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WOMEN AND POLITICS: THE PARTIES, THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
AND THE ELECTORATE

by
Sandra Kay Baxter

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Sociology)
in The University of Michigan
1977

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A dissertation is many things. It is a cooperative venture which draws upon the time, talent and good will of committee members, and I wish to thank Karen Mason, David Segal, Phil Converse, Kent Jennings (who joined us at a late date but made many valuable suggestions), Marjorie Lansing (who served on the committee until travel plans conflicted with the defense), and Sam Eldersveld (whose sabbatical brought Kent on board) for sharing theirs with me. It is as well a test of endurance and my typist, Esther Washington, persevered mightily. And sometimes, a dissertation becomes much more than just a dissertation, and I want to thank my loving parents and loyal friends for their support, of a direct or diversionary sort, when it was needed.

Nothing so becomes a dissertation, says Mel, as its completion; agreed, dear.

At 18 I was very aware of and interested in politics, but every year I become more pessimistic about the role the average citizen can play in our government. I still vote and discuss political issues with my friends, but feel there is too much else to be done with my spare time that is more profitable than political involvement.

--A voter

I have not been very well impressed with the function of the individual in a political party. Those in power are usually firmly entrenched and very little can be done about it. An individual can accomplish more by being active in a group of people of like minds on issues or committees working for candidates whom he or she prefers. It is a different and rather interesting experience, however, after working in nonpartisan groups.

--A precinct delegate

Women who have a political drive should with every feminine or womanly virtue they possess, yet be strong enough to express themselves, work for their own ambitions and not compete against a man nor try to politically help him. A woman manages her family, a woman manages the money in just about every family. Why not the family of our community, State, or Nation?

--A voter

Because I was raised to hold back my own aspirations and help a man become all he could become, the world of politics has been off-limits to me as far as becoming significantly active. I feel that the League provides a great place to mature in the political world before jumping into the actual partisan arena. However, presently I don't think either political party provides much of a choice and would work for a more socialistic party, such as Common Cause, if the opportunity presents itself in the future. However, it bothers me that women work outside the political system as it presently exists.

--A League Board member

I have never been very active in politics. Although I have voted for who I thought was the best man. Every since the first day that women were allowed to vote. And now I am 78 years old and in poor health and a sick husband to take care of who I have been married to for nearly 53 years. I am tired. If the law says I must fill out that blank I will try to get some one to do it for me. If not please let me rest.

--A voter

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In 1930, Carrie Chapman Catt, former president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, reflected on the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in July of 1920:

Just because half of Congress and half of the Legislatures are not filled by women does not mean that women have accomplished nothing in politics. I do not hold that the number of women in office is the measure of their influence in politics. Men are not yet ready to trust women in high office and our party system is against them...However, the criterion of the value of women's contribution is the amount of their influence on the welfare and general condition of the country. It is my opinion that their influence has increased 100 percent since the granting of the vote...We cannot expect miracles. The first ten years have been immensely educational. Can any one deny that women have advanced by enormous strides to a realization that politics should be everybody's business? (1930:11)

Forty years later, Gloria Steinem, a founder of the National Woman's Political Caucus, reflected on the roles women might play in the upcoming Presidential election of 1972:

True, brave women fought for and earned the right to vote 52 years ago, but too few of their sisters had the ego-strength to believe their cultural differences from men might have a positive value--ever. We are just beginning to look unashamedly at how we think, whether it is like, or different from, men. We are just beginning to flex our muscles, and figure out what kind of political force we might be. (1972:48)

The growing realization in 1930 that "politics should be everybody's business" had not, by 1972, produced a sense of political competence or a record of political accomplishment by women.

Today, only a few women have national political reputations, and although the proportion of women office-holders increases at the lower levels of government and the political party organizations, women in positions of political responsibility remain few. The women who do hold these positions, then, can be expected to differ in many important ways from women who have not achieved them, due to lack of aspiration or the frustration of it.

The following chapters describe, analyze, and interpret the ways in which three samples of women, participating in the American political system to different degrees, relate to it attitudinally and behaviorally. Specifically, the samples were selected to represent three different groups: a) women registered voters, whose political participation usually begins and ends at the ballot box, b) women whose political activism finds expression within the nonpartisan voluntary organization known as the League of Women Voters, and c) women whose activism leads them to low-level elected positions within the Democratic and Republican parties. The samples were drawn independently to insure a larger number of women displaying a greater range of participatory modes than are captured in cross-sectional surveys; collectively, then, the respondents do not constitute a random sample. For part of the analysis, the second and third samples are combined into one sample of women highly active in politics. Two questions structure the research: first, what variables distinguish the less active voters from the more active League and party women; and second, do these same

variables differentiate the politically experienced from the relatively inexperienced within each of the two main samples. The specific hypotheses are set forth in the early pages of Chapter III, which addresses the first question, and Chapter IV, which addresses the second. The analysis is an attempt to increase our knowledge about the factors which lead women to participate in politics at the levels they do.

Implicit in this brief description of the samples is the fact that women do relate to politics in a variety of ways and intensities and although the range available to them may not appear as wide as that offered to men, there is room for choice. That has not always been the case. A brief recounting of the suffrage movement and the early forms of women's political involvement, especially the creation of the League of Women Voters and the ambivalence with which the suffrage leaders viewed the established political parties, will provide some historical context to this study because women's current roles in politics are conditioned by the relative recency of female suffrage and the forms of women's participation first pursued.

The movement for women's political rights in America is usually traced back to the 1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention held in London. Having made the trip because of their beliefs in human equality, the American women delegates, and some of their male colleagues, were astonished to learn that the women were not to be seated on the convention floor but could voice their support

for equality from behind a curtain (Kraditor, 1965). Eight years later, a conference was organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott and held in Seneca Falls, New York, "to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women" (Flexner, 1959). Three hundred women and several men attended and one-third eventually signed a document patterned by Stanton after the Declaration of Independence and called the Declaration of Sentiments. The most controversial section of the document read:

Resolved, that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Similar conventions in the years to follow brought the names Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony to public attention as well as to public ridicule.

During the 1860's, the suffrage energies were channeled into the Civil War and with that war's end, the abolitionist-feminists worked to insure that the Republican party's gratitude for their war efforts would take the form of women's voting rights. Instead, party leaders saw the extension of the vote to black men to be more important. Women suffrage slowly crept into state laws across the nation, however, beginning with the right to vote in school elections, and the territory of Wyoming in 1869 became the first member of the Union to grant full political equality as defined by law.

Suffrage strategists saw that national success would come only through state-level efforts, so during the next several decades

state groups organized by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) demanded that the citizenry and the legislatures "remember the ladies".¹ A splinter group, headed by Alice Paul, broke with NAWSA in 1914 to employ more militant tactics to secure the franchise. Working at both the federal and state levels, the group eventually known as the Women's Party chose to demonstrate its muscle by campaigning for amendment supporters running for Congress from the states which had already granted full suffrage within their borders (Kraditor, 1965). This branch of the movement was pragmatically attached to the parties.

The NAWSA leadership, however, preferred to ignore the parties and to educate directly the citizenry and the politicians regarding the justness of their goal. This low-key, nonpartisan approach of the majority of American suffragists was not threatening and allowed many politicians both to underestimate the extent and fervor of support for the franchise and to delay confronting the issue (Porter, 1971).

In 1915, Carrie Chapman Catt, who had come to suffrage from the temperance movement (Kraditor, 1965), resumed the presidency of NAWSA and synchronized the state-level activities to the point where sufficient support was built up in Congress to secure the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in June of 1919. By August of 1920, the required thirty-six states had ratified it and the law finally read:

¹This is the oft-quoted phrase written by Abigail Adams to her husband John as he sat in the first Continental Congress helping to frame the nation's laws (Adams, 1975).

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on the account of sex.

At the March 1919 Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, called to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Wyoming's grant of suffrage, Catt called for the creation of a permanent, nonpartisan organization to "finish the fight and to aid in the reconstruction of the Nation." The League of Women Voters was born. Its goals were lofty--to win final enfranchisement at home and abroad, end all legal discrimination against women, and bolster the spread of democracy throughout the world (Sanders, 1956; Adams, 1967). These goals were thought achievable in five years. At the following year's convention, Catt urged the delegates to join the political parties, run for office, and help formulate public policy. Another portion of the NAWSA membership, led by Jane Addams, argued that women's attention and newly-won political power should be directed to the social reconstruction of their communities. The convention compromised and assigned to the National League of Women Voters the political but nonpartisan tasks of reforming the electorate, educating women for citizenship, and training them for assumption of full positions in the parties and the government (Lemons, 1973).

By 1921, therefore, both the political parties and the League of Women Voters were viewed by most suffragists as appropriate arenas for women interested in politics, but the roles women could play were seen to be qualitatively different. The League, by

restricting its membership to the newly-enfranchised women and its mission to educating the electorate, was necessarily on the periphery of a political system dominated by the long-established parties (Gilman, 1927). Women who joined the Democratic and Republican parties were members of the premier political organizations but were relegated minor roles in them (Blair, 1929), probably due to both their new legal standing and the view that politics had always been men's business.

However small the political power these League and party women wielded, though, it surpassed the influence of women who merely cast ballots during elections, and their effect, in turn, surpassed that of women who chose not to participate in politics at all. Reviewing these roles that women played in American politics in the decade following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, three major categories are apparent: the high activists (workers in partisan or nonpartisan organizations), the low activists (voters), and the non-activists (non-voters). These categories remain conceptually useful to the contemporary study of women and politics and help to define the populations relevant to this study, as discussed in Chapter II.

The study of women and politics reported in this dissertation was conducted in the fall and spring following the 1972 national party conventions and the November Presidential election. During the half century since their political rights had been legally guaranteed, women turned out to vote in ever increasing numbers

until by 1964, their rate nearly equaled that of men (Lansing, 1970). But their success in reaching the state and Congressional levels of public office was meager; by 1964, women constituted only 4.5 percent of the nation's state legislators and 2 percent of the Congresspersons (Werner, 1968). During the mid-1960's, a number of budding social movements, including the protest against American involvement in Vietnam, the struggle for the rights of blacks and poor people, and the growing militancy of feminists, came into full bloom. Their supporters converged on Chicago in 1968 and their anger erupted inside and outside the doors of the Democratic National Convention and in full view of the nation's media. Another protest met the Republicans when they convened weeks later.

One of the major tasks facing planners for the national party conventions in 1972 was to regain the loyalty of those they had alienated four years earlier. Both before and during the conventions, efforts were made to liberalize the delegate selection procedures and to include women's planks in the party platforms. When the Democrats gathered in Miami in July of 1972, there were four times as many women among the delegates as there had been four years earlier (Johnson, 1972) as well as many more blacks, Spanish-speaking, younger and older persons. When the Republicans convened in Miami the following month, thirty percent of the delegates were women, almost double the figure for 1968 (Quinn, 1972). Further, the delegates to both conventions adopted

rules covering the selection of delegates to the 1976 conventions which would give greater representation to women and to the aged and ethnic groups historically underrepresented.

The party platforms of the two conventions reflected a new awareness that many women voters might base their electoral choices on which party better addressed their concerns. The Republican platform contained a strong plank on federal support of child care services and promised that the party would work for ratification of the equal rights amendment (Kilberg, 1972). Attempts to secure a pro-abortion plank were defeated, however. The Democratic platform contained a fifteen-point women's rights plank, more comprehensive but less specific than that passed by the Republicans (Quinn, 1972).

The new faces and new platform planks were heavily covered by the media and widely regarded by the American citizenry. The research department of the National Broadcasting Company projected, on the basis of viewers of the first two nights of the Democrats' proceedings, that approximately 120 million people would see some portion of that convention, 15 million more than saw the 1968 convention (Aarons, 1972). Combined with the additional viewers of the Republican convention and the radio and press audiences, well over half of the American population was expected to follow the political parties in action. A national poll taken one month after the Democratic convention indicated that the new faces and the public airing of disputes over delegations and planks had made a significant, positive impression:

By 52 to 25 percent, a majority of the American people had a highly positive reaction to the Democratic National Convention...The most widely remembered parts of the Democratic conclave were the openness of the convention... and the representation of the young, minorities, and women. All of these aspects of the Democratic convention were followed and recalled by between 59 and 70 percent of the electorate. (Harris, 1972:A-7)

We would expect that the conventions were significant events for women political activists, whether in the parties or in partisan or nonpartisan voluntary organizations, because the proceedings provided a new set of successful women role models and a new legitimacy to their political aspirations. The summer of 1972 was an important time for women in the wider electorate also, for they saw, heard, or read that politics was not exclusively a man's realm. By January of 1973, when the mail questionnaires reached the women selected for this study, the respondents had received considerable stimulus and time to reflect upon the topic of women and politics.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

At least four major questions confront someone who wishes to build an empirically testable model of political participation. The first question concerns which variables of the myriad of psychological, social and institutional ones that may have explanatory power are to be included in the model. The second decision, closely allied with the first, is how to organize the variables into clusters for conceptual simplicity. This is often determined by data reduction techniques, but the decision may be reached on the basis of the relevant literature, as it is here. The third

decision concerns the temporal order of the variable clusters and the nature of feedback loops. The chronological and causal relationships among the variable clusters are usually problematical because of the cross-sectional rather than longitudinal design of most political participation studies. This dilemma is particularly clear in the study of attitudes: are the attitudes one documents unchanged from a time preceding the behavior of interest and thus partially explanatory of it, or have the attitudes emerged from the behavior or, more heretical, are the attitudes unrelated to the behavior because it was too mundane to require attitudinal supports or to leave cognitive traces? A growing literature (Wicker, 1969; Liska, 1975) challenges the notion that attitudes and behaviors, as measured by social researchers, are or even should be consonant. The sequencing of variable clusters is sometimes obvious, such as with political context variables preceding perceptions of that context. Sometimes the temporal order is unclear -- do perceptions of one's political environment precede, follow, or influence political behavior at the same time as, for example, a sense of political efficacy?

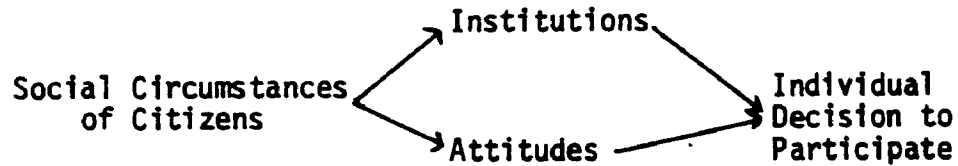
The fourth question concerns the relative importance of childhood socialization factors in the explanation of adult political behavior. Children absorb varying amounts and types of political information and orientations from their parents, teachers, and peers during their early and adolescent years as part of their general molding to society. As they become adults and gain the

right to vote, the political environment surrounding them increases in salience and they are expected to relate to the political system behaviorally and attitudinally in some coherent fashion. The issue is whether their adult responses are merely more sophisticated versions of childhood characteristics, or dispositions based upon experiences and perceptions of the adult political environment, or a unique product arising from the interaction of the two.

One of the early models of political participation is the "funnel of causality" described by Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes (1960). These researchers conceptualized the decision to vote as the result of a lengthy series of interactions between personal and impersonal factors and between political and non-political influences. The variables they consider sufficiently important to study are grouped into clusters of political attitudes, the political context and the social and economic context, but there is no real suggestion how one might order the clusters along a temporal dimension, whether and how causal arrows and feedback loops should be drawn, or the relative importance of childhood political socialization factors compared with adult experiences and attitudes. At a similar level of abstraction, Milbrath (1965) posits political participation to be a function of three sets of stimuli: personal factors, the political setting, and social position. His book is often cited because it neatly integrates a lengthy literature on participation and clearly defines both the important variables and the conceptual clusters they form,

but his "model" has no temporal dimension and no suggestion about the relative importance of childhood and adult factors.

More recently, Verba and Nie have sketched out the "process of politicization" (1972:19) with a clear temporal ordering:



Several of the analysis chapters in their book are devoted to empirical explorations of the variables underlying each component of the model, but they devote little attention to the relative importance of childhood and adult variables. The researchers do extend their model and their data to address two further questions: what patterns appear when the individual decisions to participate are aggregated to become a "participation input," and to what extent do the community problems collectively perceived by political participators differ from those seen by nonparticipants and by local political leaders (labeled the "consequences of participation"). Verba and Nie identify six types of political participants and use bivariate and multivariate techniques to explore which variables in which clusters appear conducive to the various participatory styles. The same query motivates the study reported here: which specific variables out of the myriad considered in the sociological and political behavior literatures, and which of the conceptual clusters the variables define, correlate with different levels of political participation?

The model underlying this study is based largely upon Verba and Nie's work and is sketched in Figure 1. Political behavior is seen to be the multiplicative result of background factors, the political context, attitudes and perceptions of the political environment. The decisions regarding what variables to include and how to cluster them were made after an extensive review of the relevant literature in sociology, psychology, and political science, literatures which are described in the section to follow and in the data analysis chapters. The clustering of variables is usually seen as an empirical problem in data reduction, but the term is used here to describe the grouping of potentially discriminating factors into conceptually distinct sets, on the basis of relevant literature. The study variables are discussed and tabulated in terms of the clusters or subclusters they define. The empirical interrelations among variables in a cluster are tested through correlation matrices and discussed in the first part of Chapter III. The temporal ordering is largely intuitive. Background characteristics such as education, age, and community of residence orient individuals to social life, of which politics is just one aspect, and influence their attitudes and perceptions of the environment surrounding them. The political context of the individual as defined here consists of the Democratic and Republican parties contesting elections, parties which may be of differing strengths in the local community and elections which may reinforce or weaken the party organizations through nonpartisan ballots. The realities

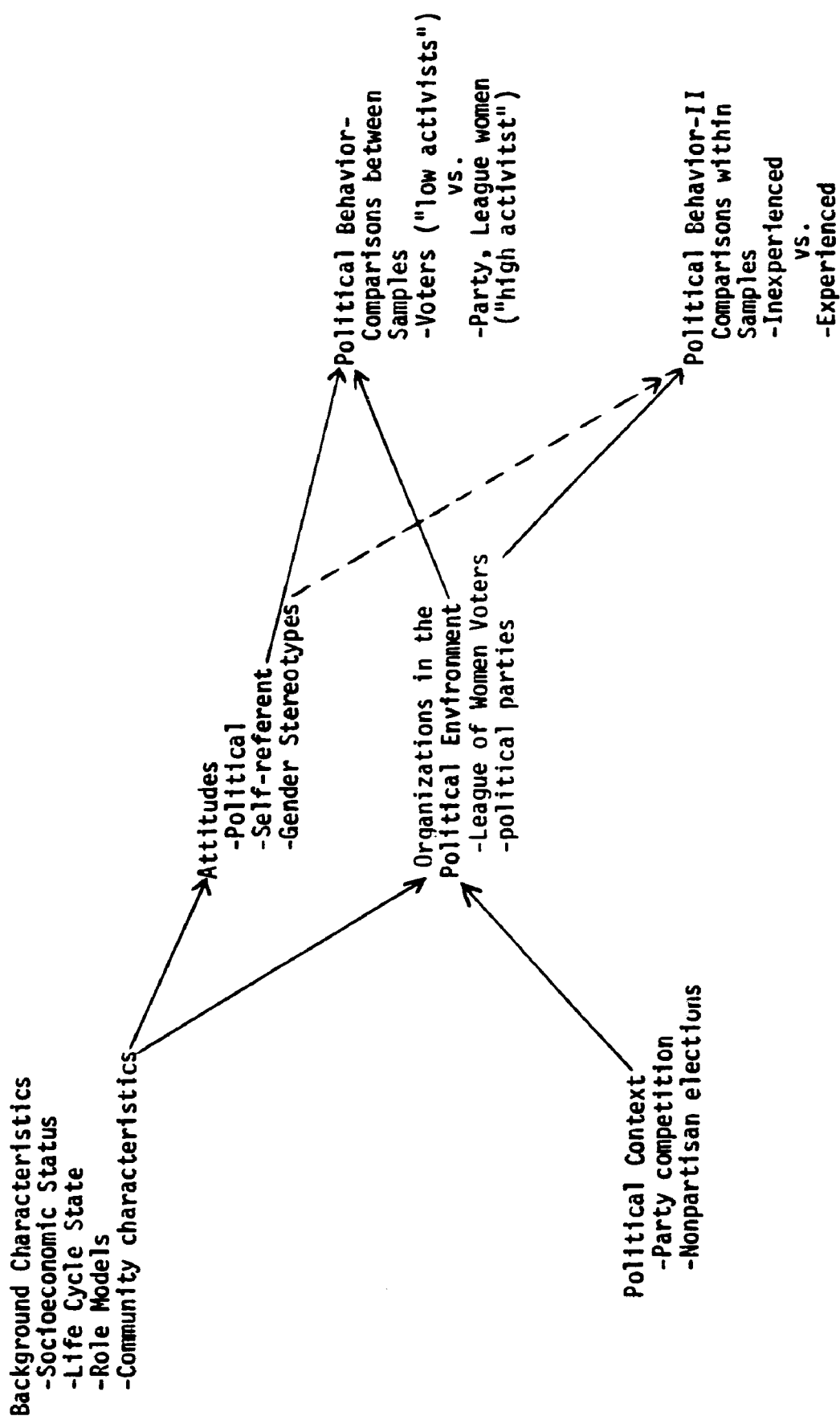


Figure 1. Schematic Presentation of the Study Variables

of the political context exert an independent constraint upon the individual's perceptions and, ultimately, upon her political behavior. For example, residents in a community dominated by one party will probably have different impressions of what political parties do and the incentives to participation they offer their members than will people in a town with two strong, evenly matched parties. The attitudinal correlates of political participation contained in Figure 1 include orientation to women in politics, sense of political efficacy, self-esteem, and the tendency to stereotype personality traits as characteristic of one gender.

The outcome variable in the model is unusual in several regards. If the researcher is content with the range of levels of participation found in one carefully generated sample, the testing may be done using multiple regression analysis and the conceptual model transformed into a path analytic one. If, however, one's theoretical interest lies in comparisons of political elites and the mass public, special samples of each may have to be collected because of the scarcity of elites in cross-sectional designs.² My interest is in elite-mass comparisons and the necessity for

²Mason, Czajka and Arber (1976) argue that regression analysis can be done on the combined respondents from dissimilar surveys. First, the samples are made comparable through filtering on socio-demographic variables and, if there is a time difference as well, through regression analysis to isolate the common set of powerful predictors. The samples are then combined and the regressions of interest are run.

more than one sample is clear. The originality of this study stems from the parallel testing of the model using two outcome variables, first to assess the model's ability to distinguish between respondents categorized as "low activists" and "high activists" depending upon their known level of political participation and then to distinguish between women with experience in political campaigns and women without it in each activist sample.

Up to this point, the discussion of models of political participation has not referred to gender as an important variable. Gender can play two roles in social research. First, it can be regarded as just one demographic variable among many, such as socioeconomic status and age, which may or may not have utility in describing or explaining some outcome phenomenon. By contrast, gender may be viewed as the primary determinant of social and psychological experience, leading to the testable hypothesis that the attitudes, values, and action of women are different from those of men in any realm of life.³ The models outlined in Milbrath (1965), Campbell et al. (1960), and Verba and Nie (1972) and the analyses conducted by the latter two groups of researchers

³There is some conceptual cloudiness surrounding the terms "sex roles" and "gender roles" as they are used in the literature. The haziness stems from both a misunderstanding of the difference between the two concepts and disagreement as to which term implies which definition. It is this writer's preference to restrict "sex" to mean the physiological fact of maleness or femaleness, and to leave the term "gender" to capture the social-psychological and cultural characteristics society attempts to inculcate in persons on the basis of their physiological identification.

treat gender as just one more demographic variable. In contrast the model sketched in Figure 1 assumes gender to be such a primary explanatory variable of political behavior that it must be controlled, and the empirical test of the model is carried out on all-women samples. Identical models of political participation can be tested upon samples which contain only men, only women, or both men and women because the same clusters of variables are relevant to the political behavior of both genders, although the relative importance of the clusters and the specific variables may differ slightly, as long as all three samples produce the critical variation on the outcome variable or variables.

The first three questions confronting a political participation model-builder and dealing with the variables to be included, the conceptual clustering of those variables, and the temporal order among those clusters, have been discussed in regard to the Figure 1 model. The fourth question focuses upon the relative importance of childhood and adult attitudes and experiences in the explanation of adult political participation. There is abundant research on political socialization during childhood and adolescence documenting what is learned, when it is learned, and with less certainty from whom it is learned (see Greenstein, 1965; Easton and Dennis, 1969; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; and Jennings and Niemi, 1974, and their bibliographies).

Some political socialization researchers conclude that young girls in America come to realize that politics is for men only

(Greenstein, 1965); other researchers find little evidence of gender-role differences among children (Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis, 1969). Most students of political behavior do agree that by adulthood, women and men relate to politics, attitudinally and behaviorally, in different ways. The sources, magnitudes, and social implications of those differences, however, are hotly debated. One point which is not debatable is the small number of women in politically responsible and influential positions, and consequently the scant number of role models for the next generation of aspiring women activists. In this study of the political activity of women, some of whom are very active and some of whom are not, heavier emphasis is placed upon adult-life rather than childhood factors.

The model in Figure 1 is based most directly upon the work of Verba and Nie (1972) but also benefits from the conceptual and empirical labors of others, who are cited in the coming pages. The conceptual scheme employed here, therefore, is appropriate to the general study of political behavior.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There were extravagant predictions about the effect of the Nineteenth Amendment prior to its passage and journalistic assessments of its impact in the following years. Anti-suffrage writers saw, of course, many harmful changes and titled their articles accordingly: "Women's Enchroachment on Man's Domain" (Ludovici,

1927) and "Evils of Woman's Revolt against the Old Stereotypes" (McMenamin, 1927). Supporters of the amendment felt the need to both document improvement in society and apologize for the slow rate of "progress" (Catt, 1927; Gilman, 1927). Some social scientists marshalled the little data they could to gauge the amendment's impact.

One of the earliest quantitative studies of women's participation in politics by social scientists was the research of Rice and Willey (1924), which sought to determine whether the proportion of eligible women residing in the northern and western states who cast ballots in the 1920 election, the first following the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, approached the proportion of men who voted. At that time, only one state--Illinois--reported election totals by gender, so the researchers had to go through three steps. First, they ascertained from federal census figures the number of eligible voters in each decade from 1880 to 1920, along with the number of voters (all men, of course) who turned out. On the basis of these figures, they computed the turnout percentage for 1880, 1890, and 1900 as well as the secular trend (mildly downward) in that percentage. With the several estimates of male turnout based on the past (ranging from 87.2 to 77.5 percent) along with the known eligibles of each gender and the total turnout, they could readily estimate the number and percentage of women who voted in the first post-suffrage election. Their best estimate was 3.66 million, or 34.7 percent of the eligible women voters, which

represents not only less than half of their potential voting strength, but is also markedly less than the corresponding figure for men. The tradition that woman's place is anywhere but in the voting booth appears to persist. (p. 643)

Another early attempt by a sociologist to gauge the impact of the Nineteenth Amendment was much less quantitative. Appearing in a 1930 issue of the American Journal of Sociology, the article was entitled "The Status of Women" (Woodhouse, 1930). The short paragraph detailing women's status in the political field enumerated the number of women in Congress (eight), the number of states with women in the state houses (twenty-three) and asserted that with women state officials in a wide variety of offices, "progress must be reported."

The contemporary empirical research on adult political participation is voluminous even if we restrict our attention to studies using participation as an outcome variable (Milbrath's 1965 synthesis would be half again as lengthy if revised for 1976). Adding to this list the studies discussing political involvement as one instance of general social engagement (Hodge and Treiman, 1968) and the research on political recruitment which treats participation as a sampling variable (Bowman and Boynton, 1966), it is difficult for a student of political behavior to achieve a sense of closure. This study has two main concerns, levels of participation and gender of the respondents, which can be used as the top and side heading of a matrix which classifies the most relevant, informative research (see Figure 2). Numerous studies

LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION REPRESENTED

Elites Only
Elites and Non-elites
Samples Independently
Elites and Non-elites
Distinguished in
One Sample

GENDER OF RESPONDENTS	All Women	Kirkpatrick (1974) Porter and Matasar (1974) Werner and Bachtold (1974)	Kruschke (1963) Wells and Smeal (1974) McCourt (1975)	Levitt (1967)
	All Men			
	Explicitly Women vs. Men	Jennings and Thomas (1968) Constantini and Craik (1972)		Lansing (1974)
	Gender Division Given But Few Analyses	Marvick and Nixon (1961) Salisbury (1966) Conway and Feigert (1968)	Hennessy (1959) Eldersveld (1964)	Campbell et al. (1960) Verba and Nie (1972)
	Gender Division Not Given	Forthal (1946) Mussen and Wyszynski (1952) Hirschfeld (1962) Wilson (1962) Bowman and Boynton (1966) Prewitt et al. (1967) Bowman et al. (1969) Soule and Clarke (1970) Hofstetter (1971)	Agger and Ostrom (1956) McCloskey (1960) Erbe (1964) Luttberg (1968)	Woodward and Roper (1950) Eulau and Schneider (1956) Lindenfeld (1964) Alfred and Scoble (1968) Bennett and Klecka (1970) Olsen (1972)

Figure 2. Empirical Research on American Political Participation

have been based upon the fact that people are behaviorally involved in politics to differing degrees, ranging from nonparticipation (Rosenberg, 1955), through registration and voting (Kelley, Ayres, and Bowen, 1967), campaign activity (Marvick and Nixon, 1961), instigating community referenda (Kruschke, 1963), to winning elections (Kirkpatrick, 1974). For many years, and under the influence of the Survey Research Center studies, the levels of participation were restricted to activities concomitant with an election--registering to vote, casting a ballot, attending a political meeting or rally, wearing a button supporting one of the candidates, contributing money to a campaign, or running for office. More recently, several writers have argued that this narrow definition of politics excludes activities such as writing to politicians or newspaper editors, lobbying, and joining in pressure groups (Matthews and Prothro, 1966; Dion, 1968) which patently involve attempts to influence public policy and the distribution of power and which are "political" in the fundamental sense of the term. Studies reflecting this broader view of politics are now appearing (Verba and Nie, 1972).

Using the terms elites and non-elites to refer to people heavily involved and relatively uninvolved in electoral politics, although the number of categories and their labels are somewhat arbitrary, we can classify studies on political participation in terms of their samples. Specifically, we can distinguish between studies which sample political elites, either exclusively (see the

first column in Figure 2) or in addition to a separately drawn sample of non-elites (see the second column), and studies (mostly cross-sectional) which differentiate the more involved elites from the less involved non-elites as they appear in the sample at hand (see the third column). The elites pinpointed by these two methodologies are apt to be very dissimilar, perhaps a national convention delegate in the first case (Jennings and Thomas, 1968) and a party precinct worker in the second (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960). Studies differentiating the levels of participation among their respondents are obviously comparative in orientation, but many of the "elites only" studies are as well, citing research employing samples more or less politically involved than the one at hand. Community power studies are not included in Figure 2 because our focus is upon electoral behavior and formal political organizations.

The concern with levels of participation serves as one screen to sift out the empirical work relevant to this study from the vast literature on adult political activity. Of the three column categories in Figure 2, the second one, "elites and non-elites sampled independently," describes the research reported here because the three samples of women were drawn from different populations and with different procedures.

As the second major concern of this research, gender can likewise be used to distinguish among several types of empirical studies on political participation. How interested have re-

searchers been in gender differences in political involvement? Only three studies (see the third row of Figure 2) explicitly contrast the political behavior of women and men, but several of the studies in the first ("all women") and fourth ("gender division given but few analyses") rows do draw some gender comparisons in their texts. Note the emptiness of the "all men" row and the numerous citations in the "gender division not given" row; the latter groups of researchers regard gender as so unimportant in understanding political behavior that they not only omit gender contrasts from their analyses but from the descriptions of their samples as well. It may be that gender differences were systematically examined in the row five studies without significant results and thus no mention is made; in light of the theoretical arguments made earlier and the putative evidence on gender differences outlined shortly (Bourque and Grossholtz, 1974), that omission was unfortunate. Finally, the influence of the woman's movement is evident in the publication dates of the first row studies vis-a-vis those in the other rows of Figure 2.

Information about women's political participation is available directly from the seven studies in the top row of Figure 2. Three of these studies focus upon all-women elite samples and provide insight for drawing of hypotheses and their subsequent testing. Kirkpatrick (1974) studied fifty women state senators and representatives from twenty-six states to discover whether they faced obstacles to their careers that differed from those facing poli-

tically elite men. The Democratic Party machine in Chicago was the context of Porter and Matasar's (1974) analysis of the role and status of women political elites. Werner and Bachtold (1974) compiled the personality characteristics of 103 women state legislators and contrasted them with the characteristics of women in the general population and men political leaders (a group not adequately defined in the article). The studies by Kruschke (1963), Wells and Smeal (1974) and McCourt (1975) are very similar to the one reported here and are discussed in detail below. The final study in Figure 2 to use an all-women sample was Levit's (1967) reanalysis of the Survey Research Center's National Election Studies of 1956, 1960, and 1964 searching for the relationship between women's employment status and their level of political involvement.

Comparative data on the political participation of women and men is contained in the studies in rows 3 and 4. The value of those studies to this one depends in part upon the proportions of their samples which are women. Twenty-nine percent of the 1964 Michigan convention delegates studied by Jennings and Thomas (1968) were women. Only 18 percent of the five hundred California state legislators and party leaders surveyed by Costantini and Craik (1972) were women. The studies in the fourth row draw fewer gender comparisons but their samples tend to contain higher percentages of women. Women constituted 47 percent of the Los Angeles party officials and campaign workers interviewed by Marvick and

Nixon (1961), 40 percent of the Democratic meeting attenders in the St. Louis area studied by Salisbury (1966), 29 percent of the Arizona party workers, officials and candidates interviewed by Hennessy (1959), 27 percent of the Illinois and Maryland precinct leaders surveyed by Conway and Feigert (1968), and approximately 20 percent of the Detroit party elite interviewed by Eldersveld (1964). Most of these samples of political elites contain considerably more men than women, a bias stemming from the tradition of defining elites as holders of high organizational positions.

Given the political system today, the only ways researchers can study women political elites is through purposive sampling or through a re-definition of the political arena to include community controversies in certain issue domains such as education, health, and welfare, as did McCourt (1975) and Kruschke (1963), where many more women are in leadership positions. The former strategy was pursued here to generate the samples of League of Women Voters members and political party women.

This study is based upon samples of women political elites and non-elites generated independently. If the study were included in Figure 2, it would fall into the middle cell in the top row, along with the research by Kruschke (1963), Wells and Smeal (1974), and McCourt (1975). These three studies constitute the empirical precedents.

Kruschke (1963) sought to study the community political leadership activity of women but realized he could best do so if

he also had a sample of women who were not politically involved. He identified three issue-areas which were of great concern in Madison, Wisconsin in the early 1960's and then used the reputational approach to generate a sample of forty-six Politicals, women deeply involved in the issue-areas selected. The Apoliticals were chosen at random from the mailing list of the University of Wisconsin alumni association and were matched on marital status and some college education. There is no indication that the actual extent of the Apoliticals' political involvement was ascertained and the actives purged from the sample. This would have increased the starkness of the between-sample comparison without limiting much further the already low generality of the results due to the unusual samples. The guiding supposition was that:

the female Politicals would be characterized by political and other attitudes different from those of the female Apoliticals, and that these attitudes may partially serve to account for their acceptance, or non-acceptance, of political leadership roles. (1963:147)

Kruschke tested the ability of a wide range of variables to distinguish between the two samples, the same strategy employed here, and his findings are best summarized by reference to the variable clusters defined in Figure 1. Several socioeconomic status variables were among the many background variables tested. The Politicals were found to have significantly higher family incomes than the Apoliticals but their husbands' occupations were similar. Kruschke attempts to interpret this inconsistency by pointing out the relatively high socioeconomic backgrounds of both

samples and the apparent accuracy of the matching criteria used, but he fails to provide a convincing explanation. Using the concept of a life cycle, Kruschke sketches out the growing and then waning psychic and physical energy of women which can be invested in political participation as they grow older and experience changes in family responsibilities. He hypothesizes that the Politicals will be older, with more and older children, and will hold membership in a greater number of voluntary organizations, but the samples are found to be statistically similar on these variables. The community context variable of length of residence was hypothesized to show that Politicals had lived for longer periods in their communities, on the assumption that longer residence brings greater awareness of a community's needs and problems and growing inclination to attempt remedies through the political system. The data supported this hypothesis. A final background item was expected to show that the Politicals came from families in which the parents had been very involved in politics; this role-modeling variable failed to distinguish between the samples.

The remaining variables Kruschke tested were largely attitudinal. He hypothesized that the Politicals, successfully involved in activities outside their homes and families, would be significantly more liberal than their Apolitical sisters; the hypothesis was supported. The final variable common to both Kruschke's study and the one reported here is sense of political efficacy. The Politicals, as one would expect, do exhibit a significantly stronger

sense of political efficacy, but whether their stronger sense preceded or only followed their community activism is left unresolved. Kruschke believed that socioeconomic status might be confounding his results and a control for income did limit the significant sample difference on efficacy to a middle income category. This multivariate approach was employed in the study at hand as well. In sum, Kruschke found fewer differences between his samples of Political and Apolitical women than he hypothesized, and according to his literature review section, those he did find served to distinguish the active sample from the inactive in much the same manner as political elites have been shown to differ from non-elites and, to a lesser extent, the general political participation of men to differ from that of women.

The second study, very similar to the one here, was conducted by Wells and Smeal (1974), who contrasted the support for women in politics of a sample of registered women voters in Pittsburgh with a sample of local Democratic and Republican party committee-women in the same town. They expected to find no significant differences between the samples because of several assumed dynamics in the reasoning of the committeewomen: the low status of women in politics would be a constant source of personal insecurity and an improvement in that status would enhance their own power, but the selection process granting them their positions would screen out women with strong feminist orientations. The researchers in fact found surprisingly few differences in the willingness of

the two samples to support notions of women running for a variety of political offices and holding more offices in general. The committeewomen did report a preference for the woman candidate, if an equally qualified woman and man were running for the same office, at a rate significantly above that of the registered voters. The two samples generated by Wells and Smeal are very similar to two of the three samples drawn for this study.

The final study directly relevant to the one reported here sought to test whether women involved in assertive community organizations in Southwest Chicago differed from their inactive women neighbors. McCourt (1975) interviewed twenty-three women active in direct action community organizations and seventeen inactive women. Because both samples came from the same white, predominantly working class neighborhoods, only a few background differences were hypothesized. As expected, smaller proportions of the actives worked or had small children, freeing their time for community action. But surprisingly, the active women were not more integrated into and attached to their neighborhoods than the inactives, as measured by length of residence and proximity to relatives, though they did express stronger intentions to remain there. The actives scored higher on sense of political efficacy and they favored more heavily the idea that neighborhood problems could be resolved through collective action. McCourt hypothesized that the active women would evidence nontraditional attitudes about marriage, child-rearing, and the rights of women because

their political activism defied the working class dictum about women's proper roles. In fact, support for nontraditional attitudes on the family and women's roles was voiced more by the inactive women; a larger percentage of the actives, however, favored increased educational and occupational opportunities for women. One of the critical topics in political behavior research is the dynamic process leading people to take the step from political inactivity to activism. Among McCourt's actives, the motivation for joining an assertive organization stemmed from the need to resolve a particular community problem or an invitation to join issued by a member. Her study suggests that women newly engaged in community groups challenging the political system experience considerable role conflict and may respond by voicing attitudes about the social roles of women which are more traditional than those endorsed by a comparable sample of politically inactive women.

The studies of political participation falling into the other cells of Figure 2 are relevant to the research reported in the chapters to follow, but their samples differ either in gender or in elite-nonelite composition from the samples generated here and thus their findings are less easily compared than those of Kruschke, Wells and Smeal, and McCourt. They are cited when relevant, however, in the analysis.

Several justifications for limiting this research to the political behavior of women have been offered. One is the re-

searcher's conviction that the 1972 election was an opportune time to study the orientations to politics of women relatively inside and outside the political system because of the particular successes of women at the national party conventions and the national consciousness-raising about women's roles in society. Secondly, as the literature review has shown, little is known about women political elites, however defined, and even less is systematically known about their similarities to and differences from women in the mass electorate. A third point is that most of what is widely known about the political attitudes and behaviors of women in general is phrased in terms of the political characteristics of men, and, consequently, is depicted variously as inadequate, dependent upon the support of men, and yet functionally necessary.

This point is convincingly argued and documented by Bourque and Grossholtz (1974) who contend that the current assumptions and empirical distortions in the literature about the nature of politics and gender roles in society preclude women from ever being defined as full and equal participants in the political system. They classify the distortions in four categories: (1) "fudging the footnotes" by citing material which does not substantiate the point being made; (2) "the assumption of male dominance" in the family which leads researchers to question neither the concentration of political power and position in men's hands nor the implications of such concentration for the functioning of society; (3) "masculinity as ideal political behavior" and as rational and

normative, making the behavior of women appear as irrational, deviant, and deficient; and (4) "commitment to the eternal feminine" which restricts women to nurturant roles of wives, mothers, and political helpmates. The authors examined closely two studies (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960; Almond and Verba, 1963) and one book summarizing research results (Lane, 1965) which are cited often in discussions of gender differences in political participation. Campbell et al. (1960) are criticized for their choice of indicators for and interpretation of concepts such as political sophistication which result in men scoring higher than women. Could it not be, Bourque and Grossholtz ask, that social issues and political institutions are so complex these days that the honest response reflects a certain amount of bewilderment? The lower sense of political efficacy among women documented by Campbell et al., is attributed to women's socialized passivity. Again, instead of casting the efficacy level of men as the ideal,

One might offer the alternative hypothesis, that given the very limited number of issues that citizens can effect, the lower sense of political efficacy expressed by women is a perceptive assessment of the political process. Men, on the other hand, express irrationally high rates of efficacy because of the limitations of their sex role which teaches them that they are masterful and capable of affecting the political process. In fact, few of us have any political influence in any case. (Bourque and Grossholtz, 1974:231)

Campbell and his colleagues interpret the high degree of similarity in the votes of husbands and wives as "the dependence of a wife's vote upon her husband's partisan predispositions" (1960:493) without benefit of interview data directly documenting the direction of

influence. Similarly, Lane cites Maccoby, Mathews, and Morton (1954) to the effect that when husbands and wives disagree on political candidates, the wife yields to her husband's persuasion "partly, at least because her role is culturally prescribed as less political and she loses less by yielding" (1965:34); the article he cites, however, concludes that "disagreement produces discussion and mutual influence" (1954:33). Recent research by Jennings and Niemi (1971) substantiates Maccoby et al.'s point. When Lane does consider suggestions for increasing the political participation of women, his "commitment to the eternal feminine" becomes apparent:

Would it be wise to reinforce the feminist movement, emphasizing politics on the women's page along with the garden club and bridge club news, and making ward politics something like volunteer work for the Red Cross or the hospital auxiliary? No doubt something along this line could be done, but it is too seldom remembered in the American society that working girls and career women who insistently serve the community in volunteer capacities, and women with extra-curricular interests of an absorbing kind are often borrowing their time and attention and capacity for relaxed play and love from their children to whom it rightfully belongs. As Kardiner points out, the rise in juvenile delinquency (and he says, homosexuality) is partly to be attributed to the feminist movement and what it did to the American mother. (1965:354-5)

The cross-cultural study of political attitudes conducted by Almond and Verba (1963) is the only well-known study to argue empirically that the levels of political interest and involvement are comparable between American women and men. Perhaps the percentage differences found by Campbell et al., and other researchers would have been characterized as minimal too if comparable data from other cultures showing larger gender differences had been available to them. American and British families are depicted as

more integrated into the political system than are families in Germany, Italy, and Mexico, and "the needs of women and children are more directly and effectively transmitted into the polity through this kind of politically open family" (Almond and Verba, 1963:398-9). There is no awareness by these researchers that greater political participation by women might lead to greater human development, as they conclude it does for men.

Current research articles concerned with gender differences in political participation often begin with the familiar litany of women's failings and deficiencies and include references to the books Bourque and Grossholtz criticize (Jennings and Thomas, 1968, and Costantini and Craik, 1972, for example). The political behavior of women deserves study without explicit comparison (and often negative evaluations) to the actions of men, and this study does so. To the extent that this study is couched in the relevant literature, however, some gender comparisons will be implicit because of the largely all-men samples in research on political elites and the gender-comparative character of many studies on the mass electorate.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

The conceptual model underlying the study has been presented in Figure 1 and the relevant literature has been categorized in Figure 2 and discussed in the pages following it. The next chapters describe and analyze the study more fully. In Chapter II,

the decision to collect original data is explained, the populations of interest are specified, and the sampling procedures which produced the three groups of women--registered voters, the League of Women Voters Board members, and the elected party precinct delegates--are detailed. The second chapter also presents comparisons between each of the samples and women in similar national studies to assess how representative the three samples are of populations larger than those they were drawn to reflect. Finally in Chapter II, conceptual and empirical arguments are offered for combining the League and party women into one "high activist" sample to be compared with the "low activist" sample of women voters, and the format of the analyses is discussed.

The next two chapters present a systematic report of the data analysis. In Chapter III, the variables defining the conceptual clusters in Figure 1 are introduced and tested for their ability to discriminate statistically between the low and high activist samples. The extent to which the clustered variables are empirically interrelated is examined in tau-b rank-order correlation matrices. The bivariate analyses are then repeated with income controlled, because socioeconomic status has consistently been found to be a primary predictor of level of political activism, to discover which of the bivariate relationships continue to hold and whether new relationships appear. The final section of Chapter III moves beyond the correlational approach to focus directly upon the high activists' decisions to become politically active and the

low activists' decisions to be relatively inactive. In Chapter IV, the same predictor variables employed in Chapter III are tested for their ability to distinguish between women who had worked in a political campaign by 1972 and women who had not, within the samples of low and high activists separately.

A summary of the study findings, several directions for future research, and the final conclusion are presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND METHODS

Once the topic of the attitudes and experiences of women participating in politics to differing degrees was selected, the next step was to determine whether a secondary analysis of existing data sets could address the topic adequately. Of the three studies discussed in Chapter I which focus upon this same topic, only Kruschke's (1963) was published at the time this study was being designed and his analysis rather exhausts his data. The search for existing data then turned to the large collection of political participation studies which are based upon cross-sectional samples. The difficulty with these studies is that while they accurately convey the scant numbers of citizens who are politically active by any but the loosest definition, their interview items provide only limited insight into the motivations underlying political activism and political apathy.

Perhaps the best well-known of this genre are the National Election Studies conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. Each of its studies of Presidential and off-year elections uses a standardized format for both pre-election and post-election interviews to learn the respondents'

attitudes, opinions, and behaviors concerning the candidates, the parties, and the issues then current. But the data from these surveys do not meet this study's empirical needs because the American people are quite passive when it comes to participation in electoral politics and a national survey sample turns up only limited numbers of political activists, i.e., people whose political involvement extends beyond the ballot box.

Table 1, based on the 1972 National Election Study, reports the extent to which a random sample of Americans participated in the electoral campaigns that year. Seven types of participatory behavior are arranged in a roughly ordinal fashion with registering to vote as the least active and working in a candidate's campaign as the most active, demanding form of participation. Two points are especially worth noting. As we move from registration and voting, the minimally acceptable activities for a "good citizen," the ratios undergo a sharp reversal. Whereas about 80 percent of the respondents in that survey claimed to have registered and over 70 percent reportedly went to the polls, only about 10 percent said that they had sported a button or bumper sticker, contributed to a campaign, or attended a political meeting or rally. The second point is that the differences between women and men were negligible; outside of their greater propensity to vote and to try to influence others, the men's general participation level was just as low as that of the women.

It is a premise of this study that the 1972 conventions and elections were important to women's orientations to politics. A

TABLE 1
 REPORTED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF RESPONDENTS TO
 THE 1972 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY, BY GENDER

Activity	Women %	Men %
Registered to vote	80	81
Voted in 1972 election	71	77
Tried to influence the vote of others	24	33
Sported a campaign button or bumper sticker	12	11
Gave money to a political party	9	11
Attended a political meeting or rally	7	9
Did some other work for a party or candidate	5 (n=642) ^a	4 (n=474) ^a

^aThe numbers of respondents answering these seven questions varied between 630 and 642 for the women and between 463 and 474 for the men. Source: Inter-university Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan.

check was made to determine whether the percentage figures for 1972, for both genders, differed significantly from those from an earlier Presidential election year. Accordingly, a table identical to Table 1 was generated which contained data from the 1968 National Election Study. The percentages of women and men who reported engaging in the seven activities were very close to the figures for 1972. The percentages acknowledging that they tried to influence the vote of others were the most discrepant--27 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men in 1968, compared with 24 percent of the women and 33 percent of the men in 1972. All of the remaining figures for 1968 were within 5 percentage points of the 1972 figures, with no changes in the ordering of the activities by reported frequency, and a reversal only in the percentages using buttons and bumper stickers, giving men the edge in this activity as they had in all the other six. In terms of the seven political activities in Table 1, then, the 1972 election was not an unusually engaging one for women or men. It is possible that the sudden appearance of politically active women at the conventions resulted in attitude changes, for American women (and men), and that the year brought new inspiration and reflection to women already involved in politics to some extent. These possibilities are discussed in the chapters that follow.

The National Election Studies, then, do not provide a sufficiently large number of politically active respondents to probe the theoretically interesting questions about women and politics

raised in Chapter I. Furthermore, the designers of these studies include only a limited number of interview items focusing upon the motivating forces underlying the political activism and political apathy of women. The data set analyzed by Verba and Nie (1972) meets many of these objections but was not publicly available at the time. For these reasons, the decision was made to collect original data.

SPECIFYING THE POPULATIONS

Despite the rapidly increasing and high quality data base that has been generated by students of political behavior, little attention has been paid to the theoretically intriguing population of women political activists and the mass of women in the electorate from whose ranks they emerged. In the ideal research situation, a nationwide probability sample of women would have been drawn for this study and followed, in panel fashion, for many years. Through recurrent observation and measurement of their political attitudes and behaviors, notions about the dynamic processes by which individuals locate themselves at greater or lesser distances from the formal political structures would become more clear. As with most social research, however, this study met financial and temporal constraints and its results are necessarily more tentative and exploratory than a longitudinal design would have produced. Two major restrictions distinguish the actual study from its ideal form. The general lack of resources available for dissertation

research limited the study both to a cross-sectional (in the winter of 1972-1973) rather than longitudinal perspective and to a local (Southern Michigan) rather than national sample. These limitations are common to almost all survey research projects, however, and need no further justification.

Most of the studies which focus on individuals who are very active in politics locate people at the upper echelons of the parties and voluntary organizations, on the reasonable assumption that power and decision-making are exercised at those levels. Yet historically, those are the very levels at which the actors are mostly men. It was not until the dramatic reforms that accompanied the 1972 major party conventions that an appreciable number of women could be found in upper echelon, visible positions within the parties. At the time this study was conceived, however, there was little chance of finding an adequate population of women active in the political parties at high levels to compare with women in the wider electorate. Because an understanding of the dynamics of political involvement requires attention to people at distinctly different levels of participation and in a wide variety of political settings, the decision was made to study several samples of women whose involvement in politics was known to differ both in degree and context.

The first task in specifying the populations of these several samples was to identify groups of women whose political participation levels were patently different from one another. As already

documented in Table 1, women (and men) low in political involvement are simple to find; they predominate in virtually any national or local sample. In the 1972 Presidential election, over two-thirds of adult American women were registered and voted; less than one-third of all women, however, reported that they attempted to persuade others how to vote. Seeking a population of low as opposed to non-activists, that is, women for whom politics is salient, the first population was defined to include women who fulfilled the traditional, minimal role of good citizens. Specifically, the population of "voters" was viewed as those women who were registered to vote and actually cast a ballot in one or more elections in 1971 or 1972.

The second population was to consist of women participating more than minimally in politics. As suggested in the first chapter, a portion of the women who became deeply involved in politics following the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment chose the non-partisan League of Women Voters as their organizational affiliation rather than the Democratic or Republican parties. The League today is a highly visible but relatively unstudied political organization. Still nonpartisan by charter, women members¹ lobby for good government legislation and on behalf of issue positions they have thoroughly researched. The organization scrupulously avoids

¹Since this study was completed, men have been admitted to membership in the local and national League organizations, but the discussion of the organization here describes it as of the time the sampling was done.

appearing to favor one party over the other and declines to make candidate endorsements; its self-appointed tasks are to inform voters about issues and candidate qualifications and to lobby at all levels of government for legislation considered socially beneficial. It is my contention that however intensely League members embrace politics, the impacts of their efforts are necessarily blunted because they choose not to participate in the selection, campaign, or advisement of individual candidates, and it is these successful candidates and their appointees who hold the bulk of formal political power in this country.

The League sees itself as a training ground where women become knowledgeable about current events and the form and function of government. Individual women may not only work for parties and candidates while maintaining their League membership, being careful to distinguish between their activities as League members and as citizens, but they are urged to move from their political apprenticeship in the organization to the world of partisan politics. Yet the League repeatedly has been criticized for the sheltered view of political life it offers its members (Sanders, 1956, for example), who are mostly civic-minded housewives with limited time and energy for politics. The extent of the flow of members from the League to the parties has not been carefully documented, although two League writers claim that over three hundred officers left the organization nationally to work in the parties during one Presidential campaign year (Knapp and Guyol,

1960). The number of officers who did not leave, which is not mentioned, must have exceeded twelve thousand.

Each local League has a Board of Directors, members of which are prohibited in the national by-laws from engaging in partisan political activity during their term of office, although the interpretation of this restriction has been shown to vary (League of Women Voters, 1956-58). These women are the most interesting to research: sophisticated political activists by virtue of their years in the League, they probably realize most fully the limits on the influence of their organization due to its refusal to support individual candidates. League Board members, then, provide an ideal population of women who have been chosen to become politically active but in a nonpartisan fashion.

For the third population, the search was for women who had chosen to participate in politics as partisans and whose strong commitment had led them to formal positions within the Democratic and Republican parties. Lower level party offices were scanned and the position of elected delegate to the party county convention was deemed the most appropriate to study. Delegates are elected by precinct within party. Running for the precinct delegate slot is a public declaration of party allegiance, and it is my impression from years of party involvement that election to the position stems from an awareness among one's neighbors that the winner is a staunch Democrat or Republican and a reliable worker. Precinct delegates traditionally handle the tasks of taking censuses of

their constituents, conducting candidates for public office on door-to-door campaigns, and distributing candidate and issue literature, in addition to attending county conventions. There is precedence for focusing upon precinct workers as the party functionaries at the grass roots level. Forthal entitled her study of precinct captains in the Chicago political machine Cogwheels of Democracy (1946). Although called county committeemen, the party activists in Manhattan studies by Hirschfield, Swanson and Blank (1962) are comparable to precinct delegates.

DRAWING THE SAMPLE AND GENERATING THE DATA

Having decided on the populations to be examined, the decision was made to conduct a survey study using a mail questionnaire containing both fixed-alternative and open-ended questions because of the large amount of data that can be generated using these methods under the given constraints of time and money. The choice was made to distribute the questionnaires in several incorporated towns within a reasonable distance of Ann Arbor, Michigan, the researcher's home. The town was selected as the level of aggregation because voter registration records and precincts are organized by town, providing clear, identical boundaries for the pre-sampling definitions of the registered voter and the precinct delegate populations within each town. Unfortunately, membership in local Leagues is not so geographically restricted, but a scanning of the rosters giving addresses for the Board members showed the vast

majority of officers to be living in the town indicated by the League's name, such as the League of Women Voters of Ann Arbor.

The primary sampling frame was towns within one hundred miles of Ann Arbor, having League of Women Voters organizations. Of the eighteen towns which fit these criteria, three were dropped from the sampling frame because large universities, with their highly educated and politicized staff and clientele, were located in their midsts. An attempt was made to stratify the remaining fifteen towns according to the partisan or nonpartisan nature of their local elections but the local elections in all fifteen towns were found to be nonpartisan by statute. From the fifteen, six towns were selected which could be neatly dichotomized into high and low categories according to the percentage of population non-white, median income, and a degree of partisan competitiveness, as measured by the percentage of votes cast for the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State in 1972. The Secretary of State vote was thought to be a valid indicator of partisan competition because the 1972 candidates did not wage particularly visible campaigns and the position of the race on the ballot, below the widely-advertised Presidential, Congressional and Gubernatorial offices, suggests that the vote reflected party identification more clearly than other races common to the six communities. These three stratification variables provide additional analytical perspective on the study respondents.

From the literature on political behavior and social participation, items used with similar samples were taken; also, assumptions or conclusions which had never been empirically tested were translated into questions. The resulting questionnaire took on three forms: a short version for the voters and one longer version for each of the league and party samples which contained most of the questions asked of the voters as well as items relevant only to politically active women.

The sample selection methods, questionnaire items, cover letter, and follow-up procedures were pre-tested in two towns chosen from the remaining nine and were modified where unsatisfactory. In each of the six selected towns, a random sample of women who had cast ballots for any election during the calendar years 1971-1972 was drawn from the publicly available files of registered voters. To generate the League sample, letters were sent to each of the six League presidents requesting the names and addresses of current Board of Directors members. Women were selected at random from the six rosters received. The party sample was selected at random from lists of women recently elected as Democratic and Republican precinct delegates to the party county conventions.

The various selection procedures resulted in 48 party, 48 League, and 351 voter potential respondents. Several strategies for boosting the response rate were followed (Slocum, Empey, and Swanson, 1956, Nichols and Meyer, 1967, Lesslie, 1970; Dillman, 1972; Parsons and Medford, 1972). Each woman received an advance

postcard briefly describing the study and announcing that a questionnaire would arrive in several days. The questionnaire was accompanied by a cover letter bearing the University of Michigan letterhead which described the study in greater detail, assured anonymity of responses, stressed the voluntary nature of the study, promised feedback, and requested cooperation. In addition, the party women received appropriate copies of letters endorsing the study obtained from the Democratic and Republican state chairpersons and the League women received copies of a similar letter signed by the president of the Michigan League of Women Voters. Five days after receiving the questionnaire, each woman also received a postcard thanking her for her anticipated participation in the study and encouraging her to mail back the completed questionnaire if she had not already done so. This was followed by two conventional mail follow-ups spaced two weeks apart and a final telephone follow-up and the mailing of replacement questionnaires where necessary.

This combination of mail questionnaire strategies resulted in high response rates for the party ($n=34$, response=70.8 percent) and League ($n=47$, response=97.9 percent) samples and a lower response rate for the voters whose questionnaires reached them ($n=195$, response=57.8 percent). As with all such surveys, there undoubtedly was some volunteer effect present which increased responses from women with strong feelings, positive or negative, about the topic of women and politics and which made each sample somewhat unrepresentative of its population in the Southern Michigan area.

All returned questionnaires were coded by the researcher after extensive reliability checks with two other social scientists. Codes for the structured items were double-checked on one out of every ten forms, with 98 percent reliability; those forms for which there was disagreement were compared with the original questionnaires and recoded when necessary. The open-ended items received considerable practice coding to insure reliable interpretation of responses. These items were also double-checked on one out of every ten forms, with 90 percent reliability, and the coding disagreements were resolved and the code sheets revised as necessary. The data were put into machine readable form and computer analyzed. Women in both the pre-test and final samples of the study received summaries of the questionnaire results and an invitation to write with further questions.

The voters' questionnaire contained an item inquiring about possible membership in political organizations: "Are you currently, or have you been, active in any political organizations in your community, such as the Democratic and Republican parties, their women's groups, or the League of Women Voters?" Fourteen women (7 percent) did acknowledge such involvement, with three citing League membership, eight specifying a political party, one reporting both League and party experience, and two naming ad hoc groups with Democratic Party leanings. Five of the women maintained those memberships at the time of the study. All fourteen women were dropped from the low activist sample before the analyses, to increase the sample's homogeneity.

Some small feel for the characteristics of the nonresponding voters is possible because the voter registration forms scanned during the sampling stage listed the voter's date of birth. Additionally, the cover letter accompanying the questionnaire requested the women who chose not to complete the entire form to provide at least some background information and a few did so. For the voters, the median age of the nonrespondents is 42.0 years ($n=136$), that of the respondents returning only partially completed questionnaires is 50.0 years ($n=20$), while the voters who answered every item have a median age of 39.0 years ($n=181$), making the final sample slightly biased in favor of younger women. From the partially completed questionnaires we find the nonresponding voters to be less highly educated, from lower income families, and to belong to fewer organizations than do their fully-responding counterparts. In terms of the community characteristics which provided sampling strata, the nonrespondents were not concentrated in any strata but were as likely to reside in communities high in median income as low, high in percentage of population nonwhite as low, and to dwell in a political environment either highly competitive between the parties or low in competitiveness.

Only one of the forty-eight League Board members contacted declined to participate. Among the party women, the nonrespondents were not concentrated in any of the sampling stratification categories, the only variables possible to examine. The three stratification variables were therefore dropped from the analysis.

COMPARING THE SOUTHERN MICHIGAN SAMPLES WITH NATIONAL DATA

The sampling decisions and the survey questionnaire have been described. Before proceeding with the analyses of the samples generated, it is important to gauge how similar the three samples are to populations larger than those they were specifically drawn to reflect. There is no intention to generalize the findings here to larger populations, but rather to place the data in perspective. Each of the following three tables presents data on one of the samples and data on a similar group of women studied either in a cross-sectional national survey (comparisons for the voter and League samples) or in a sample survey of women from all regions of the country attending a convention (comparison data for the party sample), for a few variables.

The first table focuses upon the local sample of women registered voters. The comparison data are from the 1972 National Election Study described earlier and are filtered to include only women who were registered to vote in the 1972 Presidential election. The distributions of these samples across the variables of age, education, 1971 family income, and political ideology are shown in Table 2. The local voters are younger than the national sample: 43 percent of the former are under 36 years of age compared with only 34 percent of the latter, reflecting the already noted bias toward younger women in the sample. On the two socioeconomic variables of education and family income, the local voters are

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF THE REGISTERED WOMEN VOTERS IN THE STUDY SAMPLE
AND IN THE 1972 NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY

Variable	Voter Sample %	National Sample %
Age		
18 - 25	18	13
26 - 35	25	21
36 - 50	33	28
51 and over	24	38
	(n=179)	(n=498)
Education		
High school or less	52	58
Some college	31	28
College Graduate	17	14
	(n=176)	(n=505)
Family Income in 1971		
Less than \$10,000	23	52
\$10,000 - \$19,999	54	39
\$20,000 or more	23	9
	(n=163)	(n=484)
Political Ideology		
Liberal	32	26
Moderate	46	35
Conservative	22	39
	(n=173)	(n=367)

Source of the 1972 National Election Study data: Inter-university Consortium for Political Research, University of Michigan.

found to have higher status, particularly as measured by family income. Twenty-three percent of the local women reported incomes in the \$20,000 or more category, while only 9 percent of the national sample of women did so. Turning to political ideology, the local voters are considerably more liberal and moderate than the comparison sample, as only 22 percent labeled themselves conservative as compared to 39 percent of the national sample. The magnitude of this difference is surprising, given that the local voters were selected from towns stratified by party voting record and the sample contains nearly equal numbers of women from Democratic Party- and Republican Party-dominated communities.

In sum, the local voter sample is younger, more educated and affluent, and more liberal ideologically than a comparable national sample of women registered voters studied only months earlier. These characteristics, which will be recalled when we turn to the analysis chapters, make generalizations about the universe of American women voters based on the voter data generated here imprudent.

To gain some perspective on the League sample, a national survey of League of Women Voters members conducted in late 1973 (Cantril and Cantril, 1974) was located. In the study, telephone interviews were held with a geographically stratified probability sample of 370 women selected from the national League membership roll. The characteristics of the National League women are compared with those of the local League Women in Table 3. Looking

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS BOARD MEMBERS SAMPLE
AND THE 1973 NATIONAL LEAGUE STUDY RESPONDENTS

Variable	League Sample %	National Study %
Age*		
Less than 30 years	13	7
31 - 40	42	30
41 - 50	25	24
51 years and over	20	39
	(n=45)	(n=370)
Education		
High school or less	13	8
Some college	25	24
College graduate	62	68
	(n=47)	(n=370)
Marital Status		
Ever married	100	95
Never married	0	5
	(n=47)	(n=370)
Employment Status		
Working full-time	13	25
Working part-time	15	23
Not working	72	52
	(n=47)	(n=370)

* The age categories reported in the National League of Women Voters study have slightly different ranges: less than 30 years; 30 - 39 years; 40 - 49 years, and 50 years and over.

Source of the 1973 National League data: Cantril and Cantril, 1974.

first at age, the local League sample is considerably younger (52 percent are forty years or younger compared to 37 percent of the national Leaguers), but similar percentages have been or currently are married (100 percent and 95 percent, respectively). The national study women are only slightly better educated: 68 percent of them, and 62 percent of the local League women, are college graduates.

The largest difference between the two samples in Table 3 is on employment status, due most likely to the dissimilar sampling designs. The time demands made upon League Board of Directors members surpass those made upon the average League woman, so members who agree to serve on their local Boards probably have more free time available, i.e., time not required for a job, pressing family responsibilities, or other commitments. The larger percentage of non-working women in the local League sample (72 percent as opposed to 52 percent of the National sample) seems reasonable, then, because that sample was drawn from League Board member rosters while the National study drew from the organization's membership without regard to officer or regular member status.

The League sample, in summary, is younger and only slightly less educated, a bit more experienced with marriage, but considerably less involved in the labor force than the comparison sample of League members drawn nationwide. The two samples suggest different populations, both conceptually and empirically, so conclusions about League members cannot be reached on the basis of these data,

and conclusions about League Board members nationally are equally inappropriate in the absence of validating data.

The party sample is compared with women selected as part of the Convention Delegate Study, conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan (1973), which used preconvention mail questionnaires and convention interviews to examine the attitudes and behaviors of approximately 1300 delegates to the 1972 national Democratic and Republican Party nominating conventions. The national delegate position is a prestigious one and we could expect that the delegates randomly selected into the Delegate Study sample held fairly high party offices in their home towns and states. The data on this are complicated, because many delegates hold more than one office, but all of the Republicans and approximately 60 percent of the Democrats appear to hold some office at the city party chairperson level or higher. The sample of party women which is compared with the Delegate study women was drawn from the lists of delegates elected to county party conventions, a much less prestigious and competitive position. Nevertheless, the Convention Delegate sample is the best comparative data set available, in terms of its respondents and the study's timing, and it does provide perspective for the local party sample.

The distributions for the two samples across the variables of age, education, family income in 1971, and political ideology are shown in Table 4. The samples have remarkably similar age profiles, with approximately 25 percent of the women in each in the 18-35

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF THE PARTY WOMEN SAMPLE AND WOMEN DELEGATES
TO THE 1972 NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS

Variable	Party Sample %	Delegate Sample %
Age		
18 - 25	9	10
26 - 35	16	17
36 - 50	47	46
51 and over	28	27
	(n=32)	(n=1012)
Education		
High school or less	30	14
Some college	33	33
College graduate	37	53
	(n=33)	(n=962)
Family Income in 1971		
Less than \$10,000	6	13
\$10,000 - \$19,999	36	38
\$20,000 - \$29,999	19	26
\$30,000 or more	39	23
	(n=31)	(n=984)
Political Ideology		
Liberal	50	62
Moderate	26	20
Conservative	24	18
	(n=34)	(n=1024)

Source of the 1972 Convention Data: Inter-university Consortium
for Political Research, University of Michigan.

years categories and also in the 51 years and over categories.

A comparison of the two samples in terms of socioeconomic status, as indicated by education and income, finds the local party women to be less well educated but more affluent than the national convention women. Whereas only 37 percent of local sample claim to be college graduates, 53 percent of the delegate women did; but of that more highly educated delegate sample, only 23 percent reported family incomes at the \$30,000 or higher level, as compared with 39 percent of the less well educated local party sample.

A plausible explanation for this seeming inconsistency lies in the sampling designs of the two studies. The party sample was generated in six communities in Southern Michigan, towns that were stratified by median income but do fall in the upper half of national distributions of family income by urban-rural location (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1973:377) because of the higher wages paid to urban workers. The national delegate sample, on the other hand, randomly selected women attending the nominating conventions from all areas of the country; to the extent that this sample came from more rural areas, where the salary commanded by a college graduate is likely to be lower than that of a college or even high school graduate in the urban setting, the income distribution will be biased toward the low categories.

Finally, looking at the two samples in terms of their political ideology, the national delegate sample is clearly more liberal; 62 percent claim to be liberals as compared with only 50 percent of

the high activists. Again, the differences in the sampling designs appear to be the reason: the Democratic convention was larger than the Republican one, and 69 percent of the women in the study were Democrats and 84 percent of them claimed the liberal label. In contrast, my sample is composed equally of Democrats and Republicans.

In summary, the local party sample is less well educated but wealthier and more conservative than the national delegate sample of women. The two samples are similar in terms of age. Temptations to generalize to "all party women" or "all county convention delegates" or "all women delegates" on the basis of the high activist sample, then, must be resisted because we have no validating data on the first two populations and the evidence available on the third indicates a quite different population.

It was suggested earlier that the conceptual framework guiding Verba and Nie's study (1972) is quite similar to the framework developed for this study and sketched in Figure 1. These are two critical differences between the actual study designs, however. First, and more important, is the fact that the samples in this study contain only women, while those of Verba and Nie include both women and men. Their analysis has few cross-gender comparisons although their data appear ideal to make them. The second difference lies in the sample designs: the thesis study sampled women in Southern Michigan based upon their mode of political participa-

tion, whereas Verba and Nie drew a national, multistage probability sample of the noninstitutionalized population of the United States age twenty-one years or older, a sample they later partitioned into a six-part typology of political participants. Their design enabled Verba and Nie to use a variety of statistical tools, namely regression and path analysis, which are inappropriate to the samples generated here.

Although not identical empirically, three of Verba and Nie's subsamples are strikingly similar conceptually to the three samples of women, given that this study was designed before the Verba and Nie work was circulated in manuscript form. Their findings will be referred to in the analysis chapters to come, so a brief description of their participation groups will provide further comparative insight for this study.

The first of Verba and Nie's groups, the "inactives", take no regular part in American political life either formally or informally (1974:79) and did not constitute a population of interest to this researcher. By contrast, their second group, labelled "voting specialists," vote regularly in local and national elections but neither participate in campaigns nor contact public officials individually or as members of a group (1974:79). This group is similar to the sample of registered women voters generated in this study and described earlier. Verba and Nie's third group, the "parochial participants," restrict their political activity to contacting government officials about personal problems; there

is no counterpart sample in this study. The women League members are very similar to Verba and Nie's fourth category of "communalists." Persons in this group engage in cooperative political activities which tend to have collective rather than personal rewards and to shy away from campaign participation in favor of less conflictive politics. The local Leagues are by definition formal, cooperative organizations seeking political policies which they perceive as beneficial to their communities, and their non-partisan stance necessarily screens them from some of the conflict in the formal political system. Verba and Nie's fifth group, referred to as both the "campaigners" and the "partisan activists", is very close conceptually to the Democratic and Republican party women sampled in this study. These women, like the "campaigners," devote most of their political activity to the waging of campaigns--taking a political census of neighbors, distributing literature, escorting candidates door-to-door, and rounding up supporters on election day. Although the only responsibility the party women assume upon their election as precinct delegates is to attend their party's county convention, they experience considerable informal pressure to perform these campaign activities as well.² The final group identified by Verba and Nie, the "complete activists" who pursue campaign, communal and partisan modes

²From personal observation, people highly active among their neighbors in campaigns are often elected to the delegate position during that election or at the subsequent one because they become known as reliable party workers.

of participation, has no counterpart among the three samples drawn for this study but serves to define the upper boundary of the hierarchy of participatory modes implied in Verba and Nie's text and tables.

The national cross-section sample analyzed by Verba and Nie enabled them to estimate the proportions of the adult American population falling into each of their six participatory types and the demographic characteristics which were over- and under-represented within each type. Looking only at the three types which resemble the samples of women, the voting specialists constitute 21 percent of their sample (and, by statistical inference, of the country) and "come disproportionately from lower-education and income groups,...older citizens, Catholics, big-city dwellers, and, to a small extent, women" (1974:97). By contrast, the higher-status groups and people from rural and suburban areas are over-represented among the 20 percent of the sample categorized as communalists; by a slim margin, women are underrepresented (1974:98). As with the communalists, the partisan activists making up 15 percent of the sample are disproportionately drawn from the male ranks of the well-educated, high income people, but the partisans are more urban and Catholic than the community-oriented participants (1974:99).

COMBINING THE SAMPLES

Electoral activity beyond casting a ballot is rare for women (and men), as Table 1 has shown, and people who choose to invest more

time and effort in political participation constitute a very special subgroup, although the contexts and goals of their activities may vary widely. From this viewpoint, the League and party samples are quite similar to each other conceptually. Another observer who sees a common quality is Kirkpatrick:

The distance from nonpartisan activity to political candidacy is less than might be supposed...Volunteer activities provide an opportunity to develop a taste for public life and many of the skills needed for it. A woman active in a civic organization learns how to run a meeting...how to operate in a public context... More important, holding responsible office and performing well enables a woman to test her capacities, to explore her abilities, and to experience the self-confidence that comes with doing a job well. (1974:61,64)

If the distance from nonpartisan activity such as the League of Women Voters to actually running for political office, specifically the state legislature, is as small as Kirkpatrick suggests, then the distance from the League to running for the precinct delegate position within a party is even less. Verba and Nie (1972) find several conceptual similarities between their groups of communalists and campaigners, akin to the League activists and party activists in this study: both groups are involved in cooperative ventures and both seek instrumental benefits (1972:114-115). Finally, combining the party and League samples into one group simplifies this study into a comparison of political elites with non-elites, to use the terminology of the Figure 2 literature matrix, and makes this study more parallel with those of Kruschke (1963), Wells and Smeal (1974), and McCourt (1975).

In addition to conceptual similarity, the League and party women should be empirically alike as well. The communal and campaign activists in Verba and Nie's study were found to be fundamentally akin because the socioeconomic model developed to explain political participation worked best with those two groups (1974:264). Further, each group was empirically and conceptually distinct from the group of ordinary voters (1974:114-115). The similarities among the three samples in this study are empirically tested in Table 5 which presents χ^2 statistics computed to determine whether the distributions of respondents' characteristics are significantly different between each pair of samples on the three variables of age, income, and number of organizational memberships. These three variables serve as indicators of stage in the life cycle, socioeconomic status, and general level of social participation, all basic concepts for describing and explaining political behavior (Campbell et al., 1960; Verba and Nie, 1972). All three of the tests for differences between the voters and party women reached the .10 level of significance, as did two of the three voter-League comparisons. No significant differences appear between the League and party samples themselves on these three variables.

There also is a statistical argument for combining the League and party samples: the small number of cases in each weakens the conclusion to be drawn from bivariate analyses. Even with the samples combined, the resulting "high activist" case number is

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF THE THREE SAMPLES ON AGE, INCOME, AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Social Background Variable	Voter Sample %	League Sample %	Party Sample %
Age	(n=179)	(n=45)	(n=32)
18 - 25	18	4	9
26 - 35	24	38	16
36 - 50	34	38	47
51 and over	24	20	28
χ^2 voter-League = 7.30	χ^2 voter-party = 3.93	χ^2 League-party ns	= 4.69
p < .10	ns		
Income	(n=163)	(n=45)	(n=31)
Less than \$10,000	21	0	6
\$10,000 - \$19,999	55	51	36
\$20,000 or more	24	49	58
χ^2 voter-League = 18.82	χ^2 voter-party 16.76	χ^2 League-party ns	= 4.32
p < .01	p < .01		
Number of Types of Organizational Memberships	(n=157)	(n=47)	(n=34)
None or one	42	2	3
Two or three	51	66	59
Four or more	7	32	38
χ^2 voter-League = 35.33	χ^2 voter-party = 34.28	χ^2 League-party ns	= 0.45
p < .01	p < .01		

only 81, less than half the number of "low activist" voters (n=181). In the analyses and tables to follow, the comparisons made are consistently between these two groups of women.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The object of this study is to learn which variables serve to distinguish between the samples of low and high activist women and between the politically experienced and inexperienced women within each sample. Two characteristics of the data limit the statistical analyses to tests of significance and strength of relationships. First, the samples were drawn independently according to their "value" on the dependent variable of political participation, which makes analysis of variance and linear regression techniques resting on least squares models inappropriate. The second limiting factor is that the variables examined as potentially discriminating between and within the two samples are measured at either the nominal or ordinal level. The level of activism variable, which is the column variable in the tables, can be seen as being measured at both the nominal and ordinal levels--nominal because it is dichotomous and ordinal on the grounds that the high and low categories are ordered along a continuum of activism. The selection of the most appropriate coefficient of association, then, depends on the level of measurement of the analysis variable.

The chi-square (χ^2) test checks whether the distribution of frequencies of one variable across several samples is such that

the samples could have come from the same population. It is a statistical significance test appropriate for nominal and ordinal data which tells us nothing about the strength of relationship between the variables and is likely to indicate significance when the sample sizes are large, which they are not in this study. The chi-square value and its associated significance level are calculated and presented for the tables that follow which compare the low and high activist samples.

Because assumptions regarding the normality of their distributions and homogeneity of their variances for the potentially discriminating variables could not be made, the nonparametric statistics of lambda-b (λ_b), Yule's Q, and Goodman and Kruskal's gamma (γ) are used to measure the strength of relationship between each analysis variable and the level of activism variable. All three statistics are based upon a proportional reduction in error concept. Lambda-b (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent, 1975) is appropriate for two nominal-level variables and ranges from zero to 1.0. Gamma (Goodman and Kruskal, 1954) assumes both variables are ordinal level and ranges from 1.0 to -1.0. The absolute value of this statistic indicates the extent of relationship between the variables and the sign tells whether cases tend to fall along the positive or negative diagonal in the data table. Yule's Q (Zelditch, 1959) is a special case of gamma appropriate for 2X2 tables.

The analysis variables have been grouped into conceptually distinct clusters, as outlined in Figure 2 and the discussion of it, and that grouping is maintained in the tables which follow. To test whether the variables are empirically related to one another as well, two tau-b rank-order correlation matrices (Nie, et al., 1975), one each for the low and high activist samples, were generated and are presented and discussed following the eleven main analysis tables in Chapter III.

With the research procedures, methods, and forms of analysis described, the following chapter begins the data analysis by testing the value of a variety of background, contextual, and attitudinal variables in discriminating between the women in the low and high activist samples.

CHAPTER III

THE CORRELATES OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The central questions underlying this analysis chapter are how the high activist women differ from the low activists across a wide variety of variables and how these differences compare with findings reported in the literature for similar and dissimilar samples; that is, for all-women samples, for samples made up of women and men in known proportions, and for samples with gender proportions unspecified. The variables are organized into tables according to the conceptually defined clusters set forth in Figure 1.

The hypotheses structuring this chapter are as follows:

- (1) the high activists will be higher in socioeconomic status than the low activists, because greater educational and financial resources and occupational autonomy increase the opportunities for political activism and the women's willingness to pursue them (see Table 6);
- (2) in terms of life-cycle processes, the high activists will be older than the low activists, a higher percentage will be married, will have more (and older) children, and will belong to a larger number of types of organizations than will the low activists, because a light load of family responsibilities frees time for participation in

activities outside the home, such as political participation (see Table 8);

- (3) the high activists will report more role models in their families, such as mothers who worked, and parents and husbands who are described as politically active, than will the low activists, because of the support significant others can provide for atypical behavior (see Table 10);
- (4) the high activists will be drawn disproportionately from non-urban areas, will have resided in their communities longer than the low activists, because of the greater opportunities for political involvement associated with each of these community characteristics (see Table 12);
- (5) the high activists will perceive their political environments as more highly competitive and will correctly identify local elections as nonpartisan more often than will the low activist women, because of their greater involvement in and knowledge of their local political system (see Table 14);
- (6) the high activists will report that membership and participation in the League of Women Voters and the political parties is easily obtained more often than will the low activists, and the high activists will find fewer differences between the two types of organizations in terms of their incentives to participation, because of their greater familiarity with the organizations in their political environment (see Table 16);

- (7) in their political attitudes, the high activists will attribute women's limited political participation more to socialization rather than to temperament or family demands, and will deny more strongly than the low activists that women have hidden political influence; further, the high activists will perceive politics as less conflictive than will the lows and will show less willingness to equate polling with an election, because of their greater experience in politics and their need for attitudes supportive of their behavior (see Table 18);
- (8) the high activists will surpass the lows in the liberalism of their political ideology and their support for the women's liberation movement, because their involvement bespeaks a faith in open politics and the competence of women in nontraditional fields (see Table 20);
- (9) the high activists will have a stronger sense of political efficacy, variously measured, than will the lows, because political activism is sustained by a belief that one's effort can or does influence the political system (see Table 22);
- (10) the high activists will have higher self-esteem, across a variety of dimensions, than will the low activists, because they have achieved positions of political responsibility and their estimates of high self-worth will

generalize to other areas of their lives (see Table 24);
and

- (11) the high activists will do less gender stereotyping of personality traits than will the low activists and will tend to attribute whatever gender differences they find to cultural rather than to genetic factors favored by the low activists, because of their personal involvement in a social realm dominated by men (see Table 26).

The first cluster of variables deals with background factors and the extent to which the low and high activists differ in their achieved and ascribed characteristics and their family experiences. Socioeconomic status is the primary concept in this cluster and indeed the foremost predictor of the level of political participation in the literature (Milbrath, 1965). The generalization that individuals of higher social and economic status participate more in politics "holds true whether one uses level of education, income, or occupation as the measure" (Verba and Nie, 1972:125). Four indicators of status--family income, level of education, respondent's occupation if she is working, and husband's occupation--were used¹ and the high activists were expected to be of significantly higher status than the low activists on each.

Considerable support for this hypothesis exists in the empirical literature. Looking first at the three studies which parallel this one, Kruschke (1963) found his Politicals to have significantly

¹The exact wording of all items and their marginals are presented in Appendix A for the voters, League, and party samples separately.

higher family incomes than the Apoliticals, but the status distributions of their husbands' occupations were similar. The Pittsburgh committeewomen and women registered voters in Wells and Smeal's study (1974) had similar incomes but larger percentages of the committeewomen were employed (producing higher family incomes), held lower status positions, and had less education. McCourt (1975) found no status differences between her women Actives and Inactives, probably because her samples were drawn from very homogeneous working-class neighborhoods.

Studies based upon cross-sectional samples of women and men have found socioeconomic status to be highly correlated with voter registration, turnout, and the more demanding forms of political involvement (Campbell et. al., 1960; Alford and Scoble, 1968 Verba and Nie, 1972) but the relative importance of the alternative indicators varies from study to study. For example, Agger and Ostrom (1956) found the most marked shifts in levels of participation of their rural respondents were a function of education; income and occupation were influential variables as well but were of secondary importance. Similarly, Bennett and Klecka (1970) analyzed data from three National Election Studies and concluded that education is the strongest predictor of interest in public affairs, influence attempts, and political involvement when occupation and income are controlled but has little direct effect upon turnout. Lansing (1970, 1974) has shown that turnout is nearly identical for women and men of equal educational attainment. In his analysis of the 1956, 1960, and 1964 National Election Studies,

Levitt (1967) compared the explanatory value of education and work experience in predicting the political participation of women and concluded that work experience is the more influential variable.

Studies of political elites have repeatedly found an over-representation of individuals from high socioeconomic status backgrounds (Mussen and Wyszynski, 1952; Bowman and Boynton, 1966; Soule and Clark, 1970) and within this group, status differences have been found between Democratic and Republican campaign workers (Marvick and Nixon, 1961) and between urban and rural party activists (Conway and Feigert, 1968). As for status differences between women and men political elites,

It might well be expected that female leaders would be higher in social class...It is only at the high socioeconomic levels that women achieve levels of political interest and involvement commensurate with those of men and where more traditional sex-role definitions have lost much of their significance; the greater personal resources afforded by higher income and educational attainment might be thought necessary if the woman is to overcome the barriers presumably created by sex-role typing in our society. (Costantini and Craik, 1972:220)

In fact these researchers as well as others (Jennings and Thomas, 1968) have shown the men elites to come from significantly higher status backgrounds.

The first two variables in Table 6 are education and family income. Looking at the level of income, a higher percentage of the high activists were expected to have the financial resources conducive to political participation. The percentages shown in Table 6 indicate that the high activists do have significantly higher family incomes: fifty-three percent of them report their

TABLE 6
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Family Income			
Less than \$10,000	23	2	$\chi^2=28.19$
\$10,000 - \$19,999	54	45	$p < .01$
\$20,000 or more	23	53	$\gamma = .61$
	(n=163)	(n=76)	
Level of Education			
0 - 11 grades	13	1	$\chi^2=38.48$
High school graduate	39	19	$p < .01$
Some college	31	29	$\gamma = .60$
College graduate	17	51	
	(n=176)	(n=80)	
Respondent's Occupation			
Craft, operative, service, laborer	20	3	$\chi^2=11.42$
Clerical, sales	50	36	$p < .01$
Professional, technical, managerial	30	61	$\gamma = .59$
	(n=94)	(n=31)	
Husband's Occupation			
Craft, operative, service, laborer	47	7	$\chi^2=34.54$
Clerical, sales	12	16	$p < .01$
Professional, technical, managerial	41	77	$\gamma = .68$
	(n=140)	(n=71)	

incomes to be at the \$20,000 a year level or higher, while only 3 percent of the low activists did. Turning to education, the high activists were expected to have more years of schooling than women who are not very active politically. That expectation is met in Table 6: whereas 51 percent of the high activists have attended or graduated from college, only 17 percent of the low activists have done so.

A third element traditionally used in the social sciences to measure socioeconomic status is occupation. But in analyzing an all-woman sample, whose occupation should be examined? One of the feminist critiques leveled at demography in a recent paper (Markle, 1974) questioned the automatic assumption made by many researchers that a woman's status is determined by her husband's or father's occupation (Acker, 1973; Haug, 1973), without first ascertaining whether the woman is employed, and if so at what occupation, and without a thought to the social science evidence suggesting that women who work often differ markedly from women who do not (Duverger, 1955; Nye and Hoffman, 1963; Anderson, 1975). Addressing first things first, there was no significant difference between the two samples in the proportions of women employed (38 percent of the low and 27 percent of the high activists), the proportion who are homemakers (50 and 59 percent respectively), and the proportion who attend school (9 percent and 12 percent respectively).

Looking only at those women who do work, the percentages in Table 6 indicate that a significantly larger proportion of the high activists are professionals (61 percent) than among the low activists (30 percent), as hypothesized. The gamma coefficient of .59 signifies that the respondents are concentrated along the upper-left to lower-right diagonal of the table, with the relatively higher percentage of low activists in the household and service worker category and the heavy concentration of high activists in the professional and managerial category.

As the final set of percentages in Table 6 indicate, the significantly greater tendency for the high activists who are working to be in professional, technical and managerial positions is affirmed for their husbands as well: seventy-seven percent of the high activists' husbands, but only 41 percent of the lows', are in the professional occupation category.

On all four indicators of socioeconomic status in Table 6, the high activist women are significantly wealthier, more educated, and either they or their husbands or both are more likely to hold professional positions, as hypothesized. This image of the political activist has been empirically reinforced so often that if no socioeconomic differences between the samples had been found, the validity and reliability of this study as a whole would have been called into question.

Having found that the activist samples are significantly different on all four indicators of socioeconomic status, it is

important to examine the extent to which the indicators are inter-correlated, and to see whether the correlations differ between the samples. The overall impression given by Table 7, which presents the tau-b rank-order correlation coefficients, is that the interrelationships are surprisingly weak, given that income, educational, and occupation are often used singly as indicators of the concept of socioeconomic status. Of the twelve coefficients in the two matrices, all six generated by the low activists are significant statistically, as is only one among the high activists, but only one in the entire table reaches the .50 level. The association between the respondent's level of education and her occupation is the strongest, with $t_b = .43$ for the low activists and $t_b = .75$ among the high activists. Among the low activists, family income is more closely related to husband's occupation ($t_b = .35$, $p < .01$) than it is to the respondent's occupation ($t_b = .21$, $p < .05$); both associations are close to zero among the high activists ($t_b = .04$ for husband's and $.06$ for respondent's occupation). And finally, the correlations between the two occupations are statistically significant among the low activists only ($t_b = -.29$, $p < .01$), but are negative among both samples. The sign of this coefficient is due to the concentration of women in professional and clerical occupations while their husbands hold jobs across the occupational spectrum.

Because socioeconomic status has consistently been found to be the strongest predictor of political involvement (Verba and Nie,

TABLE 7
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Income	Education	Respondent's Occupation
Low Activists			
Education (n)	.19** (161)		
Respondent's Occupation (n)	.21* (87)	.43** (94)	
Husband's Occupation (n)	.35** (129)	.44** (140)	- .29** (68)
High Activists			
Education (n)	.08 (76)		
Respondent's Occupation (n)	.06 (29)	.75** (30)	
Husband's Occupation (n)	.04 (69)	.19 (71)	- .37 (23)

*p < .05

**p < .01

1972), it seemed reasonable to expect that the discriminating power of some of the variables discussed in this chapter would be hidden or exaggerated because of the variable's association with socio-economic status. To test for these possibilities, each bivariate relationship discussed in Tables 6 to 27 in this chapter was reanalyzed with controls for the level of family income. Those results are discussed in the Effects of Controlling for Income section at the end of this chapter.

The next set of variables measures each woman's location in the life-cycle process of aging, marrying, raising children, and joining community organizations. The high activists are hypothesized to be at later stages of these processes than are the low activists. The first three indicators of age, marital status, and number of children are standard ones, but the fourth is not and deserves some discussion. As a woman settles into a community and begins to send children to school, she typically discovers more and more people who share her interests, interests which may be pursued formally through an organization or which remain informal. To assess the respondents' integration into their communities, they were asked to indicate which types of community organizations they belonged to in a list of nine, including religious, political, social, and work-related groups. This indicator of community involvement classified organizations by type, such that a woman who belonged to four social clubs and placed a check on her questionnaire next to that category would appear in

Table 8 in the "none or one" row. Because the underlying concept is the extent of involvement in the community, this measure of the range of community organizations in which one participates is a somewhat different indicator than one simply asking the number of organizational memberships held.

Kruschke (1963) examined three of these life-cycle variables in his study of women's political participation and found that his Politicals and Apoliticals were similar in terms of their ages and numbers of children and in their number of organizational memberships, a different indicator of community integration than the one used here. Wells and Smeal (1974) found no differences between their women political elites and women voters in the number of children or percentage married. McCourt (1975) found fewer of her active women had small children.

Evidence that level of political participation does vary with age, from a low level in young adulthood to a high level in old age, comes from Glenn and Grimes' (1968) analysis of age cohorts in Gallup poll data and from Verba and Nie's (1972) national study. The latter team of researchers showed that the highest level of overall participation appears to come in the forties, but when controls for the differential educational composition of the various age groups are instituted, overall participation peaks in the fifties and turnout peaks in the late sixties and early seventies. These studies support our hypothesis that the high activists will be older than the low activists.

Only one cross-sectional study has focused upon marital status as an important explanatory variable (Bertelsen, 1974) and it used level of attention to political issues as its dependent variable. Few differences were found among single, married and divorced women, but large differences were found among these marital status groups for men. Along with being older, a greater proportion of the high activists are expected to be married.

One of the major variables in the life-cycle set investigated by many researchers is parenthood, or to be more precise for this sample, motherhood. For example, Flora and Lynn (1974) assessed the impact of motherhood on political attitudes by a secondary analysis of the 1968 National Election Study data. Looking only at the women respondents, the investigators compared mothers' with nonmothers' rate of agreement with one item ("Voting is the only way that people like me have any say about how the government runs things") of the four traditionally used to measure sense of political efficacy. While sole reliance upon this one item may be shaky conceptually, a point discussed in conjunction with Table 22, more serious criticism is due for the exclusive concern with motherhood rather than the larger issue of parenthood. From the life-cycle perspective, having children is concomitant with both reduced time for activities outside the home and increased responsibility for helping shape the society one's child will inherit two decades later, for mothers and fathers. Drawing upon interviews with mothers approximately two years after their

child's birth, Flora and Lynn conclude that the demands of a baby reduce the time and energy mothers can devote to politics, which is just one realm of social involvement. The study suggests that the larger the family, the less likely the mother is to be politically active. The dampening effect of family size, however, depends upon the age of the children and the number living at home. The high activists are hypothesized to be older, and thus they are expected to have a larger number of (older) children because their families tend to be complete.

Voluntary organizations serve to integrate the individual into society (Babchuk and Edwards, 1965; Verba and Nie, 1972), and holding one membership increases the probability that other organizations will be joined (Maccoby, 1958). In his survey of three small midwestern towns, Erbe (1964) documents the independent statistical effect of organizational involvement upon political participation when controls for socioeconomic status and alienation are introduced. Having been selected on the basis of their organizational affiliation, the high activists are expected to report belonging to a greater number of types of organizations than are the low activists.

Of the four variables in Table 8 which describe a woman's place in the life cycle, the distribution of cases by age discloses that the high activists are older, though not significantly so. We have hypothesized that the high activists should have more children, be more likely to be married, and have more types of

TABLE 8
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
LIFE-CYCLE VARIABLES

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Age			
18 - 25	18	6	$\chi^2 = 6.63$
26 - 35	25	29	ns
36 - 50	33	42	$\gamma = .13$
51 and over	24	23	
	(n=179)	(n=77)	
Marital Status			
Single	16	4	$\chi^2 = 7.49$
Ever married	84	96	$p < .01$
	(n=178)	(n=80)	$Q = .65$
Number of Children			
None	23	10	$\chi^2 = 8.82$
One or two	34	35	$p < .05$
Three to five	37	52	$\gamma = .20$
Six or more	6	3	
	(n=177)	(n=79)	
Number of Types of Organizational Memberships			
None or one	38	2	$\chi^2 = 52.75$
Two or three	56	63	$p < .01$
Four or more	6	35	$\gamma = .82$
	(n=157)	(n=81)	

explore this further, the relationship between age and level of activism was re-examined with separate controls for number of children, marital status, and number of organizational memberships. The three partial-gamma coefficients produced were below the .10 level, supporting the contention that stage in the life cycle, rather than age itself, predicts to women's political participation.

The grouping of these four variables into a life-cycle cluster, done in Chapter I on conceptual grounds, is tested in Table 9. The first three variables are highly intercorrelated. Disregarding the coefficients involving marital status because of the overwhelming percentages in the ever-married category, the association between age and number of children is significant among both the high ($t_b = .33$, $p < .01$) and low activists ($t_b = .30$, $p < .01$). The organizational membership variable covaries positively with the other three, reaching significance only with the number of children variable in both samples ($t_b = .16$, $p < .05$, for the low and $t_b = .30$, $p < .01$, for the high activists). This suggests that larger families offer a wider range of activities and interests which mothers can pursue through formal organizations.

The next set of background variables hypothesized to influence the level of a woman's political participation focuses upon possible role models in her families of orientation and procreation. As women begin to appear in traditionally all-male occupations and institutions, researchers attempt to partial out the effects of mothers and fathers in explaining the daughters' nontraditional

TABLE 9
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
LIFE-CYCLE VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Age	Marital Status	Number of Children
Low Activists			
Marital Status (n)	.39** (177)		
Number of Children (n)	.30** (176)	.56** (177)	
Number of Types of Organizational Memberships (n)	.03 (156)	.18* (156)	.16* (155)
High Activists			
Marital Status (n)	.26* (77)		
Number of Children (n)	.33** (77)	.33** (79)	
Number of Types of Organizational Memberships (n)	.08 (77)	.13 (80)	.30** (79)

*p < .05

**p < .01

behavior. Questions concerning which parent is more understanding, or emotionally closer, or more "similar" have been used as indices of identification and correlated with success along such dimensions as selecting nontraditional occupations (Plank and Plank, 1954; Helson, 1961) and achievement aspirations (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Tangri, 1972). The evidence has been contradictory and the samples have varied greatly.

Four items testing for role modeling effects were included in the questionnaires. The first asked whether the respondent's mother had worked while she was growing up, a variable Hoffman (1963) considers important in understanding the child's conception of the feminine role:

...for girls, maternal employment may contribute to a greater admiration of the mother, a concept of the female role which includes less restriction and a wider range of activities, and a self-concept which incorporates these aspects of the female role (Hoffman, 1963:201).

Conversely, a respondent whose mother spent more than the normal amount of time away from home might especially appreciate the importance of a wife and mother close to the hearth. It was assumed that working mothers broaden their daughters' concept of behavior appropriate for women, rather than restricting it through a backlash effect. A larger percentage of the high activists, therefore, are hypothesized to have had working mothers.

To test whether their parents provided behavioral definitions of politics as an appropriate arena for adult involvement, the

respondents were asked to specify for each parent whether she or he was "very active," "somewhat active," or "not active at all" politically. No criteria were provided to aid in the classification of parental political activity because the responses sought were to be subjective, on the assumption that it is the respondent's perceptions of the quality of her parents' behavior, rather than the statistically modal or deviant nature of those behaviors, that would have the role modeling effects. Information was sought on both parents because "the division of political labor...by no means consistently results in the father being the intermediary between and the interpreter of the external world of politics" (Jennings and Niemi, 1971:82).

The high activist women were expected to recall their parents being very active politically for at least two reasons. First, a role-modeling argument recognizes the woman's political behavior to be an imitation of the behavior of the two significant figures during the childhood socialization years: if the parents are recalled as having been active, the daughter will tend to be active also. The second reason is based on the psychological pressure of cognitive dissonance which would lead the high activists to recall their parents' behavior as consonant with their own actual level of involvement.

Perhaps the influence of family role models is limited to more immediate time and space. The final question testing for role-modeling effects asked the respondents to classify the political

behavior of their husband, or, if they were single, of their closest male relative. Lansing (1972) contends that the behavior of significant men in a woman's life is crucial to understanding her orientation to politics. If Lansing is correct, then the fathers and husbands of the high activists should be described as significantly more politically involved.

Kruschke (1963) explored variables on family role models and found that his Politicals were not more likely than the Apoliticals to have had parents keenly interested in politics. Seventy-five percent of the women community activists studied by McCourt (1975) claimed that their husbands' belonged to the same community organization, while none of the inactive women's husbands did. The women were clearly the dominant members in the organizations and McCourt interpreted the husbands' largely passive membership as a form of social support. The women state legislators studied by Kirkpatrick (1974) reported that 40 percent of their mothers and 50 percent of their fathers had been politically active during the respondent's childhood and adolescence.

The figures in Table 10 indicate that over half of the low and high activist women had mothers who never worked (57 percent and 65 percent respectively), a difference not statistically significant. There is some evidence that the crucial aspect of this factor is whether one's mother worked more for economic or for self-fulfillment reasons (Nye and Hoffman, 1963). Unfortunately, items seeking this information were not included. Neither the mother's

TABLE 10
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
ROLE MODEL VARIABLES

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Mother Employed			
Ever	43	35	$\chi^2=1.41$
Never	57	65	ns
	(n=175)	(n=80)	Q= -.16
Level of Mother's Political Activity			
High	19	22	$\chi^2=0.23$
Low	81	78	ns
	(n=172)	(n=78)	Q= .08
Level of Father's Political Activity			
High	22	29	$\chi^2=1.24$
Low	78	71	ns
	(n=168)	(n=77)	Q= .17
Level of Husband's Political Activity			
High	20	34	$\chi^2=6.24$
Low	80	66	p < .05
	(n=173)	(n=79)	Q= .36

nor the father's perceived level of political activity distinguishes between the samples to a significant degree, although the percentages are in the hypothesized direction. Significantly more high activists depicted their husbands as politically involved, as expected: thirty-four percent as compared with 20 percent of the low activists. Surprisingly, the political interests of only a third of the high activists were supported by and shared with their husbands. The husbands were shown in Table 6 to practice high status occupations, leaving them little time for political involvement and perhaps low motivation as well, if they saw their wives "representing the family."

The correlation coefficients among the four role model variables are presented in Table 11. The coefficients on mother's employment are low. The largest coefficients link the levels of mother's and father's activity ($t_b = .59$ for the low activists and $t_b = .42$ for the highs, both significant at the $p < .01$ level), indicating that the parents are recalled as similarly involved in politics. Among the low activists, the level of their husband's political involvement is significantly similar to that of both parents ($t_b = .27$, $p < .01$, for mother's activity and $t_b = .22$, $p < .01$, for the father's).

The final set of background variables concerns the size of the respondent's community of origin and the duration of residence in her present community. Both variables attempt to tap the degree of her integration into the community. The issue underlying

TABLE 11
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
ROLE MODEL VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Mother Employed	Mother's Political Activity	Father's Political Activity
Low Activists			
Mother's Political Activity (n)	-.09 (169)		
Father's Political Activity (n)	.05 (165)	.59** (165)	
Husband's Political Activity (n)	-.05 (169)	.27** (169)	.22** (164)
High Activists			
Mother's Political Activity (n)	-.19 (78)		
Father's Political Activity (n)	.15 (77)	.42** (75)	
Husband's Political Activity (n)	.01 (79)	-.04 (77)	.10 (77)

*p < .05

**p < .01

the size variable is the effect of urban settings upon political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) capture the many contradictory findings on this topic in two models: a mobilization model predicting greater social stimulation and thus greater political participation in urban areas, and a decline-of-community model citing the breakdown of social networks as the cause of decreased participation. Their data do not clearly support either model; only after expanding their size variable to a typology of community types and correcting for individual social characteristics do they find evidence for the second model. The duration of residence variable can also be interpreted as leading to both greater and lesser political involvement. The longer one has lived in a community, the more likely she is to know local problems and needs and, consequently, the more inclined to work for community improvement through the political system as well as other avenues. Conversely, longer residence may persuade her that the local political system is not responsive to citizen participation and that involvement is thus futile.

Kruschke (1963) found that his Politicals had resided in the Madison area significantly longer than the Apolitical women. McCourt (1975) explored attachment to the community in some detail and drew a distinction between concrete and emotional ties. While she found no difference between the active and inactive women in their duration of residence, the actives had fewer relatives near-by but fewer plans to move, and greater regrets if they had to

leave the community, than did the inactives. The absence of tradition-enforcing relatives (particularly in-laws) was a critical factor, McCourt concluded, allowing the actives to participate in assertive community organizations.

Following Verba and Nie (1972) and Kruschke (1963), the high activists are hypothesized to come from more non-urban areas and to have resided in their present communities longer than the low activists. Neither hypothesis is supported by the data in Table 12. The low chi-square values and gamma coefficients indicate that the low and high activists are drawn equally from non-urban and urban areas and have lived in their communities nearly the same length of time. The relationship between these two variables is shown in Table 13. Among the low activists, the variables are significantly and negatively correlated ($t_b = -.21$, $p < .01$), suggesting that women voters from non-urban areas tend to stay there and voters from urban areas tend to move often. The correlation among the high activists is near zero. The conclusion must be that the community characteristics of the women, as measured by these two variables, do not help account for the higher level of political participation of the one sample.

The next set of variables focuses upon the political context surrounding the respondents and the extent to which perceptions about the partisan nature of local elections and the competitiveness of the political parties appear conducive to women's partici-

TABLE 12
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Size of Community of Origin			
Country	8	5	$\chi^2=2.69$
Town (500-49,999)	18	25	ns
Small city (50,000- 299,999)	31	31	$\gamma = -.06$
Large city (3000,000 or more)	43 (n=176)	39 (n=80)	
Duration of Residence in Community			
Less than 5 years	22	21	$\chi^2=7.17$
5 - 10 years	19	26	ns
11 - 20 years	27	35	$\gamma = -.15$
More than 20 years	32 (n=176)	18 (n=80)	

TABLE 13
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Size of Community of Origin
Low Activists	
Duration of Residence (n)	-.21** (173)
High Activists	
Duration of Residence (n)	.07 (80)

**p < .01

pation. The emphasis here is upon perceived characteristics. It may not be the actual structural arrangement of the local political system, such as the relative strength of the two parties, but the respondents' perception of it that will influence their level of involvement. The deeper involvement of the high activists means that not only are elections and referenda matters of great importance, but many non-electoral events, such as zoning decisions and school board policy, take on partisan overtones for them. A larger percentage of the high activists are therefore expected to depict their local political systems as highly competitive. The women were asked to describe the competition between the political parties in their towns in terms of five categories: very competitive, parties of equal strength; somewhat competitive but Republicans (Democrats) are stronger; and not competitive, Republicans (Democrats) much stronger. Their answers were double-coded: by party, to see whether communities dominated by one party rather than the other would be more conducive to women's political participation, and by degree, to determine whether the perceived level of competition was an important factor. On both variables, the high activists are hypothesized to report more party competition.

The third variable in the political environment cluster deals with the partisan or nonpartisan nature of local elections. As stated in Chapter II, the elections in all six communities are nonpartisan by statute. Because of their greater political involve-

ment, the high activists are hypothesized to know the correct answer more often than will the low activists. Nonpartisan elections were instituted to, and have been found to, weaken local parties (Adrian, 1952; Hawley, 1973). Ad hoc and permanent political groups often arise in these communities to compete with the weakened Democratic and Republican parties, producing a multi-party electoral system (Freeman, 1958). It will be interesting to see whether the high activists perceive greater party competition at the same time that they acknowledge their elections to be nonpartisan, as hypothesized.

There is relatively little literature on the influence of these sorts of contextual factors upon political participation. Verba and Nie (1972) give them scant attention and none of the three studies paralleling this one explore them. There has been some research contrasting the political recruitment, party activity, and policy decisions taking place in competitive and non-competitive political systems (Marvick and Nixon, 1961; Dawson and Robinson, 1966; Crotty, 1968), but the effects of different levels of competition, actual and perceived, on political participation has not received much consideration.

The hypotheses are tested in Table 14. When their responses are categorized by the party perceived to be stronger, if either, the high activists report significantly more often that one of the parties is stronger in their community. Only 7 percent of the high activists but 25 percent of the lows rated the parties

TABLE 14
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
POLITICAL CONTEXT VARIABLES

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Perceived Party Competition, by Party *			
Republicans stronger	48	47	$\chi^2=11.16$
Parties equal	25	7	$p < .01$
Democrats stronger	27	46	
	(n=113)	(n=68)	
Perceived Degree of Party Competition			
High	85	68	$\chi^2= 7.52$
Low	15	32	$p < .01$
	(n=113)	(n=68)	$Q=-.46$
Perceived Partisanship of Local Elections			
Partisan	68	44	$\chi^2=12.14$
Nonpartisan	32	56	$p < .01$
	(n=145)	(n=75)	$Q=-.47$

*A measure of association is not presented because the hypothesized relationship between this variable and level of activism is non-monotonic.

equally strong, which supports our hypothesis. Three communities of the six studied were judged during the sampling stage to be toss-ups between the parties, as measured by election returns, but the high activists there were less likely to report them as competitive than the high activists in the other towns (table not shown). Returning to Table 14, the low activists were more likely to describe their local systems as highly competitive (85 percent versus 68 of the high activists), a finding contrary to our hypothesis. Taken together, the responses to these two items imply that the greater political knowledge of the high activists leads them to perceive their communities as one-party towns. On the variable describing the nature of local elections, significantly more of the high activists knew the elections to be nonpartisan (56 percent as compared with only 32 percent of the low activists), but nearly one-half responded incorrectly. Several of the women noted the ambiguity of the phrase "local elections"-does it mean school boards or city councils or circuit court judgeships or millage proposals?-so the validity of the item as an indicator of political knowledge may be weak.

Correlations between the level of perceived party competition and the nonpartisanship of local elections are contained in Table 15. The coefficient between these two variables is weak ($t_b = -.05$, ns) among the high activists, as the literature on nonpartisan elections suggests it should be. Among the low activists, however, the coefficient is the only one to

TABLE 15
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
POLITICAL CONTEXT VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Perceived Party Competition, by Party	Perceived Degree of Competition
Low Activists		
Perceived Degree of Competition (n)	-.15 (113)	
Partisanship of Elections (n)	-.23* (103)	.09 (103)
High Activists		
Perceived Degree of Competition (n)	-.05 (68)	
Partisanship of Elections (n)	-.05 (63)	.16 (63)

*p < .05

reach statistical significance ($t_b = -.23$, $p < .05$) in the table.

In short, the three variables constituting the cluster on political context are not strongly interrelated.

The parties and the League of Women Voters are only two types of community organizations among many that women who desire to become politically active may join. All of the high activists in this study were sampled on the basis of their membership in one of the organizations, and thus their perceptions of the characteristics of them, when contrasted with the perceptions of the low activists, should provide some insight into the factors conducive to women's political involvement. The five variables defining this conceptual cluster on organizations in the political environment forced comparisons between the organizations. Separate items asked how easy it is for someone like the respondent to join the League of Women Voters organization in her area and how easy it is to become active in a political party in her town. Both organizations are eager for new members. The League has minimal membership requirements, and as Duvurger (1954) has pointed out, it is difficult to define membership in the American political parties. The remaining three variables draw on Clark and Wilson's (1961) typology of organizational incentives as material (or monetary), solidary (status and prestige stemming from participation itself), and purposive (achievement of organizational goals). Many researchers have used the concept of incentive systems in studying political activists (Marvick and Nixon, 1961; Hirschfield,

Swanson and Blank, 1962; Salisbury, 1965; Conway and Feigert, 1968; Bowman, Ippolito and Donaldson, 1969). The standard analysis classifies activists into one of the three categories according to the motivations they offer behind their initial or continuing political involvement, and then examines the social and political characteristics associated with each motivational type. By contrast, the intent here is to search for between-sample differences in perceptions about the parties and the League, in terms of the incentives to participation they are seen to offer. Clark and Wilson's (1961) typology was slightly modified and rephrased in the questionnaires: specifically, the material incentive was labeled "financial attractions, such as the chance to make business contacts"; the solidary incentive was called "social attractions, such as meeting and making friends"; and the purposive incentive was called "achievement attractions, such as working on projects that matter." Under each incentive, the respondents were asked how important the attraction was for the League of Women Voters and then for the political parties. Their answers were recoded to show whether the incentive was more important to the League, equally important to both organizations, or more important to the parties.

Due to their high level of political involvement, larger percentages of the high activists are expected to describe membership in the League and the parties as easily obtained. The high activists are also hypothesized to find fewer differences between

the incentive systems of the two types of organizations, because of their first-hand knowledge that people join and continue participating in political organizations, like most social groups, for a variety of reasons. The few women in the low activist sample who had personal experience in the League of Women Voters or the political parties were dropped from the study; the low activists' responses on all five variables, therefore, reflect the popular stereotypes concerning these organizations among women.

Looking first at the two membership variables, presented in Table 16, the responses of the low activists are significantly different from those of the high activists only on the League question. Fifty-one percent of the low activists but 79 percent of the high activists describe the League as an easy organization to join; eighteen percent and 1 percent, respectively, perceive membership to be difficult, results consistent with our hypothesis. Approximately 40 percent of both samples report that political parties are somewhat easy to join, counter to our hypothesis, and the low activists are in fact more sanguine about membership than are the highly active women.

In terms of the incentives which voluntary organizations may be perceived to offer, over half of the low activists saw no differences between the League and the political parties on each of the achievement, social, and financial dimensions. Over half of the high activists likewise agreed that both organizations offer the same opportunities for social gratification. Significant

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON PERCEPTIONS OF
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Ease of joining the League of Women Voters			
Very easy	51	79	$\chi^2=14.21$
Somewhat easy	31	20	$p < .01$
Not easy at all	18	1	$\gamma = .58$
	(n=55)	(n=66)	
Ease of Joining a Political Party			
Very easy	41	33	$\chi^2 = 1.80$
Somewhat easy	41	39	ns
Not easy at all	18	28	$\gamma = - .18$
	(n=93)	(n=51)	
Achievement Incentives			
LWV offer more	20	47	$\chi^2=18.22$
No difference	75	43	$p < .01$
Parties offer more	5	10	
	(n=122)	(n=60)	
Social Incentives			
LWV offer more	16	18	$\chi^2 = 3.06$
No difference	67	55	ns
Parties offer more	17	27	
	(n=125)	(n=60)	
Financial Incentives			
LWV offer more	4	3	$\chi^2 = 9.74$
No difference	55	31	$p < .01$
Parties offer more	41	66	
	(n=118)	(n=58)	

sample differences appear on the achievement incentive item, with 47 percent of the high but only 20 percent of the low activists perceiving the League to be more achievement-oriented than the parties. The high activists also report significantly more often (66 percent versus 41 percent of the low activists) that the promise of financial rewards draws more people to party work than to League membership. The popular stereotypes about these organizations reflected in the low activists' responses see little difference between them.

The correlation matrices shown in Table 17 provide some insight into the two samples. There was a strong tendency ($t_b = -.80, p < .01$) for the low activists to perceive the League and parties as equally easy or equally difficult to join, as suggested above, probably because they had little information. The high activists were less likely to see their organizations' membership policies as identical ($t_b = -.22, ns$). The correlations between the three incentive system variables are not particularly strong. Financial and achievement incentives are negatively correlated within both samples ($t_b = -.18, p < .05$, for the low and $t_b = -.30, p < .05$ for the high activists), meaning that one organization (usually the League) was perceived to offer achievement incentives while the other was seen to hold financial appeal for its members. Similarly, achievement and social incentives were perceived as mutually exclusive by the high activists ($t_b = -.25, p < .05$) but not by the low activist women.

TABLE 17

RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF
THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND THE PARTIES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Ease of Joining the League	Ease of Joining the Parties	Achievement Incentives	Social Incentives
Low Activists				
Ease of Joining the Parties (n)	-.80** (47)			
Achievement Incentives (n)	-.21 (41)	.02 (71)		
Social Incentives (n)	-.29* (41)	-.01 (71)	.14 (120)	
Financial Incentives (n)	.10 (39)	.06 (66)	-.18* (113)	.14 (120)
High Activists				
Ease of Joining the Parties (n)	-.22 (41)			
Achievement Incentives (n)	-.01 (53)	-.02 (40)		
Social Incentives (n)	.29* (52)	-.23 (40)	-.25* (58)	
Financial Incentives (n)	.17 (50)	-.09 (39)	-.30* (57)	-.25* (58)

*p < .05

**p < .01

The next cluster of variables deals with the respondent's attitudes toward politics in general and women's participation in particular. The items test the importance of several assumed explanations for the lack of women in politically responsible positions. A biological explanation was implied in the item "Women by nature are unsuited to politics." Explanations relying more heavily on socialization pressures were captured in three items: "More women would become active in politics if they didn't have to compete with men," "Family responsibilities have kept more women from participating in politics," and "Women are taught not to want to be active in politics." The high activists are expected to view participation as a natural behavior for women which, to the extent that it violates any normative prohibitions at all, ignores social pressures to leave the political arena to men. The high activists are hypothesized to agree more with both socialization items and to be less sympathetic to the biologically-based explanations, than will the low activists. A perception of the political system as necessarily conflictual, "Politics too often turns into no-holds-barred-fights," was the first of three

items which blame the system for women's level of participation. The item is based upon Rokkan's (1959) discussion of orientation to party conflict as an important participation variable. A second item contends that women do have political clout but the system hides it: "While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and have more influence than they're given credit for." The belief that women's low public status is coupled with hidden social, political, and economic power is a popular one, especially among anti-feminists. The greater familiarity of the high activists with everyday politics will lead them, it is hypothesized, to see less conflict and to report that women in fact hold little political power "behind the scenes" than will the low activists. The third item in the system-blaming set, and the last in the conceptual subcluster of attitudes toward women and politics, is based upon the research of Katz and Piret (1964).

Empirical evidence on the extent of political apathy in the United States, whether measured by behavioral or attitudinal indicators, has led to a search for forms of political participation outside the temporal constraints of elections and outside the structural constraints of voluntary organizations. Analysts of public opinion polls have noticed a rise in the level of support for the President following catastrophic political events for which he may or may not have shared responsibility. Katz and Piret (1964) have conceptualized this phenomenon as a form of "circuitous

participation in politics" in which the citizen seizes the opportunity presented by the poll-taker in times of national concern to voice solidarity with the President rather than to criticize his performance. The final item in Table 18, suggesting that one's response to a political poll is equivalent to an election-day vote, was designed to detect support for the idea of circuitous participation, and the heavily involved high activists are expected to agree with the item less often than will the low activist women.

Four of these items were taken from the Convention Delegate Study conducted at the Institute for Social Research and described in Chapter II. Similar proportions of women and men political elites in that study agreed that family responsibilities keep women from participating in politics and that women hold hidden political power. The women delegates supported more heavily the statement that women are socialized away from politics (73 percent versus 65 percent of the men) and disagreed with the statement on women's natural unsuitability (91 percent disagreed versus 83 percent of the men). These gender contrasts, while quite small, are among political elites and our interest lies in the different levels of agreement between women with differing levels of political involvement. None of the studies paralleling this one tested similar items.

As the statistics in Table 18 show, only three of the attitudinal items successfully distinguish between the samples.

TABLE 18
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
AGREEMENT WITH ITEMS ON WOMEN AND POLITICS

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Women by nature are unsuited to politics.	20 (n=177)	15 (n=80)	$\chi^2=0.84$ ns Q=- .17
More women would become active in politics if they didn't have to compete with men.	33 (n=174)	26 (n=77)	$\chi^2=1.35$ ns Q=- .18
Family responsibilities have kept most women from participating in politics.	80 (n=177)	74 (n=81)	$\chi^2=1.01$ ns Q=- .16
Women are taught not to want to be active in politics.	41 (n=175)	61 (n=79)	$\chi^2=8.40$ p < .01 Q= .38
Politics too often turns into no-holds-barred fights.	79 (n=168)	64 (n=78)	$\chi^2=6.35$ p < .05 Q=- .36
While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and have more influence than they're given credit for.	86 (n=173)	85 (n=79)	$\chi^2=0.02$ ns Q=- .03
If a newspaper poll-taker asked me how well I thought the President was doing his job, I'd feel that my opinion was the same thing as a vote at election time.	49 (n=174)	34 (n=80)	$\chi^2=5.07$ p < .05 Q=- .30

As hypothesized, the high activists were significantly less in agreement with the proposition that "politics too often turns into no-holds-barred fights" (64 percent agreed versus 79 percent of the low activists). A significantly larger proportion of the high activists, as expected, agreed that women are taught that politics is an inappropriate activity for them (61 percent versus 41 percent of the low activists). The circuitous participation item was hypothesized to show the high activists to be less willing to equate the response to a political poll-taker with an election vote: forty-nine percent of the lows but only 34 percent of the high activists saw the two acts as equal. The empirical correlations linking the variables in this conceptual cluster are presented in Table 19. Among the low activists, the items on women fearing competition with men and women taught not to like politics, the two socialization explanations, are the only ones to produce a significant tau-b coefficient ($t_b = .30$, $p < .01$); this correlation is near zero in the other sample. Only three correlations reach the significance level among the high activists: politics is a fight and women have demanding family responsibilities ($t_b = .27$, $p < .05$), politics is a fight and women are influential behind the scenes ($t_b = .28$, $p < .05$), and women are taught not to like politics and women are by nature unsuited ($t_b = -.31$, $p < .01$). This last coefficient shows that the socialization and biological explanations of women's political involvement are perceived as antithetical by the high activists; this correlation is near zero among the low activists.

TABLE 19
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN ITEMS
ON WOMEN AND POLITICS, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Women by Nature Unsuited	Politics a Fight	Compete with Men	Family Responsibilities	Taught Not To Like Politics	Influential behind the Scenes
Low Activists						
Politics a Fight (n)	.01 (168)					
Compete with Men (n)	-.02 (174)	.13 (168)				
Family Responsibilities (n)	.08 (176)	.03 (168)	.11 (174)			
Taught Not To Like Politics (n)	.01 (175)	.14 (168)	.30** (173)	.08 (175)		
Influential Behind the Scenes (n)	.12 (173)	.04 (165)	-.02 (171)	.07 (173)	-.06 (172)	
Pol1-taker (n)	.01 (174)	.02 (165)	.11 (171)	.13 (173)	-.01 (172)	.08 (171)

**p < .01

TABLE 19 (Continued)

Sample	Women by Nature Unsuited	Politics a Fight	Compete with Men	Family Responsibilities	Taught Not To Like Politics	Influential behind the Scenes
High Activists						
Politics a Fight (n)	.10 (77)					
Compete with Men (n)	-.09 (76)	-.04 (74)				
Family Responsibilities (n)	.01 (80)	.27* (78)	-.04 (77)			
Taught Not To Like Politics (n)	-.31** (78)	-.01 (76)	-.04 (76)	.01 (79)		
Influential behind the Scenes (n)	-.02 (78)	.28* (77)	.26* (75)	.24 (79)	.11 (77)	
Poll-taker (n)	-.01 (79)	.02 (78)	-.07 (76)	.01 (80)	-.15 (78)	-.08 (78)

*p < .05

**p < .01

In addition to the respondents' opinions on specific aspects of women's participation in politics just discussed, an attempt was made to capture their more abstract orientations to politics. One concept long-employed in political behavior research is that of political ideology (Robinson, Rusk and Head, 1968). The women were asked to describe their political views as liberal, moderate or conservative in orientation. When asked the same question, Kruschke's (1963) Politicals labeled themselves as liberals significantly more often than did the Apolitical women. Wells and Smeal (1974) used party identification as their measure of political orientation and found it unrelated to support for women in politics. The second item in this conceptual set is drawn from Tavris' (1971) research on popular images of, and attitudes toward, the women's liberation movement. The respondents were asked to indicate whether they favored, opposed, or had mixed feelings about the movement in general. While all of the community organization actives and inactives studied by McCourt (1975) were quick to dissociate themselves from the movement, the actives in fact voice a more conservative stance on sex roles. The expectation that politically active women would hold more feminist attitudes than would women voters led Wells and Smeal (1974) to construct an index of political outgroup consciousness; both of their samples scored at similar levels.

Table 20 presents the data testing these hypotheses and shows there to be significant sample differences in the hypothesized

TABLE 20
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
POLITICAL AND FEMINIST IDEOLOGY

Variable	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Political Ideology			
Liberal	32	55	$\chi^2=12.37$
Moderate	46	30	$p < .01$
Conservative	22	15	$\gamma = .35$
	(n=173)	(n=80)	
Attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement			
Favorable	33	49	$\chi^2= 9.69$
Neutral	32	33	$p < .01$
Opposed	35	17	$\gamma = .33$
	(n=174)	(n=81)	

direction on both items. The high activists described themselves as politically liberal significantly more often (55 percent versus 32 percent of the low activists) and as favorably inclined toward the women's liberation movement (49 percent versus 33 percent of the low activists). These two ideological items have been assumed to be conceptually related; empirical support for this assumption is provided in Table 21, which shows tau-b correlation coefficients significant at the $p < .01$ level within both samples.

Sense of political efficacy was measured with the standard four items developed at the Survey Research Center at Michigan (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954; Robinson, Rusk and Head, 1968). The wording of the items is given in Table 22. Although the four items are usually combined into one index and respondents categorized as having a relatively weak or relatively strong sense of political efficacy, the items have been used singly (Flora and Lynn, 1974) to indicate the entire concept. That this is unsound epistemologically is suggested by other researchers who have argued that the items ought to be split into two pairs (Balch, 1974) or one item discarded and three retained (Converse, 1972). Asher (1974) goes further to question the reliability and validity of the individual items and thus of any index based upon them.

The efficacy index endorsed by Converse (1972) is contained in his discussion of the increasing levels of American education and the rise and fall of political involvement, variously

TABLE 21
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
IDEOLOGY ITEMS, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Political Ideology
Low Activists	
Attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement (n)	.38** (167)
High Activists	
Attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement (n)	.45** (80)

**p < .01

measured. He examines the trends in responses to the four items over the 1952-1968 period and points out how the second, third and fourth items move together, with disagreement peaking at about 1960 and a declining sense of political efficacy evident over the following eight years. In contrast, disagreement with the first, "voting only way," item increased gradually between 1952 and 1966 and rose sharply from 1966 to 1968 as new, extra-electoral forms of political participations--sit-ins, marches and demonstrations--became popular. With the empirical evidence before us, Converse suggests that at least two, conceptually distinct components underlie the efficacy items. The first component, "personal feelings of political competence," taps the individual's faith in her ability to influence politics; the second, "trust in system responsiveness," taps the perception of the political system as sensitive to citizen input. He sees the second, "politics too complicated," item as clearly measuring the first component. The system responsiveness component is measured by the third ("officials don't care") and fourth ("no say in government") items. The "voting only way" item falls somewhere between the two components and thus should be dropped from any index because of its conceptual and empirical deviance. The remaining three items convey a "generic sense of political efficacy" (1972:329).

In his analysis of the responses of Midwestern college students and several national samples to the four efficacy items,

Balch (1974) comes to perceive the same conceptual distinction as did Converse, but his final indices of sense of political efficacy are different. He first shows that the inter-item correlations are weak, with the exception of the association between the third and fourth ones. He then correlates each item with measures of political interest, political knowledge, and political participation, and finds that items one ("voting only way") and two ("politics too complicated") consistently and positively correlate with these indicators of political involvement. When the items are run against measures of political trust and the propensity to engage in protest behavior, the first and second items continue to behave in tandem and the third ("officials don't care") and fourth ("no say in government") now appear to as well, and the pairs are slightly negatively related to each other. Balch concludes that the standard political efficacy scale built upon all four items must be decomposed into two separate but related dimensions. The first, measured by the first and second items jointly, concerns the individual's belief that means of influencing the political system are available. This is very similar to Converse's personal competence component and is labelled "internal efficacy" by Balch. The second dimension likewise parallels Converse's system responsiveness component but is termed "external efficacy" by Balch and is measured by the third and fourth items in combination.

As the statistics in Table 22 show, the low activist women agree with each efficacy item significantly more often than do the

TABLE 22
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Efficacy Measure	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
<u>Item 1</u>			
Voting is the only way that people like me have any say about how the government runs things.	(n=175)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=43.05$ $p < .01$ $Q = .77$
Agree	60	16	
Disagree	40	84	
<u>Item 2</u>			
Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	(n=177)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=12.35$ $p < .01$ $Q = .45$
Agree	74	52	
Disagree	26	48	
<u>Item 3</u>			
I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.	(n=175)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=19.47$ $p < .01$ $Q = .55$
Agree	62	32	
Disagree	38	68	
<u>Item 4</u>			
People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	(n=175)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=37.95$ $p < .01$ $Q = .79$
Agree	51	11	
Disagree	49	89	

TABLE 22
(Continued)

Efficacy Measure	Low Activists %	High Activists %	
<u>Internal Efficacy (Items 1 and 2)</u>	(n=175)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=40.31$ $p < .01$ $Q=.77$
Low	57	15	
High	43	85	
<u>External Efficacy (Items 3 and 4)</u>	(n=173)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=25.48$ $p < .01$ $Q=.61$
Low	65	31	
High	35	69	
<u>Generic Sense of Efficacy (Items 2, 3 and 4)</u>	(n=173)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=27.57$ $p < .01$ $Q=.64$
Low	61	26	
High	39	74	
<u>Standard Political Efficacy Scale (All 4 Items)</u>	(n=172)	(n=81)	$\chi^2=42.90$ $p < .01$ $Q=.74$
Low	70	26	
High	30	74	

high activists, as hypothesized, and thus have a weaker sense of political efficacy. The Q coefficients indicate that the samples are most similar on the "politics too complicated" item, but even here the relationship between response and sample reaches only the $Q = -.45$ level. And as logic would dictate, each of the four efficacy indices distinguishes between the samples to a statistically significant degree. The inescapable conclusion is that the high activists evidence a stronger sense of political efficacy whether that concept is measured by separate items, by indices focusing upon personal political competence or belief in system responsiveness, or by indices which blur this distinction. It is important theoretically to know whether the high activists' efficacious feelings derive from successful experiences in the political arena or whether the system of beliefs they have constructed to rationalize their continued expenditure of time and energy props up an otherwise sagging sense of efficacy. Unfortunately, the study had neither the longitudinal design nor the intensive questioning to address this point.

The rank-order correlation coefficients between pairs of efficacy variables are presented in Table 23. As Converse (1972) and Balch (1974) found, the correlation between "officials don't care" and "no say in government" was the strongest among the four items for both samples, with $t_b = .40$ ($p < .01$) among the low and $t_b = .43$ ($p < .01$) among the high activists. Contrary to Balch, there is no pattern among the coefficients to indicate that the

TABLE 23
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN SENSE OF
POLITICAL EFFICACY MEASURES, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Voting Is the Only Way	Politics Too Complicated	Officials Don't Care	Have No Say	Internal Efficacy	External Efficacy	Generic Efficacy
Low Activists							
Politics Too Complicated (n)	.16* (175)						
Officials Don't Care (n)	.16* (173)	.10 (175)					
Have No Say (n)	.12 (174)	.17* (175)	.40** (173)				
Internal Efficacy (n)	.75** (175)	.47** (175)	.14 (173)	.14 (174)			
External Efficacy (n)	.28** (172)	.20** (173)	.77** (173)	.64** (173)	.26** (172)		

*p < .05

**p < .01

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Sample	Voting Is the Only Way	Politics Too Complicated	Officials Don't Care	Have No Say	Internal Efficacy	External Efficacy	Generic Efficacy
Generic Efficacy (n)	.24** (172)	.42** (173)	.67** (173)	.68** (173)	.34** (172)	.83** (173)	
Efficacy Scale (n)	.49** (172)	.40** (172)	.52** (172)	.57** (172)	.54** (172)	.70** (172)	.75** (172)
High Activists							
Politics Too Complicated (n)	-.05 (81)						
Officials Don't Care (n)	.06 (81)	.29** (81)					
Have No Say (n)	.17 (81)	.10 (81)	.43** (81)				
Internal Efficacy (n)	.58** (81)	.26* (81)	.23* (81)	.18 (81)			

*p < .05

**p < .01

TABLE 23 (Continued)

Sample	Voting Is the Only Way	Politics Too Complicated	Officials Don't Care	Have No Say	Internal Efficacy	External Efficacy	Generic Efficacy
External Efficacy (n)	.07 (81)	.27* (81)	.91** (81)	.53** (81)	.17 (81)		
Generic Efficacy (n)	.05 (81)	.46** (81)	.80** (81)	.51** (81)	.31** (81)	.82** (81)	
Efficacy Scale (n)	.43** (81)	.40** (81)	.56** (81)	.51** (81)	.63** (81)	.58** (81)	.68** (81)

*p < .05

**p < .01

first and second items should be treated as a pair; in fact, each is as highly correlated with the third or fourth item as with each other. The relationship between the internal and external efficacy items is significant only among the low activists ($t_b = .26$, $p < .01$). As would be expected, the other coefficients between indices are statistically significant among both samples because they are based upon one or more common items.

The level of self-esteem, the evaluation of oneself as a relatively competent or incompetent person, is examined in the next conceptual subcluster of attitudes. The items used here were developed by Birnbaum (1971) in the course of her study comparing family-oriented and career-oriented women five years after they graduated with honors from college. Birnbaum identified five separate dimensions of a woman's life as underlying her general level of self-esteem. Because they have achieved positions of political responsibility in a social realm dominated by men, the high activists were hypothesized to have higher levels of self-esteem as measured on the five dimensions and on a general score summarizing all five. As the data in Table 24 show, only three of the six measures hypothesized to produce significant sample differences do. The high activists are significantly more likely than the lows to rate themselves positively on the social dimension (74 percent and 56 percent good or very good respectively) and on the cultural dimension as well (65 percent of the high activists checked good or very good versus 40 percent

TABLE 24
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem Item	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Domestic: cooking, home management			
Very good, good	72	80	$\chi^2 = 1.99$
Average	25	17	ns
Poor, very poor	3	3	$\gamma = .22$
	(n=175)	(n=81)	
Social: poise, ability to handle social situations			
Very good, good	56	74	$\chi^2 = 10.10$
Average	40	20	$p < .01$
Poor, very poor	4	6	$\gamma = .32$
	(n=173)	(n=81)	
Child-care: taking care of, understanding children			
Very good, good	82	84	$\chi^2 = 0.97$
Average	17	14	ns
Poor, very poor	1	2	$\gamma = .05$
	(n=174)	(n=81)	
Cultural: knowledge, appreciation of literature, music, art			
Very good, good	40	65	$\chi^2 = 16.23$
Average	51	32	$p < .01$
Poor, very poor	9	3	$\gamma = .49$
	(n=173)	(n=81)	
Work: intellectual ability, knowledge and experience of things relevant to a job			
Very good, good	78	85	$\chi^2 = 1.53$
Average	20	14	ns
Poor, very poor	2	1	$\gamma = .22$
	(n=173)	(n=81)	
Summed Self-esteem Score			
High	52	67	$\chi^2 = 4.79$
Low	48	33	$p < .05$
	(n=171)	(n=81)	$Q = .30$

of the low activists). But on the attitudes toward one's self in the areas of home management and child-rearing, there are no significant differences; both groups give themselves high grades on these two dimensions. Even on evaluations of their intellectual ability and job-related knowledge, both groups give themselves high marks. The differences on the social and cultural dimensions are sufficiently large to show the high activists to have significantly higher self-esteem on the summed score variable as well. The correlations among the five self-esteem dimensions and the summary score for each sample are given in Table 25. All of the items are fairly highly interrelated, more so among the high than the low activists.

The women's movement has raised anew the classic nature-nurture controversy, this time over the origin and extent of differences between the genders (Maccoby, 1966; Bardwick, 1971; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). The research on gender-role stereotypes provides a good example of how the format of a question can constrain one's results. Many of the earlier studies documenting the existence of stereotypes presented their subjects with lists of personality traits and asked them to specify those traits which characterized women and those which characterized men (Fernberg, 1948; Sherriffs and McKee, 1957). This format precluded responses that a trait was equally attributable to women and men or only slightly more typical of one gender. Later researchers saw gender differences to be a matter of degree and constructed bipolar scales for each trait,

TABLE 25
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
SELF-ESTEEM ITEMS, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Domestic	Social	Child-care	Cultural	Work
Low Activists					
Social (n)	.23** (173)				
Child-care (n)	.28** (174)	.11 (172)			
Cultural (n)	.05 (173)	.25** (172)	-.03 (172)		
Work (n)	.13 (173)	.21** (172)	.12 (172)	.16* (173)	
Self-esteem Score (n)	.37** (171)	.54** (171)	.31** (171)	.37** (171)	.37** (171)
High Activists					
Social (n)	.26* (81)				
Child-care (n)	.20 (81)	.35** (81)			
Cultural (n)	.02 (81)	.34** (81)	.40** (81)		
Work (n)	.04 (81)	.37** (81)	.28** (81)	.37** (81)	
Self-esteem Score (n)	.38** (81)	.58** (81)	.54** (81)	.48** (81)	.51** (81)

*p < .05

**p < .01

with one gender at each end, enabling respondents to indicate the magnitude of difference, if any, between the genders (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz, 1972). But this methodological refinement failed to confront the critical question of validity - are respondents indicating what they believe to be statistically true based on their experience or are they relying upon preconceived notions about how women and men should differ which prevent them from perceiving individual variations should they be encountered, i.e., are they stereotyping? Further, we would like to know whether the differences indicated are attributed to genetic and therefore immutable factors or whether they stem from socio-cultural learning and may change over time.

In the belief that the second objection was more important than the first, Tavris (1971) constructed a set of gender-role stereotyping items which required each respondent to indicate whether a given personality trait was more characteristics of "most women" or "most men" by checking one of three responses: no difference between men and women, women more than men, or men more than women. The instructions did not specify whether the referent population was the men and women the respondent knew personally or the genders more generally, because the critical comparison was to be between respondents who found differences and those who did not. Following the list of traits, respondents who found one or more differences were asked to attribute that difference to biological (or genetic) or cultural (or learned)

factors. Tavris analyzed her data in terms of the number of gender differences perceived and their attributed basis. This approach to gender-role stereotyping was closely followed in the present study, though with a bit more attention to the specific traits.

The assumption underlying the use of Tavris' (1971) items in this study holds that the tendency to divide the social world into masculine and feminine domains would be less likely among a group of women who have ventured into the visibly masculine arena of politics. The fact that the high activist women qualified for selection into the study implies that they do not share the stereotype of men alone possessing the traits necessary for a successful political career. This tendency should appear as the perception that most traits are equally accurate for both genders, rather than the attribution of traits to one gender or the other. Our hypothesis is that the high activists will do less stereotyping of personality traits than will the low activists and that they will attribute whatever gender differences they do report to cultural rather than the genetic factors favored by the low activists. Belief that no differences exist, or that differences do appear but are not genetic in nature, is a belief that equality between the genders can, and perhaps should, be achieved in the political sphere as well as others. By contrast, a belief in the genetic basis of gender differences implies that equality is highly unlikely and perhaps unnatural as well.

As the data in Table 26 indicate, the low and high activists differ significantly in their perception of only three traits, and

TABLE 26
COMPARISON OF LOW AND HIGH ACTIVIST SAMPLES ON
GENDER STEREOTYPING OF PERSONALITY TRAITS

Personality Trait	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Moody			
Women more than men	32	19	$\chi^2=11.58$
No difference	52	74	$p < .01$
Men more than women	16	7	
	(n=165)	(n=81)	
Competitive socially			
Women more than men	60	55	$\chi^2= 4.39$
No difference	32	42	ns
Men more than women	8	3	
	(n=164)	(n=78)	
Competitive occupationally			
Women more than men	4	5	$\chi^2= 1.19$
No difference	31	24	ns
Men more than women	65	71	
	(n=163)	(n=78)	
Intelligent			
Women more than men	7	2	$\chi^2= 2.07$
No difference	88	94	ns
Men more than women	5	4	
	(n=165)	(n=80)	
Helpful			
Women more than men	41	32	$\chi^2= 2.44$
No difference	53	63	ns
Men more than women	6	5	
	(n=165)	(n=79)	
Sensual			
Women more than men	35	22	$\chi^2=10.50$
No difference	55	75	$p < .01$
Men more than women	10	3	
	(n=158)	(n=77)	
Talkative			
Women more than men	44	30	$\chi^2=10.76$
No difference	48	69	$p < .01$
Men more than women	8	1	
	(n=165)	(n=79)	

TABLE 26
(continued)

Personality Trait	Low Activists %	High Activists %	statistics
Dependent			
Women more than men	55	55	$\chi^2=1.11$
No difference	35	39	ns
Men more than women	10 (n=167)	6 (n=80)	
Dominant			
Women more than men	13	5	$\chi^2=4.53$
No difference	34	44	ns
Men more than women	53 (n=163)	51 (n=80)	
Number of Trait Differences Perceived			
None	5	11	$\chi^2=7.46$
One or two	11	17	ns
Three or four	33	37	$\gamma = -.30$
Five or more	51 (n=149)	35 (n=75)	
Basis for Differences Perceived			
Biological, or genetic factors	22	20	$\chi^2=0.01$
Cultural, or learned factors	73	74	ns
Both factors important	5 (n=156)	6 (n=70)	$\lambda_b = .01^*$

*Because of its formula, the value of lambda-b is usually lower than a gamma coefficient calculated for the same table.

these are perhaps the least politically relevant ones. The low activists aver either that women are more moody, sensual and talkative than men, or that men exhibit these traits more than do women; as hypothesized, significantly larger proportions of high activists claim to see no gender differences. For those personality traits which may have political value, high percentages of both samples perceive men as more dominant and competitive occupationally, see women as more helpful and competitive socially, and find no gender difference on intelligence. Also, both samples are equally convinced that women are more dependent than are men. The two groups perceive about the same number of gender differences and both lean strongly toward a non-biological explanation, with 70 percent and 67 percent of the low and high activists respectively attributing the differences to learned or culturally-derived factors. The intercorrelations among the gender trait items are presented in Table 27. The impression they give is of relatively little covariation. The high activists, however, are more likely to respond to traits in patterned ways; for example, those who stereotype women as more dependent than men almost unanimously agree that men are more dominant than women ($t_b = -.54$, $p .05$). But in general, the coefficients are quite low.

THE EFFECTS OF CONTROLLING FOR INCOME

Most studies of political behavior have found socioeconomic status to be a strong predictor of political participation

TABLE 27
RANK-ORDER CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN
PERSONALITY TRAITS, BY SAMPLE

Sample	Moody	Competitive Socially	Competitive Occupationally	Intelligent	Helpful	Sensual	Talkative	Dependent
Low Activists								
Competitive Socially (n)	-.02 (162)							
Competitive Occupationally (n)	-.02 (161)	-.21** (162)						
Intelligent (n)	-.24** (163)	.05 (161)	.11 (160)					
Helpful (n)	-.05 (163)	.01 (161)	-.06 (160)	.12 (163)				
Sensual (n)	.13 (158)	-.06 (156)	.02 (155)	.20** (158)	.10 (156)			
Talkative (n)	.06 (163)	.29** (161)	-.10 (160)	-.08 (162)	.01 (162)	-.13 (156)		
Dependent (n)	.17* (165)	.05 (163)	-.08 (162)	-.09 (164)	.12 (164)	-.04 (158)	.12 (165)	
Dominant (n)	.01 (162)	.06 (160)	.06 (159)	.03 (161)	-.12 (161)	.06 (156)	-.08 (161)	-.31** (163)

*p < .05
**p < .01

TABLE 27 (Continued)

Sample	Moody	Competitive Socially	Competitive Occupationally	Intelligent	Helpful	Sensual	Talkative	Dependent
High Activists								
Competitive Socially (n)	.07 (78)							
Competitive Occupationally (n)	-.14 (78)	-.30** (78)						
Intelligent (n)	-.09 (80)	.19 (78)	-.10 (78)					
Helpful (n)	-.18 (79)	.05 (78)	-.05 (78)	.26* (79)				
Sensual (n)	.19 (77)	.02 (75)	-.07 (75)	-.32** (77)	.14 (76)			
Talkative (n)	.19 (79)	.01 (78)	.07 (78)	-.29* (79)	.07 (79)	.40** (76)		
Dependent (n)	.29** (80)	-.03 (78)	-.27* (78)	-.22* (80)	.02 (79)	.06 (77)	.11 (79)	
Dominant (n)	-.09 (80)	-.08 (78)	.07 (78)	-.09 (80)	-.15 (79)	-.05 (77)	-.03 (79)	-.54** (80)

*p < .05

**p < .01

(Milbrath, 1965:114-128), with the more affluent citizens having the time, money and education necessary for a deep involvement in political affairs. Few of these studies, however, have moved beyond the zero-order relationships to examine participation factors with controls for socioeconomic status in effect. This data set afforded an opportunity for just such an analysis. Based upon the relevant literature and the data in Table 6 showing the importance of socioeconomic status as an antecedent variable distinguishing between the two activist groups, it seemed plausible that some of the variables discussed earlier in this chapter which were found to discriminate between the samples to a statistically significant degree functioned so as artifacts of status. Additionally, perhaps several of the variables which failed to distinguish between the two samples are strongly related to both status and level of activism, such that a control for status would make the other relationship apparent. To explore the relationships among socioeconomic status, sample, and the predictor variables discussed earlier in this chapter, the bivariate chi-squares and correlation coefficients between the latter two types of variables were rerun with controls for income in effect. Family income was chosen as the indicator of socioeconomic status because it measures financial resources, such as the means to hire baby-sitters and household help, particularly conducive to the general social and political participation of women (Booth, 1972). Family income in 1972 was collapsed into three categories. The low income category ranged

from zero to \$14,999 a year (n=91 low and 14 high activists). The medium income level was from \$15,000 to \$19,999 (n=35 low and 22 high activists). The high income category included respondents with family incomes of \$20,000 or more a year (n=37 low and 40 high activists). Although these categories are not of equal intervals, this classification is the only one to produce sufficient numbers of cases at all three levels for the controlled analysis to proceed.

The impact of controlling for income upon the zero-order relationships between level of activism and each of the variables discussed in this chapter is measured in two ways. For the majority of variables, which are ordinal, the impact may be seen in the difference between the zero-order gammas, presented in the earlier tables, and net partial gammas, calculated across the three tables corresponding to the three income levels. Both statistics are displayed in Table 28. The remaining variables test non-monotonic hypotheses, and the appropriate statistics paralleling gamma and net partial gamma are the percentage difference and the net weighted percentage difference. As an example of the latter type of variable, the high activists were hypothesized in Table 14 as more likely than the low activists to perceive no difference in the strength of the political parties in their communities. In fact, only 7 percent of the high activists, versus 25 percent of the low activists, reported equal party strength, producing a percentage difference of -18 percent (the negative sign indicating that the data ran counter to the

TABLE 28

ZERO-ORDER GAMMAS AND NET PARTIAL-GAMMAS, CONTROLLING FOR INCOME,
BETWEEN LEVEL OF ACTIVISM AND THE STUDY VARIABLES, BY TABLE

Table	γ	Net Partial γ
Table 6		
Level of Education	.60	.59
Respondent's		
Occupation	.59	.40
Husband's Occupation	.68	.56
Table 8		
Age	.13	.11
Marital Status	.65	.64
Number of Children	.20	.10
Number of Types of		
Organizational		
Memberships	.82	.73
Table 10		
Mother Employed	.16	.15
Mother's Political		
Activity	.08	.08
Father's Political		
Activity	.17	.14
Husband's Political		
Activity	.36	.42
Table 12		
Size of Community		
of Origin	-.06	-.12
Duration of Residence	-.15	-.11

TABLE 28
(continued)

Table	γ	Net Partial γ
Table 14		
Party Competition, by Party	-.18%	-6%*
Degree of Competition	-.46	-.54
Partisanship of Elections	-.47	-.40
Table 16		
Ease of Joining the League	.58	.55
Ease of Joining a Party	-.18	-.34
Achievement Incentives	-.32%	-35%*
Social Incentives	-.12%	-15%*
Financial Incentives	-.24%	-30%*
Table 18		
Women by Nature		
Unsuited	-.17	-.24
Politics a fight	-.36	-.32
Compete with Men	-.18	-.17
Family Responsibilities	-.16	-.19
Taught Not To Like Politics	.38	.47
Influential behind the Scenes	-.03	.16
Poll-taker	-.30	-.39

* The hypothesized relationship is non-monotonic, making gamma an inappropriate measure of association. In the zero-order case, the figure of interest is a percentage difference; in the controlled analysis, it is the net effect after controlling for income.

TABLE 28
(continued)

Table	γ	Net Partial γ
Table 20		
Political Ideology	.35	.45
Attitude toward Women's Liberation Movement	.33	.37
Table 22		
Voting Only Way Politics Too	-.77	-.77
Complicated	-.45	-.31
Officials Don't Care	-.55	-.48
Have No Say	-.79	-.67
Internal Efficacy	.77	.77
External Efficacy	.61	.54
Generic Efficacy	.64	.57
Efficacy Scale	.74	.68
Table 24		
Self-esteem: Domestic	.22	.26
Self-esteem: Social	.32	.26
Self-esteem: Child-care	.05	-.06
Self-esteem: Cultural	.49	.29
Self-esteem: Work	.22	.09
Summed Score	.30	.24
Table 26		
Moody	22%	13%*
Competitive Socially	10%	9%*
Competitive Occupationally	- 7%	-12%*
Intelligent	6%	5%*
Helpful	10%	15%*

*The hypothesized relationship is non-monotonic, making gamma an inappropriate measure of association. In the zero-order case, the figure of interest is a percentage difference; in the controlled analysis, it is the net effect after controlling for income.

TABLE 28
(continued)

Table	γ	Net Partial γ
Table 26 (cont.)		
Sensual	20%	15%*
Talkative	21%	21%*
Dependent	4%	7%*
Dominant	10%	5%*
Number of trait Differences	-.30	-.30
Basis for Differences	- 3%	- 2%*

*The hypothesized relationship is non-monotonic, making gamma an inappropriate measure of association. In the zero-order case, the figure of interest is a percentage difference; in the controlled analysis, it is the net effect after controlling for income.

hypothesis). With income controlled, the net weighted percentage difference shrinks to -6 percent. A review of the statistics in the earlier tables shows that gamma and Q coefficients of approximately .20 or larger are associated with statistically significant chi-squares, so that level is used as the threshold for significance in this discussion.

The first stage of the reanalysis focused upon a list of the thirty-two variables (excluding income)² which had distinguished between the two samples of women to a statistically significant degree to see whether those differences remained after controlling for family income. Surprisingly, only one of these variables fell below the .20 level. The high activists were hypothesized and shown in Table 8 to have a significantly larger number of children than the low activists, because they are older and their families more often are complete. As Table 28 indicates, the zero-order gamma between level of activism and number of children was .20; with a control for income, the coefficient drops to .10 and the relationship is revealed to be

²The thirty-two variables, grouped according to table, are as follows: socioeconomic (education, respondent's and husband's occupations); life-cycle (marital status, number of children, number of types of organizational memberships); role models (level of husband's political activity); political context (party competition, by party and by degree, partisanship of local elections); organizations in the political environment (ease of joining the League, achievement and financial incentives); attitudes toward women and politics (politics a fight, taught not to like politics, poll-taker); ideology (political, attitude toward women's liberation movement); sense of political efficacy (voting only way, politics too complicated, officials don't care, have no say, internal efficacy, external efficacy, generic efficacy, efficacy scale); self-esteem (social, cultural, score); and gender stereotyping of traits (moody, sensual, talkative).

near zero within the low and high income groups. As stated earlier, the critical factor may be the ages of the children rather than their number. For women in the lower and upper income groups, having large families constitutes neither an inducement nor an obstacle to political involvement; for women in the middle income group, large families are associated with activism. At the higher income level, the financial ability to hire baby-sitters, to send children to private schools at an early age, and to secure help for many domestic duties may have enabled the women to establish patterns of social involvement before the birth of their children which changed little as the family grew larger. For women in the lower income group, responsibility for prudent home management may have begun soon after marriage and continues until all the children have left the home. These women are also more likely to work, leaving them even less free time for political participation. Only the middle-income women continue to show the hypothesized correlation between larger and older families and higher political activism.

In the second stage of the controlled analysis, the twenty-three variables³ which had not given rise to significant differences

³The twenty-three variables, grouped according to table, are as follows: life-cycle (age); role models (mother employed, levels of mother's and father's political activity); community characteristics (size of community of origin, duration of residence); organizations in the political environment (ease of joining a party, social incentives); attitudes toward women and politics (women by nature unsuited, competition with men, family responsibilities, influential behind the scenes); self-esteem (domestic, child-care, work); and gender-stereotyped traits (competitive socially and occupationally, intelligent, helpful, dependent, dominant, number of differences, perceived basis).

between the low and high activists in the bivariate tables were re-examined to see whether they would once controls for family income were in effect. Two variables did so. Ease of joining a political party produced a gamma of $-.18$ in Table 16, indicating that counter to our hypothesis, a larger proportion of low activists perceived membership in the parties to be easily obtained. With income controlled, the coefficient rises to $-.34$ due to the stronger correlations within the medium and high income groups than within the low. The second variable to generate a strong measure of association for the first time is the attitude item which contends that "women by nature are unsuited to politics," which increased from $\gamma = -.17$ in the bivariate analysis to a net partial $\gamma = -.24$. The high activists were expected to disagree with this biological interpretation of women's political participation more strongly than the low activists; while they did so in Table 18, only in the controlled analysis does the Q coefficient pass the $.20$ threshold. This is due to the much larger difference between the samples at the middle income level than at the other income levels. It is surprising that the middle income level high activists disagreed with this statement considerably more often than did their high income counterparts. One variable from this list of twenty-three dropped below the $.20$ level with a control for income, but the item on self-esteem in work-related areas was not associated with a significant chi-square value in Table 24.

The general conclusion supported by these analyses is that a control for socioeconomic status, as measured by family income, changes few of the relationships between level of activism and a variety of background, contextual and attitudinal factors documented earlier in this chapter. The financial resources implied by a high family income appear less important to the political participation of women than many researchers, cited in the discussion of Table 6 and at the beginning of this section, have supposed. Perhaps it is educational experience rather than family income which accounts for many of the significant between-sample differences, differences which would shrink if educational level were controlled. Rather than sheer financial resources, then, it is the wider world view and sense of achievement that accompany educational attainment that may account for many of the differences between the low and high activists samples. This is a prime question for future researchers to investigate.

THE DECISION TO BECOME POLITICALLY ACTIVE

The preceeding analyses in this chapter have documented that women quite deeply involved in politics possess backgrounds, attitudes and perceptions which set them apart from women less politically involved, and that few of these differences are related to socioeconomic status as measured by income. This testing for "correlates of activism" is the standard mode of analysis in political participation research which seeks causal insights from cross-sectional data. But it is possible to phrase questions directly inquiring about the decision to become

politically active or the decision, if indeed there was one, to remain relatively inactive. Items of this sort were included in all forms of the questionnaire.

Table 29 presents the low activists' responses to the question "Why are you not more active in politics than you are now?" If political activity and personal responsibilities are viewed as the poles of an activity continuum, the respondents reported feeling more "pulled" by personal considerations (64 percent) than "pushed" by negative aspects of the political system (20 percent). Only 3 percent said they had chosen not to become more active; thus, there was little indication that the majority of respondents had seriously considered greater political participation as one option for the use of their spare time and consciously elected against it. Only 4 percent of the voters attributed their limited involvement to feeling too uninformed to participate responsibly, and another four percent cited never having been asked to perform more demanding activities. This is in striking contrast to the explanations offered by a group of Democratic Party leaders studied by Lippitt and Sprecher:

There was broad agreement that large numbers of people do not become active simply because they are never asked to do anything, and that many others hold off because they are afraid of taking the first step due to underlying fears that politics is complicated or incomprehensible. (1960:13)

It is understandable why party workers would prefer to perceive voters as a mass of potential recruits, just awaiting the call, rather than a group whose personal priorities take precedence over party loyalty.

TABLE 29

LOW ACTIVISTS' EXPLANATION FOR OWN LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Explanation	Low Activists %
	(n=181)
Personal reasons: time, age, illness, family and business demands	64
Political reasons:	
Too uninformed personally	4
No candidate or party attractive, dislike the current political situation	8
Ideological reasons: politics unimportant, respondent disillusioned	8
Practical reasons:	
Choose not to become active	3
Not interested, more interested in other things	2
Never recruited, no particular reason	4
No answer	8

The previous section of this chapter re-examined the bivariate relationships between level of activism and variety of politically predisposing factors while controlling for socioeconomic status. The explanations in Table 29 were stratified by socioeconomic level to discover whether low activists from high status families offered reasons contrary to those of medium and low status women. No significant differences were present, but fewer high status women cited political reasons and more gave no reason at all.

One study may have immediately sprung to the reader's mind in the midst of this analysis because it is frequently mentioned in discussions of women's political participation and appears relevant here. The study is Merriam and Gosnell's (1924) analysis of explanations Chicago citizens gave for not participating in the mayoral election of 1923. The authors concluded that indifference and inertia were the primary explanations for non-voting among women, although many mentioned home responsibilities, and that physical and legal obstacles faced the non-voting men. Having had the benefit of the Nineteenth Amendment for only four years, it is not surprising that many Chicago women showed little interest in the election's outcome.⁴ The issue here is that while the majority of low activists offered explanations based upon their personal responsibilities, and only a minority of the Chicago non-voting women did so, the obstacles to casting a ballot on a specified

⁴Bourque and Grossholtz (1974) rightly charge Lane (1960) with "fudging the footnotes" for relying upon Merriam and Gosnell's analysis in his discussion of gender differences in contemporary political participation.

day are quite different from perceived demands which rule out deeper political involvement on any day of the year, and thus Merriam and Gosnell's data are not only outdated but not on point.

The low activists were also asked the following: Most people agree that the average citizen isn't active enough in politics. What do you think could be done to make the average citizen become more active?" The responses, as presented in Table 30, are grouped according to whether the citizen or the political system would have to change, if change is possible or desirable at all, although both foci are implied in some answers. Of those responding, more women offered system-blaming suggestions than individual-blaming ones. Taking Tables 29 and 30 together, the low activists justify their limited participation in terms of personal demands and interests which take precedence over political interests; to activate other citizens (and probably themselves as well), the political system must become more responsive, more trustworthy, and more important to them than the citizens' current personal concerns.

The high activists' questionnaires contained two items on initial interest in politics and actual involvement. When asked how they first developed an interest in politics, the high activist women cited the influence of family and friends as most important (35 percent). This was followed, in frequency of mention, by the influences of school and reading (27 percent), the desire to work for specific international, national or local issues (10 percent),

TABLE 30

LOW ACTIVISTS' SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTIVATING THE AMERICAN
CITIZENRY TO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Suggestions	Low Activists %
	(n=181)*
Change the Individual citizen	
Increase feelings of political efficacy	21
Demonstrate how to become involved, what is at issue	9
Change the political system	
Open up the parties and governmental meetings, make officials responsive	21
Provide more benefits to citizens and more control over governmental functioning	7
Decrease size, complexity of government	6
Provide more voter education, emphasis on role of citizens in a democracy	9
Increase honesty among government officials	9
No change necessary or possible	
Politics appeals only to certain kinds of people	4
People not interested, have better things to do	10
Political involvement is accidental	4
Don't know	6
No answer	5

*Multiple responses were coded, so the percentages sum to more than 100 percent.

feelings of responsibility as a citizen (8 percent), and the desire to elect certain candidates (5 percent), with 15 percent giving more idiosyncratic reasons. Considerable literature exists on the development of political interests. One survey of elected committeewomen and committeemen in Manhattan in the 1959-1960 years (Hirschfield, Swanson and Blank, 1962) found the most frequently mentioned motivations to be the desire to change the community and the influence of friends and relatives. Hirschfield, et. al., did not analyze the question by gender of the respondent, but what is suggested is that the high activists were influenced more heavily by school lessons and readings than were Hirschfield's respondents. These readings may have described the American political system and the citizen's role in it or they may have drawn the women's attention to specific issues they felt they could influence, such as the need for community change voiced by McCourt's (1975) women.

The second question addressed to the high activists asked about their reasons for becoming active in the political organizations they did. The variety of responses are given in Table 31 for the combined high activist sample and for the League and party sample separately. The motivations are grouped according to whether they reflect self-generating or outside influences, two of Eldersveld's (1964) categories for analyzing the sources of recruitment to precinct level party work in Wayne County, Michigan, in 1956. He found that 56 percent of his respondents recalled outside influences and only 32 percent gave self-starting

TABLE 31
HIGH ACTIVISTS' REPORTED MOTIVATIONS FOR INITIAL POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Reported Motivations	Combined		
	High Activists %	League Activists %	Party Activists %
Self-generating Forces	(n=71)*	(n=43)*	(n=28)*
Politics a way of life	18	11	28
Anticipate friendships	21	27	10
Wish to influence policy	60	61	59
Sense of community obligation	30	34	24
To learn current issues	78	98	45
To learn town activities	44	51	31
To prepare for political role	3	0	7
Outside Influences			
Personal friendship	25	30	17
Wish to be close to important people	22	30	10
To make business contacts	4	2	7
For community recognition	7	5	10
Was asked	37	32	45

*The items were multiple coded, so the percentages sum to more than 100 percent.

explanations (1964:127). Neither Eldersveld's analysis nor those of the researchers cited below provides separate tallies by the respondent's gender, so it is difficult to know whether gender played any part in generating the differences between those studies and the one here. Nearly the same two categories were used by Conway and Feigert (1968) to classify the motivations to initial party work of party precinct leaders in rural Illinois and suburban Maryland. They found self-generating influences to be mentioned more often. A third study of recruitment to precinct and ward office (Bowman and Boynton, 1966) in non-metropolitan North Carolina and Massachusetts communities did not employ Eldersveld's categories, but when the data are so coded, half of the party workers offered self-generating explanations and half outside ones.

The high activist women, as the data in Table 31 indicate, reported more self-generating forces than outside influences, particularly the desire to understand community issues (mentioned by 78 percent of the women) and the wish to influence public policy (60 percent). The fact of having been asked was the most frequently mentioned outside influence (37 percent). Disaggregating the combined sample into the separate samples reveals that the avowed purpose of the League of Women Voters--to acquaint women with current political issues--was in fact offered more by the League than by the party activists (98 and 45 percent respectively). A larger proportion of party women, on the other hand, reported being asked as the significant motivation for their participation (45 percent versus 32 percent for the League activists).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter has examined in detail the power of a variety of variables, grouped into clusters on conceptual grounds, to distinguish between the samples of politically low and high activist women to a statistically significant degree. The variables were tested in bivariate fashion in the first section of the chapter and then were retested with a control for the level of family income in the second. The results of those two analyses are best summarized by reference to the eleven hypotheses offered in the early pages of this chapter.

(1) The high activists were expected, and found, to have significantly higher socioeconomic status, as measured by their income, education, own and husband's occupations. The differences remained significant even with income controlled.

(2) The high activists were hypothesized to be at a later stage in the life cycle than the low activists, as measured by age, marital status, number of children, and number of types of organizational memberships. Only the age variable failed to produce the expected sample difference in the bivariate analysis. With income level controlled, the tendency of the high activists to have larger families was considerably weakened.

(3) The high activists were hypothesized to have parents and husbands whose behavior was supportive of their own. The

high activists consistently (i.e., in both the bivariate and controlled analyses) reported that their husbands were more deeply involved in politics than did the low activists.

(4) The greater political involvement of the high activists was expected to be due, in part, to their growing up in non-urban areas and having lived longer in their present communities. Neither variable produced significant differences in the bivariate or controlled analyses.

(5) The high activists were expected to perceive their political environments as more competitive and their elections as more nonpartisan than were the low activists. There were significant differences on all three variables, but on party competition coded by degree, the statistically significant relationship was opposite to that hypothesized.

(6) The high activists' familiarity with organizations in their political environment was expected to be apparent in their report that membership in the League of Women Voters and the political parties is easily obtained. The bivariate analysis supported the hypothesis concerning League membership; with income controlled, the low activists reported the parties as easily joined more often than the high activists. The high activists were also expected to see fewer differences between the incentive systems of the League and the parties. In fact, the high activists differentiated between the organizations more clearly than the low activists.

(7) The high activists were expected to favor socialization over biological and system-based explanations of women's level of

political participation, and the hypothesis received some support. Significantly larger percentages of the high activists agreed that "women are taught" that political involvement is inappropriate and disagreed with the items depicting politics as necessarily very conflictive and endorsing circuitous participation. With income controlled, the high activists were also shown to disagree at a higher rate that "women by nature are unsuited to politics."

(8) The high activists were expected to be more ideologically liberal and to favor the women's liberation movement as compared with the low activist sample; the data met that expectation.

(9) The high activists were found, as hypothesized, to have a stronger sense of political efficacy, variously measured.

(10) The high activists were expected to have consistently higher senses of self-esteem, across a range of dimensions. Differences, all in the hypothesized direction, appeared on only two of the dimensions and the summary scale.

(11) The high activists were hypothesized to do less gender-based stereotyping of personality traits than would the low activists. Of nine traits, the low activists attributed only three of them to women or to men, rather than to both, at higher rates than did the high activists.

The central question addressed in this study concerns the social conditions and perceptions that encourage political activism among women. Political activism has been defined in this chapter as holding a position in a political organization, specifically the post of Board member in the League of Women Voters or precinct

delegate in the Democratic and Republican parties, and the question becomes the kinds of backgrounds, perceptions and attitudes which set these active women apart from a sample of women registered voters. The high activists come from relatively enriched backgrounds with educational and occupational experiences and financial resources beyond those of the low activists. Their families more often are complete and their children are older. Their relatively low level of family and work responsibilities allows them to join political and other types of organizations at a greater rate than the low activists. The immediate social support offered by a husband who himself is politically active appears important; parental support provided through role modeling seems much less important. Their political environment is more clearly defined to the high activists--they know local elections are nonpartisan, they depict the League and the parties as quite different organizations, and they see their communities as dominated by one party or the other. Whether asked about politics in general or in their local communities, the high activists report lower levels of conflict than do the low activists. It would be interesting to know whether the high activists' perceptions were the same at the time they joined their political organizations, and thus whether an aversion to political conflict may help explain the behavior of the low activists, or whether the perception grew only after they had first-hand experience with the conduct of politics and the balance of power between their local parties. The high activists identify themselves as liberals and feminists, and in fact they resist seeing social life in rigid

terms of biological differences between the genders. Women who wish to become involved in politics, they contend, must counter not their genetic dispositions but their socialization. And finally, the high activists judge themselves more competent than the low activists in terms of both other women of their age and education and other citizens in the political system. None of these conclusions are seriously challenged by the reanalysis in which the level of family income was controlled.

When asked about the factors which first propelled them into politics, the high activists cited most frequently their desires to learn more about current political issues and to influence public policy. The importance of public issues in drawing the high activists into politics is underscored by the low activists' report that personal demands leave little time for political participation. It is largely a matter of different priorities, but there is a hint of political alienation as well. When asked how the average citizen's political participation could be increased, the low activists mention making the political system more responsive and officials more trustworthy.

In the next chapter, the definition of political activism is changed from one based upon formal organizational position to experience in a political campaign, and the comparisons are drawn within the low and high activist samples separately. Our focus will be upon the ways the profile of the woman political activist drawn above changes with the new definition of activism.

CHAPTER IV

THE CORRELATES OF CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE

In the previous chapter a variety of background, attitudinal, and contextual variables were shown to differentiate between the high activist and low activist women to a statistically significant degree, although many of these differences disappeared or were restricted to one or two strata when a control for socioeconomic status, as measured by family income, was used. The focus of this analysis chapter parallels that of Chapter III but asks a more subtle question: how do women who report experience in political campaigns differ from women who do not, within the separate low and high activist samples. Verba and Nie also look for different participatory styles within a given level of political activism:

The results make clear that one can rank citizens in terms of how active they are, but among activists one also finds citizens who specialize in one mode of activity rather than another. (1972:78)

The topic of this chapter is still political participation, but the outcome variable of interest has changed (see Figure 1) from a relatively rare phenomenon (among women respondents to the 1972 National Election Study, only 4 and 8 percent reported belonging to political organizations and civic groups respectively) to a more frequent activity (28 percent of the women

claimed to have worked in a campaign that year). Because campaign involvement is more common for women, the factors differentiating between those who have worked for a candidate or issue and those who have not are hypothesized to be different in number and nature from the factors documented in Chapter III as conducive to formal party and League of Women Voters involvement.

The political campaign experience variable was measured slightly differently for the two samples. As detailed in Table 32, for the low activists the report of any one of three activities during the 1972 election period--contributing money, working in a campaign, or attending a political meeting or rally--or a claim to have worked in a past campaign resulted in classification as "politically experienced." Twenty-three percent of the voters (n=61) met one or both of these criteria. The report of past campaign activity was sufficient for the high activists to be considered experienced. Fifty-seven percent of the League women reported that they had worked in a political campaign; forty-three percent claimed they had not. Ninety-seven percent of the party women claimed campaign experience; only one did not and she reported that her lifelong interest in politics inspired her husband and friends to conduct a write-in campaign on her behalf. Our intent is to draw conclusions about the differences between women with and without campaign experience in both the low and high activist samples,

TABLE 32

DIVISION OF SAMPLES INTO SUBSAMPLES WITH AND WITHOUT
CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE

Low Activists

1972 Election Activities

Voted	97%	
Attempted to persuade others	54	
Contributed money	16	} 23% of the low activist women reported one or more of these activities
Worked on a campaign	11	
Attended a meeting or rally	8	
	(n=180)	

General Political Experience ("In the past, have you ever worked in a political campaign on behalf of a candidate or issue?")

Yes	23%
No	77
	(n=180)

Summary

Both 1972 and general experience	13%	
1972 campaign activity only	10	} 34% are <u>experienced</u> (n=61)
General experience only	11	
Neither experience	66	} 66% are <u>inexperienced</u> (n=119)
	(n=180)	

High Activists

General Political Experience (wording of question is given above)

	League of Women Voters	Party	
Yes	57% are <u>experienced</u> (n=27)	97% } are <u>experienced</u> (n=33)	
No	43% are <u>inexperienced</u> (n=20)	3% } are <u>inexperienced</u> and (n=1) omitted from the analysis	

but the skewed distribution presented by the party women forces us instead to construct a "triangular" empirical argument for the high activists. The tables in this chapter contain five data columns. Two columns contrast the characteristics and attitudes of the experienced and inexperienced voters (no longer called the "low activists" although the composition remains the same), two contrast the same subgroups within the League of Women Voters Board members sample, and the fifth contains data for the party precinct delegate women who indicated they had campaign experience. The data on the experienced party women serve to support or undermine the conclusions about politically active women drawn from the League subgroup comparisons. When the distributions in the last two columns of each table are similar, our empirical conclusions extend to the high activists as a whole; when the data conflict, the discussion will explore which distribution is closer to that of the voters and possible reasons why that is so.

The hypotheses tested in this chapter are based upon the findings made in Chapter III, concerning both the significance or nonsignificance of the table variables and the interactive effects of socioeconomic status, and upon the knowledge that for women, participation in a political campaign is a much more common experience (see Table 1) than winning election to a precinct delegate or League Board of Directors position. The literature and the logic concerning both the expected data

trends and the findings developed in the discussion of Tables 6 through 27 in Chapter III are relevant here, and the reader is encouraged to turn back to those tables when necessary. The comparisons between women with experience in political campaigns and women without it within both the voter and League samples are hypothesized to show the following:

- (1) the politically experienced women in the voter sample will be higher in socioeconomic status, because greater educational and financial resources and occupational autonomy increase the opportunities for campaign involvement and the women's willingness to pursue them; no differences will be found between the League subsamples because of their uniformly high status documented in Chapter III (see Table 33);
- (2) the politically experienced voters will be in later stages of the life cycle, as measured by age, marital status, number of children, and the number of types of organizational memberships held, because a light load of family responsibilities frees time for participation in activities outside the home; no differences are expected between the League subsamples because all respondents are already politically active and the decision to work in a campaign does not constitute a major commitment of time to a new endeavor (see Table 34);
- (3) no differences will appear between the subsamples on the presence of parental role models, such as mothers who

worked and parents who are described as politically active, but the politically experienced voters and League women will report their husbands to be active more often than will the politically inexperienced women, because of the nonsignificance of the first three variables in Chapter III and the knowledge that campaign involvement is not so unusual for women that it requires parental role models, but politics will be seen to be a shared interest in the marital dyad (see Table 35);

- (4) no differences will appear between the subsamples on the size of their community of origin, but the politically experienced voters and League subsamples are expected to have resided in their communities longer than their inexperienced counterparts, because of the nonsignificance of the first three variables in Chapter III and the belief that longer residence increases the opportunities for campaign participation and strengthens the commitment to work for community improvement (see Table 36);
- (5) in perceptions of their political environment, the politically experienced voters and League members will report the Democratic and Republican parties to be of equal strength less often and will correctly identify local elections as nonpartisan more often than will

the inexperienced women, who in turn will perceive a higher degree of partisan competitiveness, because of the findings in Chapter III and the experienced women's greater involvement in and knowledge of their local political systems (see Table 37);

- (6) the politically experienced voters will report that it is easier to obtain membership in the League of Women Voters and easier to work for a political party than will the inexperienced voters, and no differences will appear between the League subsamples on these two items, because of the greater familiarity of the League women and campaign-experienced voters with organizations in their political environment; further, the experienced campaigners in both samples will attribute greater achievement incentives to the League, greater financial incentives to the parties, and social incentives to both organizations equally, than will the women without campaign experience, because of the findings in Chapter III (see Table 38);
- (7) only three differences will appear between the subsamples in their attitudes toward women and politics--the experienced voters and League women will agree that women are socialized away from politics, will disagree that politics is too conflictive and will disagree with the circuitous participation item on political poll-taking, at higher rates than their inexperienced

counterparts, because of the findings in Chapter III (see Table 39);

- (8) the politically experienced women in both samples will surpass the inexperienced in the liberalism of their political ideology and their support for the women's liberation movement, because their involvement bespeaks a faith in open politics and the competence of women in nontraditional fields and because of the findings in Chapter III (see Table 40);
- (9) the experienced campaigners in both samples will have a stronger sense of political efficacy, variously measured, than will the inexperienced, because political involvement is sustained by a belief that one's effort can or does influence the political system, as shown in Chapter III (see Table 41);
- (10) in terms of their self-esteem, the politically experienced will score themselves more positively only on the cultural dimension, because this was the lone self-esteem item in Chapter III that showed the more politically involved women to have greater feelings of generalized competence in both the bivariate and controlled analyses (see Table 42); and
- (11) the politically experienced voters will do less gender stereotyping of personality traits than will their inexperienced counterparts and will attribute the

differences they do find to cultural rather than genetic factors; no differences will appear on any of the traits, the number of trait differences perceived, or the attributed basis of trait differences between the League subsamples, because the voters with campaign experience and both League subsamples have participated actively in politics, a social realm dominated by men (see Table 43).

The first four tables deal with a variety of background factors hypothesized to distinguish between the high and low activists in Chapter III and hypothesized here to discriminate the politically experienced from the inexperienced within the voter and League samples. The high activist women were found in Table 6 to have significantly higher socioeconomic status than the low activists, as measured by family income, level of education, respondent's occupation if she was working, and occupation of her husband. The discussion concluded that the financial resources and self-assured orientation to civic affairs that higher education and employment in a professional position provide both motivate and enable women to accept formal political responsibilities such as League Board membership and the precinct delegate position. The same reasoning would predict that the socioeconomic indicators serve to distinguish the experienced campaigners from the inexperienced within the voter sample. On the other hand, if campaign involvement springs from a rational

calculation that one's effort will have beneficial personal results, campaign workers should be drawn disproportionately from the lower socioeconomic strata (Downs, 1957). No differences are expected within the League sample because of their uniformly high socioeconomic status documented in Chapter III. The data testing these variables are presented in Table 33. Family income and respondent's husband's occupation variables produce non-significant statistics. The level of education and respondent's occupation variables give rise to significant differences within the voter sample only, with the politically experienced women higher on both indicators, as expected. Among the voters, 40 percent of the inexperienced subsample but 62 percent of the experienced have some college education, a difference significant at the $p < .05$ level; similarly, 21 percent of the inexperienced but 44 percent of the experienced report employment in professional and technical occupations. Looking at the League sample as a whole, the League women evidence higher socioeconomic status than the party sample on three out of the four indicators. Since the party data in the fifth column represents 97 percent of that sample, we can conclude that there is a status difference between the two samples favoring the League women, a conclusion which supports the finding of other researchers (Jennings and Thomas, 1968; Costantini and Craik, 1972) that politically active women from high status families appear to opt for nonpartisan rather than partisan organizations. Tables 6 and 33 together argue that

TABLE 33
COMPARISON OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Family Income	(n=105)	(n=58)	(n=19)	(n=26)	(n=30)	
Less than \$10,000	23	22	0	0	7	
\$10,000 - \$19,999	56	52	53	50	33	
\$20,000 or more	21	26	47	50	60	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.54$		$\chi^2=0.03$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = .07$		$\gamma = .05$			
Level of Education	(n=117)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=32)	
0 - 11 grades	13	14	0	0	3	
High school graduate	47	24	15	11	29	
Some college	27	37	15	33	34	
College graduate	13	25	70	56	34	
statistics	$\chi^2=10.36$		$\chi^2=2.04$			
	$p < .05$		ns			
	$\gamma = .30$		$\gamma = -.20$			

TABLE 33
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Respondent's Occupation	(n=58)	(n=36)	(n=8)	(n=6)	(n=17)	
Crafts, operatives, service, laborer	22	17	0	0	6	
Clerical, sales	57	39	13	0	59	
Professional, technical, managerial	21	44	87	100	35	
statistics		$\chi^2=6.01$ $p < .05$ $\gamma = .35$		$\chi^2=0.81$ ns $\gamma = 1.0$		
Husband's Occupation	(n=97)	(n=18)	(n=19)	(n=26)	(n=25)	
Crafts, operatives, service, laborer	53	35	0	0	20	
Clerical, sales	11	12	21	12	16	
Professional, technical, managerial	36	53	79	88	64	
statistics		$\chi^2=4.16$ ns $\gamma = .32$		$\chi^2=0.76$ ns $\gamma = .34$		

the impetus to political involvement provided by high socioeconomic status functions to produce a sample of high activists with uniformly and significantly higher educational, financial and occupational achievement than a sample a registered voters, and a sample of voters with a record of campaign experience who come from significantly enriched backgrounds.

Of the four variables used to measure stage in the life cycle--age, marital status, number of children, and number of types of organizational memberships--only the last three were found in Table 8 to distinguish between the low and high activist samples to a statistically significant degree, with larger percentages of the low activists under 36 years of age, single, with no children, and reporting fewer types of memberships. Controlled for age differences, only the organizational membership difference remained significant. This tendency for the more politically active to be at later stages of the life cycle was hypothesized to hold among the voters but not among the League women, for whom campaign work does not involve a new commitment of time to political participation. As the data in Table 34 show, the latter hypothesis was supported but the former was not, with the exception of the organizational memberships variable which shows the experienced voters to belong to a significantly larger number of organizations than their inexperienced counterparts. On this variable, seventy-five percent of the experienced but only 56 percent of the inexperienced women report membership in two or more types of organizations. The tendency

TABLE 34
COMPARISON OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON LIFE-CYCLE VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	
Age	(n=118)	(n=61)	(n=19)	(n=26)	(n=31)
18 - 25	17	21	0	8	10
26 - 35	26	21	37	38	13
36 - 50	31	38	42	35	48
51 and over	26	20	21	19	29
statistics	$\chi^2=2.18$		$\chi^2=1.65$		
	ns		ns		
	$\gamma = -.07$		$\gamma = -.17$		
Marital Status	(n=117)	(n=61)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=32)
Single	12	23	0	0	9
Ever married	88	77	100	100	91
statistics	$\chi^2=3.65$		$\chi^2=0.00$		
	ns		ns		
	$Q = -.37$		$Q = .00$		

TABLE 34
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Number of Children	(n=116)	(n=61)	(n=19)	(n=27)	(n=32)	
None	21	25	10	4	16	
One or two	33	36	53	44	16	
Three to five	39	34	37	48	65	
Six or more	7	5	0	4	3	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.75$		$\chi^2=1.98$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = -.10$		$\gamma = .33$			
Number of Types of Organization Memberships	(n=104)	(n=53)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
None or one	44	25	0	4	3	
Two or three	52	64	75	59	58	
Four or more	4	11	25	37	39	
statistics	$\chi^2=7.64$		$\chi^2=1.69$			
	$p < .05$		ns			
	$\gamma = .42$		$\gamma = .20$			

for campaign experience, like political activism, to be part of a larger pattern of social involvement was evident in the percentage distributions of the League subsamples as well, but did not reach statistical significance.

The possibility that childhood political socialization factors underlie the contrasting levels of adult political involvement was tested in Table 10 by means of three variables focused upon parental behavior. Mother's employment history and the levels of mother's and father's political activity all failed to distinguish between the samples to a significant degree. When asked about the political activity of their husbands, the high activists reported significantly higher levels of participation for them than did the low activists, suggesting shared levels of political interest in the marital dyads of the high activists. The same pattern of relationships was expected to hold between the voter and League subsamples. The level of husband's political activity does continue to be a discriminating variable, but between the voter subsamples only, as shown in Table 35. Thirty-four percent of the voters with campaign experience, as compared with 12 percent of the inexperienced voters, depicted their husbands as highly active politically. Thirty-three percent of the experienced League women and 45 percent of the party sample also described their husbands as very active. Counter to our hypothesis, a significantly larger proportion of the experienced League subsample (44 percent versus 20 percent of the inexperienced) report having had politically

TABLE 35

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON ROLE MODEL VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Mother Employed	(n=116)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=32)	
Ever	44	41	40	26	41	
Never	56	59	60	74	59	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.17$ ns Q=-.97		$\chi^2=1.05$ ns Q=-.31			
Level of Mother's Political Activity	(n=112)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=31)	
High	18	22	25	23	19	
Low	82	78	75	77	81	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.37$ ns Q= .12		$\chi^2=0.02$ ns Q=-.05			
Level of Father's Political Activity	(n=111)	(n=57)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=29)	
High	18	30	20	44	21	
Low	82	70	80	56	79	
statistics	$\chi^2=3.06$ ns Q= .32		$\chi^2=3.06$ p < .10 Q= .52			

TABLE 35
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Level of Husband's Political Activity	(n=114)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=31)	
High	12	34	20	33	45	
Low	88	66	80	67	55	
statistics	$\chi^2=11.51$ $p < .01$ $Q=-.57$		$\chi^2=1.02$ ns $Q=-.33$			

active fathers, the first time this variable has produced significant sample differences. But the comparable percentages among the other subsamples, thirty percent of the voters and 21 percent of the party women, argue against the simple interpretation that high activists in general come disproportionately from families headed by politically involved fathers.

Another aspect of the women's backgrounds hypothesized to influence their political participation was their relationship to their community--the size of their community of origin and their length of residence in their current community. As the data in Table 12 indicated, neither of these variables in fact produced significant differences although there was substantial evidence in the literature arguing for them. With the level of family income controlled, however, the low activists at the low income level were found to have lived in their communities significantly longer than the high activists. It was hypothesized that the community size factor would not serve to distinguish the experienced from the inexperienced within either sample but that the duration of residence variable would. The statistics in Table 36 support the first expectation but not the second: the vast majority of respondents in all five subsamples grew up in cities of 50,000 population or more, and a majority of voters and party women have lived in their current communities for over ten years, as have slightly less than half of the League women.

The political context surrounding the respondents was measured by two variables on the extent of competition between the

TABLE 36
COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Size of Community of Origin	(n=115)	(n=61)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=32)	
Country						
Town (500-49,999)	8	10	0	0	12	
Small city (50,000-299,999)	18	16	35	30	16	
Large city (300,000 or more)	33	26	35	40	22	
statistics	41	48	30	30	60	
	$\chi^2=1.28$		$\chi^2=0.20$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = .07$		$\gamma = .05$			
Duration of Residence in Community	(n=117)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=32)	
Less than 5 years						
5 - 10 years	20	27	35	19	12	
11 - 20 years	20	15	25	37	19	
More than 20 years	26	29	25	37	41	
statistics	34	29	15	7	28	
	$\chi^2=2.06$		$\chi^2=2.89$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = .10$		$\gamma = .12$			

Democratic and Republican parties in their communities and by one variable on the perceived partisan or nonpartisan character of local elections. As the percentages and statistics in Table 14 showed, the high activists were significantly more likely to perceive the parties as highly competitive but significantly more likely as well to specify one party as the stronger. They correctly identified the local elections as nonpartisan significantly more often than did the low activists. The women with campaign experience in both samples were hypothesized to differ from their inexperienced counterparts in the same way that the high activists were shown in Chapter III to differ from the low activists. Contrary to expectation, none of the three variables did distinguish between the subsamples, as shown in Table 37. The largest chi-square value ($\chi^2=2.62$) taps the greater likelihood of the experienced League subsample to depict one of the parties as politically stronger, a tendency which reached significance in Table 14. Political context as measured here, then, does not appear to be important in understanding why some women within each sample have campaign experience and others do not.

The next cluster of variables focuses upon the relative attractiveness of the political parties and the League of Women Voters as organizations in the respondents' political environment. When asked about the membership policy of each organization, similar proportions of low and high activists saw the parties as

TABLE 37

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON POLITICAL CONTEXT VARIABLES, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Experienced %
Perceived Party Competition, by Party	(n=65)	(n=48)	(n=14)	(n=22)	(n=31)
Republicans stronger	23	27	0	4	13
Parties equal	49	46	71	45	35
Democrats stronger	28	27	29	51	52
statistics	$\chi^2=0.25$ ns		$\chi^2=2.62$ ns		
Perceived Degree of Party Competition	(n=65)	(n=48)	(n=14)	(n=22)	(n=31)
High	85	85	71	59	74
Low	15	15	29	41	26
statistics	$\chi^2=0.01$ ns Q=-.03		$\chi^2=0.56$ ns Q=-.27		

TABLE 37
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Perceived Partisanship of Local Elections	(n=90)	(n=55)	(n=19)	(n=26)	(n=29)	
Partisan	69	67	47	46	38	
Nonpartisan	31	33	53	54	62	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.04$ ns Q=-.04		$\chi^2=0.01$ ns Q=-.02			

easy to join but the high activists were significantly more likely to report easy membership in the League (see Table 16). With the samples partitioned into groups with and without campaign experience, the voters with campaign experience were hypothesized to continue to know that the League of Women Voters is easily joined and to report, on the basis of their personal experience, that it is easy to work for a political party. The women in both League subsamples were expected to depict the organizations' membership policies the same way. The data in Table 38 support these expectations. The second set of items within the cluster on organizations in the political environment concerned the achievement, social and financial incentives for membership that each organization was perceived to offer. In Table 16, the high activists reported the League to be significantly more achievement-oriented, the parties to be significantly more financially-oriented, and the organizations equally attractive for social purposes. The women with campaign experience in both the voter and League samples were expected to differ from their inexperienced counterparts in the same fashion. Contrary to expectation, there are no significant subsample differences on any of the incentives variables. The League and party samples differ considerably in their perceptions of membership in the parties and of the incentives their own organizations offer.

The final cluster of variables predicting political behavior in Figure 1 consists of three sets of attitudes. The first set is explicitly political and contains seven items on the respondent's attitudes toward politics and women's participation and two items

TABLE 38

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN ON PERCEPTIONS
OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Ease of Joining the League of Women Voters	(n=30)	(n=25)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=18)	
Very easy	37	68	70	85	78	
Somewhat easy	30	32	30	15	17	
Not easy at all	33	0	0	0	5	
statistics	$\chi^2=10.98$ $p < .01$ $\gamma = .64$		$\chi^2=1.58$ ns $\gamma = .42$			
Ease of Joining a Political Party	(n=50)	(n=42)	(n=9)	(n=14)	(n=27)	
Very easy	30	53	22	21	41	
Somewhat easy	40	42	56	29	41	
Not easy at all	30	5	22	50	18	
statistics	$\chi^2=11.27$ $p < .01$ $\gamma = .52$		$\chi^2=2.10$ ns $\gamma = -.33$			

TABLE 38
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Achievement Incentives	(n=74)	(n=48)	(n=14)	(n=24)	(n=21)	
LWV offer more	24	13	71	50	28	
No difference	73	79	29	46	48	
Parties offer more statistics	3	8	0	4	24	
	$\chi^2=4.09$ ns		$\chi^2=1.95$ ns			
Social Incentives	(n=79)	(n=46)	(n=14)	(n=23)	(n=22)	
LWV offer more	13	22	21	13	23	
No difference	71	61	36	52	68	
Parties offer more statistics	16	17	43	35	9	
	$\chi^2=1.95$ ns		$\chi^2=1.04$ ns			
Financial Incentives	(n=76)	(n=42)	(n=13)	(n=23)	(n=21)	
LWV offer more	3	7	0	0	10	
No difference	60	45	15	17	57	
Parties offer more statistics	37	48	85	83	33	
	$\chi^2=3.22$ ns		$\chi^2=0.02$ ns			

on political and feminist ideology. Of the seven items, only three were found in Table 18 to distinguish significantly between the low and high activist women. Specifically, the high activists saw politics as less conflictual, were more willing to attribute women's relatively low level of political activity to socialization pressures, and disagreed more often with the circuitous participation interpretation of political polling. The remaining items, on women's natural and maternal suitabilities to politics, their fear of politically competing with men, and their purported "power behind the scenes" role, produced no significant differences. The same pattern of findings was expected to appear in the subsample comparisons within the voter and League samples. Surprisingly, none of these seven attitudinal items differentiated the experienced campaigners from the inexperienced within either sample, as the data in Table 39 show. Instead, both subsamples of voters and League women agreed in similar proportions that politics too often turns into no-holds-barred fights, that family responsibilities have kept most women from participating in politics, and that women do have hidden influence. All four subsamples disagreed that women are naturally unsuited to politics and that competition with men politically scares women away. The subsamples split more evenly on whether women are taught that political activity is inappropriate and on the circuitous participation item.

Turning to the ideology items, the high activists were found in Table 20 to label themselves as politically liberal and to

TABLE 39

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON AGREEMENT WITH ITEMS ON WOMEN AND POLITICS, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Women by nature are unsuited to politics. statistics	(n=116) 23	(n=61) 13 $\chi^2=2.60$ ns Q=-.34	(n=20) 25	(n=26) 0 $\chi^2=7.29$ p < .01 Q=-1.0	(n=33) 21	
More women would become active in politics if they didn't have to compete with men. statistics	(n=114) 37	(n=60) 28 $\chi^2=1.83$ ns Q=-.23	(n=19) 32	(n=26) 15 $\chi^2=1.67$ ns Q=-.43	(n=31) 29	
Family responsibilities have kept most women from participating in politics. statistics	(n=116) 81	(n=61) 77 $\chi^2=0.39$ ns Q=-.12	(n=20) 80	(n=27) 82 $\chi^2=0.02$ ns Q= .05	(n=33) 64	
Women are taught not to want to be active in politics. statistics	(n=114) 44	(n=61) 36 $\chi^2=1.00$ ns Q=-.16	(n=20) 45	(n=26) 73 $\chi^2=3.74$ p < .10 Q= .54	(n=32) 59	

TABLE 39
(continued)

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Politics too often turns into no-holds-barred fights. statistics	(n=110) 81	(n=58) 76 $\chi^2=0.59$ ns Q=-.15	(n=19) 63 $\chi^2=1.94$ ns Q=-.44	(n=27) 82	(n=32) 50	
While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and have more influence than they're given credit for. statistics	(n=113) 87	(n=60) 83 $\chi^2=0.36$ ns Q=-.13	(n=20) 85 $\chi^2=0.01$ ns Q=.01	(n=27) 85	(n=31) 84	
If a newspaper poll-taker asked me how well I thought the Presi- dent was doing his job, I'd feel that my opinion was the same thing as a vote at election time, statistics	(n=114) 48	(n=60) 50 $\chi^2=0.05$ ns Q=.04	(n=20) 30 $\chi^2=0.37$ ns Q=-.20	(n=27) 22	(n=33) 45	

favor the women's liberation movement significantly more often than did the low activists. Both items were hypothesized to continue to have significant discriminating power between the politically experienced and inexperienced subsamples, but as shown in Table 40, they produced significant differences between the voter subsamples only. On political ideology and support for the women's movement, the experienced voters, then, resemble the liberal, feminist League (and party) members: forty-six and 50 percent of the experienced voters but only 25 percent of the inexperienced on both items called themselves liberals and movement supporters, respectively. At least half of the women in each League subsample and almost half of the party women with campaign experience chose the same labels. The ideological orientations these two items sought to measure are more fundamental than the seven attitudes on women and politics, and it is interesting that the liberal and feminist orientations conducive to notions of women playing more active, visible and powerful roles in politics--notions explicit or implicit in most of the attitude items--serve to distinguish the experienced voters from their inexperienced counterparts while the attitude items did not. The League women, however, are uniformly more liberal and feminist than even the experienced voters.

Looking across the five columns in Table 40, the sample of experienced party women falls between the voter and League samples in the percentage calling themselves ideologically liberal

TABLE 40

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON POLITICAL AND FEMINIST IDEOLOGY, BY SAMPLE

Variable	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Political Ideology	(n=116)	(n=57)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=33)	(n=33)
Liberal	25	46	50	65	49	49
Moderate	50	37	45	23	27	27
Conservative	25	17	5	12	24	24
statistics	$\chi^2=7.50$ $p < .05$ $\gamma = .32$		$\chi^2=2.68$ ns $\gamma = .20$			
Attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement	(n=114)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	(n=33)
Favorable	25	50	55	55	40	40
Neutral	33	28	35	41	27	27
Opposed	42	22	10	4	33	33
statistics	$\chi^2=12.63$ $p < .01$ $\gamma = .44$		$\chi^2=0.81$ ns $\gamma = .06$			

and resembles the inexperienced voters in the percentage calling themselves conservative. The party women are surprisingly anti-feminist. Only 40 percent support the woman's movement, as compared with 50 percent of the experienced voters and 55 percent of both League subsamples, again resembling the inexperienced voters more than any of the other three groups. This calls to mind one question addressed in Wells and Smeal's (1974) study of voters and local party committeewomen in Pittsburgh, as well as other literature (Staines, Tavris and Jayaratne, 1973) on the feminism of women who succeeded in largely all-male fields before affirmative action pressures set in: are these women so proud of their success that they resent the achievement aspirations of other women who, in this changing social climate, may encounter fewer obstacles on their way up, or are the successful women eager to enhance the status of their gender in their field by encouraging other women? Staines and his colleagues found evidence of the first attitude, and Wells and Smeal were surprised to find the committeewomen did not support ideas about women in politics any more strongly than did the women voters.

The second set of attitudinal variables are self-referent and consist of items and scales on the respondent's sense of political efficacy and items tapping her general self-esteem. On all four items traditionally used to measure sense of political efficacy and on the four scales based upon them, the high activists were

found in Table 22 to feel significantly more efficacious than did the low activists. These items constituted four of the five which continued to produce significant between-sample differences at all three levels of income when socioeconomic status was controlled in Chapter III. When the samples were partitioned by campaign experience as in Table 41, the sense of political efficacy items and scales failed to produce significant differences, with only one exception. The experienced voters evidenced a sense of efficacy stronger than the inexperienced voters on all items, a tendency which reached statistical significance only on the "politics too complicated" item (36 percent and 21 percent of the experienced and inexperienced disagreed respectively). Within the League sample, women with campaign experienced scored more efficaciously, though not significantly so, on the "politics too complicated" and "officials don't care" items, the two subsamples disagreed with the "voting is the only way" item in similar proportions, and the inexperienced Board members unanimously disagreed (versus 93 percent of the experienced) with the "have no say" item. In addition to the surprisingly little discriminating power of the efficacy items and scales, Table 41 shows the party women to feel less efficacious than the League women, but more efficacious than the voter subsamples, on the statements "voting is the only way," "officials don't care," and "have no say" (the difference between the experienced League and party women on the last item produces a chi-square value of 4.85, $p < .05$). However, the party women

TABLE 41
COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY SAMPLE

Efficacy Measure	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Item 1 Voting is the only way that people like me have any say about how the government runs things.	(n=115)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Agree	61	58	10	11	24	
Disagree	39	42	90	89	76	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.11$		$\chi^2=0.01$			
	ns		ns			
	Q=.05		Q=-.06			
Item 2 Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	(n=116)	(n=61)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Agree	79	64	65	56	42	
Disagree	21	36	35	44	58	
statistics	$\chi^2=4.91$		$\chi^2=0.43$			
	p<.05		ns			
	Q=.37		Q=.20			

TABLE 41

(continued)

Efficacy Measure	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
<u>Item 3</u> I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.	(n=114)	(n=61)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Agree	63	59	25	19	46	
Disagree	37	41	75	81	54	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.29$		$\chi^2=0.29$			
	ns		ns			
	Q=.09		Q=.19			
<u>Item 4</u> People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	(n=115)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Agree	54	47	0	7	18	
Disagree	46	53	100	93	82	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.83$		$\chi^2=1.55$			
	ns		ns			
	Q=.14		Q=-1.0			

TABLE 41
(continued)

Efficacy Measure	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
<u>Internal Efficacy (Items 1 and 2)</u>						
	(n=115)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Low	62	48	15	7	21	
High	38	52	85	93	79	
statistics	$\chi^2=2.89$ ns Q=.27		$\chi^2=0.70$ ns Q=.38			
<u>External Efficacy (Items 3 and 4)</u>						
	(n=113)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Low	66	62	20	22	42	
High	34	38	80	78	58	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.38$ ns Q=.10		$\chi^2=0.03$ ns Q=-.07			

TABLE 41
(continued)

Efficacy Measure	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
<u>Generic Sense of Efficacy (Items 2, 3 and 4)</u>						
	(n=113)	(n=60)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Low	66	52	20	15	36	
High	34	48	80	85	64	
statistics	$\chi^2=3.57$ ns Q=.30		$\chi^2=0.22$ ns Q=.18			
<u>Standard Political Efficacy Scale (All Four Items)</u>						
	(n=113)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Low	73	64	15	19	39	
High	27	36	85	81	61	
statistics	$\chi^2=1.22$ ns Q=.19		$\chi^2=0.10$ ns Q=-.13			

exhibited a stronger sense of political efficacy than any of the subgroups on the "politics too complicated" item. The League has contended, since its beginning in 1919, that its distance from the political parties and its public-minded lobbying give its members great influence over the formal political process. The uniformly strong sense of political efficacy apparent within the League sample supports that contention. As an organization dedicated to preparing its members for partisan involvement, the League also tries to demystify politics, but on the "politics too complicated item," the party women disagreed more often than did the League women (58 percent and 44 percent respectively). We would expect that a relatively strong sense of efficacy would propel a woman into the fray of partisan competition, but the data suggest that the highly efficacious women join nonpartisan organizations instead. The cross-sectional design of this study prohibits definitive conclusions about the causal relationship between sense of efficacy and organizational affiliation, and further, it is impossible to know whether sense of efficacy is based more upon past experiences or future hopes.

Self-esteem was measured on five dimensions--domestic, social, child-care, cultural, and work--considered central by Birnbaum (1971) to a woman's evaluation of herself as competent relative to other women of her age and education. As the data in Table 24 indicated, the high activists were significantly more likely to rate themselves very positively on the social and cultural

dimensions and to score significantly higher on the index based upon all five items. When the five dimensions were tested for their ability to distinguish significantly between the subsamples partitioned by campaign experience, the expected tendency for the more politically experienced women to have higher self-esteem was confirmed on three items (see Table 42). Among the voters, 92 of the experienced but only 72 percent of the inexperienced rated themselves good at work-related activities, a difference significant at the $p < .01$ level. Three items produced significant differences within the League sample. The experienced League women rated themselves better on the social (82 percent "good" versus 60 percent), cultural (67 percent "good" versus 40 percent) and work dimensions (93 percent "good" versus 70 percent) than did the League women without campaign experience. Not surprisingly, the experienced League women were significantly more likely to fall into the high category of the summary self-esteem measure (78 percent versus 30 percent of the inexperienced). The responses of the League and party women with campaign experience are very similar on the self-esteem items. A strong sense of self-esteem is related to political participation, but once again the causal nature of the relationship cannot be specified.

The final set of variables in the conceptual cluster of attitudes, and the final set to be examined in the study, concerns the extent to which the respondents stereotyped nine personality traits as more descriptive of women, of men, or of both genders

TABLE 42

COMPARISONS OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON SELF-ESTEEM, BY SAMPLE

Self-esteem Item	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced % (n=116)	Experienced % (n=59)	Inexperienced % (n=20)	Experienced % (n=27)	Inexperienced % (n=33)	Experienced % (n=33)
Domestic: cooking, home management						
Very good, good	73	70	65	81	88	
Average	24	25	30	19	9	
Poor, very poor	3	5	5	0	3	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.82$		$\chi^2=2.42$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = -.10$		$\gamma = .42$			
Social: poise, ability to handle social situation						
Very good, good						
Average	53	63	50	82	82	
Poor, very poor	43	34	40	14	12	
statistics	4	3	10	4	6	
	$\chi^2=1.60$		$\chi^2=5.24$			
	ns		ns			
	$\gamma = .19$		$\gamma = .59$			

TABLE 42
(continued)

Self-esteem Item	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Child-care: taking care of, understanding children	(n=115)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Very good, good	82	83	60	89	94	
Average	16	17	30	11	6	
Poor, very poor	2	0	10	0	0	
statistics	$\chi^2=1.04$		$\chi^2=6.09$			
	ns		$p < .05$			
	$\gamma = -.05$		$\gamma = .69$			
Cultural: knowledge, appreciation of literature, music, art	(n=114)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Very good, good	33	51	40	67	79	
Average	55	42	50	33	21	
Poor, very poor	12	7	10	0	0	
statistics	$\chi^2=5.15$		$\chi^2=4.97$			
	ns		$p < .10$			
	$\gamma = .32$		$\gamma = .53$			

TABLE 42
(continued)

Self-esteem Item	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Work: intellectual ability, knowledge and experience of things relevant to a job	(n=114)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
Very good, good	72	92	70	93	88	
Average	25	8	30	7	9	
Poor, very poor	3	0	0	0	3	
statistics	$\chi^2=9.14$ $p < .05$ $\gamma = .62$		$\chi^2=4.15$ $p < .05$ $\gamma = .69$			
Summed self-esteem Score	(n=112)	(n=59)	(n=20)	(n=27)	(n=33)	
High	51	54	30	78	79	
Low	49	46	70	22	21	
statistics	$\chi^2=0.17$ ns $Q = .07$		$\chi^2=10.73$ $p < .01$ $Q = .78$			

equally. On three of the traits--moody, sensual, and talkative--the low activists were significantly more likely than the highs to perceive gender differences, as shown in Table 26. There were no significant differences between the activist samples on the number of trait differences perceived nor on the attribution of differences to biological or cultural factors. Thus, the gender stereotyping variables were not expected to differentiate between the experienced campaigners and their inexperienced counterparts within the voter and League samples, and with only one exception they did not. Significantly larger proportions of the inexperienced voters reported men to be more dominant than women, or vice versa, than among the experienced voters (74 percent and 50 percent respectively, $p < .01$, in Table 43). Within the League sample, by contrast, the experienced women ascribed the dominant trait to men or to women more frequently (69 percent versus 45 percent of the inexperienced women, $p < .10$). The tendency to perceive various personality traits as rigidly descriptive of one gender, rather than to recognize the tremendous commonality of traits, was originally considered to be an indicator of a tendency to compartmentalize the social world into spheres of "hers" and "his." Politics is visibly a male realm, and women prone to personality stereotyping were hypothesized to be less likely to be politically active. Tables 26 and 43 taken together suggest that most respondents do a fair amount of stereotyping, and such a tendency does not appear directly related to either their level of activism or history of campaign experience.

TABLE 43

COMPARISON OF POLITICALLY INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED WOMEN
ON GENDER STEREOTYPING OF PERSONALITY TRAITS, BY SAMPLE

Personality Trait	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced % (n=108)	Experienced % (n=57)	Inexperienced % (n=20)	Experienced % (n=27)	Inexperienced % (n=33)	Experienced % (n=32)
Moody						
Women more than men	34	28	20	26	12	12
No difference	47	60	75	70	76	76
Men more than women	19	12	5	4	12	12
statistics	$\chi^2=2.45$ ns		$\chi^2=0.25$ ns			
Competitive socially						
Women more than men	63	56	55	52	56	56
No difference	27	40	45	48	38	38
Men more than women	10	4	0	0	6	6
statistics	$\chi^2=4.47$ ns		$\chi^2=0.04$ ns			
Competitive occupationally						
Women more than men	4	4	5	0	9	9
No difference	33	26	15	28	28	28
Men more than women	63	70	80	72	63	63
statistics	$\chi^2=0.67$ ns		$\chi^2=2.19$ ns			

TABLE 43
(continued)

Personality Trait	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Experienced %
Intelligent	(n=108)	(n=57)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=33)
Women more than men	8	3	0	0	6
No difference	85	95	100	100	85
Men more than women statistics	7	2	0	0	9
	$\chi^2=3.41$ ns		$\chi^2=0.00$ ns		
Helpful	(n=109)	(n=56)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=32)
Women more than men	43	37	35	31	31
No difference	50	59	65	65	59
Men more than women statistics	7	4	0	4	10
	$\chi^2=1.77$ ns		$\chi^2=0.83$ ns		
Sensual	(n=102)	(n=56)	(n=19)	(n=26)	(n=31)
Women more than men	35	36	21	15	29
No difference	55	53	79	81	68
Men more than women statistics	10	11	0	4	3
	$\chi^2=0.04$ ns		$\chi^2=0.93$ ns		

TABLE 43
(continued)

Personality Trait	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample	
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %
Talkative	(n=107)	(n=58)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=32)	
Women more than men	48	38	40	23	31	
No difference	45	53	60	77	66	
Men more than women statistics	7	9	0	0	3	
	$\chi^2=1.45$ ns		$\chi^2=1.53$ ns			
Dependent	(n=109)	(n=58)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=33)	
Women more than men	57	50	55	58	52	
No difference	31	43	40	38	39	
Men more than women statistics	12	7	5	4	9	
	$\chi^2=2.79$ ns		$\chi^2=0.06$ ns			
Dominant	(n=105)	(n=58)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=33)	
Women more than men	14	10	5	0	9	
No difference	26	50	55	31	49	
Men more than women statistics	60	40	40	69	42	
	$\chi^2=9.80$ $p < .01$		$\chi^2=4.62$ $p < .10$			

TABLE 43
(continued)

Personality Trait	Voter Sample		League Sample		Party Sample
	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Inexperienced %	Experienced %	Experienced %
Number of Trait Differences Perceived	(n=96)	(n=53)	(n=19)	(n=25)	(n=30)
None	3	8	11	20	3
One or two	10	13	16	8	27
Three or four	29	41	47	36	30
Five or more statistics	58	38	26	36	40
	$\chi^2=6.28$		$\chi^2=1.84$		
	ns		ns		
	$\gamma = -.34$		$\gamma = .05$		
Basis for Differences Perceived	(n=105)	(n=58)	(n=20)	(n=26)	(n=31)
Biological, or genetic factors	21	21	20	4	29
Cultural, or learned factors	71	67	60	69	68
Both factors important	5	5	10	8	0
No differences perceived statistics	3	7	10	19	3
	$\chi^2=1.53$		$\chi^2=3.56$		
	ns		ns		
	$\lambda_b = .02$		$\lambda_b = .08$		

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter has examined whether a variety of background, contextual, and attitudinal variables shown in Chapter III to have distinguished between the low and high activist samples to a greater or lesser degree would serve to draw a finer distinction between the women with campaign experience and those without it within the voter and League samples. The issue is one of dynamics but the data are cross-sectional, so the question addressed in this chapter must be carefully phrased: are the factors which correlate with high levels of political activism as defined by the sampling criteria the same factors which correlate with having had political campaign experience. The empirical evidence presented in this chapter argues not. While eight of the sixteen background variables tested in Chapter III were found to produce significant differences between the high and low activists, only four served as well to distinguish the experience campaigners from the inexperienced and these functioned only within the sample of voters. In terms of their socioeconomic status, the experienced voters had significantly more education and were employed in significantly more prestigious occupations. They belonged to a larger number of types of organizations, and a significantly higher percentage of them, as compared with the inexperienced voters, depicted their husbands as politically active. One variable emerged to produce significant differences for the first time: the experienced League women had fathers more heavily involved in politics than the fathers of the inexperienced League women. All

three of the political context variables in Chapter III showed the low and high activists to have significantly different perceptions of their environment; none of them did so here. Three out of the five variables measuring the respondents' perceptions of the League of Women Voters and the political parties as salient organizations in their political environment gave rise to significant differences between the activist samples: here, the experienced voters saw League and party membership as significantly easier to obtain than did the voters without campaign experience. A large number of attitudinal items were investigated. Three of the seven items on women and politics were shown in Chapter III to produce significant sample differences; one of the three ("women are by nature unsuited to politics") and another one ("women are taught not to like politics") showed the League subsamples to be significantly different; none of them did in this chapter. The percentage distributions of the two samples of activists were significantly different on the two ideology items; with the voter sample only, the more politically experienced women were significantly more liberal and supportive of the women's liberation movement. On all eight items and indices in Chapter III, the high activists proved to have a significantly stronger sense of political efficacy; in Chapter IV, only one item did so ("politics too complicated") and that was among the voters. The second self-referent concept, self-esteem, was measured on five dimensions and with one summary index. On the social and cultural dimensions and the summary index, the high activists

were found in Chapter III to rate themselves significantly better. Here, the experienced voters rated themselves significantly more positively on the work dimension than did their inexperienced counterparts. Also, the experienced League women had significantly higher self-esteem than the inexperienced League women on the social, child-care, cultural and summary measures. And finally, the gender stereotyping of personality traits was shown in Chapter III to be significantly more characteristic of the low activists on only three traits. In this chapter, the only significant subsample differences appeared for "dominant," a trait not found important in Chapter III, within the voter and League samples both.

In sum, the profile of the politically active woman drawn in the findings section of Chapter III is generally supported by the findings in this chapter if we restrict our attention to the subsamples of voters. That is, the social conditions and perceptions which distinguish women holding positions of responsibility in the League of Women Voters and in the political parties from women registered voters in the electorate are quite similar to the conditions and perceptions which distinguish the voters with campaign experience from their inexperienced counterparts. Differences failed to appear on variables in two of the conceptual clusters in Figure 1, however, and fewer variables in the other clusters generated statistically significant differences.

Specifically, the experienced voters continued to surpass the inexperienced women in their educational attainment and the

prestige of their occupations, but the two samples have similar distributions on income and husband's occupation. The tendency documented in Chapter III for political activists to be at later stages in the life cycle is considerably less evident: the two voter subsamples are similar in terms of marital status and number of children, and only the number of types of organizational memberships variable shows the experienced woman to be significantly more involved in her community. The immediate social support provided by a politically active husband continues to be important. The experienced voters did not differentiate between the League and the parties as organizations in their political environment, as did the high activists in Chapter III, nor did they perceive politics as less conflictive than the inexperienced women voters. The experienced voters did identify themselves as liberals and feminists at a higher rate, however, and like the high activists, they resisted seeing social life as spheres of behaviors and personality traits appropriate to one gender or the other, but not to both. Finally, the self-esteem and sense of political efficacy of the experienced voters continued to surpass that of the inexperienced, but on only one item of the several in each set.

The surprising finding in this chapter is the length of the list of statistical similarities between the League subsamples, and between the experienced League and party samples as well, which suggests that factors other than those tested in these two chapters are important in understanding how a portion of politically active women come to gain experience in political campaigns. The variables analyzed in Chapters III and IV are either traditional

in the study of political behavior, such as socioeconomic status and sense of political efficacy, or are used here for the first time; with only three exceptions, neither type of variable produces significant differences between the League subsamples. Significantly larger proportions of experienced campaigners among the League women reported that their fathers were politically active, evidenced higher self-esteem on three out of five items and the summary measure, and, counter to the findings in Chapter III and here for the voters, reported men to have "dominant" personalities.

One conclusion is that there are few significant differences between the League subsamples because the opportunity to work in a political campaign and the individual's decision to do so, among women who are already politically active to some extent, are not systematic phenomena. Rather, the opportunities and the women's responses to them are idiosyncratic, depending more upon chance factors and their other commitments at the moment of decision than upon their backgrounds, perceptions and attitudes tested here. The high activists were shown in Table 31 to have been drawn into politics because of a desire to learn about current issues and a wish to influence public policy. Whether one's favorite issue becomes prominent in a political campaign is not predictable from the respondent's characteristics; nor, it is argued here, are her responses should an opportunity to work on her issue in the context of a campaign come along. Some portion of the League women without campaign experience may have foregone invitations to join campaigns before they became Board members because of their commitment to the organization's nonpartisanship,

although the League is formally dedicated to preparing women for partisan politics. Some League women may have rejected opportunities for campaign work because the candidate or issue position they were asked to support was in conflict with their real preferences. The competing commitments need not be only political or philosophical ones but could also be temporary drains on time and energy due to personal or family responsibilities. With several open-ended questions on campaign opportunities and the respondent's reactions to them, it might have been possible to quantify the factors which produced the subsamples, but their striking similarity was not foreseen and such items were not included.

Another interpretation questions the validity of the item used to create the subsamples. Perhaps the respondents held varying definitions of the underlined words in the query, "In the past, have you ever worked in a political campaign on behalf of a candidate or issue?" Does collecting signatures on a nominating petition or a petition to place a referendum on the ballot count? What if one has distributed literature about two candidates for the same office to inform an apathetic electorate? How organized do referendum supporters and opponents have to become before they constitute a campaign? The simple "yes" and "no" categories provided in the questionnaires for the item could have been followed by questions probing the kind of campaign and the activity the respondent was asked to do, whether she accepted or not, if the homogeneity among the League and party subsamples had been foreseen.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study on the political behavior and attitudes of three samples of women from southern Michigan has sought to answer one question: what leads some women to become involved in politics, in either a nonpartisan or partisan way, and other women to play the minimally acceptable role of voter? To answer this question, three samples of women were generated which were known to relate to politics, at least behaviorally, in very different ways. Specifically, the samples were selected to represent three groups: a) women registered voters, whose political participation usually begins and ends at the ballot box; b) women whose political activism finds expression within the nonpartisan League of Women Voters organization; and c) women whose activism leads them to low-level elected positions within the Democratic and Republican parties.

In Chapter III, a variety of variables were tested for their ability to discriminate statistically between the low (voter) and high activist (League and party) samples. The same list of variables was employed in Chapter IV in the search for factors which would distinguish to a level of statistical significance between subsamples of women with and without electoral campaign experience,

within the voter and League samples separately.

CORRELATES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The analysis variables were grouped into conceptually-distinct clusters in Figure 1, and the subsequent analyses treated the variables as members of sets. The question was which sets, among those of socioeconomic status, life-cycle stage, role models, perceptions of the political environment, community characteristics, attitudes toward women and politics, sense of political efficacy, level of self-esteem, and tendency to gender stereotype personality traits, would prove to distinguish first between the low and high activists and then between the campaign experienced and inexperienced. The hypothesized relationships in Chapter III were largely supported, and the social conditions and perceptions that correlated with a high level of political activism were relatively unchanged when the bivariate analyses were re-examined with a control for level of family income in effect. Many of the characteristics and attitudes which were found to set the high activists apart from the lows in Chapter III were found in Chapter IV to distinguish the voters with campaign experience from their inexperienced counterparts. Similar comparisons between subsamples of League women with and without campaign experience produced few significant differences and an overwhelming impression of homogeneity within the League sample, as measured by these variables.

The conceptual cluster of background factors included variables on socioeconomic status, stage in the life-cycle, presence of role models, and community characteristics. Socio-economic variables are considered to be of primary importance in the political behavior literature, and their value was underscored here. The high activists surpassed the low activists in the levels of their income, education, and the prestige of their own and their husband's occupation; the education and own occupation variables served as well to distinguish the voters with campaign experience from the women without it. The high activists were hypothesized to be at a later stage in the life cycle and a larger proportion were found to be married, to have more (and older) children, and to belong to a larger number of types of organizations. With income controlled, number of children ceased to distinguish between the samples; with the comparison restricted to the voter subsamples, only the organizational membership variable continued to be significant. Several items were included on the employment history of the respondent's mother and the political activity level of both parents and the husband, on the assumption that these significant others could have provided behavioral definitions of political activity as appropriate for the women in the study. In the bivariate and controlled analyses, the high activists reported that their husbands were more deeply involved in politics than did the low activists. The political and employment activity of the mother failed to produce any

significant sample differences, and politically active fathers appeared as one of the very few variables to distinguish the League women with campaign experience from the League women without such experience. The final set of variables in the background cluster dealt with the size of one's community of origin and the duration of current residence, aspects of integration into the local community. Neither variable produced significant differences at any point in the analysis. The antecedent variables which seem conducive to women's political participation, then, imply a breadth of experience and a wealth of financial, educational, and social resources which increase the likelihood that a public issue will attract a woman's attention and draw her into political involvement, as the high activists testified they were drawn.

The second and third conceptual clusters focused upon perceived qualities of the political environment that might encourage or discourage women's participation. Because of their greater immersion in politics, the high activists were expected to subjectively perceive political overtones to many public policy decisions, as well as to obviously partisan matters, and thus to depict their local political systems as more competitive than would the low activists. The high activists' greater familiarity with political organizations, it was hypothesized, would persuade them that people join such organizations for a variety of reasons and without much difficulty. By contrast, the relative political naiveté of the low activists should make them less informed about

the nonpartisanship of local elections, less cognizant of political competition, and more likely to describe the League and party organizations in similar terms. As expected, the high activists knew significantly more often that their elections were nonpartisan. Also, the high activists reported a higher level of political competition in their communities but at the same time saw one party or the other as dominating in influence. None of these three variables served to draw the finer distinction between voter or League subsamples with and without campaign experience, however. The high activists differentiated between the League and party organizations quite clearly, describing League membership as more easily obtained than party membership and depicting the League as appealing heavily to achievement interests and the parties as offering financial incentives to membership. Only the two items on membership helped to distinguish the campaign-experienced voters from the inexperienced, and none of the items in the third conceptual cluster distinguished between the League subsamples. In sum, the greater political knowledge of the high activists leads them to more objective judgments about the relative strength of their local parties and to clearly differentiate between the League and party organizations, rather than to perceive their political environment as shades of grey.

The final conceptual cluster contained a series of attitudinal variables which were hypothesized to correlate with level of political activism. Political involvement was expected to rest upon attitudinal supports which provide the participant with an image of politics as rational, compromising, and important, and an image

of herself as acting "naturally" and freely, and as politically efficacious and generally competent in her life. The first set of items offered descriptions of the political system and explanations of women's relatively low level of participation with which the women were asked to agree or disagree. The high activists were expected to see politics as less of a "no-holds-barred" fight, to favor direct over circuitous participation, and to support statements implying that women must fight their socialization, rather than their biological constitution, to become politically active. These differences were found in the bivariate and income-controlled analyses in Chapter III; the more politically active voter subgroup showed the same pattern of attitudes in Chapter IV, though the pattern was based upon fewer variables.

Because they are active in a social realm dominated by men, the high activists were hypothesized to be more liberal and more supportive of the women's liberation movement than the low activists. The data supported this expectation in both analyses in Chapter III and in the comparison of voter subgroups in Chapter IV. Again, these items provided no insight into the factors leading a portion of the League women to have gained experience in political campaigns.

The third set of attitudinal variables in the final conceptual cluster focused upon sense of political efficacy, and measured the concept with four items and four derived scales. However measured, the high activists were expected to

show a stronger sense of efficacy because political activism must be sustained by a belief that one's effort can or does influence the political system. All of the variables produced the expected differences in Chapter III; in Chapter IV, only one item ("politics too complicated") remained a strong predictor showing that the inexperienced voters find the workings of government more complicated than do the campaign-experienced voters.

The self-esteem of the high activists was hypothesized to be based in part on their having achieved positions of political responsibility, and their estimates of high self-worth in political matters were expected to generalize to high self-esteem on a number of dimensions. Differences, all in the hypothesized direction, appeared in Chapter III on only two of the dimensions and the summary scale. These three variables, plus one other dimension, constituted the majority of variables found to discriminate between the League subsamples in Chapter IV; the fifth dimension ("work") showed the experienced voters to rate themselves higher than the inexperienced voters. It is surprising that the League subsamples differ on this measure of personal competence and not on the efficacy items tapping sense of political competence. Apparently their League Board membership gives both samples an equal sense of political influence and understanding of governmental functioning, but only those women who feel secure in the quality of their cultural, child-care and work-related activities go on to work in political campaigns. The politically active woman implied by these findings does not

specialize in politics to the extent that she sees herself as less competent than uninvolved women on other dimensions of her life. Phrased differently, political participation does not appear to compensate for a low self-esteem but instead is based upon feelings of great self-worth.

The final set of attitudes in the cluster dealt with the respondents' perceptions of personality traits as more descriptive of one gender or the other, rather than equally descriptive of both. Because of their personal involvement in a social realm dominated by men, the high activists were expected to find fewer gender differences and to attribute those they did find to cultural rather than to genetic factors. Of nine traits, the high activists were shown in Chapter III to do less gender stereotyping than the low activists on only three of them. In Chapter IV, another trait was found to differentiate between the voter and League subsamples but in opposite ways; whereas the experienced voters were less likely to attribute "dominance" to one gender (usually men) than the inexperienced voters, the experienced League women were more likely to make that attribution.

In sum, the attitudinal variables suggest that the politically active woman is quite feminist and quite assured of her competence in political as well as other matters. Her feminism is evident not only in her support of the women's movement but also in her response to items citing social or biological explanations for the level of women's participation, and in her somewhat greater reluctance to categorize personality traits by gender. Her greater self-assurance is apparent in her scores on the political

efficacy and self-esteem items. She is politically liberal as well but believes in direct rather than circuitous participation in a political system which, while competitive, does not degenerate into bitter struggles.

The preceding pages have presented and tested a number of discrete hypotheses grouped into discrete conceptual clusters, and it is time to draw upon these analyses and to present a more unified picture of the antecedents, correlates, and consequences of women's political activism. At the societal level, one antecedent factor is the loosening of rigid gender role prescriptions and the growing recognition of the rights of women. Both trends were evident in the platforms and delegations constructed by the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1972, as compared with those four years earlier. The evidence from the 1976 conventions, however, indicates that 1972 was more of an aberration in organized politics than the beginning of a trend. At the individual level, the importance of socioeconomic status, documented with numbing frequency in the political behavior literature, is underscored here. As antecedent factors, high levels of education, income, and occupation increase the probability that women will be drawn into politics. A control for financial resources changed few of the relationships between activism and the other variables summarized below. Higher socioeconomic status mobilizes some women beyond their voter role to take on campaign work, and encourages other women to accept the greater responsibilities of formal office in political organizations. The presence of young children and a

husband who is not politically active serve as constraining factors; in contrast with other studies, the influence of parents was found to be minimal. Integration into the community is an important antecedent factor when it is measured by the number of types of organizational memberships, which supports the contention that political activity is one form of general social participation, but is not important if measured by the more objective indicators of community size and length of residence.

Surveying the women at only one time makes it difficult to determine if the differences which are evident between the high and low activists, and between the campaign experienced and inexperienced, are the results or the antecedents of political participation. Nevertheless, we can speculate about which attitudes and perceptions shown to correlate with activism are probably antecedents and which consequences. Feminist beliefs about the propriety of women in politics and the presence in both genders of most personality traits seem to be antecedent attitudes; beliefs in the appropriateness of their own participation in an arena dominated by men leads politically active women to reject divisions of social responsibility and competence based upon gender. A high level of self-esteem appears to be an antecedent attitude as well, providing a reservoir of perceived personal competence which makes the taking on of new roles, such as that of political activist, less risky and less ego-threatening should

that role prove too demanding. The greater political knowledge of the more involved women results in depictions of the political system which make it seem attractive not only for potential participants but for current participants as well: it is competitive, but not inordinately so, and the political organizations offer a variety of incentives to membership. There is room, and reason, for everyone. Political activism also results in a heightened sense of political efficacy as one realizes that government is not as complex as it once seemed and that the political influence one now exerts, however meager, surpasses the power of a vote.

The profile of the politically active woman sketched above is accurate for understanding how active women differ from women voters and how women voters with campaign experience differ from voters without it. That profile is one contribution of this study. What the profile does not provide is insight into the factors leading a portion of the women already quite active politically to take on responsibilities in a political campaign. The systematic and documented failure of these variables to provide that insight is the second contribution of this study and constitutes one of the central questions for further research to address.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Surprisingly few of the correlations between the study variables and level of activism changed when family income was controlled in Chapter III. Perhaps education, rather than income, is a better

measure of women's socioeconomic status because it represents experience and a breadth of knowledge and interest increasing the likelihood that a woman will seize upon a political issue and pursue it within the confines of the electoral system. The re-examination of the bivariate relationships with education controlled will soon be done. The impressive homogeneity of the League subsamples in Chapter IV suggests that the variables which distinguish politically active women from less active women in the electorate are not relevant to an understanding of the factors which increase the involvement of women already active to some extent. Research should be directed toward discovering and quantifying those unknown factors. In the course of Chapter IV, several reversed relationships were noted between the League and party women. The sample sizes in this study precluded much exploration of the differences between women in partisan and nonpartisan political organizations, but the topic will be pursued using data collected in this study but not discussed in the thesis.

If we look beyond formal political organizations such as the parties and the League of Women Voters to ad hoc or quasi-political ones, we would not only find a larger percentage of citizens to be politically involved than electoral statistics indicate, but we would test the generality of our conclusions about the factors leading women to political involvement, as McCourt (1975) and Verba and Nie (1972) have done. All of the questions raised here may be phrased in terms of gender differences

as well. Little has been done comparing men in partisan and nonpartisan political organizations, for example. If political participation is seen as just one form of general social involvement, the questions future research may address, and the conclusions reached, have import for the general study of human behavior.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS, CATEGORIES, AND RESPONSE FREQUENCIES, BY SAMPLE

I. Items Common to All Three Forms of the Questionnaire

Women Voters (n=180)	League Women (n=47)	Party Women (n=34)	
			1. In the past, have you ever worked in a political campaign on behalf of a candidate or issue?
42	27	32	-Yes
138	20	1	-No
0	0	1	-DK,NA
			2. Generally, how would you describe the competition between the poli- tical parties in your town?
28	1	4	-Very competitive; parties of equal strength
42	12	8	-Somewhat competitive, but Republicans stronger
26	10	11	-Somewhat competitive, but Democrats stronger
12	8	4	-Not Competitive; Republicans much stronger
5	5	5	-Not competitive; Democrats much stronger
67	11	2	-DK,NA
			3. What kind of elections for local offices are held in your community?
99	21	12	-Partisan; candidates' names and parties on ballot
46	24	18	-Nonpartisan; only candidates' names on ballot
35	2	4	-DK,NA
			4. How easy is it for someone like you to become active in a political party in your town?
38	5	12	-Very easy
38	9	11	-Somewhat easy
17	9	5	-Not easy at all
87	24	6	-DK,NA

			5. There is a League of Women Voters organization in your area. How easy is it for someone like you to join the League?
28	37	15	-Very easy
17	10	3	-Somewhat easy
10	0	1	-Not easy at all
125	0	15	-DK,NA
			6. How would you describe your personal political views?
8	4	9	-Very liberal
47	23	8	-Somewhat liberal
79	15	9	-Moderate
33	4	7	-Somewhat conservative
6	0	1	-Very conservative
7	1	0	-Other, DK,NA
			7. People hold a variety of opinions about politics in general and about women in politics. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following opinions by checking one line.
			a. Politics too often turns into no-holds-barred fights.
52	9	3	-Strongly agree
81	25	13	-Somewhat agree
28	10	12	-Somewhat disagree
7	2	4	-Strongly disagree
12	1	2	-DK,NA
			b. Women by nature are unsuited to politics.
8	1	0	-Strongly agree
27	4	7	-Somewhat agree
52	5	6	-Somewhat disagree
90	36	21	-Strongly disagree
3	1	0	-DK,NA
			c. If a newspaper poll-taker asked me how well I thought the President was doing his job, I'd feel that my opinion was the same thing as a vote at election time.
45	8	7	-Strongly agree
40	4	8	-Somewhat agree
36	17	3	-Somewhat disagree
53	18	15	-Strongly disagree
6	0	1	-DK,NA

			d. While women hold few public offices, they work behind the scenes and have more influence than they're given credit for.
82	24	19	-Strongly agree
66	16	8	-Somewhat agree
14	5	5	-Somewhat disagree
11	2	0	-Strongly disagree
7	0	2	-DK,NA
			e. Voting is the only way that people like me have any say about how the government runs things.
54	1	4	-Strongly agree
51	4	4	-Somewhat agree
42	14	8	-Somewhat disagree
28	28	18	-Strongly disagree
5	0	0	-DK,NA
			f. Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
44	7	6	-Strongly agree
87	21	8	-Somewhat agree
28	12	10	-Somewhat disagree
18	7	10	-Strongly disagree
3	0	0	-DK,NA
			g. Women are taught not to want to be active in politics.
22	15	6	-Strongly agree
50	13	14	-Somewhat agree
52	9	5	-Somewhat disagree
51	9	8	-Strongly disagree
5	1	1	-DK,NA
			h. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.
41	3	6	-Strongly agree
67	7	10	-Somewhat agree
39	21	10	-Somewhat disagree
28	16	8	-Strongly disagree
5	0	0	-DK,NA
			i. Family responsibilities have kept most women from participating in politics.
52	16	11	-Strongly agree
89	22	11	-Somewhat agree
26	6	10	-Somewhat disagree

10	3	2	-Strongly disagree
3	0	0	-DK,NA

j. More women would become active in politics if they didn't have to compete with men.

10	1	4	-Strongly agree
48	9	6	-Somewhat agree
56	21	13	-Somewhat disagree
60	14	9	-Strongly disagree
6	2	2	-DK,NA

k. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

41	0	0	-Strongly agree
49	2	7	-Somewhat agree
49	14	12	-Somewhat disagree
36	31	15	-Strongly disagree
5	0	0	-DK,NA

8. Organizations make themselves attractive in various ways to keep their members involved. Taking the League of Women Voters as one type of organization and the local political parties, Democratic and Republican, as a second type of organization, how important do you think the following three kinds of attractions are for the organization in keeping old members and making new ones?

A. Achievement attractions, such as working on projects that matter.

106	43	17	i. For the League of Women Voters
26	4	3	-Very important
3	0	2	-Somewhat important
45	0	12	-Not very important
			-DK,NA
83	16	23	ii. For the political parties
37	15	5	-Very important
5	7	3	-Somewhat important
55	9	3	-Not very important
			-DK,NA

B. Social attractions, such as making and meeting friends

51	5	7	i. For the League of Women Voters
58	32	11	-Very important
23	10	5	-Somewhat important
48	0	11	-Not very important
			-DK,NA
52	15	8	ii. For the political parties
50	15	14	-Very important
30	7	9	-Somewhat important
48	10	31	-Not very important
			-DK,NA

C. Financial attractions, such as the chance to make business contacts

28	0	2	i. For the League of Women Voters
43	3	3	-Very important
54	44	17	-Somewhat important
55	0	12	-Not very important
			-DK,NA
65	14	2	ii. For the political parties
32	17	13	-Very important
28	5	15	-Somewhat important
55	11	4	-Not very important
			-DK,NA

9. How would you compare most men with most women on each of the following traits?

85	34	26	a. Moody
53	11	4	-No difference
27	2	4	-Women more than men
15	0	0	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA
52	21	12	b. Competitive socially
99	24	19	-No difference
13	0	2	-Women more than men
16	2	1	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA
50	10	9	c. Competitive occupationally
6	1	3	-No difference
107	34	21	-Women more than men
17	2	1	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

146	46	29	d. Intelligent
11	0	2	-No difference
8	0	3	-Women more than men
15	1	0	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

87	30	20	e. Helpful to others
68	15	10	-No difference
10	1	3	-Women more than men
15	1	1	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

86	36	22	f. Sensual
56	8	9	-No difference
16	1	1	-Women more than men
22	2	2	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

79	32	22	g. Talkative
73	14	10	-No difference
13	0	1	-Women more than men
15	1	1	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

59	18	13	h. Dependent
91	26	18	-No difference
17	2	3	-Women more than men
13	1	0	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

56	19	16	i. Dominant
21	1	3	-No difference
86	26	15	-Women more than men
17	1	0	-Men more than women
			-DK,NA

If you found differences between men and women for any of the traits listed above, would you say the differences are due mostly to:

34	5	9	-Biological, or genetic, factors
114	30	22	-Cultural, or learned, factors
8	7	1	-No response necessary
24	5	2	-Other, DK,NA

10. What is your general attitude toward the Women's Liberation Movement?

14	10	10	-Strongly in favor
44	16	4	-Somewhat in favor
55	18	9	-Mixed feelings
34	3	6	-Somewhat opposed
27	0	5	-Strongly opposed
6	0	0	-DK,NA

11. Listed below are five general kinds of skills which are of relevance to a woman's life. Compared to women of your age and education, how would you rate yourself on each of these skills?

			a. Domestic: cooking, home management
59	13	17	-Very good
67	22	13	-Good
43	11	3	-Average
6	1	0	-Poor
0	0	0	-Very poor
5	0	0	-DK,NA
			b. Social: poise, ability to handle social situations
32	7	10	-Very good
65	25	18	-Good
69	12	4	-Average
7	3	2	-Poor
0	0	0	-Very poor
7	0	0	-DK,NA
			c. Child-care: taking care of and understanding children
69	15	19	-Very good
74	21	13	-Good
29	9	2	-Average
1	1	0	-Poor
1	1	0	-Very poor
6	0	0	-DK,NA
			d. Cultural: knowledge, appreciation of literature, music, art
22	10	14	-Very good
46	16	13	-Good
88	19	7	-Average
15	2	0	-Poor
2	0	0	-Very poor
7	0	0	-DK,NA
			e. Work: intellectual ability, knowledge and experience of things relevant to a job you have or might have if you wanted
70	16	24	-Very good
66	23	6	-Good
34	8	3	-Average
2	0	1	-Poor
1	0	0	-Very poor
7	0	0	-DK,NA

			12. Are you a member of any of the following organizations? Check all that apply. (Maximum of five coded)
139	31	24	-Church, synagogue, other religious groups
8	12	13	-Nonpartisan civic groups, such as environmental and better government groups
67	20	14	-PTA and school-related groups
42	9	7	-Professional, occupation-related groups, unions
2	2	31	-Partisan political groups
0	2	2	-Feminist organizations, such as NOW
0	47	6	-League of Women Voters
53	21	10	-Social clubs
			13. What are you now doing? Check all that apply.
131	46	24	-Homemaker
63	6	11	-Working full-time
32	7	5	-Working part-time
5	0	3	-Actively looking for work
23	6	8	-Going to school
7	1	1	-Other, DK,NA
			If you are working, what is your occupation? (Categories not given)
28	13	6	-Professional, technical, and managerial
47	1	10	-Clerical, sales
19	0	1	-Craft, operative, service, laborer
86	33	17	-DK,NA
			14. What is, or was, your husband's occupation? (Categories not given)
58	38	17	-Professional, technical, and managerial
16	7	4	-Clerical, sales
66	0	5	-Craft, operative, service, laborer
40	2	8	-DK,NA
			15. Was your mother ever employed outside the home while you were growing up?
27	5	9	-Yes, continuously
48	10	4	-Yes, occasionally
100	32	20	-No
5	0	1	-DK,NA

			16. What is your age?
4	0	0	-18 - 20
29	2	3	-21 - 25
24	4	3	-26 - 30
20	13	2	-31 - 35
25	6	3	-36 - 40
22	7	6	-41 - 45
12	4	6	-46 - 50
24	8	6	-51 - 59
19	1	3	-60 and over
1	0	0	-DK,NA
			17. What is the highest grade of school you have completed?
4	0	0	-6th grade or less
19	0	1	-7th through 11th grade
69	6	9	-Completed high school
54	12	11	-Some college
11	14	3	-Completed college
19	15	9	-Graduate work after college
4	0	1	-DK,NA
			18. How many years have you lived in your present community?
39	12	5	-Less than 5 years
33	15	6	-5 - 10 years
47	15	13	-11 - 20 years
57	5	9	-More than 20 years
4	0	1	-DK,NA
			19. In what type of community did you spend most of the years before your 18th birthday?
15	0	4	-In the country
31	15	5	-Town (500 - 49,999 population)
54	18	7	-Small city (50,000 - 299,999)
76	14	17	-Large city (300,000 or more population)
4	0	1	-DK,NA
			20. What was the approximate income of your family last year? Please include dividends, interest, and all sources of income.
7	0	0	-Under \$4,999
30	0	2	-\$5,000 - \$9,999
54	10	2	-\$10,000 - \$14,999
35	13	9	-\$15,000 - \$19,999
26	8	6	-\$20,000 - \$29,999
8	14	12	-\$30,000 - \$50,000
3	0	0	-Over \$50,000
17	2	3	-DK,NA

			21. What is your marital status?
28	0	4	-Single
133	44	28	-Married
8	2	1	-Divorced
9	1	0	-Widowed
2	0	1	-DK,NA
			22. How active is your husband (or, if you are not married, think of your closest friend or relative) in politics?
8	3	1	-Very active
26	10	13	-Somewhat active
139	34	18	-Not active at all
7	0	2	-DK,NA
			23. Have your parents ever been active in politics?
			Father
4	4	5	-Very active
33	12	1	-Somewhat active
131	31	24	-Not active at all
12	0	4	-DK,NA
			Mother
1	2	0	-Very active
32	9	6	-Somewhat active
139	35	26	-Not active at all
8	1	2	-DK,NA

II. Items Unique to the Voters' Questionnaire

		24. In talking to women about the 1972 Presidential election, we find that a lot of them weren't able to vote because they were sick or they just didn't have time. How about you, did you vote in the election?
176		-Yes
4		-No
		25. Did you give any money or buy any tickets, or anything, to help the campaign for one of the parties or candidates?
28		-Yes
152		-No

15
165

26. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?
-Yes
-No

20
160

27. Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?
-Yes What? _____
-No

98
82

28. Did you talk to any people to try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?
-Yes
-No

29. Why are you not more active in politics than you are now?

(analytical categories
and frequencies discussed
in Chapter III)

30. Most people agree that the average citizen isn't active enough in politics. What do you think could be done to make the average citizen become more active?

(analytical categories
and frequencies discussed
in Chapter III)

III. Items Unique to the League and Party Questionnaires

31. Before you actually got into (League/party) work, how did you first develop an interest in political matters?

(analytical categories
and frequencies discussed
in Chapter III)

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