pattern and reported a positive relationship among them.

Leventhal, Jacobs and Kurdirka (1964) conducted two experiments on the relationship between F-Scale scores and preference for the candidates of a particular party for ideology. The first experiment was designed to study political choices and opinions. The sample was composed of 66 undergraduate students. A six item F-Scale was administrated

to all subjects. The questionnaire was administered 1-2 weeks before the election. A total of 29 statements were repeated twice to measure attitudes on a number of current issues of national and international importance. A symmetrical 11-point scale was used to measure candidate choice. The results of this experiment showed that subjects with high scores on the F-Scale showed their preference for Republican party and voted for Nixon . Subjects with low scores of F-Scale showed their preference for Democratic party and voted for Kennedy. The opinion data suggested that an ideological factor is involved in the choices of candidates. Thus the findings showed that the relationship of voting preference to F-Scale is mediated by ideology.

The second experiment was conducted to explore the way in which manipulations of candidates' ideology affected the relationship between F-scores and voting preference. The study was conducted at the time of the 1962 congressional election. The sample constituted of 230 students. They were asked to describe three pairs of candidates contesting for election. The description was based on a variety of political issues. Two pairs served to contrast each party with liberal and conservative ideology. The third pair served as a control group and equated the candidates for ideology. The groups were (1) Congruent choice (conservative republic versus liberal democrat), (2) Incongruent choice (liberal republic versus conservative democrat) and (3) mixed

choice (candidates equated on ideology). Additional measures were administered to rate the candidate choice and party preference by asking questions whether the subject felt that the candidate presented different views on the issue. The findings of this experiment revealed that when ideology was taken into account, high scorers voted for conservative candidate and low scorers voted for the liberal candidate regardless of party level. But no relationship between F-scores and choice was observed when the stimulus figure were equated ideologically.

On the basis of the findings of these two experiments, the investigators concluded that socio-political attitudinal preference in terms of ideology may influence the voter's choice for the candidate.

Barker (1963) also made empirical study which revealed positive relationship between F-Scale and political ideology. In this study 26 rightists and 29 leftists were used as subjects. The study was known as Ohio study. The study used the measures of politico-economic conservatism (PEC), F-Scale and a political self labeling scale. The results of the study showed that organized rightists labelled themselves as conservative Republican and they identified themselves as extreme rightists. The non-organized comparison group labelled themselves as Republican or Democrat. The organized leftists labelled themselves as socialist and identified as liberal democrats. Thus the findings showed that there is a strong relationship between F-Scale and political ideology

which may play a decisive role in choice of a candidate in voting behaviour.

PERSONALITY FACTOR IN VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The study of personality and political attitudes began with the Adorno's work on authoritarian personality (1950). Since then a large number of studies have attempted to understand the influence of personality factors on ideological preference in political activities relating with candidate choice in the act of voting. For example, McClosky (1958) constructed a scale and used it to discover the personality and related attributes of conservatism. He found that conservative beliefs are most frequently associated with the uninformed, poorly educated and the less intelligent. The extreme conservatives are most hostile and suspicious. They are more rigid and compulsive. The investigator observed that conservatives tend to come from more backward and frightened element of the population.

Breden (1962) used the concept of intolerance of ambiguity as a personality variable. In his study he used Likert-type of sixteen items for measuring intolerance of ambiguity. The results revealed that the scale correlated with conventionality, belief in a divine power, attendance at religious services and dogmatism about one's religious belief. The scale was also found to be correlated

positively with authoritarianism, and expressed attitudes of idealization of and submission to parents and negatively with Michiavellianism.

Elizabeth Douvan (1959) also investigated the relationship of a personality variable variously named as sense of political efficacy, feeling of personal responsibility, psychological competence and potency to political participation and apathy. According to her, the sense of effectiveness is general personality characteristics and as such it bears relationship both to overt behavioural responses and to psychological attitudinal reactions. She used six measures of overt participation. These are voter registration, voting record, usual vote, participation in campaign, contact with officials and index of political action. All the measures were found to be significantly related with the sense of political efficacy. Thus the study was a true measure of personality variable and its relationship to political participation in the form of voting behaviour.

Mussen and Wyszynski (1952) conducted an empirical study on the relationship between personality and political participation. They used ten projective questions for the collection of data. The subjects of this study were 156 undergraduates between the ages of 17 and 27. Among them 148 were volunteers and 8 were leaders in campus political organizations. These organizations were, Young Republicans, Young Democrats and Young Progressives. The study revealed

two patterns of ideal types such as politically active and politically apathetic individual. On the basis of the findings, the investigators concluded that both political apathy and activity are specific manifestation of more deep lying and pervasive passive and active orientations. Thus one of the outstanding characteristics of the politically active individual is the attempt to understand himself and to accept his own emotions, conflicts and feelings. These include feelings of inadequacy and inferiority also. He is concerned with ego satisfying personal experiences and emotional and intellectual expression rather than with conventional values and general social standards. The politically apathetic individuals were found as passive dissatisfied and generally threatened. He is fundamentally hostile and he cannot accept his hostile impulses. As the results indicated, politically apathetic individuals were completely submissive and unchallenging to authority. They were found rigid and incapable of enjoying deep emotional experiences. Thus the study was the empirical explanation of personality variables as correlates of political participation and decision making action.

The works of Lasswell (1930,1948) provided a theoretical basis for the study of personality and political participation. He pointed out that complete understanding of political involvement can be achieved by our knowledge of social, cultural and historical factors involved in the

personality characteristics of politically apathetic and active individuals. Reisman and Glazer (1950) also found that psychological correlates of political interest and dis-interest are closely related with political action. Specifically he pointed out that personality differences between politically active and apathetic individuals have different impact on the action of the individual. They suggested that politically interested individuals are more self-aware, and energetic and courageous and more able to criticize authority than politically apathetic individual who feel important, dependent and submissive.

Weima (1965) carried out an investigation to exhibit the relationship of authoritarianism with religiosity, anti-semitism, anti-communism, religious conservatism, anti-protestanism and anti-ethnocentrism. A group test reflecting these variables was administered on five groups of student sample. Group one was interested in the field of religion and remaining groups was consisted of catholic students. The results of the study showed significant positive correlation between authoritarianism and personality syndromes. Thus personality factors were found as relatively permanent disposition in the individual that directs him for supporting specific ideological stance in the preference of a specific issue in the election.

Meade and Whittaker (1967) showed that authoritarianism

culturally divergent groups of college students. They were Americans, Arabs, Rhodesian, Chinese, Indian and Brazillians. California F-Scale was administered on all the subjects. The results showed that Americans were significantly lowest in authoritarianism in comparison to other groups. Rhodesians and Indians were highest in authoritarianism. On the basis of these findings, the investigator concluded that cultural diversity relating to personality as causative factors have enormous impact in the development of authoritarian attitude. Thus attitude formation in favour of some political issue in the act of voting may be determined by the personality syndrome of the individual.

Kerpelman (1968) conducted a study to investigate the relationship of political behaviour to personality and attitude dimensions. The study was based on 1964 U.S. presidential election. The sample was composed of 253 subjects. Among them 172 were in the 15-24 age group, 63 were 25-34 age group, 20 were 35-44 age groups and 3 were 45 years old. Each age group was equally divided by six. A sixty item questionnaire was used to measure the three personality variables and the one political attitude variable. Analysis of variance was computed to determine the nature of differences in the subscale scores of the two presidential preference groups. The results indicated that Goldwater group scored significantly more toward the authoritarianismⁿⁱ end than the Johnson^h group. The results of this study indicated a relationship between con-

conservative voting and authoritarianism in several areas of personality and attitude functioning.

Gore and Rotter (1963) conducted an empirical study which focused on the locus of I-E control as personality correlates of social action. Sixty two males and 54 females constituted subjects in this study. The subjects were collected from Southern Negro College students who prominently participated in social protest movements. I-E control of reinforcement scale and the Maslow-Crowney social Desirability scale were administered. Data concerning socio-economic status and religious preferences of the subjects were also collected. The subjects were divided into groups according to the category of social action, such as, from the ^{highest} commitment to the lowest. The results showed a significant relationship between the scores on I-E scale and social action taking behaviour. It was found that individuals who see themselves as the determiner of their own fate tended to commit themselves to more personal and decisive social action. The same trend was observed in both males and females. On the basis of these findings, Gore and Rotter concluded that individuals are conceived to vary along a locus of control dimension with two end points, internal and external. Thus internally controlled persons will show greater personal choices in the act of voting.

Strickland (1965) also investigated the phenomenon of I-E control using two personality inventories such as I-E scale and Maslow Crowney Social Desirability scale. The sample

was a group of 53 Negro^s who ^{ely}activity participated in civil rights movements in the South. A control group of 105 Negro^s who were not active was also used in the study. It was found that active group members were more internally controlled than the non-active group members. Thus the study showed that personality characteristics in terms of internally control may lead the individual to take part in political and social action. This may influence individuals decisions in the preference for a candidate in the election.

Sanger and Alker (1972) tried to show the relationship of I-E control and attitudes towards women's liberation movement. The sample of this study was composed of 50 women who participated in liberation movement and another 50 women who did not participated in this movement. Rotter's I-E Scale were used. The data were factor analyzed and three dimensions emerged. These were personal control, protestant ethic ideology and feminist ideology. The results showed that the participants of the women's liberation movements were more internally controlled in the sense of personal control and more external and protestant ethic ideology and feminist ideology. Thus the study indicated that personality of the individual may play a vital role in determining the direction of political action.

Abramowitz (1973) also conducted useful investigation on internal-external control in the context of socio-political activism. The sample was 160 college students. More than one third of them were the members of campus social action

groups. Rotter's I-E scale and Kerpelman's political Activity scales were administered on the subjects. The results showed that political items were the predictor of political commitment but non-political items were not able to make any prediction about political commitment. On basis of these findings, the investigator concluded socio-political actions are externally controlled.

Seshadhari and Jain (1972) reflected on external and internal control in voting. He found that voters are influenced by election campaigns and the propaganda of the competing political parties. He reported that 35% of the rural respondents and 58% of the urban respondents in India use to advice from some body else in order to make their choice for voting. In such cases persons with external control personality are more vulnerable to political pressures for taking decisions in the act of voting.

Thus the studies on personality factors and voting attitudes are based on the assumption that people may perceive the availability of certain advantages and take their own decisions. So the process of decision making regarding the voting and voting intention is directly connected with the personality of the individual. It is because any decision about voting has a personal factor. The influences of external agents or the internal forces within the individuals is positively correlated with personality syndromes interms of I-E control or interms of ideological preferences. It is

therefore important to note that the structural component in decision making is the unique personality make up of the individual.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND VOTING CHOICE

The urban rural cleavage in political involvement is an important dimension of the study of voting behaviour. In every country the gap between Urban and Rural society is very clear. In urban areas, the effect of industrialization has provided a specific type of culture which is very much different from rural culture. Rural culture is mostly tradition oriented. Again industrial workers in urban area follow the time-clock and they work for specific hours. But peasants in rural area work throughout the day and they maintain time clock with the monsoon and season. These differences between urban and rural population have led them to respond differently to political activities. Thus in respect of political actions and voting behaviour, the peasants appear simply as a qualitatively different citizens than their urban compatriots. In spite of these realizations, it is observed that urban-rural differences is the best understood dimension in the study of voting behaviour. There are very few studies that have been designed specifically to explain urban-rural variable in the understanding of political participation. The studies relating to demographic factors available in the literature have appeared casually associated with various dimensions of voting behaviour. Hence, the review in this area would be limited within those studies

which are reported prominently in explaining the other variables related with political action and voting.

Campbell and his associates (1960) made classic study on the pattern of rural involvement in the national political community in the United States and found that the rural world is apathetic towards national politics. The rural people are found to mediate their participation in national election through effective interest-group leaders. Henry Valen and Daniel Katz (1964) conducted empirical study on farmer's participation in national politics in Scandinavia and found that the farmers participate in national elections more actively through a rural party that defends their interests in national politics. Sidney Tarrow (1967) also ^{made} such empirical study on the pattern of political involvements of rural people in Southern Italy, and concluded that urban-based political parties in Italy attempt to penetrate the rural world and thus the adaptation takes place in the structures of national politics.

Henry Ehrmann (1968) made an extensive study on the political activities in France and observed that the rural voter in France showed greater personal intensity as it was evident during the campaign. It was found that during the election campaign the personal confrontations of the candidates and their mutual accusations in the electoral materials became more fascinating in smaller districts. Thus the investigator concluded that the more personal quality of politics in rural France is characterized by its greater interest of rural people.

Greenstein and Tarrow (1971) showed that party identifications in France have several implications. They found that party identification involves commitment to a political party. But the act of voting in the polls as a neutral measure is a social system of political participation. Hence rural involvement in politics in France is associated with personal interest and as such it is a participation in political system. So the investigators concluded that interest in politics of rural France does not involve commitment to a political party and the voters in rural areas are more concerned about their personal benefit.

Robert E. Lane (1959) made a comparative study between France and United States and found that rural Frenchmen show less interest in politics and they are identified as non-partisans but they are not low in political involvement. But survey results in United States and elsewhere show that the non-party identifiers are less likely to participate in elections than the party identifiers.

Stein Rokkan (1970) conducted a study about rural-urban voting pattern in France. He observed that rural France is full of people whose psychological attachment to the party system is weak. In spite ^{of} that voting turnout is higher in rural population than in urban population. He administered standard measures of participation and found that the French peasant scores higher than most of the urban compatriots. This finding indicates that voting turnout is higher for less

uneducated people than those of more educated people. A 1966 IFOP survey showed that 32% of the peasants interviewed had participated in demonstrations that brokeout in Brittany in 1961. Similarly 24% of the peasants interviewed were very interested in peasant movements in the rest of France. It showed that the peasants have an anormous capacity for participation when the situation does not divide one from another.

Alain Lancelot (1968) reported that the France polls show a much stonger picture of rural turnout and a weaker one of urban voting in 1962 national election. The investigator observed that this high voting participation of rural France is due to the fact that elections in rural France are merely occassions on which social conformity requires one to vote.

Sidney Tarrow (1971) made a vivid description and analytical presentation of an empirical study conducted in France on urban-rural differentiation in political action. His investigation was based on the reports of some survey findings of national election in France. He also conducted some community studies. He tried to findput the causes of inconsistency between survey evidence and community studies evidence and concluded that political involvement may be conceptualized into two aspects such as citizen involvement and partisan involvement. He concluded that the modal form of vote involvement in rural France is a combination of high citizen

involvement, low partisan involvement. Thus the average voter in rural France is not simply non-partisan but actively anti-partisan.

Kim, et al (1976) conducted a survey on voter turnout and the meaning of election in South Korea. The survey was made on the basis of data collected from 1963 presidential election. The survey was conducted approximately one month after the election. The sample was composed of 804 respondents. A systematic analysis of elections of voting behaviour showed that urbanization and the mobilization of votes are inversely related. Urban voters were found more consistent than rural voters in partisan support. The major source of urban opposition was a stronger democratic commitments of the urban residents. The study also reported some informations about sex differentiation in voting. It was found that female voted less than males. Generally speaking, the male voters showed a greater degree of interest in elections in both urban and rural residents. The data showed that sex difference in the election is much greater for the rural than for the urban voters.

Sex differences in voting behaviour have been reported by a large number of investigators. Hayes (1937) conducted a study on American voters of 1932 election. The sample consisted 8419 voters. It was found that women expressed more socialistic and internationalistic attitudes in comparison to male. Lentz et al (1935) conducted another study on

male-female participation in voting. He used a sample of 409 adults. The manual for C-R opinionaire was administered on the subjects for measuring their ideological preference on radicalism-conservatism continuum. The results showed that males expressed significantly higher proportion of extreme radicalism than females. Females, on the otherhand, expressed extreme conservative attitudes. Due to these differences between male and female in their ideological preference, the voting behaviour of males and females were also found to differ.

Stanger (1940) used cross-out technique as a method in public opinion analysis and attempted to find out male-female differences in politico-economic stereotype. He collected his sample from the University of Akron. So it was student sample. The findings of the study showed that women were significantly more conservative than man. Fay and Middleton (1939) conducted a study using a sample of college students. The study was conducted for identifying certain factors relating to liberal and conservative attitudes. The specific factors were sex, social class, faternity membership as major subject. The findings revealed that male college students were more liberal than females.

Harris, Remmers and Ellison (1932) also conducted empirical study to find out the relationships between liberal and conservative attitudes in college students. The investigators reported that male students were more liberal than female students. Similar study was reported by Nelson (1938)

He used a student sample composed of 3758 respondents. The sample was collected from Mid-Western, Eastern and Southern colleges. He found that male were highly liberal in their attitudes than women. Similar findings have been reported by Wrightstone (1934), Vetter (1930), Whisler and Remmers (1938). These studies also used student sample to find out the differences in male and female on radical-conservative dimensions. The results of these students were in the same direction. It was found that high school boys were considerably more liberal than girls and college women emerged as conservative reactionary group. However, men and women were found average liberal among the Purdue University Students. These findings seem to indicate that conservatism in females gradually diminishes as they enter into a University life.

A few studies have been reported on Indian elections about the political behaviour among women. Chandidas (1975), for example, found female voters giving significantly more support to the congress party than other parties. The studies reported by Goyal (1969) and Goel (1970) showed that vote turnout among females was 15% less than males. They also found that men were fourtimes more interested in politics than women. Sanwal and Sanwal (1971) conducted a study in an assembly constituency in Kumaon. They found that the females were either kept away from voting or voted only when the males in the family wished them to vote. Kini (1969) reported that females showed lower sense of political efficacy than males. Females also showed much less political effectiveness in

politics. These studies show that politics is a male affair in Indian context.

VOTING PATTERNS OF BANGLADESH ELECTION

For the purpose of broader perspectives of political activity and voting behaviour relating to elections conducted in Bangladesh, some election reports have been summarized here. These are merely descriptive analysis of voting behaviour in terms of partisan attitudes, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation as has been revealed in election.

The general election in 1970 was the culmination of national liberation movement in erstwhile East Pakistan. Chakravarty (1986) reported that the 1970 general election was a challenge to martial law government of Pakistan. He observed the various incidences that led to the arrangement of general election based on adult franchise. The results of this election showed that Awami League emerged as majority group in the parliament of Pakistan. But Pakistan People's Party emerged as majority group in West Pakistan. This indicates that both Awami League and Pakistan People's Party failed to include the national issues in their election campaigning. In fact, Awami League's election campaigning included the six-point programme as the political issue. This issue was the demand for provincial autonomy for East Pakistan. In the preparation for this election of 1970, Awami League arranged meetings in the remote corner of the country. Awami

League leaders and party supporters convinced the people that the election would be the mandate for **autonomy** and they will save the people of Bengal from exploitation of Pakistani Army rulers. On the observation of these events, Chakravarty showed that 1970 general election under martial law government was based on issue orientation. Election campaigning of Awami League was effective to induce their political programmes into the minds of citizens for making a positive decision favouring Awami league candidates. Thus the election also reflected the partisan attitude of the people. Most important and dominating factor in this election was the leadership image of Awami League leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman. Hence the 1970 general election may be said to reflect all the dimensions of voting behaviour such as partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation in Awami League as a political party. As a result other political parties lost the election with a big margin with Awami League.

Harun (1986) gave a descriptive analysis of nation's first parliament election after independence on the 7th March 1973. About 55.62% voters exercised their franchise in this election. Fourteen political parties contested the election. There were also independent candidates. The election result was that Awami League won 282 seats, JSD, 1 seat, BNL, 1 and Independent candidates 5.

The 1973 general election in Bangladesh was the first step of democratization. Harun reported that the image

of Sheik Mujibur Rahman had a great impact on the electorate. The world public media called Sheik Mujibur Rahman as Bango Bandhu and this helped to exercise enormous influence in the voters to support Awami League candidate. The investigator found that the election campaigning focused on this aspect of leadership image and the election, in fact, capitalized the emotion of people. Party symbol of Awami League was another important factor of voting attitudes in this election. Boat was the party symbol of Awami league. People voted for this symbol in 1970 election and won independence. So the symbol of boat was the symbol of salvation and people was emotionally attached to it. Thus the investigator concluded that leadership image of " Banga Bandhu " and emotionality of the people played decisive role in choice of the candidate in the election. As a result Awami League got overwhelming majority.

Khan and Zafarullah (1986) made a review of 1978 presidential election in Bangladesh. The election was held on third June 1978. Two political fronts contested the election. One was the Jatiotabadi front (JF) and the other was Ganotantrik Oikya Jote (GOJ). The JF was a combination of groups with heterogeneous conflicting and divergent interest and ideologies. The GOJ, on the otherhand, was composed of homogeneous groups. The JF contested the election on 19-point programme given by Ziaur Rahman. Its main issues were the establishment of presidential form of government, restoration ^{of} civil and political rights of the people, lifting of

martial law, repeal of the fourth amendment of the 1972 constitution and to annihilate politically Awami-Baksallit es.

The GOJ emphasized on such political issues in contesting election as the restoration of parliamentary form of government, upholding fundamental rights of citizen, withdrawal of martial law, repeal of the political parties regulation ordinance, unconditional release of political prisoners, independence of judiciary, restoration of the image of Sheik Mujib and trial of all political killings. The results of the election showed that Ziaur Rahman (JF) polled 15,733,807 votes which is 76.83 percent of the total votes cast, M.A.G. Osmany (GOJ) could bag only 4,455,200 or 21.70 percent of the votes cast. The remaining candidates could gather only 1.67% votes. So Zia was returned to the presidency with landside victory. The verdict was thus clear and unequivocal.

The reviewers of 1978 presidential election found that leadership image of Ziaur Rahman was the important factor for voters to make decisions in voting infavour of Jatiotabadi front (JF). The opponents of Ziaur Rahman had no leadership image. Only general Osmani had some familiarity with the people. So public opinion in favour of these candidates was obscure. In fact the miss rule, corruption and irregularities of the Awami League administration were very much in the minds of the people. Hence general Osmani

as a presidential candidate of nominee of GOJ sought support from Awami League supporters. This went against Osmani and he lost the election. Thus the reviewers concluded that leadership image of Zia as well as misdeeds of Awami League administration were the main cause of victory of JF in the presidential election of 1978.

Rashiduzzaman (1979) also made a survey on 1978 presidential election in Bangladesh. According to him the massive presidential victory of Ziaur Rahman was possible because opposition political parties were not organized. But the election provided the opportunity of the political parties to begin their political activities and to gain strength gradually. He observed that the JF was backed by pro-peking radicals as well as the Muslim League. The support of Muslim League provided Islamic orientation in politics. Thus religious elements as ideology motivated the people to provide their supports to Ziaur Rahman as a presidential candidate in the election. Thus the descriptive analysis of 1978 presidential election by Rashiduzzaman have added another element such as religious sentiment as an important factor that may influence voters decision in the choice of a candidate in the election.

Harun (1986) also reflected on 1978 presidential election and found that significant development of political activities during the election was characterized by the election campaign of religion-based parties. Thus the galvanizing

force of Bengali nationalism which was responsible for Bangladesh independence would no longer become a rallying point and religious forces become predominant and occupied the mind of the people instead of Bengali Nationalism. These observations of 1978 presidential election in Bangladesh as reported by Harun have introduced the Islamic elements in Bangladesh politics.

The presidential election that held on 15th November 1981 was also an important event in the political arena of Bangladesh. After the assassination of president Zia, Justice Sattar was the nominee of BNP as a candidate for presidency. Dr. Kamal Hossain from Awami League was the second important candidate for presidency. Harun (1986) has evaluated this presidential election in details and observed that the triumph of Justice Sattar was almost certain. It was because bengalis wanted to give homage beyond the tomb to president Zia. In his evaluation of this presidential election, Harun found that people were tired of political manouvering and bloody turbulences and voted for relative peace, stability and continuity in a given situation. Moreover, the poor peasants experienced benevolence in Zia's authoritarianism. The rural voters were, no doubt, made to feel appeased with the status quo. In addition, the rightist parties with Islamic banners ensured that tradition votes for Justice Sattar. As a result BNP candidate emerged as an important personality in the election and won the election as a matter of sure-success.

Z.R.Khan (1982) has made a short review of the presidential election of November 15th, 1981. According to him this presidential election was fought on the basis of issues left behind by the two dead charismatic leaders, Zia and Mujib. Justice Sattar campaigned on Zia's successes in bringing about constructive change through the 19-point programme. Thus election campaigning by BNP gave emphasis on administrative decentralization, increase in agricultural productivity. These two issues arrested the attention of village voters and they cast their vote in favour of BNP candidate. Moreover, as Z.R. Khan observed, Satter's reputation as an astitute political negotiator and a sensible administrator also influenced the educated voter's decision in voting. Thus leadership image was also an important factor of 1981 presidential election of Bangladesh.

As a cause of failure in the election of Awami League nominated candidate Dr. Kamal Hossain, Khan pointed out that people was ti red of Awami League administration. The closer tie of Awami League with New Delhi was another cause for people's resentment against Awami League. Khan observed that Hossain failed to confront the realities of the changing values of the Bangladeshis⁹ regard to their feelings for non-secular nationalism which is a blend of love for Bangladesh and faith in Islam. Sheik Mujib had understood this new trend but failed to capitalize on it for fear of alienating the Hindu minority. Hindus constitute 18% of total population in Bangladesh. Mujib and Awami League leadership did not wish to

displease this portion of the people and did not want to make Indian leadership feel uneasy by overtly accepting the new trend in Bangladeshi nationalism. So Khan concluded that one major national issue in the 1981 presidential election was secular nationalism versus Bangladeshi nationalism. This issue has great impact on the foreign policy of Bangladesh. BNP was able to realize the sentiment of the people and advocated for Bangladeshi nationalism and influenced voter's choice in favour of them.

Molla (1986) reviewed the 1981 presidential election. He focused on the nature and process of polarization, selection of candidates, and nature of the manifesto containing various issues in election programme. He found that three polarized forces such as Bangladesh National Party, Ten party alliance and 18 party alliance were very active in the political arena of Bangladesh. These alliances broke down on the eve of presidential election as they could not agree on a commonly acceptable candidate for the presidency. During the election period Awami League (Hasina), the largest opposition party, had to face criticisms for their past miss deeds and miss rule. Moreover, Dr. Kamal Hossain, the nominated candidate of Awami League, was considered to be of pro-American loby. So Pro-Soviet loby could not support the candidature of Dr. Kamal Hossain. Awami League (Mizan) and Bangladesh Muktijodda Sangsad, on the otherhand, supported BNP candidate Abdus Sattar. Thus according to Molla political polarization and selection of candidates were important factors for influencing the voter's decision in the election.

Molla also observed that 1981 presidential election was marked by the absence of any popular issue which could create enthusiasm among the electorate. The election manifestos of the political parties were simply the reiteration of their old programmes. Hence according to Molla, it was the image of Zia that worked as main driving force for the victory of BNP. On the otherhand, Awami League (H) failed to convince the people about its future policies. The party of Awami League could not reconcile its adherence to the BAKSAL programme with its advocacy of reintroducing parliamentary system in the country. There was apprehension in some section that the Awami League, if return to power would reintroduce one party rule with all the consequences. Moreover, Dr. Kamal Hossain had lived most of the time abroad and was not well known politically. Lastly inner conflicts and factional troubles within the Awami League (H) damaged the party's electoral prospects. On the basis of these observations, Molla concluded that, 1981 presidential election was the people's verdict for late president Zia's political programme. Moreover, Awami League lost people's support for its pro-Indian stance. Religion played a significant role and the people generally voted for those who mixed Islam with politics. The socialist ideology occupied a back seat and proved to be of no effect in the election.

Thus the unpredictable nature of Bangladeshi voters had been well demonstrated in the presidential election of 1981. They had been increasingly independent in their

electoral choices. Neither of the political factors such as candidate orientation, Issue orientation, and party identification were singularly decisive in determining voting behaviour of the electorate. Different issues were mingled together cumulatively in determining voter's political preferences (Molla, 1986).

Syed Sirajul Islam reviewed 1986 parliamentary and presidential election of Bangladesh. He found that 1986 parliamentary election failed to generate mass public enthusiasm. During the six-week election campaign, the Jatiya Party (JP) high-lighted Ersad's development activities and his scheme for decentralization. The party reminded the public of the likely consequence of the Awami-Baksalities return to power. The Awami League, the main opposition in the election, on the contrary, criticized Ersad's regime as a military dictatorship and pledged the restoration of parliamentary democracy. In particular Awami League used the image of Sheik Mujib in election campaign. The BNP was the anti-election party and urged the people not to participate in the election.

In this third parliamentary election, no party attained an absolute majority. S.S. Islam observed that there was no election excitement, Instead of interaction between the candidates and voters, polling day was marked by wide spread interaction between candidates and muscleman in and around the polling areas, unprecedented violence and high-jacking of

ballot boxes from the polling stations. So the election was supposed to be unfair and Sheik Hasina accused the Government of vote piracy.

The third presidential election was held on October, 15, 1986. Islam observed that a unique feature of election campaign was that none of the candidates spoke against one another. This was because no major opposition political party leaders contested the election. The BNP described the election as an attempt to legitimise an illegal regime and demanded Ershad's resignation. Ershad won a landslide victory securing 83.57% of votes cast (turn out was 54%). Ershad's victory had been massive but it was a foregone conclusion since there was no competent opposition candidate. Viewed from this perspectives, Islam concluded that 1986 presidential election in Bangladesh was a necessary consequence of martial law regime.

In conclusion it can be said that a direct relationship between demographic factors and voting behaviour has not been attempted in the studies reviewed here. There is however an effort to establish slight correlation between demographic factors and other correlates of voting. Thus the studies have reflected on demographic factors like Urban-Rural origin and male-female differentiation as moderating variables effecting much influence in the choice of candidates in election.

The preceding review of literature are found relevant to voting behaviour. These studies have been conducted mainly in western countries. Some studies of Indian and Bangladeshi elections have also been reviewed. The distinctive feature of these two types of studies lies in the fact that the western studies have grown up on survey methods mediated by theoretical supports. Indian and Bangladeshi studies, on the otherhand, are discrete and isolated informations in the form of descriptive analysis. Hence the present study have utilized the theoretical paradigm provided by the western studies about voting behaviour. Nonetheless, all the studies reviewed in this section have focused on different aspects of voting behaviour and have showed that partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign, issue orientation, ideology personality syndrome, Urban-Rural origin and male-female differentiation are closely related with voting. In the next chapter an attempt would be made . to utilize the theoretical and empirical statements given here for the outling of developments and formulation of objectives of the present study.

CHAPTER- III

DEVELOPMENT AND OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

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DEVELOPMENT AND OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The present study aims at an empirical investigation of some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with special reference to Bangladesh. The review of literature have revealed that voting behaviour stems from the political activities of the citizens and various multi-dimensional approaches have been adopted by the investigators for understanding and explaining the internal as well as external factors of voting. In view of these empirical findings reported in chapter - II, an effort would be made in this chapter to point out the specific theoretical framework and relevant socio-economic, political and cultural background for the guidance of the research investigation, its needs, objectives design and hypothesis.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ISSUES GUIDING THE STUDY

Investigation of determinants of voting behaviour appears to be a subject of major interest to the political thinkers (DeCotiis and Lelouran, 1981 ; Strom, 1982). In a democratic state, it has become more imperative for political psychologist, who attempt to understand and predict voting behaviour. Campbell and his associates (1960) might be credited for providing us empirical findings of voting behaviour leading to the development of theoretical models. Many investigators (Fisher, 1980 ; Near et.al. 1980) have found that voter attitude towards the candidates or parties may appear as main factor accounting for the prediction of actual vote. In spite of these observations, it is felt that the available models of voting attitudes can not describe precisely and accurately the underlying processes operating to affect voting behaviour in varying socio-political and cultural systems.

It has been typically maintained to be logical and consistent that a person holds a positive attitude towards some election candidate. This contention is based on Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. This theory implies that people tend to behave consistently with their attitudes. Empirically, however, the relationship between attitude towards the candidate alone and voting behaviour has gained inconsistent support. This type of

inconsistent findings may be weak linkages between attitudes and behaviour in general. In fact, the most fundamental problem of attitude research is the fact that stating an opinion is different from taking action. As Weinstein (1972) observed that having a favourable opinion about an object will not necessarily lead to take action in support of it. It has been further asserted by Weinstein that the attitude behaviour linkage will not occur unless behaviour is perceived to be functionally related to the attitude. This indicates that there is an additional element into the attitude-behaviour linkage that may be called intention to behave. In the study of voting behaviour, it is necessary to focus on the psychological aspects of attitude-behaviour linkage so that it may be conceived congruently with attitude. Fishbein's theory (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977, Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975) have attempted to provide a reply that the power for prediction of an attitude is functionally related between attitude and behaviour. The application of Fishbein's concept is possible to the present context of the study in the sense that voting behaviour is expected to be more accurately predictable via affective responses towards whom he has the most favourable attitudes.

Furthermore, the accuracy of predicting voting behaviour may be substantially improved with data on intention of voting. In this sense attitudinal data is expected to reflect voting behaviour. Following these arguments, it is

possible to give two-fold reason for measuring voting attitudes in the study of voting behaviour. The first reason is that an expressed intent to vote is a closer approximation of actual vote. The second reason is that the intention expressed by the voter also conveys an implication of voice ^mcommitment. Hence it can be argued that if voting intention is expected to prove more predictive of actual vote and to mediate the voter attitude-voting behaviour relationship, then it is possible that voter's attitudes would be related to voting behaviour only in the presence of voting intention. These theoretical statements clearly demonstrate that any study of voting behaviour is necessarily a voting attitude on some theoretical paradigm. The present study have utilized these theoretical explanations in the study of psychological dimensions of voting behaviour.

The review of literature in chapter II and various approaches of understanding voting behaviour presented in chapter I suggests that an attempt to understand voting behaviour cannot be separated from socio-economic, political and cultural contexts with which the study is to be carried out. It is, therefore, necessary to give a brief account of social atmosphere, economic development, cultural orientation and political involvement of the people of Bangladesh, which would provide some background informations of understanding voting behaviour of the citizens. These informations also

would be appropriate to formulate objectives, design and hypotheses of the present study.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CULTURE IN BANGLADESH

Bangladesh have been facing with a dilemma regarding the cultural identity of her people. When we look at the prepartition Bengal, we found that most of the Bengal culture was dominated by the caste Hindus. The Muslims constituted the bulk of the population of Bengal. But they were mostly peasants class and have little influence in the formation of cultural identify based on Muslim tradition and heritage. So there was an increasing demand on the part of Bengali Muslims to have opportunities to fulfil their aspiration of cultural identity based on Islamic religious beliefs and customs. The partition of Bengal in 1905 by Lord Curzon gave the muslims an opportunity to develop their own identity. This gave them an insight as to their own capability for cultural and social distinctiveness (Ahmed,1977).

The caste Hindus opposed the partition of the then Bengal. They argued that the move to devide Bengal was an attempt to a split of the politically articulated Bengali speaking people. The partition thus greatly intensified the nationalist feeling and gave rise to Sawdeshi and Terrorist movements (Chakravarty,1986). But very few Muslims provided supports to these movements and they happily accepted the

division of Bengal as a social reality. In fact this decision created the new opportunities for the growing muslim middle class. The failure of the Muslims to support the anti-partition movement seemed to burn Hindu feelings and sharpen communal antagonism.

Thus a sharp contrast between Hindus and Muslims was evident on cultural lines. The Muslims made utmost effort to free themselves from the Hindu dominating Aryan culture of Bengal . One positive step in this direction was the establishment of Dhaka University in 1921. As a result, modern higher education began to spread rather rapidly among the Muslims. This widened the vision of the generation and a progressive attitude began spreading slowly but surely among the young intelligentsia of Bengali Muslim (Joarder, 1977).

Thus the dilemma of cultural identity faced by Bengali Muslims found a liberal solution leading through the acquisition of secular knowledge of western origin. It was too late and by this time the British imperialism had created atmosphere conducive to the rise of Hindu militancy and aggressive nationalism. This dismayed the spirit of universalism and openmindedness of Bengali Renaissance. Thus a perpetual cleavage was created among Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus impossible to bridge over (Joarder, 1977, Khan, 1977 ; Huq, 1985).

As a result Bengali Hindus created a modern Bengali literature after the model of English literature but the

modern Bengali literature developed by the Hindu elite was not sympathetic to the feelings of Muslims. This anti-muslim biasness was reflected in the curricula of the modern Anglo-Bengali Schools and it proved a stumbling block for the Muslims for assimilation (Khan,1977),Consequently Muslims tried to imitate,for carrying out a modern Bengali literature with an emphasis on Muslim culture which, they thought,might be representative of the common masses of Bengali Muslim. Thus Muslims became psychologically aware that their cultural identity is bound to be threatened by Hindu neighbours and they would be non-representative in the face of heavy influx of Indo-Aryan culture.

Thus Bengali Muslims tried to develop positive social identity on linguistic differentiation (Huq,1984). Bengali Muslims began to consider their own style of language as an important factor for introducing Muslim elements in Bengali culture. In fact, Bengali writers emphasized Arabicised Bengali language and tried to maintain their group distinctiveness on cultural elements. The present day Bengali culture in Bangladesh is characterized in this new direction and ultimately have come to dominate the thoughts and aspirations of the people in all aspects of social, economic, cultural and political fields (Karim,1956 ; Talukder, 1971 ; Ara, 1983).

Political culture in Bangladesh is an extension of Bengali culture as developed during British period and culminated in the creation of Pakistan. It has been observed that

political culture is not sharply differentiated from socio-cultural spheres in newly independent nations (Pye, 1962). Hence it is argued that Bangladesh political culture is closely associated with social and political development of history. Thus Bangladesh as a part of Pakistan experienced two political cultures. These were mass political culture and elite political culture. The mass political culture is permeated with traditional elements. The elite political culture is personified by English speaking intelligentsia. It includes national planners, political leaders, administrative cadres and military personnel. The culture is expressed in modern language and is mixed with elements of modern thoughts.

The political culture of Bangladesh is an offshoot of political culture of Pakistan. It is to be noted that political culture of newly independent countries have similar type of political culture in the Indian subcontinent. So Bangladesh, Pakistan and India share some distinctive features of political culture in common. This distinctiveness may be summarized as follows : (1) Society is organized more around its culture than around its politics, (2) Politics is marginal to the self-image of people and traditional culture provides national identity, (3) The concept of religion gives rise to the concept of ethics in society, (4) Traditional culture takes an authoritative centre in society. As a result of these characteristics of social framework in Indian sub-continent, politics in these countries seems to

underwrite the tradition bound culture and social division. This has promoted different types a functional relationship between politics and certain special groups.

The political culture of Bangladesh may be conceived in similar fashion. Hence, the fusion of cultural forces and politics is very much conspicuous in Bangladesh. It is, therefore, arguable that political development in Bangladesh is determined by the dominant Muslim culture. Consciously or unconsciously Bangladeshi political culture is reorganizing the different facets of a people's culture. The nation brings a particular part in its consciousness depending on the needs of its ages. In this aspect Bangladeshi cultural history is a projection in which present day needs are reflected. It incorporates within its fold adequate modalities of reaching, changing or rejecting some of the self-defined political values. Each of them has ensured the flexibility of nation's political culture (Ara, 1988 ; Bergen and Rosenberg, 1981 ; Almond and Verba, 1963 and Bion, 1961).

The political culture of Bangladesh may be rightly understood in its historical perspectives. Prepartition Bengal was dominated by the elites and most of them were caste Hindus. The then culture of political Bengal was dominated by Brahminic traditional culture. In contrast, Bengali Muslims introduced Islamic elements in Bengali culture. It is worth mentioning that East Bengal as a part of Pakistan faced a paradoxical political culture. The Pakistani rulers

used to say that the Bengali lack initiative, intelligence and efficiency. Hence Bengalis at that time realized that religion for them was an escape from the reality. As a result there was increasing demand for social identity as a separate nation based on language and culture. These attitudes were culminated in Bengali language movement in 1952. Thus ultimately the concept of Bengali political culture incorporated within its fold language, culture and tradition over-powering the sentiments of religion (Murshed, 1978).

In conclusion it can be said that Bangladesh is predominantly a culture society and not a political society. The social values and religious dogmas are more important to the masses than political values. In fact political culture is highly concerned with rights and privileges between different classes of people. It is characterized by co-operative interdependence at the inter-class level. In the absence of democratization of power, political culture can not flourish. In Bangladesh there is clearly a vacuum of political teaching in absence of democratic system of government. In a word, it can be said that Bengali history and tradition, Bengali life and customs and Islamic religion have tremendous impact on the development of political culture in Bangladesh. Moreover, culture is a dynamic process and political culture of Bangladesh, as it were in formative stage, contingent upon social change and development.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN BANGLADESH

Bangladesh has a long and chequered political history. It was the defeat of Nawab Sirajuddulah in the battle of Palassey in 1757, which gave the British to enter in Indian sub-continent as a ruler. Since then Bengali has experienced various ups and downs of political life in her attempt to regain lost freedom. During British reign, it was Bengal in the sub-continent where anti-British movement started and reached at its zenith through the establishment of Muslim League at Dhaka in 1906 - the only Muslim Organization in India for political settlement with the Indian Congress.

In fact, political activities in Bengal between two world wars (1920- 1939) was marked by sharing of political powers between Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims. For this purpose, A.K.Fazlul Huq, Suhrawardi and other Muslim leaders of Bengal entered into a pact with C.R.Das in 1923 which was known as Bengal pact. The main terms of the pact were to have equal representation in all elective bodies in Bengal including legislative council and to appoint Muslims in public bodies till they reached parity with the Hindus. C.R. Das was the believer in liberal democracy but majority of the congress leaders did not support this liberal democratic philosophy. So he left the congress and organized his own party known as Shawrajya party. He decided to enter the

Bengal Legislative Assembly to use that forum for struggle for the independence of the country.

C.R. Das conceived the idea of " Bengalinationalism " and entered into an understanding with Muslim leaders of Bengal. His party captured a majority of seat in the Calcutta Municipality and in accordance with the terms of the Bengal pact, Muslims had an equal share with the Hindus in all matters. The party fought the Bengal Council election and captured about 50 seats. The number of Hindu and Muslim members were almost equal. There was thus a successful team work in the assembly and Calcutta Corporation between C.R. Das and Suhrawardi. But this team work and unity of the two communities of Hindus and Muslims did not continue long. There was a great-vacuum in political arena of Bengal when C. R. Das died in 1925. There arose soon conflicts of interest between Muslim and Hindu leaders. The issue was Bengal Tenancy Act. The Muslim leaders of Bengal were more interested in the rights of the tenants. But most of the Hindu leaders were Zamindars and as such they were reluctant to do anything for the tenants. However in 1928 the Bengal tenancy Act was passed. But the Muslim leaders were disappointed at the attitude of the Hindu leaders. Thus the political activities of Bengal between two world wars could not bring unity between Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus on the concept of Bengali nationalism.

Gradually the political activities of Bengal were devided into two aspects. One group supported Indian Congress and hoped to share independence with India. They were Hindu leaders. Another group of political leaders was the representative of Bengali Muslims and they fought for a free and undivided Bengal. The outline of sovereign Bengal scheme was forwarded to Gandhi by Sarat Chandra Bose and to Jinnah by Suhrawardi. These were ^{as} follows :

(I) The Muslim League government of Bengal shall continue to hold office.

(II) Bengal shall not join Pakistan and Hindustan and shall remain united and free. The question whether Bengal shall join Pakistan or Hindustan or remain independent shall be finally decided by Bengal constituent Assembly which shall be elected on universal adult franchise and joint electorates. The seats for the Muslims, for the Hindus and the scheduled castes and other minorities shall be fixed according to the population ratios.

Thus the proposal of greater Bengal was given for the establishment of an independent state for Bengali speaking people in Eastern India but Shyama Prasad Mukharjee, the leader of the Hindu Mahasava opposed this scheme strongly. He gave a statement demanding partition of Bengal if India had to be partitioned. Jinnah also strongly condemned the move of independent Bengal. By the middle of March 1947,

the partition of Bengal became an important political question. On April 22, 1947 Sir Nazimuddin said :

" It is my considered opinion that an independent sovereign Bengal is in the best interest of its people, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, and I am equally certain that the partition of Bengal is fatal to the Bengalis as such ". Jinnah also realized the danger of partitioning Bengal but he found it futile to convince the leaders of congress regarding united Bengal. Mount Batten announced on 3rd June, 1947 that the British government had accepted the principle of partition but it would not be done on two-nation theory. He proposed a scheme which would allow the partition of India without accepting two-nation theory (Ahmed, 1967). Accordingly he told Jinnah that " either he could have a united India with an unpartitioned Punjab and Bengal or a divided India with partitioned Punjab and Bengal ". Mount Batten made it clear that British authority has approved this solution. This solution had also been accepted by the leaders of the congress. The congress emphasized that Jinnah had to accept undivided India or divided India with partitioning of Punjab and Bengal. Finding no other alternatives, Jinnah was compelled to accept the proposal of partitioning Bengal and divided India.

The partitioning of Bengal was thus finalized. A joint session of both the Houses of the Legislature of Bengal meet

to decide whether they would join India or Pakistan. Since the Muslim League commanded majority in both the Houses, the majority members in the joint session decided to join Pakistan. After that the members of the Legislatures representing East Bengal districts meet separately to decide whether they would want a united Bengal or Partition of the province. The East Bengal group of Muslim League voted against the partition of Bengal in accordance with the mandate of Muslim League. However, the West Bengal group of Legislators met separately. As the majority of them were Hindus, they decided to partition Bengal.

Thus the political development in Bengal during British regime was unique and different from other parts of India. The above presentation of the different perspectives of political activities in Bengal showed that Bengal played a vital role in making decision on the part of British rulers about the undivided or divided India. In this respect partitioning of Bengal played a decisive role. Bengal was divided into East Bengal and West Bengal. East Bengal joined Pakistan and West Bengal remained as the part of India. A political development in the new state of Pakistan was based on national integration between Eastern zone and western zone. This integration was attempted to maintain by developing a cluster of shared attitudes, beliefs and political orientations. In this process, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) faced some contradictions. They shared a common religion but

they differentiated themselves from West Pakistan in culture and language. Soon they realized that Pakistan Administration was against the interests of the people of the East Bengal. They felt that they are being exploited by the Industrialists and administrative ^ubureaucrats of West Pakistan origin.

However, as a part of political development in East Bengal, a general election was held in March 1954. One important event in this election was the formation of united front for contesting the election. Awami League and Krishak Sramik Party were the two forces of this front who organized the opposition forces against Muslim League. The election was fought on the 21-point programme. The united front demanded complete autonomy of East Pakistan and adoption of Bengali as one of the state languages. These demands also included repeal of safety laws and to allow workers to bargain collectively. The Muslim League was utterly defeated in the general election and out of 309 seats in the assembly Muslim League received only 9. The main causes of victory of united front were as follows :

(1) Introduction of adult franchise gave a wide choice to eliminate reactionary elements in society. (2) The people expressed their resentment against Punjabi domination in the bureaucracy. (3) Slogan of complete autonomy was the another cause that motivated the people of East Bengal to cast their vote in favour of united front. (4) the demand

of Bengali as national language was another important cause that aroused the people emotionally. The united front ministry was dismissed in May, 1954 for its pro-communist leanings and demand for autonomy. This was the first blow of capitalism in East Pakistan to feudal democracy. Military coup in 1958 was the last and final blow to feudal democracy.

The younger generation organized strong opposition against West Pakistani domination. Ahmed (1977) observed that a large number, among the younger generation under 25, had separatist tendencies. They were determined to achieve economic and political control over their destiny. However the leftist intellectual of Bengal were of the view that separation would be a retrograde step because small countries have a tendency to become authoritarian. Retrogressive nationalism was no solution for the problem of an increasingly modernizing nation.

Thus political development in East Bengal faced several contradictions. As an opposition political party, Awami League believed that the constitution had to be confederate for a stable and strong Pakistan. They cited the example of Switzerland which was a standing example of the vitalizing power of confederating peoples with more than one language and culture. So Suhrawardy maintained that if the Bengalis could show understanding and the West Pakistanis could see reason, then the future of Pakistan would be more

stable. He also argued that religion should not be brought into politics and that integration could be achieved only by stop^ping various forms of exploitation of the peoples of different regions.

When Muslim League was thrown out in 1954, the Awami League emerged as a strongest component in the united front. As in all political parties of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa, the Awami League represented a strongly nationalistic impulse. The Awami League tried to formulate better economic structure for an underdeveloped country. Three kinds of economic structures have been tried in East Bengal. These are the free enterprise, the socialist planning and mixed economy. The political thinkers believe that mixed economy is worst because it is bound to corrupt the administration. Free enterprise, according to them, is the best for the country who have some hold over world markets. So it is suggested that socialistic planning is the only way for economic development in the developing countries. The leaders of East Bengal accepted these theoretical interpretations of political thinkers and made concerted effort to implement a new economic system on socialistic line. But the attempt was unsuccessful due to the conspiracy of West Pakistani bureaucrats and martial law administration.

Thus Bengal appeared as the vanguard of all political movements from the beginning of the present century. During

Pakistan also eastern Bengal was accepted as the most politically conscious region of Pakistan. But this consciousness was limited to middle class. Peasantry was not properly conscious about their rights but they were led by leaders who belong to middle class. The students were in forefront in political struggle. It is said that the coup in October, 1958 was directed against the middle class agitational politics and the influence of socialism on the politicians of East Bengal.

The creation of Bangladesh is the result of political development in East Pakistan during Pakistan regime. The resentment found ideal expression in the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state. The idea of independent Bangladesh was embedded in the political activities of Bengali leaders during British rule. It was strengthened during Pakistan regime. The dream became reality through the liberation war between Bengalis and West Pakistani military forces in 1971. The political development in Bangladesh did not find an easy expression of the people's voice. The conflicts faced by the political parties after independence did not find easy solution. There was obviously a vacuum in political arena of Bangladesh after liberation war ended. The conflicting demands of religious, ethnic, urban, rural, traditional and modernizing groups of people posed great hindrances for the smooth development of politics. Awami League as the chief sharer of independence of Bangladesh dramatically declared

a one party rule. This was a shocking experience for the people of Bangladesh. They never expected such a declaration of one party rule from a party like Awami League who fought for democracy and rule of law during Pakistan period. This declaration was a dictatorial command and the different political parties opposed it vehemently.

The consequence of one party rule in Bangladesh was very sad. There was repeated army coups. The father of the nation Banga Bandhu Sheik Mujib was assassinated. Most of his family members were killed. President Zia came in power. Army was involved in politics. Under Martial banner, attempts were made to democratize the country. President Zia was also assassinated. There was again martial law. President Ershad came in power. He revitalized the army by accepting the demand that the army has a due share in domestic politics along with national defense. Thus national defense and national politics were mingled together. There was again various attempts of democratization by holding general elections. At present there are a good number of political parties in Bangladesh with their own political programmes. Among them Awami League (H) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) are two strong democratic forces against the army bureaucrats.

In conclusion, the political development in Bangladesh in its present form is characterized by a struggle between imperialist forces in the one hand and the socialist forces on the other. But direction of political activities of the people are very difficult to ascertain. In a word, Bangladesh

is passing through a transitional period and it will take a long way to have definite direction of the political forces in the country.

NEED OF THE STUDY

The act of voting is characteristic feature of political life. The interest in empirical study about voting behaviour is embedded in the idea that Man's fundamental rights should be protected from dictatorial subjugation. Hence, the study on voting behaviour was attempted to understand the political processes that are responsible for decision making attitudes in the choice of a candidate.

It is felt that voting behaviour may be predicted by examining the voting attitudes of the citizen. Thus intention of voting and actual voting are closely related. While voting behaviour is a political process, voting attitudes involve psychological processes. Attitude formation and attitude change have been extensively studied in social psychology. Hence, it is hoped that an empirical knowledge of voting behaviour through the study of voting attitudes can provide some social psychological explanation about voting behaviour.

The present study is purely based on the theoretical models formulated by social psychologists. Voting behaviour, in fact, is a political behaviour controlled

by the principles of psychological theories. It indicates that proper understanding of voting behaviour requires inter-disciplinary explorations. Thus political phenomena can be understood in its full connotation only when psychological theories come forward in its help. The present study has been attempt^d with this intention that it will provide psychological explanations to the political behaviour in the form of voting attitudes.

The study has been conducted in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. One important reason for this type of study is to provide knowledge about the act of voting in Bangladeshi context. It is found that voting behaviour takes different forms depending on cultural, religious and political development to which the individuals are exposed. In case of Bangladesh, it is found that political development is in its formative stage. Hence it is supposed that Bangladesh will provide a unique opportunity for the application of various theories about voting behaviour and to observe their consequences.

Moreover, the findings of the present study would provide insights about the future course of action that would be appropriate for the democratization of political system. The political leaders as well as political scientists would be immensely benefited by the findings provided by the study. The study has both its theoretical and applied implications. It is hoped that the study would broaden the theoretical horizon of social psychology about voting

behaviour. Again the empirical findings would provide knowledge and guideline for political behaviour to the citizens. Different components of voting behaviour would get unified by the findings commonly found in various components of voting. Thus a common thread running through the factors of voting behaviour would be unveiled by the empirical findings of the study.

In addition, there are certain specific reasons for conducting this study. Firstly, the study is a purely scientific curiosity for exploring the phenomenon of voting behaviour in Bangladeshi students. Secondly, it is a scientific study empirically carried out in real life situations and as such its findings would provide verification to experimentally manipulated variables conducted in laboratory settings. Thirdly, the study would give new knowledge to the existing literature.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The broad objective of the study was to conduct an empirical investigation on some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with special reference to Bangladesh. More specifically, the main focus of the study was to explore the patterns of voting behaviour of political and apolitical students in Bangladesh as related to partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign,

campaign, issue orientation, socio-political attitudinal preference, personality factors and demographic variables. Thus the objective of the study may be stated as follows:

1. To study patterns of voting behaviour as a function of political activities in terms of partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation.

2. To study patterns of similarities and differences in voting behaviour as related to socio-political attitudes.

3. To reflect on political and apolitical orientation of the students as related to voting behaviour.

4. To study male-female differences in voting behaviour in Bangladeshi socio-political context.

5. To study similarities and differences in voting behaviour as related to authoritarian and non-authoritarian personality of the voter.

6. To study pattern of political behaviour as function of locus of control in internally and externally controlled individuals.

7. To study the differences in voting behaviour as related to urban-rural residential background.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

A perusal of the aims of the present study stated above shows that it emerges from the interplay of certain wider socio-political variables (namely political orientations, socio-political attitudinal preferences, male-female categorization and personality syndromes) with socio-psychological processes of voting behaviour. It is, therefore, necessary to note that as the study constitutes a somewhat pioneering effort to integrate specific socio-political variables to voting behaviour patterns in a real life setting, there are few guidelines in the literature for precise experimental predictions . Moreover, there is a few empirical study available in Bangladesh for providing empirical evidence about the act of voting.

Hence for the purpose of integration among the variables a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial analysis was computed on each of the specific variables. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design consisting of two levels of group composition (political/apolitical), two levels of sex (male/female) and two levels of residential background (urban/rural) was utilized. In addition, mean differences were computed on each variable separately. Interdimensional¹ correlations were also reported to see the strength of relations among the variables used in the study. While the general purpose of the design was to study the joint effect of dimensions of voting behaviour, socio-political

attitudes and personality factors on the patterns of voting behaviour, a few specific predictions may be offered on the basis of existing empirical studies and theories stated earlier.

FORMULATION AND JUSTIFICATION OF HYPOTHESES

A broad hypothesis of the study was that the voting attitude of the subject would be a function of political involvement, residential background and male-female differentiation in socio-political context of Bangladesh. However, the specific hypotheses and their justification for formulation have been given below.

H₁ Political group Ss would have significantly higher score on the voting attitude scale as compared to apolitical group Ss in Bangladesh.

This hypothesis has been formulated under the theoretical construct of political participation model of voting behaviour. According to this theoretical model, voting behaviour may be said to emerge from political participation (Campbell and Miller, 1958). Political participation may be conceived in terms of partisanship, party identification and issue orientation. Findings of the empirical studies have reported that voting behaviour is positively correlated with the degree of political involvement of the individuals. Hence, in a democratic country, power politics is centred round the activities of the citizens in the formation of political parties. Belonging to a party indicates that

the individual is exposed to certain political norms and ideology. It is the duty of the party members to carry out these party norms and ideological issues from one individual to another. In this process of persuasive communications, members of the party express partisan attitude as well as party identification. These people are identified as political people. There are, however, some people who do not like to express their opinions in the direction of party identification. Their choices in the election are individualistic decisions. They observe the political development in the country and examine the political issues proposed by different parties. It is possible that these people have their own thinking about political matters but they do not like to be persuaded by the election campaigning and propoganda of party politics in the country. They are, to a greater extent, passive participants in the election. These people are conceived as apolitical people. Obviously, then political people may be termed as activist, depending on the degree of their involvement in political affairs. On the basis of these arguments and empirical findings of voting behaviour, it is thought that political people would be more politically oriented in their exercise of voting. Apolitical people, on the other hand, would be comparatively less involved about the results of election and they would not try to foresee about the consequences of their voting and results of the election. In the perspectives of these

observations it has been hypothesized in the present study that political-group subjects would have significantly higher score on the voting attitudes scale as compared to apolitical group subjects.

H₂ Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on Voting attitude Scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh.

This hypothesis is based on the principles of political socialization (Searing and Schwartz, 1974). The central premise of political socialization research is that pre-adult political socialization affects adult political attitudes and behaviour. This reflects on the world of politics that can yield useful insights into adult political orientations (Beck and Zennings, 1982). The world of politics may be understood in its varying aspects. Urban-rural dimension may represent such varying condition for the socialization of individuals about political ideology. The difference between urban and rural life is conditioned by the differences in social, economic and political activities. In every country urbanization is characteristically linked with industrialization. It gives birth to a type of cultural development which is qualitatively different from the cultural orientations found in rural people. Political, economic and social activities are flourished in urban areas. Rural people, on the otherhand, nurture a different type of culture appropriate to their agricultural background. They are supposed

to lead their life in a way which is marked by traditionalism. Hence the political socialization of urban people is qualitatively and quantitatively different from the rural people. Urban people are more frequently exposed to political forces and they are, some times, born in the social environment of political activities. So the children in urban population get more opportunities for acquiring knowledge of political life. Children in rural population, on the otherhand, get few chances to mix-up with the adult political persons and as such they are likely to acquire knowledge about political issues in later period of their life cycle. As a result, a cleavage is created between urban and rural population in respect of political activities and voting attitudes.

On the basis of these theoretical explanations and empirical observations, it has been hypothesized that Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on Voting Attitude Scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh.

H₃ Male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh.

This hypothesis has been framed in the social context of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a country where tradition

in forms of religion and culture dominates political ideology (Ara,1988). Thus, tradition overpowers politics. It is observed that religion is an integral part of political thinking in Bangladeshi people. The majority people in Bangladesh are Muslims. Their ways of living are directed by the Islamic principles. People's customs and habits are also defined by Islamic religious thought. Accordingly male-female intergroup relations are tradition oriented. Male's role behaviour is different from female's role behaviour. In such circumstances females in Bangladesh have a subordinate status and males enjoy a dominating status (Ara, Huq and Jahan,1985). This subordinate status is more prominent in the exercise of political rights. Particularly in the act of decision making for a candidate, it is generally the choice of elderly male persons in the family that are carried out by the other female members in the family without raising any question about it. In such circumstances, it is almost clear that voting attitudes in male and female are substantially different.

So far as Islamic religion is concerned, females are not allowed to participate in overt activities of political in nature. Party organization, partisan attitudes of political activities are done by the male persons. As a result, men are found to engage in political activities more frequently as compared to women.

There are other causes that are responsible for creating a gap in political orientations between male and female. Illiteracy is one of such causes. In Bangladesh, females are subjected to illiteracy in greater number than the male. Because of early marriage in Muslim society, a large number of bright girls have to drop their education and engage in the work of family maintaining and child rearing in the houses. Hence, they have little scope to show interest in the political affairs of the country. Males, on the otherhand, spend a good amount of time out side family. So they get more facilities and opportunities for group interaction involving political activities. Hence, they develop interest in politics.

There are also some theoretical grounds for male-female differentiation in voting attitudes. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) have provided a research model for understanding voting behaviour in relation to socio-political attitudes, known as the theory of reasoned action. This theory states that people consider implications of their actions before engaging in a behaviour. This is called subjective norm, People express their behaviour according to their subjective norms. The determinantsⁿ of subjective norms are the normative structures of beliefs about the expectation of specific forms of action. The voting attitudes of male and female are formed as a function of their subjective norms.

So female's subjective norms and action are different from male's subjective norms and action as they belong to two different types of political world.

On the basis of above arguments from theoretical analysis and empirical observations, it has been hypothesized that male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh.

CHAPTER - IV

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

CHAPTER - IV

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The present study was designed to conduct an empirical investigation of voting behaviour as related to partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign, issue orientation, socio-political attitudinal preference, personality factors and demographic variable with special reference to Bangladesh. Hence, special care was required to develop a scale which could be applied for measuring the voting behaviour of the subjects.

It is to be pointed out that most of the studies about voting have utilized survey method. A few studies have used content analysis for explaining the pattern of voting behaviour. These studies have dealt with macro analysis of political activities, party identification and partisanship covering the broader field of political

psychology and sociology. But truly social psychological approach in the study of voting behaviour is confined within the micro analysis of socio-political attitudes within the paradigm of persuasive communication relating to formation, development and change of attitudes.

Hence a study a voting behaviour necessarily involves the voting attitudes. As Lampert and Tziner (1985) has observed that a voting behaviour model hypothesizes voting intention as an intervening variable which mediates the relationship between voter's attitude and voting behaviour. According to them the determinants of voting behaviour may be provided by measuring the voting attitudes. It is, however, very difficult to describe precisely the model outlining the process which voter attitude and intention operate to affect voting behaviour, In spite of that, it is argued that if voting intention is expected to prove more predictive of actual vote and to mediate the voter attitude-voting behaviour relationship, then possibly voter attitude could be related to voting behaviour only in the presence of voting intention. Thus attitudinal variable transmits its effect to voting behaviour only in the presence of voting intention (Decotiis and Lelouran, 1981 ; Ekehammar, 1978).

The methodological complexity in the study of voting behaviour poses difficulties in statistical analysis. Hence the present study focused on voting behaviour that might be

predicted by measuring voting attitudes. The primary novelty of the present study would be that it was designed to corroborate the voting behaviour in the framework of intention and attitudes of the individuals. Hence it was thought appropriate to develop a methodology based on Likert technique for the measurement of voting attitudes. Thus the choice of the variables and the scales developed and used kept into account the appropriateness for the sample utilized. The present chapter, therefore, describes firstly the sample and characteristics, sample setting ; secondly development and description of the measures used and finally the procedure for data collection.

SAMPLE

Background and characteristics of the sample settings

Two students samples, political and apolitical, were utilized for the collection of data in the present investigation. Political group of Ss belonged to different political organizations in the campus. At present, there are about ten prominent student organizations who are actively engaged in student activism belonging to competing ideological groups. But they may be broadly classified into rightist group of student organization and leftist group of student organization. Students supporting rightist view points on political issue differ among themselves on degree only. Thus there are extreme rightist (conservative) and

moderate rightist (liberal). Similarly, there are extreme leftist (communist) and moderate leftist (socialist). One important characteristic of these student organizations in Bangladesh context is that all of them speak of very highly about democracy, peoples fundamental rights and believe that act of voting is the only way for transfer of political power in the state. Many of these political organizations have their origin in Pakistani period. Some of them are Islamic Chattra Shibir, Bangladesh Chattra League and Bangladesh Chattra Union. The most important student organizations that were found after the emergence of Bangladesh are Bangladesh Jatyotabadi Chattra Dal, Samajtantrik Chattra Front, Jatiya Chattra League (BAKSAL) Biploby Chattra Union and Biploby Chattra Moitry.

A second characteristics of these student organizations is that rightist groups are identified in most cases as pro-Pakistani and anti-Indian. The leftist groups, on the other hand, are invariably found as pro-Indian^{and} anti-Pakistani. Thus political activities in the campus are closely related with the sensitive issue of identity problem. In this attempt the debate is centred round secularism and non-secularism, Bengali nationalism and Bangladeshi nationalism. In other words, the socialist and leftist groups are inspired by the nationalistic sentiment based on Bengali language and culture. The rightist student organizations, on the other hand, believe in Bangladeshi nationalism based

on the sentiment of Islamic religion and muslim culture. Because of these ideological differences, the students are dichotomized into two groups regardless of their ideological orientation. Loosely speaking, one may be called pro-Indian, and pro-Moscow and the other is pro-Pakistani and pro-American.

Hence, the composition of political group of students are in a state of constant change between two ideological blocks of world politics. As a results the political issues and students' reactions to these issues are determined by the parent political organization in the country.

Since the emergence of Bangladesh, Rajshahi University experienced two students elections. In these elections, ideological preference, student problems and regional issues were the vital points in campaigning for election and consequent choice of the candidates in the election. It was found that in both the elections, the socialist group of students occupied almost all seats in RUCSU. The same tendency was reflected in the hall unions also. However, in recent years, Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Chattra Dal, a rightist organization have emerged as a political power camparable to that of socialist group. Hence the political group sample in the present study is a reflection of the different competing student organization in the campus.

Apolitical group of subjects were also selected from the different faculties of Rajshahi University. They were identified as apolitical students on the basis of their

responses to a questionnaire constructed for that purpose. They were students who did not identified themselves as members of any student organization. They did not contest in student elections in any form. They did not participate in the political demonstration. However, they were voters in the university student elections by dint of their student-ship. It is thus clear that apolitical students are identified on the criteria of student activism.

Both political group of subjects and apolitical group of subjects were collected from post-graduate classes. They were randomly selected from science, Arts, Commerce and Law faculties. The educational levels of these two groups of Ss were comparable. They were also equally divided between male and female and urban origin and rural origin. Thus the political and apolitical samples were comparable in respect of sex and residential background also. The subjects were between 21 - 25 years of age. It indicated that the two groups of political and apolitical subjects were also comparable in respect of age. A total of 320 subjects were used in the study equally divided into political and apolitical groups. The sample was selected using activism criteria questionnaire developed for this purpose.

Adaptation of Ara's Activism Criteria Questionnaire

Selection of sample is an important step in any scientific study. Representative character of sample depends

on the criteria by which the sample is selected. This is because sample should be representative of the entire population. If the sample does not possess all the characteristics of the population, it shall not be able to fulfil the object^{ive} of the study. With this end in view of selecting the representative sample, the investigator thought it appropriate to develop a criteria questionnaire which would contain the salient characteristics of political and apolitical students.

Political students have been conceptualized for the present study as these students who are politically active usually termed as student activism. The aim of the student activism is to bring about a change in the existing social framework. Student activism is mainly associated with political ideology. Apolitical students, on the otherhand, have been conceptualized in terms of student non-activism. They are not actively associated with political activities leading to group action. They are passive observers and non participants in the political activism in the society.

Keeping in view of these characteristics of political and apolitical students, the investigator found it appropriate to use Ara's activism criteria questionnaire (1983) in the present study.

The ACQ contains 20 items relating to activism and non-activism. These items were presented in question forms. The subjects were required to make responses in terms of

' yes ' or ' no '. The items were randomly arranged. Sixteen items were relating to political activism of the students. These items reflected direct political involvements of the students. These were regarding political party organization, participation in strikes and demonstration and interest in national and international political affairs, events and news. Respondents expressing their political interest were considered as activists and as such political persons. The respondents who expressed that political apathy were considered non-activist and as such apolitical persons.

The investigators found 1 - 16 items of Ara's ACQ relevent for the present study. But the items from 17 - 20 were used for distinguishing rightist from leftist and this division of political persons were not used in the present investigation. So these items were irrelevant and were excluded. Hence the investigator used the abridged form of Ara's Activism Criteria Questionnaire (ACQ). This abridged form of ACQ is given in the appendix A.

A scoring of the responses of the subjects ' yes ' was given the credit of one and ' no ' was given a credit of zero. Thus total score for sixteen items ranged from 0-16, indicating the lower and higher scores for political persons and lower scores for the apolitical persons.

Along with ACQ, the subjects were asked to fill up a bio-data form. This bio-data form was used to meet the criteria of male-female division and urban-rural origin. The bio-data form is given in appendix B.

Final Sample Selection

Before application of Activism Criteria Questionnaire, the bio-data form was administered on 200 political and 200 apolitical students of postgraduate classes in Rajshahi University. In selecting the students, the investigator interviewed each student separately. A structured interview method was used. The students were interviewed on the basis of following questions. These are as follows :

- (1) Are you a political person ?
- (2) Identify your-self as urban origin or rural origin ?

Thus students were identified as political and apolitical as well as urban and rural origin on the basis of self-assessment of the students. Following this procedure, 200 political students were selected among them 110 students were male and 100 students were female. In the male category, 50 were identified themselves as urban origin and 50 as rural origin. In female category also, half of them were identified themselves as urban origin and the rest as rural origin. Similar procedure of structured interview method was followed for the selection of 200 apolitical students. Students who identified themselves as non - political were

included in apolitical group of subjects. Among them 100 was male and 100 was female. In both the categories, half of them were urban origin and the rest were rural origin.

Activism Criteria Questionnaire was administered on these pre-selected respondents. The students were contacted individually in their Halls of residence. The investigator requested them to fill up the questionnaire as accurately as possible. The instruction and items to the questionnaire was in Bengali. The English version of the instruction is given below.

" Here you will find some questions about your personal choice in political activities. You are requested to make an accurate and sincere response to each question. Please attempt each question. Thank you for your co-operation ". As soon as the questionnaire was collected from the students, coding was done for each subject separately. The subjects scoring between 13-16 were considered as political persons and between 0-4 as apolitical persons. Following this method of elimination 160 subjects were selected as political group. Among them 80 were males and 80 were females. In each category 40 were urban origin and 40 were rural origin. Similarly, 160 subjects were selected as anapolitical group. 80 of them were males and 80 were females. Again in each category 40 were urban origin 40 were rural origin. Thus the stratified random procedure was used for the selection of subjects in the present study. The break-up of sample of the present study is given in the following table.

Table - 1 : Showing break-up of sample in each cell.

	Political group		Apolitical group		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Urban	40	40	40	40	160
Rural	40	40	40	40	160
Total	80	80	80	80	320

Thus the study utilized two samples. One sample was composed of political students and the other was composed of apolitical students. Student samples were preferred for the following reasons :

(I) Bangladesh is a developing country. In her attempt for industrialization, Bangladesh is importing technical know-how from the West. As a result western culture and ideology are being imported in our country. Students of Bangladesh are well acquainted with this western knowledge of ideology and political processes. On the otherhand, students inherit a traditional culture, belief system and value orientation from their parents. In this sense students may be regarded as the "marginal man" in the society. They represent traditionalism as well as modernism. Because of this marginality in the process of development, students are found as consciousness-raising group in the society. It is, therefore, thought it appropriate to use student

sample in the study so the voting behaviour can be accurately predicted in the future development of political activities in the country.

(2) Students represent the educated portion of our society. So they are dynamic groups in the country. Hence student sample was selected because they are politically conscious and capable to express their experience more accurately.

(3) Students in Bangladesh have a glorious history in the past. Dating from British India students of Bengal are closely related with political activities. During Pakistan regime, students of East Bengal raised voices against the injustice done to them by Pakistani rulers. They forced the government of Pakistan to accept Bengali as one of the national languages. The agitation in the then East Pakistan was shown by student community. Even in Bangladesh liberation movement students appeared as a strong political force and was capable to change the course of history with the emergence of sovereign Bangladesh. Thus the students of Bangladesh have emerged as a political force to curb the corruptions from the society. They are the super-ego of the society and are capable to introduce new system by changing the political process in the country. Hence it is thought legitimate to use student sample in the study of voting behaviour in Bangladesh.

Selection of Instruments

The investigator constructed voting attitude scale as measure for using in the study. In addition, three scales such as Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale, Bengali adaptation of Rotter's Internal-External control scale and Bengali adaptation of Kool's authoritarian scale were also used.

These measuring instruments were selected on the basis of the objectives of the present study. The main objective of the study was to conduct an empirical investigation on some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with special reference to Bangladesh. The review of literature have shown that voting behaviour is predictable from voting attitudes (Lampert and Tziner, 1985). In view of these findings, the present study was designed to measure voting attitudes of the subjects about partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign, issue oriented attitude, and it was thought that subjects' intention on these dimensions would reveal their voting behaviour. Accordingly the items on these dimensions were selected for the construction of Voting Attitude Scale. Another objective of this study was to explore socio-political attitudinal preferences of political and apolitical subjects. The test available for measuring socio-political attitudes in Bangladesh context was Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale and as such the investigator used C-R scale to measure the degree of

Conservatism / Radicalism of political and apolitical students. The study had also focused on personality factors of the subjects. So Bengali adaptation of Authoritarian and Internal-External control Scale were also chosen by the investigator for using in the study.

The Bengali adaptation of the measures of personality and C-R Scale were used for several reasons. First, the amount of time at the investigators disposal for developing these scales were very short. Secondly these scales were easy in administration and scoring. Thirdly these scales were developed in Bangladesh using student sample. On the basis of these arguments, investigator selected the scales stated above.

Construction of Voting Attitude Scale

Investigation of voting behaviour appears to be a subject of major interest for the social psychologists. Campbell and his associates (1960) reported that voter's attitudes towards candidates or parties standing for election are the main factors that account for the prediction of the actual vote. The studies available in the literature are mainly based on survey reports of actual election. The measures based in these studies are the direct questionnaire. Accordingly the voters were asked to report about voting before and after election. So the reporting of the voters were subject to memory failure or intentional distortion of the facts about election. Social psychological approach

for understanding voting behaviour and voting intention were not attempted in these studies. There are, however, some studies conducted in Western culture using various psychological techniques of voting behaviour. Sharman and Ross, 1972 ; Lampert and Tziner, 1985 ; Erikson et al. (1987). These studies provided some methodological devices for interdisciplinary study between social psychology and other related social sciences. The act of voting is closely associated with intention of voting ^{and it} falls within the domain of social psychology. Viewed from these perspectives of measurement of voting attitudes and prediction of voting behaviour, the investigator attempted to develop a measure of voting attitudes using the salient dimensions of voting behaviour such as partisan attitudes, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue oriented attitude in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. Due to non-availability of such a psychological test in Bangladesh, the need for the construction of voting attitudes scale arose.

Numerous issues relating to voting behaviour in Bangladesh were studied for this purpose (Hussain, 1976 ; Rashiduzzaman, 1979 ; Bateman, 1979 ; Khan, 1982 ; Islam, 1987 ; Islam, 1988). These studies have reported about socio-political context of Bangladesh and the resulting effect in voting behaviour shown in different elections in Bangladesh. These studies have also reported data on various

issues of election that were visible during election campaigning. The nature of partisan attitude, party identification and leadership image have also been dealt with. But these were merely descriptive analysis of elections and voting behaviour and no psychological tests were used so that data can be subjected to standard statistical analysis. Hence the findings reported in these studies are not reliable for prediction and as such lack the accuracy and objectivity of a scientific enquiry. To avoid these problems of analysis and to provide the reliability and validity to the data for predicting voting behaviour, the construction of voting attitude scale in the context of Bangladesh was attempted. The major dimensions covering the voting Attitude scale were (1) Partisan attitude (2) Party identification (3) Leadership image (4) Election campaign (5) Issue oriented attitude. It is, therefore, necessary to give short definitions of these dimensions in order to conceptualize voting attitudes as has been used in the present study.

Partisan Attitude

The term partisan attitude has been conceptualized in this study as a set of favourable attitudes towards a political party, its members and functioning, having keen interest on party positions to different political activities, and belief on the role of a political party as an agent of mass mobilization and social change.

Party Identification

The term party identification has been conceptualized as a set of attitudes which admits to one's adherence to or keeping allegiance with a political party where favourable attitudes towards its leaders and members provides material and moral supports to the cause of actions making himself responsible for its success and failure.

Leadership Image

The term leadership image has been conceptualized in this study as an extreme positive evaluation in one's own party leader who is sincerely admired for and perceived by others as a saviour of the down-trodden, symbol of justice and protector of faith and ideal.

Election Campaign

The term election campaign has been conceptualized for the present purpose as a set ^{of} attitudes that approves propaganda as an effective tool in achieving political goals of winning election where mass media like radio, television and news papers are positively evaluated as tools of persuasive communication.

Issue Oriented Attitudes

The term issue oriented attitudes has been conceptualized as a set of attitudes in the individual relating to

regional, national and international political controversies about some problems which await solutions where the solutions are conceived by the contesting political parties differently giving rise to attitudinal orientation about the political issues.

In the light of above description of dimensions, the investigator conceptualizes voting attitudes for the present study as follows : Voting Attitude is conceived as (1) a favourable support for partisanship ; (2) as a positive evaluation about the activities of a political party and to think of himself as an active member of that party (3) as positive evaluation and extreme support for the party leader; (4) as an emphasis on canvassing in favour of party candidates in election and (5) supportive of political issues for introducing party cohesiveness and mass mobilization.

The steps used for the construction of Voting Attitude Scale has been described as follows :

Technique and Method used

Bird (1940) have suggested several methods for the measurement of the attitudes, Thurstone and Chave (1929) developed a technique for measuring attitude which is called methods of equal appearing intervals. Likert (1932) have also dealt with the development of methodology for measuring attitudes. His device is called methods of

summated rating. Investigators who have used the Likert method are in agreement that it is similar in its application and statistical calculation. One advantage of Likert's method is that its reliability co-efficient can be computed with fewer number of items. Thurstone's method, on the other-hand, requires relatively more number of items for calculating reliability co-efficient. Likert method needs less time for administration than the Thurstone technique. Hence the investigator thought it best to use Likert technique for the construction of Voting Attitude Scale. In this technique, five alternatives are given for each statement and the subject is asked to choose one alternative ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Thus each item in the scale is a rating device design to reveal both the direction of the individual's stand on the issue and intensity with which he holds it.

Initial Item Selection

This step involved gathering a large number of statements relating to the dimensions of voting behaviour such as partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue oriented attitude. A total of 210 statements were collected on these dimensions in the initial stage. This distribution of these statements was as follows : partisan attitude = 49, party identification = 45, leadership image = 38, election campaign = 36 and

issue orientation = 42. Based on the informal criteria as suggested by Wang (1952), Bird (1940), Edwards and Kilpatrick (1948) and Krech and Crutchfield (1947), the following precautions were taken while editing these statements :

1. The statements which referred to the past rather than present were avoided.
2. Factual statements were not included.
3. The statements irrelevant to the psychological object under consideration were not included.
4. Such statements were chosen as were believed to cover the entire ranges of the effective scale of interest.
5. Those statements were not included which were likely to be endorsed by almost every one or by almost none.
6. The statements which might be interpreted in more than one way were avoided.
7. The language of the statements were very simple, clear and direct.
8. Statements were short and rarely exceeded twenty words.
9. Statements containing universals such as all, always, none, never, were avoided as they often cause ambiguity.

10. Attention was given to sentence structure and proper choice of words.
11. Unknown vocabulary words were not used.
12. Double negative were avoided.
13. Double-barreled statements were not included in the list.
14. Words such as only, merely, just and others of similar nature were avoided.

These statements were given to three teachers for scrutiny. Among these three teachers, one was from Bengali department, one from Political Science department and one from Psychology department of Rajshahi University. These teachers acted as judges for making scrutiny as to the relevancy of each item. The judges were requested to classify each statement according to its connotation. They were required to look into each statement and to think about the nature of the statement. The classification was made on dimension-wise. Again, use of appropriate words was also found out. Whether the statements convey the exact meaning of political terms were also considered. Lastly, psychological aspects of attitudinal measurement were also given priority in judging each statement. Following these methods of elimination, vague, ambiguous, irrelevant and unimportant items were discarded. For each item the investigator first decided whether it indicates a favourable or unfavourable attitude concerning

the issue in question. Item which were preferred by each of the three judges were selected for the pilot study. Thus 91 statements were commonly chosen by the judges. These items on each dimension were as follows : Partisan attitudes = 25, Party identification = 23, leadership image = 14, election campaign = 13, Issue orientation = 16.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted for the construction of Voting Attitude Scale. In this study the selected items were administered to an incidental sample of 100 post-graduate students of Rajshahi University. The subjects were equally divided into male and female. They were asked to respond to each item in terms of 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The instruction given to the subjects was as follows : " please find some statements here about a number of political issues. I think that these are relevant to our political problems. Many a time you may find an answer to these statements about voting behaviour in our country. Please read each statement carefully and think about each statement. You will find five alternatives against each statement. Please express your opinion about each statement by putting a (✓) mark on any one of the alternatives given against each statement. These alternatives ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

I am sure that you will find these statements interesting.
Thank you for your co-operation ".

The respondents took about half an hour to complete the filling up the questionnaire. The scoring was done accurately to get individual score. The Voting Attitude Scale contained both types of favourable and unfavourable statements. Each favourable and positive statement directly expressed voting attitudes and each unfavourable and negative statement expressed non-voting attitudes. Strong agreement with favourable items were given a score of five and strong disagreement was given a score of one. Scoring was reversed for unfavourable items. Thus strong agreement with unfavourable item was scored as one and strong disagreement with them was given a score of five. The scores of each item reported by 100 Ss were summated for item selection. Thus for each item the scores ranged from (100 x 1) = 100 to (100 x 5) = 500. Hence, the mid-point was $\frac{\text{highest score} + \text{lowest score}}{2} = \frac{500 + 100}{2} = 300$.

The scores above this mid-point was indicative of voting attitudes.

Item Analysis

The Voting Attitude Scale was constructed in Likert form. Before using various techniques of elimination the

investigator computed total scores of each subject. According to the criteria used in test construction, highest score was indicative of voting attitudes and lowest score as non-voting attitudes. As the test was supposed to contain the items reflecting voting attitudes, the highest scores above mid-point (300) was considered a principle for selecting items in the initial stage. Accordingly 60 items were selected from highest scores on the basis of the results of the pilot study (Chart of item section is given in the Appendix).

In the second stage Likert's criterion of internal consistency was adopted. The internal consistency can be computed in two ways. Firstly, internal item consistency can be computed by finding correlation between each item and the total score and secondly by comparing item scores of highest 25% and lowest 25% Ss. Investigator used computation of the correlation between each item and the total score for finding out internal consistency of items.

The score of each subject was obtained by summing up all his/her item scores. A given item was supposed to meet the criterion of internal consistency when the item score was correlated positively with the total score. Accordingly the biserial correlation between each item score and total score was computed. Elimination of items was done on the strength of the correlation. The highest possible score could be $91 \times 5 = 455$ and the lowest possible score for the same would be $(91 \times 1) = 91$. A given item meets the criteria of

internal consistency if the item score correlates significantly with the total attitude score. The items with negative correlation were excluded. Again items which failed to attain level of significance at 0.01 were also excluded. Following this principle of elimination, item nos. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36, 39, 46, 49, 56, 57, 61, 70, 86, 88 were retained to be included in the final study.

Reliability and Validity of Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

The split-half method was used to find out the reliability of the scale. The split-half reliability was computed with odd and even numbers of those 26 items (N = 100) scores in the pilot study and the correlation was found 0.79. Split-half reliability was again computed of the scores in the final study (N = 320) with odd and even number of 26 items and correlation was found 0.67. After applying Spearman Brown prophecy formula (Garretts and Woodworth, 1966), the co-efficient was found to raise from 0.67 to 0.80 which was very high. Thus, it can be said that the reliability of the measure of voting attitude scale is statistically sound. The split-half reliability of Voting Attitude Scale was computed with the scores of final study in order to find out whether the change in size of the sample (N = 320) will affect the reliability of the scale.

To find out the validity of the scale, correlations of each dimension with the total scores of final study were

computed which ranged from 0.40 to 0.53 (Table 2).
Correlation of each dimension with total scores of the pilot study was also computed and it ranged from 0.27 to 0.40.

Table 2 : Showing correlation of the scores of each dimension with the total scores of Voting Attitude Scale (both pilot and final study).

Dimension	Pearson's r for pilot study N = 100	Pearson's r for final study N = 320
Partisan Attitude	0.40	0.48
Party Identification	0.36	0.53
Leadership Image	0.30	0.40
Election Campaign	0.29	0.41
Issue Oriented Attitude	0.27	0.46

The correlation co-efficient dimension-total of the pilot study ranged from 0.27 to 0.40. The correlation co-efficient of each dimension with the total scores was found higher than that of pilot study. Inter-dimensional correlations were also computed in the pilot study which ranged from 0.27 to 0.68 (table 3). All the co-efficients of correlations were in the positive direction and achieved the level of significance either at 0.01 or 0.05.

Table 3 : Showing inter-dimensional correlations with the scores of VAS in the pilot study (N=100).

	PA	PI	LI	EC	IO
PA		0.43**	0.42**	0.34*	0.68**
PI			0.35**	0.43**	0.28*
LI				0.29*	0.33*
EC					0.27*
IO					

* = P < 0.05, ** = P < 0.01

The high positive correlation between inter-dimension indicated the validity of Voting Attitude Scale. Thus homogeneity of the scale was established. It is also an indication of content validity of the scale. The coefficient of correlation between two equivalent forms of the test in the pilot study (N = 100) was 0.79 and that of final study (N = 320) was 0.67. This high correlation in the final study is an indication of the predictive validity of the Voting Attitude Scale. The VAS contains both positive and negative statements. The number of statements having positive and negative directions on each dimension is reported in table 4.

Table 4 : Showing the number of statements having positive and negative direction on each dimension.

Dimensions	Positive direction	Negative direction	Total
Partisan Attitude	5	2	7
Party Identification	4	2	6
Leadership Image	4	1	5
Election Campaign	3	0	3
Issue Oriented Attitudes	3	2	5
Total item	19	7	26

Thus in the final shape, the Voting Attitude Scale included 26 items. The specific areas covered by each of the 26 items have been given in the Appendix.

Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale

Ara (1983) constructed conservatism-radicalism scale to investigate the socio-political attitudes of Bangladeshi activist and non-activist student. This scale contained six dimensions such as nationalism, democracy, minority attitude, religiosity, violence and social change. The scale contains forty items covering these dimensions.

She developed the scale in Bengali and used it in Bangladesh. The literature on conservatism-radicalism is very rich. It was found that conservatism-radicalism is associated with political attitudes. Conservatism refer to a set of attitudes towards the preservation of things as they are. Conservatism believes that man's traditional inheritance is rich and it deserves veneration. Radicalism, on the other-hand, is associated with the attack on traditionally inherited structure of power. Its emphasis is on the equal and liberal distribution of political franchise.

The C-R was developed in Likert-type attitude scale. The subjects were required to respond on 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Hence the possible highest score was $(40 \times 5) = 200$ and possible lowest score was $(40 \times 1) = 40$. For the computation of reliability of the scale, split-half technique was used with odds and even numbers and the pearson's 'r' was found 0.82. Correlation between total scores with scores of each dimension were computed to find out the validity of the scale and co-efficient of correlation ranged from 0.43 to 0.79. Inter-item co-rrelations of 40 items ranged from 0.07 to 0.72 and the average inter-item correlation was 0.55.

The data of C-R scale were split into half for cross-validated purpose. The co-efficient of correlation through Pearson's method was 0.89 and after applying Spearman Brown formula, the coefficient raised from 0.89 to 0.94.

The validation of C-R scale was also obtained from other sources i.e. by computing C-R scores with the scores of other personality measures. The biserial correlation was computed. The r between C-R scale and Kool's (1969) authoritarian scale was found 0.58 and r between C-R and Hasan's (1974) Dogmatism scale was found 0.22. The original form of C-R scale contained 40 items. However, an abridged form of this scale containing 24 items were used in the present study.

Bengali Adaptation of Kool's Authoritarian Scale

Authoritarianism as psychological construct of personality syndrome has been included in the design of the present study. Hence the investigation used Bengali adaptation of Kool's authoritarian scale. Bengali adaptation of this scale was done by Ara (1983) in her study of socio-political attitudes.

According to Kool (1980) authoritarian attitudes express submissiveness towards his superiors and domineering towards his subordinates. It means that authoritarian attitudes show inequality in viewing human relationship. Following this differential attitudinal pattern in personality Kool developed the authoritarian scale. He borrowed the items from F scale (Adorno et.al. 1950), dogmatism scale (Rockeach, 1960) and open minded scale (Haiman, 1954) and developed his authoritarian scale (1960) for using it in Indian context.

The English version of this scale contained 23 items. Ara translated these items into Bengali. The translation was done by three experts separately. A team of five judges scrutinized each translated version. The items of which all the judges found appropriate for indicating exact sense, were accepted for the inclusion in the Bengali form of authoritarian scale.

The responses of each subject were scored in such a way that negative items had converse leveling to that of positive items in order to keep the trend of scoring unidirectional. A test-retest reliability was obtained 0.54 after a gap of two weeks on a sample composed of 50 subjects. The validity of this scale was found by correlating it with Freeman's authoritarianism scale and its correlation value was 0.33.

Ara used this Bengali adaptation of authoritarian scale to measure the personality characteristics of Bangladeshi students. The scale was in Likert form and its scoring was based on 7-point scale. The present investigator, however, used 5-point scale in measuring the responses of the subjects. Hence the highest and the lowest possible scores on this scale were $(23 \times 5) = 115$ and $(23 \times 1) = 23$ respectively.

Bengali Adaptation of Rotter's I-E Control Scale

Rotter's internal-external control inventory measures generalized beliefs in internal versus external control of events. Rotter conceptualized internal as the perception of positive and/or negative events as the consequence of one's own action. While external control is related to certain external situation like fate, luck, supernatural elements and powerful others. Hence personality syndrome like internal and external control was utilized in the present study in order to measure personality variable of internal and external control, Rotter's I-E inventory was adopted in Bengali by Ara (1983) in her study of personality syndrome of activist and non-activist in the social context of Bangladesh.

The I-E scale in its present form made up of 12 pairs of bi-polar items. This scale is an outcome of several revisions and purification done by Rotter and Leverant (1963, 1965, 1975). They eliminated those items which were highly correlated with social desirability scale. The reliability of the final I-E scale was estimated by the method of split-half reliability and coefficient of correlation ranged from 0.65 to 0.79. Kuder-Spearman test were also used for measuring reliability and coefficient of correlation ranged from 0.69 to 0.73. The test-retest technique was also used and the coefficient of correlation ranged from 0.55 to 0.83.

The I-E scale was translated into Bengali for the purpose of using it in the social context of Bangladesh. Methods of back translation was used and correlation coefficient was computed between the original English version and back translated version. The r was found 0.85 indicating high reliability of Bengali adaptation of the test.

The I-E scale was scored in the direction of external control. One mark was given if the choice was in the favour of external items. But if the choice was in the favour of internal items, zero was assigned to it. Thus the total scores ranged from 0-12, low scores indicated internal while high scores external direction. The forced choice technique was used for eliciting the response of the subject. However, the investigator in the present study have reversed the calculation from that of Bengali adaptation. Thus high score indicated internally controlled and low score indicated externally controlled for the purpose of present study. This was done for the convenience of explaining the data in the same direction with other scales used in this investigation.

Procedure of Data Collection

The present study utilized the Voting Attitude Scale, Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale, Kool's authoritarian scale (Bengali adaptation), and Rotter's I-E control

scale (Bengali adaptation) for the collection of data in the investigation. Therefore, measures were administered to each of the 320 subjects separately. The time gap between administration of the scales was seven days. This was done for avoiding response set of the subjects. All the subjects were collected from post-graduate classes of different faculties of Rajshahi University, in the Academic year of 1984 - 85. The collection of data was started in October 1986 and continued upto January 1987.

The subjects were contacted individually. Political subjects were contacted through political agents. The investigator himself approached the non-political subjects. Female subjects were approached through female agents. There were, however, problems in data collection. It was very difficult to make rapport with the non-political as well as female subject. They were not easy to convince. Sometimes they refused to fill up the questionnaire. In such cases the investigator took help of their friends so that they could realize the need of the research purpose.

Administration of the Tests

The investigator administered four measures for collection of data in the present study. The administration of each test was done as follows :

Voting Attitude Scale

The test was administered on preselected sample of political subjects (N = 160) and apolitical subjects (N = 160). The questionnaire was distributed to the Ss of political and apolitical groups with proper instructions. In this test the Ss were asked to show their agreement or disagreement about some issues relating to voting behaviour. The test contained 26 statements and each subject was required to give his response by putting a (✓) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. Thus, the response of the Ss ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The instruction for the test was as follows: (English version).

" Following you will find some statements about political activities of the people relating to voting behaviour. Please read each statement carefully and express your attitudes about the ideas contained in the statement by putting a (✓) mark on any one of the five alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answers. You are required to give your response as accurately as possible. There is no time limit. But try to fill up the questionnaire as early as possible. Thank you for your active co-operation.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale

The administration of this scale was done on the same subjects after the laps of a week of the preceding test. The test contained 23 items. The subjects were asked to give their opinion in forms of attitude about the ideas contained in each statement. The ideas were about socio-political attitudes relating to conservative or radical ideology. The answer to each statement ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The Ss were required to express their attitudes by putting a (✓) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. The instruction for the subjects was as follows (English version):

" Following you will see some statements relating to conservatism and radicalism. Every person is acquainted with these ideological propositions. Please read each statement attentively and give your attitudinal preference for each statement by putting (✓) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answer. What you will say would be regarded as your answer in right direction. Please try to give accurate assessment of the ideas revealed in each statement. There is no time limit and try to answer each statement with care and caution. Thank you for your co-operation".

Authoritarian Scale

Bengali adaptation of Kool's authoritarian scale was administered on the same Ss after the laps of one week of the previous test. The booklet was distributed to political as well as apolitical groups of Ss after establishing a proper rapport with them. The authoritarian scale contained 23 items. The Ss were asked to express their opinions about each statement. The response of each subject was required to give on 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Thus Ss were asked to put a (✓) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. The English rendering of the instruction for this scale was as follows :

" Following you will see some statement. These are some issues of an individual relating to his personality characteristics. Please read each statement carefully and think over it attentively. Then give your opinion ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement by putting a (✓) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answer. Your verdict will be regarded as your own opinion. There is no time limit also. But try to complete your answers within a short period of time. Thank you for your active cooperation and sincere participation in the research programme ".

Rotter's I-E Control Scale

This scale was administered on the same Ss of political and apolitical groups. The Ss were asked to choose between two alternatives by putting a (✓) mark. So it was a forced choice on the part of the Ss and each subject was required to attempt all the pairs of statements. The instruction for this scale was as follows (English version).

" Please find in this booklet some pairs of statements. In each pair, two statements are given. They are contradictory to each other. So you cannot choose both of them simultaneously. You are to choose only one which will indicate the rejection of the other. Please read each pair alternatively and give your choice about any ^{one} of them by putting a (✓) mark on the space given before each statement. Please attempt all the pairs. Do not leave them untouched. Your correct choice will reflect your personality characteristics. There is no right or wrong answer here. There is no time limit. But try to finish your job as quickly as possible. Thank you for your cooperation ".

CHAPTER - V

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER - V

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

The present chapter contains the analysis of results and its interpretations. In the computation of results, the analysis of variance and t-tests were used. The analysis of results is presented in two parts. In the first part a factorial ANOVA using 2 x 2 x 2 design was applied on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale and Conservatism-Radicalism Scale. The ANOVA was conducted separately. In each computation a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of group composition (Political/Apolitical) 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Residential Background (Urban/Rural) were used. The method of scoring, the arrangement of data for ANOVA and brief interpretations of the findings are given separately for each analysis of the measures reported. In the second part, t-test was computed on the scores of Authoritarian Scale and

Internal-External control scale. The purpose of this analysis was to study within-group and between-group comparisons of Political-Apolitical, Male-Female and Urban-Rural dimensions. Finally, a summary of main findings is given for an overall view of the results.

PART 1 : FACTORIAL ANOVA

In this section factorial ANOVA was carried out on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale and Conservatism - Radicalism Scale.

Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

The scores on Voting Attitude Scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analysed by computing Analysis of Variance. In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Group Composition (Political/Apolitical), 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Residential Background (Urban/Rural) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score was indicative of favourable voting attitude and a low score was indicative of unfavourable voting attitude. The highest possible score in this scale was 130 and the lowest possible score was 26. The Ss were asked to give their response on a 5-point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So

the highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the issues relating to voting behaviour.

Table 5 contains the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, sex and residential background on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale. The results indicated that main effects for group composition, sex, and residential background were statistically significant. A three-way interaction involving Group Composition, sex and residential background was also statistically significant.

Table 5 : Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, sex and residential background on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale (VAS).

Sources of variance	∑ S S	∑ df	∑ M S	∑ F
Group Composition (A)	7742.25	1	7742.25	77.12**
Sex (B)	4061.25	1	4061.25	40.45**
Residential Background(C)	567.00	1	567.00	5.65*
A B	378.25	1	378.25	3.77
A C	99.00	1	99.00	0.99
B C	28.75	1	28.75	0.29
A B C	405.50	1	405.50	4.04*
Within Cell (experimental error)	31321.68	312	100.39	
Total	44603.68	319		

Note : P* < 0.05 , P** < 0.01

However, two-way interactions involving Group Composition and sex, Group Composition and residential background and sex and residential background were found statistically non-significant.

Main Effect

Group Composition

The result of ANOVA (Table 5) reported significant main effect for group composition ($F, 1/312 = 77.12, P < 0.01$).

Table 6 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference on Group Composition (N=160).

Group Composition	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significant
Political	91.88	10.84	8.11	0.01
Apolitical	82.04	10.69		

Note : df = 159

The results (table 6) indicated that regardless of sex and residential background political Ss expressed significantly more favourable voting attitudes as compared to apolitical Ss ($t\text{-value} = 8.11, df = 159, P < 0.01$). Thus, it appears that political Ss ($M = 91.88$) have evaluated issues relating to political activities more favourably in

their attitudinal preferences for voting behaviour in comparison to apolitical Ss ($M = 82.4$). In other words, the interest in politics seems to play a vital role in political subjects to form favourable attitudes about the various issues of the act of voting. Subjects who are apathetic to politics, on the otherhand, are not concerned about the consequences of voting and as such they seldom become involved in political activities leading to the expression of comparatively less favourable attitudes about voting.

Sex

The results (Table 5) showed significant main effect for sex ($F, 1/312 = 40.45, P < 0.01$).

Table 7 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Sex (N=160).

Sex	MEAN	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Male	90.52	12.62	5.66	0.01
Female	83.39	9.78		

Note : $df = 159$

The significant main effect on sex indicated that regardless of group composition and residential background, sex emerged as an important factor in the study of voting attitudes. It was found that male Ss showed significantly

higher preference for voting attitudes in comparison to female Ss (t-value = 5.66, df = 159, $P < 0.01$). The results seem to indicate that male Ss are exposed to political activities in greater frequency than the female Ss. As a result, male Ss (M = 90.52) expressed significantly more attitudinal preference about different issues relating voting behaviour and female Ss (M = 83.39) expressed comparatively less favourable attitudes about political affairs of voting behaviour.

Residential Background

The results (table 5) indicated significant main effect for residential background (F, 1/312 = 5.65, $P < 0.05$).

Table 8 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Residential Background (N = 160).

Residential Background	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Urban	88.29	11.57	2.02	0.05
Rural	85.63	11.96		

Note ; df = 159

The results (table 8) showed that irrespective of Group Composition and sex of the Ss, residential background was found to account for voting behaviour. The

overall mean scores showed that the Ss with urban residential background (M = 88.29) expressed significantly more attitudinal preference towards voting (t-value 2.02, df = 159, $P < 0.05$) as compared to the Ss with rural background (M = 85.63). This finding was indicative of the fact that Urban Ss are exposed to more political activities and as such they are subject to political manipulation to a greater extent than the Ss of rural origin who are supposedly exposed to less political manipulation. It seems to indicate that political socialization in urban people may be regarded as a vital factor for differential preferences in voting attitudes.

Interaction Effect

Group Composition x Sex x Residential Background

The results (table 5) indicated that a three-way interaction representing group Composition, sex and Residential Background (F, 1/312 = 4.04, $P < 0.05$) was statistically significant. Thus the results reported above are moderated through the analysis of three-way interaction.

Table 9 : Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Group Composition, sex and Residential Background (N=40 in each cell) on the scores of VAS.

		MEAN	S D	t-value							
				a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
PUM	a	96.47	11.33	3.31**	0.04	4.67**	3.43**	7.41**	5.87**	7.52**	
PUF	b	88.82	9.25		3.76**	1.53	0.43	4.47**	3.20**	4.72**	
PRM	c	96.57	9.13			5.29**	3.84**	8.49**	6.49**	8.52**	
PRF	d	85.63	9.35				0.95	2.83**	1.85	3.15**	
AUM	e	87.82	11.20					3.35**	2.57*	3.81**	
AUF	f	80.02	8.34						0.51	0.47	
ARM	g	81.10	11.89							0.89	
ARF	h	79.10	9.17								

Note : P* < 0.05,

P** < 0.01

The results (table 9) indicated that in case of political Group Composition, it was found that Urban Male Ss showed significantly higher preference in Voting Attitudes ($t = 3.31$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to urban Female Ss. Urban Male Ss also differed significantly ($t=4.67$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and expressed higher voting attitudes in comparison to Rural Female Ss. Again, Rural Male Ss expressed significantly higher attitudes of voting ($t = 3.76$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) than the Urban Female Ss. Rural Male Ss also exhibited significantly higher attitudes of voting ($t = 5.29$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) than the Rural Female Ss. However, no significant mean difference was found in the attitudinal preferences between Urban Male Vs. Rural Male and also between Rural Male Vs. Rural Female. Thus an inspection of mean scores showed that Urban Male Ss ($M = 96.47$) and Rural Male Ss ($M = 96.57$) showed highest preference in voting attitudes followed by Urban Female Ss ($M = 88.82$) and Rural Female Ss ($M = 85.63$). The pattern of voting attitudes in Rural Male and Rural Female Ss has effected interaction. The interaction is plotted in Figure 1.

Regarding Apolitical Group Composition, the results (Table 9) showed that urban Male Ss exhibited significantly highest voting attitudes ($t = 3.35$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Urban Female Ss. Again Urban Male Ss expressed significantly more voting attitudes ($t = 2.57$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Rural Male Ss as well as Rural

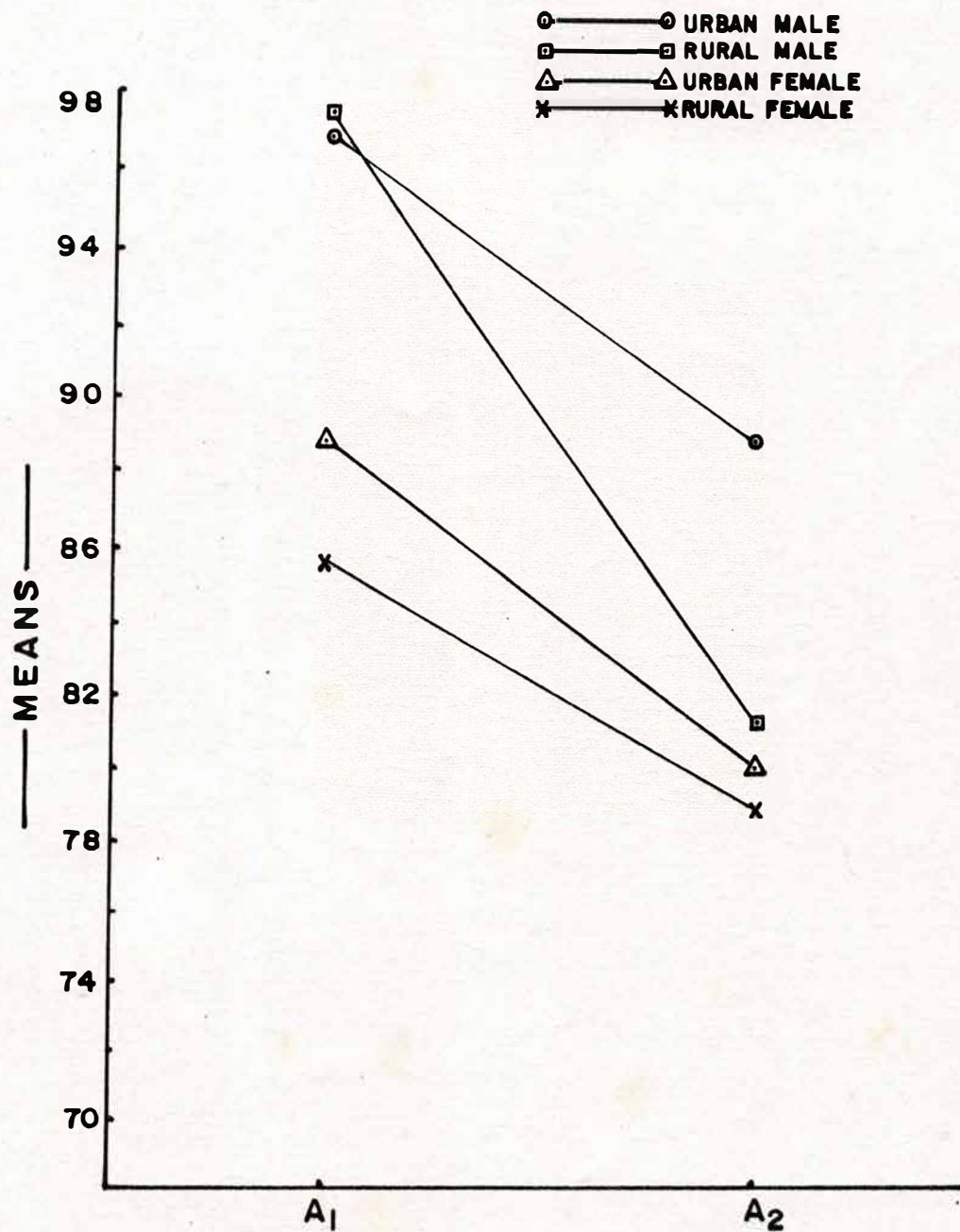


Fig.1. Showing differences on various conditions of three way interactions involving group composition, sex and residential background on Voting Attitude Scale (VAS).

Female Ss ($t = 3.81$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). No significant mean differences were found between Urban Female Vs. Rural Male and Rural Male Vs. Rural Female. An inspection of mean scores showed that Urban Male Ss ($M = 87.82$) showed significantly highest voting attitudes in comparison to Urban Female ($M = 80.02$) Ss, Rural Male ($M = 81.20$) Ss and Rural Female Ss ($M = 79.10$) who expressed least voting attitudes. Thus the pattern of Urban Voting attitudes has effected interaction which is plotted in figure 1.

The results (table 9) revealed that in respect of Group Composition, Political Urban Male Ss showed significantly more attitudinal preference of voting ($t = 3.43$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Urban Male Ss. Political Urban Male Ss also showed significantly higher voting attitudes as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 7.41$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male Ss ($t = 5.87$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 7.52$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Similarly Political Urban Female Ss also expressed significantly higher attitudinal preference in voting as compared to Political Urban Female ($t = 4.47$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male ($t = 3.20$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 4.72$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Again political Rural Male Ss expressed significantly more voting attitudes as compared to Apolitical Urban Male Ss ($t = 3.89$, $df = 39$,

$P < 0.01$), Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 8.49$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male Ss ($t = 6.49$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Aplitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 8.52$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Furthermore, Political Rural Female Ss expressed significantly higher voting attitudes as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 2.83$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Apolitical Rural Females Ss ($t = 3.15$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$).

It appears from the results (table 9) that Male Ss of Urban-Rural division in Political Group Composition did not differ significantly in their attitudinal constellation of voting. Similarly Female Ss of Urban-Rural origin in Political Group Composition failed to achieve level of significance. It seems to indicate that Male-Female categorization has greater impact in producing differential attitudinal preference of political individuals. Another plausible explanation might be that Male persons are exposed to greater Political manipulation as compared to their counterparts. Furthermore, political activities in Male and Females differ sustantially in respect of power positions. There is obviously a conflict in status between Male and Female political persons. It is, perhaps, for these reasons that Male and Female expressed differential attitudinal preference in voting in case of political Group Composition.

Another distinctive feature of the results (table 9) is that Political persons are found to express similar pattern of attitudinal preference irrespective of Urban-Rural origin when sex remains constant. It seems to indicate that political socialization for Male individuals is identical both in Urban and Rural areas. Similarly political socialization of Females in Urban and Rural areas are also identical in nature. Thus pattern of political participation seems to exert sufficient influence in the formation of political attitudes in socio-political context of Bangladesh.

In case of Apolitical Groups, it seems to indicate that except Urban Male Ss, the rest of the groups are supposedly exposed to identical pattern of political socialization. Apolitical Urban Male Ss, on the other hand, are exposed to more political manipulation in respect of voting attitudes. Thus Apolitical Urban Male Ss appear to maintain marginality in political participation through the exercise of voting rights. They represent marginality in the sense that they have familiarity with political activities of the country and have closer association with political persons. By dint of their Male status, Apolitical Urban Ss have entrance in the arena of politics. But they seldom show political affiliation towards a definite political party or towards a particular ideological frame of reference. Consequently they identify themselves as Apolitical persons and maintain

closer association with other Apolitical persons of Urban Female as well as Rural Male and Female. In a word, the degree of political affiliation in Apolitical individuals is not differentiated in the same pattern as it is found in Political individuals.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)

The conservatism-Radicalism Scale was administered on the same Ss. The data were properly and accurately tabulated for computing analysis of variance. In this analysis, a factorical design was utilized. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Group Composition (Political/ Apolitical), 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Residential Background (Urban/Rural) were used. A high score indicated conservatism and a low score indicated radicalism. The highest possible score in this scale was $(23 \times 5) = 115$ and the lowest possible score was $23 \times 1 = 23$. Accordingly it was assumed that scores above mid-point (69) were indicative of conservative attitudes while the scores below mid-point were regarded as Radical attitudes.

Table 10 : Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, sex and Residential Background on the scores of conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R Scale).

Source of variance	∑ S S	∑ df	∑ M S	∑ F
Group Composition(A)	997.50	1	997.50	14.**
Sex (B)	2065.50	1	2065.50	30.85**
Residential Background(C)	747.12	1	747.12	11.16**
A B	19.50	1	19.50	0.29
A C	5.87	1	5.87	0.09
B C	104.75	1	104.75	1.56
A B C	458.12	1	458.12	6.84**
Within Cell (Experimental error)	20892.00	312	66.12	
Total	25291.00	319		

Note : P* < 0.05, P** < 0.01

The results (table 10) reported the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, Sex and Residential Background on the scores of conservatism-radicalism Scale. It was found that main effects for Group Composition, Sex and Residential Background were statistically significant. A three-way interaction representing Group Composition, Sex and Residential Background was also statistically significant. However, two-way interactions involving Group Composition and Sex, Group Composition and Residential Background and sex and Residential Background were found non-significant.

Main Effect

Group Composition

The ANOVA results (table 10) showed significant main effect for group composition ($F, 1/312 = 14.90$, $P < 0.01$) on the scores of C-R Scale.

Table 11 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for group composition (N=160) on the scores of C-R Scales.

Group Composition	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Political	65.06	9.38	3.78	0.01
Apolitical	68.73	7.91		

Note : df = 159

The results (table 11) showed that regardless of sex and residential background, Apolitical Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes ($t = 3.78$, $df = 159$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to political Ss. It seems to indicate that Apolitical Ss ($M = 68.73$) exhibited conservatism in socio-political attitude. Political Ss, ($M = 65.06$) on the otherhand, are found^{to} appear as radical in the attitudinal preference. In a word, Socio-political attitudes in political and Apolitical Ss are inversely related. Political Ss tend to move towards radical ideological orientations while Apolitical Ss move towards conservative ideological .

orientations. Thus political and Apolitical Ss are definitely distinguished on conservatism-radicalism continuum of socio-political attitudes.

Sex

The results (table 10) showed significant main effect for sex (F, 1/312 = 30.85, P < 0.01).

Table 12 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for sex (N=160) on the scores of C-R Scale.

Sex	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Male	64.26	8.98	5.53	0.01
Female	69.51	7.88		

Note : df = 159

Regardless of Group Composition and residential background, the results indicated that Female Ss expressed significantly more socio-political attitudes in the direction of conservatism (t = 5.53, df = 159, P < 0.01) as compared to Male Ss. In other words, Female Ss (M = 69.57) exhibited conservatism orientation and Male Ss exhibited radicalism orientation in respect of socio-political attitudinal preference on conservatism-radicalism continuum.

Residential Background

The results (table 10) showed significant main effect for Residential Background ($F, 1/312 = 11.16$ $P < 0.01$).

Table 13 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for Residential Background ($N = 160$) on the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism Scale.

Residential Background	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Urban	65.44	9.01	2.98	0.01
Rural	68.36	8.47		

Note : $df = 159$

It was found that (table 13) irrespective of group composition and sex of the Ss, Residential Background was found to account for socio-political attitudes. The results revealed that Rural Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes ($t = 2.98, df = 159, P < 0.01$) as compared to Urban Ss. An inspection of mean scores showed that Urban Ss ($M=65.44$) exhibited radical orientation. Rural Ss ($M = 68.36$), on the otherhand, showed a tendency to move towards conservative ideological poles.

Interaction Effect

Group Composition x Sex x Residential Background

The results (table 10) indicated that a three-way interaction representing Group Composition, Sex and Residential Background was statistically significant (F, $1/312 = 6.84$, $P < 0.01$).

The results (table 14) showed that in respect of political Groups, Rural Female Ss showed significantly more attitudinal preference in conservatism as compared to Urban Male Ss ($t = 4.54$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Urban Female Ss ($t = 2.42$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) and Rural Male Ss ($t = 3.48$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). An inspection of mean scores showed that Rural Female Ss ($M = 70.30$) exhibited conservatism while Urban Female Ss ($M = 61.40$), Urban Female Ss ($M = 65.72$) and Rural Male Ss ($M = 63.47$) expressed radicalism. However, Urban Male Ss ($M = 61.40$) expressed significantly higher radicalism ($t=2.23$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Urban Female Ss ($M = 65.72$). No significant mean difference in radicalism was found between Urban Female Ss ($M = 65.72$) and Rural Male Ss ($M = 63.47$) and also between Urban Male Ss ($M = 61.40$) and Rural Male Ss ($M = 63.47$).

Thus it seems to indicate that political Urban Male Ss ($M = 61.40$) nurtured highest radical ideology followed by Political Rural Male ($M = 63.47$) and Political Urban Female ($M = 65.72$) Ss. Political Rural Female Ss ($M = 70.30$), on the otherhand, nurtured conservative ideology in socio-political attitudes.

In respect of Apolitical Groups, the results (table 14) showed that Urban Male Ss expressed significantly more radical attitudes as compared to Urban Female Ss ($t = 4.78$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Rural Male Ss ($t = 3.65$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Rural Female Ss ($t = 4.49$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$).

Table 14 : Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Group Composition, sex and Residential Background (N=40 in each cell) in the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism Scale.

	MEAN	S	D	t-value							
				a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
PUM	a	61.40	8.99		2.23*	1.03	4.5**	0.98	5.60**	4.52**	5.36**
PUF	b	65.72	8.33			1.16	2.42*	1.31	3.33**	2.24*	3.00**
PRM	c	63.47	9.59				3.48**	0.69	4.44**	3.40**	4.16**
PRF	d	70.30	8.56					3.72**	0.64	0.38	0.22
AUM	e	63.30	8.26						4.78**	3.65**	4.49**
AUF	f	71.42	6.90							1.14	0.51
ARM	g	69.62	7.20								0.69
ARF	h	70.67	6.26								

Note : P* < 0.05, P** < 0.01

An inspection of mean scores showed that Urban Female Ss ($M = 71.42$), Rural Male Ss ($M = 69.62$) and Rural Female Ss ($M = 70.67$) expressed conservatism in their socio-political attitudes. In a word, in political groups, it was found that only Urban Male Ss were radical in their attitudinal preference while Urban Female, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss were found to exhibit conservatism in their ideological preference in socio-political attitudes.

In case of comparison between political and Apolitical groups, it was found that political Urban Male Ss were significantly more radical in socio-political attitudes as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 5.60$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male Ss ($t = 4.52$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 5.56$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Thus the pattern of conservatism in Apolitical Rural Female and Rural Male Ss effected interaction which is plotted in figure 2. Thus high conservatism in socio-political attitudes of Apolitical Urban Female Ss also effected interaction. Again, Political Urban Female Ss expressed significantly more radicalism as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 3.33$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male Ss ($t = 2.24$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) and Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 3.00$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Similarly Political Rural Male Ss exhibited higher radicalism as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($t = 4.44$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$), Apolitical Rural Male Ss

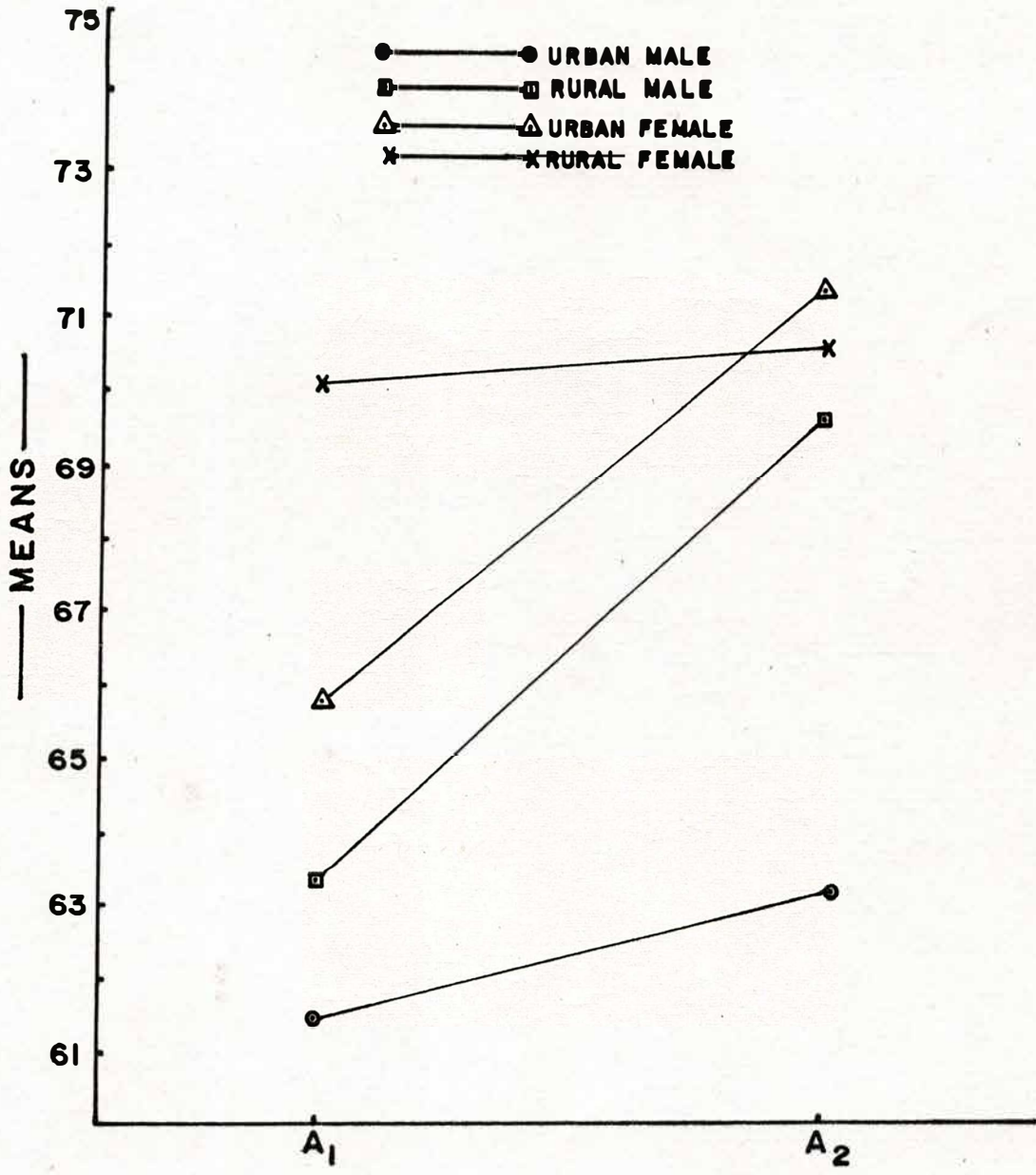


Fig.2. Showing differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Group Composition, Sex and Residential Background on Conservatism — Radicalism Scale (C—R).

($t = 3.40$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) and Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($t = 4.16$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). This pattern of socio-political attitudes accounted for interaction which is plotted in figure 2. However, Apolitical Urban Male Ss expressed significantly higher socio-political attitudes in radicalism as compared to political Rural Female Ss ($t = 3.72$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). Thus it appears to indicate a distinctive feature of the results that only group identified as radical in Apolitical Group Composition was the Urban Male Ss ($M = 63.30$). Similarly, only Group in Political Ss were identified as conservative were the Rural Female Ss ($M = 70.30$).

To sum up : Regardless of Residential Background and Sex, Political Ss were radicals and Apolitical Ss were conservatives. When residential background was considered, Urban Ss were radicals while Rural Ss expressed a tendency towards conservatism. When Sex was considered, Male Ss were radicals and Female Ss were conservatives. In case of within-group Comparisons, Political Urban Male, Political Rural Female and Political Rural Male Ss were found radicals while only Political Rural Female Ss were found to express conservative attitudes. Similarly Apolitical Urban Female Ss, Apolitical Rural Male Ss and Apolitical Rural Female Ss were found conservatives while only Apolitical Urban Male Ss expressed radicalism in their socio-political attitudes.

PART 2 : WITHIN AND BETWEEN GROUP COMPARISONS

In this section mean differences were computed using t-tests to carry out the within-group and between-group comparisons on the scores of I-E control scale and Authoritarian scale. In each test, within-group comparisons were computed of Political and Apolitical Ss separately.

In between-group comparisons, t-test was computed on all possible combinations between political and Apolitical group compositions.

Internal-External Control Scale

The I-E control scale was administered to measure the personality characteristics of Political and Apolitical individuals with reference to their male-female categorization and Urban-Rural division. The same sample was utilized for the collection of data. Bengali adaptation of Rotter's I-E control scale was used. The scale contains 12 pairs of items. The forced choice principle was used for making response to each pair of items. The Ss were asked to make a choice between two alternatives. Among these two alternatives, one emphasized on person's individual work ability, effort etc. This was termed as internally controlled items. The responses to these items were given a credit of one. The other alternative emphasized on person's belief in fate,

miraculous occurrence of events, significant others etc., responsible for determining the course of events and actions. These items were termed as externally controlled items. The responses to these items were given the credit of zero. The I-E control scale contained 24 items equally divided into internal and external locus of control. Thus the highest possible score in this scale was 12 and the lowest possible score was zero. The high score was indicative of internally controlled personality and low score was indicative of externally controlled personality. The mid-point 6 was worked out for making a demarcation between internally and externally controlled individuals. Hence Ss having scores above 6 was regarded as internally controlled individuals. Similarly Ss having scores below 6 were regarded as externally controlled individuals. Following these principles, within-group and between-group comparisons were computed using t-test.

Within Group Comparison

Political Group : In this comparison mean differences were computed (table 15) between Urban Male Vs. Urban Female, Urban Male Vs. Rural Male, Urban Male Vs. Rural Female, Urban Female Vs. Rural Male, Urban Female Vs. Rural Female and Rural Male Vs. Rural Female. The results (table 15) showed that political Urban Male Ss ($M = 7.27$) were significantly more

internally controlled ($t = 2.70$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Political Urban Female Ss ($M = 6.27$). Again Political Urban Male Ss were also found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 3.68$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Rural Female Ss ($M = 5.87$). Similarly, Political Rural Male Ss ($M = 7.60$) were found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 3.80$, $df=39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Urban Female Ss ($M = 6.27$) as well as Political Rural Female Ss ($t=4.43$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$). However, no significant mean difference was obtained between Political Urban Male and Political Rural Male Ss and also between Political Urban Female and Political Rural Female Ss.

Table 15 : Showing within-group comparison between PUM-PUF, PUM-PRM, PUM-PRF, PUF-PRM, PUF-PRF and PRM-PRF on the scores of I-E control scale ($N = 40$).

	\bar{X} MEAN	\bar{X} S D	\bar{X} PUM	\bar{X} PUF	\bar{X} PRM	\bar{X} PRF
PUM	7.27	1.66		2.70*	1.03	3.68**
PUF	6.27	1.58			3.80**	1.01
PRM	7.60	1.56				4.43**
PRF	5.87	1.91				

Note : $P^* < 0.05$, $P^{**} < 0.01$, $df = 39$

1-E CONTROL SCALE
Political Group

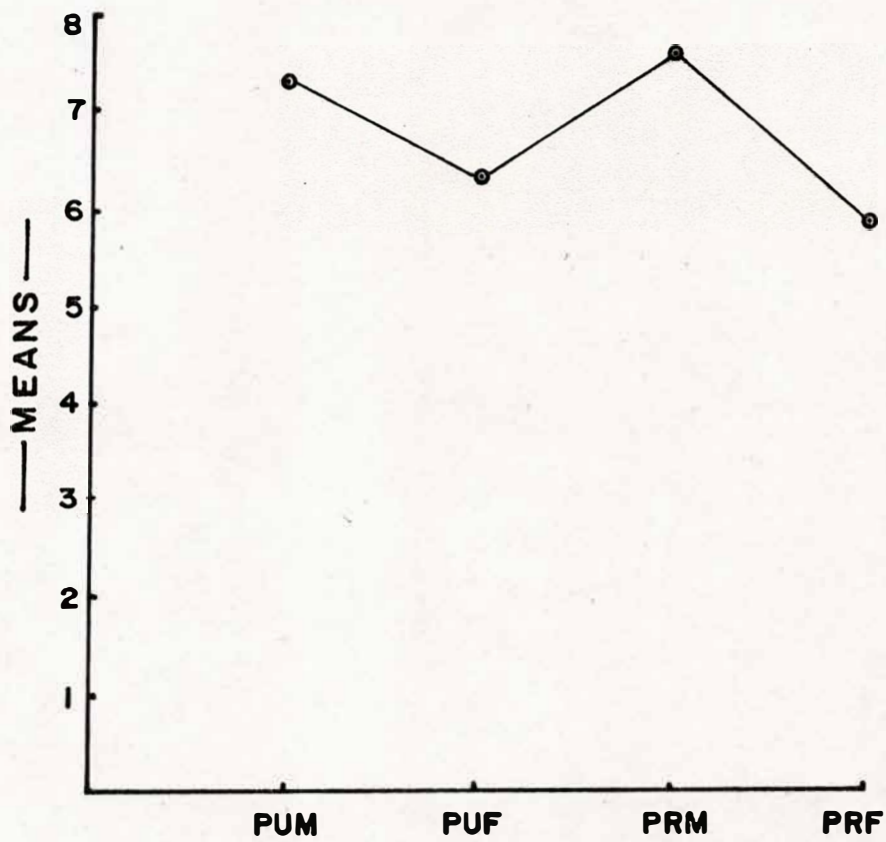


Fig.3. Graph representing within group comparisons of Political Ss, between PUM, PUF, PRM and PRF on the scores of 1-E Control Scale.

An inspection of mean scores (table 15) showed that Political Urban Male ($M = 7.27$) and Political Rural Male ($M = 7.60$) Ss exhibited highest scores in the direction of internal control followed by Political Urban Female Ss ($M = 6.27$) and Political Rural Female Ss ($M = 5.87$). Thus Political Rural Female Ss were found in the direction of external control. It is, therefore, obvious that Political Rural Female Ss expressed their beliefs in external factors like fate and significant others as factors in influencing their courses of actions. Political Urban Male, Urban Female and Rural Male Ss, on the otherhand, were found to believe in work ability and effort as factors responsible for their actions. Graphic representation of within-group comparison of political Ss is given in figure 3.

Apolitical Group : Results (table 16) showed that Apolitical Urban Male Ss ($M = 7.40$) differed significantly ($t=3.66$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) from Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($M = 5.97$) on the scores of I-E control scale indicating Urban Male ($M = 7.40$) Ss internally controlled and Urban Female Ss ($M = 5.97$) as externally controlled. Similarly Apolitical Urban Male Ss obtained significantly higher score ($t = 3.60$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($M = 5.92$) indicating the latter as externally controlled. Thus the results showed that in case of Apolitical Group composition, Urban Male ($M = 7.40$) obtained highest score followed by Rural

I - E CONTROL SCALE
Apolltical Group

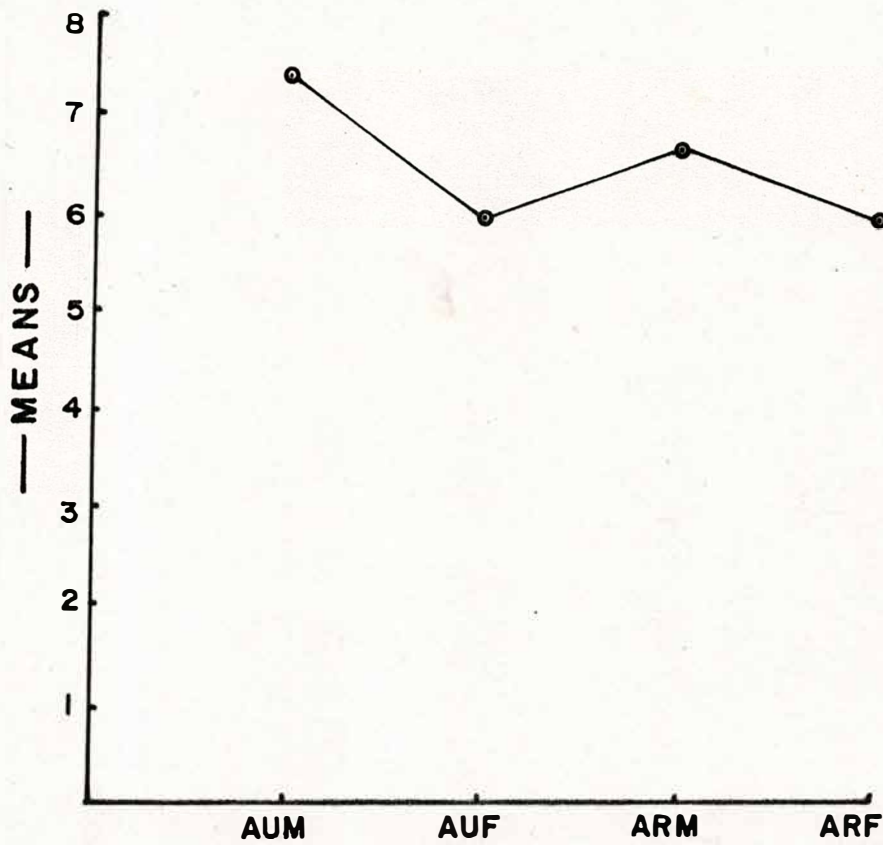


Fig.4. Graph representing within-group comparisons of Apolltical Ss, between AUM, AUF, ARM and ARF on the scores of I - E Control Scale.

Table 16 : Showing within-group comparison between AUM-AUF, AUM-ARM, AUM-ARF, AUF-ARM, AUF-ARF and ARM-ARF on the scores of I-E control scale (N = 40).

	MEAN	S D	t-value			
			AUM	AUF	ARM	ARF
AUM	7.40	1.46		3.66**	2.10	3.60**
AUF	5.97	1.98			1.43	0.10
ARM	5.50	1.91				1.51
ARF	5.92	2.12				

Note : P** < 0.001, df = 39.

Male (M = 6.60), Urban Female (M = 5.97) and Rural Female (M = 5.92). Thus scores of Urban Male and Rural Male Ss were in internally controlled direction while scores of Urban Female and Rural Female Ss were in externally controlled direction. Graphic representation of within-group comparisons of Apolitical Ss is given in figure 4.

Between Group Comparison

Comparisons between Political and Apolitical Group compositions (table 17) showed that Political Urban Male Ss (M = 7.27) obtained significantly higher score (t=3.17 df = 39, P < 0.01) indicating more internally controlled as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss.

Table 17 : Showing group comparisons between Political and Apolitical Ss on various combinations of sex and Residential Background on the scores of I-E control scale (N = 40).

Political			Apolitical			t	Level of significance
Mean	S D		Mean	S D			
UM	7.27	1.66	UM	7.40	1.46	0.37	n.s
UM	7.27	1.66	UF	5.97	1.98	3.17	0.01
UM	7.27	1.66	RM	6.60	1.91	1.67	n.s
UM	7.27	1.66	RF	5.92	2.12	3.13	0.01
UF	6.27	1.58	UM	7.40	1.46	3.32	0.01
UF	6.27	1.58	UF	5.97	1.98	0.75	n.s
UF	6.27	1.58	RM	6.60	1.91	0.84	n.s
UF	6.27	1.58	RF	5.92	2.12	0.83	n.s
RM	7.60	1.56	UM	7.40	1.46	0.85	n.s
RM	7.60	1.56	UF	5.97	1.98	4.07	0.01
RM	7.60	1.56	RM	6.60	1.91	2.56	0.05
RM	7.60	1.56	RF	5.92	2.12	4.00	0.01
RF	5.87	1.91	UM	7.40	1.46	4.02	0.01
RF	5.87	1.91	UF	5.97	1.98	0.22	n.s
RF	5.87	1.91	RM	6.60	1.91	1.69	n.s
RF	5.87	1.91	RF	5.92	2.12	0.11	n.s

df = 39

I—E CONTROL SCALE
Political Groups Vs. Apolitical Groups

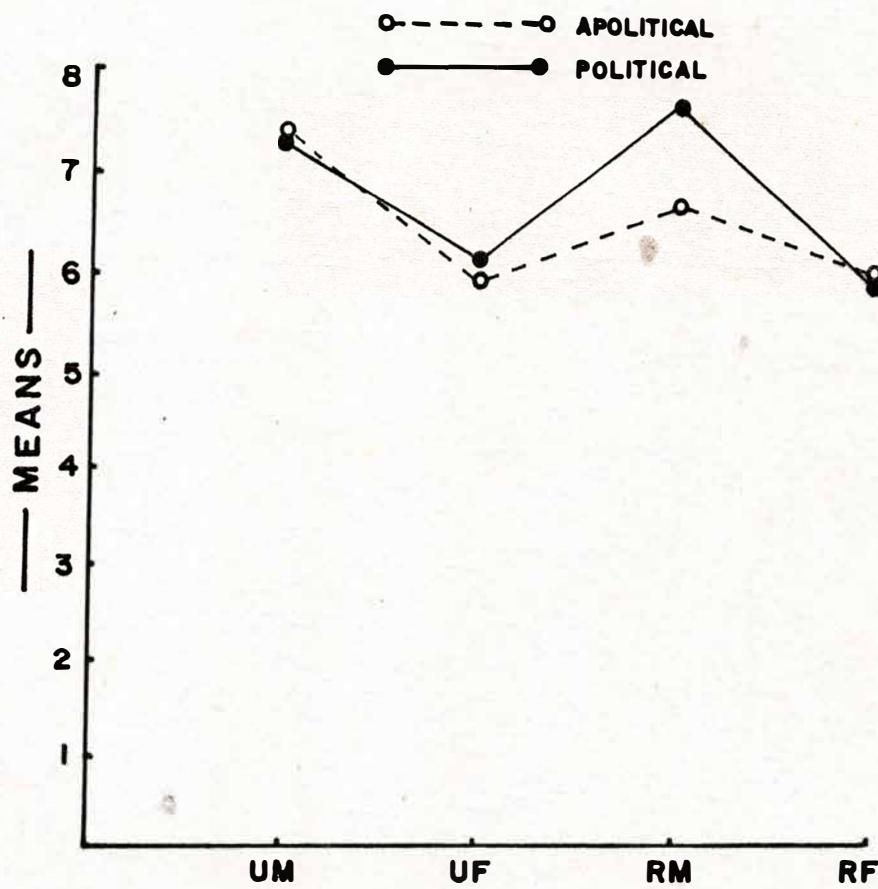


Fig.5. Graph representing between - group comparison between Political and Apolitical Ss with different group combinations on the scores of I—E Control Scale .

($M = 5.97$). Again, Political Urban Male Ss were found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 3.13$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($M = 5.92$). However, Apolitical Urban Male Ss ($M = 7.40$) were found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 3.32$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Urban Female Ss ($M = 6.27$). Furthermore, Political Rural Male Ss ($M = 7.60$) were found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 4.07$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Urban Female Ss ($M = 5.97$). Also Political Rural Male Ss obtained significantly higher score ($t = 2.56$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.05$) indicating more internally controlled as compared to Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($M = 6.60$). Moreover, Political Rural Male Ss ($M = 7.60$) were found more internally controlled ($t = 4.00$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Rural Female Ss ($M = 5.92$). Graphic representation of Group Comparisons between Political and Apolitical Ss is given in figure 5.

The results (table 18) showed that Political Male Ss ($M = 7.43$) were found significantly more internally controlled ($t = 4.84$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Female Ss ($M = 6.07$).

Table 18 : Showing Group Comparisons between PM-PF and PU-PR on the scores of Internal-External control scale (N = 80).

	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance	Groups compared
PM	7.43	1.87	4.84	0.01	PM Vs. PF
PF	6.07	1.70			
PU	6.77	1.50	1.50	n.s	PU Vs. PR
PR	6.73	1.70			

Note : df = 79

An inspection of mean scores (table 17) showed that irrespective of Urban-Rural Background, the Political Male Ss (M = 7.43) as well as Political Female Ss (M=6.07) scored above mid-point (6). This seems to indicate that both the Political Groups of Male and Female Ss are internally controlled. However, the Political Male Ss are significantly more internally controlled than the Political Female Ss. Thus it appears that the differences between Male and Female Ss with Political orientation differ in degree only. This qualitative difference on locus of control in Male and Female may be due to differences in the degree and intensity in Political activities. Political Male Ss may have higher confidence in their work ability and as such they may command greater influence to direct the courses of action. Political Female Ss, on the otherhand, might have less involvement in Political activities and as such they have comparatively

less command over the courses of action. Due to these differences of Political orientations in Male and Female, they differ in locus of control in influencing course of actions.

However, no significant mean difference (table 18) was obtained between Political Urban and Political Rural Ss. In spite of that the Political Urban (M = 6.77) and Political Rural (M = 6.73) Ss scored above mid-point (6) indicating both the Groups as internally controlled in making their decisions about the outcome of events.

Group comparisons were also computed between AM-AF and AU-AR on the scores of Internal-External control scale (M = 80). The results (table 19)

Table 19 : Showing Group Comparisons between AM-AF and AU-AR on the scores of Internal-External Control Scale (N = 80).

	Mean	S	D	t-value	Level of significance	Groups compared
AM	7.00	1.69		3.53	0.01	AM Vs. AF
AF	5.94	2.06				
AU	6.68	1.74		1.25	n.s	AU Vs. AR
AR	6.26	2.50				

Note : df = 79

showed that Apolitical Male Ss (M = 7.00) expressed significantly more choices in the direction of internal locus of control (t = 3,53, df = 79 , P < 0.01) in comparison to

Apolitical Female Ss ($M = 5.94$). Thus regardless of Urban-Rural residential background, Apolitical Male Ss ($M = 7.00$) were found internally controlled and Apolitical Female Ss ($M = 5.94$) were found externally controlled. However, no significant difference was obtained between Apolitical Urban and Apolitical Rural Ss. In spite of that both Apolitical Urban ($M = 6.68$) and Apolitical Rural ($M = 6.26$) Ss were found internally controlled. Thus regardless of Male-Female categorization, Apolitical Urban and Apolitical Rural Ss expressed identical locus of control in respect of personality syndromes.

Group Comparison between Political and Apolitical Ss on Male-Female division and Urban-Rural background were also computed using t-test.

The results (table 20) showed that political Male Ss ($M = 7.43$) exhibited significantly more internal in locus of control ($t = 4.81, df = 79, P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Female Ss ($M = 5.94$). Again Apolitical Male Ss ($M = 7.00$) were found more internally controlled ($t = 3.37, df = 79, P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Female Ss ($M = 6.09$). This seems to indicate that regardless of Urban-Rural background, both Political and Apolitical Male Ss were more internally controlled than their counterparts.

Table 20 : Showing Group Comparison between Political and Apolitical Ss on Male-Female division and Urban-Rural background on the scores of Internal-External control scale (N=80).

	Political		Apolitical			t-value	Level of significance
	Mean	S D	Mean	S	D		
PM	7.43	1.87	AM	7.00	1.69	1.53	n.s
PM	7.43	1.87	AF	5.94	2.06	4.81	0.01
PF	6.09	1.70	AM	7.00	1.69	3.37	0.01
PF	6.09	1.70	AF	5.94	2.06	0.50	n.s
PU	6.77	1.50	AU	6.68	1.74	0.36	n.s
PU	6.77	1.50	AR	6.26	2.50	1.59	n.s
PR	6.73	1.70	AU	6.68	1.74	0.18	n.s
PR	6.73	1.70	AR	6.26	2.50	1.88	n.s

Note : df = 79

Regardless of Sex and Residential Background, mean comparisons were computed between the scores of Political and Apolitical Ss.

Table 21 : Showing mean comparisons between Political and Apolitical Groups on the scores of Internal-External control scale (N = 160).

Group Composition	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Political	6.75	1.87	1.33	n.s
Apolitical	6.47	1.97		

Note : df = 159.

The results (table 21) showed that mean differences between Political and Apolitical Ss failed to achieve the level of statistical significance. However, an inspection of mean scores showed that regardless of sex and Residential Background both Political (M = 6.75) and Apolitical (M = 6.47) groups obtained scores above mid-point (6) which indicated that both the group were internally controlled in respect of their beliefs about mode of action in their lives. (Fig 3 9)

To sum up : Political Urban Male and Rural Male Ss were found highly internally controlled followed by Political Urban Female and Rural Female Ss. However, Political Rural Female Ss were found externally controlled while all other groups were internally controlled.

Apolitical Rural Male Ss were found highly internally controlled followed by Apolitical Rural Male Ss, Apolitical Urban Female Ss and Apolitical Rural Female Ss. Apolitical Urban Male and Rural Male Ss were found internally controlled while Apolitical Rural Male and Rural Female Ss were found externally controlled.

Political Urban Male Ss were highly internally controlled followed by Apolitical Urban Female and Apolitical Rural Female Ss.

Political Male Ss were more internally controlled as compared to Political Female Ss. Apolitical Male Ss were also more internally controlled than Apolitical Female Ss.

I - E Control Scale

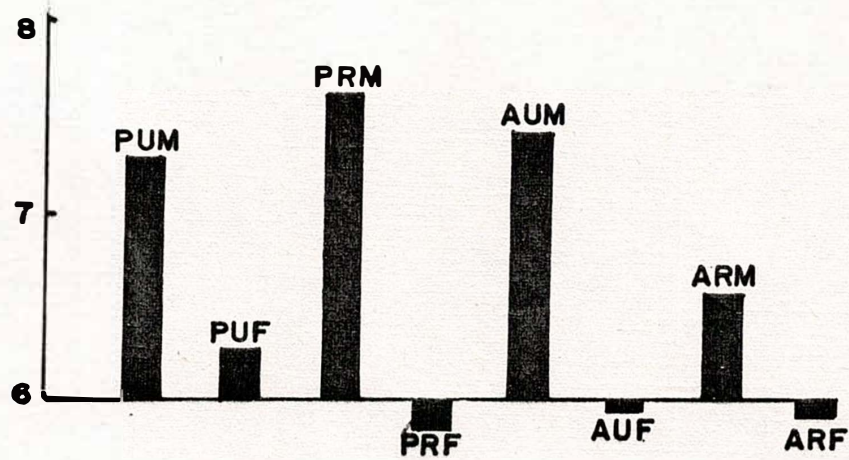


Fig. 9. Histogram representing within group comparison between Male and Female Ss along the mid-point of I-E Control Scale for Political and Apolitical group composition.

Political Male Ss were more internally controlled than Apolitical Female Ss. But Apolitical Male Ss were more internally controlled than Political Female Ss. No significant difference was found between Political and Apolitical groups regarding locus of control. But Apolitical Urban Male Ss were found highly internally controlled as compared to Political Urban Female Ss. Political Rural Male Ss were also found highly internally controlled in comparison to Apolitical Urban Female, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. But Apolitical Urban Male Ss were found more internally controlled in comparison to Political Rural Female Ss. However, Political Rural Female Ss scored in externally controlled direction.

Political Male Ss were more internally controlled than Political Female Ss. Similarly Apolitical Male Ss were more internally controlled than Apolitical Female Ss. Both Political and Apolitical Male Ss were found more internally controlled as compared to their female counterparts. No significant difference was obtained between Political and Apolitical groups.

Authoritarian Scale

The authoritarian scale was administered on the same Ss. The purpose of this scale was to measure the personality of the Ss in authoritarian direction. The scale contains 23 items. The Ss were asked to make response on

5-point scale ranging from strong agreement indicating high authoritarian and strong disagreement indicating least authoritarian. High score indicated high authoritarian and low score indicated non-authoritarian. Highest possible score was (23 x 5) = 115 and the lowest possible score was (23 x 1) = 23. Thus the mid-point was 69. Hence subjects having scores above 69 were regarded as highly authoritarian and the Ss having scores below 69 were regarded as non-authoritarian. For the preparation of results, the data were coded properly and t-value was computed to find out the differences within-groups and between-groups of Political and Apolitical Ss.

Within-Group Comparison

Political Group : In this comparison, mean differences were computed using t-test on Political Urban Male Vs. Political Urban Female, Political Urban Male Vs. Political Rural Male, Political Urban Male Vs. Political Rural Female, Political Urban Female Vs. Political Rural Male, Political Urban Female Vs. Political Rural Female and Political Rural Male Vs. Political Rural Female.

The results (table 22) showed that Political Urban Female Ss (M = 80.62) were significantly more authoritarian (t = 3.53, df = 39, P < 0.01) in comparison to Political Urban Male Ss (M = 75.92). Again Political Urban Female

AUTHORITARIAN SCALE
Political Group

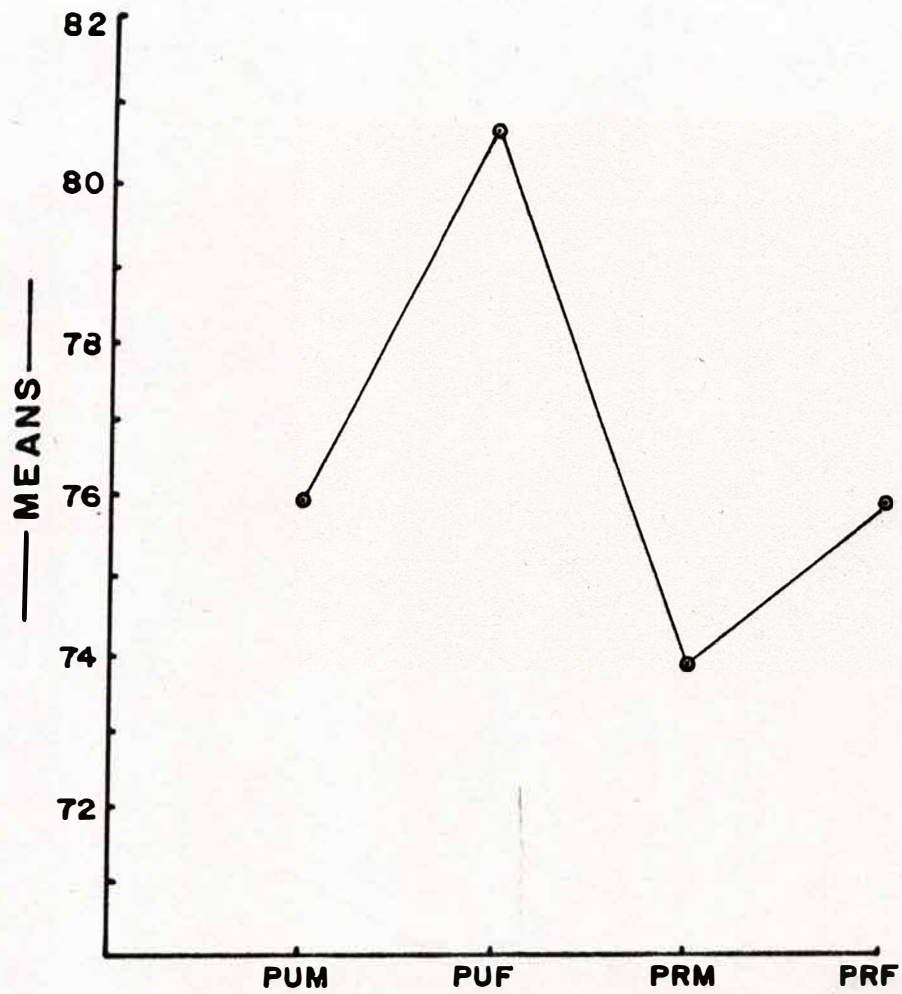


Fig.6. Graph representing within group comparisons of Political Ss, between PUM, PUF, PRM and PRF on the scores of Authoritarian Scale.

Ss (M = 80.62) were found significantly more authoritarian (t = 3.92, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Political Rural Male Ss (M = 73.87). Political Urban Female Ss were also found significantly more authoritarian (t = 3.83, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Political Rural Female

Table 22 : Showing Within-Group Comparisons between PUM-PUF, PUM-PRM, PUM-PRF, PUF-PRF and PRM-PRF on the scores of authoritarian scale (N = 40).

	Mean	S D	PUM	PUF	PRM	PRF
PUM	75.92	6.19		3.53**	1.15	0.03
PUF	80.62	5.58			3.92**	3.83**
PRM	73.87	9.19				1.51
PRF	75.87	5.46				

Note : df = 39

Ss (M = 75.87). In other words, Political Urban Female Ss showed significantly more authoritarian as compared to Political Urban Male, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. Graphic presentation of group comparisons is given in figure 6.

Apolitical Group : Results (table 23) showed that Apolitical Urban Female Ss exhibited significantly more authoritarianism as compared to Apolitical Urban Male (t = 3.58, df = 39, P < 0.01), Apolitical Rural Male (t = 2.73, df = 39, P < 0.05) and Apolitical Rural Female (t = 4.40, df = 39, P < 0.01) Ss.

AUTHORITARIAN SCALE
Apolitical Group

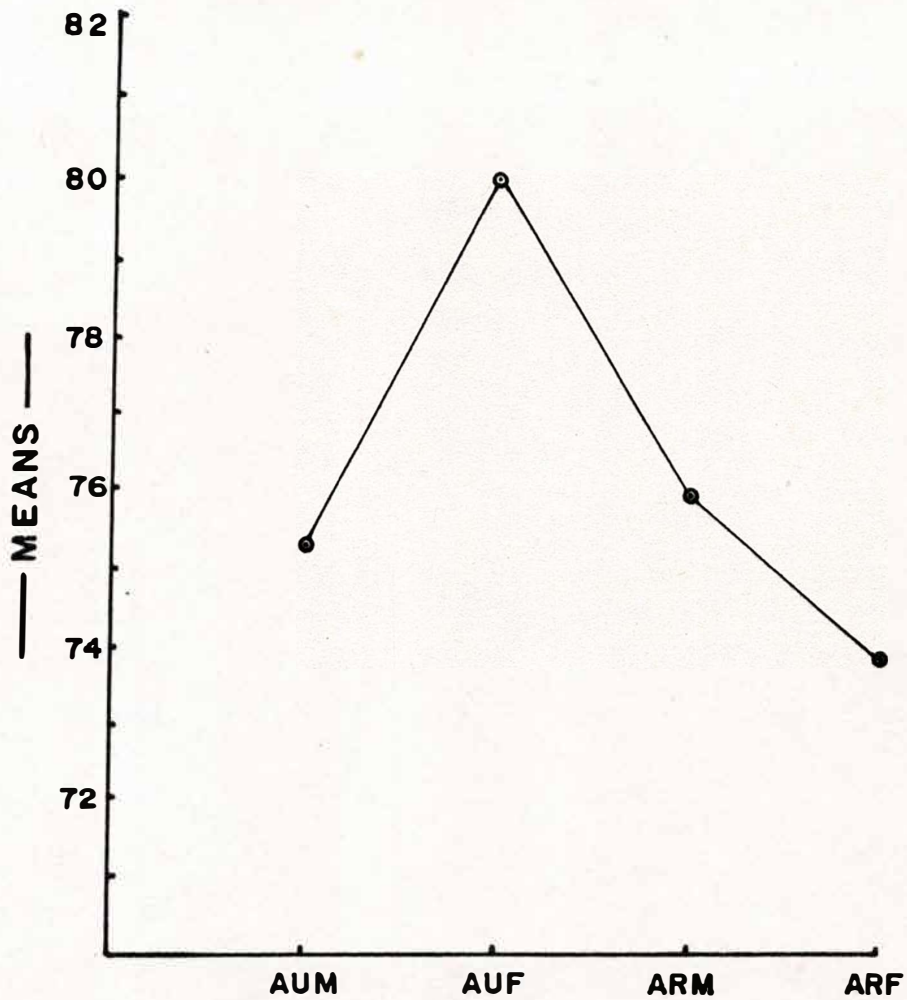


Fig.7. Graph representing within group comparisons of Apolitical Ss, between AUM, AUF, ARM and ARF on the scores of Authoritarian Scale .

Table 23 : Showing Within-Group Comparisons between AUM-AUF, AUM-ARM, AUM-ARF, AUF-ARF and ARM-ARF on the scores of Authoritarian Scale (N = 40).

	Mean	S D	AUM	AUF	ARM	ARF
AUM	75.27	6.46		3.58**	0.36	0.31
AUF	79.92	4.93			2.73**	4.40**
ARM	75.87	7.89				0.68
ARF	74.85	5.25				

Note : df = 39

Graphic representation of group comparison is given in figure 7.

Between Group Comparison : Comparisons between Political and Apolitical Group (table 24) compositions showed that Apolitical Urban Female Ss (M = 79.92) expressed significantly more authoritarianism (t = 3.17, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Political Urban Male Ss (M = 75.92). Political Urban Female Ss (M = 80.62), on the otherhand, exhibited significantly more authoritarianism (t = 3.07, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Apolitical Rural Male Ss (M = 75.87). Again Political Urban Female Ss (M = 80.62) showed significantly ^{more} authoritarianism (t = 4.72, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Apolitical Rural Female Ss (M = 74.85). It was also found that Apolitical Urban Female Ss (M = 79.92)

Table 24 : Showing group comparisons between Political and Apolitical Ss on various combinations of Sex and Residential Background on the scores of Authoritarian Scale (N = 40).

Political			Apolitical			t-value	Level of significance
Mean	S D		Mean	S D			
UM	75.92	6.19	UM	75.27	6.46	0.45	n.s
UM	75.92	6.19	UF	79.92	4.93	3.15	0.01
UM	75.92	6.19	RM	75.87	7.89	0.03	n.s
UM	75.92	6.19	RF	74.85	5.24	0.82	n.s
UF	80.62	5.58	UM	75.27	6.46	3.90	0.01
UF	80.62	5.58	UF	79.92	4.93	0.61	n.s
UF	80.62	5.58	RM	75.87	7.89	3.06	0.01
UF	80.62	5.58	RF	74.85	5.24	4.73	0.01
RM	73.87	9.19	UM	75.27	6.46	0.77	n.s
RM	73.87	9.19	UF	79.92	4.93	3.62	0.01
RM	73.87	9.19	RM	75.87	7.89	1.03	n.s
RM	73.87	9.19	RF	74.85	5.24	0.58	n.s
RF	75.87	5.46	UM	75.27	6.46	0.44	n.s
RF	75.87	5.46	UF	79.92	4.93	3.43	0.01
RF	75.87	5.46	RM	75.87	7.89	0.00	n.s
RF	75.87	5.46	RF	74.85	5.24	0.84	n.s

Note : df = 39

expressed significantly more authoritarianism (t = 3.62, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Political Rural Male Ss (M = 73.87). Furthermore Apolitical Urban Female Ss

**POLITICAL VS. APOLITICAL GROUP COMPOSITION
AUTHORITARIAN SCALE**

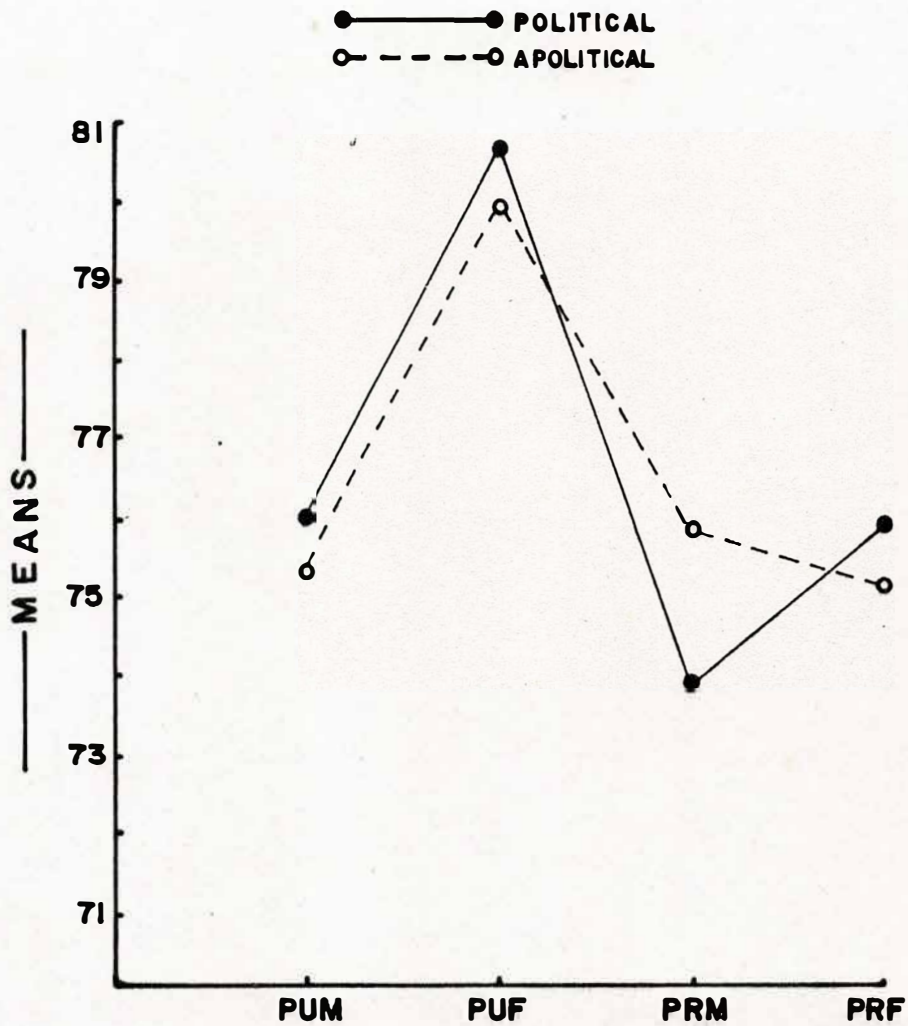


Fig.8. Graph representing between group comparison between Political and Apolitical Ss with different group combinations, on the scores of Authoritarian Scale .

(M = 79.92) were found significantly more authoritarian (t = 3.47, df = 39, P < 0.01) as compared to Political Rural Female Ss (M = 75.37). Graphic presentation of between-group composition is given in figure 8.

The results (table 25) showed that Political Ss (M = 78.24) expressed significantly more authoritarian attitudes (t = 2.14, df = 79, P < 0.05) as compared to Political Male Ss (M = 74.89).

Table 25 : Showing group comparisons between PM-PF and PU-PR on the scores of Authoritarian Scale (N = 80).

	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance	Groups compared
PM	74.89	9.38	2.14	0.05	PM Vs. PF
PF	78.24	10.04			
PU	78.27	12.77	1.75	n.s	PU Vs. PR
PR	74.87	11.65			

Note : df = 79

An inspection of mean scores (table 25) showed that irrespective of Urban-Rural background both Political Male (M = 74.89) and Political Female Ss (M = 78.24) obtained scores above mid-point (69). This indicates that both the groups were authoritarian. Again, regardless of Male-Female division, Political Urban (M = 78.27) and Political Rural (M = 74.87) Ss obtained scores above mid-point

indicating both the groups as authoritarian. However, no significant mean difference was found between Political Urban and Political Rural Ss in authoritarian attitudes.

Group comparisons were also worked out between AM-AF and AU-AR on the scores of authoritarian scale (table 26).

Table 26 : Showing Group comparisons between AM-AF and AU-AR on the scores of authoritarian scale (N = 80).

	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance	Groups compared
AM	75.57	6.17	2.01	0.05	AM Vs. AF
AF	77.38	5.19			
AU	77.59	8.43	1.58	n.s	AU Vs. AR
AR	75.34	9.48			

Note : df = 79

The results (table 26) showed that Apolitical Female Ss (M = 77.38) exhibited significantly higher authoritarianism (t = 2.01, df = 79, P < 0.05) as compared to Apolitical Male Ss (M = 75.57). However, no significant mean difference was obtained between Apolitical Urban and Apolitical Rural Ss on the scores of authoritarian scale.

An inspection of mean scores showed that both Apolitical Male (M = 75.57) and Apolitical Female (M = 77.38) Ss obtained scores higher than mid-point (69)

indicating both the groups as authoritarian in personality characteristics regardless of their Urban-Rural background. However, Apolitical Female Ss were found more authoritarian in compsrison to Apolitical Male Ss. Again both Apolitical Urban (M = 77.59) and Apolitical Rural (M = 75.34) Ss regardless of their Male-Female division obtained scores above mid-point (69) which indicated that both the groups were authoritarian in personality characteristics.

Group comparisons between Political and Apolitical Ss on Male-Female division and Urban-Rural background were also computed using t-test (table 27).

Table 27 : Showing Group Comparisons between Political and Apolitical Ss on Male-Female division and Urban-Rural background on the scores of authoritarian scale (N = 80).

Political			Apolitical			t- value	Level of significance
Mean	S D		Mean	S D			
PM	74.89	9.38	AM	75.57	6.17	0.76	n.s
PM	74.89	9.38	AF	77.38	5.19	2.93	0.01
PF	78.24	10.04	AM	75.57	6.17	2.87	0.01
PF	78.24	10.04	AF	77.38	5.19	0.97	n.s
PU	78.27	12.77	AU	77.59	8.43	0.56	n.s
PU	78.27	12.77	AR	75.34	9.48	2.33	0.05
PR	74.87	11.65	AU	77.59	8.43	2.39	0.05
PR	74.87	11.65	AR	75.34	9.48	0.42	n.s

Note : df = 79

The results (table 27) showed that Apolitical females Ss (M = 77.38) were significantly more authoritarian ($t = 2.93$, $df = 79$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Political Male Ss (M = 74.89). Similarly Political Female Ss (M = 78.24) were significantly more authoritarian ($t = 2.87$, $df = 79$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Apolitical Male Ss (M = 75.57). In case of Urban-Rural comparison it was found that Political Urban Ss (M = 78.27) were significantly more authoritarian ($t = 2.33$, $df = 79$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Apolitical Rural Ss (M = 75.34). Again Apolitical Urban Ss (M = 77.59) were found significantly more authoritarian ($t = 2.39$, $df = 79$, $P < 0.05$) than Political Rural Ss (M = 74.87).

An inspection of mean scores showed that regardless of Urban-Rural background Apolitical Female Ss (M = 78.24) obtained highest score followed by Apolitical Female (M = 77.38), Apolitical Male (M = 75.57) and Political Male (M = 74.89) Ss. However, all the groups scored higher than mid-point (69) indicating authoritarian personality. Similarly regardless of Male-Female division, Political Urban Ss (M = 78.27) obtained highest score followed by Apolitical Urban (M = 77.59), Apolitical Rural (M = 75.34) and Political Rural (M = 74.87) Ss. However, all the groups scored higher than mid-point (69) indicating authoritarian personality.

Regardless of Sex and Residential Background, group comparisons were also computed between Political and Apolitical Ss (table 28).

Table 28 : Showing mean comparisons between Political and Apolitical groups on the scores of authoritarian scale (N=80).

Group Composition	Mean	S D	t-value	Level of significance
Political	76.57	6.30	0.14	n.s
Apolitical	76.47	6.31		

Note : df = 79

The results (table 28) showed that Political and Apolitical Ss did not differ significantly on the scores of Authoritarian Scale. However, an inspection of mean scores showed that both Political (M = 76.57) and Apolitical Ss (M = 76.47) obtained scores above mid point (69) indicating authoritarian personality. (Fig : 10)

To sum up : Political Urban Female Ss were found significantly more authoritarian as compared to political Urban Male, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. Apolitical Urban Female Ss were also found significantly more authoritarian as compared to Apolitical Urban Male, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. Political Urban Female Ss were found more authoritarian as compared to Apolitical Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. Also Apolitical Urban Female Ss were found more authoritarian as compared to Political Urban Male, Rural Male and Rural Female Ss. Political Female Ss were more

AUTHORITARIAN SCALE

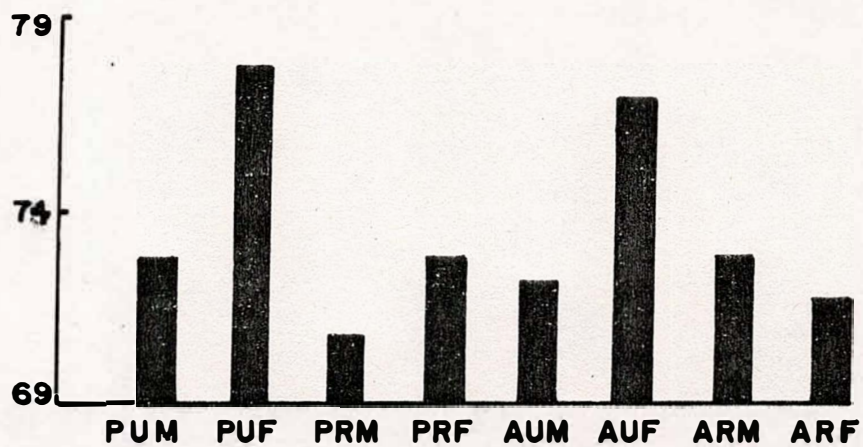


Fig.10. Histogram representing within-group comparisons between Male and Female Ss along the mid-point of the Authoritarian Scale for Political and Apolitical group compositions.

authoritarian than Political Male Ss. Again Apolitical female Ss were found more authoritarian than Apolitical Male Ss. Apolitical Female Ss, however, were more authoritarian than Political Male Ss and Political Female Ss were more authoritarian than Apolitical Male Ss. Similarly Political Urban Ss were more authoritarian than Apolitical Rural Ss but Apolitical Urban Ss were more authoritarian than Political Rural Ss. No significant difference was obtained between Political and Apolitical groups.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

Part 1 : Factorial ANOVA

Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

1. Regardless of sex and residential background, political Ss expressed significantly more favourable voting attitudes as compared to apolitical Ss.

2. Regardless of group composition and residential background, male Ss showed significantly higher preference for voting attitudes in comparison to female Ss.

3. Regardless of group composition and sex, the Ss with urban residential background expressed significantly more attitudinal preference towards voting as compared to the Subjects with rural background.

4. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and residential background was statistically significant. It was found that, for political groups, urban male Ss and rural male Ss showed highest preference in voting attitudes followed by urban female and rural female Ss. For apolitical groups, urban male Ss expressed significantly more voting attitudes as compared to urban female, rural male and rural female Ss.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale :

5. Regardless of sex and residential background, Apolitical Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to political Ss.

6. Regardless of group composition and residential background, female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to male Ss.

7. Regardless of group compositions and sex, rural Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to urban Ss.

8. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and residential background was statistically significant. For political group, urban female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to urban male and rural male Ss. Again Rural Female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes followed by urban female, rural male and urban male Ss. For Apolitical groups, urban female, rural male and rural female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to urban male Ss.

-group

Part 2 : Within and Between-Group Comparisons

Internal-External Control Scale

9. For political group, urban male and rural male Ss were more internally controlled followed by urban female and rural female Ss.

10. For Apolitical group, rural male Ss were more internally controlled followed by urban female and rural female Ss.

11. Urban male Ss of political group were more internally controlled followed by urban female and rural female Ss of Apolitical group.

12. Urban male Ss of Apolitical groups were more internally controlled than urban female Ss of political group.

13. Rural male Ss of political group were also more internally controlled as compared to urban female, rural male and rural female Ss of Apolitical group.

14. Political male Ss were more internally controlled than political female Ss. Similarly Apolitical male Ss were more internally controlled than Apolitical female Ss.

15. Both political male and Apolitical male Ss were more internally controlled as compared to their female counterparts.

Authoritarian Scale

16. For political group, urban female Ss were more authoritarian than urban male, rural male and rural female Ss.

17. For apolitical group also urban female Ss were more authoritarian than urban male, rural male and rural female Ss.

18. Urban female Ss of political group were more authoritarian than rural male and rural female Ss of apolitical group.

19. Urban female Ss of apolitical group were more authoritarian than urban male, rural male and rural female Ss of political group.

20. Female Ss of political group were more authoritarian than male Ss of political group.

21. Females Ss of apolitical group were also more authoritarian than male Ss of apolitical group.

22. Political urban Ss were more authoritarian than apolitical rural Ss. But apolitical urban Ss were more authoritarian than political rural Ss.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

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The present chapter is an integrative attempt to highlight the implications of the findings and to evaluate theoretical imports of these findings for future research. However, the present study represented a social Psychological approach for explaining Political behaviour specially with reference to voting attitudes understood in terms of partisanship, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation. Moreover, socio-political attitudes, authoritarianism and locus of control as personality syndromes were also considered and studied empirically for understanding voting behaviour in socio-political context of Bangladesh. Thus the effects of these dependent variables were analysed

as a function of political-apolitical group categorization, male-female classification and urban-rural division in socio-political context of Bangladesh. Concerning the objectives of the study, it has been clearly stated in chapter III that the main focus of the study was to explore the patterns of voting behaviour of political and Apolitical students in socio-political context of Bangladesh. Accordingly three hypotheses were formulated and the study has reflected on these hypotheses. The findings of the study have provided confirmations to these hypotheses. In addition, a good number of findings have emerged from the results indicating multi-dimensional aspects of voting behaviour.

There is now a growing number of studies that attempt primarily to explain this multi-dimensional trend of voting behaviour (Ambramson and Aldrich, 1982). Despite the qualities of these studies, serious gaps in our knowledge of voting behaviour exist (Zipp, 1985 ; Cavanagh, 1981 ; Hadly 1978 ; Katosh and Traugott, 1982, Ladd, 1978 ; Reiter, 1979 ; Rosenstone and Wolfinger, 1978 ; Schaffer, 1981 ; Tarrance, 1978) and as such the present investigation has emphasized on ideological preference, personality factors and demographic variables of Political and Apolitical individuals in accounting for the growth and development of voting attitudes. In a word, the findings of the present study suggest that the most important factors contributing to the choice

of voting are functionally related with changing history of the nation (Boyd,1981) and changing structure of Political system (Cassel and Hill,1981) and economic development of the country (Wolfinger and Rosenstone,1980).

In recent years, there is a wide-spread questioning of social Psychological theories of Political behaviour which seem to confine themselves to narrow experimental situation and neglect the relevant and significant influences of real life socio-political processes in influencing voting behaviour. As Converse (1971) has pointed out that there are three broad factors that keep people from voting. These are accidental factors, legal factors and motivational factors. The third set of factors, motivational ones, is generally considered to be the most important. According to Converse, motivational factors involve some indifference or apathy to voting. He further distinguished between two types of motivational factors. These are internalized motivation such as citizen's learning for participation, and external motivation such as situations during elections and the mobilizing effects of election campaign. Following such an approach the present study emerged from the interplay of certain wider social contextual variables such as historical and political events in Bangladesh and also social psychological variables such as party identification and citizen's consciousness of political efficacy. Thus the present study is an attempt to counter-balance the multi-dimensional factors of voting behaviour in

socio-political context of Bangladesh.

The findings of the study have showed that our expectation has been fulfilled to a greater extent. A wide array of complex findings have been obtained through the present study. We shall now attempt to examine some of the main findings and point out their implications and applied values in the political development of Bangladesh. While a wide range in integrative specific findings have emerged and have provided empirical confirmations to the hypotheses, it is neither practicable nor feasible to evaluate each of the significant findings exhaustibly within the confines of the present discussion. It is, therefore, proposed to examine those main findings which have a higher theoretical relevance and display critical effects of the social and political contextual factors underlying the design of the present study. For convenience sake, discussion is divided under the following sub-divisions : (i) Findings related to predictions, (ii) Findings related to socio-political attitudes, (iii) Findings related to authoritarianism (iv) Findings related to locus of control.

Findings Related to Predictions

Though the study was basically exploratory in nature , three specific predictions were made for the study. Firstly, it was hypothesized that Political group Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to Apolitical groups of Ss in Bangladesh. This prediction was

supported by the results of the study. The main effect of group composition showed that regardless of sex and residential background, political Ss expressed significantly more favourable voting attitudes as compared to Apolitical Ss. This has been explicitly expressed in three-way interactions involving group compositions, sex and Residential Background on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale. Figure 1 contains analytical presentation of differential attitudinal voting preference of Political and Apolitical Ss. It was found that political Urban Male, Rural Male, Urban Female and Rural Female Ss invariably scored higher as compared to their Apolitical counterparts. These findings have provided empirical supports to the hypothesis that political Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to Apolitical groups of Ss in Bangladesh.

These findings are in line with the theory of political socialization. Herbert H. Hyman (1959) states :

Regularities in the political behaviour of adult individuals and stable differences between groups of adults have become a commonplace in social research. Such patterns of behaviour may well be interpreted in terms of contemporaneous features present in the adult lives of particular individuals or groups. But, certainly it is true that the continuity of such patterns over time and place suggests that the individual has been modified in the course of his development in such a way that he is likely to exhibit certain persistent behaviour apart from transient stimulation in his contemporary environment " (pp. 17-18).

Thus it is evident that Political behaviour is complex and many different aspects could be examined as

outgrowth of socialization. Two major factors are participation in politics and aspiration to achieve political goals. While individuals differ certainly in the quantity of their participation and perhaps qualitatively in the kind of political participation, the goals of political action have varied endlessly among people over time and place. Concieved in these theoretical aspects of political behaviour and political action involving voting attitudes, it is logical that persons with Political involvements could try to attain political goals using the voting strategy and as such they would exhibit comparatively higher orientation of voting behaviour as compared to those persons who are apathetic towards political involvement, political actions and voting consequences. The results of the present study reflect these theoretical assumptions and underlie the importance of political activities as important factors in determining voting patterns of the individuals. Previous studies (Greenstein, 1974 ; Jennings, 1980 ; Marsh, 1971 and Nie , Powell and Prewitt, 1969 ;) have reported similar findings that politically oriented persons have showed greater interest and more involvement in the exercise of voting rights in elections. These findings have provided empirical support to the present study. In a word, the findings of the present study that political Ss showed significantly higher preference in voting as compared to non-political Ss might be considered as providing empirical verification to earlier studies.

On the basis of these findings it may be assumed that socio-political context in Bangladesh is in a transitional period. Transfer of power for the formation of Government in Bangladesh has gone through various phases. Army intervention in politics and martial law administration in the garb of politics have raised a lot of controversial issues about the participation of people in political activities in the form of voting behaviour. It is found that major political parties in the country are confused as to the effectiveness of voting for the transfer of power in the country. As a result many political persons have lost their faith in voting as a political instrument for bringing about changes in political arena. Consequently it is, perhaps, important to note that inspite of political apathy and leadership vacuum in the country, politically involved people are maintaining their status quo. This is evident from the findings that political Ss favoured the act of voting in higher frequency than the non-political Ss. This seems to indicate the level of political consciousness of the people of Bangladesh.

The second hypothesis of the study was that Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on voting attitude scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh. This hypothesis was also supported by the findings of the present study. The main effect for residential background on the scores of voting attitude scale showed that regardless of group composition and sex, Ss with Urban

Residential Background expressed significantly more attitudinal preference towards voting as compared to the Ss with rural residential background. One probable explanation for this differential attitudinal voting preference between urban and rural people in Bangladesh may be due to differences in socio-economic status. Viewed from the perspectives of education, profession and income of the people, it is evident that urban inhabitants are in advantageous position as compared to rural inhabitants. It is almost a truism that politics in Bangladesh is dominated by the elites who are habitually the residents of big towns or cities of the country. Hence it is generally thought that the root of politics in Bangladesh is embedded in urban population. Due to sharp differences between urban and rural people in respect of education and socio-economic status, it is natural that rural population would lag behind in political involvements.

It is, therefore, plausible that politics in Bangladesh centers round urban population. As a result rural people would experience less political learning and would not show interest in political participation and election campaigning to the same extent as the urban population. This bifurcation in political involvement and political action imposes restrictions on the choice of candidates in election on the part of rural Ss. urban Ss, on the otherhand, are more politically oriented and they are conscious about the positive effect of voting in changing the political

power from one political group to another. They believe that such changes brought about by the machinery of voting would serve their interest and benefit them politically as well as economically. Thus it appears that in the present context of Bangladesh, Voting behaviour might assume great importance and the urban elite would take the advantage of voting in more frequency and greater intensity as compared to rural people.

A large number of empirical studies (Rokkan, 1970 ; Ehrmann 1968 ; Lancelot, 1968 ; Lane, 1959) have reported their findings supporting the hypothesis of the present study. The higher preference of voting by the urban people and the comparatively lower preference of voting by the rural people have been variously explained by different investigators. Sidney Tarrow (1977), for example, found that the factors responsible for increased involvement in politics of urban people may also encourage anti-partisanship in rural people. According to him interest of a social class of small-holding peasantry in France showed partisanship which, in turn, threatens the community not only with political conflict but with personal strife. This finding showed that where there is no underlying class division in village life, personal conflicts are not translated into party conflict. Thus everyone in the village understands it to be conflicts of personality and not of party. Tarrow further observed that " The attempts to systematize and concentrate personal animosities into village-

type party conflict can threaten the harmony of family relations, the pleasure of social occasions and the informal work cooperation and sharing of tools that are crucial to the economic survival of each family ",

Thus the group interests of urban people and that of rural people are basically different. While political interests in urban people can be achieved through political participation, the interest of the rural people can be achieved through cooperation by sharing of tools and other necessary instruments connected with cultivation. It is, perhaps, these differences in interests that urban people are more politically involved and show greater interest in voting. Rural people, on the otherhand, are less politically involved and they are concerned about their professions and show more interests in the improvement of their professional skills at the expense of political gains. The findings of the present study that Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on voting attitude scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh might be explained in the theoretical perspectives stated above.

Another possible explanation for Urban-Rural cleavage in voting attitudes in Bangladesh might be that the growth of industrialization in urban area is very rapid and working people from different parts of the country assemble here for getting jobs in the industries. As a result they experience political changes, economic disparity. These experiences increase

the class consciousness in these people. Consequently they are motivated to participate in various trade unions and get political education. In this way urban people are involved in politics and try to manipulate the political power through participation in political parties. The rural scene in Bangladesh is basically different from urban scene. In rural areas, cultivation is in its primitive stage, people have to work from dawn to dusk in their farms relating with production of paddy, wheat, jute and other crops. They have no leisure, no holiday. They find little time for political activities. Village organizations are mostly non-political organizations and there is no scope for political learning for the villagers. Because of these differences in urban and rural life-style, urban people are more concerned about voting as a political right than the rural people.

On the basis of these empirical findings and theoretical explanations, it can be said that " the refusal of the peasants to recognize the interest that they have in politics is doubtless the consequence of their refusal to assume a partisan affiliation. And that can be explained by the socio-political conditions where they live. To assume a partisan affiliation can, in small communities lead to a rupture of social relations with numerous neighbours with whom one must co-exist from day to day, and can provoke a nearly intolerable isolation " (Tarrow, 1971).

It is, therefore, most probable that historical development, class consciousness and professional skills have enormous influence on political involvement and as such the political ecology of the village seems to contribute to the high citizen involvement and the low partisan involvement in rural Bangladesh.

The third hypothesis of the study was that male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh. The findings of the study have provided confirmation to this hypothesis. The main effect for sex showed that regardless of group composition and Residential Background, the male Ss showed significantly higher voting preference in comparison to female Ss. A large number of previous studies (Chandidas, 1975 ; Sanwal and Sanwal, 1971 ; Goel, 1970 ; Goyal, 1969) have reported about differential attitudinal voting preference of males and females and concluded that males have higher preference in voting as compared females. These studies have direct relevance with the present study and have provided empirical support to the hypothesis three of the present study.

Males and females are historically recognized two separate entities in the arena of politics. The genesis of political development in ancient times as well as in the modern era showed that males are superior in political activities whereas females have little role in the political actions of national history. The analysis of election results in different countries (Campbell et al., 1960 ; Harun, 1986 ;

Khan and Zaforullah, 1986) have reported higher turnout of male voters and low turnout of female voters in national elections. These findings have provided confirmations to the hypothesis that male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh.

The differential voting preference in males and females may stem from socio-cultural history of the nation. In Bangladesh, majority of the citizens are dominated by Islamic dogmas and principles. Thus the Islamic way of living has greater impact to mould the life style of male and female differently. Traditionally Islam imposes restrictions on females for active participation in politics. Males, on the other hand, are permitted by Islamic laws to hold office of the head of the state. This differential treatment might be responsible to give birth to apathetic attitudes in females for political activities and actions.

Differences in educational levels and economic involvement might be considered important condition for creating differences in males and females for voting attitudinal preference in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a newly independent country. Female education did not get priority in the past. This lack of education in females in Bangladesh are also responsible for low political consciousness and low political participation and action. These observations of low social status of females in Bangladesh might be responsible for low preference in voting attitudes in comparison to their male counterparts.

Another probable reason for low voting attitudes of females may be identified as the absence of political organizations for females. In Bangladesh, free mixing of Males and females are socially discouraged. It is observed that females are separated from males in their early processes of socialization. There are separate schools and colleges for females in the country. This separation of females from their male counterparts at their early ages contribute to develop a psychological barrier creating the feelings of inferior status in females. This might lead the females to develop an introvert type of personality limiting their overt political activities in the society.

Findings Related to Socio-Political Attitudes

The measures of socio-political attitudes employed for the study presented a choice to respondents for differential preferences between conservative and radical ideological poles of political activities. The conservatism-radicalism scale, infact, is a measure of ideological dimension which may indicate the level of political involvement in terms of voting. Converse (1964) concluded that less than 20% of the electorate could be characterized as having an understanding of the distinction between liberal and conservative ideology. Robinson (1984) found that politically oriented voters could be correlated significantly with ideological indentifications. The modest magnitude of these relationships led Lavitin and Miller (1979) to conclude that ideological position provides

the structural validity for attitudinal preference towards a statement containing various issue positions reflecting individual's inner dispositions that might be utilized for the choice of a candidate in election. Conover and Feldman (1981) also argue that meaning of ideological levels is largely based on symbols rather than issues. In the perspectives of these theoretical interpretations of ideological identifications as used in political activities involving voting behaviour, the investigator in the present study utilised conservatism-radicalism scale to find out differential ideological preference of political and Apolitical individuals including male-female and urban-rural categorization.

An overall finding of the results showed that Apolitical Ss expressed significantly more conservatism as compared to political Ss. Alternately stated, individuals with no political involvements emerged as conservative groups who were found to exhibit least voting attitudes when subjected to voting attitude scale. Similarly female Ss also expressed more conservatism regardless of Group Composition and Residential Background. The results also reported ^{that} Rural Ss has highly conservative irrespective of Group Composition and sex.

These findings relate in an important way the ideological orientations of individuals to their level of voting attitudes. It is important to note that political involvements, male category and urban residential background are significant

correlates of voting preference as has been discussed earlier. The findings of conservatism-radicalism scale revealed that political involvements, male category and urban residential background may exert significant influence to lower down the conservatism in the individuals. This seems to indicate that high conservatism and low conservatism are functionally related with voting behaviour. Thus low conservatism may lead to high political involvements with high voting attitudes. Similarly low conservatism in males in comparison to females may lead to differential voting preference. Again, low conservatism in individuals with urban background may exert significant influence in the choice of candidates in election. A large number of studies (Robinson and Fleishman, 1988 ; Fleishman, 1986 ; Robinson, 1984 ; Robinson and Fleishman, 1984) have provided empirical supports to the findings of the present study that conservatism as an ideological frame of reference may assume to have a particular cognitive structure underlying voting attitudes.

It is, however, of interest to note that ideological identification is an important political orientation reflecting the ambivalent and conflicting stands in the political thinking. This is evident from the results that political female Ss with urban background exhibited highest conservatism than political male Ss of urban and rural background. More specifically, rural female Ss expressed significantly conservative attitudes followed by urban female, rural male

and urban male Ss. Similarly urban female, rural male and rural female Ss of Apolitical groups expressed significantly more conservatism than urban male Ss. These findings seem to indicate that sex and residential background give birth to ambivalence characteristics in female Ss of urban and rural background resulting in conflicting ideological orientation. In fact, attitudinal preference towards conservatism is more varied in political groups, where as, it is found to be more consolidated in Apolitical Groups.

Although many studies (Ward, 1986 ; Carmines and Stimson, 1982 ; Wilson and Schochet, 1980 ; Stimson, 1979 ; Nie, Verba and Petrocik, 1976 ; Nie and Anderson, 1974 ; Adelson and O'Neil, 1966) have dealt with cognitive functioning and socio-political ideology and reported underlying structural differences in terms of quantity, it is observed that qualitative differences in ideological preference may coincide with structural differences (Fieldman and Anderson, 1969 ; Jennings and Niemi, 1981). It may be assumed that in the present study, political group composition, sex and residential background **provide the structural** basis for conservatism-radicalism stance leading ^{to} the qualitative differences in ideological orientation. As a result both political and Apolitical groups showed differential orientations towards conservatism. It appears from the results that political activities in Bangladesh are conditioned by several predisposing factors such as economic development, level of education, urban-rural residential background,

cultural factors and other related variables. For example, culturally the people in Bangladesh are tradition oriented and as such they are likely to resist social and political changes in the country. This might have direct reference with the development of conservative attitudes. In fact, one distinctive feature of the findings is that all the groups exhibited differential conservatism and none was found to possess radicalism in attitudinal preference. This seems to indicate that political activism in Bangladesh is tradition oriented and it reflects people's conservative attitudes.

Findings Related to Authoritarianism

This study attempted to find personality dimension in term of authoritarianism as related to political and social norms. The findings of the study revealed the relationship between personality and politics and can be related to a number of previous theoretical and empirical research findings (Kadem, Bilu and Cohen, 1987 ; Goertzel, 1987,1981 ; Ray, 1984, 1982, 1979 ; Stone, Ommundsen and William, 1985 ; Wilson and Patterson, 1968 ; Ray and Lovejoy, 1983).

One distinctive feature of the findings of authorirarianism is that both political and apolitical female Ss of urban origin expressed highest authoritarian personality characteristics as compared to their counterparts. This finding might be explained with reference to socio-political context in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a newly independent country and socio-

political framework in the country is in its primitive stage. As a result there is an imbalance in social and political participation between male and female citizens. Ideally it is a male-dominating society. Most of the social, economic and political privileges (Huq et al., 1988) are enjoyed by male persons and females are deprived from economic, political and social gains. In a word, females may be identified as deprived groups in the society. This feelings of deprivation in females have several consequences in the personality development. One such consequence might be the authoritarian personality syndrome in Bangladeshi women. This has been supported by several empirical studies (Ara, Huq and Jahan, 1985). It is important to note that authoritarian personality was conceived by Adorno et. al (1950) as anti-democratic prejudices in the line of psycho-analytic tradition. They are identified as personality characterized by religiosity and anti-protestantism. The high authoritarianism in female in the context of Bangladesh might be understood in these theoretical perspectives. Due to excessive dominance in the family environment, womens in Bangladesh are psychologically immature, impulsive, defensive conventional and stereotyped in thinking. The findings of the study have reflected these characteristics by identifying females as authoritarian in personality composition. It is indicative of the fact that females' authoritarian personality might be positively associated with conservative orientation. It is then plausible to argue that political

activism, voting attitudes, conservatism and authoritarianism are uniquely interweaven and might be conceived to be contingent upon personality syndromes of political and Apolitical individuals in male-female dichotomy.

Findings Related to Internal-External Locus of control

Findings relating to Internal-External locus of control revealed several important aspects of personality as functionally related to political involvements, sex and Demographic factors. A large number of studies (Heaven, Rajab and Bester, 1986 ; Rotter, 1966) have provided theoretical frameworks that may give analytical explanations for understanding the findings regarding Internal-External locus of control.

One important aspect of the findings relating to personality syndromes on Internal-External dimension is that male Ss of urban and rural residential background in political group were more internally controlled. Similarly, male Ss of rural origin in Apolitical group were more internally controlled followed by urban female and rural female Ss. These findings are explainable in the context of theoretical paradigm provided by previous empirical studies (Goldsmith, 1984 ; Kirton and Ciantis, 1986). For example, Gore and Rotter (1963) reported positive correlation between locus of I-E control and social action. They reported that the individuals who were more inclined to see themselves as the

determinants of their own fate tended to commit themselves to more personal and decisive social actions. In the present study, the internally controlled personality of male Ss of political groups might be caused by more political involvement of male persons in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. It is important to note that political activism of females is restricted to a greater extent imposing social and religious limitations. Male persons, on the otherhand, have greater scope to participate in political activities in wider societal context. It appears that these factors have made the females more dependent on significant others and external factors for attaining goals of their actions. Simultaneously male persons are found to bear more responsibility for their actions and as such they have more faith in their own ability to bring the outcome of their actions in their own favour. Consequently, males were found more internally controlled in their personality than the females.

Concluding Remarks

The study has made an empirical investigation on some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with special reference to Bangladesh. Its main focus was on voting behaviour, socio-political attitudes, authoritarianism and locus of internal-external control of personality. Thus the study was concerned with political involvement and its correlates of social action. The effects of these dependent variables

were studied in the context of political-apolitical group composition, male-female categorization and urban-rural division. The results revealed differential preferences in voting attitudes, ideological orientation, authoritarianism and I-E control of personality. The findings showed that political involvement, political actions and ideological orientation may be shared by the politically oriented Ss in their voting preference for the choice of a candidate. It is also observed that lack of political consciousness may lead to political apathy resulting in non-participation in political activism. This might be a characteristic feature of femininity, rural residential background and apolitical self identification. Thus there are three levels of explanations for the voting behaviour. First, voting behaviour is the prediction of voting attitudes and it is essentially associated with the level of partisan attitude, party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation. Secondly voting behaviour may be conceived as an outcome of socio-political attitudes in the form of conservatism-radicalism ideological frame of reference. In this stage voting behaviour is conditioned by conservative or radical attitudes independent of political party identification. In other words, individual's ideological frame of reference directs him to show his preference in favour of certain political groups or parties. Conceived in this sense, ideology provides a basis for political activism. Thirdly, social contextual factors such as political history of the country, male-female relationships in sharing social,

political and economic priviledges and urban-rural cleavage creating two sub-cultures in the community may influence voting behaviour of the citizens in the country. However, our attempt to study social psychological factors of political phenomena like voting behaviour and political activism has proved that the understanding of total political development is basically and functionally related with a large number of variables and their unified study may give us a macro analytical explanations of political power in the country.

Limitations of the study

The present study was conducted to explore some psychological dimensions of voting behaviour with special reference to Bangladesh. It is felt that the study has several limitations. These are as follows :

Firstly, selection of sample of the present study has been done from the students of Rajshahi University. For proper reflection of voting behaviour of the people in the country, it is necessary to take adult sample from the professional men and women in the society. In that case people would be able to express their experiences of voting behaviour.

Secondly, collection of data should be done before and after general elections of the country. In that case actual voters would be able to express their mode of selecting candidate in the election.

Thirdly, it is observed that politics in Bangladesh is mainly concentrated within the elite group of the nation. Hence some objective measures should be used that could be conveniently administered on illiterate voters of the country. Actually majority of the voters in Bangladesh live in rural areas and bulk of them are illiterate. Hence, a proper assessment of voting behaviour in socio-political context of Bangladesh needs inclusion of masses in the sample of the study.

Lastly, the study should use socio-economic status of the people so that the status differentials could be assessed in connection with voting behaviour, socio-political attitudes and personality syndromes.

In spite of these limitations, it is thought that the study would provide insights for future research and would give directions for making appropriate design for understanding voting attitudes of the people in the country.

It is, therefore, suggested that several follow-up studies should be conducted to understand changes of voting behaviour that might be effected due to laps of time, political development, socio-economic changes and other national events in national life of the people.

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ACTIVISM CRITERIA QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX - A

Activism Criteria Questionnaire (ACQ)

নির্দেশাবলী : নিচের বিভিন্ন ধারণা সম্বলিত কতকগুলো বাক্য দেওয়া হয়েছে। মনোযোগ সহকারে এগুলো পড়ুন এবং অনুবিহিত ধারণাটি বুঝতে চেষ্টা করুন। ধারণাটি সম্পর্কে আপনার মতামত পাশে দেওয়া যে কোন একটি সংখ্যায় টিক চিহ্ন (✓) দিয়ে ব্যক্ত করুন। সংখ্যাগুলো ১, ২, ৩, ৪ ও ৫ ক্রমানুয়ে সাজানো আছে। এগুলো নিম্নরূপ অর্থ বহন করে।

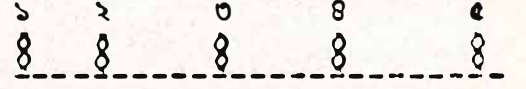
দৃঢ়ভাবে একমত	=	৫
একমত	=	৪
নিরপেক্ষ	=	৩
একমত নই	=	২
মোটাই একমত নই	=	১

সকল প্রশ্নের জবাব দিতে চেষ্টা করুন। এখানে সময়ের সীমাবদ্ধতা নেই। তথাপি যতদূর সম্ভব শীঘ্র উত্তর প্রদান করুন।

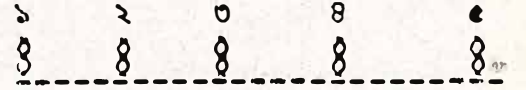
আপনাকে সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার জন্য ধন্যবাদ।

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * ১। যে কোন ছাত্র সংগঠনের সদস্য হওয়া আমি পছন্দ করি। | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ |
| | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ |
| * ২। ছাত্রদের দাবী দাওয়া আদায়ের জন্য মিছিলে যোগদান করতে আমি পছন্দ করি। | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ |
| | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ |
| * ৩। আনুষ্ঠানিক রাজনীতি সম্পর্কীয় বই পড়তে আমি অধিকতর আগ্রহী। | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ |
| | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ |
| * ৪। কর্তৃপক্ষের আমত্যান্দিক নীতি দূর করার উদ্দেশ্যে ছাত্র সংগঠনে যোগদান করা আমি পছন্দ করি। | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ |
| | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ |
| * ৫। বর্তমান সামাজিক প্রেক্ষাপটে একজন রাজনৈতিক কর্মীর সামাজিক অপরিবর্তনীয় গড়ে কাজ করা উচিত। | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ |
| | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ | ০ |

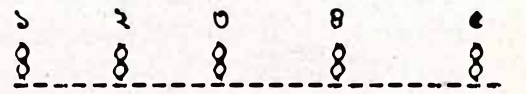
*৬। একটি পদনোত্তর উদ্দেশ্যে আমি নির্বাচনে
প্রতিদ্বি সিতা করতে চাই ।



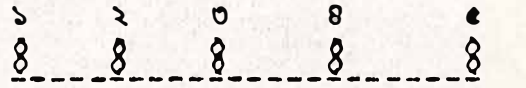
*৭। হরতালের মাধ্যমে ছাত্রদের দাবী আদায়ের
উদ্দেশ্যে চাপ প্রয়োগের জন্য ছাত্রদেরকে
সংগঠিত করতে আমি পছন্দ করি ।



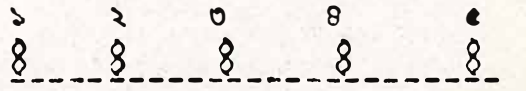
*৮। আমার দেশের প্রাত্যহিক রাজনৈতিক ধরাধবর
সংগ্রহ করতে আমি আগ্রহী ।



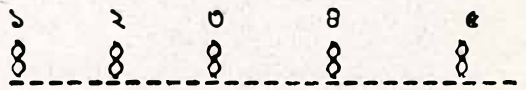
*৯। গনতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য গঠিত রাজনৈতিক
সংগঠনের পক্ষে আমি কাজ করি ।



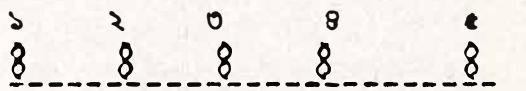
*১০। নর্য অর্জনের জন্য অহিংস নীতি হিংসাত্মক
নীতির চেয়ে অধিকতর কাঙ্ক্ষ্য ।



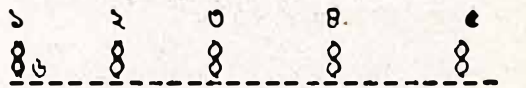
*১১। আমি বিশ্বাস করি যে দাতাদের জাতীয় পর্যায়ে
পর্যায়ের রাজনৈতিক দলের সংগে সংযুক্ত
হওয়া উচিত ।



*১২। ছাত্রদের সুার্থে আমি অনশন ধর্মঘটে
যোগদান পছন্দ করি ।



*১৩। আমি পাঠ্যদান সংক্রান্ত বর্ধতার চেয়ে
রাজনৈতিক বর্ধতার যোগদান করা অধিক
পছন্দ করি ।



*১৪। আমি রাজনৈতিক সংবাদ পাঠ অব্যান্য সংবাদ
পাঠের চেয়ে বেশী পছন্দ করি ।



* ১৫। বর্তমান অবস্থা বিবেচনা করে আমাদের
ধর্ম নিরপেক্ষতার চেয়ে ধর্মীয় নীতি অনুসরণ
করা উচিত ।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

* ১৬। আমি যে ছাত্র সংগঠনের অনুরূপতার
সুপক্ষে কাজ করতে আমি পছন্দ করি ।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

১৭। কর্তৃপক্ষকে ছাত্রদের দাবী দাওয়া মেনে নিতে
বাধ্য করার জন্য আমি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সম্পদ
স্বয়ং করা পছন্দ করি ।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

১৮। সুযোগ পেনেই আমি রাজনৈতিক সমস্যার
উপর কড়ত্যা দিতে পছন্দ করি ।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

১৯। আমি বিশ্বাস করি যে ছাত্রদের সুখ
সংরক্ষনের জন্য ছাত্রসংগঠন আবশ্যিক।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

২০। শিক্ষা জীবনের জন্য কৃতিত্ব হলেও অন্যকে
সাহায্য করা আমি পছন্দ করি ।

১	২	৩	৪	৫
০	০	০	০	০

N.B.: Only 16 items were utilized.

BIO-DATA FORM

APPENDIX - B

Bio-Data Form

বির্দেশাবলী

এখানে আপনার ব্যক্তিগত বিষয়ে কয়েকটি প্রশ্ন করা হল। এ বিষয়ে সঠিক তথ্যটি বিষয়ে স্মরণশক্তি পূরণ করুন। কোন স্মরণ যেন অস্পষ্ট না থাকে। আপনার বক্তব্যের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হবে।

ধন্যবাদ

- ১। ক. নাম ইয়াসমীন বেগ বয়স - ২০
খ. শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতাঃ এম.এস.সি / এইচ.এস.সি / বি.এ. / বি.এস.সি /
বি.কম / এম.এ / এম.এস.সি / এম.কম / এম.ফিল / পি-এইচ.ডি। যেটিতে
প্রবেশ (/) চিহ্ন দিন।
গ. কত বৎসর গ্রাম/শহরে আছেন (/) চিহ্ন দিন ও বৎসর
নিখুন। অন্য ক্ষেত্রে।
ঘ. এর পূর্বে কত বৎসর গ্রাম/শহরে ছিলেন? (/) চিহ্ন দিন ও
বৎসর নিখুন।
- ২। স্থায়ী ঠিকানা - গ্রাম - কাজলা, থানা/উপজেলা - বোয়ালিয়া, জিলা - রাজশাহী।
- ৩। ক) স্থায়ীভাবে গ্রামের বাসিন্দা? হ্যাঁ/না (খ) স্থায়ীভাবে শহরের
বাসিন্দা? হ্যাঁ/না। (গ) পূর্বে গ্রামে ছিল বর্তমানে শহরের বাসিন্দা?
..... হ্যাঁ/না। (/) চিহ্নের সাহায্যে প্রকাশ করুন।
- ৪। ক) আপনি কি কোন বিশেষ দলভুক্ত? হ্যাঁ/না (/) চিহ্ন দিন।
খ) দেশে অনেক রাজনৈতিক সংগঠন আছে, আপনি কি কোন রাজনৈতিক
সংগঠনের সদস্য? হ্যাঁ/না। (/) চিহ্ন দিন।
গ) আপনি কতবার ভোটে অংশ গ্রহণ করেছেন। তিন বৎসরের কম/তিন বৎসরের
অধিক : (/) চিহ্ন দিন।
ঘ) আপনার মনোনীত রাজনৈতিক সংগঠনকে কতদিন যাবত সমর্থন দিয়ে আসছেন?
..... তিন বৎসরের কম / তিন বৎসরের অধিক। (/) চিহ্ন দিন।

ঙ) আপনি নিম্নোক্ত কোন দলকে সমর্থন করেন ? ১/১ চিহ্ন দিন

- (১) ইসলামী ছাত্র শিবির (২) বাংলাদেশ জাতীয়তাবাদী ছাত্র দল (৩) বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র লীগ (হাসিনা) (৪) ছাত্র লীগ (ইনু, জাসদ) (৫) ছাত্র লীগ (বালে কুজামান, বাসদ) (৬) সমাজতান্ত্রিক ছাত্র কন্ট্র (বাসদ) (৭) জাতীয় ছাত্র লীগ (বাকশান) (৮) বিপ্লবী ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন (নজরুল, ওয়ার্করিগ পার্টি) (৯) ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন (সি.পি.বি) (১০) বিপ্লবী ছাত্র মৈত্রী (কমিউনিস্ট লীগ) ।

INITIALLY SELECTED ITEMS FOR
VOTING ATTITUDE SCALE.(VAS)

APPENDIX - C

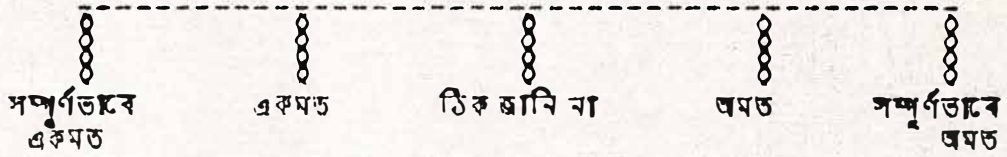
Initially Selected Items for
Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

নির্দেশাবলী

এই অতিক্ষম্য মোট ১১টি সমস্যার কথা বলা হয়েছে। এগুলো আমাদের জীবনের সামাজিক, পারিবারিক, নিকর এবং দল স্বার্থ সম্পর্কীয়। ব্যক্তি জীবনে এ সমস্যা-গুলোর কথা আমাদের প্রায়ই ভাবতে হয় এবং এর সমাধানে তৎপর হতে হয়।

আশা করি এ সমস্যোগুলো সম্পর্কে আপনার নিজস্ব মতামত আছে। যেন রাখবেন এটি কোন ভাবেই বুধির পরীক্ষা নয়। যে কোন ব্যক্তি ঠিক আপনার মতই চিন্তা করেন এবং একটা মতামত দেন। (মতামতের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হবে)।

এখন আপনি আপনার অতিমত নিম্নলিখিত ৫টি ভাগের যে কোন ১টিতে (১) টিক চিহ্নের সাহায্যে প্রকাশ করুন।



- উত্তর প্রদানের জন্য একটি আলাদা উত্তর - পত্র আছে। দয়া করে প্রশ্ন পত্রের কোথাও কোন কিছু লিখবেন না। এখন খুব মনোযোগ দিয়ে প্রশ্নগুলো পড়ুন এবং আপনার সুচিন্তিত মতামত প্রকাশ করুন।

ধন্যবাদ

- ১। আমি যদি জনগনের প্রতিবিধি হিসাবে ভোট প্রাপ্ত হই - তাহলে কেন্দ্র হতে অর্থ বরাদ্দের সময় আমি আমার এলাকার জন্য সবচেয়ে বেশী অর্থ বরাদ্দের আগ্রহী হব।
- ২। বেশীর ভাগ জনগনই পার্টির কাজ না করে দেশের কাজ করতে চান।
- ৩। আমি বিশ্বাস করি নির্বাচনী প্রচারণা মাধ্যমে অধিক ভোট সংগ্রহের জন্য দলীয় নেতার ব্যক্তিত্বের চেয়ে অধিক শক্তিশালী।
- ৪। আমাদের নেতারা জনহিতকর কার্যে খুব কমই অংশ গ্রহন করেন।
- ৫। প্রতিটি রাজনৈতিক নেতার উচিত দেশের উন্নতির চেয়ে তার ** রাজনৈতিক দলের উন্নতি সাধনে ত্রুতী হওয়া।
- ৬। বিদেশে কোন খেলায়ুড় বা শিকারী উচ্চ শিক্ষা প্রাপ্তির জন্য নির্বাচনের সময় তার যোগ্যতার চাইতে আর্থনিক ভিত্তিকেই প্রাধান্য দেওয়া উচিত।
- ৭। যে সমস্ত জনগন পার্টি করেন না তাঁরা নানাতাবে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হন।
- ৮। অধিকাংশ জনগনই নির্বাচনী প্রচারণা দ্বারা পথ ভ্রষ্ট হন।
- ৯। দেশের রাজনৈতিক দল নেতারা কর্মীদের বিকট তাঁদের প্রাপ্তির অধিক মর্যাদা দাবী করেনঃ
- *১০। দেশের প্রতিটি নাগরিক যদি কোন একটি বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক দানের সংগে জড়িত থাকত তাহলে এদেশের মংগল হত।
- *১১। শিক্ষাঙ্গনের যে কোন প্রতিষ্ঠানে বিদেশীদের জন্য আসন সংখ্যা সংরক্ষিত থাকা বান্ধবনীয় যদিও এতে দেশের কিছু ছাত্র শিক্ষা সুযোগ থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়।
- *১২। আমি আমার বেশীর ভাগ কাজ পার্টির সুার্থেই করে থাকি।
- ১৩। নিজের দলকে জয়মুক্ত করার জন্য নির্বাচনী প্রচারণা যে পর্যাপ্ত অর্থ ব্যয়ের প্রয়োজন আছে।
- *১৪। একজন প্রকৃত নেতার কমতা অপেক্ষা দেশের সমস্যার কথা বেশী করে চিন্তা করা উচিত।
- *১৫। আমি মনে করি একজন ব্যক্তির কাছে তাঁর দলের সুার্থে নিজের সুার্থের চেয়ে অধিক সূন্যবান হওয়া উচিত।
- *১৬। আমি মনে করি পরিবারের সুার্থকে দেশের সুার্থের চেয়ে অধিক প্রাধান্য দেওয়া উচিত।
- *১৭। পার্টি জীবন আমার কাছে খুবই সুখময়।

- * ১৮। পার্টির আদর্শের চেয়ে নির্বাচনী প্রচারণা মাধ্যম নাগরিকদের ভোট সিদ্ধান্তকে বেশী প্রভাবিত করে ।
- * ১৯। যে কোন দল নেতাই উত্তম পথ প্রদর্শক ।
- ২০। পারিবারিক দায়িত্ব এড়াবার জন্যই অনেকে রাজনৈতিক দলমুক্ত হন এবং দলের কাজে ব্যস্ত থাকেন এ খারনা অত্যন্ত সত্য ।
- ২১। যে রাজনৈতিক দল গুজিবাদকে সমর্থন করে উত্তম দলকে কোন নাগরিকেরই ভোট দান করা উচিত নয় ।
- * ২২। নিজেদের ভবিষ্যৎ খুব শীঘ্র পরিবর্তনের জন্য চাকুরী ও ব্যবসার চেয়ে রাজনৈতিক দলভুক্ত হওয়া অনেক বেশী ভাল ।
- * ২৩। রাজনগরতে সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহন ছাড়া ভবিষ্যৎ গড়ে তোলা যায় না ।
- * ২৪। জনগনকে রাজনৈতিক ভাবে সক্রিয় করে তোলার জন্য প্রচারণা প্রয়োজন আছে ।
- ২৫। আমি পার্টি অপেক্ষা নেতাকে বেশী ভালবাসি ।
- ২৬। কোন রাজনৈতিক পার্টিতে সক্রিয় দলভুক্ত হওয়ার অর্থই হচ্ছে নিজেকে অনিশ্চয়তার পথে এগিয়ে দেওয়া ।
- * ২৭। যে রাজনৈতিক দল 'কামিউনিজমকে' সমর্থন করে উত্তম দলকে সরকারের উচিত আর্থিক সাহায্য দান করা ।
- * ২৮। আমাদের মত অনুন্নত দেশে জনগন রাজনৈতিক ব্যাপারে নীরব দর্শক থাকতে পারে না ।
- ২৯। সঠিক প্রচার মাধ্যম যে কোন ব্যক্তিকে নেতা হিসাবে পরিচিত করতে পারে ।
- * ৩০। নেতারা তাঁর নিকট আত্মীয়ের চেয়ে কর্মীদের প্রতি বেশী মনোযোগ দেন ।
- ৩১। বেশীর ভাগ রাজ্যের রাজনীতিবিদরাই রাজনীতিতে অংশ গ্রহনের মাধ্যমেই তাঁদের নিজ পরিবারের কতি সাধন করেন ।
- ৩২। যে কোন বেকার যুক্তরেই তাজ নিজেদের সুার্থের জন্য একটি বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক দলে সক্রিয় ভাবে যোগদান করা দরকার ।
- * ৩৩। আমি মনে করি আমার জন্য রাজনীতি করা সাজে না ।
- ৩৪। নির্বাচনী প্রচারণার চেয়ে দলীয় কর্মীদের অন্যান্য অংশগ্রহণে আরও বেশী মূল্যবান ।
- ৩৫। দল-এর কৃতিত্বের জন্য দল নেতার চেয়ে দলীয় কর্মীদের অবদান বেশী ।
- * ৩৬। যে রাজনৈতিক দলের আমি সদস্য সেটি দেশের সর্ব উত্তম রাজনৈতিক দল ।
- ৩৭। সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশগুলোর অধিক হসুকেই আমাদের জাতীয় রাজনৈতিতে অংশগ্রহণ এদেছে ।

- ৩৮। রাজনৈতিক জীবনে অনিশ্চয়তাই বেশী।
- * ৩৯। দেশের পুচার মাধ্যমগুলিকে সর্্বদলীয় রাজনৈতিক বস্তুব্য পুকাশে সাহায্য করা উচিত।
- ৪০। নেতারা নিঃস্বার্থভাবে কোন কাজ করে না।
- ৪১। বর্তমানে যেমানখুশীর বাস নুতন নুতন পার্টির জন্ম হচ্ছে।
- ৪২। যে রাজনৈতিক দলে যোগদান করলে আমার ব্যক্তিগত এবং পারিবারিক সুার্থ উদ্ভার হবে সেই রাজনৈতিক দলকেই আমি শ্রেয় মনে করি।
- ৪৩। রাজনীতিতে যাঁরা অংশ গ্রহন করেন তাঁরা নিজ পরিবারেরই কতি সাধান করেন।
- ৪৪। যাঁরা নির্বাচনী পুচারের উপর অধিক গুরুত্ব দেন তাঁরা পুকৃত পক্ষে ভুলই করেন।
- ৪৫। নেতার তুল ভ্রান্বি বিবেচনা না করে তাঁর মতাদর্শে সবারই আস্থাবান হওয়া পুয়োজন।
- * ৪৬। আমি সবার চেয়ে আমার নেতাকে ভালবাসি।
- ৪৭। পুতিটি ভেটে অংশ গ্রহন করা ধর্মীয় কাজে অংশ গ্রহন করার সামিল বলে আমি মনে করি।
- ৪৮। জীবনের সব ক্ষেত্রেই রাজনীতির অনুগ্রবেশ ঠিক নয়।
- * ৪৯। ভোটে ভাল ফল লাভের জন্য সূষ্ঠ পুচারনার পুয়োজন আছে।
- ৫০। এমন নেতা খুব কমই আছে যাঁরা দেশের জন্য নিজের জীবন বিপন্ন করেন।
- ৫১। দেশে কোন রাজনৈতিক সমস্যা সমাধান না হওয়ার জন্য নেতরাই দায়ী।
- ৫২। দেশে ধর্মমত একটি স্হায়ী ব্যাপার হয়ে দাড়িয়েছে।
- ৫৩। যাঁরা রাজনীত করেন সাধারণ জনগন তাঁদের পছন্দ করেন না।
- ৫৪। নির্বাচনী পুচারনার অর্ধই হচ্ছে হট্টগোল।
- ৫৫। যে কোন রাজনৈতিক সরাদর্শের চেয়ে দলনেতাই অধিকাংশ ভোটা প্রাপ্তির দাবীদার।
- * ৫৬। দলের পুত্যেকের অভিমতকেই প্রাধান্য দেওয়া কর্তি উচিত।
- * ৫৭। ব্যক্তিগত কতি স্তীকার করে হলেও দেশের সুার্থে রাজনীতিতে অংশ গ্রহন করা আমদের দায়িত্ব।
- ৫৮। আমার রাজনৈতিক দলভূক্ত ব্যক্তিদের যে বকা কাজে আমি আমার ভাই বোনদের কাজের চেয়ে বেশী সহায়তা দিয়ে থাকি।
- ৫৯। সঠিক ভোটা নির্ধারনের জন্য পুচারনা পুপিকা ছাপানো একা নু পুয়োজন বলে আমি মনে করি।

- ৬০। জীবন বিশন্ন করেও আমার দলের নেতাকে বাঁচানো আমার একটি দায়িত্ব বলে আমি মনে করি।
- * ৬১। আমি আমার দলকে সর্বচেয়ে বেশী ভালবাসি।
- ৬২। জন সংখ্যা সদস্য সমূহে আমাদের জনগন প্রায়ই উদাসীন।
- ৬৩। প্রতিটি ব্যক্তির জাতি উচ্চ তাঁর সব চাইতে বড় দায়িত্ব তাঁর পরিবার, ফোন রাজনৈতিক দল নয়।
- ৬৪। ভোট দেবার পুথকে আমি মনে গ্রানে হুনা করি।
- ৬৫। আমার খরনা আমার দলীয় নেতা আমাকে পিতার চেয়ে বেশী ভালবাসে।
- ৬৬। বন্ধুকের নল ছাড়া কখনো আসা যায় না।
- ৬৭। দেশের খাদ্য সমস্যাকে রাজনৈতিক হাতিয়ার হিসাবে ব্যবহার করা কোন দলেই উচ্চ নয়।
- ৬৮। যে রাজনৈতিক দলে আমি সদস্য তুঁত উত্তর দলের সমসু ব্যর্থতার জন্য আমিও নিজেকে দায়ী মনে করি।
- ৬৯। সরকারের উচ্চ নির্বাচন খাতে অর্থ ব্যয়ের চেয়ে অন্য যে কোন খাতে তা ব্যয় করা।
- * ৭০। একজন নিবেদিত নেতার সূত্রে সংবাদ আমার পতিবারের যে কোন ব্যক্তির সূত্রে চাইতে বেশী বেদনা দায়ক।
- ৭১। আমি প্রায়ই দল ত্যাগ করার কথা ভাবি।
- ৭২। শিকারগনকে রাজনৈতিক হস্তক্ষেপের শিকার হতে দেওয়া উচ্চ নয়।
- ৭৩। ব্যক্তিগত আদর্শ রাজনৈতিক দলীয় আদর্শের উর্ধ্বে একথা আমি দৃঢ় ভাবে বিশ্বাস করি।
- ৭৪। প্রতিটি বড় বড় মিল প্রকৃষ্টভাবে নির্বাচন প্রচারনার জন্য আর্থিক সাহায্য করা উচ্চ।
- ৭৫। একটি রাজনৈতিক দলের ভাল মন্দের জন্য কোন সদস্যকে দায়ী না করে উত্তর দলের নেতাকেই দায়ী করা উচ্চ।
- ৭৬। যুক্তিসূত্র কা রনে কোন দল ত্যাগ করায় অপরাধ নেই বলে আমি মনে করি।
- ৭৭। জাতীয় সমস্যারূপে অতি শীঘ্র একটা রাজনৈতিক সমাধান হওয়া সরকার।
- ৭৮। রাজনৈতিক দলীয় আলোচনায় অন্য দলের সদস্যদের প্রবেশাধিকার থাকা তেমন দোষনীয় নয়।

- ৭৯। সুদলীয় নেতাকে জয়যুক্ত করার জন্য দলীয় নেতার সুপক্ষে প্রচারণা প্রয়োজন আছে বলে আমি মনে করি।
- ৮০। বিনা কারণে কোন রাজনৈতিক দল আত্মদানে নামে না।
- ৮১। সব সময়ে শানিগুণভাবে জাতীয় ও আনুষ্ঠানিক সমস্যাগুলির সমাধান হয় না এতে কিছুটা শক্তি প্রয়োগেরও দরকার হয়।
- ৮২। যদি কোন রাজনৈতিক দলভুক্ত ব্যক্তি বিনা দোষে তাঁর দল ত্যাগ করে অন্য দলে যোগদান করতে চান তবে তাকে সে দলের সদস্য করতে আপত্তি থাকা উচিত নয়।
- ৮৩। আমাদের দেশের রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির মধ্যে দলীয় মনোভাবের অভাব রয়েছে।
- ৮৪। আমি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে মনে করি আমাদের নেতাদের রাশিয়ায় ট্রেনিং নেওয়া উচিত।
- ৮৫। যে কোন রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তির যুক্তিযুক্ত কারণ দর্শানো ছাড়াই দল ত্যাগ করার অধিকার রয়েছে বলে আমি মনে করি।
- * ৮৬। নিজের রাজনৈতিক দলকে শক্তিশালী করার জন্য যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে চাঁদা আদায়ের প্রয়োজন আছে বলে আমি দৃঢ় মত পোষণ করি।
- ৮৭। যারা নেতা হতে চান তাঁদের অবশ্যই অস্ট্রিয়ান আমেরিকার রাজনৈতিক সংস্কারদের পুস্কারদ ভাল ভাবে পাঠ করা উচিত।
- * ৮৮। আমি অধিকাংশ সময় রাজনৈতিক দলীয় সদস্যদের চেয়ে পরিবারের সদস্যদের সংগে থাকতে পছন্দ করি।
- ৮৯। পুজিবাদী দেশগুলোর সংগে আমাদের বৈদেশিক সম্পর্ক আরও সুদৃঢ় করা উচিত।
- ৯০। দলত্যাগের পিছনে রাজনৈতিক মতাদর্শ ছাড়াও প্রকৃত অভাব অভিযোগ থাকে বলে আমি বিশ্বাস করি।
- ৯১। যে রাজনৈতিক দল শিক্তা খাতের চেয়ে প্রতিরক্ষা ঠাতে অধিক অর্থ ব্যয় করে আমি উক্ত দলকে ভোট দানে আগ্রহী।

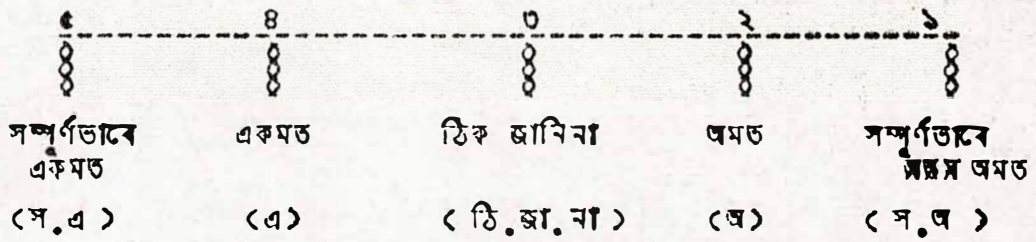
VOTING ATTITUDE SCALE (VAS)

Voting Attitudes Scale (VAS)

নির্দেশাবলী

এই অভিকায় মোট ২৬টি সমস্যার কথা বলা হয়েছে। এগুলো আমাদের জীবনের সামাজিক, পারিবারিক নিজ এবং দল সুখ সম্পর্কীয়। ব্যক্তিগত জীবনে এ সমস্যাগুলোর কথা আমাদের প্রায়ই ভাবতে হয় এবং সমাধানে তৎপর হতে হয়। আশাকরী এ সমস্যাগুলো সম্পর্কে আপনার নিজস্ব মতামত আছে মনে রাখবেন একটি কোন ভাবেই বুদ্ধিমত্তা পরীক্ষা নয়। যেকোন ব্যক্তিগত ঠিক আপনার মতই চিন্তা করেন এবং একটা মতামত দেন। মতামতের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হয়।

এখন আপনি আপনার অভিমত নিম্নলিখিত ৫টি ভাগের যে কোন ১টিতে (৮) টিক চিহ্নের সাহায্যে প্রকাশ করুন :



উত্তর প্রদানের জন্য প্রশ্নের ডান পার্শ্বে জায়গা দেওয়া আছে। দয়া করে প্রশ্নপত্রের কোথাও কোন কিছু লিখবেন না। এখন মনোযোগ দিয়ে পড়ুন এবং আপনার সুচিন্তিত মতামত প্রকাশ করুন।

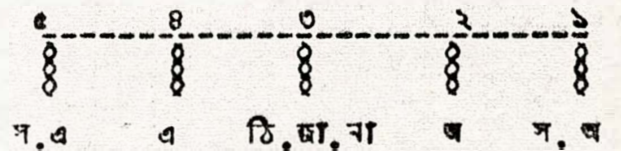
প্রশ্নমালা

১। দেশের প্রতিটি নাগরিক যদি

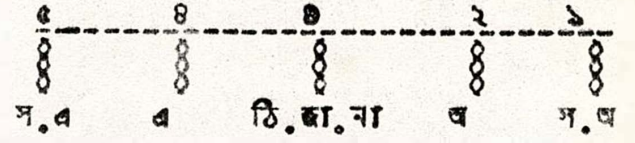
কোন একটি বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক

দলের সাথে জড়িত থাকত তাহলে

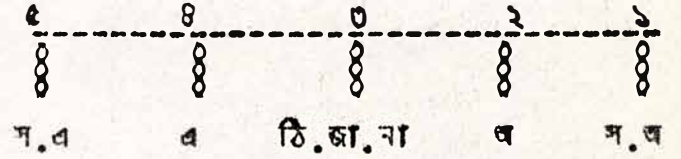
এ দেশের মংগল হত।



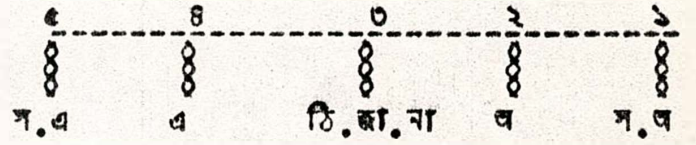
২। বিকাশনের যে কোন প্রতিষ্ঠান
বিদেশীদের জন্য আসন সংখ্যা
সংরক্ষিত থাকা বাঞ্ছনীয় এতে যদিও
দেশের কিছু ছাত্র শিক্ষার সুযোগ
থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়।



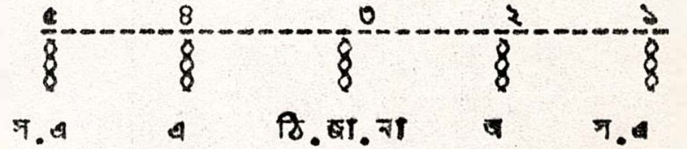
৩। আমি আমার কেনীর্ ভাগ কাজ
পার্টির সুার্থেই করে থাকি।



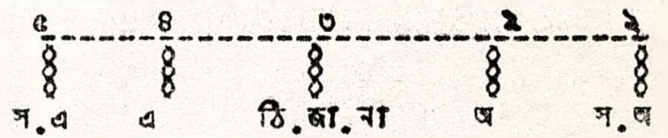
৪। একজন প্রকৃত নেতার ক্রমতা
অনেকা দেশের সমস্যার কথা বেশী
করে চিন্তা করা উচিত।



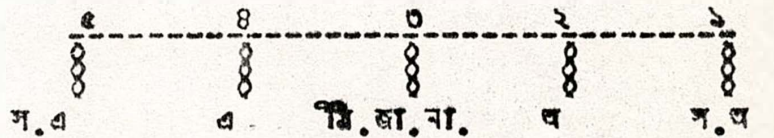
৫। আমি মনে করি এক জন ব্যক্তির
কাছে তাঁর দলের সুার্থ নিজে
সুার্থের চেয়ে অধিক মূল্যবান
হওয়া উচিত।



৬। আমি মনে করি পরিবারের সুার্থকে
দেশের সুার্থের চেয়ে অধিক প্রধান্য
দেওয়া উচিত।

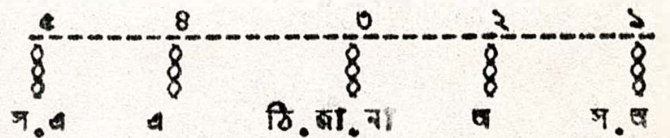


৭। পার্টি জীবন আমার কাছে
স্ববই সুখময়।

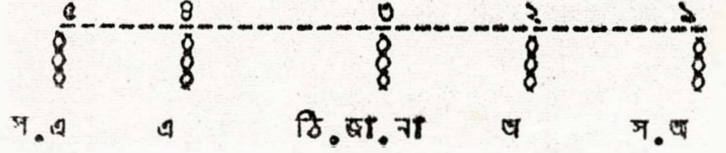


৮। পার্টির আদর্শের চেয়ে নির্বা-

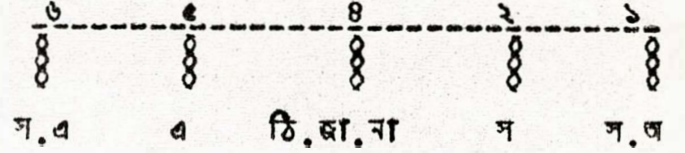
চনী প্রচারনা মাধ্যমে নাগরিক-
দের ভোট সিদ্ধান্তকে প্রভাবিত করে।



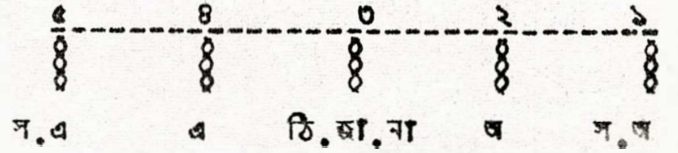
৯। যে কোন দল নেতাই উত্তম
পথ প্রদর্শক ।



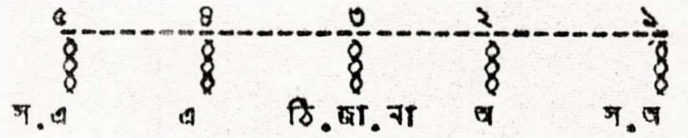
১০। নিজেই ভবিষ্যৎ খুব শীঘ্র পরি-
বর্তনের জন্য চাকুরী ও ব্যবসার
চেয়ে রাজনৈতিক দলভুক্ত হওয়া
অনেক বেশী ভাল ।



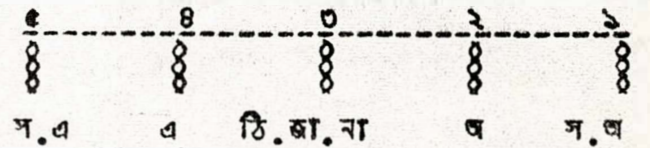
১১। রাজনীতিতে সক্রিয় অংশ
গ্রহণ ছাড়া নিজেই ভবিষ্যৎ
গড়ে তোলা যায় না ।



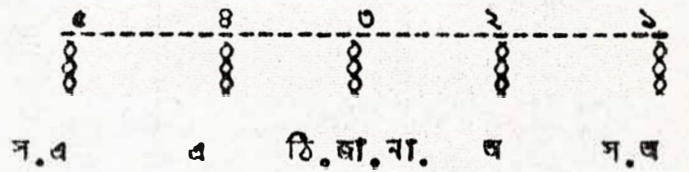
১২। জনগনকে রাজনৈতিক ভাবে
সক্রিয় করে তোলা র জন্য
প্রচারণা প্রয়োজন আছে ।



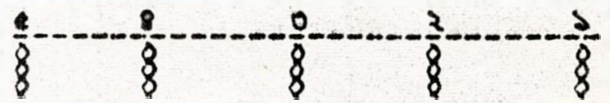
১৩। যে রাজনৈতিক দল কমিউনিজমকে
সমর্থন করে উক্ত দলকে সরকারের
উচিত অধিক সাহায্য দান করা ।



১৪। আমাদের মত অনুরূপ দেশে
জনগন রাজনৈতিক ব্যাপারে
নিরব দর্শন থাকতে পারে না ।



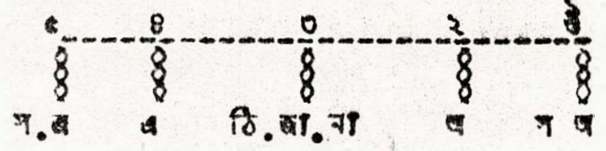
১৫। নেতারা তাঁর নিজস্ব আত্মীয়ের
চেয়ে কর্মীদের প্রতি বেশী
মনোযোগ দেন ।



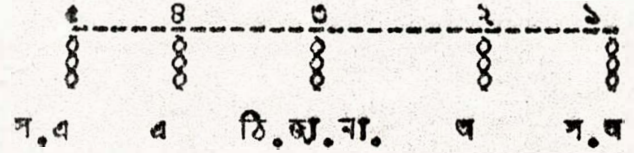
১৬। আমি মনে করি আমার জন্য
রাজনীতি করা সঙ্গত না।



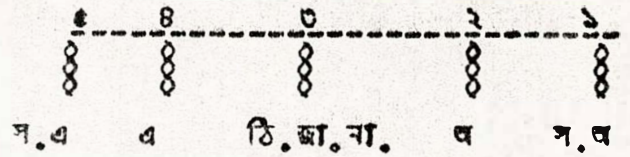
১৭। যে রাজনৈতিক দলের আমি
সদস্য সেটি দেশের সবচেয়ে
রাজনৈতিক দল।



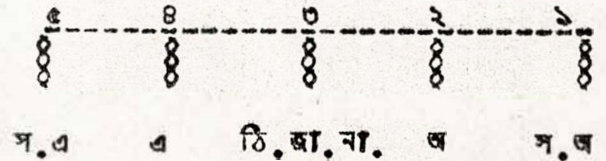
১৮। দেশের প্রচার মাধ্যমগুলোকে
সর্বদলীয় রাজনৈতিক বক্তব্য
প্রকাশে সাহায্য করা উচিত



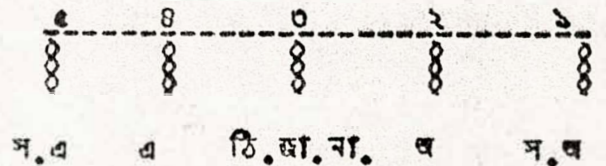
১৯। আমি সবার চেয়ে আমার
নেতাকে ভালবাসি



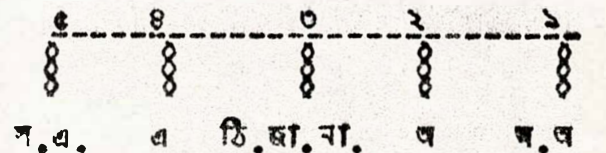
২০। ভোটে ভাল ফলাফলের জন্য
সুষ্ঠু প্রচারণার প্রয়োজন আছে।



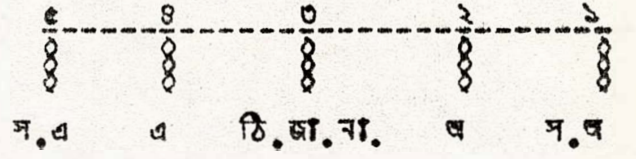
২১। দলের সুতোরের অভিমত
কেই প্রাধান্য দেওয়া উচিত।



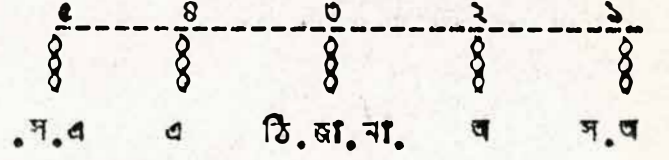
২২। ব্যক্তিগত কতি শ্রীকার করে
হলেও দেশের সুার্থে রাজনীতিতে
অংশ গ্রহন করা আমাদের
দায়িত্ব।



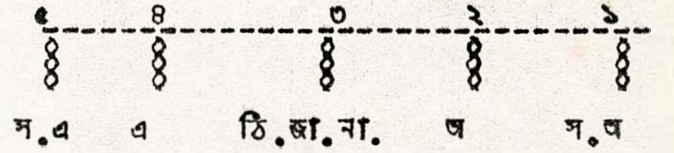
২৩। আমি আমার দলকে
সবচেয়ে ভালবাসি ।



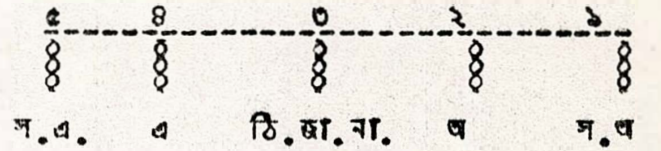
২৪। একজন বিবেচিত নেতার মৃত্যু
সংবাদ আমার পরিবারের যে
কোন ব্যক্তির মৃত্যুর চাইতে
বেশী বেদনা দায়ক ।



২৫। নিছের রাজনৈতিক দলকে
শক্তিশালী করার জন্য যথেষ্ট
পরিমাণে চাদা আদায়ের
প্রয়োজন আছে বলে আমি দৃঢ়
মত পোষণ করি ।



২৬। আমি অধিকাংশ সময় রাজনৈতিক
দলীয় সদস্যদের চেয়ে পরি-
বারের সদস্যদের সঙ্গে যাকতে
পছন্দ করি ।



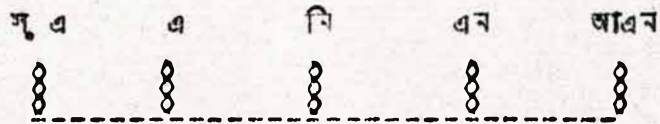
CONSERVATISM-RADICALISM SCALE (C-R)

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)

নির্দেশাবলী

অপর পৃষ্ঠায় ২৩টি বাক্য বিভিন্ন সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক, ধর্মীয় ও সাংস্কৃতিক সমস্যার উপর ভিত্তি করে তৈরী করা হয়েছে। এটি একটি গবেষণামূলক কাজের জন্য অতীকা স্কেল মাত্র। এখন ব্যক্তির মতামতই প্রধান, কোন ব্যক্তি প্রধান নয়। বাক্যগুলি কোন উত্তরই ভুল নয়। আমরা ৫টি ভাগে উত্তর জানতে চাই, সেটি সম্পূর্ণ একমত থেকে আদৌ একমত নই পর্যন্ত বিস্তৃত। একটি বাক্যের উদাহরণের মাধ্যমে উত্তর দেবার পদ্ধতিটি দেখানো হলো।

উদাহরণ :- আমি অধ্যায়নকে পৃথিবীর সব জিনিষের চেয়ে বেশী ভালবাসি :



এই স্কেলের ৫টি ভাগের উত্তর নিম্নরূপ :

- ১। সম্পূর্ণ একমতকে দেখানো হয়েছে 'সএ' রূপে
- ২। একমতকে দেখানো হয়েছে 'এ' রূপে
- ৩। 'আংশিক একমত এবং আংশিক একমত নই' কে দেখানো হয়েছে নিরপেক্ষ অর্থাৎ 'নি' রূপে।
- ৪। 'একমত নই' কে দেখানো হয়েছে 'এন' রূপে
- ৫। 'আদৌ একমত নই' কে দেখানো হয়েছে 'আএন' রূপে।

যখন রাখবেন কোন বাক্যের উত্তর দিতে যেন বাদ না পড়ে। আপনি উত্তরের ব্যাপারে যে ধারণা পোষন করেন সেটিই এর সঠিক উত্তর। যেহেতু এ স্কেল অতীকায় ব্যক্তির অপেক্ষা ব্যক্তির মতামতকে প্রধান্য দেয়া হয় সেহেতু স্বাভাবিকভাবেই ব্যক্তি মত গুলি দলমতে রূপান্তরিত হয় এবং ব্যক্তি পরিচয় বা সত্তা রক্ষা করার প্রয়োজন পড়ে না।

১।	যদি বিরোধী দলগুলোকে সংসদে অবাধ যত প্রকাশের সুযোগ দেওয়া হয় তাহলে বিশৃঙ্খলার সৃষ্টি হবে ।	এস	এ	নি	এন	আএন
২।	প্রতিটি শিশুকে ধর্ম শিক্ষা দেওয়া উচিত ।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৩।	হিংসাত্মক আন্দোলন সমস্যা সমাধানের গতি ত্বরান্বিত করার উৎসৃষ্ট করা ।	এস	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৪।	রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন দমন করার জন্য আইনের আশ্রয় নেওয়া উচিত নয় ।	সস	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৫।	অন্যদেশ থেকে বারে বারে হিন্দুদের/ মুসলমানদের আত্মহান করা হলে আমাদের দেশের সাংস্কৃতিক মান হ্রাস পাবে ।	এস	এ	নি	এস	আএন
৬।	হিন্দু / মুসলিম নেতারা সাধারণতঃ সুার্থ এর এবং জাতীয় মঙ্গলকে উপেক্ষা করে ।	এস	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৭।	প্রেম ভিত্তি বিবাহ সর্বদাই পরিবারের দুর্গম আনে ।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৮।	জাতীয় সুার্থকে অবশ্যই মানবতার উর্ধ্বে স্থান দিতে হবে ।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
৯।	এ দেশের আরো মঙ্গল হতো যদি দৈন- দিন জীবনে ধর্মের অধিকতর গুণাব থাকতো ।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১০।	হিংসাত্মক আন্দোলন ছাড়া শিক্ষাবীতির পরিবর্তন সম্ভব নয় ।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১১।	সবার জন্য সামগ্রিক প্রশিক্ষণ আবশ্যিক করা উচিত	এস	এ	নি	এন	আএন

১২। আমাদের সমাজকে নিম্নস্থ মুসলিম/					
হিন্দু সাংস্কৃতির মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ রাখা	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
উচিত।					
১৩। ধর্মীয় ধ্যান সাধনার চেয়ে সমাজ					
কল্যানকর কাজ অনেক ভাল।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১৪। রাজনৈতিক বিরোধে প্রদর্শনে অংশ গ্রহনের					
মাধ্যমে ছাত্রেরা রাজনৈতিক প্রসিদ্ধি পেতে পারে।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১৫। অন্যদেশকে স্বাধীন স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া					
শুধুমাত্র আমাদের ভালবাসা উচিত।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১৬। সংবাদপত্র, বেতার এবং জনসংযোগের					
অন্যান্য পত্র সমূহ সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রণাধীন	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
থাকা উচিত।					
১৭। ছাত্র আন্দোলনকে উৎসাহিত করা উচিত					
কেননা ইহা দেশের সংস্কার সাধন করে।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১৮। অসুখী দাম্পত্য জীবনের চেয়ে বিবাহ					
বিচ্ছেদ শ্রেয়।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
১৯। প্রগতির জন্য আমাদের বর্তমান সামা-					
জিক ব্যবস্থা হিন্দু/মুসলিম সাংস্কৃতিকে	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
সুগত জানাবে					
২০। একটি সুস্থ জাতির জন্য পরিবার					
পরিচালনা অত্যন্ত আবশ্যিক	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন
২১। শৃঙ্খলায় ধর্মই আমাদেরকে সুস্থ জীবন					
যাপনের পথ নির্দেশ করে।	সএ	এ	নি	এন	আএন

২২। সমাজ থেকে যৌতুক প্রথা দূর

করার জন্য যে সব সংস্থা চেষ্টা

সএ এ নি এন আএন

করছে সেগুলোকে পুরস্কৃত করা উচিত।

২৩। বিরোধী দলের সুধীনতা শাসক

সএ এ নি এন আএন

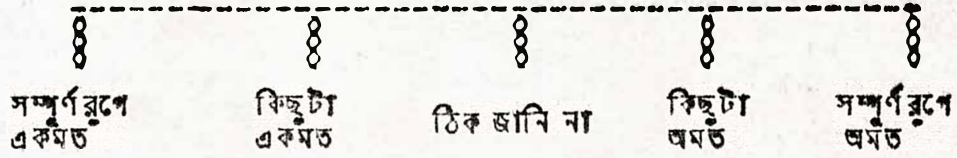
দলের সমানই থাকা উচিত।

AUTHORITARIAN SCALE

Authoritarian Scale

বিদেপ্যাবলী

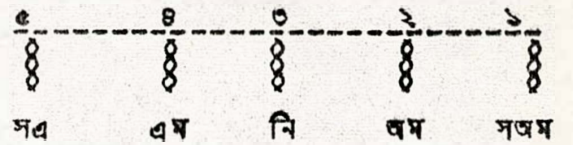
এই অভীকায় মোট ২৩টি প্রশ্ন দেয়া আছে। প্রশ্নগুলি জীবন ধারার বিভিন্ন দিকে আলোকপাত করেছে। যেন রাখবেন প্রতিটি ব্যক্তির স্ৰীকনের বিভিন্ন দিকে বিভিন্ন সমস্যা রয়েছে এবং এই সমস্যাগুলি সম্পর্কে তার নিজস্ব মতামত রয়েছে। আপনাকে প্রতিটি প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিতে হবে। প্রতিটি প্রশ্নের জন্য পাচটি উত্তর স্বর আছে যেমন :



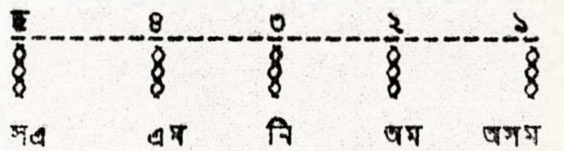
আপনার মতামত এই পাঁচটি উত্তর স্বরের যে কোন একটিতে (/) চিহ্নের মাধ্যমে প্রকাশ করুন।

প্রশ্নমালা

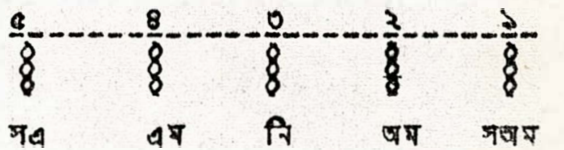
১। কিছু ব্যক্তির হঠাৎ করে উত্ততি করার স্বাভাবিক প্রবৃত্তি থাকে।



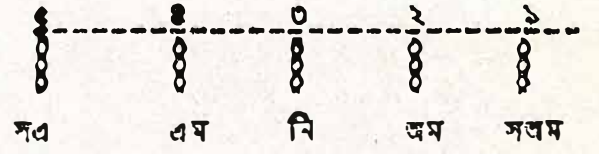
২। এমনকি কোন সূস্থ, স্বাভাবিক উত্তম ব্যক্তিও তার স্বনিষ্ঠ বন্ধুর ক্ষতি সাধন করতে পারে



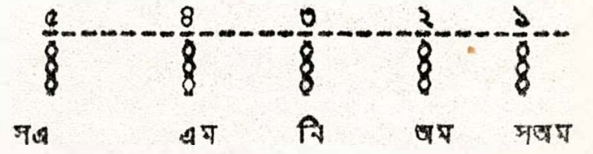
৩। যদিও বিজ্ঞানের একটি নিজস্ব স্থান রয়েছে তথাপি এমনও কতকগুলো গুরুত্বপূর্ণ জিনিস আছে সেগুলি কখনও বোধগম্য নয়।



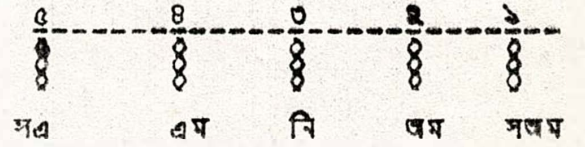
৪। রাজনৈতিক প্রচারকদের প্রায়ই
ধরনের প্রবনতা দেখা দেয় যে তাহা
রাজনীতিতে সচেতন নয় এমন জন
সমষ্টিতে আস্থা অর্জন করার জন্য
সমস্যাগুলিকে ছোট করে দেখান এবং
ব্যক্তিকে অধিক প্রাধান্য দেন ।



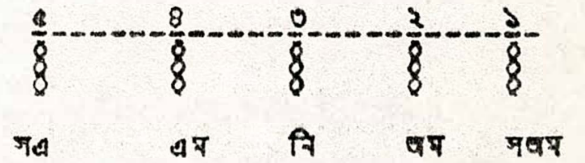
৫। আমি অনেক সময় মনে করি যে
আমার বন্ধুবর্গদের যতটা বিখ্যাস করা
উচিত তারচেয়ে বেশী করেছি ।



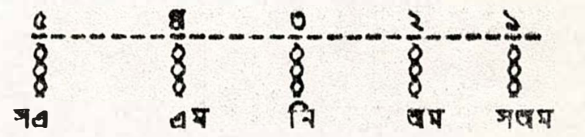
৬। যুব সমাজের জন্য কঠোর অনুশাসন
দৃঢ় সংকল্প, কাজ করার প্রবল ইচ্ছা
এবং দেশ ও পরিবারে সেবা ও সংগাম
যুবকদের জন্য অবশ্যই প্রয়োজন ।



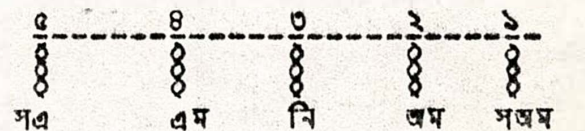
৭। সবসু অধ্যাপক ও সরকারী কর্ম-
চারীদের কমিউনিস্ট নয় এই মর্মে
একটি আনুগত্য পত্র স্মরণ করা
উচিত যে তারা কমিউনিস্ট নয় ।



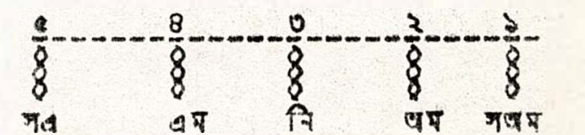
৮। একজন ব্যক্তি তার মন অস্ত্রাণ,
অসদাচরন খা কা সঙ্গে ও একজন উত্তম
ব্যক্তির সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক বজায় রাখতে পারে ।



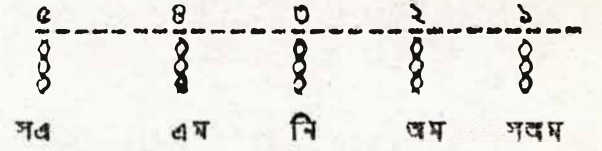
৯। আমাদের মর্যাদা রক্ষাকারী ব্যক্তিদের
সর্বদাই দৃঢ়বীণ হবেন ।



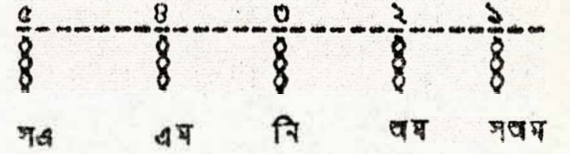
১০। রক্তের সম্পর্কে আত্মীয়দের মধ্যে
বিবাহ নিরুৎসাহিত করা উচিত ।



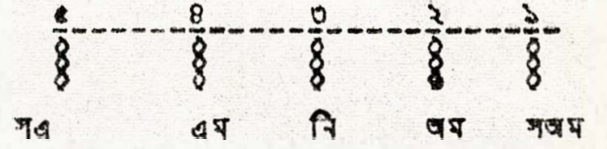
১১। মৃত্যু পরোক্ষরূপে তিরতরে উচ্ছেদ করা উচিত ।



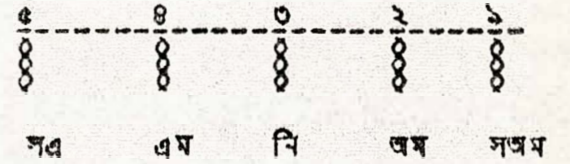
১২। আত্মকাল বিভিন্ন জাতীয় ব্যক্তিদের অত্যধিক মেনামেশার ফলে একজন ব্যক্তির অনেক গর্ভকতা সত্ত্বেও সংলগ্ন-মক ব্যক্তি থেকে নিজেকে রক্ষা করতে পারছে না ।



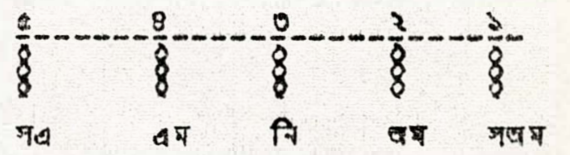
১৩। যদিও বাক স্বাধীনতা প্রতিষ্ঠা পোষিত-দলের জন্য একটি মর্খার লক্ষ্য তবুও দুর্ভাগ্য এই যে কিছু রাজনৈতিক দলের জন্য এর প্রতিবন্ধকতার প্রয়োজন আছে ।



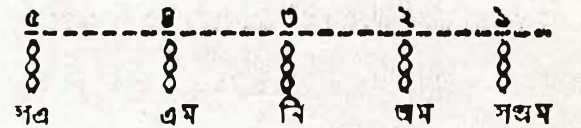
১৪। যে ব্যক্তির সমস্যা দ্বারা অর্জিত থাকে এ পরামর্শ দেয়া নিরর্থক যে, সে যেন সমস্যা ভুলে গিয়ে আনন্দ-দায়ক কাজে নিজেকে ব্যস্ত রাখে ।



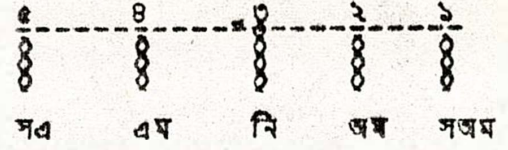
১৫। বাধ্যতা এবং বড়দের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা শিশুদের জন্য অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ গুণাবলী যা শিশুদের অবশ্যই শিখা উচিত ।



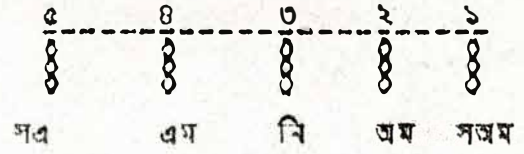
১৬। আইন-কানুন এবং রাজনৈতিক কার্য-কলাপ ছাড়াও, একটি দেশের জন্য যা সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন তা হচ্ছে কিছু সংরক্ষক সাহসী, পরিশ্রমী নিবেদিত রাজ-নৈতিক নেতা যাদের উপর জনগন বিশ্বাস স্থাপন করতে পারে ।



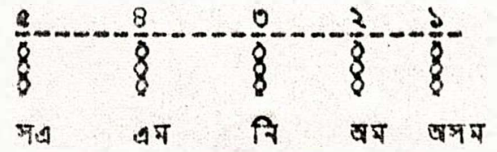
১৭। যুদ্ধ এবং সামাজিক সমস্যাসমূহ
 উখনই শেষ হবে যখন বন্যা এবং
 ভূমিকম্প সম্পূর্ণ পৃথিবীকে ধ্বংস করবে।



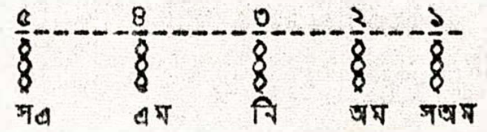
১৮। যুবকের মধ্যে নিদ্রাহী চিন্তা ধারা
 জাগ্রিত হতে থাকে কিন্তু বড়
 হবার সংগে সংগে সেই চিন্তাধারাকে
 নিয়ন্ত্রিত করা এবং তাদের সুভাবিক
 অবস্থায় ফিরে আনা উচিত।



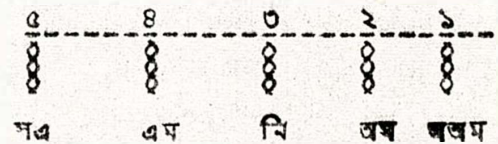
১৯। কিছু অলৌকিক ক্রমতার উপরে পূর্ণ
 বিশ্বাস এনে তাদের আদেশ মান্য
 করার কোন প্রয়োজনীয়তা নাই।



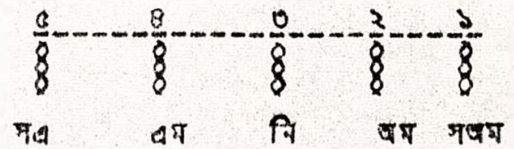
২০। যে জগতে আমরা বাস করি
 সেখানে সবাই আমরা নিঃসংগ।



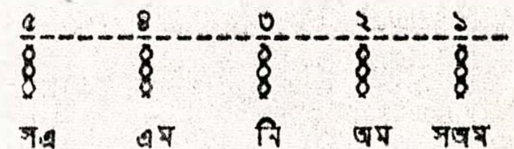
২১। অপরার্থীদের ভূমিকায় সমকামীদের
 ভাসিকাতন্ত্র করা ঠিক নয়।



২২। ভুক্তভোগী না হয়েও একজন
 গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়াদি শিখতে পারে।



২৩। অধিকাংশ ব্যক্তি জানে না তার জন্ম
 কি ভাল, কি মন্দ



INTERNAL-EXTERNAL CONTROL SCALE (I-E)

Internal-External Control Scale(I-E)

নির্দেশাবলী

নিম্নে বর্ণিত কিছু বিবরণাবলী দেওয়া হল। প্রতিটি নম্বরে দুটি করে 'ক' এবং 'খ' বাক্য রয়েছে। আপনাকে দুটি বাক্যের মধ্যে যে কোন একটিকে বেছে নিতে হবে, যেটির সাথে আপনি একমত। যদি দুটি বাক্যের ১টির সাথেও একমত না হন তথাপি আপনাকে দুটির মধ্যে মধ্যে অন্তঃ যেটি আপনার সুলভতম পছন্দ সেটিকে পছন্দ করে নিয়ে 'ক' অথবা 'খ' এর ডান পার্শ্বে ফাকা ঘরে (/) এই চিহ্ন লাগিয়ে দিন। আপনার সহযোগীতা আমার গবেষণায় সাহায্য করবে।

সমস্ত ধন্যবাদ

- ১। ক () আমি মনে করি যে নাগরিক জীবনের সকল উন্নতি কেবলমাত্র রাজনৈতিক নেতাদের সঠিক সিদ্ধান্তের উপরই নির্ভরশীল।
- খ () আমি মনে করি যে নাগরিক জীবনের সকল উন্নতি কেবলমাত্র তাদের নিজস্ব কারনেই ঘটে থাকে।
- ২। ক () কৃতকার্যতা অর্জন করা ব্যেটার পরিশ্রমের ফলস্বরূপ, এতে ভাগ্যের কিছুই করার থাকে না।
- খ () ভালো চাকুরী লাভ নির্ভর করে সঠিক সময়ে সঠিক স্থানে উপস্থিত হওয়ার উপর।
- ৩। ক () নাগরিকগণের রাজনীতিতে সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহনের মাধ্যমেই দেশে গনতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত হতে পারে।
- খ () দেশের নাগরিকগণ যতই চেষ্টা করুক না কেন বহিঃশক্তির হস্তক্ষেপের ফলে এ দেশে কখনই গনতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে না।

- ৪। ক (>) সাধারণ নাগরিকদের, সরকারী শিক্ষানুষ্ঠানের উপর গুস্তব থাকতে পারে ।
- খ (>) কমতায় অধিষ্ঠিত মুষ্টিমেয় ব্যক্তিগণের দ্বারা পৃথিবী চানিত হচ্ছে এবং এতে সাধারণ স্নায় নাগরিকের বিশেষ কিছু করার নেই ।
- ৫। ক (>) একজন যোগ্য রাজনৈতিক নেতার যে সম্মান প্রাপ্তি তা সে অবশেষে পাবেই ।
- খ (>) দুর্ভাগ্য বশতঃ আমাদের দেশের রাজনৈতিক নেতার যোগ্যতা প্রায়ই উপেক্ষিত হয়, যদিও তারা সঠিক নেতৃত্ব প্রদানের চেষ্টা করেন ।
- ৬। ক (>) কোন ব্যক্তির প্রধান কর্মকর্তা হওয়া অনেক ক্ষেত্রে নির্ভর করে যিনি পুথমে সঠিক স্থানে আসার ভাগ্য অর্জন করেন ।
- খ (>) কোন ব্যক্তির সঠিক কাজ করা নির্ভর করে তার দক্ষতার উপর এতে ভাগ্যের কোন কিছুই করার নেই ।
- ৭। ক (>) আমি মনে করি যে নির্বাচনী কমিশন ভোট প্রার্থীদের প্রতি প্রায়ই পরোক্ষভাবে করে এরূপ ধারণা অবাসু্য ।
- খ (>) আমি মনে করি যে, অধিকাংশ ভোট প্রার্থী অনুভব করতে পারে না আকস্মিক ঘটনাবলী কি পরিমাণে তাঁদের ভোটের ফলাফলকে প্রভাবিত করতে পারে ।
- ৮। ক (>) এ ক্ষেত্রে ঘটনাবলী থেকে এটাই প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, আমাদের অধিকাংশরাই এমন সব শক্তির সিকার যাকে আমরা বুঝতে পারি না এবং নিয়ন্ত্রণও করতে পারি না ।
- খ (>) রাজনৈতিক এবং সামাজিক কার্যাবলীতে সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহনের মাধ্যমে মানুষ পৃথিবীতে ঘটনা সমূহকে নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতে পারে ।

সব ব্যক্তি নিজেদের উপর সঠিক নিয়ন্ত্রণ

রাখতে সক্ষম তরাই কার্যকরী নেতা হতে পারেন।

খ () যে সব যোগ্য ব্যক্তি নেতা হতে বিফল হয়েছেন তারা সময়ের সুবিধা গ্রহণ করেন নাই।

১০। ক () অধিকাংশ লোক বুঝতে পারে না আকস্মিক ঘটনাবলী দ্বারা তাঁদের জীবন কি পরিমাণে বিধ্বস্ত নিয়ন্ত্রিত হয়।

খ () তাগ্য বলে সত্যিকার কোন কিছু নাই।

১১। ক () যথেষ্ট প্রচেষ্টার মাধ্যমে আমরা রাজনৈতিক দুর্নীতি দূর করতে পারি।

খ () রাজনীতিবিদগণ তাঁদের পদে থেকে যে সব কাজ করেন সেগুলো নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা লোকের পক্ষে খুবই কষ্টকর।

১২। ক () রাজনীতিবিদগণ যে আচরণ করেন তার কারণ আমি অধিকাংশ সময় বুঝতে পারি না।

খ () স্থানীয় এবং জাতীয় পর্যায়ে অযোগ্য সরকারের জন্য শেষ পর্যন্ত সাধারণ লোকেরাই দায়ী।