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ACTIVISM IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT:
INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PREDICTORS

By

Madeline Wordes

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

ACTIVISM IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT: INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL PREDICTORS

By

Madeline Wordes

The purpose of this research was to aid the peace movement in better mobilizing human resources and to add to the empirical knowledge of social movement participation. Sixteen peace organization leaders were interviewed and 163 individuals from peace organization mailing lists responded to a mailed survey. Results using multiple regression techniques indicated 7 variables as predictors of peace movement activity level: number of peace organization memberships, household income, participation in other progressive social movements, motives of solidarity and altruistic goals, and external and internal political efficacy. Multivariate analysis of variance procedures indicated relationships between organizational variables (size, social change tactics employed, network affiliation, and type of population) and individual variables (peace activism level, ideology, motives, efficacy, and other activist involvement. The results suggest areas for further research and possible strategies for more effective peace movement mobilization.

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Introduction

The accomplishments of the various national peace movements around the world cannot be denied. While there is debate over the most prominent causes of peaceful changes occurring in Eastern Europe, there is little debate that social movements had an impact on change.

Currently there are ongoing talks between the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce the proliferation of nuclear arms. Many people believe that the peace movement of the 1980's paved the way for such talks. Activists in the peace movement worked to make the average citizen aware of the tremendous amounts of money spent on nuclear forces and nuclear weapons development. For instance, activists published that in 1989, 36% of U.S. federal budget was directly funneled into the military (War Resisters League, 1989; Jobs With Peace, 1989). Many Americans began to believe that there were not enough resources to deal with pressing social problems because of the tremendous budgetary overload due to military spending. Even those individuals who believed in the contemporary conservative zeitgeist, promoting deterrence through strength, would acknowledge that the enormous amount of military spending was weakening the world economy.

Peace activists also worked to portray the Soviet peoples as friends, not enemies. They worked to dispel the notion that people in communist countries had a desire to take over the world. The democratization of Eastern Europe

brought acknowledgment, on the part of even the most conservative individuals in the U.S., that freedom from tyranny was a goal of all the world's peoples.

The 1991 war in the Persian Gulf is an example of the failure of the United States peace movement to mobilize. While tensions were building with Iraq, most of the citizens in the United States expressed a desire for a peaceful solution to the conflict. As the tensions grew, however, the majority of the American public was behind the decision of President Bush to begin a war. The Peace Movement was unable to mobilize support before, during, and after the violent destruction of Iraq and Kuwait.

There are several possible influences on the peace movements' failure to mobilize, a discussion of which is beyond the scope of this paper. The overarching political themes, economic reasons, and possible psychological consequences of the loss of the war in Vietnam, were all likely influences. Also influential may have been the inability of peace movement organizations to effectively mobilize their constituents to action. The peace movement will continue to struggle for the reasons behind the lack of public support for finding a peaceful solution to the conflict with Iraq.

Implicit in this thesis is the belief that social scientists can and should work with the peace movement to help engender activism. The concept of ivory tower sociology, political science, and psychology is becoming obsolete as researchers are involving themselves as activists and facilitators of social movements. The facade of value free research is being questioned and research is admittedly being

used with implicit social values for progressive social gains (Fairweather & Davidson, 1986).

What follows is an attempt to understand some of the individual and organizational factors involved in mobilizing support in the peace movement. The exploration of these factors is accomplished in two ways. First, the literature review brings together multi-disciplinary perspectives on the factors integral to peace movement activism and mobilization. Second, the study was designed to explore the most influential factors in mobilization and those factors most amenable to change.

Initially it is important to state the values and assumptions of this research. The empowerment paradigm as set forth by Rappaport (1987) is integral to this study. He states "empowerment conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power, and legal rights. It is a multi-level construct applicable to individual citizens as well as to organizations and neighborhoods; it suggests the study of people in context" (Rappaport, 1987, p.121). Hence, the study of social movements or more specifically peace movement mobilization embodies the empowerment paradigm. This study also utilized collaborative processes in the development and dissemination of the project. Collaborating with peace movement organization leaders was integral under the empowerment paradigm. This research was thus an attempt to help peace movement organizations be more efficient at empowering themselves.

Overview of Proposed Study and Research Aims

On the basis of the above stated values and perspective, this study employed the tools of social science to aid in the mobilization of human resources for peace activism. There were two main purposes of this research. The first was to be of practical utility to the peace movement, and more specifically to peace groups in Lansing, Michigan. Information gained in this study may be used by peace organizations to engender greater participation from their constituents. The second is to add to the academic literature on social movement mobilization as it explores some areas not previously documented. This study used mailed surveys and interviews to garner information from community members who were differentially involved in the peace movement.

The primary research aim was to provide an empirical knowledge base containing information including: 1) a demographic description of the adherents, supporters, members, and leaders of the peace organizations, 2) an exploration into types of activist behavior, 3) a prediction of level of involvement from individual characteristics, and 4) an exploration of the relationship between organizational and individual characteristics.

Literature Review

This review of the literature is structured so that a comprehensive examination of studies related to peace activism can take place. Finally, the pool of information will be reduced to directly justify the variables measured in this research.

The literature reviewed for this study is multi-level and multi-disciplinary. Each discipline brings a somewhat unique perspective to the study of social movement participation, yet many of the findings are similar and highly related. Once the jargon of each field is deciphered, a fairly comprehensive picture of the various ecological levels in the mobilization process emerges. To adequately address the uniqueness and similarities of the social scientists' perspectives, the literature will be categorized by affiliated discipline: sociology, political science, and psychology. To best describe the research stemming from each discipline one main theory or model from each will serve as the starting point for review: Resource Mobilization Theory, Microtheory of Political Action, and Klandermans' Mobilization Model.

Sociology

The foreparent of the sociological and political science perspectives on social movement mobilization was an economist, Mancur Olson. Olson's original work was based on a utilitarian perspective of participation. He argued, "Only a separate and selective incentive will stimulate a rational individual in a large group to act in a group-oriented way" (Olson, 1965, p. 51). In other words, people would not act for the collective good unless they made a rational decision that the action would be to their personal benefit. Olson believed that "selective incentives" (or incentives to participate that people value) are necessary for a person to become active otherwise they will "free-ride" (benefit from the work of others). Also, most people could be termed "free-riders" (people who benefit

from other's collective action but do not participate themselves) because it would not be rational, in the utilitarian cost/benefit sense, to participate (Olson, 1965).

The main outgrowth of this pragmatic approach was Resource Mobilization Theory. Promulgated by McCarthy and Zald (1987,1979), Resource Mobilization Theory is the most widely accepted view of social movement participation in sociology. The basic premise was that the failures and successes of social movements and social movement organizations depend on mobilizing human and economic resources. These resources provide the infrastructure from which movements grow. Some of the factors they stressed in this socio-structural approach were: availability of resources, rationality of individual actors, social networks with other participants, and organizational dynamics.

Empirical studies stemming from Resource Mobilization Theory are few, but nonetheless enlightening. The research can be broken down into studies focusing on hard (material) and soft (solidarity and purposive) selective incentives (Clark & Wilson, 1961) and various organizational components. These terms and the concordant studies will be explicated in the remainder of this section.

Material Incentives. Some research concerning social movement mobilization highlights the role of material incentives. Zald & McCarthy (1987) cited the recently emerging professional status of social movement organization staff people as an example of a material incentive. They purported that some activists participate because they receive career benefits from their participation. Klandermans (1984) found that participation in a labor union strike was a direct

result of making a rational choice given the ability (perceived) to obtain a material reward. Thus, if an individual union member felt that striking would be individually and materially beneficial then he or she would participate.

Most research in the field of social movement mobilization, however, discounted the role of material incentives. One reason being the costs of participating usually far outweigh the material benefits (Hirsh, 1986). As Hirsh succinctly stated, "Self-interest models - particularly those stressing material incentives - cannot explain why ideologically committed movement participants may be willing to sacrifice their time, their welfare, sometimes even their lives, to a cause" (Hirsh, 1986, p.1). Knoke (1988) found, in his study of the various incentives leading to collective action, material incentives "are often unrelated to involvement or actually attract members unwilling to participate" (Knoke, p.326). Thus, material incentives attracted people that were apathetic about the particular organization's goals.

Solidarity Incentives. Fireman & Gamson (1979) suggested that solidarity with members of a group is one of the most important incentives to participation in a social movement. They state that solidarity within a group is built through five different avenues: 1) friends and relatives that are participants, 2) prior participatory behavior, 3) similar design of their lives and values to other group members, 4) similar status relations with outsiders, and 5) difficulty in exiting the group because of identification and treatment as a group member. They stated, "A person whose life is intertwined with the group in these ways has a big stake in

the group's fate. Our argument, then, is that the relationships characterized above generate solidarity and that this solidarity becomes an important basis for mobilization" (Fireman & Gamson, 1979, p.22).

Empirical research has shown that friendship networks or social networks play an integral role as solidarity incentives in the mobilization process (McAdam, 1986; Walsh & Warland, 1983; Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 1980). McAdam (1986) collected archival data from very detailed applications of participants, withdrawals, and rejects to the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964. He found that participants were more highly embedded in the activist network than were withdrawals (non-participants). In other words, people who actually participated in this highly risky social action (advocating for civil rights amidst the violence occurring daily in the South against activists) had more friends that were participants than the people that agreed with the action but did not participate. The number of organizations an individual belonged to was also a statistically significant predictor of participation (McAdam, 1986).

Similarly, studies of differential recruitment have shown pre-existing social networks to be an integral factor. Snow, Zurcher, & Ekland-Olson (1980) used three sets of data to study the recruitment process. The data consisted of case studies, participant observations, and questionnaires from people who were part of the American Buddhist movement. They concluded that there was a higher probability of recruitment if there was a pre-existing tie to the organization or if there was an absence of countervailing social networks (Snow et.al., 1980).

Another field study focused on activists and "free riders" after the disaster at Three Mile Island (Walsh & Warland, 1983). They compared activists and "free riders" on a variety of dimensions, one of which was that activists had higher pre-accident solidarity with political organizations than "free riders". "Free riders", on the other hand, seemed to have greater neighborhood solidarity than activists. In a study of neighborhood organizations, however, Oliver (1984) found that active members had closer ties in the neighborhood than token members. The disparity in the results of neighborhood solidarity of the Oliver (1984) and Walsh and Warland (1983) studies illustrates that solidarity with the concomitant activist group plays an important role. Together the Walsh & Warland (1983) and the Oliver (1984) results supported the notion that solidarity and prevailing social networks with people in organizations with similar beliefs is an important factor in the mobilization process.

Purposive Incentives. Fireman and Gamson (1979) have expanded on Clark and Wilson's (1961) term, purposive incentive. Purposive in this context refers to having a purpose or utilitarian design to one's actions. Fireman & Gamson stressed that individuals participate in social activism because they believe in the purpose and goals of the movement. They used the term "self-sacrifice" to describe that some people will do whatever they feel is necessary when working for a truly heartfelt political cause.

Opp (1985) conducted a survey in West Germany of opponents of nuclear power. He found participation in the peace and anti-nuclear movements could be

partially explained by purposive incentives. He coined the term "subjective expected utility" or SEU. The definition of an SEU is the sum of the subjective probability of the desired outcome or consequence multiplied by the perceived utility of that consequence. Using multiple regression analyses, he found that people's feeling that they were participating for the "collective good" or against the cost of a "collective bad" (nuclear power) was the single most important incentive (Opp, 1985).

Building on his previous research on reasons for participating in actions against nuclear power Opp (1988) explored the role of grievances in participation. In a panel study conducted in 1982 and 1987 he found that grievances or discontent had a causal effect on activism against nuclear power. This finding, that ideological grievances were motives for participation, was in conflict with traditional Resource Mobilization theorists, who believed that grievances were of little importance (McCarthy & Zald, 1979).

Similarly, altruism can also be categorized as a purposive incentive. Fleishman (1980) in a laboratory study using a prisoner's dilemma game found that perceived responsibility was an important mediator of helping behavior. People were more likely to contribute to the collective good in this contrived situation if they thought that there were many needy members as opposed to people that did not need the payoff. He concluded, "Any factors that inhibit responsibility diffusion should increase voluntary contributions to the public good" (Fleishman, 1980, p.9).

Organizational Characteristics. There is much theory and speculation regarding the characteristics of social movement structures and social movement organizations that play a role in the mobilization process. There is very little empirical research, however, at this socio-structural level of study. The two main areas which comprise the literature on the social movement organizations are structure and size.

Very few studies focusing on the relationship between activism and organizational structure have been completed. Zald and McCarthy (1987) suggested that resources are best mobilized through professionalization of an organization. They stated that there is a new trend in social movement organizations towards employing professional organizers. Pearce's (1980) empirical research supported this notion by comparing organizations that paid staff members to organizations that relied on voluntary staff. She found that there was much more competition and enthusiasm for paid staff jobs than volunteer jobs for which it was difficult to find people to work (Pearce, 1980). Thus, it was easier to mobilize people with paid staff positions.

As few empirical studies directly assessed the impact of organizational structure on level of activism, articles related to the structure of the social movement were reviewed. The ideas discussed below are related to organizational structure, yet not definitive.

Some theorists believed that differential levels of participation have much to do with the infrastructure of a social movement (Mushaben, 1986; Wehr, 1986;

Freeman, 1979). The structure can be centralized or decentralized, exclusive or inclusive, and contain various types of leadership and decision making structures (Freeman, 1979). Freeman stated that a major source of problems in many social movements was the failure to put forth strategies that were appropriate to the structure. The most viable movement seems to be one that contained different types of organizations and structures, and thus utilized different strategies of mobilization (Zald & McCarthy, 1979).

The feminist movement was one example of a combination of structures. There is a "younger branch" which can be thought of as decentralized and autonomous and the "older branch" consisting of more formal organizational structures of local chapters and national governing bodies (Freeman, 1979). Freeman argued that differential structures of the branches have produced different strategies and varied results. She saw the feminist movement as benefiting greatly from both branches and viewed the successes of the movement as coming from a combination of strategies and structures.

The structure of the West German peace movement was another example of a combination of structures. In 1986, Mushaben conducted an informal review of the contemporary strategies, status, and structures of the peace movement and placed this in a historical context. She purported that there were many grassroots, decentralized organizations working alongside a more formalized coordinating committee for local peace initiatives (Mushaben, 1986). The fact that

organizational structures were so diverse, according to Mushaben, aided in the success of the movement.

Conversely, Wehr (1986) in a discussion of the United States peace movement, linked structural and organizational characteristics to the failure of the movement to mobilize more people. He suggested several reasons behind the peace movement failures: large size of the movement, poorly defined leadership, unidentified common goals, and unidentified means of achieving those goals (Wehr, 1986).

From this presentation of the literature on structure of social movements, it is clear that there is conflicting evidence on the effect of different types of structure. There is little data to support any definitive conclusion at this time.

In addition to structure of an organization, size may also play a role in the mobilization process. Olson (1965) believed that small sized organizations were more effective than large sized organizations. He stated, "The rational individual in a large group in a socio-political context will not be willing to make any sacrifices to achieve the objectives he shares with others. Only when groups are small, or when they are fortunate enough to have an independent source of selective incentives, will they organize or act to achieve their objectives" (Olson, 1965, p.166).

Other research disputed Olson's arguments by pointing to factors that he did not acknowledge. Others stressed factors such as "jointness of supply" and "critical mass" (Oliver & Marwell, 1988). "Jointness of supply" referred to costs

being the same no matter how many people enjoy the benefits. Participating in peace activism would have high "jointness of supply" because the number of people benefiting from peace activist's work does not influence the cost of that work. Oliver & Marwell (1988) purported that a "critical mass" of highly involved people is necessary for action. Using substantive mathematical analysis they showed that a paradox is created because the critical mass is easier to achieve in a large group as there are more people and more resources. They found that group size is irrelevant when there is high "jointness of supply".

Sociological Literature Summary. The Resource Mobilization perspective has been the mainstay of the sociological literature and is the connecting point of most of the empirical studies. The variables that were found to play an integral role in social movement activism were solidarity and social networks with members of the group, grievances, and purposive incentives. Material incentives, for the most part, seemed not to play a pivotal role in social movement participation. Delineation of how incentives or motives effect type of activism or level of participation has not been well documented.

Sociologists have focused on structural characteristics of social movements and social movement organizations more so than any other discipline. The research on the influences of structure and size is inconclusive at this time, however. Social movement organizational characteristics are still in the exploratory stage of study. Factors that may be associated with higher levels of activism are small size and a high degree of professionalization.

Political Science

Political science approaches the study of mobilization from a slightly different perspective than sociology. Many of the variables studied are very similar, yet the change in jargon effects the focus. Some of the dialectical junctions include: 1) social movement participation was termed political action or participatory behavior, 2) social values were discussed as political values, and 3) the focus was often on "within system" change as opposed to "outside the system" change.

To adequately review the political science literature, this discussion will follow along the lines of Kaase and Marsh's (1979) Microtheory of Political Action. After a review of this fairly comprehensive theory, the discussion will center on empirical support, additions, and challenges to the theory. The political science literature will be discussed within three main perspectives: instrumental, developmental, and feminist.

Microtheory of Political Action. Noninstitutionalized and unconventional political participation is comparable to the sociological study of social movement participation. Kaase and Marsh (1979) took an instrumental approach to the understanding of political action, akin to the utilitarian approach taken by the sociologists Mayer Zald and John McCarthy. The main assumption in this theory of political action was that people make rational choices to participate in a specific action to achieve certain ends.

The heuristic model used by Kaase & Marsh (1979) is presented in Figure 1. This model guided their research and encompasses much of the literature in political science concerning both conventional and unconventional political behaviors.

----------Insert Figure 1 About Here----------

Within this model the independent variables were broken down into operational constructs. Socio-structural location of the actor was comprised of social status, social networks, and age. The second independent variable was composed of socio-political values, motivations, and political sophistication. The intervening variables include feelings of efficacy and trust in the political system. The dependent variables were operationalized as conventional (e.g., voting, campaigning) and unconventional (e.g., direct action, protest) forms of political action (Kaase & Marsh, 1979).

The Microtheory of Political Action model guided a large cross national study undertaken by researchers in five countries led by Barnes & Kaase (1979). Researchers in each of the five countries (The Netherlands, Britain, United States, Germany, and Austria) were responsible for collecting data using standardized interviews on a stratified random sample of each national population. The sample size in each country varied from approximately 1200 to 2300. The importance of the results in this context was the substantiation of each

variable in the heuristic model as a significant predictor of the type of political action undertaken.

This study provided an interesting model from which to view activist behavior because it took into account individual, organizational, and societal/governmental variables. A major drawback of this theory was that it offered no practical intervention strategies. The implicit purpose of the model was to better understand the phenomena of political action, but not to spell out concrete points at which interventions are possible. Another drawback was the model's inability to specify the organizational dynamics that impact the individual. The societal level effects can be thought to affect everyone, but the differential organizational effects can be profound (Zald & McCarthy, 1987).

Instrumental Perspective - Rational Actors. Following the same instrumental or utilitarian perspective as the Microtheory of Political Action, Muller & Opp (1986) focused on the rationality of rebellious collective action. They tested Olson's (1965) private interest theory against their theory of public goods. Personal interviews were conducted with a random sample of adult residents of New York City (N=778) and a written questionnaire version of the interview was administered to a random sample of students and faculty at New York University and Columbia University (N=240). Similarly, a random sample of residents of Hamburg, West Germany was interviewed (N=398). Muller and Opp predicted that striving for the public good was an important variable in participation in rebellious collective action, and predicted that material selective

incentives would be less important. Their results empirically supported the notion that a rational actor in certain situations is motivated by the good of the public and not private self-interest. These findings add credence to the Microtheory of Political Action in that values and ideology toward public goods were significant predictors of participation.

Rational actor models have also been contemplated in the arena of conventional political participation. Uhlaner (1986) viewed political participation (i.e., voting, donating money, campaigning) as instrumental phenomena, yet added the notion that participation is instrumental in attaining social desires. She purported that motives such as affiliation and inclusion would be strongly related to participatory behavior and that political participation was instrumental in bringing about those social desires. Uhlaner's insights focused on conventional participation, not social movement activism, and her ideas were not substantiated with an empirical study. Other researchers also recognized the importance of social motives and used the term social networks or the construct "socio-structural location of the actor" (Kaase & Marsh, 1979). Similarly, the sociological literature on social networks discussed earlier sheds much light on social networks and affiliation variables related to participation (McAdam, 1986).

The notion of utility in participation was expanded further in the work on diffuse political support. One study in particular, Muller, Jukam & Seligson, 1982, focused on the anti-system political behavior and ideology of the actors. Political support and government trust were the two main independent variables measured

in a study examining the relationship between the most widely established measures of these variables and anti-system political behavior (Muller, Jukam & Seligson, 1982). With a large sample of New York residents and Costa Rican residents, Muller et.al. (1982) found that the often used Trust in Government scale was unreliable and the Political Support-Alienation scale was reliable. Although the Trust in Government items and the Political Support-Alienation items showed a fairly high correlation, their relationship to anti-system political behavior differed considerably. The Political Support-Alienation scale was highly correlated with behaviors, yet the Trust in Government scale's correlation with behaviors was negligible. Evidence from this sample suggests that the Trust in Government scale is not a good predictor of anti-system political participation (Muller, Jukam & Seligson, 1982). The measures of system trust and government trust in the Microtheory of Political Action are derived from the Trust in Government scale. In light of this newer information by Muller, et.al. (1982) it might be appropriate to use items from the Political Support-Alienation scale instead of the scale Kaase & Marsh (1979) used.

Developmental Perspective - Reciprocity. The instrumental perspective is different from the developmental perspective mainly because the focus of the former is on how participation effects an outcome and the focus of the latter is on how participation effects an individual. Finkel (1987) stated, "Participation is not only instrumental in nature, but also developmental, furthering certain desirable

individual qualities and attitudes quite apart from achieving any concrete political objective" (p. 441).

Finkel's (1987) research was a re-analysis of the data collected in a West German panel study in 1974 and 1976. He studied both conventional and unconventional forms of political behaviors. Using a LISREL approach he was able to trace the reciprocal effects between political efficacy, political support, and participation. He found that not only did political efficacy and support influence the type of participation, but participation influenced efficacy and support differentially dependent on type of participation.

The challenge set forth by Finkel (1987,1985) is to not view participation as static or one-way, but to view participation as developing over time. Unfortunately most studies are single time period surveys which do not easily lend themselves to causal research.

Feminist Approach. Van der Ros (1987) introduced a new approach to the field in arguing for gender specific models in studies of political behavior. In interviews with 581 randomly sampled women, data was gathered on home and work conditions, attitudes and values, and three main types of participation: political activity, protest activity, and voluntary activity. She developed a model specific to women measuring various dimensions: partnership, motherhood and motherwork (defined by age of children, income, etc...), household income, occupational position, leadership status at work, education, and age.

Van der Ros (1987) found the three strongest predictors of political activity were age, education, and women's occupational position. For protest activity, the strongest predictors were again education and age, along with household income. Partner's occupational position was the overwhelming strongest predictor of voluntary activity. These results indicate that further research including these variables may prove enlightening. Van der Ros (1987) concluded, "Including sex as an independent variable in traditional behavioral studies is not sufficient. Characteristics specific for women's life and work must be introduced" (p. 118). Barnes and Kaase (1979), like most other researchers, did not use indicators that may be specific to women's participatory behavior.

Political Science Literature Summary. The Microtheory of Political Action was used as an umbrella under which to discuss the wide array of political science research. The instrumental perspective was dominant in both the political science and the sociological literature and stressed the importance of the utilitarian nature of participation. Also, the multi-level theoretical focus of both disciplines sheds light on the individual, organizational, and societal dynamics involved in collective social action. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of empirical literature exploring the multi-level dynamics.

Another addition of political science is the notion that participation is a developmental process in which an individual will gain from participation and thus participates again and adds to the outcome. Feminists have also introduced

processes that had not previously been studied such as the importance of measuring variables that are influencing participation of women specifically.

Many of the studies reviewed in the political science section focused on the correlation between various attitudes and behaviors. Finkel (1985) used the term attitudes to describe the variables political efficacy and political support that he found were correlated with political participation. Similarly, Muller, et.al. (1982) used the attitudinal variable of diffuse political support as a predictor of political behavior. Exploring the correlation between attitudes and behavior and the moderator variables involved is one of the main contributions of psychology to the area of mobilization.

Psychology

Most current psychological research in the area of the peace and anti-nuclear movement has focused on citizen's attitudes, conflict resolution strategies, and the psychological consequences of living with the threat of nuclear war (Newcomb, 1986; Kramer, Kalick & Milburn, 1983; Escalona, 1982). Undoubtedly these types of studies are important for understanding the impact of the nuclear threat and promoting peaceful solutions to conflict. Considerably less research has accumulated on reducing the nuclear threat or promoting peace through collective social action. Psychological studies on the peace movement, and social movements in general, are few and many are not empirically based.

One question psychology attempted to answer concerning anti-nuclear mobilization is: If 86% of the American public support a nuclear freeze, why are

so few people actually participating in bringing it about (White & Feshbach, 1987)? To best answer this question the literature concerning attitude-behavior consistency and the process of mobilization will be reviewed in this section.

Attitude-Behavior Consistency in Nuclear Issues. A pioneering field study by Tyler & McGraw (1983) explored the antecedents to a behavioral response to the nuclear threat. Three sample groups were studied: anti-nuclear activists, survivalists, and the general public. They found that individuals with a strong internal locus of control will respond behaviorally to the threat (i.e., survivalists and activists). Individuals with a strong sense of self-efficacy and political efficacy will take an anti-nuclear stance. People who do not respond behaviorally feel that they do not have any options or have little control. Efficacy is then a key variable along with the idea of preventability. Also, anti-nuclear activists tended to be activists in other social movement arenas as well. Although this study is plagued by methodological problems (e.g., non-random and small sample, possible biases in the questionnaire, and measures of behavioral intention not actual behaviors), it is one of the few examples of field research on activism in psychology.

Along with the correlation of self-efficacy and political efficacy in producing a behavioral response was the concreteness of a person's image of nuclear war. In a random sample telephone survey Fiske, Pratto & Pavelchak (1983) found that the concreteness of the image of the destruction of nuclear war was the best predictor of activism. The belief in the plausibility or inevitability of nuclear war produced inaction. Also, the activist was not more fearful or

emotional about nuclear war than the non-activist; almost everybody reported being afraid of the threat of nuclear war.

A methodologically sound study conducted by Watanabe & Milburn (1988) assessed many of the same variables as Fiske, et.al., (1983). Random digit dialing was used to sample 372 residents in Massachusetts. They found that the strongest predictor of anti-nuclear activism was general political activism. Issue specific efficacy and general political efficacy also predicted anti-nuclear activism. Watanabe and Milburn challenge the Fiske, et.al. (1983) research in commenting "past studies that have found a relationship between image content, likelihood estimates of nuclear war, attitudes toward nuclear war and nuclear-related political activity may have done so simply because they failed to control for education" (p. 468). Hence, they suggested that mobilization efforts should focus on promoting beliefs that activism will be efficacious in reducing the nuclear threat, and that organizations should direct their efforts at people who are already activists either in politics or other social movements (Watanabe & Milburn, 1988).

General Attitude-Behavior Consistency. Much research in psychology focused on the general area of attitude-behavior consistency rather than the more specific area of social movement involvement or anti-nuclear involvement. The general studies listed below may help explain the reasons behind attitude-behavior inconsistencies.

Ajzen & Fishbein (1977) believed that studies that find little or no attitude-behavior relationships are working from the faulty assumption that general

attitudes can predict specific behaviors. They argued that an unsuccessful finding of no correlation between attitudes and behavior is due to poor experimental design. They concluded that only high correspondence in the entities will produce significant results. Actually, Ajzen & Fishbein's review showed that attitude-behavior consistency designs are useful only in very limited settings.

Many empirical studies, however, focused on the moderating factors that influence attitude-behavior consistency. The amount of information available was found to be an important moderating factor (Davidson, Yantis, Norwood & Montano, 1985). An alternative explanation to the Davidson, et.al. findings could be that behavior influences the amount of information available and that the process isn't necessarily unidirectional.

Vested interest was another moderator variable according to Sivacek & Crano (1980). If a consequence of an attitude actually effected a person's life, there was high attitude-behavior consistency. People were much more willing to participate in a social action if they had a vested interest in the outcome (Sivacek & Crano, 1980). This finding was probably influenced by the fact that the attitudes measured and the behaviors measured had a high correspondence. The attitudinal variable used was raising the drinking age and the behavioral variable was working for a referendum to raise the drinking age. The specificity and immediate rewards of participation are difficult to generalize to activism in the peace movement since rewards are usually less tangible and not immediate.

Direct experience is another purported salient factor in determining attitude-behavior consistency (Borgida & Campbell, 1982; Zanna, Olson & Fazio, 1980). Bordiga & Campbell (1982) suggested that "the key to which global attitudes and their behavioral implications are cognitively accessible may be the determinant of attitude-behavior consistency." They used the term "cognitively accessible" to indicate having an attitude along with direct experience to support that attitude. This study is relevant to the process of peace movement mobilization in that a social action taken by an activist group (e.g., painting shadows on the ground portraying people that would be destroyed if a nuclear bomb exploded) may provoke a behavioral response within someone that already has an anti-nuclear attitude.

Mobilization as a Process. Another approach to studying attitude-behavior consistency is to view mobilization as a process. Klandermans and Oegema (1987) conducted an impressive longitudinal study of the 1983 Dutch peace demonstration on The Hague. From their pioneering work, they developed a sequential model of the steps in the mobilization process. The four steps outlined were: 1) being part of the mobilization potential (having concordant attitudes with the movement), 2) being a target of a mobilization attempt, 3) being motivated to participate in an action, and 4) overcoming barriers (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). In a pictorial representation, presented in Figure 2, they showed a progression from mobilization potential, to recruitment, to intentions, to actual participation.

---------Insert Figure 2 About Here---------

There are two constructs that underlie these steps: persuasion and activation. Persuasion underlies the first 2 steps. It entails changing or reinforcing attitudes in the process of forming the mobilization potential, and targeting an individual with a persuasive technique. The second construct is activation which underlies the third and fourth steps. The third step, part of the activation construct, is transforming attitudes into concrete behaviors. Overcoming barriers is the last step in the mobilization process.

Klandermans & Oegema (1987) found that at each stage in the mobilization process many people dropped out. They suggested that non-participation resulted from one of a few reasons: not sympathizing with movement goals, not being mobilized, and the presence of barriers. There is virtually no research into the nature of those barriers. Klandermans & Oegema offered only that the barriers are such that 60% of the motivated and mobilized people did not participate. They speculated that the barriers may be concrete, such as family emergencies or having to work. In other words, mobilized people (adherents and supporters of the movement) did not participate a large percentage of the time for reasons that had little or nothing to do with their attitudes or the social movement organization itself.

One other researcher, a sociologist, studied barriers and used the term "biographical availability" to describe a person's ability or access to resources to

overcome barriers (McAdam, 1986). He defined this as "the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities" (p. 70). McAdam's data suggested that many individuals had concrete personal life situations that inhibited participatory behavior and highly risky or costly types of activism.

Psychological Literature Summary. Klandermans' mobilization model provided a framework for much of the psychological literature. Attitude-behavior consistency was an integral process in the mobilization model proposed by Klandermans. Researchers in psychology have documented many factors involved in attitude-behavior consistency including: self-efficacy, political efficacy, concreteness of images, amount of information, vested interest in the outcome, and direct experience to support the attitude. Unfortunately there is a dearth of empirical studies exploring the process of social movement mobilization.

Another main contribution of Klandermans' mobilization model was the introduction of the concept of barriers to participation. Klandermans (1987) along with McAdam (1986) both recognized the importance of concrete barriers in individuals lives that influenced levels of activism.

Justification for the Present Study

Apparent in the plethora of literature reviewed were some overriding themes. Although each discipline may use different terms when describing a variable or bring a different perspective to bear on an issue, there were some factors that were consistent throughout the literature. The following issues

surface across disciplines: self and political efficacy, attitudes and ideology, selective incentives or motives, barriers, and organizational dynamics.

Each of the main theories from each discipline was used as starting points to guide this research. Resource Mobilization Theory from sociology was the guiding perspective of the present study. This utilitarian perspective is the most widely held and best empirically documented paradigm in the social sciences. The Microtheory of Political Action from political science (see Figure 1) was the guiding theoretical model because it is multi-level and comprehensive. The Microtheory of Political Action contains most of the factors thought to be important in collective social action throughout the social sciences. From psychology, Klandermans' mobilization model (see Figure 2) provided the important groundwork to view mobilization as a process from having an attitude, to being mobilized, to encountering barriers, to actually participating in collective social action.

Each of the studies presented in this review filled a part of a coherent whole that attempted to describe the factors involved in social activism. The present study was designed to further document certain findings in the literature, fill some gaps not adequately addressed, and suggest a new path of study.

Documenting Findings

Using the Microtheory of Political Action as a guide, each individual level variable was explored further. Several additional variables deemed important in the literature were also measured. Additions included other demographic

variables found in the literature to be integral to women's lives. The role of grievances was incorporated into the ideological variables to further document the relationship between grievances and participation. Also self-efficacy was measured along with political efficacy because many studies have shown both variables to be a strong predictors of activism.

Filling Gaps and Exploring New Paths

The present research added new dimensions to the literature of peace movement activism. First, it brought together multi-disciplinary perspectives. Second, the focus was on persons who had expressed an interest in peace organizations rather than the general population. The sample population in this study was people who were already involved in the movement either directly or indirectly. Many other studies have focused on mobilizing the general public (Fiske, Pratto & Pavelchak, 1983; Opp, 1985; Tyler & McGraw, 1983; Walsh & Warland, 1983). Third, participatory behavior was delineated by the level of involvement of the movement adherents. Most, if not all, previous research had concentrated on either a specific type of participatory behavior or had defined participation as a general concept. Most research had focused on a single event (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1986; Walsh & Warland, 1983). Fourth, this study empirically addressed the previously unsupported notion of barriers to participation. Barriers and "biographical availability" are the least documented part of the previous research (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1986). In fact, no studies were found that empirically focused on

barriers to greater participation. Barriers seem to play a major role in the level of activism of an individual; Defining them may be the first step in taking action to overcome them. Finally, collaborative methodology was used throughout the process of study development and dissemination of information garnered.

Research Questions

1. What are the demographic and background characteristics of peace organization adherents, supporters, members, and leaders? This is a preliminary question that assesses the demographic composition of peace community members and their general background characteristics. Most studies have sampled from the general population, thus it is important to document the demographics of those people who are interested and active in peace issues for comparative and explanatory purposes.
2. What are the most prevalent peace related activities among peace activists? This question assesses which activities people are participating in within the Lansing area. This information is important to document for local peace organizations so they can be informed of the amount and type of activism in the community.
3. What are the perceived barriers to greater participation in the peace movement? This area is previously unexplored empirically and will provide information to organizations concerning what individuals perceive as barriers.

4. What are the predictive relationships between participant characteristics and an individual's level of involvement? Most of the participant characteristic variables have been explored previously in the literature and were found to be predictors of activism or collective social action. These variables include: demographics and background, efficacy, ideology, and motives. Most of these characteristics, however, have not been explored specifically for the peace movement. Additionally, an individual's perception of barriers to participation is explored empirically in this question.

Importantly, the predictors chosen in this question, except for demographic and background characteristics are variables that can change. Although some variables are more difficult to change than others, it is likely that the results will focus the mobilization process in specific directions.

5. What is the relationship between membership status (member vs. non-member) and participant characteristics? This question addresses differences between members of organizations and non-members on the following individual characteristics: demographic and background information, motives for participation, efficacy, ideology, and level of activism.

6. What is the relationship between participant characteristics and different types of organizations? This is an exploratory question examining which types of people belong to what types of organizations. The findings may have implications towards identifying certain types of participants for mobilization for different types of organizations.

Methods

Organizational Sample

All 16 of the anti-nuclear and multi-focus peace organizations in the Greater Lansing Area were targeted to participate in this study. The specific population chosen was defined as single-focus anti-nuclear organizations and multi-focus organizations working for peace and justice. Single-focus organizations, concentrating solely on justice issues in places such as Central America or South Africa, were not included.

Participant Sample

The participants were individuals who are adherents, supporters, and members in these organizations. The sample was drawn from mailing lists of 10 cooperating organizations. There were 1,984 names on the mailing lists. Some of these names were duplicates from other lists as many people belonged to more than one organization. There were 1,578 unique names. The leaders separated the lists into members (65%) and non-members (35%). All non-members on these lists had at one time shown an interest in the organization by signing a mailing list, attending an event, or asking for information.

Pilot Study

For the pilot study, the questionnaire was sent to 40 people who were randomly selected from various organizations' mailing lists. The cover letter asked for comments regarding the survey, input on any unclear questions, and completion of the questionnaire. Data from the 15 respondents was analyzed. If

there was no variance on an item, it was deleted and a few new items were added from the respondents' suggestions. In addition, 10 peace organization leaders provided verbal and written feedback on the questionnaire. The comments were taken into consideration and the questionnaire was slightly revised.

Procedure

First, a joint decision between the researcher and three key peace organization leaders was made concerning the focus, content, and need for this study. Then a letter briefly outlining the purpose of the study was sent to the director/spokesperson of the remaining 13 organizations. The letter asked for any input the leaders had concerning the direction and implementation of the research and for a return phone call indicating acceptance to participate.

The next phase of the project began with a phone call to the peace organization leaders to set up an appointment for an on-site interview. The director/spokesperson was informed that the interview would last approximately one-half hour. Ten face-to-face interviews were completed. Six telephone interviews were conducted due to meeting and time constraints of the leaders.

Once the organization leaders were interviewed, questionnaires were sent out. A cover letter endorsed by all the participating organizations was attached to the questionnaire to help increase the response rate. Since some of the mailing lists were outdated, potential participants were contacted by telephone to confirm their addresses.

Respondents were assured of confidentiality and anonymity. To ensure anonymity, a pre-addressed stamped envelope was provided to return the questionnaire along with a coded postcard that was to be returned separately. The postcard allowed for identification of non-respondents. Two weeks later non-respondents were called by telephone asking for their prompt response. Questionnaires were re-sent when necessary.

Sampling Strategy

The population consisted of 1,578 people. The sample was taken randomly after stratifying on organizational size and membership status. The organizations were stratified by size because there were many more people on the mailing lists of large organizations and thus a straight random sample would most likely produce too few small organization participants for analysis. There were also more members on the mailing lists than non-members, so membership status was also stratified. It was assumed that non-members were less likely to answer the questionnaire and it was important to sample enough individuals for analyses.

If individuals were members of more than one organization, they were assigned to the smallest of those organizations so that individuals in small organizations would be fully represented. The target sample was 390 individuals chosen randomly from the six categories listed in Table 1. Forty-eight people were targeted in the member subsample of the small organization group because this was the total population.

---------Insert Table 1 About Here---------

To insure confidentiality of their members many organizations would not release addresses and phone numbers on the mailing lists and some did not give first names, only first initials or last names only. Out of the 390 names, correct and connected telephone numbers for 241 people were found. The other 149 people either moved, had unlisted telephone numbers, or there was insufficient information to locate them (e.g., common name, no first name).

Members unique to 2 of the organizations were not contacted. The person in charge of the mailing lists for both organizations would not let the researcher call or send the questionnaire to people on those lists for confidentiality reasons. Due to coordination and logistical problems, this leader was not able to call potential respondents or send out questionnaires in a timely manner.

Questionnaires were not sent to individuals unique to those organizations due to the fact that too much time had passed between the initial mailing of questionnaires to individuals unique to other organizations. Adding respondents at this later date may have biased the data. The political climate had dramatically changed in the fall of 1990 and there was a great likelihood of a military confrontation with Iraq. The responses to the Peace Activism Questionnaire might have been different based on the impending conflict in Kuwait and Iraq. People may be less likely to think about peace when there was a direct threat (the popular media depicted Saddam Hussein as another Hitler) and may respond

differently when war is in the abstract. On the other hand, people may also become more active when there is a tangible threat. This issue would have biased the data by adding an uninterpretable historical confound.

Fortunately, to account for some of these people in the 2 organizations, several individuals that were on multiple lists including one of these two organizations and had telephone numbers were contacted. The organizations were thus still represented in the sample.

Final Sample

After identifying correct addresses and contacting 241 out of the 390 in the original sample, 163 surveys were returned. Of the 241 individuals who received the questionnaire, 163 responses represents a 68% return rate. From the original sampling goal of 390 the response rate was 42%. The stratified sample is depicted in Table 2.

---------Insert Table 2 About Here----------

Power

This research was expected to have sufficient power to detect effects when they are present. A power analysis was conducted estimating multiple R to be .30 with a significance level of .05 and power of .80. With these estimates, and based on the 23 variables that were in the regression equations, a sample size of 94 was necessary.

Design

This study explored the relationships among individual and organizational constructs. The intent was to determine the factors that were related to activist involvement and develop an equation to predict level of involvement. The variables measured can be categorized into 7 underlying conceptual groups: 1) demographics and background information, 2) ideology, 3) incentives or motives for participating, 4) political efficacy, 5) perceived concrete barriers to greater participation, 6) characteristics of the organization, and 7) level of involvement.

This research used two methods of investigation: 1) a written questionnaire was mailed to a stratified random sample of adherents, supporters, and members to assess the demographic and background variables, ideology, incentives, efficacy, barriers, and their current level of involvement, and 2) an interview with the spokesperson/director of each organization provided the organizational data which included structure and philosophy/goals.

A mailed questionnaire was chosen as the appropriate method of data collection for the individual variables. Importantly, the anonymity allowed by a mailed survey could conceivably produce more candor and honesty than other methods of data collection from the respondents because some of the questions referred to illegal activities.

Measures

Peace Activism Questionnaire (PAQ)

The Peace Activism Questionnaire (see Appendix A) garnered data through self-report. To reduce the risk of response bias with socially desirable answers, direct behavioral questions were asked whenever possible and anonymity was ensured. The PAQ elicited responses from 6 of the 7 main conceptual groupings of variables. Organizational characteristics were measured in an interview. Specific items making up each scale on the PAQ are listed in Appendix B. As explained below, some of the scales were taken from previous research, and some were developed specifically for this study. The scales were constructed rationally and then empirically reviewed for internal consistency. When the correlations between scales measuring similar constructs was high, the scales were combined. Also, if single item indices were not normally distributed the responses were categorized both rationally and by percentile.

Demographic Characteristics. Twelve demographic variables described the sample: 1) **age**, 2) **race/ethnicity**, 3) **sex**, 4) **years of formal education**, 5) **marital status**, 6) **number of children**, 7) **ages of children**, 8) **hours employed per week**, 9) **hours worked in the home/week**, 10) **occupation**, 11) **personal income**, and 12) **household income**.

Ideology. The general concept of ideology was assessed with 3 variables: 1) **peace and justice ideology**, 2) **political support-alienation** (Muller, Jukam & Seligson, 1982), 3) **political classification.**

The **peace and justice ideology** scale was a compilation of 2 subscales originally developed for this study. The 2 subscales, radical peace ideology and radical action attitudes, were correlated at .56 and are described below.

The first subscale, radical peace ideology, measures the extent to which people hold politically and socially radical views concerning peace and justice issues. This issue-specific attitude subscale was developed for this study. Previous research used fairly conservative baseline measures of attitudinal affinity with peace and justice issues which would not be appropriate for this sample. The ten items measured beliefs about the use of nuclear weapons, about the use of conventional forces, and about U.S. foreign policy. All items were statements rated on a 4 point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

The second subscale, radical action attitudes, contained items measuring which actions a person believed were justifiable to promote peace and justice. The radical action attitudes sub-scale contained 8 items which ranged from declaring a nuclear free zone and attending legal demonstrations to destroying military property and not paying one's income tax. The more radical the respondent's beliefs, the higher their score. All items were rated with a 4 point response format from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Every respondent

agreed that signing petitions and letter writing campaigns were justified actions. Therefore these items were taken out of the scale due to no variance.

The **peace & justice ideology** scale contained 16 items. The item-total correlations were sufficiently strong to show a cohesive scale although 2 items regarding providing enough for the poor and the justifiability of legal demonstrations had low item-total correlations. Because these items did not effect the internal consistency of the scale very much they were kept for later analyses. The alpha was .86.

The **political support-alienation** scale developed by Muller, Jukam & Seligson (1982) measured the extent to which a person supports or feels alienated from the political system. A previous study with 4 different sample populations noted internal consistency alphas, for this 8 item scale, ranging from .83 to .90 (Muller, Jukam, Seligson, 1982). With the present sample the **political support-alienation** scale had item-total correlations from .38 to .75 with an alpha of .87.

The third measure of ideology was one item called **political classification**. This ideology item assessed where an individual puts her/himself on a continuum from conservative, moderate, liberal, to radical.

Efficacy. Three scales comprise the efficacy construct: 1) **internal political efficacy**, 2) **external political efficacy**, 3) **peace & justice efficacy**.

Internal political efficacy was measured by 5 items taken from Craig & Magiotto (1982). They reported an alpha of .72. This scale measured the extent to which people feel that they as individuals can have an impact on the political

system. Each item was rated on a 4 point scale from "not at all" to "a great deal". The item-total correlations ranged from .44 to .66. The alpha coefficient was .78 for the current sample.

External political efficacy refers to the extent to which an individual feels that political institutions can be influenced by the public. For the purposes of this study, three items were chosen to represent the scale of external political efficacy developed by Craig & Magiotto (1982). The original scale contained 8 items with an alpha of .82. With the current sample, the item-total correlations were .52 to .6 with an alpha of .74.

Peace and justice efficacy was the final scale in the efficacy construct. This scale is a combination of 2 subscales, one measuring self efficacy and the other collective efficacy in peace and justice matters. The 5 self-efficacy items measure the amount of personal influence an individual feels towards achieving peace and justice goals. The 4 collective efficacy items refer to the extent which an individual feels that people collectively can achieve peace and justice goals.

The original subscales were highly correlated, .66, and thus seemed to be measuring the more general concept of peace and justice efficacy. The internal consistency of the 9 item **peace and justice efficacy** scale was good, with an alpha of .83 and item total correlations from .40 to .65.

Other Participation. Three types of participation were measured within the Other Participation set of variables: **voluntary organizations, political organizations**, and **other social movements**.

To measure **voluntary organization participation**, respondents answered yes or no to whether they belonged to 3 types of organizations: neighborhood, social, or service. Originally, the **voluntary organization participation** scale contained 5 types of organizational participation. From the reliability analysis it was apparent that two items, religious and professional organizations did not fit in the scale. On further review, the three types of organizations, neighborhood, social, and service all reflect a social commitment whereas the former two do not. Also, religious involvement is assessed elsewhere in the PAQ. Thus religious and professional organizations were deleted. The item-total correlations were .43 to .53 and the alpha was .63.

Political organization participation was assessed with one item measuring the amount of participation in other types of political organizations (non peace organizations).

Other social movement participation was assessed with 9 items. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with or belonged to the various other progressive social movements listed here: economic justice, environmental, feminist, gay and lesbian civil rights, advancement of people of color, third world liberation, human rights, pro-choice, and the world hunger movement. Two movements listed were controversial and not included in the mean score: animal rights and pro-life (abortion issue) had much missing data, low item-total correlations, or was negatively correlated with the other items in the scale.

A mean score was computed for each item. A score of 1 indicated disagreeing with the goals of the progressive movement, 2 indicated supporting it ideologically, and 3 indicated belonging to the social movement organization. For the 9 item scale, the reliability coefficient was .76 and most item-total correlations ranged from .34 to .60 with one low item-total correlation (.19), for "World Hunger Movement".

Motives. An individual's motives for participating in the peace movement were computed in two ways. First respondents rank ordered six motives from most important to least important. Then they were asked how important each of those motives was, on a 4 item response set, from "not important at all" to "very important". Since the rank order data is ipsative in nature, it was only used descriptively. The likert scale data was used normatively.

The items assessing motives or incentives taken from other measures and created specifically for this instrument. Some items were modeled on Opp's (1983) measure of grievances (or personal discontent) and measure of altruism. Opp (1983) reported an alpha of .71 for the 7 item grievance against nuclear power scale. He did not, however, report reliability data on the 8 item altruism scale. Four items from the grievances and altruism scales were chosen as relevant to the population in this study. Other items measuring social motives for participating or the extent to which an individual feels socially embedded in the peace movement were developed for this research.

Since the motives construct seemed to be multi-dimensional, the data was factor analyzed using a varimax rotation with a minimum eigen value of 1.00 (see Table 3). Ten items were factor analyzed into 3 types of motives which can be classified as purposive, solidarity, and religious. Purposive motives are concern for self, others, society, and guilt. Solidarity motives refer to number of friends and acquaintances in the peace movement, social life around the movement, and indicating that friends' participation is an important reason for participating. Religious motives include being motivated to participate because of religious beliefs and being involved in religious activities.

----------Insert Table 3 About Here----------

Three scales were developed from the factor analysis. The **purposive motives** scale contains the 4 items with the highest factor loadings. It reliability coefficient was .64 and item total correlations range from .30 to .58. **Solidarity motives** has 4 items taken from the factor loading matrix and has an alpha of .65. Item total correlations range from .37 to .51. The **religious motives** scale has only 2 items with an alpha of .81.

Barriers. The variable of **perceived barriers** refers to the number of barriers people perceive as preventing them from greater participation in the peace movement. A 15 item barrier checklist assessed the number of barriers a person has encountered in the past year. The preliminary list of possible barriers

was generated by the peace organization leaders. There was also space for open-ended responses that were later content analyzed and coded into categories. The barriers included items such as job demands, unavailable child care, and risks too high (e.g., jail). Each item is listed on the questionnaire found in Appendix A.

Level of Involvement Measures. There were 2 variables that measured the construct of level of involvement: **peace activities** and amount of **money contributed** to the peace movement.

The first scale, **peace activities**, measured by the peace activity index, assesses participation in peace related activities. The peace activity index was calculated using a series of maximum likelihood estimates using Rasch modeling techniques (Andrich, 1988). Rasch modeling allows for the assessment of a latent variable. In this case the latent variable was level of involvement in the peace movement (measured through types of peace activities participated in). Each person was thus assigned a magnitude score, representing level of peace activities.

Each item representing a particular action was coded dichotomously as "action taken at least once" and "action not taken". The scores were then scaled from least difficult to most difficult, representing the frequency of endorsement of each item. Thus, the items were ranked on difficulty with "not paying taxes" and "civil disobedience" at the high end of the scale and "talking to others about the peace movement" on the low end. A person receiving a high score would be someone who had participated in most of the peace activities including those that are not often done (e.g, not paying taxes, civil disobedience). An individual would

be assigned a peace activity score in the medium range if they had participated in about half the activities, none of which were extremely difficult (not often done) and a low score would be assigned to a person who only participated in talking to others about peace or signing a petition.

Similar to Guttman Scaling, this method assumes that respondents have completed all the other actions prior to participating in a more difficult action. Rasch modeling, however, is somewhat different in that the model is probabilistic rather than deterministic. In other words, it takes into account any discrepancies that may appear instead of counting all scores that do not fit as error (as in the Guttman model).

Both the Rasch and Guttman models were created from this data. Although they were very similar, they were not exact duplicates due to the nature of the Guttman deterministic model. The Rasch model intuitively seemed better suited to the nature of peace activism and human behavior in general; discrepancies in any model will occur and must be taken into account rather than counted purely as error in the model.

To assess reliability of the Peace Activity Index, a Chi Square was calculated for the Rasch model. It was non-significant, indicating the data did not significantly differ from the model. The Guttman reproducibility index was .84 and the Chi Square using the Guttman was also non-significant.

Money contributed was measured by one open-ended item asking for the dollar amount contributed to the peace movement in the past year. The level of

income of the respondent was not controlled for because the number of people responding to both items was too small for use in the analysis.

Organizational Characteristics

The characteristics of each organization was quantified from the responses of the organization leader/spokesperson. The interview protocol can be found in Appendix C. From the responses to the open-ended questions, general categories emerged. Each organization was then assigned a score for each open-ended item which represented the category the responses best fit.

The organizations varied on several dimensions. These dimensions have been grouped into 2 main categories, structure and philosophy. The various typologies of organizations are delineated in Table 4.

Organizational Structure. The number of members of the organizations, **organizational size**, varied from 5 people to 365 people. Small organizations were defined as having less than 20 members, medium size was 20 to 75 members, and large had more than 75.

Some organizations have specific target populations whereas others have inclusive target populations. The specific populations include groups such as women only or Christians only. Inclusive organizations have members from diverse populations. This variable was termed **organizational population.**

Organizational network affiliation is another structural variable. The categories represent the affiliation with a superseding or larger organization and is classified as part of a local only, statewide, national, or international network.

The **organizational staff** variable ascertained whether staff was paid to run the organization or whether it was completely run by volunteers.

Organizational decision making was categorized into 2 groups: majority and consensus. While both majority and consensus decision making involve every member having an equal say in the decision, consensus decisions are not made until every person involved agrees with the decision. In a majority situation, only 51% must agree with the decision.

Organizational Philosophy. One philosophical difference of the groups was the **organizational focus** of the group. Organizations were categorized into single focus or multi-focus groups. The single focus anti-nuclear organizations all worked toward controlling the development and deployment of nuclear weapons or nuclear technology. Some supported unilateral disarmament while others worked toward a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze. The multi-focus organizations, not only concentrated on nuclear issues, but directed attention to various areas including: non-violent conflict resolution, third world liberation struggles, world hunger, and social justice.

The organizations primary goals and philosophies were categorized into three main areas, for a variable called **organizational goals**. Although, one of these categories was represented as primary, most organizations encompassed a variety of goals. One primary goal was organizational development. This included attracting more members, defining their goals, or finding their niche in the peace community. The second category, community activism included using

methods for social change such as demonstrating, political lobbying, and community education. The third primary goal was self-education. This included reading relevant material, forming discussion groups, and bringing in speakers to educate the groups' members.

Another indicator of philosophy was **organizational social change tactics.** The organizations' leaders endorsed several tactics falling into three main categories. Again, the groups used many of these tactics, but directed their attention towards one of them primarily. Community education was one main tactic for bringing about their goals. This included sending out speakers, bulk mailings, or working with the school systems. Groups endorsing political lobbying as their main tactic used techniques such as letter writing campaigns to politicians and supporting candidates. Direct action tactics was the third category and included social change techniques such as blocking entrances to nuclear weapons' factories, demonstrating, and tax and draft resisting.

For this study a procedure was developed for assigning organizational characteristics to each case. Each respondent was asked to list a priority organization. Scores were assigned to that individual based upon the organization's characteristics. For instance, if a person listed a small, consensus decision making organization as his/her priority organization than they were assigned the score for both small size and consensus decisions. For those people who did not list a priority organization yet belonged to one or more, they were randomly assigned to one organization. There were 30 people who were not

members of any organization and 2 that indicated priority to two different organizations (church based groups) that were not included in this study. Thus for the non-member subsample (n=32), no organizational characteristics were assigned.

Results

Data Analysis Strategy

There were two sets of data analyses conducted for this study. The first set of analyses examined the relationship between individual characteristics and activism. The second set of analyses explored the association between participant characteristics and organizational variables. The significance levels of $p < .05$ (denoted by *) was adopted for all multivariate and univariate analyses.

For the first set of the analyses, the focus was on who are the persons interested in the peace movement, what do they do, what barriers to greater participation do they face, and what factors predict their level of involvement in the peace movement. The first three research questions, therefore, focused on demographic and background descriptions of the peace community. These questions were addressed by examining the frequency distributions and measures of central tendency.

To describe the predictive relationships between participant characteristic variables and level of involvement in the peace movement, hierarchical multiple regression techniques were employed. Two regression equations were used to predict two level of involvement variables (peace activity level and money contributed to the movement).

The second set of analyses explored the relationships between organizational membership, characteristics of the organizations, and characteristics of the participants (organizational members). The first issue investigated was the

differences between members of organizations and non-members (interested others on the mailing lists). For this endeavor, analyses to detect differences between the groups were used, including Chi Square tests and t-tests.

To study the association between individual characteristics and organizational types, a series of one-way multivariate analyses of variance tests was conducted with organizational characteristics as independent variables and participant characteristics as dependent variables. Post hoc univariate analysis of variance and Student-Newman-Keuls tests allowed for an exploration of the source of significant between group differences.

Demographic and Background Characteristics of Peace Organization Adherents, Supporters, Members, and Leaders

Almost two-thirds (63%) of the sample were women. Of the respondents who indicated race/ethnicity, 96% were European-American, and 4% were Asian-American, Hispanic, or of mixed ancestry. Noticeably absent were African Americans. The age of respondents ranged from 14 to 84 with a mean of 45 years. A detailed description of the demographic variables can be found in Table 5.

----------Insert Table 5 About Here----------

Most respondents were highly educated. Over one-half (55%) reported a post graduate degree and 80% earned at least a bachelors degree. Seventeen

percent were not employed outside the home. The modal hours worked outside the home per week was 40, with 29% working more than 40 hours. The modal personal income was $40,000 for 1989 and the modal household income was $60,000 ranging from $1300 to $180,000.

Seventy-one percent of the respondents were married or cohabitating with a significant other. Two-thirds (68%) had a least one child. Of those people with children, the mean number was 2.6. Thirty-nine percent of the sample had children living with them. The hours spent doing household chores ranged from 0 to 60 with a median of 10 hours per week.

One-fourth (26%) of respondents reported no religion or atheism, 65% reported ascribing to some form of Christianity (e.g., Catholicism, Baptist, Unitarian, and Quaker). One-third (32%) reported being very involved in their religion in a formal sense. For political classification, 22% were self described radicals, 61% liberals, 16% moderates, and 1% conservatives.

The number of years involved in peace movement activities ranged from 0 (5%) to 55 with a median of 10 years. Eighteen percent reported they were not members of any peace movement organizations, 30% were members of one and about 52% were members of more than one peace movement organization.

The Most Prevalent Peace Related Activities Among Local Peace Activists

The majority of respondents participated in the following activities at least once during the year: talking to others about peace issues, signing petitions, boycotting products of companies, demonstrating publicly, writing letters to

government officials, and going to peace organization meetings. For approximately 2/3 of the activities listed, respondents participated more than one time. Of these activities, participation ranged from 10.5 times/month to 2.8 times/year.

Participating in acts of protests such as civil resistance and not paying income or telephone taxes was a fairly rare occurrence. Table 6 depicts the incidence and prevalence of all the activities queried.

----------Insert Table 6 About Here----------

Perceived Barriers to Greater Participation in the Peace Movement

The majority of respondents cited job and school time commitments as a barrier to their greater participation. Other hindrances included not enough time because of all the activist work already done, familial responsibilities, and not having extra money to give. Specific barriers are listed in Table 7.

----------Insert Table 7 About Here----------

Predicting Level of Involvement in the Peace Movement

To explore the predictive association between participant characteristic variables and two outcome variables indicating level of involvement, multiple regression techniques were used. The first block of variables entered was the

demographic and background variables which were relatively stable and less apt to change. Next, the block of individual characteristics was entered.

Prior to reporting the regression results, it is important to describe the simple correlations between variables (see Table 8). Eleven of the 22 predictor variables were significantly correlated with the two outcome variables. Only one variable, **political support**, was negatively related to **peace activities**. As would be expected, groups of variables measuring a construct were significantly related. For example, the 3 efficacy variables were all significantly related to each other as were the variables measuring other types of political/voluntary involvement. One variable **political support**, was related positively to some variables, and negatively to others. **Political support** was positively related to those indices that may point to a more conservative individual (i.e., **external political efficacy, voluntary organization participation, religious motives, age, income,** and **marrital status**). The negative relationships to **political support** and other predictors were **internal political efficacy, purposive** and **solidarity motives,** which you will see in the next section predicted level of involvement.

----------Insert Table 8 About Here----------

Prediction of level of peace activities. Demographic and background variables accounted for a statistically significant amount (38%) of the variance in the number of peace activities. The individual participant characteristics

accounted for a statistically significant additional 24% of the variance. Table 9 lists the standardized beta coefficients which estimate the independent relationships between individual predictors and the level of peace activity.

----------Insert Table 9 About Here----------

The statistically significant regression coefficients indicate that higher levels of activism are associated with membership in many peace organizations, lower household income, participation in other progressive social movements, feeling a greater sense of external political efficacy to make political change, and scoring higher on the motives of solidarity and purposive or altruistic goals.

Prediction of amount of money contributed to the peace movement. Demographic and background variables accounted for almost half of the variance (45%) in money contributed. Higher number of peace organization memberships and greater household income were the only two significant demographic and background predictors. One individual participant characteristic added to the prediction of amount of money given, internal political efficacy. Surprisingly, a lower sense of internal efficacy as a political actor was associated with greater contributions; people who felt a sense of individual power in making change were less likely to give money to organizations. Since the beta weight for internal efficacy was negative and the zero order correlation was positive, a simple suppressor effect was explored. Following the methodology of Tabachnick &

Fidell (1989) variables were eliminated one at a time from the equation. If the beta weight in question changed from negative to positive, then a suppressor effect would have been indicated by the variable eliminated. This procedure revealed no simple suppressor effects.

Relationships Between Membership Status and Demographic, Background, and Other Participant Characteristics

Demographics and Membership Status. The data indicate no significant relationships between demographic and background characteristics and membership status. Thus the populations of members and non-members were similar on all demographic and background variables queried. The specific results are listed in Table 10.

----------Insert Table 10 About Here----------

Participant Characteristics and Membership Status. To explore the relationship between being a member of a peace organization and individual characteristics, 4 MANOVA's were performed. The four analyses were a product of a conceptual distinction between the variables reviewed in the literature and are listed in Table 11. Each test explored the multivariate and univariate relationships for the following sets of variables: Ideology, Motives, Efficacy, and Other Participation.

----------Insert Table 11 About Here----------

The data indicated several significant relationships between individual characteristics of the participants and their membership status. Table 12 details these relationships.

There was a significant multivariate effect between the Ideology of members and non-members. Accounting for this difference were the variables of **peace & justice ideology** and **political classification.** Members scored significantly higher on peace and justice ideology, indicating they held more radical beliefs than non-members concerning peace issues. Members also classified themselves as more politically radical than non-members on the four point scale.

----------Insert Table 12 About Here----------

Multivariate analysis indicated that Motives were also significantly different for members and non-members. This result was primarily influenced by members scoring significantly higher than non-members on **solidarity motives.** Thus, members of peace organizations felt more socially embedded in a friendship network with other peace activists and were more motivated to activism by their friends than non-members.

The third multivariate analysis in this section indicated a significant relationship between membership status and Efficacy. This effect was explained

primarily by the variables of **peace issue efficacy** and **internal political efficacy**. Members indicated feeling significantly more efficacious than non-members in peace and justice matters and more efficacious as individuals in political affairs.

The significant multivariate relationship between Other Participation and peace organization membership status was evident in the univariate tests of all three indices of Other Participation. Members participated in more political organizations (not including peace groups) and other progressive social movement organizations than non-members. Non-members, however, participate in more volunteer service organization than members.

Types of activism and membership status. Ten out of the 14 indices of activism level revealed a significant difference between members and non-members (see Table 13). Organization members signed more petitions, attended more organizational and educational meetings, contributed more money to the peace movement, attended more demonstrations, held a greater number of leadership positions in events, wrote more letters to the government and the media, participated in more company boycotts, and talked to more people about peace and justice issues.

----------Insert Table 13 About Here----------

Reported barriers and membership status. Chi Square tests identified only two barriers as showing a significant difference between members and non-

members (see Table 14). The cross tabulation tables indicated that non-members reported "not having extra money" as a barrier to greater participation more often than members. Earlier analyses, however, showed a lack of demographic differences between members and non-members. Income level was not significantly different between groups. The second barrier that was significantly different was "having no more energy" because of concurrent activist work. Members indicated this barrier more often than non-members. Other results from this data supported this finding because members were more active in the peace movement than non-members and were more involved in other social movements.

----------Insert Table 14 About Here----------

Relationships Between Participant Characteristics and Organizational Affiliation

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) procedures were used to explore the series of relationships between individual and organizational variables. Five separate MANOVA's were conducted for each of the eight organizational variables. Four of the five conceptual sets of variables used in these analyses have been referred to earlier in Table 11. The fifth conceptual set explored in this analysis, was termed Peace Movement Involvement. The MANOVA with Peace Movement Involvement as the dependent variable included **money contributed** to the peace movement and **peace activities** (measured by the Peace

Activity Index). To reiterate, the organizational variables (independent variables) were assigned to participants based on which organization each individual chose as a primary affiliation.

Relationships Between the Size of the Organization and Participant Characteristics. Each multivariate analysis in this set produced a significant effect at the multivariate level. The results are summarized in Table 15. First Ideology showed a significant multivariate relationship with organizational size. Each of the 3 indicators of Ideology produced significant results with the univariate tests.

----------Insert Table 15 About Here----------

Post hoc tests revealed that participants in small and large organizations scored significantly higher in **peace and justice ideology** than people in medium size organizations and participants in large organizations scored significantly higher than those in small ones. In other words, persons belonging to large organizations were more politically radical in their ideology regarding peace and justice issues than both small and medium size organization, and small organization members adopted a more radical ideology than medium size organization members.

The second post hoc test showed that members of medium size organizations scored significantly higher on **political support** than members of large or small groups. Thus, members of medium sized organizations felt more

supported by the political system, whereas large and small organization members felt more alienated from the system.

The univariate test for between group differences based on **political classification** was significant. Although the Student-Newman-Keuls test wasn't powerful enough to detect a significant between group difference, the pattern of means indicated that people belonging to large organizations classified themselves as more politically radical than those belonging to medium or small organizations.

The significant multivariate effect of size on Motives was explained by the difference in scores on **religious motives**. Post hoc tests revealed that participants in small organizations were more religious and cited religion as a motive for peace movement participation significantly more often than members of large and medium size organizations.

The significant multivariate effect found in the analysis with Efficacy as the dependent variable appears to be primarily influenced by differences in the **peace issue efficacy** variable. People belonging to small organizations indicated a higher sense of individual and collective efficacy in peace and justice issues than members of medium size organizations.

There were two variables that accounted for the significant multivariate relationship between Other Participation and organizational size. Members of large and medium size organizations had higher participation levels in **other social movements** and belonged to a greater number of political organizations than persons who indicated a small organization as their primary affiliation.

The final MANOVA based on size showed a multivariate relationship with Peace Movement Involvement. Post hoc Student-Newman-Keuls tests showed that members of large and medium size organization gave more money to the movement than members of small organizations.

Relationships Between Organization Tactics and Participant Characteristics. There were two significant multivariate relationships for **organization tactics**: Motives and Efficacy. Table 16 describes the findings in detail. Post hoc tests in the Motives analysis indicated that participants in organizations using direct action tactics and political lobbying tactics scored higher on **religious motives** than those in organizations that use community education as their primary tactic. Although the univariate statistic was significant, the Student-Newman-Keuls test did not reveal between group differences on **solidarity motives**. Review of the mean differences indicated a similar result to the findings for religious motivation; members of groups using direct action techniques scored higher on **solidarity motives** than those people in organizations that use community education or political lobbying as their primary tactics. Solidarity motives refers to being socially embedded in the peace community (having friends and acquaintances in the movement) and being motivated by a sense of solidarity with other peace movement activists.

----------Insert Table 16 About Here----------

The relationship between organization tactics and Efficacy was also significant at the multivariate level. Post hoc tests revealed that members of direct action organizations scored higher on **peace issue efficacy** than people in community education oriented organizations.

Relationships Between Membership in a National/International or Local-Only Organization and Participant Characteristics. In analyzing the relationship between organizational network affiliation and the sets of individual variables, one multivariate F was significant (see Table 17). Participant Ideology was related to organizational network. Univariate tests indicated that people belonging to an organization within a national or international network scored higher on **political support** than those belonging to a local network. Conversely, those people belonging to a local organization reported feeling more politically alienated than the national/international participants.

----------Insert Table 17 About Here ----------

Relationships Between Diversity in Organizational Population and Participant Characteristics. With organizational population as an independent variable, two sets of variables had multivariate F's that were significant: Motives and Other Participation. The results from these analyses are reported in Table 18.

----------Insert Table 18 About Here----------

In exploring the relationship between Motives and diversity of the population in the organization, the univariate test showed that people belonging to singular population organizations were higher on **religious motives.** Many singular population organizations in this sample were church or religion based. The significant multivariate effect between Other Participation and organizational population was primarily influenced by the finding that persons in varied population organizations had higher participation levels in other progressive social movements.

Relationships Between Consensus vs. Majority Decision Making and Participant Characteristics. There was a multivariate significant relationship between Efficacy and type of decision making in the organization. There were no significant univariate effects. These analyses are summarized in Table 19. One variable, **external political efficacy** approached significance and may in conjunction with **internal political efficacy** account for the effect. People in groups that made decisions by majority had slightly higher mean scores on the two efficacy variables.

----------Insert Table 19 About Here----------

Relationships Between Other Organizational Variables and Participant Characteristics. No multivariate significant differences were found between any sets of participant characteristics and volunteer/paid staff, single/multi-focus, and

different types of organizational goals. Three tables detailing these results can be found in Appendices D, E, and F, respectively.

Follow-up Analysis to Explore the Relationship Between Size and Other Organizational Variables. Crosstabulation of the size variable with other organizational variables indicated a series of trends. Significance of these results could not be tested due to small cell sizes. From the results listed in Table 20, it is apparent that small organizations tend to be local only, have a singular type population, make decisions by consensus, be run by volunteers, focus on a single issue, and have community activism as their primary goal.

----------Insert Table 20 About Here----------

There were not enough medium size organizations to explore substantive differentiation based on size. However, all medium size organizations focused on a single issue. Large organizations showed slight trends toward using political lobbying tactics, being a chapter of a national association, and focusing on multiple peace and justice issues.

Discussion

There were two guiding purposes of this study: to uncover information that will be useful for local peace movement organizations in their struggle to mobilize activists, and to add to the knowledge base of social scientists working to better understand peace activism. This discussion will, therefore, address both of those goals.

The first purpose was to be of utilitarian value to the peace movement. Specifically, the results were meant to be useful for informing the organizational planning process for peace organizations in the Lansing area. With utility as the premise, the interpretation of findings will center around providing useful information to peace movement organizations. The guiding questions were: 1) who is the population that is most affected by current mobilization techniques, 2) which characteristics are most predictive of the most active people, 3) what are the differences between members and non-members, and 4) what can be learned from the association between the types of organizations and the characteristics of their members.

In general, literature from each of the disciplines was supported with these findings. Overall, the results give the most credence to Resource Mobilization Theory in that most of the people comprising the peace movement in this locality had the resources necessary to put time, energy, and money into the movement. Concordantly, people indictated that social networks were important in their participation and can thus be considered a resource. Both the Microtheory of

Political Action and most psychological studies were supported because **external political efficacy** was a strong predictor of activism. As expected from some of the psychological literature, attitudes and beliefs were not predictive. Klandermans' model was not supported, however, because **barriers** were not related to activism level. It may be that overcoming barriers is the first step to activism in the peace movement (e.g., having financial resources) rather than the last as hypothesized in the Klandermans Mobilization model.

Summary of Results

Below is a brief summary of the findings. The first part of the results section presented the current trends of peace movement participation and a description of its adherents. The people on the mailing lists of peace movement organizations in the Greater Lansing Area were comprised mostly of educated, middle class, European-Americans. Participants reported several barriers to their greater involvement in the movement, however, none were significantly related to activism level. One reason for the lack of significant findngs may be that those people most involved in activism may be more acutely aware of the barriers they face than less involved individuals.

Several participant characteristics were strong predictors of peace activism. Household income, participation in other social movements, higher number of memberships in peace movement organizations, external and internal political efficacy, and purposive and solidarity motives each contributed to the prediction of amount of money given to the peace movement and peace activity level.

The second part of the results was a preliminary exploration into the effect of organizational affiliation and participant characteristics. Differences between members of organizations and non-members were investigated. The results indicated no demographic differences, yet found significant differences on several other dimensions which will be discussed later.

To continue exploring the effect of organizational membership, the question of which types of people joined what type of organizations was analyzed. The major findings indicated that organization size was significantly related to each set of participant characteristic variables: Ideology, Efficacy, Motives, Other Participation, and Peace Involvement. Tactics of the organization were related to Motives and Efficacy of the participants, while Ideology was associated with organizational network affiliation. Motives and Other Participation were significantly related to organization population diversity.

The following sections will delve more deeply into these relationships. The findings will be focused on in greater detail and some possible explanations will be posed.

Factors Associated with Higher Levels of Peace Activities

The background characteristics predicting level of participation in peace movement activities were membership in a greater number of peace movement organizations, and lower household income. It can be debated whether belonging to one organization exclusively or several fosters greater participation. This survey indicated that persons who belonged to the highest number of peace

organizations had the highest level of peace activity participation. Also, the results indicate that the greater the levels of participation in general (especially in other progressive social movements), the higher the level of peace movement activism.

The findings also demonstrated that people with less money put more time and effort into peace activities. There are several possible reasons for this finding. One may think that people with less money work less and, therefore, have more time to devote to peace activities. The data, however, does not support this assumption because the number of hours employed is not a significant predictor. Another explanation is that activists may take lower paying jobs such as public or social service sector employment. To investigate this assumption, chi square tests were conducted to explore differences based on occupation. The results showed no significant differences between employees in public or social service, business, or technical jobs. The somewhat crude estimate of employment used in this analysis may be contributing to the lack of significant differences and should be explored further in other research. When interpreting these results, it is important to realize that the income level of the sample is higher than the community at large.

After controlling for demographic characteristics, four individual characteristics accounted for most of the variance in predicting level of involvement. The individual characteristics were: participation in other social movements, external political efficacy, solidarity motives, and purposive motives.

As stated earlier persons who agreed with the goals and joined more progressive social movement organizations were higher on peace activity level. Watanabe and Milburn (1988) found that general political activism was the strongest predictor of anti-nuclear activism. Together these findings indicate that there are people who can generally be called "activists" who do much of the work in the peace movement.

Persons who felt a greater sense of external political efficacy scored higher on the peace activity index. This result implies that people who felt that the public can influence the political system have the highest activity level. This finding lends support to the conclusions in other studies that the feeling of political efficacy is of great importance in determining an activist's behavior (Tyler and McGraw, 1983).

Both solidarity and purposive motives were also strong predictors of peace activities. Persons who were embedded in the social network and felt solidarity with others in the peace movement were also the most active. Similarly, people who were motivated by a grand purpose or altruistic goals for society were also the very active.

These findings add further evidence for the importance of solidarity already demonstrated in other research (McAdam, 1984; Oliver, 1984, Walsh & Warland, 1983) and altruistic motives (Fleishman, 1980) for participation. Although validation of findings of past studies was important, these results also expanded the usefulness of promoting solidarity and sense of purpose. Whereas

previous studies indicated the difference in motives between activists and non-activists, these findings indicated that these variables are predictors in differentiating between level of participation for an activist population.

There are at least two plausible explanations for the relationship between motives and peace activism. With survey methodology it is impossible to provide causal information as to which came first, a person's motives or higher levels of participation. It could be that people who are embedded in a supportive social network and already have purposive motives become the most active. It may also be that people who become active for another reason feel a sense of solidarity and purpose in their participation. In either case, persons who are motivated by solidarity and purpose participate at the highest levels and therefore these incentives should be emphasized either in recruitment or mobilization strategies.

Factors Associated with Contributing More Money to the Peace Movement

Similar to the prediction of peace activity level, the more peace organizations persons belong to, the more money they are likely to give. This makes intuitive sense because organizations ask for donations for their newsletters or dues and thus the more organizations one is a member of the more money one would give. The other strong demographic predictor was higher household income. The more money one makes the more one has to give.

The one individual characteristic that was associated with greater contributions to the peace movement was lower internal political efficacy. While this finding seems surprising, it is possible that people who contribute more

money may choose to pay organizations to do the activism work because they don't feel that they as individuals can make any changes.

On the whole, the data indicate certain participant characteristics that an organization can emphasize and inculcate when striving for greater levels of activism from its members. First organization leaders should target individuals with a range of material resources. They can expect more money from people that have more money, and more daily activist involvement from those that have less money. Next organization leaders should target those people that are involved in several peace movement organizations as well as other progressive social movements. The data also suggests that organizations should work to imbue a sense of external or collective efficacy in the political arena. One tactic might be to demonstrate instances of past political change when people worked together. Organizations should focus on promoting a sense of solidarity within the peace movement and create an environment where people feel embedded in a network of friends that are active. Another possibility to increase activism, gleaned from the data, is to instill a sense of purpose towards achieving a peaceful world. This includes reinforcing the feeling of altruism by focusing on creating a better future for all peoples.

Relationships Between Individual Characteristics and Type Of Organizations

Exploring the characteristics of active people is one method of learning which factors to stress when promoting activism. Another method is to focus on the influence of organizations on the participants. The first exploratory question

addressed in this section involves defining the differences between people who are members of organizations and people who are non-members (but who have expressed some interest in peace issues).

Finding no demographic or background characteristic differences between groups was quite interesting. The lack of differences illustrated that people on the mailing lists basically come from the same demographic strata and have similar background characteristics. Since peace organizations are not likely to be able to effect change on demographic and background variables, the lack of predictive power when differentiating between members and non-members is positive for organization leaders.

The differentiation between the two groups then lies in individual characteristics. As stated earlier, methodological constraints prevent the researcher from determining whether the organization influences the individual's characteristics or whether the individual brings all these characteristics as a prerequisite to joining. Nonetheless, individual characteristics did predict level of activism, thus making it extremely important to induce people to join organizations.

The relationship between membership in a peace organization and participant characteristics was seen in each category of variables. Members felt more efficacious, were more ideologically radical, were more motivated, participated in other types of political or social movement activities, and were

more satisfied with their participation in the peace movement. These findings will be explicated in the remainder of this section.

As would be expected, being a member of a peace organization is significantly related to level of participation in the peace movement. Members of peace organizations participate significantly more in peace related activities and give more money. The reason acts of civil resistance and number of speeches given did not differentiate between members and non-members is the small number of people participating in these actions. Members had higher means than non-members on hours volunteered and asking other to participate in the movement. The differences, however, were not powerful enough to reach significance. It may be that hours volunteered per month is difficult to remember over a year. It could be that individuals who do less volunteer work overestimate the number of hours.

One barrier that non-members reported significantly more than members was not having enough extra money to give to the movement. The lack of demographic differences (especially income) does not support this claim. It may be that non-members have other expenses (that were not measured) leaving them with less money for the peace movement. Conversely, it might be that non-members justify their non-participation in this manner. In either case, some people may be more likely to join if there is no fee involved.

The fact that barriers were not established as a significant predictor of level of activism points to two possible or coinciding explanations: 1) the

demographic composition of this population shows it to be one of much resources and 2) activists are people who mobilize resources to overcome barriers. Since the sample consisted of people who had the resources to overcome barriers; Having resources may be the first step in linking people to the peace movement.

Taylor (1989) states that one of the main reasons African-Americans traditionally have not been involved in the environmental movement is having less economic resources and more immediate concerns due to socio-economic conditions. The population in this study may be similar to that of the environmental movement. In this sample 100% agreed with the goals of the environmental movement and 44% belonged to environmental organizations. Barriers might have been indicative of activism had the sample been wider (including individuals not on the mailing lists of organizations) and included more people of color.

Relationships Between Organizational and Participant Characteristics

Membership in an organization showed a strong relationship to activism and factors predicting activism, hence it is important to further delineate the typologies of organizations and the characteristics of members. The MANOVA analyses revealed several prominent relationships between type of organization and participant characteristics.

The difference between small, medium, and large size organization members was apparent in all five sets of analyses. Small organizations had populations that scored higher on religious motivation than medium or large

organization members. This finding may be due to many small organizations being church based, with singular populations.

Members in large organizations were more politically and ideologically radical and expressed feeling more alienated from the political system. It may be that the small organizations, many of which are church based, have members that are generally more politically mainstream. Large organizations, being the varied population organizations, may allow room for more left wing ideology. As an example, the largest organization in the sample is a diverse population, multi-focus, educational group working for peace and justice issues. From the newsletter of this organization, it is apparent that many individuals within it advocate the most radical ideology.

Members of small organizations also reported a greater sense of **peace issue efficacy** than members of medium size organizations. This may be partially explained because most small organizations have the goal of community activism, make decisions by consensus, have a singular anti-nuclear focus, and promote direct action and community education. Small organizations may be the groups that get the most done, therefore the members feel the most efficacious. These findings are in accordance with Olson's (1965) view of the efficacy of actors in small organizations to make change.

The results also indicate that people who claim as their priority organization medium and large size organizations rather than small ones, participated more in other social movements and other political organizations. It

may be that large organizations share their mailing lists with other progressive social movement organizations and political organizations and thus target the same population. Similarly, people in other progressive movements or political organizations might be more exposed to the peace movement through mailings and newsletters of large organizations with the resource base to carry out these types of recruitment techniques.

Members of large and medium groups also gave more money to the peace movement. One reason for this maybe that in this locality most small groups do not have paid staff or newsletters, thus do not have dues. The larger groups tend to have members who pay dues.

In sum, it appears that persons with varying individual characteristics are members of different types of organizations. The trends in the data indicate that individuals who feel the most efficacious in peace and justice issues are members of small organizations. Members of large organizations were more ideologically radical, gave more money, and participated in other types of political and social movement organizations. One possibility to induce a feeling of greater efficacy in large organizations may be to break down into small groups with concrete single focus tasks.

One caveat to the organizational data, is that most respondents were members of more than one organization. They were asked to choose one organization as their primary affiliation. The results are not indicative of all the

people in one type of organization, just those people who listed that type of organization as primary.

Methodological Considerations

Some methodological limitations must be taken into consideration when attending to the implications for these findings. One methodological constraint was the method of sampling. The population was stratified on size due to the need to adequately represent small organizations in the sample. Thus the sample is not completely random from the entire population on the mailing list.

The second sampling constraint was that respondents were comprised of individuals with telephones. Due to the outdated lists acquired from peace organizations, it was financially untenable to send questionnaires to everyone on those lists (many people may have moved). If a person did not have a listed telephone number, they were not contacted and sent a questionnaire.

Only 62% of individuals on the mailing lists were contacted by telephone. People were not contacted by telephone for several reasons. First, many names on the list were common and there was no first name. Second, some people had unlisted telephone numbers, while others had moved. The final sample represents those individuals with listed and connected telephones that are not transient. Thus, the student population may have been underrepresented.

Another methodological concern was that the data from the Peace Activism Questionnaire (PAQ) relied on entirely self-report procedures.

Individuals were asked to report on attitudes and behaviors. To mitigate strong self-report biases, respondents were asked about specific behaviors in a specified time frame.

It would be beneficial for future research to fully document the reliability and validity of the PAQ. Reliability was assessed by measuring of internal consistency of each scale. Leaders in the local peace movement reviewed the PAQ for face and content validity. Test-retest reliability may have given useful information, but was not tested. Also construct validity was not assessed in the single instrument.

The final major methodolgical consideration to be aware of when interpreting these results is the generalizability of the organizational findings. Although all of the peace organizations in this locality took part in this study, the population was only 16. Caution must be used when generalizing to organizations outside of this population.

Suggestions for Future Research

The findings demonstrate meaningful individual level differences as predictors of level of participation of activists in the peace movement. The results also point to specific attributes to target when organizations are recruiting and mobilizing members. Although causal inferences are difficult to support from this one assessment, retrospective study, the results do suggest areas for future research. From the information gained in this study, other research might focus

on outlining how organizations can best increase feelings of efficacy and influence individuals motives or incentives for participating.

Research into the process and outcome of coalition building may prove fruitful to peace movement organization leaders. The results of this study indicate that participation in other movements was a very strong predictor of activism level. At the same time members indicated not having enough energy to do any more activist work because of all the work they already did. It seems that the resources of those involved in the peace movement are being stretched by various other movements. It would be interesting to follow-up and determine whether most members of other progressive movements are also active in the peace movement. If solid coalitions were built, the resources could be pooled.

Another area for future study and mostly unexplored in the literature is the impact of organizational influences on individual's behavior in the peace movement. There is speculation as to whether organizations are positive or detrimental to a social movement (Rochon, 1988), but there is little empirical evidence to support either claim. The present study determined that membership in a peace organization was positively related to activism level, and individual characteristics that predict activism.

This research also began an exploration into the relationship between organizational factors and individuals characteristics. Longitudinal studies examining the impact of joining and participating in various types of organizations (especially typologies based on size, tactics, network affiliation, and variety in

population) are called for. Certain types of organizations may optimally influence participation.

Importantly, this research continues along the tradition of social scientists working with organizations to promote humanitarian aims. The data collected for this study will give the local peace organizations a greater understanding of their constituents and the factors that influence level of participation.

The future of peaceful solutions to conflict seems in some ways brighter than when this data was collected (June to November, 1990). Since that time the world has been witness to the immense power of the progressive social movements in most eastern European countries. The reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States is currently underway. Of course, there are many factors involved in these dramatic changes around the world, but there is little dispute that peace movements in various countries have been a catalyst for change. With the accomplishments of peace movements around the world, it is an exciting prospect for social scientists to continue to explore and promote the process of peaceful change through activism in social movements.

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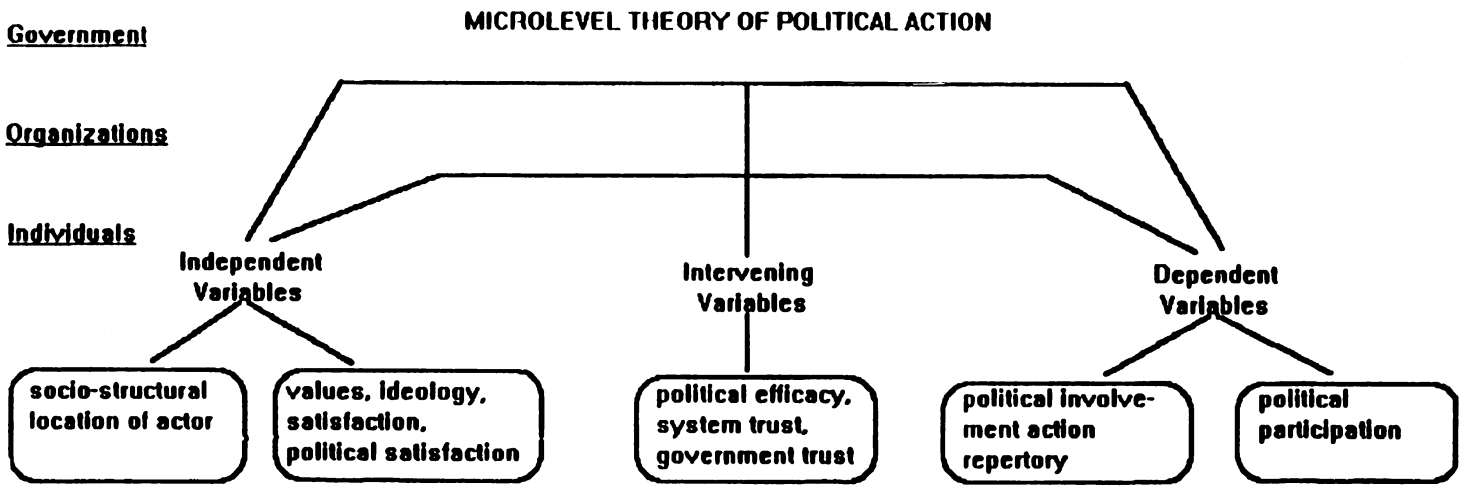
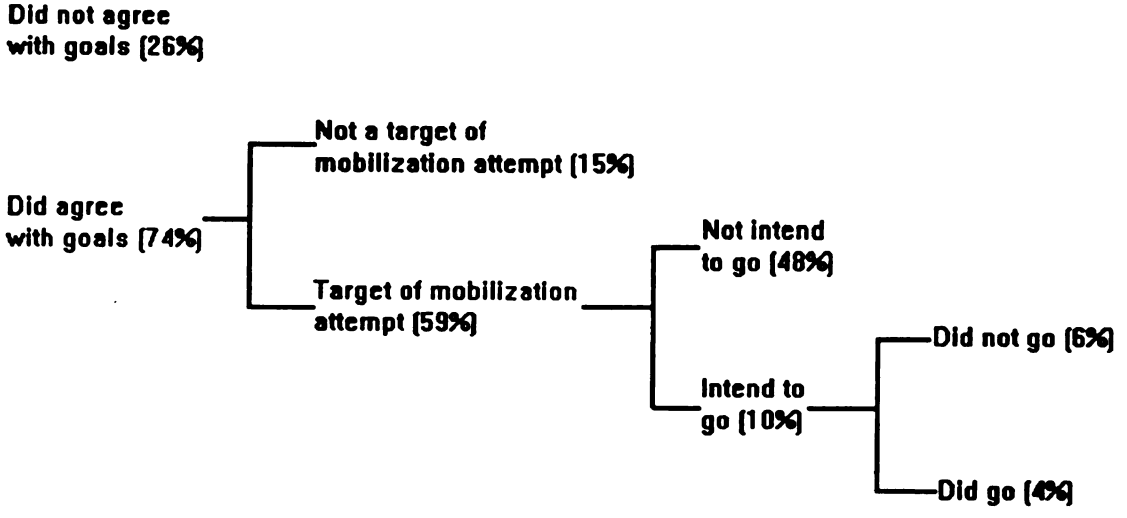
Figure 1



Kaase & Marsh, 1979, p. 43

Figure 2

Klandermans Mobilization Model



Klandersman, 1987, p.524

Table 1

Original Sampling Strategy (N=390)

		Organizational Size		
		Small	Medium	Large
Member Status	Member	48	65	65
	Non-member	82	65	65

Table 2

Number of Respondents by Size of Priority Organization (N = 163)

	Organizational Size			Non-Members
	Small	Medium	Large	
Number of Respondents	51	27	53	32

Table 3

Rotated Factor Matrix of Motives Items

ITEMS	FACTORS (Motives)		
	Religious	Purposive	Solidarity
religious involvement	**.87**	-.07	-.04
religious beliefs	**.83**	.24	.06
concern for others	.22	**.72**	.04
nuclear threat	-.15	**.61**	.10
concern for society	.17	**.54**	.10
guilty feelings	.00	**.44**	.20
participating friends	-.02	.13	**.82**
partic. acquaintances	-.12	.05	**.60**
social life	.14	.36	**.45**
concern for friends	.24	.13	**.37**

Final Statistics:

Factor	Eigen Value	% of Var.	Cum. %
1	2.3	23.0%	23.0%
2	1.5	15.1%	38.1%
3	.87	8.7%	46.8%

Table 4

Description of Organizations (N=16)

Organizational Variable	Categories (# of organizations)		
Size:	small (8)	medium (3)	large (5)
Affiliation:	local only (7)	national (7)	international (2)
Primary Goals:	organizational development (5)	community activism (9)	self-education (2)
Primary Tactics:	community education (7)	political lobbying (5)	direct action (4)
Focus:	single-issue (10)	multi-focus (6)	
Population:	homogeneous (11)	heterogeneous (5)	
Staff:	volunteer only (12)	some paid (4)	
Decision Process:	majority (6)	consensus (10)	

Table 5

Respondent Demographics

Variable Name	Mean (St Dev)	Value	Count	Percent
Gender		Female	102	63%
		Male	60	37%
Race		Caucasian	149	96.1%
		Asian	2	1.3%
		Hispanic	2	1.3%
		Mixed Race	2	1.3%
Age	45.3(14.2)	less than 30	20	12%
		30 thru 39	38	24%
		40 thru 49	52	32%
		50 thru 59	22	14%
		60 and over	29	17%
Education		< Highschool	1	.6%
		Highschool Graduate	4	2.5%
		Some College	27	16.7%
		Bachelors Degree	40	24.7%
		Post-Graduate Degree	90	55.6%
Marital Status		Married/Co-hab.	115	71.4%
		Single	46	28.6%

Table 5 (continued)

Variable Name	Mean (St Dev)	Value	Count	Percent
Number of Children	2.6(1.7)	0	51	31.3%
		1	21	12.9%
		2	47	28.8%
		3	19	11.7%
		4 or more	21	15.3%
Hours Employed	33(20)	0	27	17%
		1-30	32	20%
		31-40	55	34%
		41-80	49	29%
Hours Worked in	13.7(11)	0-9	53	36%
the Home		10-20	72	49%
		21-60	22	15%

Table 5 (continued)

Variable Name	Mean (St Dev)	Value	Count	Percent
Personal Income	29,091	0-10,000	33	23%
	(24,724)	10,001-20,000	29	21%
		20,001-40,000	48	35%
		40,001-180,000	32	22%
Household Income	49,559	0-20,000	30	21%
	(31,298)	20,001-50,000	53	38%
		50,001-180,000	57	41%
Religion		Athiest/None	42	26%
		Catholic	46	29%
		Protestant	45	29%
		Quaker	6	4%
		Unitarian	6	4%
		Jewish	5	3%
		Spirituality/ Metaphysics	5	3%
		Buddhism	2	1%

Table 6

Frequency of Activities Participated in By Peace Activists

Activity	% Taking Part at Least Once	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Activities During Last Month				
Talking about peace	77%	10.5 times/mo	10.7	0 to 99
Asking others to participate	33%	3.0 times/mo	10.7	0 to 99
Volunteering for an organization	25%	3.8 hours/mo	12.8	0 to 99
Activities During the Last Year				
Signing a petition	69%	3.0 times/yr	4.7	0 to 30
# of companies boycotted	66%	2.9 companies	4.7	0 to 30
Public demo/rally	56%	2.8 times/yr	8.7	0 to 99
Writing a letter to government	53%	3.0 times/yr	11.6	0 to 99

Table 6 (continued)

Activity	% Taking Part at Least Once	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Going to org. meetings	51%	4.5 times/yr	10.8	0 to 99
Going to educ. meeting/seminars	48%	3.3 times/yr	9.1	0 to 99
Being a leader for an event	24%	0.5 times/yr	1.6	0 to 15
Writing a letter to the media	20%	0.5 times/yr	2.2	0 to 25
Making speeches	19%	0.5 times/yr	1.2	0 to 8
Not paying income or telephone taxes	14%	*	*	*
Civil resist./ disobed.	4%	0.1 times/yr	0.8	0 to 10

*note: not applicable

Table 7

The Number of Persons Reporting Barriers to Greater Participation in the Peace Movement

Perceived Barrier	Count	Percent
Job or school requires too much time		55%
No more time or energy due to activist work		39%
Family responsibilities		36%
No extra money to give		29%
Fear of jail or threat to personal safety		11%
Not informed of specific actions		9%
Child care is not available		8%
Might lose job if too radical		8%
Don't know what useful actions to take		4%
Family tension over peace issues		4%
Others (open-ended responses):		
Health issues		7%
Don't like group dynamics of peace organizations		4%
Other political issues more important		3%
Question the impact of activism		3%
Not a joiner		3%
Peace movement people too radical		2%
No friends that participate		1%

Table 8

Correlation Matrix of Background and Participant Characteristic Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Gender										
2.Age	-.05									
3.Income	.06	.19*								
4.Educat'n	.05	-.05	.31*							
5.Married	.09	.28*	.47*	.19*						
6.Children	.08	.40*	.34*	.11	.39*					
7.Hrs Employ	.07	-.38*	.35*	.35*	.00	.01				
8.# Peace Orgs	.00	.19*	-.06	.06	.00	.02	-.08			
9.Years Mvmt	-.01	.46*	.17	.12	.19*	.18*	-.04	.23*		
10.# Barriers	-.04	-.32*	-.26*	.03	-.14	-.05	-.18*	-.07	-.20*	
11.PJ Ideology	-.15	.01	-.20*	.09	-.08	.04	.01	.40*	.24*	.13
12.Pol. Class	.02	-.01	-.11	.05	-.10	-.05	.01	.33*	.18*	.08
13.Pol. Support	.07	.34*	.22*	.06	.23*	.13	-.10	-.19	.02	-.28*
14.Purpose Mot.	-.10	.12	-.18	-.13	-.14	.04	-.13	.19*	.09	.11
15.Solidar. Mot	-.08	.01	-.17*	.06	-.09	-.06	.01	.50*	.17*	.03
16.Relig Mot.	-.04	.08	-.21*	.00	-.09	.00	-.21*	.04	.00	-.03

17.PJ Efficacy	.07	.03	.18*	.03	-.11	.00	-.17*	.28*	.12	-.01
18.Ext Effic.	.12	.10	.03	.09	-.14	.02	-.04	-.02	.11	-.30*
19.Int Effic.	.14	-.13	.01	.26*	.03	.04	.18*	.26*	.09	.07
20.Social Mvmts	-.07	.17*	.06	.23*	-.05	.09	.02	.36*	.30*	-.04
21.Volunt Orgs	-.06	.22*	.08	.05	.14	.14	-.07	.00	.21*	-.03
22.Polit Orgs	-.00	.14	.24*	.30*	-.06	.04	.11	.34*	.35*	-.16*
23.Money Given	.01	.30*	.19*	.27*	.08	.21*	.07	.57*	.29*	-.13
24.Activism	-.07	-.07	-.25*	.13	-.14	-.01	.04	.52*	.07	.11

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11.PJ Ideology										
12.Pol. Class	.57*									
13.Pol. Support	-.51*	-.49*								
14.Purpose Mot.	.41*	.25*	-.25*							
15.Solidar. Mot	.38*	.21*	-.21*	.32*						
16.Relig Mot.	-.03	-.16	.16	.09	.12					
17.PJ Efficacy	.35*	.23*	-.10	.43*	.34*	.28*				
18.Ext Effic.	-.14	-.08	.36*	.00	.09	.17*	.40*			
19.Int Effic.	.29*	.44*	-.21*	.16*	.20*	.07	.31*	.12		
20.Social Mvmts	.24*	.41*	-.09	.18*	.15	-.01	.21*	.00	.34*	
21.Volunt Orgs	-.07	.08	.21*	-.01	-.08	.08	.10	.21*	.07	.28*
22.Polit Orgs	.21*	.33*	-.11	.11	.09	-.17*	.16	.12	.37*	.70*
23.Money Given	.34*	.25*	-.07	.15	.29*	-.01	.12	.05	.16	.41*
24.Activism	.39*	.34*	-.30	.39*	.58*	.15	.38*	.10	.39*	.44*

	21	22	23
21.Volunt Orgs			
22.Polit Orgs	.18*		
23.Money Given	.03	.46*	
24.Activism	.02	.26*	.41*

Table 8 (continued)

	Mean	St.Dev.
1.Gender	1.7	.48
2.Age	45.3	14.3
3.Income	2.3	1.0
4.Education	5.3	1.0
5.Married	.71	.45
6.Children	.68	.46
7.Hours Employed	32.9	20.0
8.Number Peace Orgs	1.6	1.1
9.Years Movement	14.4	12.4
10.Number Barriers	2.3	1.3
11.P & J Ideology	3.1	.47
12.Political Class	3.0	.65
13.Political Support	2.4	.59
14.Purpose Motives	2.8	.59
15.Solidarity Motives	2.1	.52
16.Religious Motives	2.7	1.1
17.P & J Efficacy	3.1	.42
18.External Efficacy	2.9	.54
19.Internal Efficacy	3.2	.52
20.Social Movements	2.2	.28
21.Voluntary Orgs	.68	.34

22.Political Orgs	1.6	1.1
23.Money Given	1.6	1.0
24.Activism Level	-.07	1.1

Table 9

Multiple Regression of Participant Characteristics on Level of Peace Activities and Contributions to the Peace Movement

	Dependent Variable			
	Peace Activities (n=115)		Money (n=109)	
Independent Variable	beta	R^2 Chg	beta	R^2 Chg
Block 1 - Background Variables		**.38***		**.45***
# of peace org. memberships	**.25***		**.44***	
household income	**-.22***		**.24***	
have children	.15		.08	
years in movement	-.08		-.00	
age	-.10		.09	
married/co-habitating	.06		-.10	
hrs employed	.07		.08	
total barriers	.06		.00	
gender	-.05		-.02	
education	.09		.13	
Block 2 - Participant Variables		**.24***		.09
other social movements	**.33***		.15	
solidarity motives	**.29***		-.05	

Table 9 (continued)

Independent Variable	Peace Activities (n=115) beta	Peace Activities (n=115) R^2 Chg	Money (n=109) beta	Money (n=109) R^2 Chg
purposive motives	**.23***		.08	
external political efficacy	**.29***		.11	
internal political efficacy	.10		**-.20***	
political organizations	-.06		.11	
political support	-.15		-.09	
other voluntary orgs	.09		-.00	
political classification	-.02		-.08	
peace ideology	-.09		.19	
peace issue efficacy	-.08		-.05	
religious motives	.10		-.05	
Total R Square		**.62***		**.53***
Adjusted R Square		**.53***		**.42***

*p<.05

Table 10

Demographic Comparisons Between Members and Non-Members

Variable	# of Members, Non-Members	Mean of Members (s.d.)	Mean of Non-Members (s.d.)	t-value
Age	131, 29	46.0(14.4)	43.0(13.6)	-1.06
Education	132, 29	5.3(1.1)	5.1(.82)	-1.17
Personal Income	111, 23	32,031(25,793)	25,765(15,582)	-1.54
Household Income	116, 24	2.4(1.1)	2.2(.92)	-.92
Years in Peace Movement	131, 19	14.6(11.9)	13.6(15.6)	-.25
# of Hours Employed	131, 28	33.5(20.3)	30.2(18.9)	-.83
# of Hours Home	122, 24	13.5(10.8)	14.3(12.3)	.29

Table 10(continued)

Variable	Member		Non-Member		Chi Square
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
Gender					.12
Female	82	81%	19	19%	
Male	50	83%	10	17%	
Marital Status					.28
Single	38	84%	7	16%	
Co-Habitating	93	81%	22	19%	
Children					.01
No Children	42	82%	9	18%	
Have Children	89	82%	20	18%	

Table 11

Conceptual Grouping of 4 Sets of Variables used in MANOVA.

Set of Variables	Variables Measured
Ideology	**peace & justice ideology**
	political classification
	political support-alienation
Motives	**solidarity motives**
	purposive motives
	religious motives
Efficacy	**internal political efficacy**
	external political efficacy
	peace and justice efficacy
Other Participation	**number of voluntary organization**
	number of political organizations
	other social movement participation

Table 12

Comparison of Means and Standard Deviations of Individual Characteristics for Peace Organization Members and Non-Members

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Individual Variables	Members Mean/S.D.	Non-Members Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Ideology	4.95* (3,153)		(n=128)	(n=29)	d.f.(1,155)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1(.45)	2.8(.48)	12.11*
		Political Class	3.1(.62)	2.7(.71)	10.56*
		Political Support-Alienation	2.4(.58)	2.6(.60)	2.79
Motives	6.82* (3,156)		(n=132)	(n=28)	d.f.(1,158)
		Purposive Motives	2.8(.58)	2.7(.62)	.87
		Solidarity Motives	2.2(.52)	1.7(.38)	17.93*
		Religious Motives	2.7(1.1)	2.8(.93)	.90
Efficacy	4.96* (3,155)		(n=130)	(n=29)	d.f.(1,157)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.2(.41)	2.9(.42)	7.78*
		External Efficacy	3.0(.51)	2.9(.65)	.30
		Internal Efficacy	3.2(.51)	2.9(.51)	10.87*

*p<.05

Table 12(continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Individual Variables	Members Mean/S.D.	Non-Members Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Other Participation	7.00* (3,147)		(n=125)	(n=26)	d.f.(1,149)
		Other Social Movements	2.2(.28)	2.0(.21)	8.78*
		Voluntary Organizations	.62(.79)	.93(1.0)	3.89*
		Political Organizat'ns	1.7(1.1)	.93(.98)	10.0*

Table 13

Comparisons Between Members and Non-Members on Amount and Type of Peace Activism

Type of Activism	# of Members, Non-members	Mean of Members (s.d.)	Mean of Non-members (s.d.)	t-value
# of Petitions Signed	124, 27	3.5(5.0)	.59(1.1)	-5.85*
# of Organization Meetings	126, 27	5.3(11.7)	.59(2.0)	-4.26*
Amount of Money Given	121, 22	337(911)	19(36)	-3.82*
# of Demonstrations	125, 27	3.3(9.6)	.67(1.0)	-3.20*
# of Leadership Roles at Events	127, 27	.63(1.7)	.11(.32)	-3.19*
# of Educational Meetings	126, 28	3.8(1.0)	.79(2.0)	-3.16*
# of Letters to Government	124, 27	3.6(12.8)	.56(.97)	-2.66*
# of Boycotts	124, 28	3.2(5.1)	1.5(2.5)	-2.52*
# of Media Letters	127, 27	.62(2.4)	.07(.27)	-2.51*

Table 13 (continued)

Type of Activism	# of Members, Non-members	Mean of Members (s.d.)	Mean of Non-members (s.d.)	t-value
Talked About Peace	120, 27	11.7(22.6)	5.3(11.1)	-2.17*
# of Civil Resistance Actions	129, 28	.13(.91)	.00(.00)	-1.64
# of Hours Volunteered	127, 28	4.2(13.6)	1.4(7.6)	-1.50
# of Speeches	125, 27	.48((1.3)	.30(1.0)	-.82
Asked Other to Participate	127, 28	3.2(11.0)	1.8(9.4)	-.71

*p<.05

Table 14

Comparison Between Members and Non-Members on Reported Barriers

Variable	Member		Non-Member		Chi Square
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
Not Enough Money to Give					5.1*
Not Barrier	98	87%	15	13%	
Barrier	33	72%	13	28%	
No More Energy Due to Amount of Activist Work					4.4*
Not Barrier	75	77%	22	23%	
Barrier	56	90%	6	10%	
Need for Child Care					.49
Not Barrier	122	83%	25	17%	
Barrier	9	75%	3	25%	
Not Enough Time Because of School or Job					.31
Not Barrier	58	81%	14	19%	
Barrier	73	84%	14	16%	
Family Responsibilities					.25
Not Barrier	86	84%	17	17%	
Barrier	45	80%	11	20%	
Fear of Losing Job Due to Participation					.29
Not Barrier	121	83%	25	17%	
Barrier	10	77%	3	23%	

Table 14 (continued)

Variable	Member		Non-Member		Chi Square
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	
Don't Know What Would Be Useful					.06
Not Barrier	125	82%	27	18%	
Barrier	6	86%	1	14%	
Not Informed of Actions					.94
Not Barrier	120	83%	24	17%	
Barrier	11	73%	4	27%	
Family Tensions Over Peace Issues					.61
Not Barrier	126	83%	26	17%	
Barrier	5	71%	2	29%	
Fear of Consequences of Participation (e.g. jail)					.67
Not Barrier	119	83%	24	17%	
Barrier	12	75%	4	25%	

Table 15

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Small, Medium, and Large Organizations

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Small Mean/S.D.	Medium Mean/S.D.	Large Mean/S.D.	Univ. F	SNK p<.05
Ideology	4.88* (6,244)		(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=53)	d.f. (2,123)	
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1/.46	2.9/.44	3.3/.36	8.68*	L>S>M
		Political Class.	3.0/.70	3.0/.44	3.3/.60	3.15*	
		Political Support-Alienation	2.4/.54	2.8/.49	2.3/.56	10.42*	M>S,L
Motives	3.02* (6,252)		(n=50)	(n=27)	(n=53)	d.f. (2,127)	
		Purposive Motives	2.8/.61	2.8/.58	2.8/.55	.28	
		Solidarity Motives	2.3/.54	2.0/.41	2.1/.54	.2.02	
		Religious Motives	3.1/.99	2.5/1.1	2.3/1.1	8.12*	S>M,L

*p<.05

Table 15 (continued)

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Small Mean/S.D.	Medium Mean/S.D.	Large Mean/S.D.	Univ. F	SNK p<.05
Efficacy	2.45* (6,248)		(n=48)	(n=27)	(n=53)	d.f. (2,125)	
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.3/.44	3.0/.37	3.1/.38	3.62*	S>M
		External Efficacy	2.9/.51	3.0/.56	3.0/.51	.27	
		Internal Efficacy	3.2/.53	3.2/.57	3.3/.48	1.04	
Other Partici-pation	2.53* (6,238)		(n=49)	(n=26)	(n=48)	d.f. (2,120)	
		Other Social Movements	2.1/.26	2.3/.30	2.3/.26	5.15*	L,M>S
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.6/.98	2.1/1.6	1.6/1.1	2.14	
		Political Organizat,ns	1.3/1.0	2.0/1.1	2.0/1.0	5.42*	L,M>S
Peace Involve-ment	5.51* (4,230)		(n=43)	(n=25)	(n=50)	d.f. (2,115)	
		Peace Activities	.14/.98	.05/.92	.15/1.1	.07	
		Money Contributed	1.3/.99	2.1/.95	2.1/.76	10.76*	L,M>S

Table 16

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Organizations Using Community Education, Political Lobbying, and Direct Action Social Change Tactics

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Community Education Mean/S.D.	Political Lobbying Mean/S.D.	Direct Action Mean/S.D.	Univ. F	SNK p<.05
Ideology	1.67 (6,244)		(n=69)	(n=37)	(n=20)	d.f. (2,123)	
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1/.42	3.0/.46	3.4/.40	4.81*	
		Political Classif.	3.1/.60	3.1/.60	3.3/.73	.94	
		Political Support-Alienation	2.4/.62	2.5/.47	2.2/.56	1.86	
Motives	3.12* (6,252)		(n=72)	(n=38)	(n=20)	d.f. (2,127)	
		Purposive Motives	2.8/.60	2.7/.53	3.1/.56	1.97	
		Solidarity Motives	2.1/.48	2.2/.53	2.4/.59	2.95*	
		Religious Motives	2.4/1.1	3.0/1.0	3.0/1.2	6.04*	DA,PL>CE

*p<.05, *p°=.083

Table 16 (continued)

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Community Education Mean/S.D.	Political Lobbying Mean/S.D.	Direct Action Mean/S.D.	Univ. F	
Efficacy	3.68* (6,248)		(n=71)	(n=37)	(n=20)	d.f. (2,125)	
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.1/.38	3.2/.43	3.4/.44	3.86*	DA>CE
		External Efficacy	2.9/.49	3.1/.53	2.8/.55	2.54*	
		Internal Efficacy	3.3/.51	3.2/.45	3.1/.65	.88	
Other Partici-pation	1.73 (6,238)		(n=67)	(n=35)	(n=21)	d.f. (2,120)	
		Other Social Movements	2.2/.27	2.2/.31	2.2/.26	.11	
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.6/1.2	1.9/1.1	1.6/1.3	1.02	
		Political Organizat'ns	1.9/1.1	1.6/.97	1.3/1.2	2.65*	
Peace Involve-ment	1.22 (4,230)		(n=63)	(n=36)	(n=19)	d.f. (2,115)	
		Peace Activities	.10/1.0	.02/.85	.39/1.1	.85	
		Money Contributed	1.9/.89	1.7/1.0	1.6/1.1	.1.11	

Table 17

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Local and National/International Organizations

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Local Only Mean/S.D.	Nat'l/Int'l Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Ideology	6.87* (3,122)		(n=68)	(n=58)	d.f. (1,124)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.2/.43	3.1/.46	1.65
		Political Class	3.2/.66	3.0/.56	2.42
		Political Support-Alienation	2.2/.55	2.7/.52	20.13*
Motives	.71 (3,126)		(n=70)	(n=60)	d.f. (1,128)
		Purposive Motives	2.8/.53	2.9/.63	1.37
		Solidarity Motives	2.1/.56	2.2/.47	.35
		Religious Motives	2.7/1.1	2.6/1.2	.48

*p<.05

Table 17(continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Local Only Mean/S.D.	Nat'l/Int'l Mean/S.D.	Univ. F (d.f.)
Efficacy	1.39 (3,124)		(n=68)	(n=60)	d.f. (1,126)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.2/.43	3.1/.38	.96
		External Efficacy	2.9/.47	3.0/.58	.33
		Internal Efficacy	3.3/.47	3.2/.56	2.8
Other Partici-pation	.49 (3,119)		(n=67)	(n=56)	d.f. (1,121)
		Other Social Movements	2.2/.27	2.2/.29	.005
		Voluntary Organizations	1.6/.94	1.8/1.4	1.3
		Political Organizat'ns	1.7/1.1	1.7/1.1	1.2
Peace Involv-ment	1.8 (2,115)		(n=64)	(n=54)	d.f. (1,116)
		Peace Activities	.23/1.0	.001/.97	1.5
		Money Contributed	1.7/.98	1.9/.94	1.1

Table 18

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Varied and Singular Population Organizations

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Varied Pop. Mean/S.D.	Singular Pop. Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Ideology	2.36* (3,122)		(n=53)	(n=73)	(1,124)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.2/.38	3.1/.49	.20
		Political Class	3.3/.57	3.0/.63	6.03*
		Political Support-Alienation	2.3/.61	2.5/.55	1.7
Motives	4.16* (3,126)		(n=54)	(n=76)	d.f. (1,128)
		Purposive Motives	2.9/.56	2.8/.59	.22
		Solidarity Motives	2.1/.54	2.2/.50	.97
		Religious Motives	2.3/1.1	2.9/1.0	11.4*

*p<.05, *p°=.07

Table 18(continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Varied Pop. Mean/S.D.	Singular Pop. Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Efficacy	1.87 (3,124)		(n=54)	(n=74)	(1,126)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.1/.38	3.2/.43	1.93
		External Efficacy	3.0/.52	2.9/.52	.55
		Internal Efficacy	3.3/.52	3.2/.52	.90
Other Participation	4.10* (3,119)		(n=50)	(n=73)	d.f. (1,121)
		Other Social Movements	2.3/.27	2.1/.27	7.81*
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.6/1.2	1.8/1.2	1.01
		Political Organizat'ns	1.9/1.0	1.6/1.1	2.93
Peace Involvement	1.45 (2,115)		(n=52)	(n=56)	d.f. (1,116)
		Peace Activities	.23/1.1	.04/.89	1.1
		Money Contributed	2.0/.89	1.7/1.0	2.3

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristics Variables for Members of Majority of Consensus Decision Making Organizations

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Majority Mean/S.D.	Consensus Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Ideology	1.38 (3,122)		(n=77)	(n=49)	(1,124)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1/.44	3.2/.45	1.97
		Political Class.	3.1/.60	3.1/.65	.13
		Political Support-Alienation	2.4/.56	2.4/.61	.13
Motives	1.61 (3,126)		(n=78)	(n=52)	d.f. (1,128)
		Purposive Motives	2.7/.52	2.9/.64	4.06*
		Solidarity Motives	2.1/.54	2.2/.48	1.71
		Religious Motives	2.6/1.1	2.8/1.2	.71

*p<.05, *p°=.067

Table 19(continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Majority Mean/S.D.	Consensus Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Efficacy	3.08* (3,124)		(n=77)	(n=51)	d.f. (1,126)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.1/.40	3.2/.43	1.19
		External Efficacy	3.0/.48	2.9/.57	3.41[a]
		Internal Efficacy	3.3/.44	3.2/.62	1.30
Other Partici-pation	.67 (3,119)		(n=71)	(n=52)	d.f. (1,121)
		Social Movements	2.2/.29	2.2/.26	1.65
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.8/1.1	1.6/1.3	.82
		Political Organizat'ns	1.8/1.0	1.6/1.2	1.42
Peace Involve-ment	.57 (2,115)		(n=74)	(n=44)	d.f. (1,116)
		Peace Activities	.14/.95	.10/1.0	.05
		Money Contributed	1.9/.91	1.7/1.1	1.15

Table 20

Number of Organizations Stratified on Each Variable by Size of Organization

Organizational Variable	Size		
	Small	Medium	Large
Tactics			
Community Education	4	2	1
Political Lobbying	1	1	3
Direct Action	3	0	1
Network			
Local Only	6	0	1
National Affiliate	2	2	3
International Affiliate	0	1	1
Population			
Singular	7	2	2
Varied	1	1	3
Decision Making			
Consensus	7	1	2
Majority	1	2	3
Staff			
Volunteer Only	7	2	3
Some Paid	1	1	2
Focus			
Single-Focus	6	3	1
Multi-Focus	2	0	4
Goals			
Organizational Development	1	1	3
Community Activism	5	2	2
Self-Education	2	0	0

APPENDICES

Appendix A

PEACE ACTIVISM QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you again for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Remember your answers will be completely anonymous. Please answer all of the questions to the best of your ability. Even if the available answers are not exactly as you would say them, please pick the answer closest to your thoughts.

1. Are you a member of any peace movement organizations (a group whose primary focus is the promotion of peace)?

___Yes ___No

a. IF YES, how many? _____
b. IF NO, please skip to question 3.

2. Please make a check mark by each local organization that you are a member of.

___ Covenant for Peace
___ Lansing Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze
___ Ingham County Peace & Justice Coalition
___ MichiGWEN
___ Michigan Faith & Resistance
___ M.S.U. Nuclear War Study Group
___ Pax Christi Mason
___ Peace & Justice Ministry, Diocese of Lansing
___ Peace Education Center
___ Peace Education Center Task Forces
___ Physicians for Social Responsibility
___ St. Johns Peace & Justice Committee
___ United Nations Association
___ Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament
___ Women's Int'l League for Peace & Freedom
Other_____

2a. Of the local peace organizations listed above, please write down which one you identify with the most?

_____

3. How long have you been involved in the peace movement (any kind of involvement)?

_____years _____months

4. Which, if any, other social movements do you support in ideology or goals? Of those, which ones do you belong to through formal membership in an organization? Please make a check mark next to the movements you disagree or agree with, and the organizations to which you belong.

	Disagree w/ Goals of movement	Agree w/ Goals, but No Organizational Affiliation	Agree w/ Goals, and Belong to Organization(s)
Economic Justice(U.S.A)/Poverty Issues	___	___	___
Environmental/Ecology	___	___	___
Feminist/Women's Issues	___	___	___
Gay/Lesbian Acceptance/Civil Rights	___	___	___
Advancement for People of Color/Racial Minorities	___	___	___
Liberation for Oppressed 3rd World Peoples	___	___	___
International Human Rights	___	___	___
World Hunger	___	___	___
Animal Rights	___	___	___
Pro-life (abortion issue)	___	___	___
Pro-choice (abortion issue)	___	___	
Other please list them _____	___	___	___
_____	___	___	___

5. Please estimate the number of political organizations (not including peace organizations) that you consider yourself a member (e.g. Amnesty International, Planned Parenthood, Greenpeace)?

_____

6. Of the following types of non-political (or not expressly political) voluntary organizations, how many do you belong to? Please indicate the number in the space next to the type of organization.

____I do not participate in any of these types of voluntary organizations.

____Neighborhood (e.g. Crime Watch)
____Professional (e.g. American Bar Assoc.)
____Service Organizations (e.g. Kiwanis)
____Social (e.g. Opera Club)
____Religious (e.g. Church Groups)

For questions 7 through 15, please circle the number that most closely corresponds to your answer.

1=Not at All 2=A Little Bit 3=A Fair Amount 4=A Great Deal

	Not at All	A Little Bit	A Fair Amount	A Great Deal
7. How satisfied are you with your current level of participation in the peace movement?	1	2	3	4
8. To what extent do you have respect for the political institutions in the U.S.A?	1	2	3	4
9. To what extent do you think that the courts guarantee a fair trial?	1	2	3	4
10. To what extent do you feel that the basic rights of citizens are well protected by our political system?	1	2	3	4
11. To what extent are you proud to live under our political system?	1	2	3	4
12. To what extent do you feel our system of government is the best possible system?	1	2	3	4
13. To what extent do you feel you should support our system of government?	1	2	3	4
14. To what extent do you feel you and your friends are well-represented in our political system?	1	2	3	4
15. To what extent do you feel that your own political values differ from those of our political system?	1	2	3	4

For questions 16 through 25, please circle the number that most closely corresponds to your answer.

1=STRONGLY AGREE 2=AGREE 3=DISAGREE 4=STRONGLY DISAGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
16. Do you feel the U.S. was justified in using nuclear weapons against Japan in World War II?	1	2	3	4
17. Under any circumstances, do you feel that it would be justifiable for the U.S. to use nuclear weapons again?	1	2	3	4
18. Do you think the U.S. should unilaterally freeze the production and deployment of nuclear weapons?	1	2	3	4
19. Do you think the U.S. should unilaterally disarm (destroy all existing nuclear weapons)?	1	2	3	4
20. Do you feel that the U.S. should stop all military actions both covert and overt in other countries (e.g. Central America)?	1	2	3	4

21. Under any circumstances, do think the U.S. would ever be justified in using conventional forces overseas? 1 2 3 4

22. Do you think the U.S. should completely dismantle its armed forces? 1 2 3 4

23. Do you feel that the U.S. corporations are justified in keeping investments in South Africa? 1 2 3 4

24. Do you feel that the U.S. government adequately provides for poor people in this country? 1 2 3 4

25. Do you consider yourself a pacifist (never support war under any conditions)? 1 2 3 4

26. To what extent do you agree that the activities listed below are justified actions to take against the build up and deployment of nuclear weapons and to make social change in this country? Please rate your agreement with these actions with this scale: 1=STRONGLY AGREE 2=AGREE 3=DISAGREE 4=STRONGLY DISAGREE

_____ Signing petitions
_____ Letter writing campaigns
_____ Declaring nuclear free zones
_____ Legal demonstrations or rallies
_____ Non-violent civil disobedience or civil resistance
_____ Destroying military property or equipment
_____ Not paying income tax (or portion devoted to military spending)
_____ Not paying telephone tax (portion devoted to military spending)

Please circle the numbered response that is most representative of your answer for questions 27 through 45.

1=STRONGLY AGREE 2=AGREE 3=DISAGREE 4=STRONGLY DISAGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	1	2	3	4
28. People like me are generally well qualified to participate in political activity and decision-making in our country.	1	2	3	4
29. I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues which confront our society.	1	2	3	4
30. Today's problems are so difficult I feel I could not know enough to come up with any ideas that might solve them.	1	2	3	4
31. I feel like I could do as good a job in public office as most of the politicians we elect.	1	2	3	4
32. Nearly every person who is active in the anti-nuclear movement has an impact.	1	2	3	4
33. I believe that my activity in the peace community has very little impact on world problems.	1	2	3	4
34. Activist participation by individual citizens will lead to positive social change.	1	2	3	4
35. If I were to participate more actively in the peace movement I would help bring about world peace.	1	2	3	4
36. If I were to participate more actively in the peace and justice or anti-nuclear movement, I could help to bring about small scale social change.	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
37. There are plenty of ways for people like me to have a say in what our government does.	1	2	3	4
38. It doesn't matter what a person does--if the politicians want to listen they will, and if they don't want to listen they won't.	1	2	3	4
39. Most public officials wouldn't listen to me no matter what I did.	1	2	3	4
40. The peace and anti-nuclear movements can have a great impact on public policy.	1	2	3	4
41. If more people work together we will eventually make a peaceful society.	1	2	3	4
42. Activists can continue to protest all they want, but it won't have any real effect on the system.	1	2	3	4
43. If people worked together, we could close down the nuclear weapons industry in this country.	1	2	3	4
44. I have gained many friends through my involvement in the peace movement.	1	2	3	4
45. Very little of my social life revolves around peace movement activities.	1	2	3	4

For questions 46A-46F, please circle the number that most closely corresponds to your answer.

46. To what extent is each of the factors listed below a reason for your support of or participation in the peace movement?

1=Not at All 2=A Little Bit 3=A Fair Amount 4=A Great Deal

	Not at All	A Little Bit	A Fair Amount	A Great Deal
A. I would feel guilty if I did not support or participate.	1	2	3	4
B. I feel personally threatened about my safety.	1	2	3	4
C. I am concerned for others, especially those closest to me.	1	2	3	4
D. I want to help society as a whole.	1	2	3	4
E. It is important because of my religious or spiritual beliefs.	1	2	3	4
F. My friends participate and/or support the movement.	1	2	3	4

47. Please rank order from 1 to 6 the reasons (same as listed above, A-F) for your support of or participation in the peace movement. A rank of 1 indicates the most important reason and a rank of 6 indicates the least important reason.

	Rank:
A. Feel Guilty	____
B. Feel Personally Threatened	____
C. Concern for Others	____
D. Help Society as Whole	____
E. Religious/Spiritual Beliefs	____
F. Friends Participate	____

Please circle the response that best approximates your answer.

	Almost None	Less than one-half	One-half or more	Almost All
48. Of all your close friends and family, how many are involved in the peace and anti-nuclear movement?				

49. Of all your acquaintances, estimate how many are involved in the peace and anti-nuclear movement?

Almost None	Less than one-half	One-half or more	Almost All

50. Sometimes people don't participate as much as they might like. Listed below are some concrete barriers some people face to greater involvement. Please make a check by all that apply to you.

_____ Child care isn't available
_____ My job requires too much time
_____ I have family responsibilities that don't allow time for volunteering
_____ I may lose my job if I participate in radical actions
_____ I don't know what I could do that would be of use
_____ I am not informed of the specific actions I could take
_____ I don't have any extra money to give to the organizations
_____ Tensions with family members over peace issues cause problems
_____ I fear unknown consequences of jail or threats to my personal safety
_____ I don't have any more time or energy because of all the activist work I already do
_____ Other _____

_____ I do not face any barriers

51. If you don't participate as much as you would like, please briefly state your reasons if not specified above.

_____

_____

52. In the PAST YEAR, please estimate the number of times you have participated in the following peace movement activities. Of the activities that you participated in, estimate the amount of risk that was involved for you.

1 = NO RISK 2 = A LITTLE RISKY 3 = MODERATELY RISKY 4 =VERY RISKY

answer both

# of times		Amount of Risk
_____	Demonstration/Rally	_____
_____	Organizational Meetings	_____
_____	Educational Meetings	_____
_____	Civil Disobedience/Resistance	_____
_____	Held Leadership Positions in Organizing an Event	_____
_____	Made Speeches	_____
_____	Signed Petitions	_____
_____	Wrote Letters to Government Officials	_____
_____	Wrote Letters/Articles for Print Media	_____

53. In the PAST MONTH, please estimate the amount of involvement you have had in each event and the risk involved (on the same 1 to 4 scale as above).

answer both

# of times		Amount of Risk
_____	Talked to individuals about your beliefs	_____
_____	Asked others to participate in the movement	_____
# of hours		
_____	Volunteered for administrative tasks	_____
# of companies		
_____	Boycotted products due to companies' politics	_____

For questions 54 & 55 please make a check mark next to your answer.

54. Have you ever not paid your taxes (or part of your taxes) for moral reasons concerning politics and military spending? ____Yes ____No

55. Have you ever not registered for the draft although eligible? ____Not Eligible ____Yes ____No

56. If you a member of a local peace organization, and specified one that you most identify with (question 2), please estimate how much money you have contributed in the past year (including dues, subscriptions, at fundraising events, donations, etc.) to that particular organization or group? If not, skip to question 57.

I have contributed $_____ this year.

57. Please estimate how much money have you contributed to the peace movement in general in the past year (including dues, subscriptions, at fundraising events, donations, etc.)? $_____

Background Information - Please remember your responses are completely anonymous.

58. What is your sex? ___Female ___Male

59. What is your race? _____

60. What is your age? _____

61. What formal level of education have you attained?
___Less than high school ___High School ___Vocational Training
___2 yrs college ___Bachelor's degree ___Post graduate degree

62. What is your marital status? ____Married/Cohabitating ____Single

63. Do you have children? ____Yes ____No If yes, how many? _____, What are their ages?_____

How many children currently live with you? _____

64. How many hours per week do you work (at paid employment) on an average? _____/week

65. How many hours per week do you spend doing household chores on the average? _____/week

66. What is your occupation? _____

67. What was your approximate personal income level (gross) for 1989? _____/year

68. What was your approximate household income level (gross) for 1989? _____/year

69. What, if any, religion do you identify with? _____

For questions 70 & 71 please circle the response that is closest to your answer.

70. How would you classify your formal religious involvement?

	Not Involved at All	Minimally Involved	Somewhat Involved	Very Involved

71. How would you classify yourself politically?

	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Radical

Thank you again for completing the questionnaire. We hope you found it interesting. Please return it in the envelope provided and send back the postcard separately to protect your anonymity.

Appendix B

Item Total Correlations and Alpha For Each Scale

Other Social Movements - Alpha=.76

Economic Justice (U.S.A.)/Poverty Issues	.45
Environmental/Ecology	.46
Feminist/Women's Issues	.60
Gay/Lesbian Acceptance/Civil Rights	.33
Advancement of People of Color/Racial Minorities	.55
Liberation for Oppressed 3rd World Peoples	.38
International Human Rights	.58
World Hunger	.26
Pro-choice (Abortion Issue)	.42

Voluntary Organizations - Alpha=.39

Number of neighborhood organizations	.25
Number of social organizations	.28
Number of service organizations	.15

Political Support/Alienation - Alpha=.87

Respect for political institutions	.52
Courts guarantee a fair trial	.58
Citizens rights are well protected	.58
Pride in our political system	.75
Our system of government is best possible	.73

Feel support for political system	.75
You and friends are well represented in system	.63
Your values differ from political system	.38

Radical Action Attitudes - Alpha = .83

U.S. justified in using nuclear weapons in WWII (-)	.54
Justifiable to use nuclear weapons again (-)	.46
U.S. should unilaterally freeze nuclear weapons	.50
U.S. should unilaterally disarm	.60
U.S. should stop military actions in other countries	.48
Justifiable to use conventional forces (-)	.44
U.S. should completely dismantle military	.59
Corporations justified in investing in South Africa (-)	.30
U.S. provides for poor people (-)	-.28
I am a pacifist	.43
Justified actions to take are:	
Declaring nuclear free zones	.40
Legal demonstrations or rallies	.21
Non-violent civil disobedience/resistance	.56
Destroying military property	.46
Not paying income tax	.72
Not paying telephone tax	.73

Internal Political Efficacy - Alpha=.78

Politics is too complicated for me	.45
I am well qualified to make political decisions	.61
I have a good understanding of issues	.66
Problems are too difficult for me	.59
I could do a good job in political office	.49

External Political Efficacy - Alpha=.74

People have a say in government	.53
Politicians do only what they want	.60
Public officials won't listen	.60

Peace and Justice Efficacy - Alpha=.83

All activists have an impact	.52
My activity has little impact on world (-)	.51
Individuals can cause positive change	.59
I can help bring about world peace	.66
I can help small scale change	.53
Peace movement can make impact on policy	.40
Together we can make peace	.57
Protest has no effect on the system (-)	.55
Together we could close down nuclear industry	.51

Solidarity Motives - Alpha=.64

Close friends and family are involved	.58
Social life revolves around peace activities	.40
My friends participate and/or support the movement	.30
Acquaintances are involved in the movement	.43

Purposive Motives - Alpha=.65

Concern for others close to me	.51
Help society as a whole	.41
Feel personally threatened	.48
Feel guilty if not participating	.36

Religious Motives - Alpha=.81

Participate because of religious/spiritual beliefs	.68
Religious involvement	.68

Appendix C

Interview Protocol with Peace Organization Leaders/Spokespersons

This interview consists of 11 questions with both closed-ended and open-ended responses.

1. How do you define whether or not someone is a member of this organization?
2. How many people pay dues?
3. How many people are on the mailing list?

This set of questions has to do with the structure of this organization.

4. Does your membership generally consist of a single group of people, for example, women or student?
5. Is this organization local only or is part of a statewide, national, or international network?
6. Does this organization primarily work on a single issue, such as nuclear disarmament, or are you actively involved in various types of social issues?
7. Do you have paid staff or volunteer staff?

   How many volunteer staff do you have?

   How many paid staff do you have?
8. Please describe for me how decisions are made? Does one person basically make most of the decisions, or is it done by majority or consensus?

This set of questions deals with the philosophy and goals of this organization.

9. Tell me about the long term goals of this organization. What is the overall purpose?

10. Can you list for me the organization's short term goals for this year?

11. Tell me how these long and short term goals can be met? I'd like to know what the philosophy of making change is for this organization.

Appendix D

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Organizations with Some Paid or Volunteer Only Staff

Ideology	1.99		(n=66)	(n=60)	d.f.
	(3,122)				(1,124)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.2/.44	3.1/.45	1.44
		Political Class.	3.2/.56	3.1/.68	.22
		Political Support-Alienation	2.5/.59	2.4/.56	1.6
Motives	2.44		(n=69)	(n=61)	d.f.
	(3,126)				(1,128)
		Purposive Motives	2.9/.63	2.7/.49	5.28*
		Solidarity Motives	2.2/.47	2.1/.56	4.34*
		Religious Motives	2.7/1.2	2.6/1.1	.17

*p<.05

App. D (continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Volunteer Mean/S.D.	Paid Staff Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Efficacy	.53 (3,124)		(n=68)	(n=60)	d.f. (1,126)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.2/.43	3.1/.40	.77
		External Efficacy	3.0/.59	3.0/.46	.02
		Internal Efficacy	3.2/.59	3.3/.44	.25
Other Partici-pation	.13 (3,119)		(n=67)	(n=56)	d.f. (1,121)
		Social Movements	2.2/.27	2.2/.28	.06
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.8/1.3	1.6/1.0	.31
		Political Organizat'ns	1.7/1.1	1.7/1.1	.000
Peace Involve-ment	.14 (2,115)		(n=62)	(n=56)	d.f. (1,116)
		Peace Activities	.16/1.0	.08/.99	.19
		Money Contributed	1.8/.98	1.8/.95	.16

Appendix E

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristics for Members of Single-Focus and Multi-Focus Organizations

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Single-Focus Mean/S.D.	Multi-Focus Mean/S.D.	Univ. F (d.f.)
Ideology	2.34[a] (3,122)		(n=54)	(n=72)	d.f. (1,124)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1/.47	3.2/.42	.48
		Political Class.	3.1/.57	3.1/.66	.06
		Political Support-Alienation	2.6/.62	2.3/.52	5.96*
Motives	1.17 (3,126)		(n=57)	(n=73)	d.f. (1,128)
		Purposive Motives	2.9/.63	2.7/.52	2.94
		Solidarity Motives	2.2/.49	2.1/.54	.58
		Religious Motives	2.7/1.2	2.6/1.1	.30

*p<.05, *p[a]=.077

App. E (continued)

Analysis	Multi. F (d.f.)	Participant Variables	Single-Focus Mean/S.D.	Multi-Focus Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Efficacy	.46 (3,124)		(n=56)	(n=72)	d.f. (1,126)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.2/.43	3.2/.40	.22
		External Efficacy	2.9/.54	3.0/.51	.69
		Internal Efficacy	3.2/.58	3.3/.47	.01
Other Partici-pation	.13 (3,119)		(n=56)	(n=67)	d.f. (1,121)
		Social Movements	2.2/.28	2.2/.28	.00
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.8/1.4	1.7/.99	.14
		Political Organizat'ns	1.7/1.2	1.7/1.1	.11
Peace Involve-ment	.008 (2,115)		(n=51)	(n=67)	d.f. (1,116)
		Peace Activities	.14/1.0	.12/1.0	.01
		Money Contributed	1.8/1.0	1.8/.91	.00

Appendix F

Means and Standard Deviations of Participant Characteristic Variables for Members of Organizations with Organizational Development, Community Activism, and Self Educations as Their Goals

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Org. Development Mean/S.D.	Community Activism Mean/S.D.	Self Education Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Ideology	1.96* (6,244)		(n=64)	(n=55)	(n=7)	d.f. (2,123)
		Peace/Justice Ideology	3.1/.44	3.1/.46	3.2/.39	.21
		Political Class.	3.2/.61	3.1/.63	2.7/.49	1.9
		Political Support-Alienation	2.4/.54	2.4/.62	2.9/.38	2.3
Motives	1.0 (6,252)		(n=65)	(n=56)	(n=9)	d.f. (2,127)
		Purposive Motives	2.7/.53	2.9/.59	3.1/.75	1.5
		Solidarity Motives	2.2/.57	2.1/.49	2.3/.33	.43
		Religious Motives	2.7/1.1	2.5/1.1	3.2/1.0	1.4

*p<.05, p'=.07

App. F (continued)

Analysis	Multi F. (d.f)	Participant Variables	Org. Development Mean/S.D.	Community Activism Mean/S.D.	Self Education Mean/S.D.	Univ. F
Efficacy	1.3 (6,248)		(n=64)	(n=56)	(n=8)	d.f. (2,125)
		Peace Issue Efficacy	3.2/.41	3.2/.42	3.2/.32	.05
		External Efficacy	3.1/.45	2.9/.60	3.0/.40	2.02
		Internal Efficacy	3.3/.45	3.2/.60	3.1/.40	1.20
Other Partici-pation	1.15 (6,238)		(n=60)	(n=55)	(n=8)	d.f. (2,120)
		Other Social Movements	2.2/.29	2.2/.26	2.0/.22	2.68*
		Voluntary Organizat'ns	1.7/1.1	1.7/1.3	1.5/.54	.13
		Political Organizat'ns	1.8/1.0	1.7/1.2	1.5/1.2	.23
Peace Involve-ment	.51 (4,230)		(n=61)	(n=51)	(n=6)	d.f. (2,115)
		Peace Activities	.14/1.0	.17/.99	-.43/.95	.98
		Money Contributed	1.8/.95	1.8/.99	1.7/1.0	.10

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