PERSONALITY FACTORS IN WOMEN AFFECTING THEIR

DEGREE OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

By

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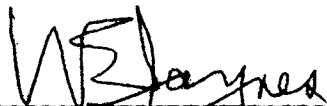Louisiana Tech University
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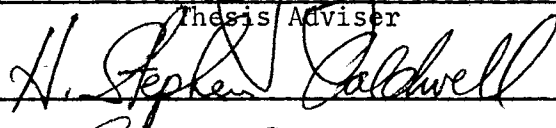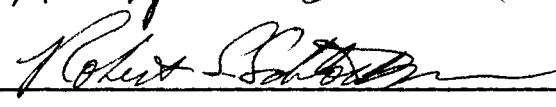DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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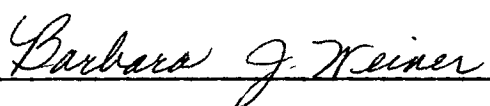
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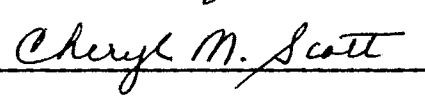
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The effects of personal questioning are pervasive and powerful,
influencing the entire social structure only when those questioning
individuals join together to voice their discontent and disillusionment.
In the 60's the Blacks began uniting to protest their second-class
citizenship in this society. The Civil Rights movement became a politi-
cal force dominating the decade. On college campuses student activists
and radicals began demonstrating, at times violently, their contempt and
rejection of a government and the society it represented in a war in
Indochina. The demands for social change growing out of the various
protest movements meant challenging the traditional structure and func-
tions of various groups within our society. Slowly there developed a
realization that just as the stereotypes, the prejudice, the legal and
less overt oppression of Blacks and other minorities meant the inability
of these groups to reach an actualization of their potentials, so did the
enforcement of stereotypic, rigidly appropriate sex roles for women mean
the inhibition of women's potentials.

Perhaps the change toward active protest and attempts to redefine
and reconstruct are most startling when those persons constitute over
half of the human race, when those persons are of the "weaker", "passive"
sex ... women.

> The extent to which our lives are played out through sex roles
> is considerable. And when suddenly a woman invalidates these

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roles for herself, she becomes disoriented, and normal inter-
action is disrupted. Her identity must be reconstituted, new
forms of action constructed and people and objects in the en-
vironment reassessed. Accompanying a rise in self-awareness,
therefore, is a process of redefinition of self, significant
others, and society [Strauss, 1971, p. 87].

The events surrounding the election year 1972 represented a disrup-

tion of the normal American political process. The conflicts of the

Democratic, and to a lesser degree, the Republican Conventions, reflected

a beginning of a spirit of reform in the political process. For the

first time the selection of convention delegates approached an equal rep-

resentation of women and men. There was an excitement about the

Democratic Convention that far overshadowed the nomination of George

McGovern for the presidential candidacy. Political figures such as

Shirley Chisholm had raised their voices to speak for the millions of

people of racial and sexual minorities that had lacked full expression

and opportunity in America's social, economic, and political processes.

There was a growing awareness, a consciousness of the exclusion of women,

youth, the elderly, the poor and racial minorities from the mainstream of

American life. The excitement of the Democratic Convention was in these

outgroups' refusal to accept the status quo of second-class citizenship

and exclusion from real involvement in the political process that

controls our society.

The startle of the election year came from an activism unseen in

American women since the beginning of the Suffrage Movement. Steinem

(1972, p. 48) wrote before the convention,

> 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 un-
> ashamedly 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.

Such political efforts were at first tentative. No one really seemed to
take seriously the candidacy of a Black women for President or the nomi-
nation of a Texas woman for the vice-presidency. Gradually, it became
clear that these women and their supporters were indeed serious. As the
research pollist, Louis Harris, indicated there were signs that women
were

> ... playing for keeps ... and this activism will accelerate ...
> Clearly these results point to a condition of growing confi-
> dence, determination, and bitterness that combine to make a
> potential explosion of woman-power in American politics
> [Steinem, 1972, p. 49].

What may have begun as "tentative experiments with the use of
collective power" culminated in Farenthold receiving 420 delegate votes
for the vice-presidency, second only to the party's nominee (Marcus,
1972, p. 64). It culminated in a 20% increase in the number of women in
state legislatures. The political power base has its foundation at the
local level and women did run and win at these local levels, thereby
making inroads into political life as never before.

Women's involvement in the political process of social change is no
simple phenomena. Much of what had been said to Chisholm reflects activ-
ities and perceptions of women actively involved in politics.

> Chisholm tried to do a dangerous thing ... to offer a voice to
> the mute. Much of this powerless segment declined to use that
> voice ... Chisholm is honest, incorruptible, and a woman. We
> weren't ready for such deviance [Steinem, 1972, p. 124].

Daniel Ellsburg (1972, p. 39) in discussing the war in Indochina stated
clearly the ambivalence in which women find themselves.

> Cultural differences between men and women do exist at a very
> concrete level. Some women don't want to accept that fact,
> and many more are not fully acting on it. If women did accept
> it and were less afraid of losing approval of men ... wouldn't
> there be more resistance at every level.

The truth remains that just as there are the more militant women who

began the feminist movement, there are the countermilitants -- the anti-feminists (groups such as Men our Masters and Happiness of Womanhood) who are fighting to resist social change and maintain the status quo.

> If militants and countermilitants define each end point, in the middle are women who are opposed to change, but not enough to join a group or write a book; women who are neutral or indifferent; women who support change but feel that change will come too late to affect them; women who are involved in various women's rights groups, but who are not politically radical [Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne, 1974, p. 55].

There is a continuum along which women place themselves from an active opposition to change, to a passive acceptance of the social order and its comfortable conventionality, to an active involvement in the working of the social-political system, to an active involvement in demanding change in the social and political processes. Recent studies have documented differences in these women globally labelled as role acceptor and role rejector (Baker, 1972; Staines, et al., 1974; Strauss, 1971).

This research deals with select groups of women not clearly defined by group membership as role acceptors or role rejectors (i.e., in groups such as National Organization for Women or Men our Masters). The women in this survey are women active in community organizations typically considered to be involved in the working of our social-political system, and, thus, are homogenous in many aspects of their involvement. There is a continuum of political involvement along which women would fall from highly involved to not at all involved. These women tend to represent the involved middle of the continuum.

Political involvement for women, as documented in Appendix A, is a rejection of one realm of traditional sex role functioning. For a woman to reject or accept this basic tenet of sex role requires differences in familial socialization and, therefore, must involve consequences in many

areas of human functioning. There must be a politicizing of the dis-
contented and disillusioned for women to develop their own selfhood.
This research is an attempt to explore the differences among women who
differ in their politicalization. It is hoped that through this explora-
tion an understanding of antecedents and correlates of political involve-
ment will augment the challenging of traditional structure of our society
so that all people may be free to reach fuller selfhood.

CHAPTER II

AN ABBREVIATED REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Political involvement has long been an activity of a select few of

the male citizenery. It was not until 1920 that the Woman Suffrage Move-

ment won the right for women to vote in American political elections. By

the end of World War II, political involvement had become more of a

limited activity among the mass public, especially women. Time and again,

American citizens have been shown to be uninformed and uninterested in

the political events which surround them. Consistent differences between

men and women as to knowledge and interest in political events have been

documented (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, 1960; Cantril, 1965;

Erskine, 1963; Hennessey, 1965).

The following abbreviated review will document the multiple factors

which characterize women who have become politically active. (See

Appendices A and B for extended literature reviews on political behavior

and sex role differentiation.) As will be seen these women have essen-

tially rejected the traditional feminine sex role. This is a multifaceted

process involving interactive data on belief systems, demographic vari-

ables, the role of childhood experiences, intellectual-cognitive factors,

and sex role identification.

Politicalization

Research in the area of political attitudes and behavior has docu-
mented characteristics of the involved citizen such as presented in The
American Voter (Campbell, et al., 1960). Converse (1964) extended such
work to deal with concepts such as belief systems and the structure of
these systems in the mass public. The descriptions of the levels of con-
ceptualization characterizing belief systems Converse labeled "ideologue",
"near-ideologue", "group interest", "nature of times", and "no issue
content". It was concluded from this work that the vast majority of the
public lacks the ability to integrate information into consistent, well-
integrated belief systems (i.e., ideologue). Converse used the term con-
straint to refer to the degree of interrelatedness of the elements in a
person's belief system. Just as few people can conceptualize abstract
ideological principles, few people present high constraint levels in
their belief systems (Converse, 1964; Rambo, Jones, and Finney, 1973).

Certain demographic variables have consistently differentiated
persons as they fall along the continuum of abstract conceptualizations
as outlined by Converse's five groups. The more highly integrated the
belief system becomes the more likely the person will be politically in-
volved. Accompanying the abstract, integrated belief system are charac-
teristics such as increasing levels of education, middle-class and above
socio-economic status, greater information about political events, and
increasingly higher degree of personal/political efficacy. Finally, such
a belief system is usually found in men (Campbell, et al., 1960; Converse,
1964; Rambo, et al., 1973).

When controlling for education and political involvement, females
still exhibit lower levels of constraint than do comparable males.

Corresponding to the lesser integrated belief systems in women is a lower sense of political efficacy. There simply has not been socialized in women "... a sense of some personal competence vis-a-vis the political world" (Boyd, 1968, p. 57).

Differences in political behavior of men and women exemplify patterns found in childhood differences. Boys are better informed about current events, exhibit greater interest in this sphere of their environment, and exhibit greater independence from parental influence in the political area (Boyd, 1968; Greenstein, 1961; Holter, 1970; Jennings and Niemi, 1971). Such consistent findings in political differences in men and women has led to the conclusion that

> Political sex differences are patently a consequence neither
> of situational impediments nor of educational differences, nor
> for that matter, of any of the other expediential variables
> which are held constant by studying the populations of co-
> educational grade schools. An adequate theory ... must
> account for the psychological underpinnings of political sex
> differences, understood in terms of sex roles in the society,
> how they develop, and what maintains them [Greenstein, 1961,
> p. 371].

In a study that compared political and apolitical women, factors emerged that have consistently differentiated men and women (Kruschke, 1963). Such findings suggest that politically involved women are more similar to men than women on certain characteristics such as employment, possession of greater personal efficacy, greater interest in political events, and greater cognitive sophistication. Kruschke (1963, p. 23) raised the question of the importance of personality differences among political and apolitical women.

> The influence of personality factors may be particularly evi-
> dent among the politicals because these women are acting in
> relatively uncharacteristic roles as to what is culturally
> and socially expected -- and accepted.

When socio-economic factors are held constant many of the political differences between men and women are diminished. However, the more cognitive factors such as constraint and self-efficacy remain as differentiators. Given that this differentiation also occurs between political and apolitical women, attention needs to be given to intellectual-cognitive differences between the sexes before exploring further the differences between political and apolitical women.

Cognitive-Developmental Influences

Existing information suggests that there are sex differences in spatial ability and some aspects of analytic thinking. Analytic thinking refers to modes of grouping diverse arrays of objects (Kagan, et al., 1963). In general it appears that analytic thinking, creativity, and high general intelligence are associated with cross-sex typing, i.e., high scoring women in these areas are more masculine than the lower scoring women. This cross-sex typing is in part a result of a high level of identification by the girl with her father rather than with the mother. Parental behavior is significantly related to intellectual development of children.

> ... maternal protection and warmth during the early years of life are related to high IQ in later years for boys. For girls, by contrast, the crucial factor in the development of IQ appears to be relative freedom from maternal restriction -- freedom to wander and explore [Maccoby, 1966, p. 37].

The simplest way to answer the question of what is needed in a girl's development to acquire intellectual skills is to state that she must have been a tomboy at some point in her life (Mischel, 1970). Masculinity among women implies both independence and absence of repression, both positive factors in intellectual performance.

These findings in intellectual differences among men and women raise
further the question of sex role identification. Many theories of sexual
identification postulates that both male and female infants establish
their primary identification with the mother. One of the cognitive
developmental theories hypothesizes that a source of major sex differ-
ences in the development of sexual identification is

> ... the shift that a boy must make from his initial identifi-
> cation with the mother to identification with the masculine
> role, while no shift is necessary for the girl [Lynn, 1969,
> p. 23].

It follows from this thesis that each sex is presented with a separate
and uniquely different identification task "... and that in the process
of mastering these unique tasks, the sexes develop separate methods of
perceiving and learning" (Lynn, 1969, p. 34). Lynn suggests that the
task of achieving masculine role identification in males is similar to
the learning of a problem to solve; while for girls, the task of
achieving mother identification is similar to learning a specific lesson.
Girls do not learn principles defining the feminine role, but rather a
specific identification with the mother. On the other hand, for boys,
finding the appropriate goal objects with which to identify is the prob-
lem. Lynn, therefore, hypothesized that girls acquire a cognitive style
that primarily involves personal relationships and imitation of others
rather than a restructuring of the stimulus field and abstracting princi-
ples from this restructuring. In contrast, for boys, the resultant cog-
nitive style involves defining a goal, restructuring the stimulus field
and abstracting principles upon which to function.

The parallel of these cognitive styles resulting from the identifi-
cation process and the characteristic adult male and female approach to
political behavior and the structure of belief systems is, indeed,

striking. It would follow that a person who possesses the ability to define goals, restructure the stimulus field, and employ abstracting principles would possess a more highly integrated attitudinal belief system. Such a person would be more likely to exhibit higher constraint levels than does a person who operates primarily on the basis of imitation and interpersonal relationships. This is the consistent finding that males do reflect the higher constraint in belief systems than do females.

Lynn (1969, p. 45) further examines the relationship between parental distance and the cognitive style of the children. A curvilinear relationship is suggested whereby the maximum functioning is predicted, and observed, when the same sex parent is neither close nor distant. Specifically, a relationship where there is moderate distance between the mother and her daughter results in maximum cognitive functioning because such "... girls would have a feminine role identification problem to solve somewhat comparable to that for boys."

> ... she is thereby less likely to acquire feminine role patterns simply as a by-product of mother-identification. She would have to restructure her experiences and abstract principles of femininity from observing not only her mother but other girls, teachers, and other women. She would have to abstract principles of femininity from admonishments concerning her behavior [Lynn, 1969, p. 45].

Such a hypothesis is supported by findings reported by Maccoby (1966) in the area of intellectual functioning.

What can be concluded from examining the cognitive differences resulting from the process of sexual identification are that males develop a problem-solving, restructuring, abstracting cognitive style as opposed to females' interpersonal, imitative style. However, if a girl experiences a sexual identification task similar to the task of boys, typically

resulting from moderate distance from the mother, the girl will develop what is considered a masculine cognitive style.

Statement of the Problem

Certain skills and personal abilities are required for a person to become politically active. Just as the area of political involvement is itself considered a masculine domain, so are the demographic and cognitive styles that are prerequisites for success in the political realm. Therefore, women who have become politically active have to some degree rejected the traditional feminine sex role. For a woman to constructively reject her feminine sex role requires cognitive styles that result from a "problem-process" of sexual identification and higher levels of ego development. Such a woman will tend to possess more stereotypically masculine characteristics than a woman who experiences no problem resolution in sexual identification and have a more androgynous identification.

This research will examine cognitive differences, differences in sex role identification, personality differences, and demographic information differences of groups of women who differ in their degree of political involvement. The following are the specific hypotheses to be tested.

1. Political women will have higher constraint scores than will non-political women.

2. Political women will possess greater information about political events than will nonpolitical women.

3. Along the political continuum, the more political women will exhibit a combination of higher constraint and greater information than will the less politically involved women.

4. Political women will be more masculine in sex role

identification than will nonpolitical women.

5. Across groups, women with higher constraint scores will be more masculine in sex role identification.

6. Political women will be more liberal than nonpolitical women.

7. There will be personality differences between political and non-political women. Political women will possess a greater sense of dominance, self-acceptance, responsibility, well-being, socialization, tolerance, achievement, intellectual efficiency, flexibility, and masculine interests.

8. Political and nonpolitical women will differ on several demographic variables such as family background, political role, sex role, and motivation and extent of involvement. It is hypothesized that political women will be more active, perceive their role as more active-effective, and report socio-economic differences from nonpolitical women. A politically involved woman will tend to report less closeness to her parents than a nonpolitical woman.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Ninety-two women actively involved in six different organizations
participated as subjects (Ss). These groups are conceptually placed
along a continuum of political involvement from extensive activity to
little if any political activity. Subjects in each group were randomly
selected from the membership list which was obtained from an officer of
the organization. There were essentially three political and three
organized community groups. A brief description is given below as to the
nature of the six organizations.

Women State Legislators

The name and addresses of fifty women legislators currently serving
terms of office in mid-western and western states were obtained from the
Supplement to State Elective Officials and the Legislatures (1973).
States that were included were Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Iowa,
Missouri, Nebraska, and Arizona. Twenty-eight of the fifty were listed
in Who's Who in American Politics (Theis, 1973). There were 25 Democrats
and 25 Republicans. Among the 25 Democrats, thirteen were listed in the
Who's Who and 15 of the Republicans were listed. A participation rate of
30% was evidenced by the State Legislators.

Women's Political Caucus

The names and addresses of 30 women involved in the Political Caucus
of a mid-western university city were obtained from the group's member-
ship. This group of women are actively involved in politics of the city
and state level but not in an elected position. The Women's Political
Caucus represents a rather nontraditional, innovative approach to politi-
cal involvement as it presents assertive positions on political and
social issues. Fifty-seven percent of the contacted Caucus members were
involved in the research.

League of Women Voters

Thirty names and addresses were obtained from the membership list of
a local League chapter (community population approximately 33,000) after
the request for the membership list was cleared by the board of officers.
The League has traditionally been involved in nonpartisan electoral
activities, for example, encouraging voter turnout and increasing public
knowledge and awareness of different electoral issues. Slightly over
63% of the group participated.

These three groups compose the politically organized women. The
three groups total membership are not mutually exclusive. A woman may,
and many do, hold membership at all three levels of political involve-
ment. For the purpose of this research, the membership lists were arbi-
trarily nonoverlapping by random assignment of those holding multiple
memberships.

The last three groups constitute what will be referred to as the
organized community or nonpolitical groups. This is because these groups
are primarily nonpolitical in function. Their goals are oriented toward

change of certain aspects of the community. In a global sense such
activities can be conceptualized as political and have been in past re-
search. However, along the continuum of political involvement the groups
would fall toward the more traditionally structured and will be grouped
together under the label of nonpolitical. This is not to imply that cer-
tain individuals within these groups are not politically involved in
their community. It does mean that their involvement is channelled
through a nonpolitical structure as represented by that particular
organization.

Parent Teacher Association (PTA)

Thirty names of officers and involved women in the local PTA groups
were obtained from the membership lists. The PTA women were drawn from
seven schools in the same community. Forty percent of this sample agreed
to be involved in the data collection.

Church Organizations

Thirty women actively involved in religious organizations within the
community were selected to make up the fifth group. The most active
women in the larger churches of the community were the sample from which
the thirty were selected. Fifty-seven percent of the contacted church
women participated as subjects.

Business Organization

The sixth group was made up entirely of professional-business women
belonging to a local business organization. The organization requires
professional entrance qualifications similar to national business groups

such as Rotary. Locally this group helps sponsor women entering the work of the business world. There was a participation rate of 40% by this group.

Summary descriptive characteristics of the women in the different groups will be presented in the Results section.

Instruments

There were five instruments utilized in the data collection from the six groups of women. A brief discussion of each instrument is given below.

Social Attitude Scale (SAS)

The Social Attitude Scale devised by Rambo (1971) is a measure of liberalism-conservatism domain of attitude systems. There are 44 items making up the scale which deals with basic assumptions about human functioning such as the nature of man, social order, social permanence, and change. It is believed that it is from such propositions that the more specific ideological elements of the liberal-conservative dimension are derived. Items are responded to according to a five point scale of "strongly agree", "agree", "undecided", "disagree", and "strongly disagree". Two predictor variables were obtained from the Social Attitude Scale. A numerical score from 44 to 220 indicated the $\underline{S}$'s attitudinal position as to liberalism-conservatism with high scores reflecting conservatism. The level of constraint possessed by the $\underline{S}$ was represented by a range of scores from 0 to 44 with higher scores reflecting greater constraint. (See Appendix C for a copy of the Social Attitude Scale.)

Calculation of Constraint. A measure of constraint for an individual person is best represented by consistent responses to attitude items which are related or similar in terms of sentiment reflected in each item. Jones (1974) developed as an indicator of item similarity a statistical index of interrelatedness between pairs of items from the Social Attitude Scale. An adequate degree of statistical association was arbitrarily established at .45 as a minimally acceptable coefficient of magnitude. A further criterion for selecting item pairs to calculate constraint was the discriminability of the item pair between subjects possessing differing levels of constraint. Forty-four item pairs were selected with the highest mean contingency coefficient and highest discriminability scores. The mean contingency coefficient and mean discriminability scores for Form L of the Social Attitude Scale were .488 and 41.25, respectively.

The actual constraint score is calculated by examining each of the 44 item pairs. If the responses to both items of the pair are identical or similar, one point is contributed to the constraint total score. The following response combinations were considered as indicative of constraint and scored accordingly: any combination of strongly agree and/or agree, any combination of strongly disagree and/or disagree, and two undecided responses. Scoring procedures are reversed when the item pair contain contradictory items, a liberal and a conservative statement. Here responses of agree and disagree would be scored as indicative of constraint.

Information Scale (IS)

Devised by Jones (1974), the Information Scale consists of 50 multiple choice items which pertain to the knowledge of political events and political structures. Items deal with essentially current and relevant political events, persons, while some items deal with what would be considered historical material. A score with a range from 0 to 50 was obtained as an index of political information and served as a predictor variable in the data analysis. A copy of the questions on the Information Scale can be found in Appendix D.

Franck Drawing Completion Test (FDCT)

This drawing completion test contains 36 simple geometric figures which the S completed or elaborated in anyway she chose. The 36 designs were those designs that were chosen from a larger sample which were shown by the test's orginators to have significantly differentiated men and women (Franck and Rosen, 1949). Because of consistently nonsignificant correlations of scores on the FDCT and objective measures of masculinity-femininity, the FDCT is referred to as a measure of unconscious sexual identification (Franck and Rosen, 1949; Lynn, 1971; Shepler, 1951).

Each of the 36 elaborated designs were judged to be either masculine or feminine in character. The total number of feminine drawings is the S's score on the FDCT so that scores may range from 0 to 36. This score served as another predictor. Mean scores for a standardization sample of American men and women were 15.67 and 22.70, respectively. Franck suggested the following as a possible classification scheme.

	Males			Females
0 - 13	Very masculine	0 - 15	Masculine
14 - 18	Masculine	16 - 20	Masculine tendency
19 - 23	Feminine tendency	21 - 25	Feminine
24 - 36	Feminine	26 - 36	Very feminine

The criteria by which the designs were judged to be masculine or feminine are as follows (Franck, ND, p. ii).

Masculine	Feminine
Expansion. expansion outward, mainly upward sometimes specified as protrusion or building up.	Internal elaboration. no expansion. Additional lines within are circumscribed or suggested by given stimulus; no expansion is self-explanatory.
Closed. Closure of stimulus area.	Open. Area left open in one or more places.
Angular. Use of sharp angles, leaving un-modified or exaggerating those given in the stimulus.	Round. Use of curved lines.
Protruding. Exaggeration of existing protru-sions or addition of new ones.	Blunt. Use of obtuse angles; blunting or disguising of sharp angles.
Unity. Parts of the stimuli connected to make a single line.	Two-somes. Unconnected parts of stimuli treated as two discrete units.
Single line left alone. Single free-end line, horizontal, or slanting, allowed to remain unmodified or to carry weight.	Single line supported. Single line reinforced by doubling, enclosing supporting.
Content. Active containers, include ships, cars, fires, fountains. Sky-scrapers, allover faces, carica-tures, and tools.	Content. Passive containers, include boats, houses, bowls, vases, interiors, furniture, small faces, human figures, fruit, flowers, etc.

Two judges were given an initial joint training session on the scoring criteria of the FDCT by the experimenter. Thirteen completed FDCTs had been collected from a random sample of males and females not participating as subjects. Three of these were jointly scored and dis-cussed in detail in the training session. Ten protocols, 5 males and 5

females, were given separately to the judges to score. A reliability coefficient was calculated for the total score. The two judged were shown to have a reliability coefficient of r = .71. An item analysis was done for each of the ten protocols to determine if the judges were consistently disagreeing on a particular design or scoring criteria. After the training session a further debriefing session was held with the two judges to clarify any problems in scoring they encountered with the training protocols.

The judges scored the 92 returned FDCT independently and a reliability coefficient of Pearson r = .81 was obtained on their scoring. A copy of the FDCT is included in Appendix E.

California Psychological Inventory (CPI)

The California Psychological Inventory is a self-administered paper and pencil personality test that consists of 480 items developed by Gough (1956). Most of the item content deals with reports of typical behavioral patterns, customary feeling opinions, and attitudes about social, family, and ethical patterns (Megargee, 1972). The CPI consists of 18 scales which are divided into four major groups or classes. Although most of the scales were derived through the external criterion method of construction, some were developed through the rational techniques. Different methods were used to select Gough's external criterion groups. Therefore, the CPI is a heterogeneous instrument with the different scales possessing their own particular characteristics. In general, the CPI scales have less unidimensionality and lower coefficients of internal consistency than is often thought desirable by test constructors. However, the philosophy behind the CPI emphasized the creation of the scales

that would predict socially relevant behavioral patterns. "As a result, the development and validation of the CPI has aimed at the maximizing predictive and concurrent validity even at the expense of other test attributes such as factorial purity and discriminant validity." (Megargee, 1972, p. 33).

A brief description is given for each of the scales in terms of its purpose, item characteristics, and validity in Appendix F. For more detailed information Megargee (1972) and the CPI Manual (Gough, 1957) are both excellent sources. Each of the 18 scale scores served as a predictor variable. The scales included the following.

Dominance (Do) identifies those individuals able to take and exercise leadership.

Capacity for Status (Cs) taps qualities of amibtion and self-assurance.

Sociability (Sy) differentiates people with outgoing temperament from those who avoid social visibility.

Social Presence (Sp) assesses poise, self-confidence, and spontaneity in social interactions.

Self-acceptance (Sa) measures a sense of personal worth.

Sense of well-being (Wb) is a validity scale but reflects differences in adjustment.

Responsibility (Re) measures the degree to which values and controls are conceptualized and understood by the individual.

Socialization (So) reflects the degree of social maturity and integrity and rectitude.

Self-control (Sc) assesses adequacy of self-regulation and degree of freedom from impulsivity and self-centeredness.

Tolerance (To) identifies persons with permissive, nonjudgmental social beliefs.

Good Impression (Gi) is a validity scale that identifies persons concerned about how others react to them and thus attempt to create a good impression.

Communality (Cm) also is a validity scale used to detect randomly answered protocols.

Achievement via Conformance (Ac) reflects a strong need for achievement combined with internalized appreciation for structure and organization.

Achievement via Independence (Ai) predicts achievement through independence and self-actualization.

Intellectual Efficiency (Ie) reflects interest and enjoyment in intellectual pursuits.

Psychological Mindedness (Py) measures the degree to which a person is interested in and responsive to, the inner needs and experiences of others.

Flexibility (Fx) identifies flexible and adaptable individuals.

Femininity (Fe) measures feminine interests as contrasted against more masculine interests.

Demographic Questionnaire (DQ)

A questionnaire consisting of 42 items was devised to provide information as to the S's background and current political motivations and involvement. The format of most of the questionnaire was open-ended although there were some multiple choice questions and others requiring a differential response. Specific aspects of the woman's background that

have been found in previous research to discriminate groups of women as
sex role acceptors or rejectors and levels of political involvement were
explored in the Demographic Questionnaire (Baker, 1972; Jones, 1972;
Kruschke, 1963). Some of the information from the Demographic Question-
naire served as descriptive data in the summary characterization of the
six groups. The specific questions which served as predictor variables
in the data analyses are as follows.

1. My age is.
2. My current marital status is.
3. The duration of my current marriage is.
4. The number of children in my home were.
6. My level of education is.
9. My average yearly income is.
10. My spouse's and my combined income is.
11. My religious preference is.
13. The ages of my brothers, sisters, and parents are:
17. My parent's average yearly income when I was a child was.
18. I grew up in a (multiple choice of rural versus urban residence).
19. Who was your father's favorite child?
20. Who was your mother's favorite child?
21. Indicate by placing a slash mark on the continuums below the
    closeness you felt toward your parents when you were growing up.
    (Separate lines for mother and father rated from very close to
    very distant.)
22. Did you go through a tomboy phase growing up?
28. Why do you continue in the activities of this group?
30. To what other organizations do you belong? (number)
31. List any offices you have or are holding in these organizations.
32. With which political party do you most closely identify?
33. Did you vote in the last election held at the community level,
    state, national?
34. Did you participate in any other ways in these campaigns, and/or
    elections?
    (Items 33 and 34 were combined to give a score for election
    participation.)
35. Estimate the relative contribution of these sources of news to
    your knowledge of politics and current events.
                    radio
                    television
                    newspapers
                    newsmagazines
                    friends
                    family members
                    others (specify)

36. Which of the following most closely approximates your perception of your role in the political process:
                passive noninterested observer
                passive interested observer
                active ineffective participant
                active effective participant
38. Which of the following statements is most indicative of your attitudes toward the Equal Rights Amendment?
                no opinion
                somewhat in favor of passage
                definitely in favor of passage
                somewhat opposed to passage
                definitely opposed to passage
39. Indicate the extent to which your opinions have changed in the last year in the following areas (rated from absolutely no change to great change).
                peace activities
                environmental ecology
                equality in employment
                structure & process of political campaigns
                freedom of birth control
                abortion on demand
                public child care
                presidential impeachment
                involvement in the Near East
41. Have you ever thought of running for an elected public office at the community level, state, national?
42. How long have you lived in your present community?
43. Mark along the continuum below where you would define your perception and position on women's sex roles. (Continuum is marked from anti-feminist to separatist.)

A complete copy of the Demographic Questionnaire can be found in Appendix G.

Procedure

All data collection was through the mail. One copy of the Social Attitude Scale, Information Scale, Franck Drawing Completion Test, California Psychological Inventory, and Demographic Questionnaire were placed in a 11 x 14 inch mailing envelope. Also included with the instruments were a cover letter explaining the nature of the research and one page of instructions. (These forms can be found in Appendices H and I). A 9 x 12 inch stamped and addressed mailing envelop was also in the packet

in which the subjects were to return the materials to the experimenter.

A packet of materials was sent to 30 women in the last five groups and to

50 women in the state legislator group. The larger sample in the latter

group was based on the perceived greater time demands on public officials

and thus a lower return rate. The return envelope was marked in the

lower left corner with the number, one through six representing one of

the six groups to which that subject belonged. There was no way to

identify a specific subject unless she signed her name.

Reminder letters were sent to all Ss four weeks after the mailing of

the packet of experimental materials requesting they participate in the

study by completing the materials and returning them. (See Appendix I

for a copy of the reminder letter.)

Statistical Analyses

A series of step-wise linear discriminant function analyses were

computed to examine the differences among the groups. The predictor

variables used to differentiate the groups were the specific scores taken

from the five instruments used in the data collection. (A detailed list-

ing of the 97 predictor variables is given in Appendix K.) Because the

BMD-07M computer program holds only 80 predictors, an initial program run

comparing the differences among the groups was computed for the first 80

variables. Seventeen variables with either means of zero or F-values

near zero were excluded in order to include the remaining 17 variables.

The criterion groups for the seven analyses executed were:

1. All-Six. State legislators, Political Caucus, League of Voters,

   PTA, Church women, and Business women (n=92).

2. Political-Nonpolitical. Organized political women versus

organized community (n=60). The remaining 32 Ss of the 92 total were held out for cross-validation purposes.

3. Political Women. State legislatures, Political Caucus, and League of Voters (n=51).

4. Community Women. PTA, Church women, and Business women (n=41).

5. State legislators versus Women Political Caucus (n=32).

6. State legislator versus Women League of Voters (n=34).

7. Women Political Caucus versus Women League of Voters (n=36).

Each of the seven analyses provides a discriminant function for each group included in a particular analysis based on the weighting system which maximizes the variance between groups while minimizing the variance within groups (Cooley and Lohnes, 1962). Two assumptions of the discriminant function analysis are that misclassification costs are equal and that prior probabilities of each population are equal. Each S is assigned to that group whose mean discriminant function is closer to the discriminant functions score for that S.

The step-wise discriminant function analysis also indicates the order of the selection of the variables in discriminating between the groups. A F-test with g-1 and n-g-p degrees of freedom is used at each step to determine the degree to which the predictor accounts for the remaining variance in the system.

After the initial phase of the analysis those variables which met the criteria outlined below were included in the best prediction system.

1. The number of final predictors were limited to the first five variables selected. This maximum limit provided differing subject to predictor ratios for the different analyses. In analysis #1 there was a ratio of 18:1; #2, a 12:1; #3, a 10:1 ratio;

#4, #5, and #6 analyses had ratios of 6:1; #7, an 8:1 ratio.

2. Final predictor variables were selected so that the number of misclassifications were at a minimum.

3. All variables in the final prediction system were at least significant at the .05 level after having been entered into the prediction system.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results are presented separately for the seven analyses. Within

each analysis two approaches are taken to examine the data. First, there

is an examination of hypotheses through the use of the F-values at Step 0

of the discriminant function analysis, i.e., which variables when con-

sidered separately significantly differentiated the groups being com-

pared. Second, the derived discriminant function of the best set of

variables predicting group classification is presented. Three questions

are being addressed in the data presentation. How do women in the vari-

ous groups differ? Can any of these differences predict group membership?

And, how accurate are these prediction systems?

A table of means and standard deviations of all 97 variables can be

found in Appendix L. The resulting F-values for all variables for the

separate analyses are in Appendix M.

A brief characterization of the women participating in the study is

given below through the use of the central tendency statistics. Appendix

L should be consulted for specific means and standard deviations for a

more comprehensive picture of the variability both across and within the

groups.

Characterization of the Groups

Women State Legislators (n=15)

A generalized characterization of this group of women reflects a woman of 52 years of age who has been married for 25 years with 1.5 children. With sixteen years of education or a bachelor degree, she is employed earning approximately $10,000 annually which is about what her parents earned when she was a child ($9,600). When her salary is combined with her spouse's, their joint income is near $28,000. Almost certainly Protestant, she may be either Democrat or Republican. She is as likely to have grown up in a small town (rural to 5000) as in a city (10,000 or greater) with two other siblings.

Women's Political Caucus (n=17)

A Caucus member probably grew up in a city (10,000 or greater) with two or three siblings. Her parents had an income around $8,000. In her mid-thirties (36 years) she has been married for 12 years and has 1.8 children. She is likely to be employed as not with a variable income of about $8,000, and a combined income with her spouse of $17,900. Such a woman has some education beyond a bachelors, she is a Democrat and tends to be nonreligious or of a variety of religious beliefs.

League of Women Voters (n=19)

A characteristic League member is a Democrat with variable levels of education, averaging some graduate training; however, she probably is not working. She is in her early forties, has two or three children in a marriage of 20 years. Her spouse contributes most of their $20,000

annual income. If she were presently employed, her earnings would be small, $4,500. A typical member grew up with two other children in a rural area or small town where her parents' income was low, approximately $4,600.

Parent Teacher Association (n=12)

An active PTA member is 40 years old with three children and has been married for 17 years. Equally likely to be a Republican or Democrat, she is Protestant and has a college education. Her husband earns $20,000 annually; she does not work outside of the home. Having grown up with two other siblings in a city, her parents' income was about $10,000.

Church Women (n=17)

An involved church worker is in her early forties with two or three children. Her husband of 20 years provides an income of approximately $23,000. It is unlikely that she would be employed; but if she were, she would earn around $7,000. She is likely to have spent her childhood in rural areas or in large cities. Her parents' income was somewhat low, about $5,800 yearly. A Protestant, she has a college education and is most likely a Republican.

Business Women (n=12)

A business woman is older, about 57 years, and she probably has a college education. Her income is not high, approximately $8,400. She is as likely to be married as single or widowed; if married, there is a joint income of $22,000. She and two other siblings may have been reared in a rural area although it is as likely to have been a large city. Her

parents had an income of about $9,200. She is a Protestant in her religious beliefs and politically may be either a Democrat or Republican.

The Discriminant Function Analyses

All-Six (Analysis 1)

A multiple discriminant function analysis with 5, 86 degree of freedom compared all subjects in all six groups. Of the original 97 variables, 43 significantly differentiated the groups and are presented in Table I. As can be seen, the variables are grouped under personality, demographic, and political headings to give some idea of the patterning of differences. The 43 variables indicate that women belonging to different organizations do differ from each other in several areas of functioning. These women differ in their comfort in social situations, in their perception of the role of the individual in the greater society, in their present family unit, and in their childhood experiences. Their knowledge of, attitudes toward, and involvement in politics significantly differ as do their perceptions of their political role. Finally, these women's motivations for organizational involvement are unique to their respective group.

Five variables, from the pool of 97 variables, made up the final prediction system used in the classification of subjects into the group which they most resembled in their pattern of scores. The information contained in Table II shows that knowing a woman's motivations for belonging to a group are spiritual, information-seeking, or working toward improvement of schools, her length of residence, and the number of political groups to which she belongs do significantly predict her group membership. More important to the question of political involvement, the

F-matrix (Table III) and the errors of classification (Table IV) reveal that when considering the six groups, there is a patterning of differences along a political-nonpolitical dimension. This is evidenced by the relatively smaller F-values in the dashed triangles seen in Table III and the fewer errors of classification in the top right and bottom left quadrangle in Table IV.

TABLE I

VARIABLES SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATING THE SIX GROUPS

Variable	F-step 0	Variable	F-step 0
Personality		Political	
dominance	2.34	information	3.65
sociability	3.08	# political groups	18.53
social presence	3.17	# offices	3.35
responsibility	2.38	political party	4.47
socialization	3.36	election participation	5.47
self-control	2.61	passive-interested	4.97
psychological mindedness	3.68	active-ineffective	3.48
femininity	2.92	active-effective	9.21
		somewhat favor ERA	2.49
Demographic		definitely favor ERA	5.19
age	11.52	run for office	9.54
single	2.99	political attitude	6.69
married	3.55	television	6.21
length of marriage	4.08	family	3.00
# children	3.74	abortion	2.37
personal income	12.42	challenge	13.32
combined income	4.58	goals of feminists	3.41
5000-10,000	2.53	association	7.90
father prefer girl	2.93	spiritual	20.03
mother no preference	2.61	improvement of schools	14.15
closeness to mother	2.94	informative	64.36
length of residence	16.57		
sex role	3.14		
employed	8.94		

$p < .05$, df = 5,86; F = 2.30.

$p < .01$, df = 5,86; F = 3.20.

TABLE II

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR THE ALL-SIX DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable*	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 0
informative-stimulating	64.36(5,86)	64.36(5,86)	46.59(5,82)
# political groups	18.53(5,86)	18.94(5,85)	13.01(5,82)
spiritual	20.03(5,86)	15.69(5,84)	22.62(5,82)
improvement schools	14.15(5,86)	16.78(5,83)	16.42(5,82)
length of residence	16.57(5,86)	14.79(5,82)	14.79(5,82)

*All variables p < .01.

TABLE III

F-MATRIX FOR THE ALL-SIX DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Group	WSL	WPC	LWV	PTA	Church
WPC	13.11				
LWV	44.16	28.27			
PTA	29.09	19.67	47.57		
Church	39.08	34.21	66.37	10.60	
Business	8.05	14.09	36.55	15.60	21.62

p < .01, df = 5,82; F = 3.20.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED INTO ALL-SIX GROUPS AT STEP 5

Group	WSL	WPC	LWV	PTA	Church	Business
WSL	13	1	0	0	0	1
WPC	0	13	3	0	0	1
LWV	0	0	18	0	0	1
PTA	0	1	0	8	0	3
Church	0	0	0	4	10	3
Business	0	0	0	0	0	12

TABLE V

VARIABLES SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATING POLITICAL AND NONPOLITICAL WOMEN

Variable	F-step 0	Variable	F-step 0
Personality		Political	
capacity for status	9.54	information	15.39
social presence	6.59	# political groups	24.20
tolerance	5.42	# offices	5.24
communality	6.43	political party	5.92
achievement via indep.	5.77	passive-interested	4.64
psychological mindedness	6.25	somewhat favor ERA	4.17
flexibility	5.65	definitely favor ERA	14.37
		somewhat oppose ERA	5.80
Demographic		run for office	8.18
age	6.92	political attitude	24.60
town	6.40	radio	5.68
5000-10,000	7.25	impeachment	8.73
father no preference	5.04	challenge	10.66
mother no preference	5.80	goals of feminists	4.46
sex role	14.23	spiritual	5.08
		improvement schools	12.43
		informative	19.33

p < .05, df = 1,58; F = 4.00.

p < .01, df = 1,58; F = 7.08.

The all-six analysis show then that women in the six groups do differ on several dimensions; these differences result in 83% accurate prediction of group membership, and that if there are errors of predictions they will tend to be within the political versus nonpolitical groups.

Political Versus Nonpolitical Women (Analysis 2)

Table V contains the 30 variables from the original 97 on which the political women significantly differ from nonpolitical women. As specific hypotheses were formulated in regard to differences between political and nonpolitical subjects, the data relevant to these hypotheses are examined (see pages 12-13 for the hypotheses and Appendices L and M for specific statistics).

Political women did not exhibit significantly greater attitudinal constraint than did nonpoliticals (F = 0.48, df = 1,56). Higher information scores were obtained by political women than nonpolitical women (F = 15.39, df = 1,56, p < .001). There does appear to be a difference in the relationship between information and constraint for political and nonpolitical women as evidenced by the correlation coefficients for the two variables (politicals: r = .149; nonpoliticals: r = .013; z = .67). However, the difference in correlations failed to reach statistical significance.

Two of the three indices of identification provide data to support the hypothesis that political women are more masculine in their sex role identification than are nonpoliticals. Although the Feminimity (Fe) score was nonsignificant at Step 0 (F = 1.86, df = 1,58), it entered the final prediction system with a F-value of 9.05 (df = 1,54, p < .01).

Scores on the Franck Drawing Completion Test did not significantly differ for politicals and nonpoliticals ($F = 0.31$, $df = 1,56$). Political women were significantly less traditionally feminine in their self-perceptions of their sex role ($F = 14.23$, $df = 1,56$, $p < .001$). Further evidence of the relationship of sex role identification and political behavior is given by the correlations of Femininity scores with active-effective participant perception of the woman's political role ($r = -.346$, $df = 58$, $p < .01$) and the number of political groups to which a woman belongs ($r = -.45$, $df = 58$, $p < .001$). A woman is more likely to belong to a political group and perceive her efforts as active and effective as she is less feminine in her interests.

There is a nonsignificant relationship between attitudinal constraint and sex role identification although the relationship suggested by the correlations are in the hypothesized direction of greater constraint evident in women less feminine in their identification. For the combined data of political-nonpolitical women correlating constraint with the Fe, the score yielded a $r = -.126$, with the Franck score yielded a $r = -.019$, and with sex role, $r = .178$. When calculating the correlation for political and nonpoliticals, a difference in the relationship is suggested; however, it is nonsignificant when testing differences between correlations [political: r (constraint-Fe) $= -.208$, nonpolitical: r (constraint-Fe) $= -.009$, $z = .92$; political: r (constraint-sex role $= .201$, nonpolitical: r (constraint-sex role) $= .009$, $z = .93$].

Further, as stated in hypothesis number 6, political women are more liberal than nonpolitical as measured by the Social Attitude Scale ($F = 24.6$, $df = 1,56$, $p < .001$).

Political women differed from nonpoliticals on several personality

traits. Specific scales on which differences emerged were capacity for status, social presence, tolerance, communality, achievement via independence, psychological mindedness, and flexibility. Compared to the nonpolitical group, a politically involved woman will tend to possess personal qualities which lead to status such as ambition, being more resourceful and forceful; she is more poised, spontaneous, and confident in her social interactions; she is more intellectually and verbally fluent, self-reliant, rebellious, assertive and idealistic than is the nonpolitical woman. A consistent quality in the personality of the political woman is a greater self-reliance and more of a concern for personal pleasure and diversion than is expressed by the nonpolitical woman.

The specific demographic differences that emerged between politicals and nonpoliticals are seen in Table V. Political women tend to be somewhat younger (40 years versus 47 years), have grown up in a town of less than 5000, have parents who earned somewhat less than parents of nonpolitical women, and have experienced their mothers and fathers having preferred one sex sibling over the other. As far as participation, political women hold fewer offices in the groups to which they belong, belong to more political groups, are less likely to view their role as passive-interested, are more likely to favor passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, are more likely to be a Democrat rather than a Republic, and have contemplated running for an elected public office. The political woman's motivations center around the challenge of politics and change, goals of the feminist movement, and the informative-stimulating atmosphere of her group.

The above has been an evaluation of the hypothesized differences between politically and nonpolitically involved women. As can be seen

there exist many differences. However, in formulating a final prediction
system from the pool of 97 variables, there emerged five variables, which
when used to classify political and nonpolitical women, misclassified
only 4 subjects of the 60 or with 93% accuracy. Table VI presents these
five variables and the F-value when the predictors were entered into the
system. Knowing that a woman tends to be politically liberal, belongs to
political groups, is motivated to participate because of the informative-
stimulating atmosphere, comes from a low-middle income family, and pos-
sess masculine interests leads to the 93% accurate prediction of her
being politically involved rather than nonpolitically involved.

TABLE VI

PREDICTOR VARIABLES OF POLITICAL VERSUS NONPOLITICAL WOMEN
DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 5
Political attitude	24.60(1,58)	24.60(1,58)	7.53(1,54)
# political groups	24.20(1,58)	16.49(1,57)	72.72(1,54)
informative	19.33(1,58)	34.07(1,56)	40.89(1,54)
parents' income	0.06(1,58)	8.03(1,55)	13.19(1,54)
femininity	1.86(1,58)	9.05(1,54)	9.05(1,54)

A cross validation of this political versus nonpolitical discrimi-
nant function was computed on an additional 32 Ss. This enabled an
evaluation of the accuracy with which these same five variables could
predict group classification for an independent sample. Table VII shows
a frequency distribution of the probabilities of classification of the

initial sample and the cross validation sample. There were only 5 errors

of classification of the 32 cross-validation subjects or 84.5% accuracy

of prediction. Four of the 21 political women were misclassified and one

of the 11 nonpolitical women were inaccurately assigned group membership.

In addition to the small number of errors, there is a large proportion of

subjects which were correctly classified with high probabilities (.95 and

above) in both the initial and cross-validation samples. Not only do

political and nonpolitical women differ, these differences do correctly

predict political and nonpolitical membership, and do so with high

probability for each separate individual.

TABLE VII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PROBABILITY OF CLASSIFICATION OF
POLITICAL AND NONPOLITICAL WOMEN

Probability of Classif.	Sample				Cross-Validation			
	PW/PW[1]	PW/NP[2]	NP/NP[3]	NP/PW[4]	PW/PW	PW/NP	NP/NP	NP/PW
1.00	10	0	8	0	6	1	0	0
.95- .99	12	0	19	0	11	1	8	0
.90- .94	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
.85- .89	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
.80- .84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
.75- .79	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
.70- .74	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
.65- .69	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
.60- .64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
.55- .59	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
.50- .54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	28	1	28	2	17	4	10	1

[1]PW/PW = political women statistically classified political women.

[2]PW/NP = political women statistically classified nonpolitical women.

[3]NP/NP = nonpolitical women statistically classified nonpolitical women.

[4]NP/PW = nonpolitical women statistically classified political women.

Having established that nonpolitically involved women differ from nonpoliticals, further analyses were conducted to examine the differences among the three nonpolitical groups and among the three political groups.

Nonpolitical (Community) Groups (Analysis 3)

An overall comparison of the three nonpolitical women's groups was done but no specific pairwise comparisons were made because of the smaller sample sizes and because of the primary interest being centered on political behavior and its correlates.

The discriminant function analysis was conducted using the pool of 97 variables. The 15 variables which significantly differentiated among the PTA, church, and business women are presented in Table VIII. An examination of the means of the 15 variables for the three nonpolitical groups give further evidence of the differences among these women. Business women differ from the other two groups as to age, current marital status, number of children, employment, and personal income. Specifically, business women are less likely to be currently married, have fewer children, are more likely to be employed, and, therefore, make more money. The differences on the political variables of election participation and the number of political groups are accounted for by the PTA women who are more politically involved than the other two groups. Again each group has its own motivation for nonpolitical involvement: PTA, the improvement of schools for children; church women, spiritual reasons; and, business women, the association with women similar to themselves.

The final five predictors of the derived discriminant function are listed in Table IX. These were statistically selected because of their predictability of group membership. Motivations for participation, age,

and employment are the most important variables in predicting differences among the three nonpolitical groups. These factors do lead to quite accurate prediction (92%) of group membership with the only errors being in the church group as can be seen in Table X.

TABLE VIII

VARIABLES SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENTIATING THE THREE
NONPOLITICAL GROUPS

Variable	F-value
Personality	
Psychological mindedness	5.07
Femininity	3.43
Demographic	
Age	23.18
Married	9.59
# children	7.86
Personal income	13.66
Parent's income	3.48
Closeness to mother	4.13
Length of residence	9.39
Employed	21.36
Political	
Election participation	4.95
Association with women	11.32
Spiritual	15.89
Improvement of schools	9.17
# political groups	6.72

$p < .05$, F = 3.25, df = 2,38.

$p < .01$, F = 5.21, df = 2,38.

TABLE IX

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR THE THREE NONPOLITICAL
GROUPS DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-value	F-entered	F-step 5
Age	23.18(2,38)	23.18(2,38)	13.28(2,34)
Spiritual	15.89(2,38)	15.52(2,37)	23.35(2,34)
Association	11.32(2,38)	15.78(2,36)	10.60(2,34)
Employed	21.36(2,38)	11.21(2,35)	9.82(2,34)
Improvement of schools	9.17(2,38)	3.89(2,34)	3.89(2,34)

TABLE X

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED INTO NONPOLITICALS
GROUPS AT STEP 5

Group	PTA	Church	Business
PTA	12	0	0
Church	2	14	1
Business	0	0	12

The final five predictors of the derived discriminant function are listed in Table IX. These were statistically selected because of their predictability of group membership. Motivations for participation, age, and employment are the most important variables in predicting differences among the three nonpolitical groups. These factors do lead to quite accurate prediction (92%) of group membership with the only errors being in the church group as can be seen in Table X.

Political Groups (Analysis 4)

Of the 97 original variables, thirty were found to significantly differentiate among the three political groups. These thirty variables are presented in Table XI. As can be seen by comparing Tables VIII and XI, the three groups of political women differ on a greater number of variables than do nonpolitical-community women groups, especially in the area of personality functioning. Table XII contains the political groups discriminant function for final predictors of group membership. These four variables were selected from the original pool of 97 variables. Aside from the one motivation factor, informative-stimulating, the other three variables are essentially socio-economic factors dealing with resi- dence in the community and income through employment. Using only the information provided by these four of the 97 variables lead to prediction of 88% accuracy in placement of the woman in the political group to which she belongs (presented in Table XIII).

There are significant differences among the three political groups in the areas of personality, demographic, and political functioning. Specific differences among the three political groups are presented under the different pairwise analyses.

TABLE XI

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENTIATORS OF THE THREE POLITICAL WOMEN GROUPS

Variable	F-step 0
Personality	
dominance	5.12
sociability	6.19
social presence	5.46
self-acceptance	3.96
sense of well-being	3.77
responsibility	3.43
self-control	5.03
achievement via conf.	4.83
Demographic	
age	10.16
length of marriage	7.88
personal income	15.95
combined income	9.95
father preference unknown	3.34
mother preference unknown	3.19
# groups	3.64
length of residence	31.40
employed	4.86
Political	
# political groups	13.98
political party	6.89
election participation	3.63
active-ineffective	5.04
active-effective	16.43
run for office	13.06
television	12.17
newspapers	3.54
abortion	3.38
challenge	13.58
association	5.76
informative	62.74

$p < .05$, $df = 2,48$; $F = 3.19$.

$p < .01$, $df = 2,48$; $F = 5.08$.

TABLE XII

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR THE THREE POLITICAL WOMEN
GROUPS DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 4
Informative	62.74(2,48)	72.74(2,48)	59.04(2,45)
Length of residence	31.40(2,48)	27.14(2,47)	25.98(2,45)
Employed	4.86(2,48)	8.09(2,46)	7.14(2,45)
Combined income	9.95(2,48)	5.54(2,45)	5.54(2,45)

TABLE XIII

NUMBER OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED IN
POLITICAL GROUPS AT STEP 4

Group	WSL	WPC	LWV
WSL	14	1	0
WPC	1	13	3
LWV	0	1	18

Women State Legislators Versus Women Political

Caucus (Analysis 5)

Table XIV contains the 21 significant differentiators from the
original 97 variables which differentiated between Legislators and
Political Caucus members. The three personality traits on which the two
groups differ reflect the expected qualities of a Legislator. The woman
Legislator tends to be significantly more aggressive, confident, and

outgoing in her social interactions; at the same time, such a woman is more moderate and peaceable in her personal/social interactions. Her need for achievement is salient and she is more comfortable with conventional structure by which to measure her performance than is a Caucus member.

TABLE XIV

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENTIATORS BETWEEN STATE LEGISLATORS
AND POLITICAL CAUCUS WOMEN

Variable	F-step 0
Personality	
sociability	4.39
good impression	8.89
achievement via conf.	11.29
Demographic	
age	26.81
length of marriage	14.82
personal income	12.86
combined income	16.23
Protestant	5.64
nonreligious	4.33
length of residence	58.79
# groups	4.27
Political	
political party	15.42
passive-interested	4.33
active-ineffective	9.84
active-effective	25.78
run for office	8.07
television	15.00
newspapers	8.35
abortion	5.49
challenge	27.09
goals of feminists	15.82

$p < .05$, df = 1,26; F = 4.22.

$p < .01$, df = 1,26; F = 7.72.

The Legislators are older, married longer, earn higher incomes, more religious and more likely to be Protestant, have lived longer in the same community, and belong to more organizations than do Caucus members. The woman Legislator in this sample sees herself as an active-effective participant in the political process while the Caucus members are variable in their perception of their political role. The two groups differ in the use of television and newspapers as a source of information on politics and current events. Legislators utilize newspapers as their main source of information while the source for Caucus members tends to be television. The Caucus members are almost certainly Democrats in party identification and the Legislators are a mixture of both Republicans and Democrats. Legislators are motivated primarily by the challenge of political involvement while Caucus members are more likely to be motivated by attainment of the goals of the feminist movement. These differences are based on the data presented in Table XIV and Appendix L.

From the pool of differentiator variables, five variables were entered into a final prediction system which placed Legislators and Political Caucus members with 100% accuracy into the appropriate group. This information is presented in Tables XV and XVI. Knowing a woman's personal and combined income, how long she has lived in her community, her perception of her political role as an active-effective participant and her motivation to work toward goals of women's rights leads to perfect prediction of such a woman being a state Legislator or Political Caucus member.

TABLE XV

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR THE LEGISLATOR VERSUS POLITICAL
CAUCUS DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 5
Length of residence	58.79(1,30)	58.79(1,30)	15.79(1,26)
Active-effective	25.78(1,30)	10.68(1,29)	14.65(1,26)
Goals of feminists	15.82(1,30)	12.95(1,28)	17.74(1,26)
Combined income	16.23(1,30)	8.38(1,27)	6.93(1,26)
Personal income	12.86(1,30)	4.66(1,26)	4.66(1,26)

TABLE XVI

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED AS LEGISLATORS AND
POLITICAL CAUCUS MEMBERS AT STEP 5

Group	WSL	WPC
WSL	15	0
WPC	0	17

Women State Legislators Versus League of Women

Voters (Analysis 6)

Table XVII contains the 22 variables of the original 97 variables on
which the Legislators and League members differ. In personality
functioning the Legislator exhibits significantly higher scores on five
variables. The Legislator is more forceful, capable of influencing
others, and therefore, more capable of exercising leadership. She

possesses a sense of personal worth which aids in her high level of interpersonal activities which are characterized by spontaneity and caprice.

The Legislator is older, has a longer established residence, belongs to more organizations, is more religious, and, through her employment, has a higher income. The political differences between the Legislator and League member are much the same as the differences between a Caucus member and a Legislator, except there is less activity evident by the League member in terms of number of political groups and her degree of election participation. The motivational differences of the Legislator and the League member perhaps parallel this lesser activity. Legislators are more motivated by the challenge of bringing about political and social change while the League members are motivated by the informative-stimulating atmosphere of their organization (Table XVIII).

Four predictor variables emerged from the total 97 to form a prediction system which classified women with 100% accuracy as a Legislator or League member. These variables can be seen in Table XVIII and the classification in Table XIX. Religious beliefs, perception of oneself as an active-effective participant in the political process, and a motivation to seek information enables perfect classification of whether a woman is a state Legislator or a member of the League of Women Voters.

TABLE XVII

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENTIATORS BETWEEN LEGISLATORS
AND LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Variable	F-step 0	Variable	F-step 0
Personality		Political	
dominance	9.48	# political groups	29.77
sociability	13.01	political party	4.18
social presence	6.49	election participation	6.83
self-acceptance	6.49	passive-interested	6.52
achievement via conf.	6.45	active-ineffective	10.27
		active-effective	39.53
Demographic		run for office	35.09
age	6.19	television	23.23
personal income	28.10	challenge	18.03
combined income	10.61	informative	254.12
nonreligious	5.04		
# groups	7.25		
length of residence	23.35		
employed	10.82		

p < .05, df = 1.32; F = 4.15.

p < .01, df = 1.32; F = 7.50.

TABLE XVIII

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR LEGISLATOR VERSUS LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 4
Informative	254.12(1,32)	254.12(1,32)	182.97(1,29)
Active-effective	39.53(1,32)	8.05(1,31)	4.13(1,29)
Protestant	3.30(1,32)	6.11(1,30)	20.02(1,29)
Non-religious	5.04(1,32)	11.97(1,29)	11.97(1,29)

TABLE XIX

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED INTO GROUPS OF LEGISLATORS
AND LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AT STEP 4

Group	WSL	LWV
WSL	15	0
LWV	0	19

Women's Political Caucus Versus League of Women

Voters (Analysis 7)

There were 15 of the 97 variables which significantly differentiated women involved in the Political Caucus and those women involved in the League of Women Voters. These variables are seen in Table XX. Women involved in the Political Caucus and the League differ from each other on several dimensions of personality. Caucus members exhibit significantly greater social poise and spontaneity in their social interactions and possess greater self-confidence and determination. League members present higher scores in areas of responsibility and self-control. Although both groups scored in the optimum range on these latter areas, there is a qualitative difference in the two groups of women in personality functioning. A League member is more concerned about rules and order that govern social relationships, the personal control of these women centers around social stability and reduction of interpersonal friction. Innovativeness and zest in confronting and introducing social change characterize the Caucus members.

TABLE XX

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENTIATORS BETWEEN POLITICAL CAUCUS
AND LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Variable	F-step 0
Personality	
social presence	7.02
self-acceptance	4.44
responsibility	5.54
self-control	9.08
Demographic	
length of marriage	9.89
parents' income	7.52
father prefer girl	5.94
father's preference unknown	7.41
mother no preference	5.45
mother preference unknown	7.41
length of residence	8.16
Political	
# political groups	23.95
election participation	4.54
association	6.76
informative	53.04

$p < .05$, df = 1,34; F = 4.13.

$p < .01$, df = 1,34; F = 7.44.

League members have been married longer, and have lived longer in the community. The women in the two groups differ in their perception of their parents. The League members report their mothers did not prefer one child over another, or at least, they were unaware of such differences in preferences. Similarly, League members were unaware of their fathers' preferences. However, Caucus members report significantly more often that their parents did prefer one child over another. Mothers of

Caucus members were perceived to prefer one sibling; however, the means in Appendix L show the preferences were equal between preference for a male or female child. Fathers of Caucus members were perceived significantly more often by their daughters to have preferred a female child than were fathers of League members.

The two groups differed in their motivation for involvement in their respective organizations; League members by the informative-stimulating atmosphere and Caucus members significantly more often than League members by the association with other women. See Appendix L for the means for the motivations for the two groups. Political Caucus members were significantly more involved in election activities and belong to significantly more political groups.

Table XXI contains the five final predictors drawn from the original pool of 97 variables used in the classifying of League members and Caucus members into appropriate groups. The information obtained from knowing whether a woman is motivated to participate by a desire for informative-stimulating atmosphere or by the association with women similar to herself, what her parents' income was when she was growing up, what her current combined income is and her degree of social presence enables a prediction of group membership with 97% accuracy or only one error. Classification accuracy is presented in Table XXII.

TABLE XXI

PREDICTOR VARIABLES FOR POLITICAL CAUCUS AND LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION

Variable	F-step 0	F-entered	F-step 5
Informative	53.04(1,34)	53.04(1,34)	55.57(1,30)
Social presence	7.02(1,34)	10.24(1,33)	5.38(1,30)
Combined income	1.90(1,34)	4.61(1,32)	8.22(1,30)
Association	6.76(1,34)	5.52(1,31)	7.23(1,30)
Parents' income	7.51(1,34)	4.71(1,30)	4.71(1,30)

TABLE XXII

NUMBER OF POLITICAL CAUCUS AND LEAGUE OF WOMEN
VOTERS CLASSIFIED AT STEP 5

Group	WPC	LWV
WPC	18	1
LWV	0	17

Results' Summary

The data presented from the seven analyses have clearly answered the three questions initially addressed in this section. Women in the six groups studied are, indeed, different from one another. Aspects of personality styles, demographic background, and social-political functioning were found to differentiate these groups of women. Differences in these three areas were found not only to differentiate between political and

nonpolitical women, but also within the political and nonpolitical groups.

In each comparison four or five variables formulated a system (en-abled by the variance those specific variables accounted for) which did predict group membership for each individual woman. From a pool of 97 pieces of information about each woman, five factors emerged that answered the questions, "To which group would this woman most likely belong?" A summary of the predictor variables for each analysis is presented in Table XXIII. Over half of the final predictors deal with two areas of functioning: motivation for continued participation and income. The information contained in Table XXIII emphasizes the importance of certain specific variables in predicting differences among women as to their organizational involvement.

Also included in Table XXIII is the percentage of accuracy of pre-diction for each of those prediction systems. The lowest percentage of accuracy of classification was 81% on the initial All-Six analysis and the highest with 100% accuracy was the two pairwise comparisons of Legislators with Caucus and League members. For the seven analyses, there was an average percentage of accuracy of 93% in appropriately pre-dicting a woman's group membership.

It can be concluded that these data do reveal differences among women involved in different political-nonpolitical organizations and that these differences do enable a highly accurate prediction of which type of activity is most characteristic of any specific woman.

TABLE XXIII

SUMMARY OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES AND DERIVED ACCURACY OF
PREDICTION FOR THE SEVEN DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS

Analysis	Predictor	Percent Accuracy
All-six	informative # political groups spiritual improvement length of residence	81%
Political-Nonpolitical	political attitude # political groups informative parents' income femininity	93%
Nonpoliticals	age spiritual association employed improvement	92%
Politicals	informative length of residence employed combined income	88%
Legislator-Caucus	length of residence active-effective goals of feminists combined income personal income	100%
Legislator-League	informative active-effective Protestant nonreligious	100%
Caucus-League	informative social presence combined income association parents' income	97%

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The women making up the six groups under analysis are women actively involved in their community through the different mechanisms of their respective organizations. These women are a highly homogeneous segment of our society: white, upper-middle class, college-educated women living in the midwest. On the continuum discussed in the Introduction, these women are working within the present social-political system. With all the similarities these women share, it has been clearly shown that these women differ from each other and these differences fall along the lines of their choice of type of activity, i.e., the mechanisms through which they express their energies.

The factors which not only differentiate these groups but also predict, with great accuracy, with which group a woman chooses to identify are somewhat repetitive and, to some extent, obvious. In asking the questions, "How are politically involved women different from nonpolitically involved women?", it would be logical to suggest a political woman would belong to more political groups than would a nonpolitical woman. Similarly, in asking to what organization is a woman most likely to belong, it would seem likely to respond, "Whatever groups meet her interests." In examining the predictor variables (Table XXIII), it can be seen that such responses do emerge in the final prediction system, variables which can be called face-valid predictors.

Variables which predict differences between politicals and non-
politicals indicate that knowing a woman is politically liberal, belongs
to a number of political groups, seeks out informative-stimulating organ-
izations, is less traditionally feminine in her interests, and comes from
a low income family allows high accuracy in the differentiation. To
differentiate nonpoliticals or the community women all the information
necessary is the motivation (i.e., whether motivation is spiritual, a
desire to improve schools, or a desire to associate with women similar to
herself), the woman's age and whether or not she is employed. Among the
political women, such information as combined income, employment (which
is related to income), length of residence, and the desire for
informative-stimulation allows satisfactory prediction. In examining the
differences among the three specific political groups there is even
greater accuracy on the basis of information such as income, religion,
motivations and role perception as an active-effective participant.

It is somewhat overwhelming that, from the mass of data available on
these women, knowing four or five pieces of information per analysis does
correctly predict membership with an average of 93% accuracy. However,
is it surprising that a politically involved woman would belong to polit-
ical groups or that an elected state legislator would view her political
efforts as active and effective? Hardly. It is the purpose of the dis-
criminant function analysis to remove those variables which most com-
pletely account for the variability between groups and that the
statistical analyses did most effectively as seen in the Results section.
After having answered the questions of group differences, predictability,
accuracy and replicability for a sample of political and nonpoliticals,
the most important questions can be formulated. What does the face-valid

information suggest as to the antecedents and correlates of politicalization in women? What factors influence membership in political groups and perception as an active-effective participant?

As further evidence of the differences between politicals and non-politicals, the relationships of political variables with personality, demographic and other political variables were examined. Appendix P presents the political variables found to differentiate political and non-political women and all variables significantly correlated with these political variables. Although constraint was not a significant differentiator, it was included because of its importance to the basis of the hypothesized differences among politicals and nonpoliticals. The correlations were taken from the separate analyses of political (#4) and non-political (#3) groups. These correlations give greater support to the documented differences in overt political behavior of the two groups of women. Political behavior is mediated by different factors and, at times, different relationships to the same factors for political and nonpolitical women.

The clearest example of the differences in mediation is evidenced by the relationship of attitudinal constraint or interrelatedness of a woman's attitude system to other areas of functioning.

The differences between political and nonpolitical women can be seen in the relationship of attitudinal constraint with the personality traits of social presence, socialization, flexibility and the score of the political attitude indicating liberalism-conservatism. In political women, a highly integrated attitudinal system is significantly related to more liberal attitudes, to a flexible, adaptive temperament, to expression of impulse and control of aggression through the process of initiating

social change, to a lower degree of socialization and respect for societal rules and to greater social poise and spontaneity. In contrast, high constraint of nonpolitical women is related to less flexibility, to a greater respect for rules manifested in the socialization process, to less social poise and to conservative social attitudes. These mediational differences strongly suggest that, although this sample of political and nonpolitical women do not differ in their attitudinal constraint, constraint appears to serve a different function for the two groups. This functional difference is that difference Jones (1974) labeled as intuitive style which is information-avoidant versus a cognizant style which is information-seeking.

A broad conceptualization of political women as presenting an open, cognizant functioning while nonpolitical women operate from a closed, intuitive, style of cognitive functioning may at first appear to be an unfounded overgeneralization. However, in examining the patterns of differences between the two groups it becomes more possible to use the conceptualization of critical questioning as the main factor around which these women differ. To begin the examination of this speculation that a political woman is an individual who has learned to question, to seek out information through which to provide structure to her environment, a synthesis of specific demographic and political variables is necessary.

The theoretical basis for this research postulated that a woman who experienced the establishment of her identity as a woman-person differently from the specific identification with her mother as role-model would exhibit consequential differences in her cognitive functioning and sex role identification. If, because of moderate distance from her mother, a woman had to ask as a young girl the question, "With whom do I

identify?", there followed a problem solving process. Involved in this identification process the woman very early in her life (age four or five) learned or adopted a cognitive style of analyzing, abstracting and restructuring the stimulus world about her.

The three specific demographic factors characterizing differences between politicals and nonpoliticals relevant to the questioning process are income, family dynamics and sex role identification. A politically involved woman comes from a family unit of quite low income (median income, $4000). In her family relationships, a political woman reported greater distance from both her mother and father than did nonpoliticals. This reported distance from the parents is a moderate distance on the continuum on which the women responded. Further, a political woman was more likely to know her father's and mother's preference for one of the siblings over the other family members. The latter two factors suggest a familial atmosphere that either required or allowed the questioning of the individual's position in the family unit. The low income of the family unit in a town of less than 5000 or greater than 50,000 would further create an atmosphere of socio-economic struggle to ascertain the individual's position in the greater society. Simply, it is hypothesized that emotional and/or socio-economic uncertainty led to personal questioning through which the woman attempted to resolve the uncertainty as to her personal identity as a woman, as a family member and as a member of society.

In examining Appendix P the relationship of parental preferences and closeness to political behavior can be seen. Parental distance is significantly related to political attitudes and party identification for political women. Less feminine interests and/or less traditional sex

role perception is related to the number of political groups, political party identification, and to political attitude. For a political woman, experiencing more distance from her mother and father, less feminine interests and rejection of traditional feminine sex role is significantly related to her being a Democrat with liberal political views involved in political groups. These relationships do not exist for nonpolitical women.

Interestingly, the correlations in Appendix P reveal a greater proportion of significant correlates for nonpolitical women being the variables dealing with parental preferences, typically no preference or not knowing parental preference. The speculation is offered that a nonpolitical woman did not experience the childhood questioning, the introspection and self-evaluation essential to the formulating of a self-system of greater ego maturity that would restructure her perception of her familial and social atmosphere, and thus, enabling the formulating of an open cognizant style characteristic of a more politically involved woman. In a sense, the nonpolitical woman has not yet shifted from the uncritical intuitive style absorbed from an unquestioned socialization and identification process or the conscientious ego stage. This is supported by the personality differences seen in political and nonpolitical women and personality trait correlations with political behavior as discussed above in relation to attitudinal constraint. The political woman is involved in the critical questioning of her current social-political surroundings and the correlations reflect this mediational difference of the political and nonpolitical woman.

Summary

This rather lengthy and involved analysis has provided some information as to factors effecting the degree of political involvement in women. An attempt to integrate information as to personality, demographic background, present social functioning and political behavior has indeed offered some insight into women who are active in our social system. It has been shown that these women differ on a wide range of variables from childhood residence, parental closeness, educational levels and present life situations as to the manner in which these women approach political activity. This research may be, and must be, characterized as a mere survey, however detailed, of select groups of women. It is similar to the initial session in psychotherapy--an overview of the circumstances related to current functioning of women in the political realm. What has been learned from these women is only a beginning. To pursue the analogy of psychotherapy, the information presented is in part an answer to questions of what and how. What types of past and present circumstances are characteristic of these women? How do these political women differ from nonpoliticals who are similar to themselves? Just as the focus of therapy is an integration of the what and how of human behavior, so as to answer the why and begin the process of personal change, so is this research an attempt to integrate the what and how of political functioning. But this is where this research ends. There are no clearcut explanations of why one woman would choose to become politically involved and another would not.

Just as some persons feel answering the whys in psychotherapy is an academic exercise illafforded in bringing about personal change, some persons may feel attempts to explore and formulate the why of political

involvement is an intellectual excursion only delaying the social-political change needed for the full expression of women in this society. However, to know the course ahead, it is necessary to know the road behind. What are now needed to extend this initial examination to obtain a fuller understanding of the politicalization process in women are two research investigations. First, there is a need to extend the continuum of women to include those women inactive in either political or nonpolitical organizations and those women who are active in working outside and against the social-political system to bring about social change. Do similar factors differentiate women who choose to channel their entire energies into their homes and families? Are militant feminists working toward social-political revolution just further along the continuum from politically involved women as in this sample or are other dimensions involved? These groups of women are needed to enable a more comprehensive examination of the alternative role positions and the factors effecting them. Second, there is a need for a comprehensive longitudinal study of women beginning in childhood. If the childhood factors of parental preferences, closeness and income are such pervasive influences on adult political behavior, then such experiences need to be monitored as the experiences are in progress. By studying young girls and women of families of differing dynamics and observing their politicalization, the answers to why a woman chooses to invest her energies into political activities would be more clear.

For there to be an understanding of the antecedents and correlates of political behavior there must be a continuing intensive examination of those behaviors which are being integrated. As in psychotherapy, the

actualization of human potential occurs only when the individual is free
to look, to question and then to decide for herself.

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APPENDIX A

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The purpose of this review is to examine factors effecting the in-
dividual's predisposition to respond or behave in the political realm of
the social environment. Major emphasis will be given to social-cognitive
factors of attitude formation, political socialization of young people,
differences in political behavior of men and women, and finally to dif-
ferences of political and apolitical women.

The most frequently studied question in political behavior has to do
with how an individual votes and why. In a study of voting behavior in
the 1940 Roosevelt and Wilkie election reported in The People's Choice
(Lazarfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1948), the voters' social characteris-
tics were to account for the particular vote cast. This Index of Polit-
ical Predisposition (IPP) was simply the individual's standing on three
demographic variables: regligion, social class, and urban or rural resi-
dence. It was found that those persons with politically contradictory
predispositions (e.g., middle-class Catholics) were more likely to vacil-
late in the voting preference, were less interested in the campaign, and
were more dependent on personal influence of others.

In the tradition of such research Rossi (1966) set forward six main
generalizations about voting behavior.

1. Campaign issues are not important in the electoral vote.
   Individual positions on issues tend to follow party
   loyalty.
2. Few voters change candidate preference during a campaign.
   Those who do change tend to be less knowledgeable.
3. Mass media has little effect on changing votes.
4. Personality variables are not strongly related to partisan
   choice.
5. Partisan choice consistently correlates with membership
   in certain social groups.
6. Primary groups (e.g., family or work group) provide the
   major source for longstanding political loyalties---not
   personality or political ideology.

Stated simply, voters reflect the political atmosphere of their immediate

environment.

Over the years the IPP has lost its predictive value in that demo-
graphic factors are now quite variable geographically and across time.
Researchers at Michigan's survey Research Center have taken the approach
of studying voting patterns through the use of three dimensions: party
identification, issue orientation, and candidate orientation. Party
identification is the "sense of personal attachment which the individual
feels toward the party of his choice" (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954,
pp. 88-89). The concept of issue orientation consisted of issue partisan-
ship which was the extent the person consistently took the party's posi-
tion on campaign issues and of the extent of issue orientation which was
sensitivity to party differences combined with number of issues the indi-
vidual took a stance upon. Candidate orientation also was conceived of
in terms of partisanship and extent of orientation. Each dimension was
associated with the vote and was treated as an additional motivational
factor. The greater the consistency of the dimensions, the greater the
predictive success.

Later studies changed the concept of party identification. In the
classic study The American Voter (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes,
1960, p. 136) the importance of party identification was stressed.

> ...the voting act can be explained in an immediate sense by
> the strength and direction and consistency of attitudes toward
> the political objects this act touches. ...an important part
> of these attitudes may in turn be accounted for by stable
> party identification.

One model developed through causal inference technique showed five
factors predicting presidential vote (Goldberg, 1966, p. 99). According
to this model, "an individual's father's sociological characteristics,
father's party identification, and respondent's sociological

characteristics have almost no impact upon voting behavior save as they
act through the respondent's party identification." Party identification
is known to be quite stable and appears to be best accounted for in terms
of political socialization. However, a shortcoming in Goldberg's model
is that it does not provide for the influence of partisan attitude on
party identification. Partisan attitudes appear to be a result of party
identification and the individual's perception of political events
(Sears, 1969). Attention needs to be given to the nature of these per-
ceptions and the process by which the stimuli are translated into partisan
attitudes and behavior.

In thinking of the democratic voting process it is often presupposed
that the voter is an omnicompetent citizen (Hennessey, 1965). Such a
citizen is attentive and informed about events of political life, accu-
rately perceives the differing positions taken by the various political
parties, and holds one of the common versions of political ideology so
that he can assess alternatives by referring to his own ideological sys-
tem. Examining the literature on political information processing, it
becomes clear how erroneous such assumptions are.

Political affairs is a portion of life in which most people are in-
different and unknowledgeable. When asked to describe what their fondest
hope and worse fears were, a sample of American citizens responded with
political matters in only 2% and 5%, respectively, of the cases. Typical
responses centered around personally relevant concerns such as health and
economic difficulties (Cantril, 1965). This suggests that political mat-
ters are of low saliency and perhaps that such matters would become of
greater saliency if they had greater personal relevance.

Assessing the level of political information individuals possess

depends greatly on the structure and details of the interview process; however, some general findings are reflective of the general public's information level. Hyman and Sheatsly (1954) describe a "hard core of know-nothings" who are unknowledgeable or unacquainted with almost anything political. In almost every poll of public information there is approximately 20% of the sample who reveal complete ignorance of the subject. Then there is the informed layman who is familiar with the most salient headline issues or the most salient public officials. Beyond this, the level of information drops off quickly for the average citizen. There is a small percentage that Hyman, et al. refer to as the attentive public who have a greater fund of knowledge of political events; for example typical percentages of samples of citizens able to name both of their state's senators was 35% (Erskine, 1963). However, it can be concluded that the general public is unaware of political happenings.

Perhaps the low level of information held by the general public is compensated by the manner in which it is precessed, i.e., by an integrative guiding set of ideological principles. Before this possibility can be assessed the meaning of ideology should be made clear. Ideology refers to "...a particularly elaborate, close-woven and far-ranging structure of attitudes" (Campbell, et al., 1960, p. 197). There are two characteristics of an ideology that are of importance. First, any cognitive structure that subsumes content of wide range and diversity must involve concepts of high order abstractions. Second, it is assumed that his abstraction supplies a manageable number of ordering dimensions permitting the individual to make sense of a braod range of events.

Converse (1964, p. 207) defined a belief system as a "...configuration of ideas and attitudes in which elements are bound together by some

form of constraint or functional interdependence." Centrality, range,
and constraint are three dimensions of a belief system. Centrality re-
fers to the importance of the system within the general framework of the
person's personality. Range is the number of objects subsumed under a
given system. Constraint refers to the probability that a change in the
perceived status of one element would psychologically require a change in
the perceived status of other elements in the system. More simply, con-
straint is the extent to which elements of a belief system or ideology
are interrelated.

Jones (1972, p. 10) summarized the elements of commonality in
different conceptualizations of belief systems. A belief system:

1. Consists of a combination if individual attitudes relative
   to a class or category of stimuli.
2. Forms functional categories for the reception of stimuli
   for the person.
3. Varies in terms of the range of the system.
4. Varies in terms of centrality.
5. Varies in terms of the degree of interrelatedness of
   individual elements or subsystems, i.e., constraint.

The concept of ideological constraint is helpful in describing and
comparing ideologies of various individuals and groups. Converse (1964)
found that the integration of belief systems into logical units requires
a creative synthesis of abstract material that is a characteristic ability
of only a small segment of the population. It was hypothesized by
Converse that constraint varied in a linear fashion with the amount of
information about the elements in the belief system, i.e., the greater
the information level the greater the level of constraint. Converse par-
titioned the distribution of information he obtained from the open-ended
questions concerning the differences between the two political parties
into five levels of conceptualizations. The resultant levels of concep-
tualizations are:

1. Ideologue. This group were those who employed correctly
   the abstract or ideological differences. Only 2% of the
   sample reached this level.
2. Near-Ideologue. Nine percent of the sample used abstract
   concepts only peripherally and then with some confusion.
3. Ideologue-by-proxy or Group interest. Subjects responded
   mostly in terms of some specific interest group, e.g.,
   labor, agriculture, etc. Forty-two percent of the sample
   comprised this group.
4. Nature of the times. This level of conceptualization was
   characterized by vague references to broad social events
   such as war, inflation, etc. Such responses were used by
   24% of the sample.
5. No issue content. Twenty-two and a half percent of the
   respondents claimed no interest or knowledge of current
   political matters.

The vast majority of the public lack the ability to use abstractions

to integrate information (e.g., using liberal attitudinal position to

formulate attitudes toward domestic and foreign policies). Converse

looked at correlations among seven standard Survey Research Center policy

items. For the set, the average correlation was only r=.16. In the gen-

eral public major attitudes seem only moderately interrelated and, thus,

are characterized by low constraint. In party elites the intercorrela-

tions are much higher suggesting that among political sophisticates

ideological/abstract principles play a greater function in attitude for-

mation. However, at the same time, greater information is associated

with greater alignment of votes with group membership. Converse suggests

that greater sophistication increases reliance on group cues but only to

a point. At high levels of sophistication the more complex and abstract

cues come into operation. In general, few citizens organize their polit-

ical ideas in an abstract framework (ideologue) recognizable to political

thinkers (Sears, 1969).

A somewhat different relationship of constraint and information was

found by Jones (1972) when constraint and information level were calcu-

lated separately. It was shown that persons scoring both high and low in

information yielded significantly higher levels of constraint than per-

sons with moderate information. A curvilinear relationship emerged as

opposed to Converse's linear model.

Jones discussed the two different high constraint groups as to the

function information plays in the person's attitudinal system.

> Both styles of belief represent highly organized and struc-
> tured attitude systems, but one apparently results from
> information seeking behavior while the other is information
> avoidant (1974, p. 12).

The two groups are referred to as cognizant and intuitive. Within this

nonlinear model Jones hypothesized a developmental sequence in which

> individuals shift from the uncritical and intuitive attitude
> system of adolescence which are absorbed through socialization
> agents and authority figures to a transitional period of dis-
> organization, confusion, and unpredictability, followed by an
> intellectual reorganization of attitudes supported by informa-
> tion relevant to the system (1974, p. 12).

Further investigation is needed to establish if the cognizant and intui-

tive systems of constraint have varying relationships to other factors

that have been shown to correlate with constraint levels.

Persons who are categorized in the different conceptual levels dif-

fer from each other in terms of degree of involvement in political

affairs, level of education, sense of political efficacy, and sex. It is

important to note that these factors are all related to each other. It

has consistently been shown that those persons who are more highly inte-

grated ideologies which function on a more abstract level (Converse,

1964; Rambo, Jones, and Finney, 1973). Converse (1964) presented data

supporting the relationship of education and level of conceptualization.

As the amount of education increases the percentage of respondents

falling into the Ideologue category increases significantly with the per-

centages in the lower levels of conceptualization decreasing. The same

positive relationship is seen between the level of education and polit-
ical involvement, i.e., the higher the level of education the more likely
a person will be actively involved in political activities. Similarly,
the higher the level of education, the greater the sense of political
efficacy. Political efficacy refers here to the belief of being able to
cope with the complexities of the political process and the belief that
individual participation carries some weight in the political process.
It should be noted that the person with a high level of efficacy is more
likely to be involved in political activities and more likely to possess
high levels of conceptualization of political ideologies. Such a person
has some basis for his belief in his capacity to influence the political
process.

The one factor which most clearly differentiates these aspects of
political behavior is the sex of the respondent (Converse, 1964; Rambo,
et al., 1973). Across levels of education, males reflect a higher level
of conceptualization than do females. Even when controlling for educa-
tion and participation, females show lower constraint levels than do
comparable males (Rambo, et al., 1973). Perhaps of greater significance
women possess a lower sense of political efficacy across educational and
participation levels. Converse (1964, p. 490) holds that "belief in
personal efficacy is one of the most prominent attitudes mediating voting
and other political behavior." It is here in personal/political efficacy
that the effects of socialization in political behavior and sex roles are
most clearly seen. Discussion of further differences in sex-related
political differences becomes clearer after examining the process and in-
fluence of the socialization into political roles of both men and women.

Political Socialization

The importance of primary groups in shaping and mediating political behavior has been documented (Campbell, et al., 1960; Goldberg, 1966). A primary group of special significance would be the nuclear family and its process of socializing offspring. The division of labor ascribed by role definitions of the spouses would be central in the socialization of the young. There are two major role theories that will be employed to review these family influences. First, there is role differentiation that exists along a single continuum of instrumental/adaptive to the extra-familial world as one extreme and expressive/nurturant vis-a-vis the family as the other extreme (Zelditch, 1955). Second, there is the possibility of two continuums, one instrumental and the other expressive, with the location of one role player not necessarily dependent on the other (Slater, 1961).

Implications of these two role theories have great influence on the conjugal patterns of political behavior. The role of the mother and father as an agent of political socialization varies according to which theory most closely approximates reality for that family. As participation in political matters is an instrumental action in the extrafamilial world, the function of married women in the political world would be essentially nonexistent according to the instrumental/adaptive view of the unidimensional role theory. In contrast, Slater's theory allows for the two spouses' role behavior to be independent of each other and thus for the woman to choose whether or not to be active in the extrafamilial world. Jennings and Niemi (1971) outlined the similarities of spouses showing under which conditions political role sharing flourishes and under which conditions the father's greater instrumental/adaptive role is

reduced. This study will be discussed in detail in order to examine the background in which the young are socialized.

Three major areas of political behavior were investigated as to the similarity of spouses' political resources, spectator politicalization, and political participation. Multiple measures were available under each area. The degree of similarity of spouses can be seen in Table XXIV. It can be expected from these modest-to-strong similarity patterns that these homogeneous parents exert a cumulative effect in the socialization of their children.

TABLE XXIV

INDICATORS OF POLITICALIZATION

Measures of Politicalization	Spouses Correlation	Father Net Advantage
Political Resources		
plitical knowledge	.58	30%
understanding party differences	.39	23%
political efficacy	.28	15%
Spectator politics		
reading magazines	.65	- 8%
reading newspapers	.50	9%
watching TV	.50	- 5%
interest in governmental affairs	.44	24%
main media used	.32	15%
Political participation		
election activities	.52	18%
school affairs	.49	- 8%
community affairs	.45	0%

In examining relationships with effects of education it was revealed that couples who were more educationally homogeneous were also more politically homogeneous. As the educational level of the couple decreased there was a steady monotonic decrease in the behavioral index of politicalization. Jennings and Niemi (1971, p. 73) conclude that there "would appear to be pushing toward even greater overlapping of parental roles along the instrumental/adaptive dimensions as it relates to politics."

Obvious heterogeneity does exist in families on these measures of political behavior. Husbands tend to exceed their spouses in most forms of political behavior especially political resources (note net advantage in Table XXIV). However, there are marked reversals, for example, in school affairs and reading magazines. Because of shown effects of education on politicalization, an index of relative education was correlated with the eleven measures of politicization. There was a monotonic decrease in the husband's net advantage as his relative education level decreased. In other words, a wife's position improved as her education became more similar to her husbands.

> To overcome the other forces pushing males into dominant
> political roles, females need the boost supplied by that great
> differential agent of political activity, greater education.
> Even in the domains where the females start out with equality
> or with superiority over their husbands, an educational edge
> makes a difference (Jennings and Niemi, 1971, p. 77).

However, relative education is not the only factor serving greater politicization of males as there were equal proportions of husbands less educated than wives.

In personal efficacy husbands tended to outrank their wives. On the measures of political participation and saliency, personal efficacy had greater effect than education. So it appears that relative education operates in an additive fashion with personal efficacy to affect the

advantage of one spouse over the other.

The effects of relative education with social class on politiciza-
tion is an interactive one. For the working and middle-class, relative
education has sharply differentiating effects. As class level decreases,
any resource that one spouse possesses over the other will make more
difference in the conjugal role pattern.

Attention was given to the employment status of wives and the age of
the youngest child since it is assumed that the mother's role activities
are a restraint on political behavior. The rationale follows from the
obligations and responsibilities of the home and from the lack of contact
with secondary groups which would lessen the woman's sense of personal/
political inefficacy. Accordingly, the mothers' relative position should
increase as the age of the youngest child increases. In actuality, no
such relationship emerged. Neither was there any effect on relative
political position and age of the youngest child according to whether the
mother was employed or not.

At the gross level whether or not the mother was in the labor market
makes only a small difference in relative politicization. It does lower
slightly the husbands' net advantage but the correlations are all low.
Again the effects seem greater in the working class than in the middle
class. In addition to the increasing advantage of job placement for the
working class wife, there was interaction with relative education, in-
creasing the effects of education. It appears that "being employed helps
the working class mother benefit from an education advantage in the same
way that fathers customarily do", while this is not true for the middle-
class wife (p. 81).

Conclusions Jennings and Niemi (1971, pp. 82-83) make about

divisions of political roles are (1) children grow up in an atmosphere of political homogeneity more than heterogeneity. However, this homogeneity varies across domains of political activity so that the child does experience different patterns. (2) Parents are not interchangeable with respect to the domain of politicization. "The bedrock of culturally defined sex roles more often provides a built in edge for the fathers in the nuclear family." (3) The division of political behavior among parents is conditioned by resources each spouse brings into the marriage and the interaction of these resources. (4) The division of politicization does not constantly result in the father being the intermediary between the family and the world of politics. For this to happen, there must be inequalities favoring the mother, i.e., she requires greater resources to overcome "the debilitating effects of prior socialization, extant cultural expectations and the distribution of resources. To the extent that these effects are overcome, the political life of each partner, and the family, is altered." At present it is the children of the father dominated families that have more interest in and information about politics, earlier political opinoins and are more likely to discuss politics (Hess and Torney, 1967).

Development of Partisanship in Children

Children are aware at an early age that different political parties do exist. The content of such an early perception refers to candidates and incumbents, especially the President (Greenstein, 1965a). There appears to be a fairly rapid rise in the proportion of children stating a party preference up until about the fifth grade and then a more gradual increase during the remainder of life (Sears, 1969). Campbell, et al.

(1960) estimated that party preferences increased from 69% in the 21-24 year age group to 84% in the 75 and over age group.

Early party preferences are essentially contentless as children have little information about politics. However, a child's acquisition of party identification does have some meaning. Children's reactions to elections such as Kennedy's in 1960 showed affective reactions similar to adults, polarized along party lines (Hess and Torney, 1967). When asked which party "does more for the United States" or "does more to keep us out of war" children in the third through the eighth grade responded more in terms of their own party preferences (Hess and Torney, 1965). Although children have only the vaguest idea of the meaning of partisan differences, there is little hesitancy for them to claim a preference.

Parents are generally found to be the most influential source in the development of a child's party preference. "Most grade-school children report the same party preference as do their fathers" (Sears, 1969, p. 372). When asked who they would go to for advice on voting in elections, most young children report their parents but by the eighth grade over half report that the would make up their own minds (Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). Party preference of parents and children are more similar than other attitudinal preferences (Sears, 1969).

The influence of election campaigns on a child's early partisan preference has not been carefully studied. There is the possibility that Presidential elections, with the greater saliency and emphasis, could be a "critical period" in the partisan development. At such a time the parent's candidate choice may influence the child's ultimate party identification more than the party of the parents. Niemi (1969) supported this hypothesis with data from a high school sample which showed that the

students more accurately perceived the parents' candidate preference than the candidate's party identification.

In terms of parent-child agreement of party preference, approximately 80% of grade school children report agreement with their father (Hess and Torney, 1965); in late adolescence the percentage drops to around 60% (Campbell, et al., 1954; Jennings and Niemi, 1968). Defection from one's parents' party preference is rare, usually around 10% of a sample of voters (Sears, 1969). Considering the family as a group, it can be generalized from group influence research that a family's influence on partisan attitudes would depend on the extent to which the child values or identifies with the family, the clarity with which the family's political norms are communicated, and the strength of the position taken by the family. Political defection would be most likely when identification with the family is not strong and/or the norms are not communicated (Sears, 1969).

Studies of young politically active students have for the most part focused on demographic information (Flack, 1967). However some research touches upon family processes (Thomas, 1971). Liberal student activists come most frequently from "urban, highly educated, Jewish or irreligious, professional and affluent" parents who themselves were frequently active in political and social causes (Flack, 1967, p. 66). In a study of parents who were visible in their community for political participation and for holding ideologically polarized political views, focus was given to their college-aged children's political participation and the family socialization dynamics (Thomas, 1971). Both political liberals and conservatives were included as to compare the family socialization of the two groups. Children of both conservatives and liberal parents were

quite high in conventional political participation; however, the liberals were significantly more involved in activist type activities, e.g., demonstrations, protests, etc.

Liberal parents differed from conservatives in "greater dedication to causes" and were more actively involved in tutoring their children in political matters. In family emotional variables the two groups differed only in permissiveness. There were different relationships between student activism and family variables for the liberal and conservative students. For liberal male and female students, parents' dedication to cause was highly related to activism while for conservatives this relationship is quite insignificant. Family permissiveness is significantly related to activism for female liberals as much so as was parents' dedication. For the male conservative student the greatest relationship is with family interaction, however, it is in the negative direction.

Thomas (1971, p. 213) concluded that activists appear to be carrying on family tradition rather than rebelling against it.

> When parents are highly politicized and ideologically polarized there is a strong family influence on both the college-aged child's degree of political participation and his choice of forms of political behavior.

A study dealing more with the level of concreteness as indicative of political involvement of high school students revealed the effects of interpersonal relationships (Coser, 1951). Those students who were more politically involved revealed greater trust in their peer group's opinions and less tension in their relationships. On the other hand, the less involved student was more likely to experience intergroup tension and to trust a member of his family for political opinions more than a peer.

The remaining discussion on political socialization will focus on sex-related political differences that appear in childhood. "From

remarkable early ages boys and girls parallel men and women in the ways that their political responses vary" (Greenstein, 1961, p. 353). It must be kept in mind that politically relevant and political sex differences that existed fifty, even twenty years ago, may not exist as clearly today in children. There are few recent studies on political differences in children. Available information on differences in children do parallel differences in adults as reported in recent surveys (Holter, 1970; Jennings and Niemi, 1971).

Hyman (1959) summarized several surveys of political information of adolescents. Teenage girls knew less about politics than did boys. In opinion surveys girls consistently reported "no opinion" more frequently than did boys. Earlier studies showed that boys were more attentive to politically relevant communications, were more attentive to national news, and more likely to listen to radio news and political speakers. Such research indicates that boys exceed girls on two dimensions, interest in and information about politically relevant matters. This is exemplified in two studies done during World War II. Boys possessed greater information about the war at ages 10 through 15 but at the first grade level there was meager awareness of war by either boys or girls. At this young age boys showed significantly more enthusiasm and preference for war-related pictures. Hyman (1959) reported that boys are more likely to identify with political leaders of the past than are girls.

A more recent study (Greenstein, 1961) found much of what has been stated: boys are better informed of political matters even at an early age (4th-8th grades), and boys are more attentive to the news. Sex differences are stable across socio-economic levels. Children are more likely to choose their father as a source of voting advice than the

mother, although a sex difference did emerge with girls choosing the

mother more often than did boys. The young girls more openly discussed

politically relevant matters with the family than did boys (Greenstein,

1965; Klineberg, 1967). Greenstein (1961, p. 371) concluded the

following.

> Fourth grade political sex differences are patently a conse-
> quence neither of situational impediments nor of educational
> differences, nor for that matter, of any other expediential
> variables which are held constant by studying the populations
> of co-educational grade schools. An adequate theory, these
> data indicate, must account for the psychological underpin-
> nings of political sex differences, understood in terms of
> sex roles in the society, how they develop, and what main-
> tains them.

For a discussion of possible psychological factors effecting political

role behavior see Appendix B.

<p align="center">Differences in Political Behavior</p>

<p align="center">of Men and Women</p>

As can be seen sex differences in political behavior develop early

and such differences can be subdivided into differences in participation-

activity and attitude-orientation. Women have consistently been shown to

hold the following orientation (Greenstein, 1961; Gruberg, 1968; Holter,

1970; Jennings and Thomas, 1968; Sears, 1969):

(1) less supportive of aggressive and warlike policies;

(2) less tolerant of political and religious nonconformity;

(3) more negative about the desirability of government control of

economic life;

(4) greater moralistic orientation, favoring government protection

of morals;

(5) more candidate oriented than issue oriented; and

(6) less consistent in party commitment.

In terms of attitude structure and resources, women are less sophisticated in their conceptualizations of political ideologies (Campbell, et al., 1960; Converse, 1964; Rambo, et al., 1973). Perhaps the most important attitude affecting participation is personal/political efficacy with women consistently possessing lower self-perception of efficacy than do males (Converse, 1964; Greenstein, 1961; Jennings and Thomas, 1968).

It has been said that "women are changing more rapidly than any other group" (Steinem, 1972, p. 48) and recent attitude surveys reflect these changes. Some of the current attitude positions which are more characteristic of women include (Setlow and Steinem, 1973):

(1) less prone to violence with greater concern for loss of life, and, thus are less likely to approve of the United States involvement in Indochina;

(2) more likely to support the Peace Movement;

(3) less likely to support capital punishment;

(4) more likely to favor gun control;

(5) more likely to favor environmental conservation;

(6) favor most civil rights measures;

(7) favor domestic spending rather than military spending; and

(8) favor various efforts to combat poverty.

On the whole such attitudes would be characterized as more liberal than conservative. The one orientation that remains consistent in women is their opposition to violence and aggression which is characteristic of females through all stages of development (Mischel, 1966; Terman and Tyler, 1954). Setlow and Steinem (1973) also comment on women being less committed to party loyalties and more candidate/issue oriented. It is

almost as if issues are considered in the individual candidate's stance on various issues and policies. Women have and still do cross party lines to support candidates (Holter, 1970). Another evidence of change is reflected in survey polls showing 60% of women asked felt that women should be more politically active (Steinem, 1972). Women in the survey "seemed to be painfully aware of what needed to be done, but were still pessimistic and unsure about trying to do it themselves" (Steinem, 1972, p. 49).

Holter (1970) discusses the important attitudes on which men and women differ and which effect political participation differently: submissiveness and conflict avoidance. Women tend to be high in both submissiveness and conflict avoidance and this difference remains across socio-economic levels. Conflict avoidance is significantly related to political participation for men but not for women. This is a reasonable association since politics is essentially a resolution of conflict among people. However, with the finding that women are significantly more inclined to avoid conflict, it is difficult to understand why no relationship to political participation and tendency to avoid conflict exists in women. Submissiveness was found to be associated with political participation for both males and females, but more so for males. These findings suggest that

> women are most often inclined to be politically active because
> of desires to mediate conflicts and serve others, while men
> are more often moved by desire to fight for given interests
> and more inclined to use political activity as an expression
> of self-interest or dominance (Holter, 1970, p. 113).

To say that women are less involved politically than are men is a rather broad generalization. It is perhaps more accurate to stress the disparity between parts played by women in elections and in political

leadership. Duverger (1955) in his classic study, <u>The Political Role of</u> <u>Women</u>, focused on four European countries: France, German Federal Republic, Norway, and Yougoslavia. He summed participation rates as follows.

> So far as elections are concerned, the proportion of women
> taking part in political life is large and does not differ
> materially from that of men, as regards either numbers or
> compositions. It is true that there are generally slightly
> more non-voters among women than among men, and that the
> women's vote is generally slightly more conservative and more
> subject to religious influence. But these differences are
> small and apply only to a tiny fraction of the female
> electorate (Duverger, 1955, p. 115).

In the United States, Campbell, <u>et al</u>. (1964) estimated that the voting participation rates among women was consistently 10% below that of men. The proportion of women going to the polls has actually increased over the years since their first participation in an election in 1920 when only a third of the eligible women voted. By the 1960's women's voting rate was approaching that of men so that by the 1968 election 69.9% of eligible women voted as compared to 72% of the eligible men (Setlow and Steinem, 1973). Both male and female turnout rates dropped in the 1972 election with 64.1% and 62%, respectively. These more recent election figures tend to support Durverger's data for European women.

Holter (1970, p. 103) revealed that in a Norway sample sex differences in political activity varied considerable with certain social characteristics of the respondent.

> The difference between men's and women's political activity is
> relatively smaller in industrial districts than in nonindus-
> trial ones, in white collar than in blue collar occupational
> groups, and in more educated than in less educated groups of
> respondents.

Similar findings are true of the United States with participation disparity of men and women decreasing with increasing education and socioeconomic status. It has been shown that in the rural South such

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disparity is heightened (Campbell, et al., 1964). The effect of personal efficacy is also born out in Holter's work. Within each occupational group, women who felt they belonged to the next higher strata exceeded those who felt they belong to the lower strata in the degree of political participation.

In examining the effects of parents' political activity upon the participation of their offspring, Holter (1970) found that a strong association for both parents on males and females, although weaker for the females. However, the mother's political activity was more clearly associated with the activity of the offspring. In cases where the mother was very active, there was the highest degree of political participation for females [37% women and 38% men in highly active category].

Differences in political activity of men and women are not as great as they once were. Further, there is little doubt about women's increased participation in political leadership. There has always been a scarcity of women in positions of leadership within parties and at the elected level. Jennings and Thomas (1968, p. 473) examined sex-related patterns with respect to "variables linked to elite recruitment, political career patterns and political attitudes." A state's delegates to the 1964 national convention served as subjects, 29% of which were women. The survey was designed to examine the possible differences in precondition-ing factors for men and women entering political elite groups.

With respect to socio-economic status differences in occupations reflect different social roles of men and women. Slightly over half the women were housewives, other were white collar workers. One might con-clude that "high status occupation is not a requisite for females' mem-bership in a party elite. For males it is almost mandatory" (p. 476).

The men tended to have greater occupational achievement and independence.
Age differences emerged between the men and women. Women tended to be
older than their male counterparts. It appears that the women don't
"have as much time or energy to engage in political activity early in
life as they do later on" (p. 477). There was educational disparities
with almost twice as many men as women having completed college. It was
suggested that highly educated women who do participate in public affairs
tend to prefer nonpartisan organizations in greater proportion than do
men.

Jennings and Thomas (1968, p. 478) conclude that

these class differences also imply that certain personality
characteristics help propel the relatively less educated and
less affluent females into the political elite in the absence
of the extremely high status characteristics found among the
men.

Family background played an important role in both elite men and women.
Republican women were the most likely to have come from politically homo-
geneous families with the Democratic women the least likely. There was a
high incidence among the delegates who were housewives to have husbands
who were politically prominent (44%). Only 18% of the delegates had
politically prominent parents.

The party careers of the men and women were strikingly similar for
the delegates. Campaign activities were only moderately different for
men and women with men more likely to make speeches and manage campaigns
than were women. Interestingly, the housewives were more active than the
employed women in the categories of activities that men dominated. How-
ever, dramatic sex differences occurred in the public careers of the
delegates. For those males who held either elected or appointed public
office, the percentage was 63% as compared to 28% for women. Men were

more active in entering elections than were women and were also more successful when they did so. "Without doubt, induction into the elite less often demands electoral competition from women than from men; and among the fairer sex being a housewife constrains one from running for elective office" (p. 482). It was noted that women who did run for elected office fared better in the primaries than in the general elections because of the strong public resistance to feminine candidates.

In their views of the political process, the males and females differed little. When they did differ it was a question of how national delegates should make decisions. Men tended to believe each delegate should use his own judgment (79%) while the women were more inclined to seek alternatives such as other party leaders, public opinion, etc. (55%). This difference perhaps reflect the greater degree of independence and self-reliance which men may enjoy in politics as well as the general society or it may reflect Holter's (1970) observation that men tend to use politics for their own self-interest more than do women.

Jennings and Thomas (1968) concluded that sex-related differences persist even in party elites. However, the working women were more similar to the male delegates than to the housewives suggesting that the role of jobholder helps overcome the differences generated by sex role distinctions.

Political Behavior of Women

Upper class women still appear to resist entering partisan politics and choose service-oriented nonpolitical activities or non partisan politics. The elected office ambitions of women in the elite are much less than the men. It appears that the women were content with other

rewards and attainments, many of which were symbolic.

> Even among the elites sex-linked differences do not disappear.
> Indeed, in some respects they are more striking than those
> found in mass publics because they show the great persistence
> of sex roles. Over and above the numerical superiority of
> males to females, in the delegations, stand the greater social
> and political resources, apparently buttressed by ---- if not
> in fact derived from ---- sex-related role expectations
> (p. 492).

The influence of the spouse on a woman's political participation at

leadership levels is seen by the number of political elites whose husbands

were politically prominent. Such influence is also reflected in the

number of widows involved at high political levels. As of 1970 23 of the

57 women who had served in the United States Congress were widows

initially filling their husbands' unexpired terms of office. Many of

these women went on to long distinguished political careers of their own

such as Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. The marriage and family of women

candidates is put to much more scrutiny than those of male candidates. A

German study indicated voters are concerned about the femininity of the

candidate and the general well-being of her family (Holter, 1970). Such

attention is not given to male candidates; in fact, it is generally

considered a family sacrifice for public service. The role of the husband

perhaps is best reflected in the observation by Gruberg (1968, p. 78).

> No married woman can go into anything on a more or less full
> time basis whether it's Girly Scouts or politics or becoming
> President of General Federation of Women Clubs--unless her
> husband is generous in his support and understanding and
> approval, and sympathy.

Gruberg (1968) surveyed the type of organizations to which women

characteristically belong that are political or potentially political in

nature: (1) civic organizations, (2) women status or feminist groups,

(3) practical interest groups, and (4) religious associations. The best

example of civic organizations is the Women's League of Voters which was

begun in the early part of the century as training for women in the electoral process. Primary concerns for the League are at the local level of the political process with dispersion of information on issues, etc. It is estimated that over 85% of the active League members are married with children and have been to college. No member of the League board can engage in partisan activity during her term of office so that the Women League of Voters does represent nonpartisan activity. Other examples of civic organizations are the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion Auxiliary.

Women status groups are growing in both numbers and membership. Such groups would include the National Organization for Women and the Women's Political Caucus. Emphasis of these groups is the striving for and achieving equality in opportunity in employment, education, civil and political rights as well as the responsibilities for women and other deprived groups. These groups are becoming increasingly partisan in their support of women candidates as well as initiating female candidacy. Their effectiveness is becoming evident as evidenced in the female voter rate of turnout in the 1972 elections being higher than national rates in areas where women candidates were involved.

The last two categories of groups, practical interest groups (typified by economic or professional groups) and religious groups tend to be nonpolitical in nature. However, if specific issues arise that touch upon their group attitudinal norm, then political involvement may result. The best example of this is the National Women Christian Temperance Union and their support for the Prohibition Amendment.

Having examined the types of groups in which women are commonly involved that express political sentiments, the final question of this

survey becomes finalized. How are politically involved women different from noninvolved women? Differences have already been discussed among the political elite simply on the basis of employment. Greater differences would be expected among the political and apolitical women.

> The influence of personality factors may be particularly evident among women politicals because these women are acting in relatively uncharacteristic roles as to what is culturally and socially expected---and accepted (Kruschke, 1963, p. 23).

Kruschke's study of political and apolitical women is one of the few descriptive studies examining differences that might exist between the two groups of women.

The manner of selection of subjects was through the question asked of city officials about important issues involving the entire community that had particularly aroused women to political behavior. One such important issue was the building of the civic center in the community. Politicals, as Kruschke used the term, refers to women who worked primarily in stimulating others to respond in some desired fashion. In sum, political women cannot be assumed to be politically active outside of their own community.

Women in the two groups were matched as to marital status and educational level (which may have been differentiators if not controlled). Listed below are the main differences Kruschke found between the two groups. Political women:

1. lived longer in the community than apoliticals.
2. had higher average incomes.
3. were somewhat younger (45 years old compared to 51).
4. tended to be Democrats while apoliticals were Republicans or Independents.
5. were more optimistic than apoliticals.
6. were higher risk-takers than apoliticals.
7. tended to be more liberal in political-economic views.
8. were higher in political efficacy.
9. were higher in sociability.
10. were more active in community organizations.

11. relied more on people for news of the community than
    did apolitical women.
12. discussed politics more than apoliticals.
13. reported higher interest in national, state, and local
    politics than the apoliticals.
14. were higher in sophisticated responses than apoliticals.

These differences that differentiate political women from apolitical

women are differences that have been shown to consistently differentiate

men and women as to their role in the realm of political functioning

(Campbell, et al., 1960; Campbell, et al., 1964; Converse, 1964; Green-

stein, 1961; Jennings and Thomas, 1968).

There are several limitations of the Kruschke study that are rele-

vant to the explanation of individual differences in political behavior.

The first limitation is that the women are active only at the community

level. There is no way to clarify if these same characteristics would

differentiate politically active women at higher levels from nonpolitical

women. The second limitation is that Kruschke's is a descriptive study

limited primarily to demographic information. Little of personality

dynamics or family socialization is incorporated into his design. The

differences that emerged in community political and apolitical women are

important in formulating a theory of individual variation in political

role behavior.

In summary, it can be seen that women differ from men in their

approach to the political world in which they live. These differences

include such multiple factors as structure of belief systems demographic

variables such as education, social class, and employment, the role of

childhood experiences with family role models, and intellectual-cognitive

factors. However, all of these documented differences in men and women

and women politicals and apoliticals does not offer a theory from which

explanations and predictions can be made as to what types of political

role behaviors a woman will exhibit. As it has been concluded (Greenstein, 1961; Jennings and Thomas, 1968; Kruschke, 1963) after examining the observed political differences, there must be set forth a psychological theory that includes all the factors which are involved in the development and maintenance of societal sex role expectations. When such a theory is formulated the answers as to why certain women choose to become involved in partisan political activities while other women do not will be closer at hand.[1]

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[1]After this research was completed an excellent study of women state legislators was published. The reader should consult Political Woman by Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (Basic Books, New York, 1974) for the other most recent examination of a select group of political women.

APPENDIX B

SEX DIFFERENTIATION AND SEX ROLES

Social Differentiation

Psychology as the study of the behavior has for too long focused on the individual separated from the economic, social, and political worlds. To fully examine sex roles it is necessary to have some understanding of the social differentiation of men and women, the maintenance of this sexual differentiation, and the implication of sex differentiation in our society. In this discussion attention will be given to a more socio-logical view of sex differentiation, a psychological examination of sex differences and the maintenance of differentiation, and the implications of differentiation and roles as evidenced by individual functioning.

Gener is one, if not the fundamental, criterion for the assignment of specific tasks necessary for the functioning and the continuity of the total society. It has long been assumed that the biological differences between men and women require a division in tasks or labor according to which females are responsible for reproduction and nurturance of off-spring and males for the protection and means of existence. Sex provides "a systematic way of distributing tasks, scarce resources, privileges, and burdens among the members of the society" (Holter, 1970, p. 19).

There are various sociological theories that attempt to account for women's position in society. One of the most common is that women's in-ferior social status is derived from physiological liabilities, i.e., weakness and immobility resulting from pregnancy and childrearing. The traditions of the pre-industrial society that the male qualities of physical strength and mobility should result in social power (even though such biological assets or liabilities are no longer central to success in modern technology) have been inherited. Further, sex differentiation is hypothesized to be closely related to family structure. Engels (1891)

provided an association between sex differentiation and the elements of family structure. With the advent of the nuclear family there developed a means of protecting and passing on, through inheritance, private property. What had been a public activity, and, thus, shared, now became private and a surplus of production developed. Along with the surplus of production came power. A differentiation in power between male and females because women, through doing housework, did not have access to the surplus. In essence, Engels explained women's social position as a result of surplus production, private property, and monogamous family structure.

Following along this line, there is an assumption that social differentiation of the sexes is created by economic inequality. "The wife's dependence on her husband's income is presumed to be the primary cause of her lack of influence both within the family and outside of it" (Holter, 1970, p. 13). Once women have the same economic or occupational opportunities as men, equality in other areas will be achieved. However, data based on working married women have not supported this assumption (Boulding, 1966). As a distributive system sex differentiation depends for its maintenance on complex interaction between ideologies and power relations (economic, social, and political) that are produced by the differentiation. Principles of distribution are justified by ideological beliefs, beliefs which in part are the motivation for engaging in the appropriate role behavior. Based on one ascribed attribute, sex, the distribution system of sex differentiation is a self-sustaining system.

Other theories of sex differentiation deal with unconscious emotional or psychological needs. Montague (1953) interprets sex differentiation in terms of male's envy and hostility toward women's procreative

abilities. Psychoanalytic theorists state that the healthy development of infants requires the traditional division of labor between the father and mother. Modern sociology and psychology have aided in the belief that sex differentiation is a social and psychological necessity as the most efficient way of dealing with child care and socialization. Related to this is the observation by Parsons (1942) that sex role differentiation is a social device to protect a stable monogamous marriage structure. The full participation of women in the occupational world would result in competition among the marital partners and would threaten the stability of the marriage.

Sex differentiation not only distributes specific tasks on the basis of gender but ascribes additional advantages and obligations. From the point of view of maintenance of the system, the most important advantages and obligations are access to knowledge, time, political power, resources, economic social contacts, contact with children, and economic, political, and familial responsibilities. "Furthermore, personality traits such as passivity and activity, initiative, dominance, submissiveness, and conflict avoidance are allocated in a systematic way to men and women" (Holter, 1970, p. 33).

Any system is maintained when the gains from the system out number the losses incurred. The gains and losses resulting from sex differentiation may be divided into primary and secondary ones. Primary gains and losses are in reference to rewards and punishments that directly affect the person's sex identity, i.e., feelings of masculinity and femininity. This system of rewards and punishments is contingent upon internalization of the sex role norms. The secondary system is related to motives other than internalized sexual identity, but those produced by

sex differentiation. In general it is assumed that women have more free-
dom to adopt masculine traits than men to adopt feminine ones.

The gains and losses of the internalization of the sex role norms
are extremely difficult to assess. This is because one, deprivation in a
given sex role may be compensated for by secondary advantages gained in
attempts to repress the deprivation and second, reinforcement is largely
a function of personality, especially the unconscious aspects. Further,
to "... feel frustrated with one's sex role one must consider it legiti-
mate to compare it with that of the opposite sex. Only if two categories
are regarded as similar in some way is it meaningful to compare them"
(Holter, 1970, p. 38). For some time such a comparison was impossible
because men and women were considered to be virtually of different spe-
cies. But as comparisons began to be made in the 19th century women
found themselves comparing themselves to men. In comparing themselves to
men women resulted in feeling greater the deprivation, especially in the
women of upper socio-economic positions.

A few militant women have expressed their dissatisfaction with sex
role norms; most of these women were at first from the upper class.

> These women were treated differentially, their upper class
> position and education exposed them to one type of response,
> their status as women to another type of response. The un-
> stable self-image created by differential status responses is
> brought forth very clearly in the literary works of many of
> the pioneer feminists. Furthermore, the resources necessary
> for a rebellion against sex differentiation was clearly lo-
> cated in the upper and middle class women, not in the lower
> class women. A rebellion against sex differentiation may use
> a variety of means, many of which require education and social
> and political skills. ... It may be however, that one of the
> reasons why feminism in some ways has failed to change sex
> differentiation radically is precisely because the degree of
> self-righteousness necessary to carry the movement further is
> too alien to the feminine personality. Femininity is tradi-
> tionally defined as modesty and self-denial (Holter, 1970,
> p. 39).

As Holter suggests frustration is not sufficient to overcome the complex maintenance process of sex differentiation. First there must be a collective group of such frustrated individuals. In order for there to be a collective there must exist the ability to make contact with each other, and similar social characteristics in order to identify with each other. Such things work against women in that her class position via her husband, her isolated workplace in the home, and cultural definitions of femininity all discourage collective efforts exhibited in organized activity, and, therefore, add to the maintenance process.

Women are further hampered in their means of changing gender roles because of differential access to power and social prestige. Once men and women are differentiated with respect to responsibilities for infants, the two sexes differ in their opportunities for securing wealth and power. This specialization of women's training limits her opportunities in other activities, especially those activities extending beyond the household. Men, on the other hand, are trained for activity which gives direct access to the resources of society, and thus, to power. Women's contact with such resources and power is indirect and usually through her husband. Couch (1962) has shown that the higher degree of role specialization between spouses is related to higher evaluation of males in the family and lower evaluation of females.

> Once these (more important and skilled) positions have been filled, their very importance and dependence on scarce skills give their incumbents the power not only to insist on payment of expected rewards, but even to demand larger ones. This power is inherent in the positions. The unequal rewards in wealth and prestige attached to the positions also give the incumbents greater opportunity to influence the general distribution of rewards in society and to protect or augment their own privileges (Wrong, 1959, as quoted in Holter, 1970, p. 48).

The above discussion reflects on the economic and social circumstances

that maintains sex differentiation. The influence of personality and
unconscious emotional factors have been referred to as a part of the
interaction of complex factors. Attention will now be given to psycho-
logical aspects of sex differentiation.

<div align="center">Psychology of Sex Differentiation</div>

Intellectual Functioning

This review of sex differences will focus on intellectual-cognitive
functioning and those personality characteristics which are related to
such functioning. There are several excellent summaries of intellectual
differences upon which this review is based (Anastasi, 1958; Maccoby,
1966; Terman and Miles, 1954).

Most tests are constructed in order to eliminate sex differences in
the standardization sample. Even with this reduction of sex differences,
longitudinal studies reveal that girls score higher on intelligence tests
during the pre-school years and boys during high school. The evidence of
general growth in intellectual ability tends to support the position that
males gain more during adolescence and adult years than do females
(Maccoby, 1966).

On specific intellectual abilities, greater differences between
males and females are evident. During early school years girls exceed
boys in most aspects of verbal abilities. Girls say their first word
sooner, articulate more clearly, at an earlier age use longer sentences,
and are more fluent. Verbal differences tend to continue throughout
school years. In numerical ability, girls begin earlier but boys forge
ahead quickly so that there are consistent differences favoring males
throughout adulthood.

Analytic ability which deals with the ability to respond to one aspect of a stimulus field without being greatly influenced by the entire field has been a quality characterizing males (Witkin, et al., 1954). Another aspect of analytic ability, also more likely to be possessed by males, is the mode of grouping diverse stimuli or objects by some common property. It is still not clear when such distinct differences in analytic ability develop. Kagan, et al. (1963) did not find differences in boys and girls at grade school levels. Differences in analytic ability appear to relate to creativity or at least one aspect of creativity. The ability to restructure or use convergent thinking in tasks measuring creativity favor males, while tasks emphasizing divergent thinking are ones on which girls score higher.

This provides a brief summary of known intellectual differences between males and females. However, on almost all measures of ability there is considerable overlap between the distribution of the scores for men and women. Further, even on tasks of abilities where there are not differences, the scores will be related to different factors for the two sexes. An examination of intellectual performance in relation to personality characteristics clarifies the nature of these differences.

Personality Characteristics Related to Intellectual Performance. Personality traits that have been shown to most affect intellectual performance are impulse control, fearfulness and/or anxiety, aggression, dependency, and the process of sex role typing. Attention will not be given to these factors, to the parental-child relationship, and to their effects on intellectual performance.

Impulse was used by Maccoby (1966, pp. 28-29) to refer to "... high levels of undirected activity and the inability to delay or inhibit

behavior that is incompatible with goal directed activity." From a variety of studies it has been shown that impulsiveness is a negative factor in performance for boys; analytic ability is positively related to emotional control and cautiousness in boys but related to impulsiveness in girls (Sigel, et al., 1963). Kagan, et al. (1964) reported different relationships for emotional control and analytic ability for the two sexes.

Fearfulness and anxiety also appear to relate differently to intellectual performance. Boys who were timid and cautious in early childhood had higher IQ's and developed greater intellectual interest in adulthood. On the other hand, the correlations to the same factors for girls were near zero or in the negative direction (Kagan, et al., 1964). The absence of shyness in early childhood more positively related to girls' performance than to boys' (Maccoby, 1966). The relationship of anxiety and intellectual performance appears from other studies to be highly age specific.

Aggression and competitiveness are other factors differentially related to boys' and girls' intellectual performance. In general there "appears to be more of an inhibitor or less of a facilitator for intellectual development among boys than among girls" (Maccoby, 1966, p. 31).

In both boys and girls the passive dependent child does more poorly on a variety of intellectual tasks than does the independent child. However, depending on the tasks, the relationship may be stronger for boys than for girls. Observational measures of dependency showed the less dependent girls were, the brighter (Moss and Kagan, 1962). Witkin's (1962) work on analytic ability manifested in field independence also supports the relationship of independences to the ability to break set

and restructure.

Sex-typing in children has consistently been shown to relate to intellectual performance. A young child's interest in activities characteristic of the opposite sex is positively related to IQ (Maccoby, 1966). Bieri (1960) found analytic ability in a child to be related to identification with the opposite sex parent. In general, analytic thinking, creativity, and high general intelligence are associated with cross sex-typing, i.e., for boys femininity related to intelligence and for girls masculinity.

Examining closer the relationship of sex typing in children it can be seen that personality qualities shown to be most typical of women--dependency, conformity, and passivity are traits shown to be negatively related to intellectual performance. Maccoby (1966) discussed two possible explanations for the relationship of this personality cluster to intellectual functioning. A person who is dependent must be oriented toward the external world on which he depends. The individual's own internal processes must to some extent be ignored. Some aspects of intellectual functioning such as analytic thinking requires internal processing. Passive dependency also interferes with intellectual functioning in that some tasks require initiative and the taking of some action. Maccoby concludes that at least some of the sex differences in intellectual functioning are traceable to boys' greater independence and activity and girls' conformity and passive-dependency.

The relationship of cross sex-typing is also interpretable in regard to the concept of absence of repression in the individual. Extreme masculinity or femininity can be accomplished only by denial or repression of the more masculine or feminine qualities that all persons possess.

MacKinnon (1962) argued that repression has the impact of interfering with the individual's accessibility to their own past experience and thus, would hinder in types of intellectual functioning such as creativity and analytic thinking. However, there would appear to be a different relationship for males and females. If a male did experience an absence of repression of feminine qualities, he would then experience the passive-dependency cluster shown to be a negative factor in functioning optimally. For women, masculinity would suggest two positive factors, independence and absence of repression. This would be consistent with the observation that cross-sex typing is more strongly related to intellectual functioning for women than for men.

Other factors involved in these differential effects on intellectual functioning are also part of the stereotyping cluster, i.e., impulsiveness, aggression, and general activity. Maccoby (1966) presents the hypothesis of a curvilinear relationship of these factors to intellectual ability. Accordingly, both a very passive, inhibited person or a very bold, impulsive person would perform with less efficiency than a person more moderate on these dimensions. Similar relationships are hypothesized for fearfulness and anxiety. "For optimum intellectual performance most girls need to become less passive and inhibited, while most boys need to become less impulsive" (Maccoby, 1966, p. 47). This hypothesis is supported by the evidence of the effects of parental behavior on children's functioning. Less nurturance from mothers and more supportive behavior on the father's part result in more academically successful daughters (Crendall, et al., 1964). "For girls ... the crucial factor in the development of IQ appears to be relative freedom to wander and explore" (Maccoby, 1966, p. 37).

Summarizing the findings of sex differences in intellectual functioning, it can be seen that there are different intellectual strengths and weaknesses for the two sexes. Boys possess greater analytic, mathematical reasoning. Girls possess greater communicative skills. Parent child interaction does effect the child's intellectual performance, however, the same types of interactions affect the sexes differently with different factors associated with optimal functioning for boys and girls.

Sex Role Differentiation

The examination of sex differences in intellectual functioning raises the question of how children learn and develop masculine and feminine behaviors and identification. In this section major approaches to sex role learning are introduced: psychoanalytic, social-learning and cognitive-developmental. The greatest emphasis will be given to the cognitive-developmental analysis of sex role identification.

Theories of Sex Role Identification

Psychoanalytic Approach to Sexual Identification. In the first stages of the infant's life both males and females have a primary sexual attachment to the mother. From this point Freud's formulation of identification process is distinctly different for males and females. Male children experience an anaclitic identification with the mother. The sexual identification for males develops from the next stage in which the male experiences sexual desire for his mother. However, the father figure stands in the male child's way of realizing or acting upon his desire. "The boys' is characterized by a fear that his genital organs will be damaged (castration anxiety) as a retribution for his hostility

toward his father" (Holter, 1970, p. 184). An unconscious conflict develops between his desire for his mother and his fear concerning castration. With the realization that little girls have no penises, the male child concludes castration is more of a threat. Faced with this, the desire for the mother is repressed and identification with the father results through this Oedipal conflict. Through identification with the punitive father figure the male child acquires the qualities of the authority figure via the superego.

In the female child there is the close love attachment of the mother. But upon discovering she has no penis, the young girl feels cheated and, blaming her mother, turns to her father to obtain the valued penis eventually through bearing a child by him. Having turned away from the mother the girl begins fearing the loss of her mother's love. Motivated by this fear of loss, she internalizes the mother object and identification results. Freud believed that females never completely abandon the Oedipus complex because the fear of loss of love is not as strong as the fear of castration. Therefore, the little girl fails to develop perfect superego functioning. This formulation of sexual identification suggests that there may be greater difficulty in establishing feminine identification because of less motivation to resolve the Oedipal conflict.

Social-Learning. Sex identification is achieved through observational learning of role models (Mischel, 1966). There is a sequence in which the child learns to discriminate between sex typed behavior, generalizes these specific patterns and then demonstrates sex typed behavior. Observational learning takes place with or without direct reinforcement or punishment, i.e., through vicarious learning from live and symbolic models.

Identification with same-sex or opposite sex role models depends on the sanctioning power of significant others. It has been shown that when role models vary in the access to and control over resources and power, the more powerful model will be imitated. "The degree to which children adopt a model's behavior is affected by the consequences, observed or inferred, of the model's behavior" (Mischel, 1966, p. 58).

Cognitive-Developmental. A cognitive developmental theory of sex role identification assumes that basic sexual attitudes are not the result of biological instincts or cultural norms but instead a result of the child's cognitive organization of the world along the dimension of sex roles. The cognitive organization is of the child's concept of physical things--his body and the bodies of others which is related to the social order. In this approach, the active nature of the child's thought as it selects and organizes the child's perceptions into relational schemata is stressed.

> In regard to sex-role, these schemata that bind events together include concepts of the body, the physical and social world, and general categories of relationship (causality, substantiality, quantity, time, space, logical identity, and inclusion) (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 83).

The emphasis on a cognitive basis of sex role attitudes does not exclude motivational and emotional aspects of sex roles. However, the motivational aspects are those that center around the self, identification resting on general competence, and self regard motives rather than infantile sexual desires or other motivations unique to early parent-child relationships. "The child's sexual identity is maintained by a motivated adaptation to physical-social reality and by the need to preserve a stable and positive self-image" (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 88).

A further tenet of cognitive-developmental analysis of sex roles is

the fact that basic modes of cognitive organization change with age.
Based on Piaget's work, it has been shown that a child's basic cognitive
organization of the physical world undergoes dramatic transformations
with age maturation. Likewise, a child's sex role attitudes have uni-
versal qualities that radically change as the child grows older. Recent
research suggests that a child develops a conception of himself as having
an unchangeable sexual identity at the same age and through the same pro-
cess that he develops concepts of nonchanging identity of a physical
object (Kohlberg, 1966). In fact the greatest individual variability in
childrens' sex roles are factors related to age, intelligence and social
maturity. Kohlberg (1966, p. 85) summarizes the basic components of the
cognitive-developmental approach:

> ...the young child's thinking about sex role is radically dif-
> ferent from the adult's. His physical concepts of anatomical
> differences, birth, sexual relations, etc., are quite differ-
> ent, as are his concepts of the social attributes and values
> of males and females. ...these differences are due not to ig-
> norance of inadequate teaching patterns, but to qualitative
> differences between the structure of the child's thought and
> the adult's. The child's sex role concepts are the result of
> the child's active structuring of his own experience; they
> are not passive products of social training. ... At any given
> point, the child uses his experiences of his body and his
> social environment to form basic sex-role concepts and values,
> but at any given point environmental experiences also stimu-
> late restructuring of these concepts and values.

Sex Role Identity as a Product

of Cognitive Growth

The main points of the cognitive developmental view stress that:
gender identity is a cognitive self-categorization as "boy" or "girl";
gender identity results from a simple cognitive judgment made early in
the child's development; basic self-categorizations determine basic
valuings. Attention will now be given to how and when this cognitive

categorization develops.

The child's verbal learning of his own gender occurs early around
three years of age. However, this self-labeling does not mean appropriate
self-classification in the general physical category of sex. "In the
third year of life, then, the child seems to know his own sex label, and
to generalize it unsystematically to others on the basis of a loose
cluster of physical characteristics" (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 94). In the
next year, around age 4, children learn gender labeling for self and
others by some general physical criteria - usually clothing or other con-
ventional cues.

Kohlberg further emphasizes that gender identity can provide a
stable organization of psychosexual attitudes only when the child is cer-
tain of gender unchangeability. This constancy of gender identity does
not develop before 5-6 years. Most children by six or seven are certain
that a girl cannot become a boy regardless of change in appearance (the
basis for categorization at age 4). Consistent with the tenets of the
cognitive-developmental approach to sex role identification is the work
of Piaget which shows evidence that gender identity is only one aspect of
the overall stabilization of constancies of physical objects that occurs
between the ages of 3 to 7. In contrast to the psychoanalytic approach
there is not the stress on motivational changes as the basis in the
change in mode of thought.

> The child's gradual increase in reality orientation, his
> increased awareness of the constancy of the existence and
> identity of external objects, is the result of increased
> cognitive differentiation of the self and the world rather
> than the result of basic qualitative changes in motiva-
> tional processes (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 96).

Many stereotypes seem to arise from perceived sex differences in
bodily structure and capacities. Again around age 4-5, children become

aware of sex differences in size and strength of adults. It is hypothe-
sized by the cognitive-developmentalists that perceived body differences
play a significant role in the sex role stereotypes of power. Kohlberg
explains that the concreteness of children's thinking leads to definition
of social and behavioral qualities in concrete body terms, i.e., social
power derives from physical power which derives from physical size.
Along with this it has been shown that age-size ("babies" versus "grown-
ups") is a cognitive differentiation that proceeds gender differentiation.
Power and prestige are only one aspect of the apparent universal gender
role connotations. Other major attributes of children's sex role stereo-
types are aggression and exposure to danger, and nurturance and child
care. Essentially, then, the development of sex role stereotypes is
based largely on connotations of nongenital body imagery.

Development of Masculine-Feminine Values

Just as the child's sex role concepts are the result of her active
interpretation of the social order via basic categorization, the resultant
behaviors and values are of the child's creation. It is Kohlberg's con-
tention that sex role values are generated from the child's engaging in
spontaneous evaluations of her own worth and the worth of others, and
that a child has natural tendencies to attribute worth to herself, to
seek worth, to evaluate others, and to compare her own worth to that of
others. This is the primary difference between cognitive-developmental
and other theories of sex role identification; the child constructs her
own sex role values within the sex-typed social order. In contrast,
other theories hold that the child acquires sex roles by internalization
of external cultural values.

There are five mechanisms by which the sex role concepts of a child lead to the development of masculine-feminine values.

(1) The tendency to schematize interests and respond to new interests that are consistent with old ones.

(2) The tendency to make value judgments consistent with a self-conceptual identity.

(3) The tendency for prestige, competence, or goodness values to be closely and intrinsically associated with sex role stereotypes, e.g., the association of masculinity with values of strength and power.

(4) The tendency to view basic conformity to one's own role as moral, as part of conformity to a general socio-moral order.

(5) The tendency to imitate or model persons who are valued because of prestige and competence, and who are perceived as like the self (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 111).

All of these mechanisms rest on the assumption that a child is a value-seeking and valuing organism.

There is an egocentric nature to the child's valuing. The child at a young age does not make a distinction between the value she places upon an object and values others place on the same object. At 4-5 years there is clear preference for same-sex but it is egocentric preference for that which is like the self. As the child grows older, there is an extension of self to general categorization of masculine or feminine.

By age 5-6, girls, however, express a decline in the egocentric mode of same-sex preference. This decline coincides with the growing awareness of the superior prestige and power of the adult male. From this point on there is a decline in girls' preferential evaluation of their own sex. The decline of preferential evaluation of females further coincides with

age trends of preference for children of racial minorities.

Kohlberg (1966) continues in an attempt to account for girls' reactions to the decline in preferential evaluation. This theorizing is quoted in full because of its clear representation of how psychologists have helped maintain sex role differentiation by their accounts of the more "hazy areas".

> Although sex-role value stereotypes may affect girls' sex-typed preferences, they do not make girls want to give up their own gender identity. Girls continue to prefer feminine objects and activities at all ages, and their own preferences seem to be even more feminine than their more objective and stereotyped judgments of value. Girls score higher on feminine preference when asked "which do you like" than when asked "which do girls like" (Hartup and Zook, 1960). Furthermore, girls have the option of playing a feminine role in a man's world, whereas boys do not have the option of playing a masculine role in the woman's world. In other words the girl can have "opposite sex" interests, and yet maintain her same-sex values more readily than the boy.
> More basically, however, adult female stereotypes are positive enough to make feminity attractive to young girls, even though adult females are perceived as less powerful and competent than males. While the stereotype of adult femininity is inferior in power and competence to the male, it is still superior to that of a child of either sex. The mother or teacher is thought to be both more competent and more feminine in appearance, dress, and manner than the young girl. Therefore, stereotypes of femininity do appeal to the young girl's desire for competence and power. It should also be noted that stereotypes of femininity rate higher than stereotypes of masculinity in a number of important areas of value and prestige. The fact that the male role is associated with aggression and the female role with nurturance and dependence relations suggests that females are stereotyped as "nicer" than males. Since aggression is a major component of "badness," it is not surprising that almost all girls and most boys of six-seven say boys do more bad things than girls (Kohlberg, unpublished data). Mothers are said to be "nicer" than fathers by a majority of both boys and girls of four-seven (Kagan and Lemkin, 1960). "Niceness is a very important value to school-age American girls, connoting nonaggression, interpersonal conformity, restraint, and nurturance or helpfulness. Another obvious stereotypical distinction between males and females, partly associated with "niceness" stereotypes, has to do with the superior attractiveness of females in the areas of physical beauty, concern with the aesthetic-ornamental in non-body areas, and interpersonal and sexual charm.

In considering these distinctively feminine values, we have
noted that these values, like masculine power-achievement
values, appeal to basic competence motivation. A boy's desire
for power and instrumental competence promotes his desire to
be masculine, but his identity-maintaining desire to play
masculine roles crystallizes competence motivation into a
striving for power and achievement values. In the case of
girls, feminine roles award an ample, if somewhat lesser,
scope of power and competence motivation, but much of this
motivation is channeled into values that are not competence or
achievement values in the usual sense. However, the pursuit
of attractiveness, goodness, and social approval is ultimately
based on the same needs for control of the environment, for
self-esteem, and for successful achievement as are the more
obvious masculine competence values (Kohlberg, 1966, pp. 121-
122).

From Kohlberg it must be assumed that girls have different perception

than do males as to self worth and value at the early age of five and six.

Such reasoning has only clouded the question of sex role identification,

especially when Kohlberg then states in his section of Sex Role Develop-

ment and Parent Identification "... the interpretation of developmental

mechanisms of identifications in girls is much more complex and ambigu-

ous, and will be fully treated elsewhere" (1966, p. 124).

Sex-Role Identification

Lynn (1969), also a cognitive-developmentalist, offers a clarifica-

tion of the process of sex role identification by a differentiation in

the terms used to describe the process that has broadly been labelled

sex-role identification. There are levels of similarity which Lynn

delineates into: preference, perceived similarity, behavior adoption,

and finally, identification. These are further broken down into parental

and sex role. Briefly, the process of sex-role identification involves:

(1) parental preference refers to the desire to adopt behavior pat-

terns characteristic of a specific parent;

(2) sex-role preference is a desire to adopt behavior associated

with one sex;

(3) perceived parental similarity is the perception of oneself as being similar to a given parent, whether or not true similarity exists;

(4) perceived sex role similarity refers to the perception of oneself as being similar to others of a given sex, again, whether or not similarity actually exists;

(5) parental behavior adoption is the actual acting out of behavior characteristic of a given parent rather than just the desire to adopt such behavior;

(6) sex-role adoption is the expression of behavior characteristic of one sex or the other;

(7) parental identification is the term Lynn reserves for "internalization of their personality characteristics of a given parent and to unconscious reactions similar to those of that parent" (1969, pp. 15-16); and

(8) sex-role identification is the "internalization of aspects of the role considered appropriate to a given sex, and to unconscious reactions characteristic of that role" (p. 16).
This conceptualization allows for conditions such as women preferring to be similar to other women while preferring to be dissimilar; yet adopting behavior similar to other women while in fact not identifying with the feminine role. Lynn's delineation does offer some clarification to findings such as presented above from Kohlberg. It allows for inconsistencies in preference, similarity, adoption, and identification.

Sex Differences in Identification. As in other theories, Lynn discusses the initial identification with the mother in both boys and girls as the mother is usually the principal caretaker. Resulting from this

initial identification is a major sex difference in development of identi

identification. A boy must make a shift from his initial identification

with the mother to identification with the masculine role, while for

girls, no shift is necessary. This shift begins when the boy realizes he

is "categorically" different from his mother and similar to his father,

which has been shown to be around age three. However, the frequent un-

availability or lack of salience of the father presents a problem in mas-

culine role identification.

> It is true that in early childhood, as well as in infancy, the
> child's life is people mainly with women rather than men; but
> the ideology of our culture in general, and the demands made on
> the little boy in particular, are masculine in nature (Lynn,
> 1969, p. 24).

Fathers serve more to define the masculine role by defining standards of

behavior and requiring adherence to the standards than they serve as

actual models.

> Through reinforcement of the culture's highly developed system
> of rewards for typical masculine role behavior and punishments
> for signs of femininity, the boys early learned identification
> with the mother weakens. Upon this weakened mother identifi-
> cation is impressed the later-learned identification with a
> culturally defined, stereotyped masculine role (Lynn, 1969,
> p. 34).

The girls have the mother with her more of the time in a more intimate

relationship therefore the remaining of the girls' identification with

the mother is a less turbulent process.

This has certainly not been a detailed review of the several papers

on sex-role identification (Holter, 1970; Kohlberg, 1966; Lynn, 1969;

Mischel, 1966). However, it does give an overview of the processes in-

volved; and, thus after having examined the area of maintenance/sex-role

differentiation via sex-role identification, findings of the implications

of sex-role identification will be presented.

Implication for Individual Functioning

Cognitive Styles

The differences in identification for the two sexes, Lynn hypothe-
sizes, requires separate methods of learning. Since the gril does not
shift from her mother identification and has her mother with her rela-
tively more, it is unlikely that the question of object or model would
arise. The mother identification is learned in an atmosphere of intimate
personal relation with the mother - largely by imitation. The girl needs
to learn identification with her mother, not principles defining the
feminine role. In contrast, boys do experience defining the goal as a
major problem. With the absence of the father and the predomination of
women in the boy's world, the desired masculine behavior is rarely ex-
pressed in positive "should" behaviors but in terms of behaviors not to
be expressed, i.e., not to be a sissy. "He must also restructure the ad-
monishments, often negatively made and given in many contexts, in order
to abstract the principles defining the masculine role" (Lynn, 1969, p.
36). From these formulations Lynn theorizes that the process of learning

> appropriate identification habituates boys and girls to a
> different method of perceiving and learning or different cog-
> nitive styles. The cognitive style of girls primarily in-
> volves personal relationships and imitation. In contrast,
> boys acquire a cognitive style involving defining goals, re-
> structuring the field, and abstracting principles. Such
> formulations are supported by findings of positive relation-
> ship between the degree of masculine sex-typing and problem-
> solving skill - both across sex and within sex (Lynn, 1969).

In terms of functioning, Lynn further hypothesized a curvilinear
relationship between cognitive style and parental closeness to the child,
i.e., maximum cognitive functioning occurs when the parent of the same
sex is neither especially close or distant to the child. Moderate

distance between the mother and daughter should decrease the saliency of
the mother as a model and thus reduce the motivation to maintain the
identification with the mother. This distance makes it less likely that
a girl would adopt the feminine role simply through the personal/imitation
relationship. Essentially such a girl would experience the identification
process similarly to boy's resulting in better than average cognitive
skills. The discussion of intellectual differences between the sexes
supports Lynn's statements. Cross-sex typing, especially in women, is a
correlate of optimum, intellectual functioning. It is moderate distance
from the mother, the lack of restraint, that cultivates intellectual
abilities in girls.

Block (1973, p. 512) extended the conception of sex roles to include
"the larger developmental tasks ... tasks of ego and cognitive develop-
ment." She sets forth that the ultimate goal of sexual identity is not
achievement of masculinity or feminity.

> Sexual identity means or will mean the earning of a sense of
> self in which there is a recognition of gender secure enough
> to permit the individual to manifest qualities our society,
> until now, has labeled as unmanly or unwomanly (Block, 1973,
> p. 512).

It is Block's contention that sex role identification is a synthesis of
biological and cultural forces as mediated by cognitive and ego functions.
Extrapolating from Loevinger's (1966, 1970) milestones of ego develop-
ment, Block (1973) outlines progressive stages in the conception of sex
roles as seen below.

Stage of Ego Development	Conception of Sex Role
Presocial/Symbiotic	
Impulse Ridden	Development of gender identity, self assertion, self expression, self interest
Self Protective	Extension of self, self enhancement
Conformity	Conformity to external role,

	development of sex role stereo- types, bifurcation of sex roles
Conscientious	Examination of self as sex role exemplar vis-avis internalized values
Autonomous	Differentiation of sex role, coping with conflicting masculine- feminine aspects of self
Integrated	Achievement of individually defined sex role, integration of both masculine and feminine aspects of self, androgynous sex role defi- nitions.

There is a caution against equating the higher levels with greater per-
sonal adjustment. More realistically, the higher stages reflect attempts
to deal with increasingly deeper, complex questions of personal existence
such as self-ideal, morality.

Block discussed the concepts of "agency" and "communion" from Bakan
(1966) as indicative of masculine and feminine roles, respectively. It
is the affects of unmitigated agency and/or communion that are reflected
in intellectual differences. A balancing or integration of these two
modalities of relating will occupy the individual through the higher
levels of ego functioning. Of great significance are studies that reveal
greater personal maturity as associated with integration of masculine and
feminine roles (Block, 1973) and personal adjustment is related to cog-
nitive complexity (Thomas and Seeman, 1971). Block (1973, p. 522) sum-
marizes her presentation of a conception of sex roles, which reflects
much of the above material of social differentiation, sex role identifi-
cations, and the implications of this differentiation.

> ... the achievement of higher levels of ego functioning is
> associated with the development of self concepts reflecting
> an integration of the agentic concerns, self-enhancement and
> self extension, with the satisfactions deriving from communion
> and mutuality. The implications of these findings for the sex
> role socialization of the child are several and important.
> The present American cultural emphasis on masculine machismo
> and feminine docility appears to impede the development of

mature ego functioning. Because children are socialized early
into culturally defined sex-appropriate roles, introspection
and self-evaluation, which appear to be essential catalysts
for psychological growth, are discouraged. Further, there
appear to be significant personal costs paid by both sexes
when the socialization of sex-appropriate behaviors, defined
in such narrow terms, is 'successful'.

Summary

The process of establishing sex-role identification is an indeed
complex phenomena that has been explained in terms of unconscious motiva-
tion, observations of powerful others, and cognitive restructuring and
maturation. Much information has been offered from these frameworks to
explain how and why a woman chooses to identify with the feminine sex
role. From a more economic social perspective there is the possible ex-
planation that a woman has little choice in her identification of sex
roles, i.e., sex role differentiation is a social distribution system of
financial, social, and political power. The psychological theories of
identification are mere maintenance devices.

In formulating questions and answers concerning a woman's function-
ing in the realm of sex roles, there is no absolutely comprehensive sys-
tem. There is needed the extraction from each formulation those
observation and accounts of such observation that can be scrutinized and
documented in a clear validated process. As has often been stated of the
psychoanalytic approach, its circularity and vagueness prevents documen-
tation of the hypothesis of the identification process. Social learning
approaches to identification is limited in the explanatory nature of the
totality of the process. The cognitive developmental theory of sex role
identification does offer more specifics in the total process which can
lead to either replication in research or rejection from available

information. However, none of these theories have an explanation for Block's (1973) observation of less sex role differentiation in the more social-welfare countries of Western Europe. What is needed is a comprehensive formulation that allows for cultural variation as well as accounts of the stages of differentiation that mark the intellectual and cognitive development of males and females sex role identification processes. Such a theory is currently unavailable in psychological formulations.

APPENDIX C

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

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INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to survey your attitudes toward a number of social topics. Read each statement on the following pages, and indicate the extent of your agreement with the attitude expressed by filling in the appropriate space on the answer sheet. In each row of the answer sheet there are five spaces which are defined as follows:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Undecided
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

In marking down your response to a statement, make sure the <u>row</u> number on the answer sheet corresponds with the number of the statement to which you are responding.

There are no right or wrong answers to these statements. We are interested in attitudes relating to topics about which people hold a wide variety of positions. Therefore, your attitudes are just as valid as anyone else's.

Work rapidly; do not spend a great deal of time on any one statement. Occasionally you may find a statement that appears incomplete, unclear, or self-contradictory. Since these statements attempt to embrace fairly general attitudes, they may, at times, only approximate your understanding of the topic under consideration. You may find yourself reacting to a statement, "that depends on other circumstances." Whenever this happens, let impulse determine your response to the statement. Select the response category that, under the circumstances, <u>best</u> approximates your reaction to the statement, and then move on to the next one.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE ANSWER SHEET.

1. There should be no authority that has the right to determine the type of reading material that is available in the community.

2. I firmly believe that this country has been built on a foundation of truth and righteousness.

3. If a child is ever to learn self-discipline he must first be exposed to firm discipline at home.

4. Many of our current social problems could be solved if there was a fairer distribution of wealth in this country.

5. As a general rule, how a man behaves is the result of reason and choice; he is not forced to act in a certain way by the circumstances under which he lives.

6. There are many times when I feel that we are changing things much too rapidly in this country.

7. A person born to the most humble circumstances can succeed in this country if he has the ability and ambition to get ahead.

8. Many of our most difficult social problems cannot be solved unless the Federal Government becomes more involved with individual communities.

9. Our society should place much more emphasis on the importance of private property and ownership as an essential condition for freedom.

10. Many of our so-called intellectuals get so wrapped up in complicated ideas that they overlook the basic truths that apply to man and his world.

11. I'm sure that environmental factors exert some influence in determining a man's social achievements, but what he inherits in the way of character and ability plays a much more significant role.

12. Many governmental programs are nothing but poorly veiled handouts to the lower classes who, in turn, keep the politician in office.

13. The basic structure of our society is built upon a religious heritage.

14. Although our jails should attempt to return a man to a productive life in the community, they should also serve as a strong reminder that when a man breaks a law, he will be punished.

15. We must experiment with social affairs just as we experiment with physical and biological matters.

16. Although a good break is sometimes important, I believe that men rise in a society largely through their own efforts.

17. There are natural leaders and natural followers, and the country would be better off if more people really accepted this idea.

18. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.

19. He is not much of a person who does not feel great love, gratefulness, and respect for his parents.

20. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.

21. Much of the trouble in our country could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.

22. One can never justify breaking the law by claiming that he is following the dictates of his conscience.

23. I know that man has progressed far through science and reason, but I also know that there are many important truths that man will never completely comprehend.

24. It seems that the real power in this country has been shifting from the practical, hard-headed business leaders to fuzzy-thinking, ivory tower intellectuals who know very little about the real world.

25. Finding fault with this country generally comes from those people who lack the skill or ambition to make something of themselves.

26. I believe that truth endures, hence ideas that withstand the test of time are more likely to be closer to the truth than are ideas that are new.

27. If the lower classes would not let their houses run down so, perhaps they would be more acceptable as neighbors.

28. A man who manages to succeed in business is likely to possess the sound judgment, practical intelligence, and personal characteristics that are required by public office.

29. When I look about at Nature, I see a well ordered plan. The family and all human groups can best secure happiness when they conform to this natural ordering.

30. Many social reformers feel that it is acceptable to destroy both the good and the bad aspects of the society in order to achieve their objectives.

31. I think we are moving away from a time when people were happier and life was simpler.

32. As a general rule, poor people are just as happy as rich people.

33. Labor unions have demonstrated the benefits people may expect when they join together in the pursuit of their own interests.

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34. The decent people of this country, the ones who work for a living and have respect for the law, are not the ones we see agitating for social change.

35. God's laws are so simple and beautiful that I do not understand why man has turned away from them to a set of fuzzy ideas that are constantly changing.

36. The saying, "Mother knows best," still has more than a grain of truth.

37. Very few people today seem to be willing to do hard work. I see this as a fundamental weakness in our country.

38. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.

39. There is greater leadership potential in the business community than is generally found in other sectors of the society.

40. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.

41. Today we pamper our children, keep our lower classes on the dole, and neglect the traditions that made this country great.

42. During the recent past this country has been undergoing a steady decay in national character and morality.

43. Despite all the recent criticism and attacks, I still feel that this country is basically good and decent.

44. I believe that religion and patriotism are among the highest virtues a man can display.

APPENDIX D

INFORMATION SCALE

PLEASE MARK THE CORRECT ANSWER TO EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

1. Who is the leader of the Senate?

   A. Vice-President   B. Majority Whip
   C. Minority Whip   D. Majority Leader
   E. Minority Leader

2. Who is currently the Prime Minister of England?

   A. Wilson   B. Philby
   C. Trudeau   D. Brandt
   E. Heath

3. Who is the Chairman of the Senate's Committee on Government Operations
   which is currently conducting an investigation into the Watergate
   incident?

   A. Mike Mansfield   B. Sam Erwin
   C. Hubert Humphrey   D. George McGovern
   E. Ted Kennedy

4. What does the A in SEATO stand for?

   A. African   B. atomic
   C. Alliance   D. American
   E. None of these

5. Who was Chile's President?

   A. Franco   B. Gonzales
   C. Allende   D. Marcos
   E. Person

6. Which of the following was responsible for the release of the
   Pentagon Papers?

   A. E. Howard Hunt   B. Jack Anderson
   C. William Safire   D. Daniel Ellsburg
   E. Ronald Ziegler

7. What state is Agnew from?

   A. North Carolina   B. South Carolina
   C. Maryland   D. Virginia
   E. West Virginia

8. Which state does George McGovern represent in the Senate?

   A. North Dakota   B. Massachusetts
   C. Nebraska   D. South Dakota
   E. New York

9. How many justices are there presently on the Supreme Court?

   A. 7   B. 5   C. 12   D. 9   E. 13

10. The unfair apportionment of political districts for election purposes is called?

    A. boondoggling   B. moonlighting
    C. feather bedding   D. pork barreling
    E. gerry mandering

11. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is:

    A. Rep. Boggs   B. Rep. Albert
    C. Rep. Waldie   D. Rep. McCormick
    E. Rep. Downing

12. Which of the following is true?

    A. representatives serve 4-year terms
    B. senators represent the state as a whole, while representa-
       tives are elected from districts
    C. representatives serve 6-year terms
    D. representatives represent the state as a whole, while
       senators are elected from districts
    E. both senators and representatives are elected from districts

13. The term of office for the U. S. Senate is:

    A. 6 years   B. 2 years
    C. 4 years   D. 8 years
    E. 5 years

14. Which of the following is true?

    A. there is a Republican majority in Congress
    B. the current Democratic majority in Congress is the first
       since the Kennedy administration
    C. the current Republican majority is the first since the
       Eisenhower administration
    D. currently there is an equal number of Republicans and
       Democrats in Congress
    E. there is presently a Democratic majority in Congress

15. John Connally could be characterized as a:

    A. liberal Democrat   B. conservative Republican
    C. liberal Republican   D. liberal independent
    E. conservative Democrat

16. The Bureau of the Budget is part of the:

    A. House of Representatives
    B. Treasury Department
    C. Executive Office of the President
    D. State Department
    E. Interior Department

17. The Supreme Court decision which reversed the separate but equal policy for school integration was:

    A. McLauren vs. Oklahoma State Board of Regents
    B. Avery vs. Midland, Texas
    C. Brown vs. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education
    D. Plessy vs. Ferguson
    E. Colebrow vs. Green

18. Who is the Prime Minister of Canada?

    A. Heath   B. Trudeau
    C. Pompidou   D. Udall
    E. Wilson

19. What was the name of the conference held recently between the U. S. and USSR to limit nuclear weapons?

    A. SAC B. NATO C. SALT D. ABM E. SEATO

20. Who is the President of the Phillipines?

    A. Pompidou   B. Franco
    C. Person   D. Marcos
    E. Allende

21. Where did the Bay of Pigs incident occur?

    A. South Vietnam   B. North Vietnam
    C. South Korea   D. Israel
    E. Cuba

22. Which of the following is not true of Shirley Chisholm?

    A. She is a member of the House of Representatives.
    B. She is a woman's rights advocate.
    C. She was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President in 1972.
    D. She is a leader of the Women's Political Caucus.
    E. All of the above are true.

23. What does the A in NATO stand for?

    A. armament   B. Atlantic
    C. American   D. atomic
    E. alliance

24. Which of the following ran against Richard Nixon for the Republican nomination in 1972?

  A. Spiro Agnew   B. Pete McCloskey
  C. Nelson Rockefeller   D. Ronald Reagon
  E. John Connally

25. Who is governor of New York?

  A. John Lindsay   B. Edmund Muskie
  C. Richard Daly   D. Ronald Reagon
  E. Nelson Rockefeller

26. Who is the President of Egypt?

  A. Sadat   B. Arafat
  C. Hussein   D. Meir
  E. Nassar

27. The President of South Viet Nam is?

  A. Nguyen Van Thieu   B. Ho Chi Minh
  C. Phom Van Dong   D. Chou En-lai
  E. Chui Hui-tso

28. Where was the 1968 Democratic Convention held?

  A. Miami   B. Chicago
  C. San Diego   D. New York
  E. Los Angeles

29. Which of the following did not run for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972?

  A. McGovern   B. Humphrey
  C. Kennedy   D. Lindsay
  E. Jackson

30. Who is Gloria Steinem?

  A. head of the League of Women Voters
  B. Women's right advocate
  C. congresswoman from New York
  D. former chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee
  E. former Democratic candidate for president

31. Which of the following is the former Teamsters president, arrested in 1967 for jury tampering and pension-fund fraud?

  A. Meany   B. Fitzsimmons
  C. Woodcock   D. Dunlop
  E. Hoffa

32. Which of the following fled to Algeria to avoid a return to prison?

    A. Huey Newton   B. Bobby Seale
    C. Elridge Cleaver   D. Angela Davis
    E. none of the above

33. Who is Bella Abzug?

    A. Representative from New York
    B. Senator from New York
    C. President of the League of Women Voters
    D. Former Chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee
    E. A candidate for the Democratic nomination for President

34. Which of the following countries is not a member of the International Control Commission supervising the truce in Vietnam?

    A. Poland   B. Canada
    C. Indonesia   D. Hungary
    E. India

35. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is part of which Cabinet Department?

    A. Transportation   B. Health, Education, & Welfare
    C. Justice   D. State
    E. Interior

36. What is the capital of North Vietnam?

    A. Haiphong   B. Hanoi
    C. Peking   D. Saigon
    E. Phnom Pen

37. Who is President of France?

    A. DeGaulle   B. Pompidou
    C. Pinay   D. Messmer
    E. Mitterrand

38. With which of the following did the U. S. recently sign an anti-hijacking pact?

    A. USSR   B. Egypt   C. Red China   D. Cuba   E. Algeria

39. What country was the scene of the recent murders of the two U. S. ambassadors?

    A. Sudan   B. Saudi Arabia
    C. Libya   D. Jordan
    E. Egypt

40. Which of the following is not true for Richard Nixon?

    A. He ran for President in 1960.
    B. He was Vice-President to Eisenhower.
    C. He lost the election for governor of California in 1962.
    D. He is a lawyer.
    E. He was a member of the Senate but not the House.

41. Which of the following judges was recently convicted of taking a bribe in Illinois?

    A. Hoffman   B. Black
    C. Warren   D. Kerner
    E. Hanrahan

42. Which of the following changed his party affiliation from Republican to Democrat last year?

    A. Eagleton   B. Wallace
    C. Lindsay   D. Thurmond
    E. Connally

43. Who of the following is the black congressman censured by a vote of Congress in 1967?

    A. Powell   B. King
    C. Cleaver   D. Gallagher
    E. Dodd

44. Who of the following was convicted of shooting George Wallace?

    A. Ray   B. Sirhan
    C. Jackson   D. Gallagher
    E. Bremer

45. When were the SALT accords signed between the U. S. and the USSR?

    A. 1969   B. 1970   C. 1971   D. 1972   E. 1973

46. Which of the following was the company commander at My Lai?

    A. Medina   B. Eckhardt
    C. Abrams   D. Calley
    E. Henderson

47. What is the job of IMF?

    A. enforcement of the wage-price controls
    B. regulation of international tariffs
    C. regulate international currencies
    D. regulation of bank interest rates
    E. regulation of stock exchange practices

48. What is the name of the new nation created after the India-Pakistani War?

    A. Kashmir   B. Bangladesh
    C. Biafra   D. Napel
    E. Bengall

49. What is the job of NATO?

    A. provide economic aid to Europe
    B. defense of South East Asia
    C. control of trade
    D. defense of Western Europe
    E. regulate the Common Market

50. How many devaluations of the dollar have there been during Nixon's administration?

    A. 1   B. 2   C. 3   D. 4   E. 5

APPENDIX E

FRANCK DRAWING COMPLETION TEST

FRANCK DRAWING COMPLETION TEST

by Kate Franck, A.B., M.A.
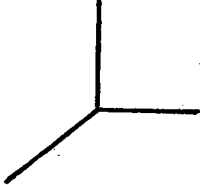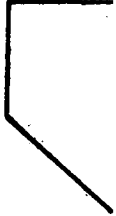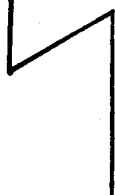(University of California)

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Date ....Sex............................
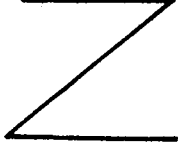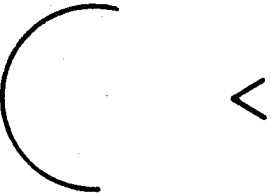
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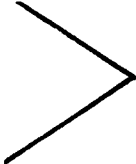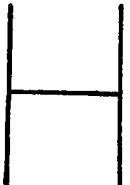
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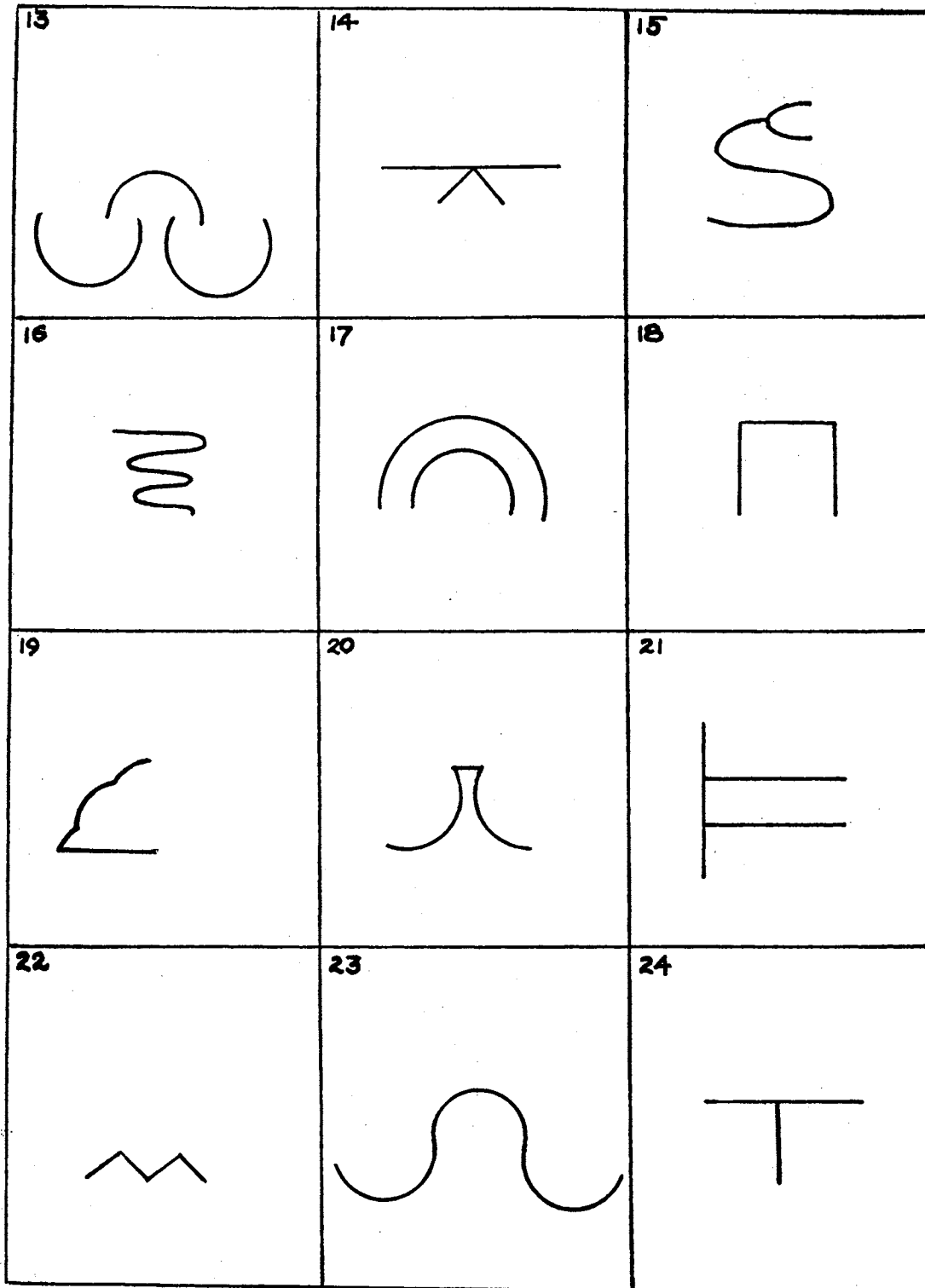
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I

II

13	14	15
16	17	18
19	20	21
22	23	24

III

APPENDIX F

DESCRIPTION OF CPI SCALES

Class I: The six scales in this class reflect the person's poise, ascendency, self-assurance, and interpersonal adequacy.

Dominance (Do)

The Do scale was derived in connection with a study on political participation to identify those individuals able to take and exercise leadership. Forty-six items make up the scale and most of these items deal with poise and confidence. The high scorer tends to be verbally fluent, persuasive, persistent, and to face reality even when it is distasteful. This scale is one of the better validated CPI scales and one of the few for which predictive validity has been established as opposed to postdictive or current validity. In a comparison of dominance scales from a variety of personality inventories, Butt and Fiske (1968) concluded that the Do scales are the most appropriate for assessing leadership.

Capacity for Status (Cs)

This scale "... attempts to appriase those qualities of ambition and self-assurance that underlie, and lead to, status" (Gough, 1968a, p. 61). The 32 items making up the scale reflect social poise, self-confidence, security, literary and esthetic interests, social conscience and interest in belonging to groups. Correlations range from +.38 to +.48 relating Cs to measures of social-economic status.

Sociability (Sy)

The Sy scale was devised to differentiate people with an outgoing sociable temperament from those who avoid involvement and social

visibility. External criterion analysis was employed in the construction of the scale with the criterion of participation being the number of extracurricular activities. Further research has shown the scale to measure sociability more than social participation. The content of the 36 items of the Sy deal with enjoyment of social interactions, feelings of poise and self-assurance in dealing with others, and tolerance for others. Significant correlations have been found between Sy and peer ratings of sociability.

Social Presence (Sp)

The Sp scale is closely related to the Sociability scale having been designed to assess poise, self-confidence, verve, and spontaneity in social interactions. However, the difference in high scorers on Sp is that they not only like to be with people but such a person uses and manipulated people. The Sp scale was constructed rationally by means of internal consistency. Fifty-six items make up the scale with high over-lap with other scales. Content reflects enjoyment of social interactions, strong self-assurance, broad-minded attitudes about social prohibitions, and to some extent a rejection of the Protestant ethic. Evidence for validity of the Sp scale is relatively sparse; however, there is some research demonstrating the difference between Sp and Sy.

Self-Acceptance (Sa)

Gough (1968a, p. 63) indicates the purpose of the Sa is "... to identify individuals who would manifest a comfortable and imperturbable sense of personal worth, and who would be seen as secure and sure of themselves whether active or inactive in social behavior." The Sa was

rationally constructed through internal consistency analysis. There are 34 items with resemblance to the content of Sp and Sy in terms of social poise and self-confidence and broadminded attitudes. However, the Sa scale emphasizes attention to duty, consideration of others, and a candid acceptance of human frailties. The scale has been shown to correlate significantly with peer-ratings of self-acceptance but not with measures of self-adjustment.

Sense of Well-Being (Wb)

One of the validity scales on the CPI, Wb can be used to differentiate those persons faking neurosis, normals, and psychiatric patients responding truthfully. The scale was derived through external criterion analysis comparing the MMPI profiles of actual neurotics with normals asked to feign neurosis. Content of the Wb scale consists primarily of denials of various physical and mental symptoms so that high scores reflect health and well-being and low scores suggest diminished vitality and inability to meet the demands of everyday life. General findings from research are that the Wb reliability reflects differences in adjustment as defined by several different criteria.

Class II: It is also composed of six scales assessing some aspects of socialization, maturity, responsibility, and interpersonal structuring of values.

Responsibility (Re)

This scale was developed as a part of research on political behavior to identify persons who were conscientious, responsible, dependable, articulate about rules, and who believed that life should be governed by

reason. The degree to which values and controls are conceptualized and understood is the emphasis of the Re scale. Concern for social, civic, moral obligations, emphasis on duty, trust and confidence in others, denial of impulsivity are examples of the manifest content of the 42 items making up the Re scale. The validational research on the Re reveals mixed findings. In general, anti-social groups score low on Re; occupational groups for whom responsible behavior is required obtain average scores, and Re correlates with performance on tasks emphasizing attention to duty. Further work is needed to clarify the meaning of the scale.

Socialization (So)

The degree of social maturity, integrity, and rectitude a person has attained is reflected in the scores on the So scale. "In contrast to Re and Sc, the So scale thus measures the extent to which values are internalized and made useful in the life of the individual" (Megargee, 1972, p. 59). Constructed through external criterion analysis, responses of delinquents and non delinquents were compared. Before the scale was included on the CPI, it was referred to as the Delinquency Scale. Content of the 54 items are consistent with theory and research in delinquency. Typical item content deals with family stability, negative view of the world, alienation, social sensitivity and empathy, and scholastic and familial adjustment. An impressive array of data demonstrate the concurrent predictive, and construct validity of the So scale such that "... there is little doubt that the So scale is one of the best validated and most powerful personality scales available" (Megargee, 1972, p. 65).

Self-Control (Sc)

The scale was designed to assess the adequacy of self-regulation, self-control, and degree of freedom from impulsivity and self-centeredness. Distinctions between the Re, So, and Sc are that Re measures the degree to which controls are understood, So the extent to which such controls influence the individual's behavior, and Sc stresses the degree to which the person approves of and espouses such regulatory dispositions (Gough, 1965a). High scores on Sc indicate overcontrol and low scores impulsivity. The Sc scale was rationally constructed through internal consistency analysis. Fifty items make up the scale, the content of which deals with generalized restraint of irrational behavior. Specifics of such restraint are use of thought and reason, shunning of impulsive or anti-social behavior, self-effacing modesty, and social inhibitions. There is less evidence for the validity of the Sc scale although significant differences have emerged from scores of groups rated on impulsivity.

Tolerance (To)

The purpose of the To scale is to identify permissive, accepting, and nonjudgmental social beliefs. Originally the scale was devised to assess similar concepts as those measured by the California E and F scales. The 32 items' content reflects openness and flexibility, interests in aesthetic pursuits, trust and confidence as opposed to cynicism and suspicion. High scorers deny hositility against others, anxiety, isolation, or alienation. Further work is needed to demonstrate the validity of the To scale and to clarify such questions as to whether or not the scale is truly bimodal, and whether it indicates tolerance toward people or ideas, or both.

Good Impression (Gi)

Another of the validity scales, the Gi is used to identify people who are concerned about how others react to them and who are able to create favorable impressions. Gi was one of the first scales constructed to measure what has been referred to as social desirability. Most of the scale's 40 items are rather obvious claims to good functioning, virtue, denial of anti-social behavior, or human failings. Validational research has demonstrated the Gi scale ability to discriminate dissimulated protocols. Studies have investigated the possibility of using Gi as a suppressor scale to improve the validity of the other CPI scales. It was found that the addition of Gi or other validity measures did not improve other scales' validity (Dickens, 1963). The Gi scales have interpretative significance as well as its use as a validity scale.

Communality (Cm)

The Cm scale is a third validity scale and is used to detect protocols on which a subject answered in a random fashion. It consists of 28 items which 95% of respondents answer in the keyed direction. Cm items fall into the following types of content: items reflecting good socialization, denial of neurotic tendencies, conventional behavior, conformity, and optimism. One study has demonstrated the ability of Cm to detect the random or improperly answered protocol.

Class III: It consists of three scales assessing achievement potential and intellectual efficiency.

Achievement via Conformance (Ac)

The basic theme of the Ac scale is a strong need for achievement
combined with a deeply internalized appreciation for structure and organ-
ization. Ac consists of 38 items some of which deal with effectiveness
in academic settings, others refer to efficiency outside of school. Con-
siderable research has been conducted with the Ac which has consistently
shown its relationship to achievement in high school settings. In other
settings findings have not been quite as impressive.

Achievement via Independence (Ai)

Originally devised to predict success in college, it now appears
that Ai predicts achievement in settings where independence of thought,
creativity, and self-actualization is rewarded. Gough has shown that Ai
is a partial predictor of grades without depending on intellectual
factors. The Ai scale consists of 32 items many of which suggest high
tolerance for ambiguity, willingness to reject conventional answers,
enjoyment of intellectual activities, positive adjustment and well-
developed moral values. The Ai scale is another of the well studied
scales on the CPI. In general, numerous findings support the validity
of the scale.

Intellectual Efficiency (Ie)

"Originally referred to as a 'nonintellectual intelligency test',
the Ie scale was constructed to provide a set of personality items that
would correlate significantly with accepted measures of intelligence"
(Megargee, 1972, p. 80). There are 52 items which reflect interest and
enjoyment in intellectual pursuits. More specifically, the high scorers

respond with self-confidence, freedom from physical ailments, freedom from worries, and without being overly suspicious, hostile, or sensitive. Ie, as the other scales in Class III, is a throughly researched scale from several different approaches. Gough (1969b) states that Ie assesses the adequacy and effectiveness with which an individual utilizes his intellectual capacity. With the available data it is difficult to say whether the Ie assesses ability or the efficient employment of the individual's ability or both. It does correlate significantly with many verbal tests of intelligence. In addition it has been shown to discriminate between goal-oriented women and nongoal-oriented women (Frankel, 1970).

Class IV: It contains three scales which did not load on any of the other three classes. Generally this class measures intellectual and interest modes of functioning.

Psychological Mindedness (Py)

The Py scale measures the degree to which a person is interested in, and responsive to, the inner needs, motives, and experiences of others. Whether or not the person uses this interest and ability to help others cannot be concluded from the Py but must be determined from the overall CPI protocol. Typical item content of the Py 22 items indicates that a high scorer concentrates on problems, tolerate ambiguity, is not likely to change his mind, is willing to sacrifice immediate needs for long range goals, is concerned for practicality, and finally has unconventional attitudes. There have been shown to be significant positive correlations between Py and the Psychologist scale on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank. Other findings support the construct validity of the Py scale;

however, they leave unclear as to whether the traits of P_y are associated
with the psychologist as scientist or clinician.

Flexibility (Fx)

"The Fx scale was devised to identify people who are flexible,
adaptable, and even somewhat changeable in their thinking, behavior, and
temperament" (Megargee, 1972, p. 89). Originally the scale was labeled
Rigidity Scale and correlated highly with both the California E and F
scales. A high percentage of the 22 items on the Fx constitutes a re-
jection of dogmatic assertions common to authoritarian personality and an
acceptance of uncertainty and ambiguity. High scorers on the Fx scale
are impulsive, disorganized, and have nonjudgmental views of moral and
ethical standards. The Fx scale does correlate negatively with conven-
tional measures of rigidity yet it fails to correlate positively with
flexibility criteria. Gough's explanation is that Fx is curvilinear with
only moderate scores reflecting adaptability, the extreme scores indi-
cating instability. Nevertheless, currently the Fx scale is viewed as
one of the least valid of the CPI scales.

Femininity (Fe)

The purpose of the Fe scale has evolved from the original goal of
distinguishing between men and women toward a goal of defining a continuum
of psychological femininity. Fe was derived from external criterion
analysis in which the responses of men and women were compared to a
specifically constructed item pool. Thirty-eight items compose the Fe
scale; some of the items are fairly obvious but most are subtle. "If one
knows an item appears on the Femininity scale, one can see social

stereotypes at work, but the items themselves do not deal directly with
sex differences or sex-related behavior" (Megargee, 1972, p. 91). Items
deal with preferences for conventional roles, emotionality, and interper-
sonal sensitivity. The Fe scale significantly correlates with other
measures of masculinity-femininity such as the MMPI M_F scale, SVIB Mas-
culinity Scale, Guilford-Zimmerman Masculinity Scale. However, Fe fails
to correlate significantly with the Franck Drawing Completion Test or the
WAIS M-F factor.

APPENDIX G

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Below you will find specific questions relating to your childhood as well as current attitudes and behaviors. This is not designed to probe for useless information. Each question has meaning in obtaining a more accurate and integrated picture of women in our society. If for any reason you choose not to answer one of the questions, please indicate the reason for your so doing. Feel free to elaborate whenever you wish.

1. My age is _____.

2. My current marital status is _____

   a) single   b) married   c) divorced   d) divorced & remarried
   e) widowed

3. The duration of my present marriage is _____.

4. The number of children in my home are _____.

5. "I tend to prefer _____

   a) male children   b) female children   c) do not particularly
   like children   d) doesn't matter as to whether the child is
   male or female

6. My level of education is _____.

7. My occupation is _____.

8. My spouse's occupation is _____.

9. My average yearly income is _____.

10. My spouse's and my income combined is _____.

11. My religious preference is _____.

12. My ethnic origin is _____.

13. The ages of my brothers, sisters, and parents are:

14. With whom did you live during most of your childhood _____.

15. My mother's occupation was _____.

16. My father's occupation was _____.

17. My parents' average income when I was a child was _____.

18. I grew up in a _____ .

    a) rural area   b) town less than 5000   c) 5,000-10,000
    d) 10,000-50,000   e) city larger than 50,000

19. Who was your father's favorite child?

20. Who was your mother's favorite child?

21. Indicate by placing a slash mark on the continuums below the closeness you felt toward your parents when you were growing up.

    Very close _____ Very distant
                              father

    Very close _____ Very distant
                              mother

22. Did you go through a tomboy phase when growing up? _____

23. How long do you remember this tomboy period lasting _____ .

24. My parents' expectations for me when I finished high school were:

25. My grade point average in school was _____ .

26. My major field of study in school was _____ .

27. Who encouraged you to become involved in the organization specifically mentioned in the cover letter?

28. Why do you continue in the activities of this group?

29. What specific things maintain your interest and motivations?

30. To what other organizations do you belong? Rank them as to your degree of involvement.

31. List any offices you have or are holding in these organizations.

32. With which political party do you most closely identify? _____ .

33. Did you vote in the last election held at the community level_____ state level _____ national level _____ .

34. Did you participate in any other way in these campaigns and/or elections? Indicate in what ways.

35. Estimate the relative contribution of these news sources to your knowledge of politics and current events by placing a slash mark along each of the continuums.

    No contribution_____Great contribution

    Radio   _____

    Television   _____

    Newspapers   _____

    News magazines   _____

    Friends   _____

    Family members   _____

    Others (specify)   _____

36. Which of the following most closely approximates your perception of your role in the political process _____.

    a) passive noninterested observer
    b) passive interested observer
    c) active ineffective participant
    d) active effective participant

37. From whom did you learn this image of your role in the political process?

38. Which of the following statements is most indicative of your attitudes toward the Equal Rights Amendment? _____

    a) no opinion
    b) somewhat in favor of passage
    c) definitely in favor of passage
    d) somewhat opposed to passage
    e) definitely opposed to passage

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39. Indicate the extent to which your opinions have changed in the last
    year in the following areas by placing a slash mark on each continuum.

          Absolutely no change_____Great change

    Peace activities   _____

    Environmental ecology   _____

    Equality in employment   _____

    Structure & process of
    political campaigns   _____

    Freedom of birth control   _____

    Abortion on demand   _____

    Public child care   _____

    Presidential impeachment   _____

    Involvement in the Near East_____

40. Is there any other information that you feel is relevant to your
    current community-political involvement?

41. Have you ever thought of running for an elected public office at the

    community level_____ state level_____ national level_____

42. How long have you lived in this community?_____

43. Mark along the below continuum where you would define your perception
    and position on women's sex roles.

_____
antifeminist   traditional   feminist   radical feminist   separatist

APPENDIX H

COVER LETTER

You are being asked to participate in a psychological study, a study that deals only with women. You have been selected to participate because of your involvement in Stillwater's PTA as indicated by __ Pat Jaynes. Your complete anonymity is assured. Your responses will be coded only by the number on your return envelope which stands for PTA so as to enable me to combine your individual responses with those of other women in your organization.

As you can see by looking at the packet of materials, I am asking you to complete approximately an hour or more of test materials. I realize this is quite a request and perhaps, you may feel, an invasion of your privacy. Given this, it is only fair you know of the nature and purpose of this study and why it is important for you to participate.

Too much of what social scientists know of human nature is based on the college student and his involvement in psychological research on the college campus. Knowledge of the feelings and activities of the more mature woman's functioning in her environment is sadly lacking. This study's purpose is to survey different groups of women involved in different community-political activities. You are being asked to respond to several different types of materials. Each is important because each reflects a different aspect of who we are as persons. Hopefully, this study will result in better understanding the motivations of women involved in community activities.

This is an innovative and exciting approach to adding to our knowledge of women in our society. It is my sincere hope you will find this opportunity to participate an exciting personal experience. You will be sent a summary of the results obtained from this survey. If you have any questions after your completion of the forms, please feel free to contact me. I greatly appreciate your giving of your time and sharing of yourself in this research endeavor.

Sincerely,

Margie L. Cowan
Psychology Doctoral Candidate

APPENDIX I

INSTRUCTIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

Enclosed you will find several different tests and questionnaires that I
am asking you to complete. There is no precise order in which to proceed
with the tests. I would suggest trying to complete all the material at
one time. It should take you a little over an hour.

Let me again emphasize the importance of your filling out all of the
information. This is not a large survey in which hundreds of women are
participating, "so my response doesn't matter". You were selected be-
cause of your involvement in the community. There are only a few dozen
similar to you participating in this survey. It is crucial you complete
the information and return it.

You will find enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope in which to
return all the survey material. Be sure you have answered all the ques-
tions on the Information Questionnaire, Demographic Questionnaire, Social
Attitude Scale, California Psychological Inventory, and the Franck Drawing
Completion Test. Then be sure you place all the material in the return
envelope. I would appreciate your mailing the information as soon as you
can.

I shall then be able to give you feedback as soon as the data have been
compiled. Thank you again for your cooperation.

APPENDIX J

REMINDER LETTER

Dear

This is to ask you, if you have not already done so, to please complete
the packet of materials that you received last month. Responses still
are being received so it is not too late to participate in this research
project. Participation has been good; however, there is a need for more
of you to response to make the data representative enough to derive
meaningful conclusions.

If you have already returned your responses, forgive this reminder.
There simply is no way of matching names to returned responses; and, thus,
to know to whom to mail this additional request to participate in the
project. If for any reason you decide not to participate, may I ask that
you return the materials in the envelope provided. Any comments as to
your perceptions, reactions, etc. would be welcomed.

Again let me express my appreciation for your receptiveness to this
research project. You will be receiving a summary of the results some-
time in the late summer.

Sincerely,

Margie L. Cowan

APPENDIX K

PREDICTOR VARIABLES

Variable Number	Where Obtained	Variable Number	Where Obtained
	Information Scale	40.	10,000-50,000 population
		41.	City 50,000
1.	Information	#19	Father's Favorite Child
		42.	Father Prefer Boy Child
	California Psychological Inventory	43.	Father Prefer Girl Child
		44.	Father had no Preference
2.	Dominance (Do)	45.	Father's Preference Unknown
3.	Capacity for Status (Cs)	#20	Mother's Favorite Child
4.	Sociability (Sy)	46.	Mother Prefer Boy Child
5.	Social Presence (Sp)	47.	Mother Prefer Girl Child
6.	Self-Acceptance (Sa)	48.	Mother had no Preference
7.	Sense of Well-Being (Wb)	49.	Mother's Preference Unknown
8.	Responsibility (Re)	50. #21	Closeness to Mother
9.	Socialization (So)	51.	Closeness to Father
10.	Self-Control (Sc)	52. #22	Tomboy
11.	Tolerance (To)	53. #30	Number of Organizations
12.	Good Impression (Gi)	54.	Number of Political Organizations
13.	Communality (Cm)		
14.	Achievement via Conformance (Ac)	55. #31	Number of Offices
15.	Achievement via Independence (Ai)	56. #32	Political Party
16.	Intellectual Efficiency (Ie)	57. #33-#34	Election Participation
17.	Psychological Mindedness (Py)		
18.	Flexibility (Fx)	#35	News Source
19.	Femininity (Fe)	58.	Total News Source
		#36	Role Perception
	Demographic Questionnaire	59.	Passive-Interested
		60.	Active-Ineffective
20. #1	Age	61.	Active-Effective
#2	Marital Status	#38	ERA Attitudes
21.	Single	62.	No Opinion ERA
22.	Married	63.	Somewhat Favor ERA
23.	Divorce	64.	Definitely Favor ERA
24.	Divorced-Remarried	65.	Somewhat Oppose ERA
25.	Widowed	66.	Definitely Oppose ERA
26. #3	Length of Marriage	#39	Attitude Change
27. #4	Number of Children	67.	Total Attitude Change
28. #9	Personal Income	68. #41	Run for Office
29. #10	Combined Income	69. #42	Length of Residence
#11	Religious Preference	70. #43	Sex Role Perception
30.	Protestant		
31.	Catholic		Social Attitude Scale
32.	Jewish		
33.	Nonreligious	71.	Political Attitude
34. #13	Number of Siblings	72.	Constraint Score
35. #17	Know Parents' Income		
36.	Parents' Income		Franck Drawing Completion Test
#18	Residence		
37.	Rural	73.	Franck Femininity
38.	Town 5000		
39.	5000-10,000 population		

Variable Number	Where Obtained	Variable Number	Where Obtained

Demographic Questionnaire

#35 News Source

74.	Radio
75.	Television
76.	Newspapers
77.	News Magazines
78.	Friends
79.	Family
#39	Attitude Change
80.	Peace
81.	Environmental
82.	Equality
83.	Structure
84.	Birth Control
85.	Abortion
86.	Public Child Care
87.	Impeachment
88.	Near East
89. #6	Level of Education
#28-#29	Motivation for Involvement
90.	Challenge
91.	Goals of Feminist Movement
92.	Association
93.	Spiritual
94.	Improvement of Schools
95.	Informative
96.	No Comment
97. #7	Employment

APPENDIX L

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

Variable	WSL		WPC		LWV		PTA		Church		Business	
	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D
Inform.	40.07	4.28	40.00	5.15	38.79	3.52	35.17	4.97	34.59	6.25	36.92	5.23
Do	35.13	4.17	32.41	5.03	29.21	6.45	31.50	6.53	30.29	5.69	29.50	6.17
Cs	23.79	2.27	22.35	2.06	21.21	4.69	22.25	3.17	20.59	2.81	21.08	4.72
Sy	29.00	3.14	25.65	5.44	22.68	6.16	25.75	2.34	25.88	4.37	26.83	5.20
Sp	38.39	4.97	38.41	5.23	32.16	8.37	34.67	6.51	33.35	4.11	34.50	5.40
Sa	23.73	2.66	23.29	3.08	21.00	3.41	21.75	3.47	22.53	2.87	21.83	2.82
Wb	38.66	2.58	34.76	6.32	38.00	3.25	38.08	5.57	38.12	3.24	36.50	3.78
Re	35.59	2.56	33.47	3.91	36.21	3.06	34.41	3.13	36.00	2.12	34.00	2.45
So	38.07	4.76	35.71	4.99	38.10	4.83	39.17	4.89	41.94	2.73	39.42	5.09
Sc	31.39	4.59	28.82	6.06	34.42	5.08	30.25	9.73	34.71	3.58	33.25	6.36
To	25.73	2.58	24.18	4.08	25.05	3.14	24.00	4.18	24.24	1.99	23.33	3.70
Gi	21.47	3.58	16.65	5.28	19.74	6.83	16.33	5.96	20.82	5.47	20.42	5.58
Cm	25.79	1.66	25.47	1.87	25.63	2.14	26.42	1.38	26.41	1.58	26.50	0.90
Ac	31.67	2.58	28.18	3.21	28.47	4.29	28.92	3.63	30.41	3.68	29.83	3.97
Ai	24.53	2.45	23.76	2.84	23.37	3.93	23.08	3.15	23.41	3.86	22.08	3.65
Ie	41.67	3.52	40.88	4.04	41.74	6.10	40.67	3.70	40.41	3.68	40.33	5.88
Py	13.60	1.64	14.23	2.19	12.84	3.08	14.42	1.98	11.76	2.91	11.25	2.86
Fx	11.20	2.86	12.34	4.18	10.89	4.36	9.83	2.44	9.12	4.59	9.67	4.18
Fe	21.07	3.17	22.53	3.00	22.74	4.64	22.83	3.56	25.53	2.87	23.33	2.46
Age	51.73	7.71	35.94	9.32	43.00	11.72	40.17	7.07	42.71	7.57	57.25	4.88
Single	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.39
Married	0.80	0.41	0.88	0.33	0.95	0.23	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.58	0.51
Divorced	0.07	0.26	0.06	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.39
Div-Remarr	0.07	0.26	0.06	0.24	0.05	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Widow	0.07	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.29
Length Mar	24.93	12.74	11.59	6.12	20.11	9.53	16.83	6.01	20.35	6.63	25.25	16.10
# Children	1.53	1.77	1.76	1.25	2.53	1.39	2.91	1.08	2.53	1.28	1.00	1.41
Protestant	0.93	0.26	0.59	0.51	0.68	0.48	0.92	0.29	0.82	0.39	0.92	0.29
Catholic	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.33	0.05	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.33	0.00	0.00
Non-Relig	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.44	0.26	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.24	0.08	0.29
# Siblings	2.20	1.37	2.65	2.26	2.26	1.88	2.00	1.21	2.12	1.61	2.25	1.14
Know Par. Inc.	0.60	0.51	0.71	0.47	0.42	0.51	0.50	0.52	0.29	0.47	0.33	0.49

Variable	WSL $\overline{X}$	WSL S_D	WPC $\overline{X}$	WPC S_D	LWV $\overline{X}$	LWV S_D	PTA $\overline{X}$	PTA S_D	Church $\overline{X}$	Church S_D	Business $\overline{X}$	Business S_D
Rural	0.26	0.41	0.12	0.33	0.31	0.48	0.08	0.29	0.23	0.44	0.33	0.49
Town	0.33	0.49	0.12	0.33	0.26	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.33	0.17	0.39
5,000-10,000	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.24	0.11	0.32	0.33	0.49	0.35	0.49	0.17	0.39
10,000-50,000	0.13	0.35	0.20	0.44	0.11	0.31	0.08	0.29	0.06	0.24	0.17	0.39
City	0.33	0.49	0.47	0.51	0.21	0.42	0.50	0.52	0.23	0.44	0.17	0.39
Fath Pref Boy	0.13	0.35	0.24	0.44	0.05	0.33	0.17	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Fath Pref Girl	0.47	0.52	0.65	0.49	0.26	0.45	0.25	0.45	0.12	0.33	0.50	0.52
Fath No Pref	0.20	0.41	0.12	0.33	0.37	0.49	0.42	0.51	0.53	0.51	0.42	0.51
Fath Pref?	0.20	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.32	0.48	0.17	0.39	0.35	0.49	0.08	0.29
Moth Pref Boy	0.40	0.51	0.47	0.51	0.16	0.37	0.17	0.39	0.12	0.33	0.25	0.45
Moth Pref Girl	0.33	0.49	0.47	0.51	0.16	0.37	0.33	0.49	0.12	0.33	0.25	0.45
Moth No Pref	0.13	0.35	0.06	0.24	0.37	0.49	0.33	0.49	0.53	0.51	0.42	0.51
Moth Pref?	0.13	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.48	0.17	0.39	0.24	0.44	0.08	0.29
Jewish	0.07	0.26	0.06	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Close Mother	48.73	32.02	40.94	29.10	28.74	34.53	44.75	37.29	17.82	18.03	18.67	25.42
Close Father	42.20	27.32	52.94	35.41	42.00	37.84	42.33	36.70	40.11	34.26	22.50	24.67
Tomboy	0.53	0.52	0.71	0.47	0.58	0.51	0.75	0.45	0.71	0.47	0.42	0.51
# Groups	5.00	2.04	3.35	2.42	3.00	2.24	4.33	2.10	4.05	1.48	3.33	1.23
# Pol Groups	2.27	1.53	2.23	1.71	0.21	0.54	0.33	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
# Offices	2.07	2.52	0.82	1.07	1.42	1.43	3.30	2.04	2.71	1.79	1.67	1.30
Pol Party	0.40	0.51	0.94	0.24	0.74	0.45	0.42	0.51	0.35	0.49	0.42	0.51
Elec Partic	5.27	1.16	5.23	1.85	4.05	1.47	4.67	1.49	3.59	0.62	3.33	1.23
Pass-Inter	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.44	0.32	0.48	0.42	0.51	0.65	0.49	0.67	0.49
Act-Inef	0.00	0.00	0.41	0.51	0.42	0.51	0.42	0.51	0.12	0.33	0.08	0.29
Act-Eff	1.00	0.00	0.35	0.49	0.26	0.45	0.17	0.39	0.24	0.44	0.17	0.39
No Op ERA	0.07	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.24	0.17	0.39
S F ERA	0.13	0.35	0.12	0.33	0.16	0.37	0.58	0.51	0.35	0.49	0.33	0.49
Def ERA	0.80	0.41	0.88	0.33	0.84	0.37	0.33	0.49	0.47	0.51	0.33	0.49
So ERA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.29	0.12	0.33	0.17	0.39
Dd ERA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Run Office	1.60	0.63	0.76	0.97	0.21	0.71	0.33	0.49	0.12	0.33	0.33	0.89
Length Resid	31.27	13.23	5.71	3.58	12.58	9.31	8.42	7.29	15.12	8.67	24.33	10.94
Sex Role	82.67	17.95	90.18	20.39	83.16	28.67	71.92	25.70	65.23	13.22	69.50	25.29

Variable	WSL		WPC		LWV		PTA		Church		Business	
	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D	$\overline{X}$	S_D
Constraint	23.67	5.52	25.82	5.92	25.05	7.37	23.25	7.02	24.12	8.19	26.58	10.33
Franck	19.73	2.87	21.24	3.49	21.16	2.91	20.17	4.22	19.88	2.62	20.33	3.58
Radio	40.53	26.23	23.76	21.14	33.84	30.97	31.33	27.58	51.71	30.45	40.92	26.31
Television	28.33	24.28	64.00	27.40	69.26	24.82	67.92	22.82	64.53	23.24	64.42	20.45
Newspapers	78.87	16.71	58.47	22.36	63.21	26.29	68.50	24.05	67.71	20.75	60.50	20.85
News Magaz	64.67	34.33	62.53	30.14	61.37	28.80	64.00	25.09	44.47	29.69	59.17	20.88
Friends	41.79	30.57	47.29	21.89	36.79	24.59	38.42	21.49	40.94	25.94	37.42	19.28
Family	38.07	30.73	37.53	29.16	34.05	26.91	50.50	19.07	63.47	21.16	36.00	21.19
Peace	21.79	25.81	12.18	11.18	10.79	12.33	17.67	23.12	22.59	17.57	25.75	24.31
Environment	18.67	17.64	17.29	14.36	25.21	28.34	36.83	26.88	33.76	22.81	27.00	26.09
Equality	15.27	17.83	15.35	16.97	18.53	21.71	27.67	24.57	25.06	20.71	31.17	25.51
Structure	32.27	21.98	42.24	26.03	32.74	29.83	53.42	27.03	41.94	26.49	33.92	28.38
Birth Contr	18.07	21.34	14.29	19.52	15.74	22.29	12.00	12.76	17.53	16.04	26.67	24.85
Abortion	8.93	14.77	26.65	25.77	13.69	18.17	5.67	4.99	15.71	15.55	20.25	25.49
Public Child	18.39	21.56	21.41	20.72	13.16	13.98	16.83	19.39	18.18	16.46	14.67	16.96
Impeachment	26.67	26.51	40.82	29.71	34.74	28.97	23.83	26.14	24.47	22.33	12.17	16.11
Near East	10.00	12.69	22.69	21.28	20.74	22.02	26.58	23.77	25.59	21.78	12.08	17.80
Education	15.73	2.28	17.18	2.27	18.05	6.67	15.83	1.34	16.06	1.75	15.58	1.98
Challenge	0.87	0.35	0.18	0.39	0.26	0.45	0.08	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.24
Goals	0.00	0.00	0.53	0.51	0.26	0.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Association	0.67	0.26	0.47	0.51	0.11	0.32	0.08	0.29	0.29	0.47	0.08	0.39
Spiritual	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	0.51	0.00	0.00
Improvement	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.49	0.23	0.44	0.00	0.00
Informative	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.39	0.95	0.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Employed	0.86	0.35	0.59	0.51	0.37	0.49	0.08	0.29	0.35	0.49	1.00	0.00
Pers Inc	10280.00	6120.00	3729.41	4131.54	2036.84	2626.40	504.17	1444.49	2097.65	3404.82	8383.33	5921.73
Comb Income	28086.66	8047.08	17129.41	7337.63	20210.52	6060.59	20125.00	4482.92	25882.35	9512.37	2200.00	8707.36
Parent Inc	9600.00	13215.52	8823.52	6427.32	4631.57	1706.86	10041.66	8400.37	5800.00	720.24	9216.66	1777.55
Tol News Source	296.07	94.52	307.35	88.22	309.30	103.82	331.00	73.92	330.59	80.31	297.75	100.36

Variable	WSL X̄	WSL S_D	WPC X̄	WPC S_D	LWV X̄	LWV S_D	PTA X̄	PTA S_D	Church X̄	Church S_D	Business X̄	Business S_D
Tot Att Change	162.33	102.08	211.94	94.49	193.00	150.64	219.67	131.96	225.12	120.37	203.67	157.84
Pol Attitude	123.13	21.57	107.94	27.12	115.26	24.39	135.08	20.25	142.53	15.34	144.50	26.66
Median Personal Income	80000		8400		4600		3000		6000		8000	
Median Combined Income	28000		17000		20000		18000		25000		18000	
Median Parents' Income	3000		5000		4000		8000		5000		10000	

APPENDIX M

F-VALUES AT STEP-0

Variable	All-Six	PW-NP	Pol G	Comm	WSL-WPC	WSL-LWV	LWV-WPC
Inform	3.65	15.39	0.49	0.63	0.002	0.91	0.69
Do	2.34	1.72	5.12	0.33	2.73	9.48	2.71
Cs	1.76	9.54	2.51	0.78	3.57	3.83	0.86
Sy	3.08	0.04	6.19	0.25	4.39	13.01	2.31
Sp	3.17	6.59	5.46	0.27	0.00	6.49	7.02
Sa	1.83	2.71	3.96	0.29	0.18	6.49	4.44
Wb	1.87	0.05	3.77	0.62	4.97	0.42	3.85
Re	2.38	1.39	3.43	2.42	3.23	0.38	5.54
So	3.36	3.63	1.36	1.99	1.86	0.0005	2.14
Sc	2.62	0.32	5.03	1.58	1.79	3.22	9.08
To	0.93	5.42	0.88	0.27	1.61	0.46	0.53
Ci	2.27	0.06	3.17	2.50	8.88	0.79	2.26
Cm	1.11	6.43	0.12	0.17	0.27	0.06	0.06
Ac	2.14	0.19	4.82	0.56	11.29	6.45	0.05
Ai	0.76	5.77	0.56	0.49	0.66	1.01	0.12
Ie	0.28	2.40	0.17	0.02	0.34	0.001	0.24
Py	3.68	6.25	1.47	5.07	0.84	0.74	2.39
Fx	1.39	5.65	0.56	0.13	0.65	0.05	0.88
Fe	2.91	1.85	0.95	3.43	1.79	1.41	0.02
Age	11.52	6.92	10.16	23.18	26.81	6.18	3.93
Married	3.55	0.00	0.85	9.59	0.39	1.74	0.47
Length Mar	4.08	3.15	7.88	2.06	14.82	1.59	9.89
# Children	3.74	0.07	2.19	7.86	0.19	3.37	2.96
Pers. Inc	12.42	1.49	15.95	13.66	12.86	28.10	2.19
Comb. Inc	4.59	0.05	9.95	1.91	16.23	10.61	1.90
Protestant	2.06	3.87	2.62	0.38	5.64	3.30	0.34
Non-Relig	2.17	3.01	2.38	0.46	4.33	5.04	0.03
# Siblings	0.26	0.68	0.27	0.09	0.44	0.01	0.31
Par Income	1.77	0.06	1.92	3.48	0.05	2.65	7.51
Town	1.41	6.40	1.08	0.99	2.18	0.19	1.18
5000-10,000	2.53	7.25	0.82	0.63	0.88	1.66	0.24
Fat Pre Girl	2.93	0.28	2.82	2.80	1.02	1.49	5.94
Fat No Pref	1.75	5.04	1.65	0.24	0.39	1.11	3.10
Fat Pre dk	1.99	0.98	3.34	1.64	3.98	0.55	7.41
Mot Pre Boy	1.82	2.05	2.25	0.41	0.15	2.57	4.41
Mot Pre Girl	1.47	0.00	2.10	0.97	0.59	1.41	4.41
Mot No Pref	2.61	5.80	3.19	0.54	0.49	2.41	5.45
Mot Pref dk	1.61	1.16	3.73	0.55	2.45	1.53	7.41
Close Moth	2.94	1.82	1.69	4.13	0.52	2.99	1.29
Close Fath	1.18	1.92	0.57	1.39	0.90	0.00	0.79
Tomboy	0.91	0.07	0.53	1.78	0.98	0.07	0.60
# Groups	2.23	0.55	3.64	1.23	4.27	7.25	0.21
# Pol Grps	18.53	24.20	13.98	6.72	0.002	29.77	23.95
# Offices	3.35	5.24	2.05	1.97	3.44	0.89	1.98
Pol Party	4.47	5.92	6.89	0.07	15.42	4.18	2.75
Elec Part	5.47	3.19	3.63	4.95	0.003	6.83	4.54
Pass-Inter	4.97	4.64	2.93	0.97	4.33	6.52	0.28
Act-Ineff	3.48	0.33	5.04	2.85	9.84	10.27	0.003
Act-Eff	9.21	3.89	16.43	0.14	25.78	39.53	0.32
SF ERA	2.49	4.17	0.06	0.97	0.02	0.03	0.11
Def ERA	5.19	14.37	0.19	0.37	0.39	0.09	0.11

Variable	All-Six	PW-NP	Pol G	Comm	WSL-WPC	WSL-LWV	LWV-WPC
Run Office	9.54	8.18	13.06	0.67	8.07	35.09	3.87
Leng Resid	16.57	0.24	31.40	9.39	58.79	23.35	8.16
Sex Role	3.14	14.23	0.55	0.50	1.21	0.003	0.70
Pol Attit	6.69	24.60	1.52	0.71	3.02	0.96	0.73
Constraint	0.40	0.48	0.47	0.49	1.12	0.37	0.12
Franck	0.65	0.31	1.17	0.06	1.74	2.03	0.01
Radio	2.01	5.68	1.62	1.83	4.01	0.45	1.27
TV	6.21	0.84	12.17	0.13	15.00	23.23	0.37
Newspapers	1.66	0.38	3.54	0.51	8.35	4.02	0.33
News Magaz	1.02	0.45	0.29	2.25	0.48	0.38	0.01
Friends	0.41	0.07	0.75	0.09	0.35	0.28	1.81
Family	3.00	3.31	0.10	4.63	0.002	0.16	0.14
Peace	1.57	0.71	1.97	0.44	1.95	2.69	0.12
Environment	1.71	3.29	0.70	0.49	0.06	0.61	1.08
Equality	1.43	3.19	0.17	0.24	0.0002	0.22	0.23
Structure	1.27	1.13	0.76	1.56	1.35	0.002	1.02
Birth Cont	0.81	0.09	0.13	1.98	0.27	0.09	0.04
Abortion	2.37	0.80	3.38	2.27	5.48	0.67	3.09
Public Child	0.44	0.23	0.89	0.14	0.16	0.73	2.00
Impeachment	2.13	8.73	0.98	1.28	1.99	0.70	0.39
Near East	1.65	1.07	1.86	1.81	3.80	2.81	0.05
Education	1.28	0.99	1.11	0.27	3.20	1.61	0.26
Challenge	13.32	10.66	13.58	0.72	27.08	18.03	0.37
Goals of Fem	3.41	4.46	2.69	----	15.82	1.18	1.08
Association	7.90	2.90	5.76	11.32	7.54	0.15	6.76
Spirit	20.03	5.80	----	15.89	----	----	----
Improvement	14.15	12.43	----	9.17	----	----	----
Informat	64.36	19.33	62.74	----	3.01	254.18	53.04
Employed	8.94	1.75	4.86	21.36	3.17	10.82	1.73
df =	5,86	1,56	2,48	2,38	1,30	1,32	1,34
$p < .05$	2.33	4.00	3.19	3.25	4.17	4.15	4.13
$p < .01$	3.25	7.08	5.08	5.21	7.56	7.50	7.44

APPENDIX N

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF POLITICAL

VARIABLES IN POLITICAL AND

NONPOLITICAL SUBJECTS

	Politicals		Nonpoliticals	
Information	dominance	.360	town	.327
	capacity/status	.331	mother pref.?	.321
	run for office	.387	run office	.323
	self-acceptance	.363	friends	-.511
	intellectual eff.	.385		
	psych. mindedness	.334		
	combined income	.473		
	mother no pref.	-.345		
	some favor ERA	-.399		
	def. favor ERA	.354		
	social presence	.325		
	political att.	-.378		
	structure	-.329		
	education	.293		
Constraint	social presence	.304	social presence	-.35
	political att.	-.506	political attitude	.678
	socialization	-.273	socialization	.343
	flexibility	.344	flexibility	-.521
	nonreligious	.34	achieve/independ	-.412
	self-control	-.414	married	.321
	political party	.441	psych. mindedness	-.327
	town	.310	father pref.?	.322
			friends	.328
Political Attitude	capacity/status	-.360	capacity/status	-.49
	social presence	-.519	social presence	-.669
	constraint	-.506	constraint	.678
	information	-.378	responsibility	.307
	dominance	-.307	tolerance	-.375
	sociability	-.287	intellectual eff.	-.392
	self-acceptance	-.288	achieve/independ.	-.443
	socialization	.279	psych. mindedness	-.484
	self-control	.373	passive-interest	-.352
	communality	.346	news magazines	-.385
	intellectual ef.	-.286	friends	.429
	psychominded	-.326	impeachment	-.383
	flexibility	-.312		
	mother no pref.	.284		
	close mother	-.279		
	close father	-.317		
	political party	-.396		
	def. favor ERA	-.299		
	run for office	-.278		
	sex role	-.287		
	structure & proc.	.357		
	employed	-.419		

	Politicals		Nonpoliticals	
# Political Groups	parent's income	.497	parent's income	-.32
	active-effect.	.297	active-effect.	.322
	dominance	.289	# siblings	.36
	psychological	.323	father pref.?	.321
	femininity	-.319	mother pref. girl	-.315
	combined income	.294	mother pref.?	.344
	protestant	-.280		
	nonreligious	.292		
	political party	.290		
	election partic.	.283		
	passive-interest	-.332		
	some favor ERA	-.292		
	def. favor ERA	.331		
	run for office	.45		
	television	.293		
	newspapers	.335		
Political Party	Near East	-.289	Near East	.349
	socialization	-.364	psych. mindedness	-.331
	5000-10,000	-.298	father pref. girl	.429
	closeness mother	.327	impeachment	.358
	# political gr.	.290		
	some favor ERA	-.411		
	def. favor ERA	.444		
	sex role	.327		
	political att.	-.396		
	constraint	.441		
	structure & proc.	-.299		
Election Participation	self-control	.304	combined income	.325
	5000-10,000	-.361	length residence	.342
	passive-inter.	-.466	passive-inter.	-.588
	active-effect.	.421	active-effect.	.496
	informative	-.339		
	# political gr.	.283		
	father pref. boy	.372		
Passive-interested	closeness father	-.354	election part.	-.588
	active-ineffect.	-.527	active-ineffect.	-.556
	active-effect.	-.406	active-effect.	-.611
	# political group	-.332	political attit.	-.351
	run for office	-.296	improvement	-.397
	radio	-.276		
	newspapers	-.304		
	news magazines	-.296		
	informative	.325		

		Politicals		Nonpoliticals	
Active-Ineffective	communality	-.314	dominance	.32
	closeness father	.397	sociability	.338
	active-effect.	-.562	passive-inter.	-.556
	run for office	.307	improvement	.388
	friends	-.308	father pref boy	.382
	association	.367		
Active-Effective	# political group	.297	# political group	.323
	election part.	.421	election part.	.497
	passive-inter.	-.406	passive-inter.	-.611
	active-ineffect.	-.562	mother pref. ?	.426
	friends	.311	mother pref. boy	.460
	impeachment	-.389	father no pref.	-.364
	association	-.46	achievement conf.	.339
Run for Office	combined income	.286	information	.323
	# groups	.276	intellectual eff.	.315
	# political group	.45	psych. mindedness	.435
	passive-inter.	-.295	father pref. girl	-.337
	active-ineffect.	.307	father pref. ?	.358
	def. favor ERA	.280	mother pref. ?	.411
	political attitude	.278		
	newspapers	.306		
	structure & proc.	-.293		
	education	.332		
	employed	.290		
Definitely Favor ERA	information	.354	self-acceptance	.369
	personal income	.321	personal income	.374
	psych. mindedness	.292	length marriage	-.37
	# political group	.331	father no pref.	-.363
	political party	.444	mother pref. boy	.460
	environment	-.28	environment	.398
	some favor ERA	-.927	some favor ERA	-.682
	run for office	.280		
	sex role	.364		
	political attitude	-.293		
	newspapers	.313		
	structure & proc.	-.405		
Challenge	psych. mindedness	.364		
	personal income	-.337		
	# siblings	.329		
	news magazines	.290		
Goals of Feminists	education	.809		

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	Politicals			Nonpoliticals	
Association with Women	active-ineff.	.367		psych. mindedness	-.41
	active-effect.	-.462		length marriage	-.322
				tomboy	-.335
				length residence	-.368
				friends	.346
				spiritual	-.586
Informative	social presence	.286			
	achieve/indep.	.294			
	5000-10,000	.304			
	election part.	-.339			
	passive-inter.	.325			
Spiritual				flexibility	.319
				father no pref.	.420
				mother no pref.	.425
				# offices	.317
				television	.414
				friends	-.399
				improvement	-.484
				employed	-.344
Improvement				father no pref.	-.454
				mother no pref.	-.371
				passive-inter.	-.397
				active-ineffect.	.388
				spiritual	-.484

p < .05, df = 49, r = .273   p < .05, df = 39, r = .304

p < .01, df = 49, r = .354   p < .01, df = 39, r = .393

VITA

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