SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN: LABOR FORCE, FORMAL, INFORMAL

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CAROLYN PALMER THOMAS
1974

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN:

LABOR FORCE, FORMAL, INFORMAL

presented by

Carolyn Palmer Thomas

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology

Harry Perlstadt
Major professor

Date November 13, 1974

O-7639

2016

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN:
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By

Carolyn Palmer Thomas

This study investigated the social participation of women in terms of labor force activity, membership in formally organized clubs, and informal interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives.

The interrelationships among the three kinds of social participation were explored, and related to their mothers' social participation, to the type of area in which they were born or reared, and to three attitudes: life satisfaction, preferred tempo, and self reliance. These were explained in terms of two theories of participation. Substitution theory suggests that individuals will choose among activities and substitute one kind for another (A or B). Cumulative theory suggests that experiences in one area will lead to additional participation in other forms of social activity (A and B).

The sample consisted of 179 randomly selected women from a universe of adult females living in non-urban areas of Michigan. Each respondent answered a questionnaire administered by interviewers from The Gallup Organization, Inc. Supplementary information on labor force participation and mothers' activities was collected by the author for nearly 90% of the original sample. Statistical analysis focused on measures of association (Yule's Q coefficient) within contingency tables.

Carolyn Palmer Thomas

Women with a labor force participation history are more likely to be involved in clubs and neighboring than are women who have never worked. This suggests a cumulative participation model. Women who currently work more often belong to at least one club than do women who are not working, but currently working women do less neighboring. Currently working women who belong to no clubs are least likely to interact informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives. This suggests a modified substitution model for currently working women.

Daughters emulate their mothers' social participation patterns in two areas: labor force and clubs. Daughters whose mothers neighbored more than most of her friends do less neighboring and are more often in the labor force. Controlling for age, education, and social class revealed that the younger, better educated, "upper" class women are more likely to emulate their mothers. This supports an intergenerational cumulative theory.

Women born and/or reared in large or very large cities but who moved to non-urban areas are much less likely to belong to clubs and interact informally with neighbors than are women from non-urban areas. It is suggested that the ex-city women are downwardly mobile or economically forced to work, supporting a substitution theory for these women.

The more satisfied women have labor force histories and belong to clubs. Neighboring is <u>not</u> related to happiness. Women who choose a changeful life tempo have labor force histories, currently work, belong

to clubs and neighbor more than women who prefer a steady life tempo. Self reliant women have labor force histories, belong to clubs and neighbor frequently. The less self reliant women are more likely to be currently working, and current labor force participation is related to dissatisfaction. The more satisfied, change tempo oriented, and self reliant women appear to have an accumulation of activities while their opposites appear to be forced to substitute one activity for another.

High participators are often young, educated, married women with children at home. They more often were farm reared, have mothers who had worked, and have husbands who are professionals, managers, or farmers. High participators are high on satisfaction and self reliance, and prefer a changeful life tempo. A cumulative model of participation is particularly appropriate for these women. Low participators appear constrained in participation choice and a substitution model appears appropriate.

Women who prefer a steady tempo and who are not currently working are satisfied as are women who prefer a changeful tempo and have a labor force history or belong to clubs. Some dissatisfied women prefer a steady tempo but are currently working. It is suggested that a consonance must prevail between attitudes and type of social participation for the individual to be satisfied with her life.

A happy high participator accumulates activities as she goes; a happy low participator takes them one at a time. But a low participator forced to work or forced to stay home and neighbor may not be as

satisfied as she might be if she had a "free" choice of her one activity. A cumulative model fits high participators while a "free" choice substitution model is best suited to low participators.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN:
LABOR FORCE, FORMAL, INFORMAL

By

Carolyn Palmer Thomas

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

1974

This dissertation is dedicated to

John William Thomas,

who thought I could and should.

C.P.T.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to express appreciation to those who assisted her in the preparation of this dissertation. She thanks Dr. J. Allan Beegle, Dr. Philip Marcus, and Dr. Beatrice Paolucci who served on her graduate committee. Dr. Paolucci has been a long-time friend, advisor, and intellectual prod.

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Harry Perlstadt, the chairman of her graduate committee, for his patient encouragement, editorial skill, and scholarly suggestions.

Others due thanks are Dr. Jay Artis, Dr. S. Frank Camilleri, Dr. William Form, and Dr. James McKee. Earlier in her graduate training they offered helpful guidance and were influential in her professionalization. The author also is grateful to Mr. Roy Saper who superintended her data through the computer.

Thanks are extended to the Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station not only for the use of data collected originally for them, but for financial support for obtaining the additional data collected by the author.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Statement of the Problem

Social participation has long interested sociologists. The first volume of the American Journal of Sociology in 1895 included an article about the place and function of voluntary associations (Henderson). Since then research has continued, changing from discursive reports about formal participation in small communities to empirical studies which encompass both formal and informal networks in a variety of settings.

Recently attention has turned to the social participation of women. Sheila K. Johnson, an anthropologist, reports that the housewife has many different relationships: with husband, children, friends, neighbors, repairmen, shop clerks, children's teachers, children's friends, doctors.

> "Many busy housewives find that their lives are a good deal more varied than their husband's working day."
>
> New York Times Magazine
> August 27, 1972

Most American women interact with others as individuals, as members of small and larger groups, and in more or less structured situations. Most women have some home and household responsibilities, although the magnitude of these will depend on such factors as age, marital status, and number and ages of children. These home and

nold responsibilities rarely require, or are given, all of a
s waking hours, nor are all of these duties accomplished in soli-
There are, of course, some housebound, aged, or ill women who
n see relatives or friends, and there are some women who are
ary by choice. However, by choice or by necessity, most women
e in one or more forms of social participation.

Much social interaction is unstructured and informal: visits with
ives, shared meals with friends, "get-togethers" with neighbors.
ond and more formal kind of social interaction is participation in
izations: service, fraternal, political, social, professional
s, many of which could not function without the volunteer work con-
ted by women (and men). A third kind of social interaction, one
may involve a higher commitment and more responsibility, is
cipation in the labor force. Over half of all women aged 18 to 65
are currently in the work force.

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the interrelation-
among the three kinds of social participation. For example, does
oman who works full time interact with friends, relatives, and
oors as often as the woman who does not work outside of her home?
she belong to as many clubs and other organizations as the non-
r? Does she make additional friends at work and perhaps join a
and participate in plant-sponsored social activities?

A second aim is to explain the social participation of women as
ed to several social characteristics. Are the social participation
rns of women who are not currently in the labor force, but who have
employed, different from the participation patterns of women who

have never worked? Do women follow the participation patterns of their mothers? Is the geographical locale (farm, village, city) in which women were born and/or reared related to amount and kind of social activity? What is the relationship between social participation patterns and attitudes about life satisfaction, preferred life tempo, and self reliance?

George Simmel writes:

> "Man is determined, socially, in the sense that groups (such as a family, a church, a job, a few congenial others with whom he enjoys his leisure) intersect in his person by virtue of his affiliation with them."
>
> (Simmel and Bendix, 1955: 150)

Elizabeth Bott suggests that we must also aim to understand the relationship among people and groups (1971: 249).

Traditionally, the sphere of women was seen as "kirche, kuchen, and kinder." In actual fact, many women have worked outside of their homes and have been involved in community work with other than church-related groups. However, their familial responsibilities have often decreed part time rather than full time work, part year rather than year-round work, and an in-and-out work pattern. Although we are reputed to be a nation of "joiners", only about half of the women in our population belong to any clubs or associations (Hyman and Wright, 1971).

Most men are part of the larger society because of their labor force participation. Most women, in contrast, are part of smaller and more primary groups: family, neighborhood, kin (Litwak, 1961; Adams, 1971). However, as more and more women enter the work force, one should expect their participation in the larger society to extend, their integration in community life to increase.

Non-urban women, so often cast in the most traditional stay-at-home role, are the population investigated in this study. They are used as a group which may provide direction for future change. Fifty years ago women who did not live in large cities were less able to participate in the labor force than their city sisters. Jobs were often concentrated in the urban areas, and it was not easy to get into town. Being a rural or small town woman often entailed such responsibilities as large gardens, canning the produce therefrom, perhaps helping her husband, and maybe keeping a flock of chickens. These were undoubtedly economic contributions to the family, but they seldom took the wife away from home or farm and into a different social circle, separate from her household world. Because of distances involved and slow or poor transportation, it may have been more difficult for non-urban women to be members of formally organized groups and clubs.

Today the differences between non-urban and urban women are undoubtedly fewer, but non-urban women may still have fewer opportunities to participate in the work force or engage in other kinds of social interaction in spite of better transportation and communication systems, the homogenization of urban and near-rural areas, and less home production of foodstuffs.

Proportionally, fewer non-urban women may be in the work force than urban women, but the effect on their immediate community could be larger. What might be the effect on the local social organizations and the local social system if more and more women are in the labor force? Time is a zero-sum commodity: working may affect community activity involvement or reduce informal interaction. The loss of several

previously active volunteer workers to paid employment could be critical to a small town school board, P.T.A., or garden club.

As the changing structure of society makes more roles possible for women, will they become part of the larger group, the broader community? Under what conditions will this kind of social integration increase? And what may be the consequences of a high degree of participation in the larger group? This research study could not presume to answer all of these questions, but it could suggest some preliminary answers, and it should provide directions for further study.

Theory and Literature

Theories of Social Participation

Two general theories of social participation will be tested by the proposed research: a "substitution" theory and a "cumulative" theory.

The classic example of the substitution theory is Wirth's explanation of the prevalence of formal voluntary associations in the city as compared to the rural areas. According to Wirth, the individual became alienated from his extended family, and joining various groups satisfied affiliative needs and aided in accomplishing goals (Wirth, 1938). At about the same time, Goldhamer (1942) found that voluntary association participation was negatively related to neighborhood primary group cohesion. It would appear that if one did not participate in neighborhood or family activities, one might substitute participation in voluntary organizations.

Similar findings that individuals may turn from primary groups to membership in voluntary organizations in order to fulfill associational needs and to some degree find affectual support and relationships of a personal nature have been reported more recently (Babchuk and Edwards, 1965; Jacoby, 1965; Palisi, 1965; Rohrer and Dakin, 1965). Arnold Rose suggested that individuals turn to voluntary associations for self-expression, satisfaction of their interests, and a sense of security when these psychological satisfactions are not met by the declining influence of the family, church, or community (1965).

Williams (1970) and Curtis (1971) hypothesized that the American female's search for the equivalent of the male's occupational role is related to women's participation in philanthropic and community affairs. If she is unable or unwilling to enter the work force and wants some of the prestige that men find in careers, she may substitute volunteer work for paid employment.

Thus we find continued support for the position that an individual who does not find the satisfactions he or she is seeking in one area of his or her life will substitute activities in another sphere. He or she will engage in activity B instead of activity A. For example, a woman might substitute paid employment for voluntary work, formal associational participation for informal "neighboring", or informal social interaction for labor force involvement.

A second explanation of participation is the cumulative theory which hypothesizes that skills learned, values adopted, and opportunities available in one area of social participation may apply and lead to participation in other forms of social interaction. Experience in one

kind of participation may prepare for other kinds of participation, concurrently or perhaps sequentially. For example, the managerial skills learned as an officer in a voluntary organization may be excellent preparation for paid employment. Another form of cumulation can be envisioned as associated with socialization. Through socialization the individual is integrated into her society. The family unit is the earliest arena in which the person learns the skills and knowledge that enable her to participate in society. It is reasonable to expect that if a girl grows up with a mother who actively participated in the work force, in formal organizations, or informally, the daughter may follow this same pattern. This could be considered an intergenerational cumulation.

A number of researchers (Brown, 1954; Axelrod, 1956; Bell and Boat, 1957; Allardt, 1957; Litwak, 1961; Kasarda and Janowits, 1974) found that people who belong to formal groups and associations are more likely to participate in informal groups than are those who do not belong to any associations. This implies that formal group participation can result in friendships. The obverse also appears to be supported: those individuals who have more friends seem to belong to more associations (Scott, 1957; Lipset, 1962; Palisi, 1966; Booth and Babchuk, 1969; Booth, 1972). It is difficult to support causality in the relationships between associational membership and friendship group participation when synchronic data are used, but they are nevertheless related.

There is less information about the other possible relationships among the three kinds of social participation. For example, little is

known about the effect of formal organizational participation on labor force involvement. Payne (1969) suggests that participation in organizations may provide contacts with potential customers, clients, etc. The relationship between informal social participation and labor force involvement may be important. Many jobs are found through the informal network of friends and family. The learning of certain interactional skills in small informal groups could be helpful in paid employment situations (Back, 1972).

Some research indicates a relationship between labor force involvement and organizational participation. Wilensky (1961) concluded that participation in community life is a natural extension of participation in the labor force. Lipset et al. (1962) reported that work force participation resulted in increased participation in union activities. However, the relationship between work force participation and informal friendship group participation is less clear: a worker may make new friends on the job and spend less time with neighbors and friends after she enters the labor force. Dubin (1961) found that the workplace was not the breeding ground for informal relationships, especially for blue collar workers, while Lopata (1971) concluded that for non-manual employees, friendships at work were likely to be continued in the home situation.

Considerable support exists for the cumulative theory of social participation, especially in the relationships between formal associational participation and informal friendship group participation. For example, fellow workers may develop into friends with whom one has out-of-work relationships, or a relative may steer an unemployed cousin into

an opening in his department. Activity in area A may lead to activity in area B. The direction of causality implied in this theory is difficult to substantiate in the absence of longitudinal data. However, in this study work force participation history and mother's social participation can be considered as prior in time and thus perhaps causal when related to the present social participation of the respondents.

A third explanation of participation is possible: the null hypothesis that no relationship exists among the three kinds of social participation. It would suggest that as many employed women as not employed women participate in voluntary organization, that informal social group activities are pursued in reasonably equal measure by women who are active in clubs as by those who are not involved in voluntary organizations. Research support for this hypothesis is limited. There is some evidence that participation with family members does not reduce friendship participation (Rosow, 1968; Rosencranz et al., 1968). However, this is an intra-category relationship, not one among informal, formal, or work force participation.

Social Participation as Related to Selected Social Factors

As noted previously, one objective of this study is to describe and explain the social participation of women as related to several selected social characteristics. The literature on the social participation of women as related to such factors as age, education, income, socio-economic status, and marital status is fairly well-defined. There are relatively few contradictions among findings in spite of rather wide variations in methods used and populations studied. This study

investigated four factors that have been much less commonly used as independent variables:

1. labor force participation history,
2. social participation history of the respondent's mother,
3. type of geographical locale of origin,
4. three attitudinal responses on: life satisfaction, preferred life tempo, and self reliance.

The first social characteristic investigated is the labor force involvement history of the respondent. There is evidence that current or previous employment makes a difference in the amount and kind of social participation. Both Weil (1961) and Mahoney (1961) found that more women who had work experience anticipated re-entering the labor force than women who had not worked. This would support a cumulative position. On the other hand, Meadow (1965) found that employed women knew fewer of their neighbors than women who were not in the labor force. This supports a substitution position. To further complicate the situation, Bell and Force (1956), Ehrlich (1966), and Booth (1972) found very little difference in the voluntary association membership of employed or not employed women. This would tend to support a no-relationship explanation.

It is expected that analysis of the longitudinal labor force participation data in this study may help to clarify this situation. It is hypothesized that women who are working or who have worked participate more often in formal, informal, and labor force activities than women who have never worked. This would support a cumulative theory of social participation.

The second independent variable investigated is the social participation history of the mother of the respondent. The daughter may reflect the patterns of her mother in amount and kind of social participation. One of the interesting findings of the author's Master's thesis (Thomas, 1965) was that respondents whose mothers had never been employed did not plan to work themselves. Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) found that daughters of mothers who worked and perceived this as favorable or daughters of mothers who did not work and were dissatisfied with not working were themselves more often continuously employed. Krauss (1964) reported that daughters in working class families in which the mother had worked before marriage more often planned to go to college than daughters whose mothers had not worked. Baeumler (1965) confirmed that adolescents whose parents were affiliated with formal organizations would themselves be more likely than others to be members of associations.

This study then hypothesizes that daughters reflect the participation patterns--informal, formal, and work force--of their mothers. This would support an intergenerational cumulative theory of social participation patterns based on the socialization of the daughter.

The third independent variable proposed is geographical locale: the kind of residential area in which the respondent was born and reared (farm, open country non-farm, small town, medium-sized city, large city, very large city). Windham (1963) and Jitodai (1965) concluded that for women who moved to cities, rural or urban background was less important in relation to their formal group memberships than their migrant status and the numbers of years they have lived in the city.

Most of the research on social participation as related to residential area is concerned with present locale, not origins. Several researchers have noted that city dwellers participated in more voluntary association activity than did rural folk (Wright and Hyman, 1958; Zimmer and Hawley, 1959), and that in less urbanized areas there was more informal social participation (Greer, 1958). Later research found little difference between the formal participation of rural and urban peoples (Lazerwitz, 1962; Babchuk and Booth, 1969). However, Eitzen (1970) and Curtis (1971) found that residents of small cities participated in more voluntary associations than did residents of rural areas, small villages, or large cities.

Based on Eitzen and Curtis, this study hypothesizes that women who were born and reared primarily in small towns and medium-sized cities would participate in more informal, formal, and labor force activities than women whose origins were farm, open country non-farm, large city, or very large city. It is possible that small towns and medium sized cities offer experiences not available to either country or large city women. If the hypothesis is supported, the cumulative theory would be strengthened. A Wirthian substitution theory of social participation would be supported if the women with large or very large city origins participate in more formal activities and less informal social activities.

The fourth independent variable is not a structural one. Social participation will be related to three attitudinal responses of the respondents on life satisfaction, preferred tempo, and self reliance.

First, some evidence indicates that happier, more optimistic women participate more often in the labor force (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970) and interact more often with friends, neighbors, and in voluntary associations (Phillips, 1969) than do less happy women. Orden and Bradburn (1968) found that happier married women more often visited and entertained friends and went out to movies and restaurants than did the less happy married women. This study attempts to verify these finding. The causality could be reversed; working, club membership, or neighboring may result in more satisfaction with one's life.

The second attitude is concerned with preferred tempo of living. It is hypothesized that women who would choose an exciting, changing kind of life participate socially more than do women who prefer a steady, unchanging life style. This hypothesis is suggested by the writing of W. I. Thomas (1951); one of his four "basic ends of man" is the wish for new experience.

Third, considerable evidence shows that the alienated, powerless individual will less often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than the individual who is not alienated (Mizruchi, 1960; Eitzen, 1970; Swenson, 1970; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Bienvenue, 1971). In this study it is hypothesized that women who felt that they have more control over their lives (more self reliant women) will participate formally, informally, and in the labor force more than women who feel less control over their own lives.

Hypotheses

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the interrelationships among the three kinds of social participation: informal, formal, and labor force participation. Two general theories will be tested: a substitution theory and a cumulative theory. There is also the possibility that neither will be supported.

Hypothesis 1 (substitution theory):

The substitution theory of social participation will be supported if:

1. respondents who are higher participators in one kind of social activity (labor force participation; participation in formally organized clubs; informal interaction with friends, neighbors, and relatives) are lower participators in the other kinds of social activity.

Hypothesis 2 (cumulative theory):

The cumulative theory of social participation will be supported if:

2. respondents who are higher participators in one kind of social activity are also higher participators in other kinds of social activity.

The second part of this study aims to describe the social participation of women as related to several selected social characteristics.

Hypothesis 3 (labor force participation history):

The cumulative theory of social participation will be supported if:

3. respondents who are currently in the labor force or who have been in the labor force will be higher participators in informal and formal social activities than women who have never worked for pay away from home.

Hypothesis 4 (mother's participation history):

An intergenerational cumulative theory of social participation will be supported if:

4. respondents whose mothers were higher participators in social activities (informal, formal, or labor force) will themselves be higher participators than respondents whose mothers were lower social participators.

Hypothesis 5 (area type origins):

The cumulative theory of social participation will be supported if:

5. respondents who were born and/or reared primarily in small towns and medium sized cities participate more in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will respondents who were born and/or reared primarily in farm or open country non-farm areas or in large or very large cities.

Hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 (attitudes):

6. Those respondents who report more satisfaction with their lives will more often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will respondents who report a less happy life.

7. Those respondents who report that they prefer an exciting, eventful life will more often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will respondents who prefer a steady, unchanging life tempo.

8. Those respondents who report that they feel that "a person can do much to make his life happier" will more often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will the less self reliant respondents who agree that "a person can do little to make his life happier."

Data Collection

The major part of the data to be used in this study was collected by The Gallup Organization, Inc. in August of 1970, as commissioned by the Agricultural Experiment Station, Sociology Department, Michigan State University. The sample of Michigan residents interviewed was designed to approximate the characteristics of the adult civilian population living in rural areas which was defined as places under 2,500 population and open country.

The rural areas of the state were stratified geographically and by size of community. The sample was drawn with probability of selection proportional to size of population of minor civil divisions (townships). The selected townships, located in 33 counties, were divided into segments of approximately equal population. Within each township one segment was chosen at random. Each selected segment had an estimated 75 to 100 households. These "sampling points" were in some cases part of a village or town and in other cases a segment of open country. Approximately 10 interviews were conducted in each randomly selected sampling point. A total of 343 non-urban Michigan residents were interviewed, 179 of whom were women and the subjects of this study. Parts of the interview schedule pertinent to this study are included in the appendix.

Supplementary data was collected by the author in the spring of 1972. Postcards, letters, and finally telephone calls resulted in additional information pertinent to the study from nearly 90% of the original respondents. A copy of the supplementary data questionnaire is also included in the appendix.

It is not to be presumed that all, or even a majority, of the non-urban women in this study are members of farm families. Only 28% (or 50) of the 179 women could be so designated. It would appear that at least some of the non-farm women might be clsssified as "suburban"; they live in small towns or open country that is adjacent to or very near more densely populated places. Most of the townships selected were in the southern third of the lower peninsula of Michigan where most of the state's population is concentrated.

Description of the Sample

The 179 non-urban Michigan women in the sample should be representative of all Michigan women who do not live in cities of more than 2500 population. Following is a brief summary of their characteristics:

1. Only 28% (or 50) of the women can properly be called "farm women" on the basis of farm size, dollar value of crops, and their reporting that farming was their or their spouse's major occupation (even if they did not live on a farm).
2. Most of the women have worked in the labor force at some time in their lives. Only 10% (or 18) had never worked. Another 12% (21) had worked less than a year.
3. Twenty per cent (or 36) of the 179 women were currently working, 13% (or 24) full time and 7% (or 12) part time.
4. Half of the women (89 of the 179) belonged to no formally organized group or club. This agrees with the Hyman and Wright study (1971). Of those who did belong to a club or clubs, half of these (45) belonged to only one or two groups.
5. The women reported that on the average they got together informally at least once a week with children not living at home or other relatives; they visited with neighbors about once a month, and with old friends a few times a year. They saw people their husband works with perhaps once a year, on the average. They reported that, not including relatives, they had an average of six or seven close friends.
6. Twenty one per cent (or 37) of the women were under 30 years

of age; 21% (or 38) were over 60 years. The median age category was 40-44 years.

7. Thirty-five per cent (or 63) of the women had not completed high school, 40% (or 72) were high school graduates, and 25% (or 44) had schooling beyond high school (college, business, technical, or trade school).
8. Most of the women were married (82% or 147). A few were single, divorced or separated (4% or 8), and 13% (or 23) were widows.
9. The number of children living at home was not asked on the original questionnaire but was included in the second report. Of the 157 who were contacted in the second round, 39% (or 62) reported no children at home. Approximately 14% reported one, two, three, or four children each (21, 21, 24, and 19), and 7% reported five or more (10 total).
10. Very few of the respondents had been born in large or very large cities: 13% or 23.
11. Very few had been reared in large or very large cities: 12% or 21.
12. They had lived in several residences (homes). The median number of residences reported was 6, with 34% (or 61) reporting having lived in 8 or more residences.
13. The median years of schooling completed by their fathers was eighth grade.
14. Mother's activities were reported in the second questionnaire; 63% (95) of the women reported that their mothers had worked

for pay outside their homes.

15. When questioned about their husband's occupation, 8% (14) reported that their husbands had professional or technical occupations, 16% (28) reported farmer husbands, and 12% (20) reported that their husbands had managerial occupations. The two largest categories were craftsmen (26% or 46) and operatives (24% or 42). The remaining 14% were divided among clerical, sales, service, laborers, "never worked", and 7 women who chose not to answer the question or to whom the question did not apply.
16. The respondents watched three hours of television a day, on the average. They listened to an average of two hours of radio a day.
17. The median number of magazines read regularly was three; the median number of newspapers was two.
18. Nearly three quarters of them voted in the last presidential election (74% or 133). Fewer voted in the last gubernatorial election (58% or 104).
19. When asked where they stood on an 11 point scale (0 low, 10 high) in respect to their feelings of life satisfaction (where they were in relation to the best or worst possible life), the median score was 7.
20. The women were asked about their desired tempo of living. With an 11 point scale, 0 specifying a steady, unchanging kind of life and 10 an exciting life, full of change, the median score was 5.

21. They were asked how they felt about the statement, "A person can do much to make his life happier." Still with the 11 point scale, 0 meant that they thought that one can do very little, 10 that one can do very much. The respondents showed a median between 7 and 8.

Data Analysis

The character of the data used in this study, mainly nominal or ordinal, does not allow the use of parametric analytical techniques. Yule's Q coefficient was therefore used as the measure of association. James Davis' Elementary Survey Analysis (1971) offered techniques of data analysis and presentation, and it was consulted often, as was an earlier (1964) mimeo.

Yule's Q is computed from a fourfold table, using cross products. The formula is simple: cross product difference divided by cross product sum. Yule's Q requires dichotomized data, which was done by using the median as the cutting point. The extremes for Q values are +1.00 and -1.00. Davis has set down conventions for describing Q values; for example, a Q value between +.30 and +.49 is to be considered a moderate positive association (p. 49). For further discussion of Yule's Q see pages 30-50 and 81-86 of Davis' book.

Plan of Presentation

Chapter II will look at the interrelationships among the social participation indicators: current labor force participation, labor

force participation history, participation in formally organized groups and clubs, and informal interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives.

Chapter III will report the congruences between the social participation of the respondent with the social participation of her mother.

Chapter IV will present the effect of type of area where born or where reared (farm, open country non-farm, small town, medium sized city, large city, very large city) on the social participation of the non-urban Michigan women who are the respondents in this study.

Chapter V will relate the social participation of the respondents with three attitudes: life satisfaction, preferred life tempo, and self reliance.

To further explicate the relationships in Chapters II through V, the control variables of age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) are used.

Chapter VI summarizes the research, contains profiles of the most active and the least active social participators, presents conclusions, and suggests implications.

CHAPTER II

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIAL PARTICIPATION INDICATORS

Introduction and Methodology

This study aims to find support for one of two theories of social participation. Evidence supporting either a substitution theory or a cumulative theory of social participation will be based on the relationships among labor force participation (current and historical), participation in formally organized groups, and informal social interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives.

Indicators of the four variables used in this analysis were operationalized as follows:

1. "Labor force participation history" data for women is not simple to collect. Their work history often is not the usually direct experience of men: school, work, retire, with perhaps intervals of unemployment. Women typically have an in-and-out pattern, and they work part time and/or seasonally more often than men. These factors combine to make labor force participation difficult to recall accurately, especially for older women. There is the added complication of "home industry"; chickens and eggs, sewing, arts and crafts hobbies, or even baby-sitting may make a substantial contribution to family income--should this be counted as "work"? In this study labor force participation refers only to jobs away from home. Labor force participation was

indicated by answers to a set of questions such as, "Are you retired or unemployed from a job outside the home? How many years did you work at your last job? How many years have you worked at your present job? Did you have a job ten years ago? Have you ever had a job?" These answers were checked by replies on the supplementary information cards which asked for numbers of years the respondent had worked full or part time. We found that 78.2% (140) of the women in this study have worked more than a year outside the home; they had a "labor force participation history".

2. "Current labor force participation" was revealed by the question, "Are you now employed outside the home, full or part time?" Only 20% of the 179 women (or 36) were currently in the labor force, 24 full time and 12 part time.

3. "Formal participation" refers to participation in formally organized clubs and other organizations such as service groups, labor unions, farm organizations, homemaker clubs, P.T.A.s, church guilds or clubs (but not church membership itself), fraternal or social organizations. A modified Chapin index was constructed: one point for membership in an organization, one point for being an officer in the organization, and one point for participating once a month or oftener. Half of the women in the study (89 of 179) belonged to no organization (score zero); the other half belonged to at least one club. Half of the women who did participate formally (45 of 90) had a score of only 1 or 2. Twenty seven per cent of the formal participators had a score of 3 or 4, and 23% were very active in clubs with a score of 5 to 9.

A profile of the most active women as compared with the least active

will be reported later in the study.

4. "Informal participation" was assessed by answers to six questions in the original questionnaire about frequency of interaction with neighbors, friends met at work, other friends, children not living at home, other relatives, and a question which asked about the number of close friends the respondent had. The individual answers to each of the six questions were distributed on a four-point scale, with the median between "two" and "three". The total points for all six questions were summed and then divided by six to arrive at an informal participation score for each respondent. These scores were then coded on a one through six scale (one = very little informal participation, six = much informal participation) in order to differentiate the more active (57.5%) from the less active (42.5%) respondents.

Contingency tables were compiled, based on responses to questions in the interview schedule and supplementary information cards. These tables were reduced by collapsing the categories as near to the median as possible, resulting in 2 x 2 tables. The measure of relationship chosen for the analysis was Yule's Q. Three-way tables were constructed to further delineate and/or support relationships. They were analyzed by using the method suggested by Davis (1971). A further explication of factors affecting the relationships was sought by examining the two "conditions" that make up the partial Q values (see Davis, pp. 81-132).

Interrelationships: Two-variable Analysis

Each of the four measures of social participation (labor force participation history, current labor force participation, formal

participation, informal participation) was related to the other measures. A moderate to substantial relationship between types of social participation would support a cumulative theory of participation. A negative relationship between types of social participation would support a substitution theory. The third possibility is that there would be no relationship between the variables. Tables 1 through 5 present this data, based on collapsed contingency tables and expressed as Q values.

Table 1. Labor Force History and Formal Participation for Non-urban Michigan Women

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Per Cent	Base N
Labor Force History	1+ years	56	140
	Never, < 1 year	28	39

Q = .53 N = 179

Table 1 shows a substantial positive relationship between labor force participation and participation in formally organized groups (Q = .53). This table shows that women who have worked will more often belong to clubs and other formally organized associations than will women who have not worked. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of the women who have never worked are presently not members of any club or organized group.

Table 2 shows a moderate positive relationship between labor force participation history and informal participation (Q = .29). Women who have participated in the labor force are involved with "more" informal

Table 2. Labor Force History and Informal Participation (Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Per Cent	Base N
Labor Force History	1+ years	61	140
	Never, < 1 year	46	39

Q = .29 N = 179

social interaction more often than are women who have never worked outside of their homes.

Table 3 shows a moderate positive relationship between participation in formally organized groups and informal participation (Q = .40). Women who belong to at least one club or formal group are more often "more" involved in informal friendship relationships than are women who do not have any formal affiliations.

Table 3. Formal Participation and Informal Participation (Per Cent Participating Informally "More"

		Per Cent	Base N
Formal Participation	Some	68	90
	None	47	89

Q = .40 N = 179

Tables 4 and 5 which present <u>current</u> labor force participation as related to formal and informal participation can be compared with Tables 1 and 2 which presented labor force participation <u>history</u> as related to formal and informal participation.

Table 4. Current Labor Force Participation and Formal Participation (Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Per Cent	Base N
Current Labor Force Participation	In Labor Force	64	36
	Not Working Now	47	143

Q = .34 N = 179

Table 4 shows a moderate positive relationship between current participation in the labor force and participation in formally organized groups (Q = .34). In spite of time limitations, women who are working, either full or part time, are more often involved in clubs than are women who are not working away from home.

Table 5. Current Labor Force Participation and Informal Participation (Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Per Cent	Base N
Current Labor Force Participation	In Labor Force	53	36
	Not Working Now	59	143

Q = -.12 N = 179

Table 5 shows a slight negative relationship between current work force participation and informal participation with friends, neighbors, and relatives (Q = -.12). A majority of women in both groups (those who are now working and those who are not now working) were more often involved in "more" rather than "less" informal friendship relationships.

However, those women who were not currently working seem to have "more" informal participation. They may have more unscheduled time which could allow for more unplanned informal social activity.

The relationship between labor force history and current labor force participation has a Q value of .85. However, it must be pointed out that present labor force participation is subsumed under labor force history. If you are working, you have worked. Conversely, only a quarter (25%) of the women who have worked are currently in the labor force.

Based on the zero-order relationships presented in Tables 1-4, there is a moderate to substantial positive association between four of the five relationships. This supports a cumulative theory of social participation.

The data in Table 1 would support a cumulative theory of social participation rather than a substitution theory because women who have participated in one kind of social activity (labor force participation history) appear to be participating in another kind of social activity (formal participation). This does not directly prove a cumulative theory, but the support is in that direction rather than toward a substitution theory. If a substitution theory were to be supported, a negative relationship between kinds of social participation would be expected.

Table 2 data also supports a cumulative theory of social participation. Those women who participate in one area (labor force participation history) are more likely to participate in another (informal participation). Again, in Table 3 a cumulative theory of social

participation is supported if not proved. Respondents who were active formally were more likely to be active informally. Table 4 also supports a cumulative position in social participation theory. More of the women who are currently working belong to clubs than do non-working women.

Table 5 does not support a cumulative position. It provides such minimal support for a substitution theory that it hardly merits the suggestion. Not only is the Q value of -.12 barely into the -.10 to -.29 category that Davis uses as the "low negative relationship", but both working women and those not in the labor force have more informal relationships. Therefore it was concluded that Table 5 supports a no-relationship theory of social participation. However, two-way analysis is not conclusive; further analysis should help decide the issue.

Interrelationships: Three-variable Analysis

Two-variable analysis is but a beginning.

> "The most important systematic way of examining the relationship between two variables is to introduce a third variable.... Each time that one controls on a relevant variable and finds that the relationship remains, one's confidence that the relationship is real increases and the danger of misleading interpretation decreases."
>
> (Rosenberg, 1968: 24,37)

Therefore, 6 three-way tables were prepared. The results of both zero order and first order analyses are summarized in Table 6. Tables 7 through 10 are an abbreviated presentation of the actual three-variable analysis data.

Davis (1971) suggests that certain combinations of zero order and first order (partial) coefficients are of special importance in research.

Table 6. Social Participation of Non-urban Michigan Women: Labor Force, Formal, and Informal

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q value	Conditions	Conditional Q value
MODEL 1							
(1)	Labor Force History	Formal Participation	.53	Informal Participation	.52	More inf. ppn. Less inf. ppn.	.67 .28
(2)	Labor Force History	Informal Participation	.29	Formal Participation	.18	Some for. ppn. No for. ppm.	.49 .02
(3)	Formal Participation	Informal Participation	.40	Labor Force History	.43	Worked 1+ years Never worked Worked < 1 year	.46 -.02
MODEL 2							
(4)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Formal Participation	.34	Informal Participation	.38	More inf. ppn. Less inf. ppn.	.38 .37
(5)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Informal Participation	-.12	Formal Participation	-.20	Some for. ppn. No for. ppn.	-.20 -.21
(6)	Formal Participation	Informal Participation	.40	Current Labor Force Part'n	.43	Now working Not now working	.43 .43

"When the zero order is nonnegligible but the partial is .00 or negligible, we say that "T explains Y". That is, the reason we observed that XY correlation was because we had not controlled for T, and when we do, the relationship is no longer there."

... "Sometimes, T does not affect the XY relationship at all and the partial correlation is the same as the zero order. Such an outcome is important when you are testing the hypothesis that X and Y are "really correlated" and you want to show that the correlation is not produced by some outside variable."

... "It can happen that the partial correlation is even stronger than the zero order. If so, we call T a "suppressor" variable because it has been acting to suppress the "true" strength of the relationship which only becomes apparent when T has been controlled."

"A fourth outcome, "specification", is a little different. The partial correlation combines the results of two conditional correlations.... Occasionally, these two conditional Q's are quite different in size and sometimes even have opposite signs. When this happens, we say that "T specifies XY" in that you have to specify which category of T you are talking about before you can say how strong or weak the XY correlation is."

(page 82)

"... differences of less than 10 points on the scale of Q should be considered negligible."

(page 103)

Table 7. Labor Force Participation History, Formal Participation, and Informal Participation (line 1 in Table 6)

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Labor Force History	
		Never < 1 year	1+ years
Informal Participation	More	28% (18)*	66% (85)
	Less	29% (21)	42% (55)

*Base N

Q Values: partial .52 N = 179

conditional: more inf. ppn. .67; less inf. ppn. .28

Table 7 shows that women who interact with friends and neighbors (informal participation) "more" and who have worked more than one year are more often found to belong to clubs and other formally organized groups (formal participation) than women who have not worked and who participate informally "less". However, there is the same proportion of formal participants (club members) among women who have never worked or who have worked less than one year, regardless of level of informal participation. The partial Q value of .52 does not explain the zero order Q value of .53. The partial can be dissected into two conditional relationships. Women with more informal participation show a strengthened conditional Q value of .67. Women who report less informal participation show a depressed conditional Q value of .28. This specifies that the relationship between labor force participation history and formal participation is stronger for those women who also report more rather than less informal participation. The findings of Table 7 reinforce the zero order relationship findings and support a cumulative theory of social participation. Women who participate more in one kind of social interaction more often participate in other kinds.

Table 8 shows that women who have worked and who belong to at least one club or other formally organized group are more likely to participate informally "more" than all other women. The partial Q value is .18; this indicates that perhaps some of the original relationship between labor force history and informal participation (zero order Q = .29) can be explained by participation in clubs. Again, as in Table 7, the conditionals are disparate. Women who belong to clubs show a strengthened conditional Q value of .49; those who do not participate

Table 8. Labor Force Participation History, Informal Participation, and Formal Participation (line 2 in Table 6)
(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Labor Force History	
		Never < 1 year	1+ years
Formal Participation	Some	45% (11)*	71% (79)
	None	46% (28)	49% (61)

*Base N

Q Values: partial .18 N = 179
conditional: some for. ppn. .49
no for. ppn. .02

formally show a no-relationship .02 conditional Q value. This indicates a substantial relationship between labor force history and informal participation for women who have some formal participation. That relationship is virtually absent for the women who do not belong to any formally organized groups. This finding strengthens the position of a cumulative theory of social participation because having worked resulted in more formal participation. Even though the partial Q value is less than that for the zero order relationship (.18 and .29 respectively), the relationship is strengthened when only those women with some formal participation are considered (conditional Q = .49).

When the independent variable and control variables are reversed, Table 8 shows that women who belong to clubs and who have worked more than a year will more often participate with friends and neighbors "more". See line 3 in Table 6. The partial Q value is .43, which is

only slightly larger than the zero order Q value of .40. The original relationship is not affected. As in Tables 7 and 8, the conditionals are disparate. There is a substantial relationship between informal and formal participation for women who have worked (conditional Q = .46). The conditional Q value for the relationship between formal and informal participation is -.02 for women who have never worked or who have worked less than one year. The findings of this reinterpretation of Table 8, combined with the conditional Q values, support a cumulative theory of social participation. Women do not appear to be substituting activities; if they participate in one, they are more liable to participate in others. That is how the cumulative position has been defined operationally in this study.

Lines 1, 2, and 3 of Table 6 show that the women who have not been in the labor force or who have worked less than one year do not act within the cumulative pattern, as shown by the conditional Q values.

Tables 7 and 8, which posit labor force participation history as an antecedent variable show a consistency of results which strongly supports the cumulative theory of social participation, especially for women who participate socially (as defined in this study). Tables 9 and 10, which have current labor force participation as an antecedent variable do not have the consistency of the first set.

Table 9 indicates that women who are in the labor force and who are more active in relationships with friends and neighbors are also more likely to belong to formally organized groups. Conversely, women who are least likely to participate formally are those who are not in the labor force and who have fewer informal relationships. The partial

Table 9. Current Labor Force Participation, Formal Participation, and Informal Participation (line 4 in Table 6)

(Per cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Current Labor Force Participation	
		Not in Labor Force	Now Working
Informal Participation	More	56% (84)*	77% (19)
	Less	34% (59)	53% (17)

*Base N

Q Values: partial .38 N = 179

conditional: more inf. ppn. .38
less inf. ppn. .37

Q value is .38 which is slightly larger than the zero order Q value for the relationship of labor force now and formal participation of .34. The partial does not explain the zero order finding. Unlike the first set of tables, the conditionals are also consistently supportive: .38 for women who participate informally more, .37 for women who participate informally less. Table 9 supports a cumulative theory of social participation because women who participated in one kind of social interaction were more liable to participate in others.

Table 10 shows that the women who are most likely to participate informally "more" are those who are not now in the labor force and who belong to at least one club. The women least likely to interact with friends and neighbors "more" are those who belong to no clubs, especially those who are now working. The partial Q value is -.20. The zero order relationship between current labor force participation and informal

Table 10. Current Labor Force Participation, Informal Participation, and Formal Participation (line 5 in Table 6)
(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Current Labor Force Participation	
		Not in Labor Force	Now Working
Formal Participation	Some	70% (67)*	61% (23)
	None	49% (76)	38% (13)

*Base N

Q Values: partial -.20 N = 179

conditional: some for. ppn. -.20

no for. ppn. -.21

participation showed a Q value of -.12 which is weak and could be interpreted to support the third explanation of social participation: no relationship. However, the partial tables reveal a Q value of -.20 which cannot be called "no relationship". In addition, the conditional Q values are consistent with the partials (-.20 and -.21). Work force participation would seem to have a negative influence on informal social participation. It can be concluded that Table 10, with its low negative association, provides limited support for a substitution theory of social participation. Working outside the home seems to allow formal participation more readily than does informal participation (compare Tables 9 and 10). This could perhaps be explained by time commitment since formal participation as defined in this study can be no more than belonging to a P.T.A., while informal participation could take considerably larger chunks of time, socializing with friends, relatives, and

neighbors. Another interesting point can be seen when Tables 8 and 10 are compared. The test variable in each is formal participation, and in both cases it helps to explain the original relationship. This suggests that participation in formally organized groups or clubs may result in more informal participation.

When Current Labor Force and Formal Participation are reversed in Table 10, it is revealed that women who participate informally "more" are more often found among those who belong to clubs and who are not currently in the labor force. See line 6 in Table 6. The partial Q value is .43, slightly higher than the zero order Q value for the relationship between formal and informal participation of .40. Thus, it can be said that the partial does not explain the original finding. Nor do the conditionals; both women who are working and those who are not working show Q values of .43. Formal participation has a moderate to substantial relationship with informal participation, whether women are working or not. A cumulative theory of social participation is supported, especially for women who participate.

Control Variables: Age, Education, Social Class

Introduction

Control variables were used in an effort to further explicate the relationships between the independent variables used in this study and the dependent variables of current labor force participation, labor force participation history, formal participation, and informal participation. The control variables used were age, education, and social class (husband's occupation was used as an indicator of social class).

In addition, marital status, number of children at home, and whether the respondent was a "farm wife" has been related to social participation.

These control variables were chosen for several reasons. It is reasonable to expect that older or less educated women might not participate in the same activities or to the same extent as younger women or those with more schooling on the basis of interest, opportunity, and/or experience. Historically sociologists have found it useful to control for age, education, and social class as important variables in sociological research. The research is replete with studies which used these three control variables, so the present research can build on these previous studies, adding support or lack of support to previous findings. The results of some pertinent studies are presented.

Age

When categorized on age, two groups of women are more often found in the labor force: those who are 18 to 25 years of age, and those who are 45 to 54 years old. The median age of women in the labor force in the United States is just under 40 years of age. There is more probability that older women (45-54 years) will be in the labor force if they have no children at home. At the present time, the percentage of younger women (under 30 years) in the labor force is growing (Cohen, 1969; Sweet, 1970; Hedges, 1970).

The relationship between age and participation in formally organized groups and associations is not clear, burdened by the problems of how a formal voluntary organization is defined, varying test populations, etc. However, there seems to be some consensus that youngest

and oldest women had fewer memberships than did the middle group. Participation increased through the twenties, thirties, and forties, and then decreased. This was particularly true for low economic areas; in high economic areas participation increased directly with age (Foskett, 1955; Bell and Force, 1956; Eitzen, 1970).

When informal social participation was related to age it was found that as they got older, suburban housewives and their husbands saw other couples less often. Younger and older wives had more close friends than did middle-aged wives. Excluding a middle group, younger women did more informal participating than did older women (Williams, 1958; Rosenkranz, Pihlblad and McNevin, 1968; Lopata, 1971).

Education

Education is a very important, some would say the prime determinent of female labor force participation (Weil, 1961; Thomas, 1965; Hedges, 1970). There seems to be little dispute of this statement.

When education is related to membership in clubs, there is a positive relationship ranging from slight to strong, with more support for a strong relationship: the more educated women are more likely to belong to clubs than are less educated women (Axelrod, 1956; Scott, 1957; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Hodge and Trieman, 1968).

The pattern continues when education is related to informal participation. Among suburbanite women, those who did the most neighboring were more likely to have a college degree than were the less neighborly women. Small town women with more education did more informal participating (Rosencranz et al., 1968; Lopata, 1971).

Social Class

The probability of employment decreases as the income/need ratio becomes higher. Women whose husbands make a reasonably adequate salary are less inclined to work; they do not have to work (although many of them want to and do). If income is a measure of social class, and within broad limits it can be argued that this is so, then one would expect fewer women of higher social class to work than women from a lower social class. Also, there is evidence of a strong negative correlation between father's occupational level and wife's working; if father's occupational level can be taken as a measure of social class, this would add support to the previous statement (Myers; 1964; Sweet 1970). In the current study husband's occupation was chosen as the indicator of social class.

A strong relationships exists between social class (usually operationalized as socio-economic status) and participation in formally organized groups and organizations. This seems to be more true for middle class people than for women from low socio-economic levels (Bell and Force, 1956; Wright and Hyman, 1958; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1967).

The literature on social class and informal participation is not definitive. Williams (1958) found a direct relationship between the social class status of women and having and seeing friends. Axelrod (1956) reported that people in the highest and lowest status groups visited relatives least. Litwak (1960) found the opposite: more family visiting in higher social classes. Curtis and Zurcher (1971) reported that for the very lowest social classes, family and neighborhood contacts were the most important.

Operationalization of Control Variables

The respondents in this study were asked their age, and the interviewer recorded it in five year groupings. In answer to the question, "What was your age on your last birthday?" they answered:

under 25	23	
25-29	14	
30-34	18	
35-39	16	
40-44	29	median
45-49	10	
50-54	22	
55-59	9	
60 and over	38	
	N = 179	

Those women who were 45 years old and older (N = 79) were considered "older" in this study. Those under 45 years were "younger" (N = 100).

Education was measured as years of schooling. In answer to the question, "What was the last grade or class you completed in school?" they answered:

none	0	
grades 1-4	2	
grades, 5, 6, 7	10	
grade 8	18	
high school, incomplete	33	median
high school graduate	72	
technical, trade, business school	11	
college, incomplete	22	
college graduate	11	
	N = 179	

Those women who had not completed high school (N = 63) made up the less educated group in this study; those who had at least finished high school were considered the more educated (N = 116).

Husband's occupation was chosen as the measure of social class to be used in this study. It is recognized by the author that social class is a complex phenomenon, and that husband's occupation (or father's education, or mother's education, or her own education) cannot be a completely valid indicator. It was decided not to use wife's occupation as the indicator of social class. Even though 90% of the women had worked, when they were asked "What is or was your occupation?" half of them said "housewife". Respondents were asked, "What is (was) your husband's occupation?" Their answers were:

professional, technical	-- 14
farm	-- 28
manager, general	-- 1
manager, salaried	-- 7
manager, self-employed	-- 12
clerical	-- 5
sales	-- 2
craftsman	-- 46
operative	-- 42
service	-- 6
farm labor	-- 1
other labor	-- 4
never worked	-- 1
unemployed*	-- 4
N	= 173
NA	= 6
Total	= 179

*This was not one of the original categories, but interviewers recorded four husbands as unemployed and did not ascertain usual or former occupations.

It was decided that "higher" social class would include not only professional and technical and the three managerial categories, but also the farm husbands. Farmers were included because it was recognized that an important part of the work of many Michigan farmers is managerial. According to Census Bureau occupational rankings, farm owners and managers are listed directly below non-farm professionals and managers.

The closest category to farmers in terms of job content is small businessmen (Rodefeld, 1974). There were 62 women in the "higher" social class category and 111 in the "lower" social class category.

Relationships Between the Control Variables

Table 11 shows the relationships between the control variables of age, education, and husband's occupation (the measure of social class).

It is not surprising to find a substantial negative relationship in Table 11 between age and education (Q = -.66). Older women have fewer years of schooling. This is not explained by the partial when controlled on husband's occupation (Q = -.68). The conditionals are not discrepant.

There is a moderate positive relationship between husband's occupation and respondent's age (Q = .28). More of the older women had professional, managerial, or farmer husbands than did the younger women. This, too, is not an unexpected finding. It takes years to become a professional or a manager. When this relationship was controlled for education, the partial Q value increased to .36. This may indicate that the "true" strength of the original relationship was suppressed, and that when controlled for education it emerged as a slightly stronger relationship. The conditionals are not discrepant.

One would expect that education would be related to occupation; not only does it take years to become a professional or a manager, but it usually takes schooling. There is a strong correlation between husband's and wife's education, so it is probable that wife's education and husband's occupation are related.

Table 11. Relationships Between the Control Variables of Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
Age	Education	-.66	Husband's Occupation	-.68	P.M.F.*	-.68
					Other	-.69
Husband's Occupation	Age	.28	Education	.36	12+ yrs.	.37
					<12 yrs.	.35
Education	Husband's Occupation	.13	Age	.27	45+ yrs.	.28
					<45 yrs.	.26

*Professional, manager, farmer

There is also a low positive relationship between education and husband's occupation (Q = .13). When this relationship was controlled for age, this relationship emerged as stronger (Q = .27). Age had acted as a suppressor, hiding the "true" relationship. The conditionals were not discrepant.

Control Variables and Social Participation

Table 12 shows the relationship between the several kinds of social participation and the control variables of age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation).

Table 12. Relationships Between Social Participation and Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (expressed as Q Values)

	Age	Education	Husband's Occupation
Current Labor Force Participation	.01	.37	.27
Labor Force Participation History	.02	.61	.22
Formal Participation	.28	.32	.43
Informal Participation	-.29	.16	.14

The strongest relationship revealed in Table 12 is that between a woman's education and her labor force participation history (Q = .61). There is also a moderate positive relationship between education and current labor force participation (Q = .37). This supports previous findings that women with more education are more likely to be working or to

have worked than are women who have less schooling (Weil, 1961; Thomas, 1965; Hedges, 1970). The relationship between education and formal participation has a Q value of .32; women with longer schooling more often belong to clubs than do women with less schooling. This, too, supports findings in the literature (Axelrod, 1956; Scott, 1957; Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1968; Hodge and Trieman, 1968).

There is no relationship between labor force involvement and age. This is rather surprising, but perhaps can be explained as a result of the way "age" is defined in this study. The break (between 44 and 45 years) is not far from the median age of women employees as shown in the literature (39.5 years), so the women in this study are falling on both sides of this median, thus showing no relationship. The moderate positive relationship between age and formal participation (Q = .28) indicates that older women (45+ years of age in this study) belong to more clubs than do younger women. The moderate negative relationship (Q = -.29) between age and informal participation reveals that the older women in this study do less neighboring and interacting with friends than do the younger women.

Women whose husbands were professional, managerial, or farmers were more likely to belong to clubs than were women whose husbands had other jobs (Q = .43). This supports previous findings of Bell and Force (1956), Wright and Hyman (1958), and Hagedorn and Labovitz (1967).

The relationship between husband's occupation and wife's labor force involvement is surprising, although not strong (Q = .27 and .22). It is possible that the economic level of some managerial, professional, and farm wives was low enough that they thought they had to work away

from home. However, if the husband's income was more than $10,000 a year, the wife was not very likely to be working (Q = -.44) or to have worked (Q = -.17).

Perhaps some of the managerial, professional, or farm wives chose to work even if that was not financially necessary. There was no relationship between husbands making over $10,000 a year and wife's long-term employment (5 years or more). These career women may have different reasons for working than those who "help out in a pinch." It should be noted that "higher" social class as defined in this study as professional, managerial, or farm husbands is not equal to "upper" class in previous studies.

Control Variables and Relationships Among Social Participation Indicators

Age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) were introduced as control variables in the relationships among the four kinds of social participation. Tables 13, 14, and 15 report these relationships.

Control Variables and the Interrelationships Between Different Kinds of Social Participation

Table 13 shows that the partial Q values obtained when age is controlled in the relationships between various kinds of social participation are not different from the zero order Q values (not more than .10 difference). Only one conditional relationship in this series is markedly discrepant (difference of more than .40): more older women now in the labor force also belong to clubs than do younger women. See line 1 in Table 13. The reason for this might be that the older women

Table 13. Interrelationships of Different Kinds of Social Participation, Controlled for Age

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Values
(1)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Formal Partic'n	.34	Age	.32	45+ years	.60
						<45 years	.15
(2)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Informal Partic'n	-.12	Age	-.12	45+ years	-.14
						<45 years	-.11
(3)	Labor Force Part'n History	Formal Partic'n	.53	Age	.54	45+ years	.54
						<45 years	.55
(4)	Labor Force Part'n History	Informal Partic'n	.29	Age	.28	45+ years	.49
						<45 years	.13
(5)	Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n	.40	Age	.48	45+ years	.33
						<45 years	.57

have fewer children at home, and perhaps the reduced home responsibilities allow more time for participation in formally organized groups. In general, age does not seem important in the relationships between the various kinds of social participation.

Table 14 shows that the partial Q values obtained when education is controlled in the relationship between the different kinds of social participation are also not vastly different from the zero order Q values. And again, only one conditional relationship is markedly discrepant (see line 2 in Table 14). There is a slight negative relationship between current labor force participation and informal participation; women who are working do less neighboring than do women who are not working (zero order Q = -.12, partial Q = -.19). This is more pronounced if the woman had more years of schooling (conditional Q = -.27). This mildly supports a substitution theory of participation. The working woman with less than 12 years of school more often sees her friends and neighbors (Q = .23), and this finding mildly supports a cumulative theory. However, education does not emerge as an important control variable in the interrelationships between the various kinds of social participation.

Social class, with husband's occupation as the indicator, is the third control variable used, as shown in Table 15. The partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values. Two conditionals will be examined: the relationship of labor force participation history on both formal and informal participation. There is a much stronger positive relationship between having worked and belonging to clubs for higher class women (Q = .75) than for the lower class women (Q = .34).

Table 14. Interrelationships of Different Kinds of Social Participation, Controlled for Education

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Values
(1)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Formal Partic'n	.34	Education	.27	12+ years	.22
						<12 years	.49
(2)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Informal Partic'n	-.12	Education	-.19	12+ years	-.27
						<12 years	.23
(3)	Labor Force Part'n History	Formal Partic'n	.53	Education	.45	12+ years	.36
						<12 years	.60
(4)	Labor Force Part'n History	Informal Partic'n	.29	Education	.23	12+ years	.16
						<12 years	.34
(5)	Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n	.40	Education	.37	12+ years	.34
						<12 years	.49

Table 15. Interrelationships of Different Kinds of Social Participation, Controlled for Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value*	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Formal Partic'n	.42	Husband's Occupation	.40	P.M.F.**	.32
						Other	.44
(2)	Current Labor Force Part'n	Informal Partic'n	-.14	Husband's Occupation	-.16	P.M.F.	-.19
						Other	-.15
(3)	Labor Force Part'n History	Formal Partic'n	.52	Husband's Occupation	.44	P.M.F.	.75
						Other	.34
(4)	Labor Force Part'n History	Informal Partic'n	.29	Husband's	.32	P.M.F.	-.02
						Other	.39
(5)	Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n	.43	Husband's Occupation	.37	P.M.F.	.63
						Other	.29

*Zero order Q values are slightly different from those in Tables 13 and 14 because the total N is less.

**Professional, Manager, Farmer

See line 3 in Table 15. The reverse is true in the relationship between having worked and informal interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives. See line 4 in Table 15. There is a moderate positive relationship between having worked and neighboring for the lower class women (Q = .39), and a negligible relationship for the higher class women (Q = -.02).

Note the strong relationship between labor force history of higher class women and formal participation on the one hand and the strong relationship between labor force history of lower class women and informal participation on the other. Lines 1 and 2, however, which relate current labor force participation to formal and informal participation do not show similar class differences in the conditional Q values. Perhaps previous or early labor force experience is cumulative for upper class women but substitutive for lower class women, while current labor force participation is associated with more formal and less informal participation regardless of class.

Further Variables: Marital Status, Number of Children at Home, and Whether the Respondent is a "Farm Wife"

To further clarify the relationships investigated in this study, three other variables were related to the study and control variables: marital status, number of children living at home, and whether or not the respondent is a farm woman.

Most of the women in the study were married: 147 of the 179 total. Widowed numbered 23 (primarily much older women), 5 were divorced or separated, 3 were single, and one woman could not fit herself into any of

these categories. Marital status could conceivably affect social participation.

The number of children living at home might also affect social participation. The women in this study had the following number of children living at home at the time of the initial interview:

none	-- 62
one	-- 21
two	-- 21
three	-- 24
four	-- 19
five	-- 6
six	-- 1
seven	-- 1
eight or more	-- 2
no answer*	-- 22
Total	179

*This information was collected on the second questionnaire, and we were unable to contact 22 of the 179 original respondents.

Fifty of the 179 women qualified as "farm women". They fulfilled any one of these conditions:

(a) qualify as farm families according to the Census Bureau criteria for family size and dollar value of annual sales,

(b) report farming as an occupation, but did not live on a farm,

(c) reported spouse's occupation to be farming, but residence was not on a farm.

(Criteria from Koebernick and Beegle, 1972)

This suggests that many non-urban women, perhaps more than we might have suspected, are <u>not</u> involved in farming as a major source of livelihood. Are the non-urban women who are "farm women" different from the non-urban women who are not connected with farming?

Table 16 shows the relationship between these further variables and the control variables of age, education, and social class (as

indicated by husband's occupation).

Table 16. Relationship Between Marital Status, Number of Children at Home, and Whether the Respondent is a Farm Wife and the Control Variables of Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (expressed as Q values)

	Age	Education	Husband's Occupation
Marital Status*	-.66	.59	-.04
Children at home	-.94	.62	-.22
Farm Wife?**	.05	.04	.63

* + = married

** + = farm wife

It is no surprise to find in Table 16 that older women are less often married and have fewer children at home than do the younger women (Q = -.66 and -.94). There are more widows over 45 years of age. By then most of the children are living away from home. The more educated women are more often married and more often have children at home than do the less educated women (Q = .59 and .62 respectively). This also is an expected finding. Age and education are negatively related (Q = -.66) as shown in Table 11. Table 11 also shows a moderate positive relationship between husband's occupation and age (Q = .28). This may explain the finding in Table 16 that wives of professional, managerial, or farmer husbands have fewer children at home (Q = -.22); the women are older than wives whose husbands have other occupations. Being a farm wife seems not related to age or education. It is, by definition, related to husband's occupation.

Further Variables and Social Participation

Table 17 reports the relationship of these three variables (marital status, number of children at home, and whether or not the respondent qualifies as a "farm wife") and the social participation of the respondents.

Table 17. Relationship Between Further Variables and Social Participation (expressed as Q values)

	Current Labor Force Part'n	Labor Force Part'n History	Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n
Marital Status*	.16	.23	.04	.49
Number of Children at Home	.09	.14	-.03	.35
Farm Wife?**	.08	.07	.27	.18

* + = married

** + = farm wife

Table 17 shows a low positive relationship between being married with children at home and participation in the work force, either currently or at some past time (Q = .16, .23, .09, .14). Being a farm wife appears to be related only minimally if at all to labor force participation (Q = .08 and .07). However, there is a moderate relationship between being a farm wife and participating in formally organized groups and clubs (Q = .27). Does the farm wife have more opportunity to join clubs such as extension groups, 4-H leadership clubs, etc.? There is no relationship between marital status or number of children at home and formal participation.

There is a substantial relationship between marital status and informal participation (Q = .49). Married people would seem to do more socializing. Having children at home is also related to informal participation (Q = .35). There is undoubtedly an overlap between these two groups. It is interesting to note that the farm women, as opposed to non-farm women, not only do more formal participating but also do more neighboring.

Relationships Between Further Variables, Social Participation, and the Control Variables

Further Variables, Social Participation, and Age

Table 18 shows the relationship between the further variables of marital status, number of children at home, and whether the respondent is a farm wife or not and the four measures of social participation as controlled for age.

Table 18 shows that age does not, in most of the cases, affect the relationship between marital status, number of children at home, or whether the respondent is a farm wife or not and involvement in the labor force, currently or at some former time. The partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values, with the exception of the data shown in line 5. The number of children at home is perhaps more strongly related to labor force participation than appears; the zero order Q value of .14 becomes a partial Q value of .24 when age is controlled. The relationship is stronger for women who are 45 years of age or older than for younger women, as shown in the discrepant conditionals for lines 2 and 5. Could the older women be working <u>because</u> they have

Table 18. Further Variables, Social Participation, and Age

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Marital Status**	Current Labor Force Part'n	.16	Age	.15	45+ years <45 years	.35 -.16
(2)	Number of Children at Home	Current Labor Force Part'n	.09	Age	.17	45+ years <45 years	.59 -.47
(3)	Farm Wife?***	Current Labor Force Part'n	.08	Age	.06	45+ years <45 years	.24 -.07
(4)	Marital Status	Labor Force History	.23	Age	.30	45+ years <45 years	.00 .61
(5)	Number of Children at Home	Labor Force History	.14 (.17)*	Age	.24	45+ years <45 years	.68 -.35
(6)	Farm Wife?	Labor Force History	.07	Age	.06	45+ years <45 years	.18 -.01

(7)	Marital Status	Formal Partic'n	.04	Age	.17	45+ years <45 years	-.22 .76
(8)	Number of Children at Home	Formal Partic'n	-.03	Age	.16	45+ years <45 years	.28 .00
(9)	Farm Wife?	Formal Partic'n	.27	Age	.27	45+ years <45 years	.20 .31
(10)	Marital Status	Informal Partic'n	.49	Age	.45	45+ years <45 years	.27 .72
(11)	Number of Children at Home	Informal Partic'n	.35	Age	.17	45+ years <45 years	.20 .12
(12)	Farm Wife?	Informal Partic'n	.18	Age	.25	45+ years <45 years	-.28 .64

*zero cell called "one" for computation purposes

** + = married

*** + = farm wife

children in high school or college--high expenditure times? This might well be the case.

The relationship between both marital status and number of children at home and participation in formally organized groups and clubs (which is no relationship according to zero order Q values) is definitely related to age. See lines 7 and 8 in Table 18. When these relationships are partialled on age, the relationship is stronger. Age would seem to have suppressed the true strength of the original relationship which becomes apparent when age is controlled (.04 zero Q value and .17 partial Q value; -.03 zero Q value and .16 partial Q value). Older women show a negative relationship between being married and belonging to clubs; younger women show a strong positive relationship.

There is a substantial positive relationship between being married and informal participation, as previously reported. This is particularly true, as evidenced by the conditional Q values, for women who are less than 45 years old. When the relationship between number of children at home and informal participation (zero order Q = .35) is partialled on age, the relationship is partly explained (partial Q = .17).

Age makes no difference in the relationship between whether or not the respondent is a farm wife and her social participation. None of the partial Q values were substantially different from the zero order Q values.

Further Variables, Social Participation, and Education

Table 19 shows the relationship between marital status, number of children at home, and whether the respondent is a farm wife and social participation, controlling for education.

Table 19. Further Variables, Social Participation, and Education

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Marital Status*	Current Labor Force Part'n	.16	Education	.03	12+ years <12 years	-.03 .16
(2)	Number of Children at Home	Current Labor Force Part'n	.09	Education	-.13	12+ years <12 years	-.32 .76
(3)	Farm Wife?**	Current Labor Force Part'n	.08	Education	.09	12+ years <12 years	.12 -.06
(4)	Marital Status	Labor Force History	.23	Education	-.04	12+ years <12 years	-.26 .10
(5)	Number of Children at Home	Labor Force History	.14	Education	-.04	12+ years <12 years	-.17 -.07
(6)	Farm Wife?	Labor Force History	.07	Education	.12	12+ years <12 years	.26 -.09

(7)	Marital Status	Formal Partic'n	.04	Education	-.13	12+ years <12 years	-.25 .06
(8)	Number of Children at Home	Formal Partic'n	-.03	Education	-.07	12+ years <12 years	.00 -.36
(9)	Farm Wife?	Formal Partic'n	.27	Education	.25	12+ years <12 years	.22 .36
(10)	Marital Status	Informal Partic'n	.49	Education	.41	12+ years <12 years	.23 .65
(11)	Number of Children at Home	Informal Partic'n	.35	Education	.38	12+ years <12 years	.40 .30
(12)	Farm Wife?	Informal Partic'n	.18	Education	.18	12+ years <12 years	.19 .18

* + = married

** + = farm wife

Table 19 shows that when the relationship between both marital status and number of children at home and social participation is partialled on education of the respondent, several of the relationships are explained. This is particularly evident in labor force participation, current and historical (see lines 1, 2, 4, and 5). In each case the partial Q value is less than the zero order Q value. As a matter of fact, the difference is large enough to justify the statement that education accounts for the original relationship. The modest positive relationship between marital status and labor force participation (Q = .16, .23) washes out when partialled on education (Q = .03, -.04). The slight positive relationship between number of children at home and labor force participation (Q = .09, .14) becomes a negative relationship of about the same magnitude (Q = -.13, -.14). There is a strong positive relationship between number of children at home and current labor force participation for women who have less than 12 years of schooling. It is possible that these women were married to men with lesser education, and presumably lesser incomes, and therefore there might have been more <u>need</u> for these women to work.

There is no relationship between marital status and formal participation (Q = .04). See line 7 in Table 19. However, when partialled on education there is a modest negative relationship (partial Q value of -.13). As is the case with labor force participation and education cited above, education appears to be important. The true strength of the relationship becomes apparent only when education is controlled.

Partialling on education makes no difference when marital status or number of children at home is related to informal participation.

The partials are similar to the zero order Q values. Education also appears not an important factor in the relationship between being a farm wife or not and the various types of social participation.

Further Variables, Social Participation, and Social Class

Table 20 shows the relationship between marital status, number of children at home, and whether the respondent is a farm wife and social participation, controlling for social class as indicated by husband's occupation.

Table 20 shows that social class, with husband's occupation as the indicator, does not appear to be an important factor in explaining the relationship between marital status, number of children at home, or whether or not the respondent is a farm wife and the various kinds of social participation. In only one instance is social class even partly explanatory of the relationship. There is a slight relationship between being a farm wife and being in the work force currently (Q = .14). See line 3 in Table 20. When partialled on husband's occupation, this relationship disappears. Some of the conditional Q values are discrepant, but there seems no pattern except to note that in lines 8 and 11 in Table 20 the number of children at home was related to formal and informal participation much more strongly for wives of professional, managerial or farmer husbands than for those married to men with other occupations (see the conditional Q values).

Table 20. Further Variables, Social Participation, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled to (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Marital Status*	Current Labor Force Part'n	.19	Husband's Occupation	.20	P.M.F.***	.19
						Other	.20
(2)	Number of Children at Home	Current Labor Force Part'n	.07	Husband's Occupation	.15	P.M.F.	-.10
						Other	.30
(3)	Farm Wife?**	Current Labor Force Part'n	.14	Husband's Occupation	.04	P.M.F.	.09
						Other	-.01
(4)	Marital Status	Labor Force History	.25	Husband's Occupation	.28	P.M.F.	.09
						Other	.33
(5)	Number of Children at Home	Labor Force History	.13	Husband's Occupation	.16	P.M.F.	.21
						Other	.14
(6)	Farm Wife?	Labor Force History	.05	Husband's Occupation	.01	P.M.F.	-.19
						Other	.10

(7)	Marital Status	Formal Partic'n	.01	Husband's Occupation	.05	P.M.F. Other	-.15 .11
(8)	Number of Children at Home	Formal Partic'n	.00	Husband's Occupation	-.02	P.M.F. Other	.47 -.22
(9)	Farm Wife?	Formal Partic'n	.20	Husband's Occupation	.15	P.M.F. Other	-.37 .44
(10)	Marital Status	Informal Partic'n	.45	Husband's Occupation	.44	P.M.F. Other	.51 .42
(11)	Number of Children at Home	Informal Partic'n	.36	Husband's Occupation	.32	P.M.F. Other	.68 .16
(12)	Farm Wife?	Informal Partic'n	.21	Husband's Occupation	.24	P.M.F. Other	-.03 .40

* + = married

** + = farm wife

*** Professional, Manager, Farmer

Conclusion

Two simple models that may explicate the relationships among the four measures of social participation are suggested in Figure 1. A moderate to substantial relationship between types of social participation would support a cumulative position of participation.

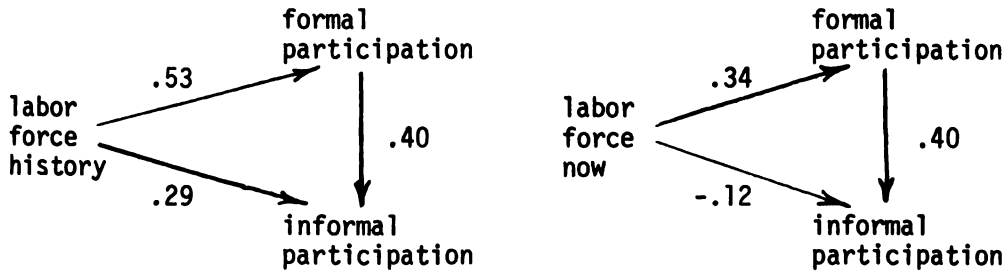

Figure 1. Social participation models.

In Model 1 it can be assumed that the relationship between labor force participation history and informal participation or formal participation is an asymetrical one, based on time sequence. The relationship between formal and informal participation is probably reciprocal, but based on the strength of the relationships as shown by the Q values, we will assume that the dominant direction of flow is from formal to informal participation. Model 2, which contains current labor force participation, follows the same direction of flow. This cannot be defended on the basis of time sequence but is used for comparison purposes with Model 1 which contains labor force history. The Q values presented in Models 1 and 2 are from Tables 1 through 5.

Model 1 shows support for a cumulative theory of social participation. There is a moderate to substantial relationship between the three types of social participation. When three-variable analysis was completed, as presented in Tables 6 through 10, there was no important difference in conclusions. However, the relationship between labor force history and informal participation was weakened when partialled for formal participation (zero order Q = .29, partial Q = .18).

Model 2 shows mixed relationships. There is a moderate to substantial Q value in two of the three relationships. This supports a cumulative theory of social participation. However, the relationship between current labor force participation and informal participation is negative (Q = -.12). And when the relationship is partialled for formal participation, the strength of the Q value increases (-.20). This supports a substitution theory.

Model 1 would seem to be a more valid explanation for social participation than Model 2. Not only does it include Model 2 because labor force history includes most currently working, but it encompasses a much larger proportion of the women in the study (78% or 140 of the 179 women). Only 20% are currently working. The in-and-out pattern of women's participation in the labor force could result in idiosyncratic current employment. So, while current employment is interesting, the larger picture demands a longer view of labor force involvement.

When the two models are inspected, there is similarity. Model 1 uses labor force participation history as an antecedent variable. Many of the women in this study had worked (78%). The 20% who are currently working are the focus of Model 2. The participation patterns of

omen now working seem to be similar to those of women who have been in he labor force, but in lesser intensity.

The zero order Q values in Model 1 are:

.53 for labor force history and formal participation
.29 for labor force history and informal participation

The corresponding values in Model 2 are:

.34 for current labor force participation and formal participation
-.12 for current labor force participation and informal participation.

artial Q values follow the same pattern: .52 and .18 for Model 1, and 38 and -.20 for Model 2 respectively. See Table 6. Both the zero order nd partial Q values for Model 2 are a reinforcement for the validity of he values of Model 1.

Another point of general interest requires inspection of the conitionals. In Model 2 they are almost exactly like the partials. owever, in Model 1 (labor force history antecedent), in each case there s a large difference between the two conditional coefficients of each artial. More informal participation, some formal participation, and aving worked at least one year all are more highly related to other easures of social participation than are less formal participation, no ormal participation, and having worked not at all or less than a year. his suggests the possibility of an active social participant, a women no "gets out and does things", a "do-er" as opposed to a "stay-at-home". his is not to imply that women who stay at home do not do anything, but ften they are not participating socially. Social participation could e considered not only as a concept but as a holistic fact: the interelationships of the parts suggest that social participation is a "whole".

Some women may be active and frequent participators, some women may not be, and of course in varying degrees. The three kinds of social participation in this study seem to be interrelated for women who are high participators. They are not related, or not as related, for women who are lesser participators. It could be the case that cumulative theory is appropriate for high participators and substitution theory for the low participators.

In order to explicate the relationships studied in this chapter, three-variable analysis was undertaken. As shown in Table 6, when the relationships between two kinds of social participation was controlled for a third kind of social participation, there was little further explanation. However, formal participation partially explains the relationship between labor force participation (current and historical) and informal participation. See Tables 8 and 10. Formal participation seems to be a factor contributing to more informal participation. This lends support to a cumulative theory of social participation.

Three control variables have been used to clarify the relationships discussed in this study: age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation). Three additional variables were also related: marital status, number of children at home, and whether the respondent was a farm wife.

Older respondents (45 years of age or more) did more formal participating and less informal participating than did younger women. Respondents with longer schooling (high school graduates or more) not only participated in the labor force but also participated in more clubs than did the less well educated respondents. Because men often marry women

with about the same education, we can expect similarities between respondents with more education and those of higher social class. Respondents of higher social class (husbands who have managerial, professional, or farm occupations) more often worked and participated in clubs than did respondents from lower social classes.

Women who are married do more "neighboring" and more often are, or have been, involved in the labor force than women who are not married. Women with children at home also do more neighboring than those with fewer or no children. Farm wives not only interact more often informally but they belong to more clubs than do wives whose husbands have other occupations.

When the control variables were introduced into the relationships between the other variables there is little evidence of explanatory power. Age, education, or social class made no difference in the interrelationships between the various kinds of social participation.

The data in this chapter support the cumulative theory of social participation more strongly than they support a substitution or no-relation theory. It seems reasonable to expect that in the one case of support for the substitution theory, negative association between current labor force participation and informal participation, that the relationship could perhaps be explained by the fact that if a woman works away from home and probably still has housewifely duties to attend to, she will have limited time to devote to other activities that may take more than a little time. It has also been suggested that a cumulative theory may be more appropriate for high participators and a substitution theory for the low participators among our respondents.

CHAPTER III

INTERGENERATIONAL CONGRUENCES

Introduction and Methodology

It has been hypothesized that daughters (respondents) will reflect the social participation patterns of their mothers. Daughters of mothers who had been in the labor force should themselves more often work than daughters of mothers who had not been in the labor force. If the mother had belonged to clubs, the daughter should more probably join clubs than the daughter of a non-joining mother. And it was expected that the daughters of mothers who interacted more often with neighbors, friends, and relatives should also be more active informally than would the daughter of a less neighborly mother.

Each of the 179 women in the original study was sent a follow-up questionnaire which included questions that related to her mother's social participation. They were asked, "About how many years did your mother work full time? About how many years did she work part-time? Has your mother, over most of her adult life, been more or less active in clubs and other organizations than most of her friends? Has she done more or less neighboring and visiting than most of her friends?"

Answers to these questions were received from 159 of the 179 women (88.8%). However, not all the respondents were able to answer all the questions. Some of the women had been orphaned; some had moved away from their parents as young adults (often to come to this country); some

just could not remember, and this was not unexpected because the daughters ranged in age up to 85 years. The women who could not be traced by mail or phone seemed to be fairly representative of the group in terms of age. It is possible that some of the older women had died (there was a year and a half lapse between the original data collection and the follow-up). Some of the younger and middle-aged women had moved without leaving forwarding addresses. Several others did not answer either of the mail communications and had unlisted or non-existent phones.

Mother's Social Participation

Mother's labor force participation scores were constructed from the answers to this second round of questioning. Many part time jobs for women (selling cosmetics, working as a waitress on week-ends, etc.) are not fully half time jobs, but a kind of "relief" work. For this reason it was decided to count three years of part time work as one year of full time work. Nearly two-thirds of the mothers had worked a year or more (63% or 95 of 151) compared with over three quarters of the daughters (78% or 140).

The answers to the questions about mother's club memberships were interesting. The question was phrased as requesting a "more" or "less" answer to, "Has your mother, over most of her adult life, been more or less active in clubs and other organizations than most of her friends?" One might expect a reasonably even split on the answers. However, of the 146 women who were able to answer this question, only 38 (or 26%) reported that their mothers were more active in formally organized groups

than most of their (the mother's) friends. Nearly three-quarters reported that their mothers were less active. One could speculate that daughters may prefer to think of their mothers as not being involved in club work. They may have a "mother in an apron, baking cherry pie" ideal picture of her. Perhaps the daughters actually did not know the extent of their mothers' formal participation.

The answers to the question, "Has she done more or less neighboring and visiting than most of her friends?" were more nearly evenly divided. Of the 145 women who answered this question, 38% (or 55) reported that their mothers were more neighborly, and 62% (or 90) reported that their mothers were less active informally than most of their mothers' friends. Do daughters think of their mothers as "homebodies"? Is this the preferred picture?

The interrelationships between the three kinds of social participation reported for the mothers is shown in Table 21.

Table 21 shows that there is a very substantial positive relationship between mother's formal participation and her informal participation (zero order Q = .68) which is not affected when controlled for work force participation (partial Q = .69). Whether the mother worked or not, if she was more active in clubs she was liable to interact more often with her neighbors, friends, and relatives. The social participation of the daughters (respondent in this study) is shown in Table 6. The relationship between formal and informal participation for daughters is .40, with partials of .43 and .43 (Q values). This is similar to the mother's participation relationships (zero .68 and partial .69), if a lesser magnitude. Table 21 reveals no relationship between mother's informal

Table 21. Interrelationships Between Kinds of Mother's Social Participation

Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
Labor Force Partic'n	Formal Partic'n	.05	Informal Partic'n	.00	More	.12
					Less	-.08
Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n	.68	Labor Force Partic'n	.69	Worked	.71
					Not worked	.60
Informal Partic'n	Labor Force Partic'n	.07	Formal Partic'n	.03	More	.20
					Less	.01

participation and labor force participation or between labor force participation and formal participation (zero order Q = .07 and .05 respectively). This is not explained by partial Q values in each case (Q = .03 and .00).

Overview of Relationships Between Mother's Social Participation and the Social Participation of the Daughters (Respondents)

Table 22. Relationships Between Mother's Social Participation and the Social Participation of the Daughters (Respondents) (expressed as Q values*)

		Daughter's Social Participation			
		Current Labor Force	Labor Force History	Formal	Informal
Mother's Social Partic'n	Labor Force	.39	.32	-.05	-.11
	Formal	-.01	.16	.29	.09
	Informal	-.07	.35	.07	-.12

*Where two values were computed, the Q value used here is that computed from the largest N.

Table 22 shows that there is a moderate positive relationship between mother's labor force participation and daughter's labor force participation, current and historical (Q = .39 and .32 respectively). Table 22 also shows that there is a negligible to low negative relationship between mother's labor force participation history and daughter's informal participation (Q = -.11) for her formal participation (Q = -.05). Daughters of women who worked will more often themselves work, but the

fact of a working mother seems not related to formal or informal interaction.

There is a low moderate relationship (Q = .29) between mother's formal participation and daughter's formal participation, as shown in Table 22. If the mother belonged to formally organized groups, her daughter was more likely to join than would the daughter of a non-joining mother.

Table 22 also shows a low positive relationship between mother's formal participation and daughter's labor force participation history (Q = .16). Daughters whose mothers belonged to clubs more often than did their friends more often worked than did daughters whose mothers had participated formally less.

Table 22 shows a low negative relationships between mother's informal participation and daughter's informal participation (-.12 Q value). Daughters of women who neighbored more than most of their friends do not themselves seem to continue that pattern; if anything they were likely to engage in fewer informal activities than daughters of women who participated informally less. There were negligible relationships between mother's informal participation and daughter's formal participation (Q = .07) or daughter's current labor force participation (Q = -.07). However, daughters of women who neighbored more were more likely to <u>have been</u> in the labor force (Q = .35). This may perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that lower class women do more informal and less formal socializing than middle class women. These may be the women who <u>have had</u> to work.

Relationships Between Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Labor Force Participation, Current and Historical

Two-variable Analysis

Table 22 showed a moderate relationship between the mother's participation in the labor force and the daughter's participation, either currently or historically, in the labor force. This is shown in detail in Tables 23 and 24. Daughters of mothers who worked are more likely to be working than are daughters of mothers who did not work (Q = .39). And daughters of mothers who worked are more likely to have worked than daughters of mothers who did not work (Q = .32). The mother may have served as a model for her daughter in these instances.

Mother's formal participation is not related to her daughter's current labor force participation (Q = -.01), but was slightly related to the daughter's labor force participation history (Q = .16). The mother's informal social participation was likewise not related to her daughter's current labor force participation (Q = -.07). However, the mother's informal participation showed a moderate relationship to the daughter's labor force history (Q = .35); this will be shown in more detail in Table 25.

Table 25 shows a moderate positive relationship between mother's informal participation and daughter's labor force participation history (Q = .35). Daughters of mothers who had participated informally more were more likely to have worked. As mentioned previously, this may be explained as a function of social class: lower class women do more

Table 23. Mother's Labor Force Participation History and Daughter's Current Labor Force Participation

(Per Cent of Daughters Currently Working)

		Per Cent	Base N
Mother's Labor Force Participation	Worked	25	95
	Did not work	13	39

Q = .39

N = 134
NA = 45
Total = 179

Table 24. Mother's Labor Force Participation History and Daughter's Labor Force Participation History

(Per Cent of Daughters Who Have Worked)

		Per Cent	Base N
Mother's Labor Force Participation	Worked	83	95
	Did not work	72	39

Q = .32

N = 134
NA = 45
Total = 179

Table 25. Mother's Informal Participation and Daughter's Labor Force Participation History

(Per Cent of Daughters Who Have Worked)

		Per Cent	Base N
Mother's Informal Participation	More	87	55
	Less	77	90

Q = .35

N = 145
NA = 34
Total = 179

informal than formal socializing, and these may be the women who have to work. See Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage (1964).

Three-variable Analysis

As in the preceding chapter, three way tables were prepared. Tables 26 through 38 show the relationships between mother's social participation and daughter's social participation.

Daughter's Current Labor Force Participation

Table 26 focuses on the current labor force participation of the daughters. As was also shown in Table 22, the only type of mother's social participation that affected her daughter's current labor force participation was whether or not the mother had worked. The moderate positive association, with zero Q values of .39 and .40 as shown in Table 26, offers evidence for this conclusion. When controlled for mother's formal and informal participation, the partial Q values are consistent (.46 and .41 respectively). However, as shown by the conditionals, the relationship was strongest for women whose mothers were less active formally and informally (conditional Q = .51 and .48 respectively).

Table 27 documents the fact that the relationship between mother's labor force participation and daughter's current labor force participation is strongest where the mothers was less socially active, formally.

Table 26 also showed that the relationships between both mother's formal participation and informal participation and daughter's current labor force participation are negligible (Q = .01, .02, -.11, .07). The partials do not explain these values (Q = .09, -.04, -.15, .03).

Table 26. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Current Labor Force Participation

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	.39	Mother's Formal Partic'n	.46	More Less	.09 .51
(2)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	.40	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.41	More Less	.25 .48
(3)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	-.01	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.09	More Less	-.27 .32
(4)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	.02	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	-.04	Worked Not worked	-.08 .37
(5)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	-.11	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	-.15	Worked Not worked	-.17 .10
(6)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Current L.F. Part'n	-.07	Mother's Formal Partic'n	.03	More Less	-.47 .10

Table 27. Mother's Labor Force Participation, Daughter's Current Labor Force Participation, and Mother's Formal Participation (line 1 in Table 26)

(Per Cent of Daughters Currently Working)

		Mother's Labor Force Participation	
		Never Worked	Worked
Mother's Formal Participation	More	20% (10)*	23% (26)
	Less	10% (29)	26% (69)

*Base N

N = 134
NA = 45
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .46

conditional: more mother's for. ppn. .09
less mother's for. ppn. .51

However, the conditionals reveal an interesting situation. In each case, the relationship between mother's formal or informal participation and daughter's current labor force participation is negative for the mothers who participated more: mothers who had worked, who belonged to clubs, and who neighbored more than their friends. Are the daughters of women who participate "more" more independent of their mothers, more unlike them? It would appear that this might be the case. As mentioned previously, this was also true when the mother's labor force participation history was the independent variable. Another factor might be that mothers who worked, perhaps 48 to 60 hours per week in 1920 or 1930 did not have time for much formal or informal participation.

Daughter's Labor Force Participation History

The dependent variable in Table 28 is the daughter's labor force participation history. As summarized in Table 22 and detailed in Table 28, mother's labor force history is reflected in her daughter's work

Table 28. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Labor Force Participation History

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero* Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.32	Mother's Formal Partic'n	.34	More	.16
						Less	.36
(2)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.35	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.34	More	.39
						Less	.33
(3)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.16	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.15	More	-.53
						Less	.58
(4)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.15	Mother's Lab. Force Partic'n	.11	Worked	.07
						Not worked	.29
(5)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.31	Mother's Lab. Force Partic'n	.32	Worked	.33
						Not worked	.27
(6)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force Ppn. History	.35	Mother's Formal Partic'n	.53	More	-.45
						Less	.65

*Minor differences in zero order Q values due to variable N.

force involvement (zero Q = .32). There is more chance that daughters will have worked if mothers have worked than if mothers have never been in the labor force. The partials controlling for mother's formal and informal participation do not affect this relationship (Q = .34), and the conditionals are not disparate. (It has been decided that only if the conditionals show a difference of .40 should they be considered as worthy of special notice.)

As shown in Table 28, mother's informal participation also seems to be important to the daughter's labor force participation history. This is shown in the following table.

Table 29. Mother's Informal Participation, Daughter's Labor Force Participation History, and Mother's Formal Participation (line 6 in Table 28)

(Per Cent of Daughters Who Have Worked)

		Mother's Informal Participation	
		Less	More
Mother's Formal Participation	More	92% (12)*	81% (26)
	Less	74% (78)	92% (29)

*Base N

N = 145
NA = 34
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .53
conditional: more mother's for. ppn. -.45
less mother's for. ppn. .65

Tables 22 and 28 show the influence of mother's informal participation on daughter's labor force participation history. The zero order Q value is .35 for this relationship. This is not affected by the partial Q value for mother's labor force participation (.32). More interesting is the partial on mother's formal participation, as shown in

line 6 in Table 28 and in Table 29. It reports a partial Q value of .53 which strongly suggests that mother's formal participation suppresses the "true" strength of the original relationship between mother's informal participation and daughter's labor force participation history.

Again referring to Table 28, mother's formal participation has a low positive relationship with daughter's labor force participation history (Q = .16), not explained by partials of .15 and .11 respectively. There is an interesting interplay between mother's informal and formal participation and daughter's labor force participation history: in lines 3 and 6 of Table 28, the conditional Q values are highly disparate, a difference of 1.11 (-.53 and .58) and 1.10 (-.45 and .65). In each case, as noted in the Table 26 discussion, women whose mothers were less active formally or informally seem to have been more positively influenced by their mothers.

Relationships Between Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Formal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Referring to Table 22 and the subsequent discussion, there is evidence of a low moderate relationship between mother's formal participation and the formal participation of her daughter (the respondent). The Q value is .29. This is shown also in Table 30. Mother's participation in the labor force did not affect the formal participation of her daughter (Q = -.05) nor her informal participation (Q = .07).

Table 30. Mother's Formal Participation and Daughter's Formal Participation

(Per Cent of Daughters Participating Formally "Some")

		Per Cent	Base N
Mother's Formal Participation	More	63	38
	Less	49	107

Q = .29

N = 145
NA = 34
Total = 179

If the mother belonged more to clubs and other formally organized groups than did most of her friends, her daughter was inclined to follow her example, as presented in Tables 22 and 30.

Three-variable Analysis

Table 31 explicates the relationship between mother's social participation and daughter's formal participation.

Tables 22 and 31 show that, as hypothesized, daughters of women who belong to formally organized groups will more often themselves belong to clubs than will daughters of mothers who participate formally less (Q = .29). This is not explained by controlling for mother's informal and labor force participation (partial Q = .23 and .26). The relationship between mother's formal participation and that of her daughter becomes even stronger for the mothers who participate informally more (condition Q = .52) as shown in detail in Table 32. This echoes the mother's informal-formal participation link suggested previously.

Tables 22 and 31 show that there is a negligible relationship between mother's informal participation and daughter's formal

Table 31. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Formal Participation

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero* Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	-.05	Mother's Formal Partic'n	-.07	More Less	.03 -.08
(2)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	-.06	Mother's Informal Partic'n	-.05	More Less	-.12 -.02
(3)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.29	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.23	More Less	.52 -.03
(4)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.24	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	.26	Worked Not worked	.27 .17
(5)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.03	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	.02	Worked Not worked	.01 .10
(6)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.07	Mother's Formal Partic'n	-.13	More Less	.39 -.20

*Minor differences in zero order Q values due to variable N.

Table 32. Mother's Formal Participation, Daughter's Formal Participation and Mother's Informal Participation (line 3 in Table 31)

(Per Cent of Daughters Participating Formally "Some")

		Mother's Formal Participation	
		Less	More
Mother's Informal Participation	More	41% (29)*	69% (26)
	Less	51% (78)	50% (12)

*Base N

N = 145
NA = 34
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .23
conditional: more mother's inf. ppn. .62
less mother's inf. ppn. -.03

participation (Q = .07). When partialled for mother's formal participation, the partial Q is -.13, a difference of .20. See line 6 in Table 31. Neither a Q value of .07 nor one of -.13 indicates an important relationship. The conditionals in line 6 of Table 31 are disparate (difference of .59) with a higher relationship between mother's informal participation and daughter's formal participation for the women whose mothers had joined more clubs than for the daughters whose mothers participated formally less. This supports a cumulative theory of social participation.

Relationships Between Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Informal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Referring to Table 22 and the subsequent discussion, it is shown that the relationship between mother's informal participation and

daughter's informal participation is slight and negative (Q value of -.12). This is explicated in Table 33. Neither mother's formal participation nor her labor force participation show more than a very slight relationship with her daughter's informal participation (Q values of .09 and -.11 respectively).

Table 33. Mother's Informal Participation and Daughter's Informal Participation

(Per Cent of Daughters Participating Informally "More")

		Per Cent	Base N
Mother's Informal Participation	More	56	55
	Less	62	90

Q = -.12

N = 145
NA = 34
Total = 179

Mothers who were reported to have participated informally more than most of their friends were slightly more likely to have daughters who participate informally less than do the daughters of less neighborly mothers.

Three-variable Analysis

Table 34 reports daughter's informal participation as it is related to mother's social participation.

Table 34 focuses on the informal participation of the daughters. There are negligible to low relationships shown here (zero order Q = -.11, -.10, .09, .10, -.07, -.12) and partials that do not explain the

Table 34. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Informal Participation

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.11	Mother's Formal Partic'n	-.04	More Less	-.49 .02
(2)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.10	Mother's Informal Partic'n	-.11	More Less	-.24 -.06
(3)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	.09	Mother's Informal Partic'n	.20	More Less	.05 .33
(4)	Mother's Formal Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	.10	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	.03	Worked Not worked	-.04 .48
(5)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.07	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	-.08	Worked Not worked	-.10 .01
(6)	Mother's Informal Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.12	Mother's Formal Partic'n	-.14	More Less	-.38 -.10

original relationships (Q = -.04, -.11, .20, .03, -.08, -.14). Line 3 in Table 34 could be one exception: the partial Q value of .20 shows that mother's informal participation may suppress the true strength of the original relationship, which then may be slight and positive rather than negligible.

Control Variables, Mother's Social Participation, and Daughter's Social Participation

The control variables of age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) were used in an effort to further explicate the relationships between mother's social participation and the social participation of the daughter (respondent in this study).

Table 35 reports the relationship between respondent's age, education, and her husband's occupation and her mother's formal, informal, and labor force participation.

Table 35. Relationship Between Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (expressed as Q values)

	Age	Education	Husband's Occupation
Mother's Formal Participation	-.26	.38	.21
Mother's Informal Participation	.11	.07	-.09
Mother's Labor Force Participation	-.43	.59	-.13

Table 35 shows that older women less often had mothers who had belonged to clubs "more than most of their friends" (Q = -.26), and mothers who had been in the labor force (Q = -.43) than did the younger respondents. This should not be a surprising finding when one considers that 38 of the women were 60 years of age or over when originally questioned. Their mothers lived in an era when fewer women worked outside the home and there were not so many clubs as there are currently.

There is a substantial positive relationship between mothers having been in the labor force and daughters with more education (Q = .59). Mothers who worked had daughters who went to school longer. Mothers who belonged to clubs more than did most of their friends also more often had daughters who had more education (Q = .28) than did mothers who less often belonged to clubs. The relationships between mother's social participation and her daughter's husband's occupation are not high (Q = .21, -.09, and -.13). No conclusions will be drawn.

Tables 36, 37, and 38 report the relationships between mother's social participation and daughter's social participation, controlled for age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation).

Table 36 shows that age as a control variable does not change the Q values in the relationships between mother's social participation and the social participation of their daughters with one exception. The zero order Q value for mother's labor force participation and daughter's informal participation is -.15; when partialled on age the Q value is -.25. See line 12 in Table 36. This suggests that the original relationship is stronger than -.15, and this only becomes apparent when age

Table 36. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Social Participation, Controlled for Age

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	-.01	Age	-.01	45+ years <45 years	.15 -.11
(2)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	-.07	Age	-.11	45+ years <45 years	.15 -.30
(3)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	.33	Age	.26	45+ years <45 years	.69 -.05
(4)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.18	Age	.17	45+ years <45 years	.28 .11
(5)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.35	Age	.34	45+ years <45 years	.42 .30
(6)	Mother's Labor Force Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.29	Age	.29	45+ years <45 years	.21 .34

(7)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.28	Age	.28	45+ years <45 years	.39 .23
(8)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.07	Age	.01	45+ years <45 years	.41 -.21
(9)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	-.04	Age	-.07	45+ years <45 years	.29 -.30
(10)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	.10	Age	.11	45+ years <45 years	-.18 .27
(11)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.12	Age	-.07	45+ years <45 years	-.35 .12
(12)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.15	Age	-.25	45+ years <45 years	-.13 -.34

is controlled. Daughters of mothers who had been in the labor force did less neighboring than daughters of mothers who had not worked, especially the daughters who were less than 45 years of age. It is possible that their mothers had little time to neighbor, and the daughter picked up the pattern. This suggests an intergenerational cumulative theory of social participation.

Education (years of schooling for the daughter) seems not a critical control variable in the relationships between mother's and daughter's social participation. There is, however, one important exception. In line 6 of Table 37 there is a .10 spread between the zero order and partial Q values (the minimum suggested as worthy of notice by Davis). Education helps to explain the relationship between mother's labor force participation and the labor force participation history of her daughter, but it does not completely account for it. If the daughter has had 12 or more years of schooling there is congruence between mother and daughter in the area of labor force involvement. This supports a cumulative position intergenerationally.

There are six discrepant conditions (lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 12). In five of these six discrepancies the relationship between the mother's social participation and that of her daughter is stronger for the daughters with more years of schooling. Could these be daughters of mothers who themselves had more education, and were perhaps more influential than mothers with less education? Or could the mothers have been ambitious for their daughters and influenced them to finish high school?

Table 37. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Social Participation, Controlled for Education

Line)	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	-.01	Education	-.06	12+ years <12 years	-.07 .02
(2)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	-.07	Education	-.14	12+ years <12 years	-.19 .33
(3)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	.33	Education	.42	12+ years <12 years	.56 -.14
(4)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.18	Education	.21	12+ years <12 years	.40 -.40
(5)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.35	Education	.35	12+ years <12 years	.35 .38
(6)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.29	Education	.19	12+ years <12 years	.35 -.14

(7)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.28	Education	.32	12+ years <12 years	.40 -.33
(8)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.07	Education	.08	12+ years <12 years	.09 .02
(9)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	-.04	Education	-.12	12+ years <12 years	-.11 -.15
(10)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	.10	Education	.11	12+ years <12 years	.13 -.02
(11)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.12	Education	-.11	12+ years <12 years	-.09 -.20
(12)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.15	Education	-.08	12+ years <12 years	.06 -.51

Table 38 shows that social class, as indicated by husband's occupation, helps to explain the relationship between mother's and daughter's social participation in two instances, but it does not completely account for it. In lines 3 and 6 in Table 38 there is a lesser relationship between mother's and daughter's participation when husband's occupation is controlled. When mother's labor force participation is related to daughter's labor force participation there is a moderate positive relationship (Q = .31 and .29). However, this relationship is considerably smaller (.17 and .12 Q values) when social class as husband's occupation is controlled. The widely discrepant conditional Q values disclose that the relationship between mothers and daughters is particularly strong for the women whose husbands are professionals, managers or farmers.

Daughters may follow in their mother's footsteps (intergenerational congruence), but other factors are also important and the congruence may be lessened. The wife may be socialized (by her mother) to expect to work outside of her home. Marriage may change some of these expectations by making work unnecessary or required, expected or discretionary. The social class of the new family, in large measure determined by the husband--his background, education, and occupation--will play an important part in decisions to work on the part of the wife.

Table 38. Mother's Social Participation and Daughter's Social Participation, Controlled for Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	.01	Husband's Occupation	.07	P.M.F.*	-.43
						Other	.36
(2)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	-.03	Husband's Occupation	.05	P.M.F.	-.32
						Other	.25
(3)	Mother's Labor Force Part'n	Daughter's Current Labor Force Part'n	.31	Husband's Occupation	.17	P.M.F.	.83
						Other	-.14
(4)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.19	Husband's Occupation	.10	P.M.F.	.63
						Other	-.07
(5)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.35	Husband's Occupation	.36	P.M.F.	.36
						Other	.36
(6)	Mother's Labor Force Part'n	Daughter's Labor Force History	.29	Husband's Occupation	.12	P.M.F.	.92
						Other	-.24

(7)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.26	Husband's Occupation	.24	P.M.F. Other	.13 .29
(8)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	.02	Husband's Occupation	.04	P.M.F. Other	.06 .04
(9)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Formal Partic'n	-.01	Husband's Occupation	-.04	P.M.F. Other	.38 -.18
(10)	Mother's Formal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	.07	Husband's Occupation	.06	P.M.F. Other	.05 .07
(11)	Mother's Informal Part'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.11	Husband's Occupation	-.13	P.M.F. Other	.01 -.17
(12)	Mother's Labor Force Partic'n	Daughter's Informal Partic'n	-.13	Husband's Occupation	-.09	P.M.F. Other	-.31 -.02

*Professional, manager, farmer.

Conclusion

It was hypothesized that daughters would reflect the social participation patterns of their mothers. This would be a confirmation of an intergenerational cumulative theory of social participation. The results of this study, as put forth in this section, are mixed.

There is a moderate positive relationship between mother's labor force participation and daughter's labor force participation, either currently or at some previous time. If the mother worked, there is more chance that the daughter works or has worked than if her mother had not been in the labor force.

Education (of the daughter) and social class (as indicated by the husband's occupation) partially explains some of the relationships between mother's labor force participation and the labor force participation of her daughter. There is less congruence between mother and daughter when the daughter has not finished high school and when her husband is not a manager, professional, or farmer ("lower class").

There is a moderate positive relationship between mother's and daughter's participation in formally organized groups and clubs. Club-women's daughters are more liable to join clubs than are the daughters of women who participated less in organized groups.

These two findings are supportive of a cumulative theory of social participation, cumulative intergenerationally.

However, the third general finding does not support a cumulative position. The daughters of mothers who neighbored more than most of their friends do not repeat that interest. If anything (and the

negative relationship is slight), these daughters are less interested in informal social interaction than are daughters of mothers who participated informally less. In fact, daughters of mothers who participated informally more are themselves more likely to have been in the labor force than are daughters of women who participated informally less. These findings support a substitution thesis intergenerationally.

Another major point of interest after surveying the results of this section is that informal and formal participation of mothers seem to act together in an escalating effect when they are two elements of a three variable analysis. If the mother joined clubs, the daughter more probably will too, especially if the mother also participated informally more. These and other cases in the study suggest a formal-informal link. Table 21, which delineates the relationships between kinds of social participation in which the mothers were involved, indicates a substantial positive association between formal and informal participation.

A formal-informal link is not unexpected. Informal social interaction takes place within most formally organized groups. The two are not discrete activities. The position of the cumulative theory of social participation is that each type could lead to the other: formal to informal, informal to formal. A formal-informal link also suggests the type of woman described earlier as one who "gets out and does things", the high participator in both clubs and informal interaction with neighbors, relatives, and friends.

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CHAPTER IV

AREAS WHERE BORN AND REARED

Introduction and Methodology

The literature suggests that the kind of area where women were born or reared might make a difference in their social participation patterns. Specifically, based on research by Eitzen (1970) and Curtis (1971), this study hypothesized that women from small towns and medium sized cities would participate more often in the labor force, formally, and informally than would women who were born and reared either on a farm, an open country non-farm area, or in a large or very large city. They were expected to have more opportunity for work force participation, formal organization membership, and unstructured interaction with friends, neighbors, and relatives. There was no definition given in the questionnaire of how large a "large city" was or a "very large city" or a "medium sized city". Or where "small town" ended and "open country non-farm" began. Or what is a "farm". The respondents chose a self-defined category when they answered the questions.

Examination of the original, non-collapsed contingency tables reveals that women who were born or reared in large or very large cities differed in participation patterns from the rest of the women.

Therefore, subsequent analysis was concerned with the differences between women born or reared in large or very large cities and those who were born or reared in medium sized cities, small towns, or on farms or open country non-farm areas. However, one reservation must be stated. Only 23 women qualify as having been born in a large or very large city, and only 21 were reared in large or very large cities. This is 12.9% and 11.7% of the 179 women, respectively. Conclusions based on this small proportion of former large city women will have to be tentative. All of the women in this study are non-urban (currently they live in the country or in towns of less than 2500 population). Some of them may be "suburban", as discussed in Chapter I.

In the interest of simplicity, henceforth women who were born or reared in large or very large cities will be referred to as "city women". Women who were born or reared in medium-sized cities, small towns, on farms or in open country non-farm areas will be referred to as "town or country women".

Overview of Relationships Between Area of Origin and Respondent's Social Participation

Table 39 provides a summary of the relationships between area of origin (birth, rearing) and the respondent's social participation.

A negative relationship in Table 39 indicates that country or town as area of birth or rearing is associated with more participation. Seven of the eight Q values are negative, although of varying strengths. Certainly for the sample of women used in this study the conclusion can be drawn that women who were born or reared in less densely populated

Table 39. Relationships Between Area of Origin (city = +) and Social Participation (expressed as Q values)

		Social Participation of Respondent			
		Current Labor Force	Labor Force History	Formal	Informal
Area of Origin	Where born	-.10	-.46	-.71	-.22
	Where reared	.38	-.06	-.58	-.60

areas are more active social participators. However, one must be reminded of the reservations about the city women sample suggested earlier in this chapter. They are a small group, and may not be at all typical of city women in general. After all, they are not living in the city now; they were born or reared in the city and subsequently moved to the country or to a town. This may be an evidence of downward mobility, or it may be a "flight from the cities" kind of migration. In any event, any conclusions about city born or reared women suggested by this study must be tentative and surrounded by reservations.

Relationships Between Area of Origin and Labor Force Participation, Current and Historical

Two-variable Analysis

Tables 40 and 41 show the effect of area born and area reared on labor force participation, current and historical.

Tables 40 and 41 do not show a consistent picture of effect of area of origin on participation in the labor force. Table 40 shows a low negative association between area born and current labor force

Table 40. Effect of Area of Origin on Current Labor Force Participation (Per Cent Currently in the Labor Force)

		Per Cent	Base N
Area Born	City	17	23
	Town, Country	20	156
	Q = -.10		N = 179
Area Reared	City	33	21
	Town, Country	18	157
	Q = .38		N = 178 NA = 1 Total = 179

Table 41. Effect of Area of Origin on Labor Force Participation History (Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Per Cent	Base N
Area Born	City	61	23
	Town, Country	80	156
	Q = -.46		N = 179
Area Reared	City	76	21
	Town, Country	78	157
	Q = -.06		N = 178 NA = 1 Total = 179

participation (Q = -.10). Women born in the country or in a small town were slightly more likely to be working. Women who were reared in the city were more likely to be currently in the labor force (Q = .38). Table 41 presents a rather different picture. Being born in the country was definitely associated with having worked at least one year (Q = -.46); area where reared appears not to be significantly associated with labor force participation history (Q = -.06).

Because of the small size of the group of women currently in the labor force (N - 36), and because of the erratic work patterns of most women, labor force participation history is a more valid measure than current labor force participation. If this is so, we can opt to accept the conclusions of Table 41 as more useful than those of Table 40.

Being born and/or reared in country or town is related to labor force participation. Three of the four Q values in Tables 40 and 41 are negative, indicating that country and town women are more often employed than former city women. This may be worth noting even though two of the three relationships are minimal (Q values -.06 and -.10). The pattern is observable. Further attention will be paid to this situation.

Three-variable Analysis

Three-variable analyses were prepared in an effort to further explicate the relationships between areas of origin and the several kinds of social participation. The control variables used were age, education, and social class (husband's occupation as the indicator).

Table 42 reports the relationship between respondent's age, education, and her husband's occupation and the type of area in which she was born and/or reared.

Table 42. Relationships Between Area of Origin and Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (expressed as Q values)

	Age	Education	Husband's Occupation
Area Born	-.53	.12	-.76
Area Reared	.07	-.29	-.21

Table 42 shows either negative or inconsequential relationships. Older women were less often born in a large or very large city than were younger women (Q = -.53). This is not surprising; there were fewer large cities at the time that the older women were born or were small children. Women with more education were less often reared in large or very large cities (Q = -.29) than were women with fewer years of schooling. And women whose husbands were professional, managerial, or farmers were also less likely to have been born or reared in large or very large cities (Q = -.76 and -.21 respectively) than were women whose husbands had other occupations. Even when one discounts the high Q value because few farmers come from the city, this is a strikingly strong relationship. It is possible that those women currently not living in urban areas (our sample) but whose origins were urban are downwardly mobile.

Table 43 is a summary of the effect of age, education, and husband's occupation on the relationships between area born or reared and the labor force participation of the respondent, both current and historical. There were several zero cells, particularly in the category of city born or city-reared women (total Ns of 23 and 21 respectively). In order for the Q values to be other than -1 or +1, a zero cell was given the value of 1. Any conclusions drawn from data in which there is a cell with fewer than 5 cases must be tentative, of course.

Age

As shown in Table 43, lines 1-4, age does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and labor force participation. The partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values. A difference of .10 is suggested by Davis (1971, p. 104) as the smallest difference worth considering. The conditional Q values do not differ by the .40 deemed worthy of notice in this investigation.

Education

With one exception, education (years of schooling) does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and labor force participation. This is shown in Table 43, lines 5-8. There is a minimal difference of .10 between the zero order Q value of -.46 and the partial Q value of -.56 for the relationship between area born and labor force history (line 6). This data is presented in Table 44, but it must be noted that the group of women who were born in the city was very small: only 23 persons.

Table 43. Effect of Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) on the Relationship Between Area of Origin and Respondent's Labor Force Participation, Current and Historical

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (Y)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Area Born	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.10 (.01)*	Age	.03*	45+ years <45 years	-.16 .08
(2)	Area Born	Labor Force Ppn. History	-.46	Age	-.47	45+ years <45 years	-.45 -.48
(3)	Area Reared	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.38	Age	.38	45+ years <45 years	.30 .44
(4)	Area Reared	Labor Force Ppn. History	-.06	Age	-.07	45+ years <45 years	.05 -.15
(5)	Area Born	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.10	Education	-.15	12+ years <12 years	-.18 .08
(6)	Area Born	Labor Force Ppn. History	-.46	Education	-.56	12+ years <12 years	-.61 -.41

(7)	Area Reared	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.38	Education	.46	12+ years <12 years	.50 .31
(8)	Area Reared	Labor Force Ppn. History	-.06	Education	-.02	12+ years <12 years	-.22 .23
(9)	Area Born	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.10 (.01)*	Husband's Occupation	.10*	P.M.F** Other	.16 .10
(10)	Area Born	Labor Force Ppn. History	-.44 (-.48)*	Husband's Occupation	-.47*	P.M.F. Other	-.38 -.48
(11)	Area Reared	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.38	Husband's Occupation	.44	P.M.F. Other	.20 .50
(12)	Area Reared	Labor Force Ppn. History	.04 (-.13)*	Husband's Occupation	-.15*	P.M.F. Other	.19 -.22

*Value when zero cell changed to value of 1
**Professional, Manager, Farmer

Table 44. Area Where Born, Labor Force Participation History, and Education (line 6 in Table 43)

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Area Born	
		Town, Country	City
Education	12 years +	90% (100)*	69% (16)
	<12 years	64% (56)	43% (7)

*Base N N = 179

Q Values: partial -.56
conditional: 12 years + -.61
<12 years -.41

Table 44 suggests that town or country born women are more likely to have worked than have city born women, especially those with more than twelve years of schooling. In other words, education is acting as an independent variable, clouding the "true" strength of the relationship between area born and labor force participation history. Only when education is controlled does the true and slightly stronger relationship emerge. Women with more education are more likely to have been in the labor force, regardless of where they were born. Presumably they have more salable skills, and they can earn enough money to make working away from home worthwhile.

Although the relationship between area reared and labor force participation is negligible (zero order Q = -.06, partial Q = -.02 when controlled for education), the conditional Q values are discrepant (a difference between them of .45, as shown in line 8 in Table 43).

Reservations about conclusions must again be interjected due to sub-standard cell size. A total of 21 cases (city-reared women) divided into four cells results in some cells which contain fewer than five cases. However, the relationships will be presented as of interest in Table 45.

Table 45. Area Where Reared, Labor Force Participation History, and Education (line 8 in Table 43)

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Area Reared	
		Town, Country	City
Education	12 years +	88% (105)*	82% (11)
	<12 years	60% (52)	70% (10)

*Base N

N = 178
NA = 1
Total = 179

Q Values: partial -.02
conditional: 12 years + -.22
<12 years .23

Table 45 shows that controlling for education we find that for women who have not finished high school, city reared women work more (70% to 60%), but among high school graduates, town and country women are slightly more likely to work (88% to 82%). More education seems to mean more employment, regardless of area where reared. But slightly more of the less well-educated ex-city women work than non-diploma country and town women. It has been suggested that these women who have migrated from the cities where they were reared may be downward

mobile women. They may be women who have to work to help support their families. They may have learned some skills that are salable while in the city. (Many of the non-urban women in this study live in areas within commuting distance of Detroit or Grand Rapids.)

Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Serious reservations must be made for the segment of Table 43 which uses husband's occupation as the test variable (lines 9 through 12). Data has been presented in the interest of completeness, but no conclusions will be drawn as the number of professional, managerial, or farm husbands is very small for the already small group of city born or city reared women. Some of the cell sizes are substandard, even zero in some cases. Only two of the 23 women born in the city and six of the 21 reared in the city had professional, managerial, or farmer husbands. This also suggests that these women were downward mobile. All of the women whose husbands are professional, managerial, or farmers and who were reared in the city have worked in the labor force. This may be an artifact of the small numbers involved, but it may be worthy of future study.

Relationships Between Area of Origin and Formal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Earlier in this chapter, Table 39 presented a summary of the relationships between area of origin and respondent's social participation. Table 46 shows the effect of area where born and reared on participation in formally organized groups and clubs.

Table 46. Effect of Area of Origin on Formal Participation

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Per Cent	Base N
Area Born	City	17	23
	Town, Country	55	156
	Q = -.71		N = 179
Area Reared	City	24	21
	Town, Country	54	157
	Q = -.58		N = 178 NA = 1 Total = 179

The effect of area of birth and rearing and participation in formally organized groups and organizations is much clearer than the relationship between areas and labor force involvement. Table 46 shows a substantial relationship between area born and formal participation (Q = -.71) and between area reared and formal participation (Q = -.58). Women born and reared in country or town are much more likely to belong to clubs and other organizations than are women who were born or reared in large cities.

One reason why town and country women are more likely to belong to clubs is that migrant status (the ex-city women) may result in fewer "roots", fewer traditional obligations and memberships.

Another reason that may explain this finding is that the women who were born and/or reared in large cities may be downward mobile. A strong relationship has been found between middle class membership and participation in formally organized groups and organizations (Hagadorn and Labovitz, 1967; Wright and Hyman, 1958). As shown in Table 42, women classified as upper class in this study were less likely to have been born or reared in large or very large cities than in town or country. Three-variable analysis may help explain this.

Three-variable Analysis

Three-variable analysis is shown in Table 47, a summary of the effects of age, education, and husband's occupation on the relationship between area born or reared and the respondent's participation in formally organized groups.

Age

As shown in Table 47 (lines 1 and 2) the partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values. This suggests that the original relationships is correct. Age does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and formal participation. Women born or reared in the country or in towns are much more likely to belong to clubs, regardless of age.

However, when the conditional Q values in Table 47 are inspected, it can be noted in line 1 that women who were born in large cities, especially the women under 45 years of age, belong to fewer clubs than do older women. The conditional Q value for younger women in -.79, and for older women the Q value is -.38. This relationship is shown in Table 48.

Table 47. Effect of Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) on the Relationships Between Area of Origin and Respondent's Formal Participation

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Area Born	Formal Partic'n	-.71	Age	-.70	45+ years	-.38
						<45 years	-.79
(2)	Area Reared	Formal Partic'n	-.58	Age	-.60	45+ years	-.59
						<45 years	-.61
(3)	Area Born	Formal Partic'n	-.71	Education	-.66	12+ years	-.65
						<12 years	-.70
(4)	Area Reared	Formal Partic'n	-.58	Education	-.57	12+ years	-.59
						<12 years	-.52
(5)	Area Born	Formal Partic'n	-.71	Husband's Occupation	-.68	P.M.F.*	-.30
						Other	-.70
(6)	Area Reared	Formal Partic'n	-.59	Husband's Occupation	-.56	P.M.F.	-.62
						Other	-.55

*Professional, Manager, Farmer.

Table 48. Area Where Born, Formal Participation, and Age (line 1 in Table 47)

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Area Born	
		Town, Country	City
Age	45+ years	60% (74)*	40% (5)
	<45 years	51% (82)	11% (18)

*Base N N = 179

Q Values: partial -.70
conditional: 45+ years -.38
<45 years -.79

Table 48 implies that clubs and other formally organized groups are perhaps overloaded with older women, especially those who have town or country backgrounds. Who will be active in clubs in another 15 to 20 years? Perhaps the younger women will have more time for this kind of activity by that time. However, if more and more city-dwellers migrate to the country (and if they are similar to the ex-city women in this study), voluntary organizations may have smaller membership rolls.

Education

As shown in Table 47, lines 3 and 4, the partial Q values were not different from the zero order Q values when controlled for education. This suggests that education does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and formal participation. The conditional Q values are not disparate.

Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

The partial Q values in Table 47, lines 5 and 6, are not different from the zero order Q values. Husband's occupation does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and formal participation. There is one instance of conditional Q values disparate enough (.40) to be considered as interesting. This relationship will be presented as Table 49 in the interest of completeness, but the very small size of the group of city-born women married to professional, managerial, or farm husbands (N = 2) makes any discussion necessarily brief.

Table 49. Area Where Born, Formal Participation, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (line 5 in Table 47)

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Area Born	
		Town, Country	City
Husband's Occupation	Professional, Managerial, Farm	65% (60)*	50% (2)
	Other	49% (86)	14% (21)

*Base N

N = 169
NA = 10
Total = 179

Q Values: partial -.68
conditional: P.M.F. -.30
Other -.70

Lower class wives (with husbands who are not professional, managerial, or farm-related) who have migrated from the cities are not often involved in clubs. This reinforces the earlier suggestion that

this group may be downward mobile and perhaps downright poor. There is a much larger proportion of lower class women in the city born group (91%) than in the town or country born women (59%).

Relationships Between Area of Origin and Informal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Table 50 shows the relationship between area born or reared and informal social participation with friends, neighbors, and relatives.

Table 50. Effect of Area of Origin on Informal Participation

(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Per Cent	Base N
Area Born	City	48	23
	Town, Country	59	156
	Q = -.22		N = 179
Area Reared	City	29	21
	Town, Country	62	157
	Q = -.60		N = 178 NA = 1 Total = 179

Table 50 shows that women who were born or reared in towns or in the country were more liable to interact informally with friends, neighbors, or relatives than were women who were born or reared in cities (Q = -.22, -.60). This will be explored in three-variable analysis.

Three-variable Analysis

Three way analysis is shown in Table 51, a summary of the effect of age, education, and husband's occupation (as a measure of social class) on the relationships between area born or reared and the respondent's informal social participation.

Age

As shown in Table 51 (lines 1 and 2), the partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values, nor are the conditional Q values disparate. Age does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and informal social participation.

Education

Table 51, lines 3 and 4, show that the partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values. Education would not seem to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and informal participation. However, when the conditional Q values are inspected in line 4 of Table 51, there is a difference between the conditional Q values that exceeds the .40 set down in this study as worthy of notice. Table 52 expands on this relationship.

Table 51. Effect of Age, Education and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) on the Relationship Between Area of Origin and Respondent's Informal Participation

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Area Born	Informal Partic'n	-.22	Age	-.31	45+ years	-.20
						<45 years	-.34
(2)	Area Reared	Informal Partic'n	-.60	Age	-.61	45+ years	-.44
						<45 years	-.72
(3)	Area Born	Informal Partic'n	-.22	Education	-.23	12+ years	-.24
						<12 years	-.21
(4)	Area Reared	Informal Partic'n	-.60	Education	-.65	12+ years	-.78
						<12 years	-.31
(5)	Area Born	Informal Partic'n	-.25 (-.28)*	Husband's Occupation	-.29*	P.M.F.**	-.11
						Other	-.32
(6)	Area Reared	Informal Partic'n	-.62	Husband's Occupation	-.66	P.M.F.	-.29
						Other	-.74

*Value when zero cell changed to value of 1.
**Professional, Manager, Farmer.

Table 52. Area Where Reared, Informal Participation, and Education (line 4 in Table 51)

(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

Education	Area Reared: Town, Country	Area Reared: City
12+ years	65% (105)*	18% (11)
<12 years	56% (52)	40% (10)

*Base N

N = 178
NA = 1
Total = 179

Q Values: partial -.65
conditional: 12+ years -.78
<12 years -.31

Table 52 investigates the effect of education on the relationship between area reared and informal participation. The zero order finding was that women reared in the country or in towns interacted informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives much more often than did women who were city reared (Q = -.60). While the partial is not significantly larger (Q = -.65), the conditionals do show that the country or town women with longer schooling were even more sociable (Q = -.78) than those with less schooling (Q = -.31). The smallest group of women who participated informally "more" were those who were reared in the city and who had twelve or more years of schooling. Regardless of education, country and town women were more sociable than ex-city women. Among country and town women, those with more years of schooling were more neighborly, but among ex-city women those with less education were more

sociable. Perhaps the ex-city women who had more schooling were in the labor force and did not have the time (or the inclination) for neighboring that the less educated women had.

Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

As shown in Table 51, lines 5 and 6, the partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values. Husband's occupation does not appear to be explanatory in the relationship between area born or reared and informal social participation. However, when the conditional Q values are inspected, see line 6 in Table 51, there is a difference in the conditional Q values that exceeds the .40 limit set down in this study as worthy of note. Table 53 elucidates that situation.

Table 53. Area Where Reared, Informal Participation, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (line 6 in Table 51)

(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Area Reared	
		Town, Country	City
Husband's Occupation	Professional, Managerial, Farm	64% (56)*	50% (6)
	Other	63% (91)	20% (15)

*Base N

N = 168
NA = 11
Total = 179

Q Values: partial -.66
conditional: P.M.F. -.29
Other -.74

Table 53 shows no difference for women who participated informally "more" based on husband's occupation for those women who

were reared in country or town. However, more of the city reared women with professional, managerial, or farm husbands participated informally "more" than did those city reared women whose husbands had other occupations. As stated earlier, no conclusions can be drawn in this section due to the small numbers in some of the cells.

It may be interesting to compare Tables 52 and 53. The more well educated migrants do not participate informally as much as do the less well educated (Table 52). However, lower class migrants (as defined in this study) do not participate informally as much as do higher class migrants. The more well educated ex-city women may be in the work force (see Tables 44 and 45). This supports a substitution hypothesis.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be suggested that for this sample of non-urban, midwestern women, those with a non-urban background (born or reared on a farm, in open country non-farm area, small town, or medium sized city) showed more social participation. They more often had been in the labor force; they more often belonged to formally organized groups and organization, and they interacted more often with neighbors, friends, and relatives than did women who were born or reared in large or very large cities.

In the one discordant situation, it was shown that more of the women reared in large or very large cities were currently in the labor force than women who were born or grew up on farms or in towns. Since more education is often associated with working, this factor was checked

as a possible explanation for the discordant finding. However, it was found that the town and country women had longer schooling than the city women. It has been suggested that the ex-city women who have migrated to non-urban areas are downwardly mobile, and that these women may have to work.

The ages of the women in the study ranged from 18 to 84 years. At the time of the original interview there were 38 women who were 60 years old or older. The number of women in the labor force decreases rather sharply at about 60 years; were more of the older women concentrated in the country or town reared group?

Fifty-two per cent of the city reared women and 56% of the town and country reared women were classified "younger". Age does not account for the higher current labor force participation of the city reared women.

The relationships between area of birth or rearing and social participation were subjected to three control variables (age, education, husband's occupation as a measure of social class), and partial Q values were computed. There was very little further explanation of the relationships. The minimum difference of .10 is observed when the relationship between area born and labor force history is controlled for education. This indicates that the moderate negative (Q = -.46) relationship between the two variables is stronger when education is controlled. There were several cases of discrepant conditional Q values (differences of .40 or more between the two conditional Q values). These were discussed previously. Briefly, especially the younger women born in the

country or in towns participated in clubs more than city born women. Country and town reared women participated informally more than city reared women, especially those who had 12 or more years of schooling. Women with more schooling more often had been in the labor force, and this was especially true for women who had been reared in country or town. Husband's occupation was used as an indicator of social class. Unfortunately the group of city born and reared women was small (N = 23 and 21 respectively), and few of these women had professional, managerial, or farmer husbands. So no conclusions can be drawn from the use of this control variable.

The participation patterns of women who were born or reared in large or very large cities and who migrated to non-urban areas are different from the participation patterns of women who have lived in the country or towns or cities with less than 2500 population for most of their lives. The latter group more often had been in the labor force, participated more often in clubs or other formally organized groups, and interacted informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives more often than did the ex-city women. A cumulative theory of social participation is supported by the non-migrant group.

The ex-city women are more often currently in the labor force. It has been suggested that they may be downwardly mobile. In this situation some of them may be <u>required</u> to work outside of their homes. The migrant group's activities support a substitution theory of social participation.

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Introduction and Methodology

This study hypothesized that there would be a meaningful positive relationship between three selected attitudes and the respondent's social participation. The three attitudes used were "life satisfaction", "preferred tempo", and "self reliance". Specifically, it was hypothesized that women who were more satisfied with their lives would more often be in the labor force, have been in the labor force, belong to formally organized clubs, and interact more often with neighbors, friends, and relatives than would less satisfied women. It was also hypothesized that women who prefer an exciting, changing life tempo to a steady one would also be more socially active (in the labor force, formally, and informally) than would those women who preferred a steady tempo. And it was hypothesized that women who thought that they could do much to make their own life happier would be more socially active than would women who were less self reliant.

Each respondent was handed a card showing a ladder, with the top rung labelled 10 and the bottom rung 0. The interviewer said, "Suppose we say that the top of the ladder stands for a person who is living the best possible life, and at the bottom stands a person who is living the worst possible life. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally

stand on right now?" The 179 women answered as follows:

(best)	step 10	34	
	9	19	
	8	27	
	7	30	median
	6	19	
	5	38	
	4	6	
	3	2	
	2	0	
	1	1	
(worst)	step 0	0	
	no answer	3	
	Total	179	

Cutting at the median, the 96 women who put themselves on steps 1 through 7 are described in this study as "less satisfied". It is interesting that nearly half of the women (N - 80) placed themselves on the top three steps. These 80 women were adjudged "more satisfied" with their lives.

While the respondents still had the ladder picture in hand, the interviewer said, "Now at the top of the ladder stands a person who wants to do new things all of the time. He wants life to be exciting and always changing although this may make life quite troublesome. At the bottom stands a person who wants a very steady and unchanging life. What step of the ladder would you place yourself right now?" The respondents answered:

(change)	step 10	6	
	9	1	
	8	21	
	7	11	
	6	9	
	5	60	
	4	13	median
	3	12	
	2	18	
	1	19	
(steady)	step 0	7	
	no answer	2	
	Total	179	

It was difficult to break at a median in this listing: 0 through 4 included 69 women, rung 5 had 60, and 6 through 10 had 48; it is a trichotomy. So the choice was made to break between steps 4 and 5. All those women who answered 0 through 4 (N = 69) were placed in the "steady" category, acknowledging their choice of life tempo. Those who answered that they were on rungs 5 through 10 (N = 108) were placed in the "change" category.

Again, while the respondent had the picture of a ladder, the interviewer said, "At the top of the ladder stands someone who can do very much to make his life happier. At the bottom stands someone who can do very little to make his life happier. Where do you stand on the ladder right now?" The respondents answered:

(more self reliant) step	10	42	
	9	20	
	8	26	
	7	19	median
	6	15	
	5	32	
	4	4	
	3	5	
	2	6	
	1	3	
(less self reliant) step	0	3	
no answer		4	
Total		179	

The 87 women who placed themselves on rungs 0 through 7 were adjudged to be "less self reliant". The other half of the women (N = 88) selected rungs 8 through 10; they are described as "more self reliant".

Interrelationships Among Attitudes

Table 54 shows the relationships between the three attitudes. It is interesting to note that the only zero order relationship that is non-negligible is the one between self reliance and life satisfaction (Q = .46). The more self reliant women are often the more satisfied. The partials do not explain the zero order Q values. The conditionals are not unusually discrepant. The more satisfied women are not necessarily those who want an exciting life, nor are those who prefer an exciting life the most self reliant women. But the self reliant women are more often the most satisfied women. Searching for the reasons for this would be an interesting avenue to follow in future research.

Overview of the Relationships Between Three Attitudes and Social Participation

A summary of the Q values for the relationships between these three attitudes and the four measures of social participation is presented in Table 55, on page 132.

In ten of the twelve relationships shown in Table 55 there is a positive relationship between attitudes and social participation, if of varying intensities. There is a moderate to substantial relationship between life satisfaction and labor force history (Q = .42) and between life satisfaction and formal participation (Q = .50). The more satisfied women more often had been in the labor force and/or belonged to clubs. The negative relationship between life satisfaction and current labor force participation (-.24) would suggest that more of the less

Table 54. Interrelationships Between Attitudes

Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
Life Satisfaction	Preferred Tempo*	.01	Self Reliance	-.01	More	.17
					Less	-.20
Preferred Tempo	Self Reliance	.08	Life Satisfaction	.07	More	.28
					Less	-.08
Self Reliance	Life Satisfaction	.46	Preferred Tempo	.49	Change	.57
					Steady	.27

* + = Exciting, changeful

Table 55. Relationships Between Attitudes and Social Participation (expressed as Q values)

	Current Labor Force Partic'n	Labor Force Partic'n History	Formal Partic'n	Informal Partic'n
Life Satisfaction	-.24	.42	.50	.08
Preferred Tempo*	.23	.54	.19	.23
Self Reliance	-.22	.21	.36	.22

* + = Exciting, changeful

satisfied women are currently in the labor force than women who are more satisfied with their lives. There is no relationship between life satisfaction and informal participation (Q = .08). This is not an expected finding. Evidently, for the women in this sample, unstructured social interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives may not be necessary for a happy life.

Women who preferred an exciting, changeful kind of life more often had been in the labor force (.54 Q value) than women who preferred a steady life tempo; this is a substantial positive association. A more exciting life was the only attitude positively related to current labor force participation (Q = .23). Preference for an exciting life tempo is also positively related to formal participation (Q = .19) and to informal participation (Q = .23). There is a low positive association, but the pattern is consistent. Participators preferred a changeful kind of life.

The more self reliant women more often were found to belong to clubs than those who felt they had little control over their lives (Q = .36). Self reliance was also related to labor force participation history and informal participation, but the association is not strong (Q = .21 and .22 respectively). There is a negative relationship between self reliance and current labor force participation (Q = -.22); women who felt they could do little to make their own lives happier were more often working than were the more self reliant women. This was a rather surprising finding; one might have expected the opposite to be true. Perhaps these women are forced by circumstance to work, and are not happy about this situation (note the -.24 relationship between life satisfaction and current labor force participation).

Relationships Between Three Attitudes and Labor Force Participation, Current and Historical

Two-variable Analysis

The relationship between attitudes and current labor force participation is shown in more detail in Table 56.

As mentioned previously, current labor force participation data is subject to cautious interpretation, not only because of the small size of the sample of current job holders, but also because of the erratic nature of female labor force participation. Table 56 may reflect this. Two of the three relationships shown do not support the hypothesis suggested earlier in this study. More of the "less satisfied" women were currently working (24%) than the more satisfied

Table 56. Attitudes and Current Labor Force Participation

(Per Cent Currently Working)

		Per Cent	Base N
Life Satisfaction	More	16	80
	Less	24	96
	Q = -.24		N = 176 NA = 3 Total = 179
Preferred Tempo	Change	23	108
	Steady	16	69
	Q = .23		N = 177 NA = 2 Total = 179
Self Reliance	More	17	88
	Less	24	87
	Q = -.22		N = 175 NA = 4 Total = 179

women (16%). It had been hypothesized that the more satisfied women would more often be in the labor force.

It had also been hypothesized that the more self reliant women would be in the labor force; this also was not supported (Q = -.22). As suggested, perhaps the women who were working were not doing so by their own choice but by necessity.

Table 56 also shows a low positive relationship between preferred tempo and current labor force participation (Q = .23). This suggests that women who prefer an exciting life are more often in the labor force than are women whose tempo preference is for a steady type of life.

Table 57 shows the relationships of the three attitudes and labor force participation history.

Table 57. Attitudes and Labor Force Participation History

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Per Cent	Base N
Life Satisfaction	More	86	80
	Less	72	96
	Q = .42		N = 176 NA = 3 Total = 179
Preferred Tempo	Change	87	108
	Steady	67	69
	Q = .54		N = 177 NA = 2 Total = 179
Self Reliance	More	82	88
	Less	75	87
	Q = .21		N = 175 NA = 4 Total = 179

Table 57 shows the relationship of the three attitudes to labor force participation history. As was hypothesized, all three are positively related to labor force involvement. Women who had worked were more satisfied with their lives than women who had never worked or who had worked less than a year (Q = .42). Women who had been in the labor force more often preferred an exciting tempo to a steady life pace (Q = .54). And more of the women who had worked fell in the more self reliant category than did the women who had worked little or not at all (Q = .21).

A history of labor force involvement is prior in time to current assessment of life satisfaction, preferred tempo, and indicated self reliance. Therefore it is justifiable to consider labor force participation history as causal in these cases--certainly not the only cause, but one of the factors responsible for the attitudes expressed by the respondents.

Three-variable Analysis

As in previous sections of this study, a third variable was interjected in each of the relationships in an effort to further explicate the relationships. The third variable in each case was another of the three attitudes, as can be seen in summary tables 58, 60, 65, and 69.

Table 58 shows the relationships between the three attitudes and current labor force participation. As shown previously, the three zero order relationships are non-negligible but low. The partial Q values are not significantly different from the zero order values. It can be concluded that a second attitude neither strengthens nor explains the relationship between an attitude and current labor force participation.

Table 58. Attitudes and Current Labor Force Participation, with Controls

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value*	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.24	Preferred Tempo	-.16	Change Steady	.06 -.83
(2)	Life Satisfaction	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.22	Self Reliance	-.18	More Less	-.25 -.12
(3)	Preferred Tempo	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.21	Self Reliance	.22	More Less	.26 .18
(4)	Preferred Tempo	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.22	Life Satisfaction	.19	More Less	.81 -.12
(5)	Self Reliance	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.23	Preferred Tempo	-.23	Change Steady	-.22 -.29
(6)	Self Reliance	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.21	Life Satisfaction	-.16	More Less	-.24 -.12

*Zero order Q values may not agree with those in Table 55 due to smaller N in some cases.

Two of the conditional relationships shown in Table 58 are worthy of noting (Q values differing more than .40).

Table 59 shows that when the relationship between life satisfaction and current labor force participation (zero order Q = -.24) is controlled for preferred tempo (partial Q = -.16), it was found that the relationship is negligible for women who prefer an exciting tempo (conditional Q = .06). For those women who prefer a steady life, the relationship balloons to a conditional Q of -.83. This suggests that if a woman does not want an exciting life full of change, a satisfying life probably does not include working.

Table 59. Life Satisfaction, Current Labor Force Participation, and Preferred Tempo (line 1 in Table 58)

(Per Cent Currently Working)

		Life Satisfaction	
		Less	More
Preferred Tempo	Change	22% (58)*	25% (49)
	Steady	27% (37)	3% (31)

*Base N

N = 175
NA = 4
Total = 179

Q Values: partial -.16
conditional: change .06
steady -.83

Table 59 can also be read as Table 59a by reversing the upper left and lower right cells. This corresponds to the fourth line in Table 58. For women who are more satisfied with their lives, the relationship between preferred tempo and current labor force participation is very strong; if they prefer change they are very liable to be working.

Table 60 shows the relationships of attitudes and labor force participation history.

Table 60. Attitudes and Labor Force Participation History, with Controls

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value*	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Labor Force Partic'n History	.41	Preferred Tempo	.49	Change Steady	.72 .20
(2)	Life Satisfaction	Labor Force Partic'n History	.45	Self Reliance	.45	More Less	.17 .73
(3)	Preferred Tempo	Labor Force Partic'n History	.54	Self Reliance	.53	More Less	.68 .38
(4)	Preferred Tempo	Labor Force Partic'n History	.55	Life Satisfaction	.54	More Less	.81 .40
(5)	Self Reliance	Labor Force Partic'n History	.16	Preferred Tempo	.20	Change Steady	.37 -.05
(6)	Self Reliance	Labor Force Partic'n History	.17	Life Satisfaction	.10	More Less	-.43 .27

*Zero order Q values may not agree with those in Table 55 due to smaller N in some cases

Table 60 shows the relationships between the attitudes selected for use in this study and labor force participation history. At the zero order level, life satisfaction and preferred tempo show a moderate to substantial positive association when related to labor force participation history (Q = .41 and .45, .54 and .55 respectively). The relationship between self reliance and labor force participation history is a low positive one (Q = .16 and .17). Women who are more satisfied with their lives, who prefer an exciting, changeful life, and to a more limited extent those who are more self reliant will have been in the labor force more than less satisfied, less self reliant women whose preferred life tempo is steady. The partials are not explanatory. This indicates that no one attitude is able to suppress or explain the relationship of another attitude and labor force participation history. Five of the six conditions are discrepant, with differences of more than .40. Therefore three tables will be presented here, each illustrative of two lines in Table 60 by transposing the upper left and lower right cells.

Table 61. Life Satisfaction, Labor Force Participation History, and Preferred Tempo (line 1 in Table 60)

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Life Satisfaction	
		Less	More
Preferred Tempo	Change	79% (58)*	96% (49)
	Steady	62% (37)	71% (31)

*Base N

N = 175
NA = 4
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .49
conditional: change .72
steady .20

Table 61 shows a much stronger positive relationship between life satisfaction and labor force participation history for women whose preferred life tempo is for change and excitement (conditional Q = .72) than for women who prefer a steady life pace (Q = .20).

If the upper left and lower right cells in Table 61 are transposed (Table 61a) to show line 4 in Table 60, the same result can be reported: a much stronger relationship between women who prefer a changing tempo and more labor force participation in the past for women who are more satisfied with their lives (.81 conditional Q) than for women who are less satisfied (.40 conditional Q). This provides even stronger support for hypotheses 6 and 7 than the two-way relationship analysis allowed. These hypotheses stated that those respondents who report more satisfaction with their lives and who prefer an exciting, eventful life tempo will more often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will respondents who report a less happy life and who would choose a steady, unchanging life tempo.

Table 62 presents self reliance and tempo and their relationships to labor force participation history. It shows a stronger relationship between self reliance and labor force participation history for women who want an exciting life (conditional Q = .37) than for women who would choose a steady kind of life (conditional Q = -.05).

The converse is also true, as shown when self reliance and tempo are reversed (Table 62a, line 3 in Table 60). The relationship between tempo and labor force participation history is stronger for the more self reliant women (conditional Q of .38). Self reliant women who choose an exciting life tempo more often have been in the labor force.

Table 62. Self Reliance, Labor Force Participation History, and Preferred Tempo (line 5 in Table 60)

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Self Reliance	
		Less	More
Preferred Tempo	Change	82% (51)*	91% (56)
	Steady	68% (34)	66% (32)

*Base N

N = 173
NA = 6
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .20
conditional: change .37
steady -.05

Tables 62 and 62a offer strong support for hypotheses 7 and 8 which state that respondents who prefer an exciting life tempo and who feel that "a person can do much to make his life happier" will more often participate in informal, formal, and labor force activities than will less self reliant respondents who prefer a steady life tempo.

Table 63 leads to a different conclusion than that reached in Tables 61 and 62. The less self reliant women were more likely to display a stronger relationship between life satisfaction and labor force participation (conditional Q = .73) than were the more self reliant women (Q = .17). However, regardless of self reliance, more life satisfaction is related to greater labor force participation history.

When self reliance and life satisfaction are reversed (line 6 in Table 60, called here Table 63a) there is a negative relationship (conditional Q value of -.43) for the more satisfied women when self reliance and labor force participation history are related. The less

Table 63. Life Satisfaction, Labor Force Participation History, and Self Reliance (line 2 in Table 60)

(Per Cent Who Have Worked)

		Life Satisfaction	
		Less	More
Self Reliance	More	78% (37)*	84% (49)
	Less	67% (58)	93% (28)

*Base N

N = 172
NA = 7
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .45
conditional: more self reliance .17
less self reliance .73

satisfied show a conditional Q = .27 for self reliance and labor force participation history. This does not support hypotheses 6 and 8.

In Tables 61, 62 and 63 there were more women who had been in the labor force who considered themselves more satisfied with their lives than women who were less satisfied. This was true regardless of attitude about life tempo or self reliance. This link between feelings of satisfaction and having worked away from home is interesting and deserves further attention.

Relationships Between Three Attitudes and Formal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Table 64 shows the relationships of the three attitudes and participation in formally organized groups and organizations.

Table 64. Attitudes and Formal Participation

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Per Cent	Base N
Life Satisfaction	More	65	80
	Less	39	96
	Q = .50		N = 176 NA = 3 Total = 179
Preferred Tempo	Change	55	108
	Steady	45	69
	Q = .19		N = 177 NA = 2 Total = 179
Self Reliance	More	60	88
	Less	41	87
	Q = .36		N = 175 NA = 4 Total = 179

Table 64 shows that, as in the case of labor force participation history, all three attitudes are related positively to formal participation. The relationship between life satisfaction and formal participation is especially noteworthy; the Q value of .50 shows a substantial positive relationship between the more satisfied women and club membership. The more self reliant women also were more likely to belong to clubs (Q = .36) than the less self reliant women. And the women who

desired a changeful, exciting life tempo were more often club members (Q = .19) than the women who preferred a steady life pace. These findings support hypotheses 6, 7, and 8. More satisfied, self reliant women who preferred an exciting life were involved in formal participation activities than were women who were less satisfied with their lives, less self reliant, and who preferred a steady, unchanging life pace.

Three-variable Analysis

Table 65 shows the relationships of attitudes and participation in formally organized groups and organizations.

Table 65 shows that more satisfied women are more likely to join clubs than less satisfied women (zero order Q = .49, .55). There is a moderate relationships between self reliance and club membership (zero order Q = .35 and .36). The self reliant women who were more satisfied with their lives more often belonged to clubs than did the less satisfied, less self reliant women. There is a low positive relationships between preferred tempo and formal participation (.17 and .19 Q). This would indicate that to a limited extent women who favored an exciting life would more often belong to clubs than those women who preferred a more steady life pace. The partials in Table 65 do not explain the zero order findings. Using an attitude to explain the effect of another attitude on formal participation was not productive. There were some discrepant conditionals, however. They will be shown in detail in Tables 66 and 67.

Table 65. Attitudes and Formal Participation, with Controls

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value*	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Formal Partic'n	.49	Preferred Tempo	.53	Change	.64
						Steady	.22
(2)	Life Satisfaction	Formal Partic'n	.55	Self Reliance	.50	More	.32
						Less	.67
(3)	Preferred Tempo	Formal Partic'n	.19	Self Reliance	.18	More	.23
						Less	.14
(4)	Preferred Tempo	Formal Partic'n	.17	Life Satisfaction	.16	More	.44
						Less	-.05
(5)	Self Reliance	Formal Partic'n	.35	Preferred Tempo	.35	Change	.37
						Steady	.29
(6)	Self Reliance	Formal Partic'n	.36	Life Satisfaction	.28	More	-.01
						Less	.44

*Zero order Q values may not agree with those in Table 55 due to smaller N in some cases.

Table 66 shows that the relationship between life satisfaction and formal participation is stronger for women who prefer a changing rather than a steady tempo (conditional Q values of .64 and .22 respectively).

Table 66. Life Satisfaction, Formal Participation, and Preferred Tempo (line 1 in Table 65)

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Life Satisfaction	
		Less	More
Preferred Tempo	Change	38% (58)*	74% (49)
	Steady	41% (37)	52% (31)

*Base N

N = 175
NA = 4
Total = 179

Q Values: partial .53
conditional: change .64
steady .22

When satisfaction and tempo are reversed (line 4 in Table 65, called Table 66a), it is shown that change in tempo is more strongly related to formal participation for the women who feel more satisfied with their lives than for those who are less satisfied (Q = .44 and .05 respectively).

These findings support hypotheses 6 and 7. Women who are more satisfied and who prefer an exciting life will more often belong to clubs and other formally organized groups than will the less satisfied women who prefer a steady life.

Table 67 is concerned with the effect of feelings of life satisfaction and self reliance on formal participation. As in Table 63, the stronger relationship between life satisfaction and formal participation was for the less self reliant women (Q = .67). The same relationship for the more self reliant women has a Q value of .32.

Table 67. Life Satisfaction, Formal Participation, and Self Reliance (line 2 in Table 65)

(Per Cent Participating Formally "Some")

		Life Satisfaction	
		Less	More
Self Reliance	More	51% (37)*	67% (49)
	Less	29% (58)	68% (28)

*Base N

N = 172
NA = 7
Total = 179

Q Value: partial .50
conditional: more self reliance .32
less self reliance .67

When self reliance and life satisfaction was reversed (line 6 in Table 65, Table 67a) the results are also consistent with Table 63: the less satisfied women showed a stronger relationship between self reliance and formal participation (Q = .44), while the more satisfied showed no relationship (Q = -.01).

Relationships Between Three Attitudes and Informal Participation

Two-variable Analysis

Table 68 shows the relationships between the three attitudes used in this study and informal participation with neighbors, friends and relatives.

Table 68. Attitudes and Informal Participation

(Per Cent Participating Informally "More")

		Per Cent	Base N
Life Satisfaction	More	60	80
	Less	56	96
	Q = .08		N = 176 NA = 3 Total = 179
Preferred Tempo	Change	62	108
	Steady	51	69
	Q = .23		N = 177 NA = 2 Total = 179
Self Reliance	More	62	88
	Less	52	87
	Q = .22		N = 175 NA = 4 Total = 179

Table 68 shows that, as in the case of labor force participation history and formal participation, there is a positive relationship between the attitudes and informal participation. However, in this case the relationships are not as strong. The relationship between life satisfaction and informal participation is negligible (Q = .08). The relationship between preferred tempo and informal participation, and the relationship between self reliance and informal participation are

both to be considered low positive relationships (Q = .23 and .22 respectively). In other words, women who preferred a more exciting life and women who were more self reliant interacted with friends, neighbors, and relatives more often than women who preferred a steady life and who were less self reliant. Hypotheses 7 and 8 are supported, but with less strength than in the case of labor force participation history or formal participation.

Three-variable Analysis

Table 69 shows the relationships of attitudes to informal participation (unstructured interaction with friends, neighbors, and relatives).

Table 69 shows zero order Q values which depict a low positive association between attitudes and informal participation (Q values from .08 to .22). The partials do not explain the relationships. None of the conditionals are discrepant. Hypotheses 7 and 8 (and to a very limited extent Hypothesis 6) are supported, but mildly.

Control Variables and Three Selected Attitudes

The control variables of age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) were used in an effort to further explicate the relationships between attitudes and social participation.

Table 70 (on page 152) explores the relationships between respondent's age, education, and her husband's occupation with the three attitudes used in this study: life satisfaction, desired life tempo, and self reliance.

Table 69. Attitudes and Informal Participation, with Controls

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value*	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Informal Partic'n	.09	Preferred Tempo	.10	Change	.14
						Steady	.01
(2)	Life Satisfaction	Informal Partic'n	.08	Self Reliance	.03	More	.02
						Less	.04
(3)	Preferred Tempo	Informal Partic'n	.23	Self Reliance	.23	More	.30
						Less	.16
(4)	Preferred Tempo	Informal Partic'n	.21	Life Satisfaction	.20	More	.28
						Less	.15
(5)	Self Reliance	Informal Partic'n	.22	Preferred Tempo	.23	Change	.27
						Steady	.12
(6)	Self Reliance	Informal Partic'n	.21	Life Satisfaction	.21	More	.20
						Less	.21

*Zero order Q value may not agree with those in Table 55 due to smaller N in some cases.

Table 70. Relationships Between Attitudes and Age, Education, and Husband's Occupation (Social Class) (expressed as Q values)

	Age	Education	Husband's Occupation
Life Satisfaction	.40	.07	.22
Preferred Tempo*	-.44	.55	-.12
Self Reliance	.06	.13	.32

* + = Exciting, changeful

Age is positively related to life satisfaction (Q = .40); older women more often reported that they were satisfied with their lives than did women under 45 years of age. And the older women more often chose a steady life tempo than did the younger women (Q = -.44). Self reliance was not related to age (Q = .06).

There is a substantial positive relationship between education and preferred tempo (Q = .55). Women with more education more often chose excitement and change than did the women with fewer years of schooling. Education was not strongly related to life satisfaction or self reliance (Q = .07 and .13 respectively).

Husband's occupation is related to self reliance (Q = .32); wives of professional, managerial, or farm husbands thought that they were more self reliant than did the wives whose husbands had other occupations. Wives of professional, managerial, or farmer husbands reported higher life satisfaction (Q = .22) than did the wives of husbands with other kinds of jobs. This is as expected; one can presume that wives of professional men, managers, and farmers are more secure both

financially and socially. Preferred tempo was not strongly related to husband's occupation (Q = -.12).

Tables 71, 72, and 73 report the relationships between the three attitudes used in this study (life satisfaction, preferred tempo, and self reliance) and the respondent's social participation controlled for age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation).

Table 71 shows that age does not seem to account for the relationships between the three attitudes used in this study and the social participation of the respondents. The partial Q values are not different from the zero order Q values with one exception. In line 8 of Table 71 there is a difference of .10 between the two Q values. Age suppresses the true strength of the relationship between desired life tempo and formal participation. This only becomes evident when age is controlled. The relationship between preferring an exciting, eventful life and belonging to clubs is strongest for women less than 45 years of age.

There are three discrepant conditional Q values (differences of more than .40). Self reliance is involved in two of these. Self reliance is described as the feeling that "a person can do much to make his life happier." The relationship between feelings of self reliance and both having been in the labor force and participating in formally organized groups and clubs (lines 6 and 9 in Table 71) is stronger for the younger women in this study. This is also true for the relationship between feelings of life satisfaction and labor force participation history; the happier women more often had been in the labor

Table 71. Attitudes and Social Participation, Controlled for Age

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.24	Age	-.24	45+ years <45 years	-.33 -.18
(2)	Preferred Tempo*	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.23	Age	.25	45+ years <45 years	.19 .30
(3)	Self Reliance	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.22	Age	-.22	45+ years <45 years	-.21 -.22
(4)	Life Satisfaction	Labor Force History	.42	Age	.47	45+ years <45 years	.18 .65
(5)	Preferred Tempo	Labor Force History	.54	Age	.57	45+ years <45 years	.57 .57
(6)	Self Reliance	Labor Force History	.21	Age	.25	45+ years <45 years	-.27 .53

(7)	Life Satisfaction	Formal Partic'n	.50	Age	.47	45+ years <45 years	.44 .49
(8)	Preferred Tempo	Formal Partic'n	.19	Age	.29	45+ years <45 years	.17 .38
(9)	Self Reliance	Formal Partic'n	.36	Age	.38	45+ years <45 years	.12 .53
(10)	Life Satisfaction	Informal Partic'n	.08	Age	.15	45+ years <45 years	.14 .17
(11)	Preferred Tempo	Informal Partic'n	.23	Age	.17	45+ years <45 years	.20 .15
(12)	Self Reliance	Informal Partic'n	.22	Age	.22	45+ years <45 years	.33 .14

* + = Exciting, changeful

force, especially the younger ones (see line 4). The younger women have work force participation or club activities as a viable option. Older women may have difficulty finding jobs; many women in this sample are retirement age (21% are over 60 years of age). Younger women have more opportunities available to participate cumulatively than do older women.

Table 72 shows that educations helps to explain the relationships between preferred life tempo and social participation in the two areas of labor force participation history and formal participation. See lines 5 and 8 in Table 72 for two cases in which the partial Q value is less than the zero order Q value. A positive relationship indicates a desire for an exciting, changeful kind of life style as the desired tempo. The substantial positive relationship between tempo and having been in the work force is partially explained by education (Q values change from .54 to .44). The low positive relationship between tempo and formal participation is practically negated when it is controlled for education (Q = .19 and .06). This is particularly true for the more well-educated women.

There is a notable difference between zero order and partial Q values in the relationship between feelings of self reliance and having been in the labor force (see line 6 in Table 72). A zero-order Q value of .21 becomes a partial Q value of .33 when controlled for education. This indicates that education suppresses the "true" strength of the relationship, and this only becomes clear when education is controlled. The conditional Q values are widely discrepant in this case. The women with more education show a much stronger relationship between self

Table 72. Attitudes and Social Participation, Controlled for Education

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.24	Education	-.23	12+ years <12 years	-.19 -.44
(2)	Preferred Tempo*	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.23	Education	.18	12+ years <12 years	.25 -.11
(3)	Self Reliance	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.22	Education	-.21	12+ years <12 years	-.16 -.49
(4)	Life Satisfaction	Labor Force History	.42	Education	.49	12+ years <12 years	.61 .28
(5)	Preferred Tempo	Labor Force History	.54	Education	.44	12+ years <12 years	.49 .37
(6)	Self Reliance	Labor Force History	.21	Education	.33	12+ years <12 years	.69 -.33

(7)	Life Satisfaction	Formal Partic'n	.50	Education	.50	12+ years <12 years	.51 .47
(8)	Preferred Tempo	Formal Partic'n	.19	Education	.06	12+ years <12 years	-.03 .33
(9)	Self Reliance	Formal Partic'n	.36	Education	.38	12+ years <12 years	.43 .21
(10)	Life Satisfaction	Informal Partic'n	.08	Education	.08	12+ years <12 years	.10 .02
(11)	Preferred Tempo	Informal Partic'n	.23	Education	.27	12+ years <12 years	.40 -.11
(12)	Self Reliance	Informal Partic'n	.22	Education	.22	12+ years <12 years	.23 .17

* + = Exciting, changeful

reliance and labor force history. This is not at all surprising; a woman with more education can be more self reliant in terms of possible employment and in other non-vocational areas. She not only has the skills and experience to make working away from home worthwhile but perhaps the financial backing to go back to school to update her proficiencies. She probably has the money to pay for the expenses involved in membership in formally organized groups and clubs (including transportation, appropriate clothing, etc.). She can participate cumulatively. The woman with less education often is married to a less well-educated man; their income is low and she may have had only one option: to work to help support the family. She may not be able to do much to make her life happier.

Table 73 shows that social class, as indicated by the husband's occupation, has no effect on the relationship between the three attitudes used in this study and the social participation of the respondents. Not one of the zero order Q values changed by as much as .10 when partial Q values were computed on the control variable. There were two discrepant conditional Q values. The moderate positive relationship between feelings of life satisfaction and both having been in the work force and participating in clubs was stronger for women whose husbands were other than professional, managerial, or farmers (lines 4 and 7 in Table 73). Perhaps the upper class wives have other sources of life satisfaction.

Table 73. Attitudes and Social Participation, Controlled for Husband's Occupation (Social Class)

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value	Conditions	Conditional Q Value
(1)	Life Satisfaction	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.28	Husband's Occupation	-.29	P.M.F.** Other	-.41 -.23
(2)	Preferred Tempo*	Current Labor Force Partic'n	.18	Husband's Occupation	.21	P.M.F. Other	.14 .24
(3)	Self Reliance	Current Labor Force Partic'n	-.23	Husband's Occupation	-.32	P.M.F. Other	-.12 -.41
(4)	Life Satisfaction	Labor Force History	.42	Husband's Occupation	.47	P.M.F. Other	.08 .55
(5)	Preferred Tempo	Labor Force History	.58	Husband's Occupation	.57	P.M.F. Other	.76 .52
(6)	Self Reliance	Labor Force History	.18	Husband's Occupation	.19	P.M.F. Other	-.08 .26

(7)	Life Satisfaction	Formal Partic'n	.50	Husband's Occupation	.54	P.M.F. Other	.03 .67
(8)	Preferred Tempo	Formal Partic'n	.20	Husband's Occupation	.26	P.M.F. Other	.15 .29
(9)	Self Reliance	Formal Partic'n	.36	Husband's Occupation	.32	P.M.F. Other	.33 .32
(10)	Life Satisfaction	Informal Partic'n	.08	Husband's Occupation	.11	P.M.F. Other	-.18 .20
(11)	Preferred Tempo	Informal Partic'n	.21	Husband's Occupation	.25	P.M.F. Other	.09 .30
(12)	Self Reliance	Informal Partic'n	.18	Husband's Occupation	.12	P.M.F. Other	.41 .03

* + = Exciting, changeful

**Professional, Manager, Farmer.

Conclusion

It was hypothesized that women who are more satisfied with their lives, who preferred change and excitement, and who were more self reliant would more often participate socially: in the labor force, formally, and informally. This hypothesis was supported by the majority of the data. The zero order and partial Q values showed support in 10 of the 12 possible relationships. The strongest support was in the areas of labor force participation history and formal participation. Women who preferred change and excitement and who were more satisfied with their lives were much more likely to have been in the labor force. Many more of the satisfied and self reliant women belonged to clubs than did the less satisfied or less self reliant women. There was also support, but at a lesser magnitude, in the relationships between self reliance and labor force history, preferred tempo and formal participation, and in the relationships between the three attitudes and informal participation.

The aberrant case is that of current labor force participation. Although there was a low positive relationship between preferred tempo and current labor force participation (women who liked change were more liable to be working), the women who were less satisfied with their lives and who were less self reliant more often reported being in the labor force than did the more self reliant, more satisfied women. These relationships were of a low negative magnitude, unexplained by the partials.

There could be several explanations for this. As has been mentioned previously, current labor force participation is regarded as a

less reliable indicator of social participation than labor force participation history due to the erratic nature of many women's labor force involvement (in and out, part time, seasonal). The number of women in this sample who were currently employed is small (20% or 36 of the 179 women), and this can result in substandard cell sizes. However, the aberrant findings cannot be dismissed. Neither can they be adequately explained within the framework and limitations of this study.

The two attitudes negatively related to current labor force participation were life satisfaction and self reliance. When the three attitudes were related to each other, the only non-negligible relationship was that between life satisfaction and self reliance (Q value of .46). This shows a substantial "connection" between these two attitudes. Another evidence of this is the fact that if one examines the conditional Q values in Tables 58, 60, 65, and 69, when the attitudes involved are a combination of life satisfaction and self reliance, the less self reliant and the less satisfied women show a stronger, more positive relationship between the independent and dependent variables than do the more satisfied, more self reliant women. This is true in every case, even though the magnitude is negligible in Table 69 (informal participation). It is especially noteworthy in Tables 60 and 65, which explain labor force participation history and formal participation and attitudes.

It has proved useful to recalculate some of the tables in this chapter using the attitude of life satisfaction as the dependent variable because this may show which kinds of social participation may

result in more life satisfaction. See Table 55 for the zero order relationships. Table 74 is a summary of both zero and partial relationships, controlling for the other attitudes used in this study.

Table 74. Relationships Between Social Participation and Satisfaction, Controlled for Preferred Tempo and Self Reliance

Line	Relationship Between (X)	(Y)	Zero Order Q Value	Partialled on (T)	Partial Q Value
(1)	Current Labor Force Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	-.24	Preferred Tempo*	.73
(2)	Labor Force History	Life Satisfaction	.42	Preferred Tempo	.49
(3)	Formal Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	.50	Preferred Tempo	.29
(4)	Informal Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	.08	Preferred Tempo	.06
(5)	Current Labor Force Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	-.24	Self Reliance	-.11
(6)	Labor Force History	Life Satisfaction	.42	Self Reliance	-.50
(7)	Formal Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	.50	Self Reliance	-.37
(8)	Informal Partic'n	Life Satisfaction	.08	Self Reliance	-.01

* + = Exciting, changeful

The following discussion will focus on the less satisfied women. In each case the associated table will be presented to graphically show the situation. The relationship between informal participation and life

satisfaction will not be dealt with except to note here that they seem not related, even when controlling for the other attitudes used in this study (see lines 4 and 8 in Table 74).

Table 75 shows that there are very few satisfied women who are working currently and who would choose a steady, unexciting life tempo. Only 9% of these women fit into the "more satisfied" category.

Table 75. Current Labor Force Participation, Life Satisfaction, and Preferred Tempo (line 1 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who Are More Satisfied)

		Current Labor Force Participation	
		Not Working	Currently Working
Preferred Tempo	Change	45% (82)*	48% (25)
	Steady	53% (57)	9% (11)

*Base N
Partial Q Value .73

Table 76 shows that very few satisfied women are in the category "had never worked" and "desired an exciting, changeful life" (14% of these women were more satisfied).

Table 77 shows that fewer of the women who desire a changeful kind of life tempo and who had not belonged to clubs or other formally organized groups would be classified as more satisfied (27%).

Table 76. Labor Force Participation History, Life Satisfaction, and Preferred Tempo (line 2 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who Are More Satisfied)

		Labor Force Participation History	
		Never Worked, Worked <1 year	Have Worked
Preferred Tempo	Change	14% (14)*	51% (93)
	Steady	39% (23)	49% (45)

*Base N
Partial Q Value .49

Table 77. Formal Participation, Life Satisfaction, and Preferred Tempo (line 3 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who Are More Satisfied)

		Formal Participation	
		None	Some
Preferred Tempo	Change	27% (49)*	62% (58)
	Steady	41% (37)	52% (31)

*Base N
Partial Q Value .29

Tables 75, 76, and 77 have been presented to graphically portray an important point: unhappiness seems related to dissonance between attitudes and social participation. Many of the women who would like a changeful, exciting life tempo but who did not belong to clubs or had never worked away from home were less satisfied with their lives. Many of the women who are currently working and who prefer a steady, unchanging life tempo report themselves as less happy. Festinger (1957) has suggested that when an individual holds two inconsistent cognitions, dissonance is produced. This is an unpleasant situation. The less happy women described in this paragraph illustrate that point.

What can these less satisfied women do? Can they go out and get jobs or join clubs if they want some excitement? If they could have, one might expect that they would have. But realistically that is not always possible. Perhaps they do not have training and skills to be employable, perhaps they have a large family and cannot leave, perhaps they are not in good enough health to handle a job and home responsibilities, perhaps there are not jobs available in their area, perhaps they are timid or perhaps they are lazy. There are many possible reasons why they are not in the larger world of work and organizations.

What of the woman who is currently working and would prefer a steady, unchanging life tempo? Most of these women are not satisfied with their lives. A fairly direct explanation is that they probably <u>have</u> to work. They must work to buy groceries, shoes, or perhaps education for their families. More satisfaction may only come when some of the responsibilities are completed.

These less satisfied women, those who must work but would rather be leading a more quiet life and those who would like a more exciting life but are either not working (or have not worked) or are not members of clubs or other formally organized groups--what pattern of social participation are they functioning under? The more restricted the life, the less chance there is for a cumulative social participation experience. We do not know why their lives are restricted, why they are unable to do that which might make them happier. This group of women would be interesting to study further.

The relationship between social participation, life satisfaction, and self reliance will be presented in Tables 78, 79, and 80.

Table 78 shows that the smallest group of satisfied women are found among those who are currently working but consider that one can do little to make his own life happier (less self reliant) (29%).

Table 78. Current Labor Force Participation, Life Satisfaction, and Self Reliance (line 5 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who Are More Satisfied)

		Current Labor Force Participation	
		Not Working	Currently Working
Self Reliance	More	69% (71)*	47% (15)
	Less	34% (65)	29% (21)

*Base N
Partial Q Value -.11

Table 78 also shows that regardless of current labor force participation, the more self reliant women are more satisfied. Regardless of self reliance, the women who are not currently working are more satisfied.

Table 79 shows there are very few more satisfied women in the category that includes never worked and less self reliance (10%).

Table 79. Labor Force Participation History, Life Satisfaction, and Self Reliance (line 6 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who Are More Satisfied)

		Labor Force Participation History	
		Never Worked, Worked <1 year	Have Worked
Self Reliance	More	50% (16)*	67% (70)
	Less	10% (23)	40% (65)

*Base N
Partial Q Value -.50

Table 79 also shows that regardless of labor force participation history, the more self reliant women are more satisfied. Regardless of self reliance, the women who have worked are more satisfied.

Table 80 shows very few more satisfied women who belong to at least one club or other formally organized group and who consider that individuals can do little to make their lives happier (18%).

Table 80. Formal Participation, Life Satisfaction, and Self Reliance (line 7 in Table 74)

(Per Cent Who are More Satisfied)

		Formal Participation	
		None	Some
Self Reliance	More	47% (34)*	64% (52)
	Less	18% (50)	53% (36)

*Base N
Partial Q Value -.37

Table 80 also shows that regardless of formal participation, the more self reliant women are more satisfied. Regardless of self reliance the women who participate in formally organized clubs are more satisfied.

Table 78 suggests conclusions that are different from those of Tables 79 and 80. Table 78 shows that not many of the women who are now working and who feel that people can do little to make their lives happier are more satisfied with their situation. These are probably women who have to work; they have little choice. Would they be happier if they were staying home?

Tables 79 and 80 suggest a group of women that are less self reliant and who have never worked or do not belong to clubs. They are not happy, but they seem incapable of effecting change that might lead to a happier life. Are these incompetent women or are they women with no or few salable skills? Are they ill or old or do they live so far

out that they cannot get to jobs or club meetings? Are they afraid to tackle the responsibilities of a job? Are they too poor to join clubs? The less satisfied women in Tables 78, 79, and 80 are not participating in a cumulative fashion; their lives are restricted, for whatever reason.

Investigation of these less satisfied women would be an interesting avenue of pursuit. There are surely other reasons for their lesser share of happiness than not belonging to clubs or not having been in the labor force. It is possible that they are women from a lower socio-economic class. They may have large families and small incomes. They may have unrealistic expectations for themselves. They probably participate socially in a substitution manner; if they have a job they do nothing else. They seem unable to cumulate social participation.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study had two main aims:

(a) to test two theories of social participation to find support for one or the other, or for neither theory;

(b) to test the relationships, if any, between the social participation of women and four social characteristics: participation in the work force, mother's social participation, area of origin, and three attitudes.

Hypotheses were formulated, and the results have been detailed in chapters two through five. In this chapter the support or lack of support for the hypotheses will be discussed, with possible explanations. Relationship to previous research will be pointed out. Implications for further study will be suggested.

Theories of Participation

Hypothesis 1 proposed a substitution theory of social participation. It hypothesized that respondents who are more active participators in one area of social interaction (participating in the work force, in formally organized groups and clubs, or in informal "neighboring") would be less active participators in other kinds of social participation. The women who participate in "A" will less often be involved in "B" or "C".

Hypothesis 2 proposed a cumulative theory of social participation. It hypothesized that respondents who are more active participators in one area of social interaction will also be active in the other kinds of social participation. The women who participate in "A" will often engage in "B" and/or "C".

Much of the evidence in this study supports a cumulative theory of social participation, especially for those women with 12 or more years of schooling.

Table 6 showed that there is a moderate positive relationship between formal and informal participation. Women who belong to clubs or other formally organized groups seem to do more neighboring than do women who do not belong to clubs.

There is a substantial positive relationship between having been in the labor force and participating in formally organized groups and clubs. There is a moderate positive relationship between <u>current</u> labor force participation and formal participation. Women who have worked or who are now working are more likely to be involved in at least one club or other organization than are women who have never been in the labor force.

There is a moderate positive association between having been in the labor force and informal participation. Women who have worked do more neighboring than women who have not been in the labor force.

The evidence cited thus far points to a moderate to substantial relationship between the three types of social participation. However, one discordant situation can be reported: women who are <u>currently</u> in the labor force do <u>not</u> do as much neighboring (informal participation)

as women who are not now working. The negative relationship is so low that it could almost be interpreted as "no relationship". However, when this relationship is controlled for formal participation (see line 5 in Table 6), the partial Q value is stronger. We should conclude that this particular relationship provides limited support for a substitution theory of social participation. The women least likely to interact informally are those who belong to no clubs, especially if they are currently working away from home.

The relationships between labor force participation history and formal and informal participation is shown in Model 1 in Table 6. When the relationship between two kinds of participation is controlled for a third, a much higher conditional Q value for the higher participators results in each case than for the lower participators. The relationships between two kinds of social participation are strongest for the women who participate in a third kind of social activity. This consistency strongly supports a cumulative theory of social participation.

This also suggests that there may be a type of woman who is a "do-er", one who is socially active in several social spheres as opposed to the "stay-at-home". Social participation is considered holistically. The three kinds of social participation would seem to be interrelated for women who do participate (as shown by Table 6 and other tables in Chapter II). The three kinds of social participation do not seem to be as related for women who are less active participators.

This cumulative pattern does not hold for women who are currently in the labor force (Model 2 in Table 6). The partial Q values are not

different from the zero order Q values, and the conditional Q values are remarkably consistent.

One explanation why women who are currently working are more likely to participate formally than informally could be that formal participation was defined for this study as belonging to at least one organization. Simply joining the P.T.A. would qualify as formal participation. Socializing with neighbors, relatives, and friends could take considerably more time than formal participation. If a woman is working she may not have time to spend neighboring, but perhaps she can get to a meeting once in a while.

The relationships between labor force, formal, and informal participation were controlled for age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation). Table 13 shows that age is not an important factor. Table 14 shows that the partial Q values when education was controlled are likewise not different from the zero order Q values, and thus not explanatory. And partialling on social class did not result in explaining the relationships between the kinds of social participation, as shown in Table 15.

Two models of explanation were suggested: one which related formal and informal participation to labor force participation history (Model 1) and the other which related formal and informal participation to current labor force participation (Model 2). The former is adjudged a more valid indicator for two reasons. It subsumes the latter; having worked (at least one year) includes currently working. The group of currently employed women is much smaller (only 36 of the 140 who have

ever worked), making statistical analysis less reliable. A moderate to substantial relationship between types of social participation would support a cumulative theory of participation. Hypothesis 2 would be supported.

The models, discussed in Chapter II, are reproduced here:

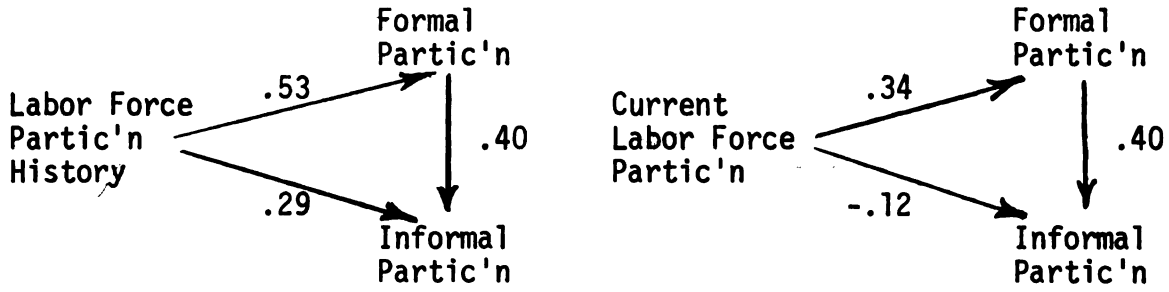

Figure 1. Social participation models.

The more valid model, that for labor force participation history as related to formal and informal participation, shows a moderate to substantial positive relationship between the three types of social participation. Hypothesis 2 is supported. The less valid model shows positive relationships between two of the three relations, and no relationship or a slight negative relationship between current labor force participation and informal participation. This slight negative relationship provides minimal support for Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 received more support than did hypothesis 1. In general, for this group of non-urban Michigan women, participating in one kind of activity would seem to be related to activity in other kinds of social interaction.

It is concluded on the basis of the evidence collected and analyzed in this study that a cumulative theory of social participation finds more support than a substitution theory, especially for women who are socially active.

Relationships Between Social Characteristics and Social Participation

Labor Force Participation History

Hypothesis 3 states that a cumulative theory of social participation would be supported if respondents who are currently in the labor force or who have been in the labor force are higher participators in informal and formal social activities than are women who have never worked for pay away from home.

The results of this study show that women who have been in the labor force are higher participators in both formally organized groups and informal participation with neighbors, friends, and relatives than women who have never been in the labor force. The Q values indicate a moderate to substantial positive relationship; see Tables 1 and 2.

Controlling for a third variable (the third kind of social participation) reveals some further explanation of these relationships. When labor force participation history is related to informal participation, partialling on formal participation shows a reduced Q value (see line 2, Table 6). Formal participation helps to explain the relationship, but it does not account for all of it. In each case (line 1 and line 2) the relationship is stronger for the respondents who participate informally "more" or who participate formally "some" as

indicated by the disparate conditional Q values. This interaction suggests support for a cumulative position of social participation for socially active women.

The results of the relationship between current labor force participation and formal and informal participation are not so consistent. There is a moderate positive relationship between current labor force participation and belonging to at least one formally organized club (Table 4). Women who are now working are involved in some kind of formal participation more often than are women who are not in the labor force. However, the relationship between current labor force participation and informal participation is shown to have a low negative value (Table 5). Women who are working do not do as much neighboring as women who are not involved in the labor force. But the women least likely to interact with friends and neighbors "more" are those who belong to no clubs, especially if they are now working. See Table 6.

The conditional Q values in Table 6 are not disparate. The relationship between current labor force participation and either informal or formal participation is not changed when controlling for the other participation type.

Age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) are used as controls in the relationships between current or historical labor force participation and both formal and informal participation. Age does not explain the relationships. Neither does education or social class explain the relationships (see Tables 13, 14, and 15).

If conclusions are to be drawn about labor force participation and other kinds of social participation, probably labor force participation history is a more valid indicator than current work force participation for reasons discussed previously. However, the situation of the currently working women is a distinctive one, and it should be analyzed separately when appropriate.

Women who have been in the labor force are much more likely to belong to clubs and more likely to participate informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives than are women who have never worked away from home. Women who are currently working are more likely to belong to formally organized groups than women who are not working. However, they are less likely to participate informally than the non-employed women. They can join a club, but it can be assumed that time pressures preclude the more time-consuming informal activities for working women. Women who work but belong to no clubs are least likely to "neighbor".

It is concluded that hypothesis 3 is supported. A cumulative theory of social participation is supported for women who have worked. The evidence is less clear for women currently in the work force, but even in the negative situation (current labor force participation and informal participation) the reported interaction between formal and informal participation in three-variable analysis supports the cumulative position of social participation.

Intergenerational Congruences

Hypothesis 4 states that respondents whose mothers were higher participators in social activities (informal, formal, or labor force) will

themselves be higher participators than will respondents whose mothers were lower social participators. This would support an intergenerational cumulative theory of social participation.

This study found that if the mother had been in the labor force at some time during her life, there was more chance that the daughter (the respondent) would also have been involved in working for pay away from home (see Table 22). If the mother had been more active in clubs and other organized groups than had been most of her (the mother's) friends, then the daughter also would more often report club membership than would the daughter of a non-joining mother.

If the mother had been more active informally (more neighborly) than most of her friends, the daughter did not follow her mother's example. However, daughters of informally more active mother more often had been in the labor force. Could these be daughters of lower class women who do more informal and less formal participating--daughters who might have to work? Or do the daughters rebel at what they consider a "do-nothing" life style?

Partialling for mother's formal and informal participation does not explain the relationship between mother's labor force participation and daughter's labor force participation, current or historical (see Tables 26 and 28). However, when the relationship between mother's informal participation and daughter's labor force participation history is partialled for mother's formal participation, the zero order Q value of .35 becomes a partial Q value of .53 (see line 6 in Table 28). This suggests that the test variable (mother's formal participation) suppresses the "true" strength of the original relationship. This may be

a reflection of the strong positive relationship between formal and informal participation for the mothers, or it may suggest that they both affect the daughter's labor force participation independently. However, a substitution theory of participation is upheld because the daughters are working, not participating formally or informally.

When the relationship between mother's and daughter's social participation is partialled for age (Table 36), there is some further explanation. The negative relationship between mother's labor force participation and daughter's informal participation is stronger. Daughters of mothers who had been in the labor force did less neighboring than daughters of mothers who had not worked, especially the daughters under 45 years of age.

There is likewise some explanatory power in partialling for education for the respondent in the relationship between mother's and daughter's social participation. Education does help to explain the relationship between mother's labor force participation and that of her daughter (line 6, Table 37). This is especially true for the respondents who have 12 or more years of schooling. Daughters with more education emulated their mothers participation patterns more frequently than did daughters with less education. This suggests that a cumulative model of intergenerational participation is more appropriate for women with at least 12 years of schooling than it is for those with less education.

Social class (as indicated by husband's occupation) appears to help explain the relationship between mother's labor force participation

and the labor force participation of her daughter (see lines 3 and 6 in Table 38). The relationship between mothers and daughters is particularly strong for the women whose husbands are professional, managerial, or farm related. It appears that more well-educated daughters who are married to men with middle-class occupations are emulating their mothers' labor force participation pattern than are the less well-educated daughters married to men with other occupations than professional, managerial, or farmer. This may be indicative of a social class difference in intergenerational congruence.

If the mother worked, there is more chance that the daughter works or had worked than if the mother had not been in the labor force. Clubwomen's daughters are more likely to join clubs than are the daughters of women who participated less in organized groups. These two findings are supportive of a cumulative theory of social participation, cumulative intergenerationally.

The daughters of women who neighbored more than most of their friends did not adopt their mothers patterns. If anything they did less informal participating than the other daughters. However, they were more likely to be in the labor force than daughters of less neighborly mothers. This finding supports a substitution theory of social participation intergenerationally.

The results of this section of the study are mixed. However, it is concluded that there is more support for a cumulative theory of intergenerational congruence than for a substitution explanation, especially for young "upper" class respondents who have more education.

Area of Origin

Hypothesis 5 states that respondents who were born and/or reared primarily in small towns and medium sized cities would participate more in informal, formal, and labor force activities than would respondents who were born and/or reared primarily in farm or open country non-farm areas or in large or very large cities.

When the original, non-collapsed contingency tables were computed it was obvious that the women who had been born or reared in large or very large cities had different participation patterns from those women born or reared in small towns and medium sized cities or in farm and open country non-farm areas.

Hypothesis 5 was changed to state that respondents who were born and/or reared in farm or open country non-farm areas, or in small towns or medium sized cities would participate more in informal, formal, and labor force activities than would respondents who were born and/or reared primarily in large or very large cities.

The number of women in the sample born or reared in large or very large cities however is not large (N = 23 and 21 respectively). Three-variable analysis is not properly possible, as not all cell sizes will reach the minimum of five cases. The three-variable analysis was done, but with strong reservations about the validity of any conclusions.

Another reservation must be stated: the women in our sample who were born or reared in large or very large cities have left those cities. They have moved to non-urban areas for whatever reason. They may well be downward mobile (and there is some evidence to support this assumption). They may simply be women who choose not to live in big cities.

In any case, they cannot be called "city women" in any inclusive sense; they are ex-city women who now live away from the city.

The women in this study who were born in large cities and moved to non-urban areas were much less likely to belong to clubs, to neighbor, to have ever worked, or to be in the labor force than women born in the country or small towns and cities (see Table 39).

Women who were reared in big cities belonged to fewer clubs and did less neighboring than did women reared in less populated areas. However, women reared in large cities were more often currently working than women reared in smaller cities or in the country. There was no relationship between area of rearing and labor force participation history. The inconsistency may be a result of the small number of women who were reared in cities.

The relationships between area of origin (birth, rearing) and social participation were controlled for the three test variables of age, education, and social class (as indicated by husband's occupation). See Table 43.

Partialling on age did not result in any further explanation in the relationship between area of origin and labor force participation. Education suppresses the true strength of the relationship between area born and labor force participation history which only becomes apparent when education is controlled. No conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between area of origin and labor force participation, as controlled for husband's occupation, as only two of the 23 women born in the city and six of the 23 city reared women had husbands whose occupations were professional, managerial, or farm-related. This may also

be some indication of downward mobility, or perhaps of lower social class membership, for the group of women who originated in large or very large cities and who now are living in non-urban areas.

The relationship between area of origin and formal participation was controlled for age, education, and social class (Table 47). The substantial relationship between being born and/or growing up in large cities and not participating in clubs is not explained by differences in age, education, or social class.

When the relationship between area of origin and informal participation was controlled for age, education, and social class, in no case was there further explication of the relationship (Table 51).

The conclusion is that the revised hypothesis 5 is supported. Most of the evidence supports this position. The one aberrant case, that which showed that big city reared women were more often currently in the labor force than were town or country reared women, may be explained by the possibility that these women were either downward mobile or of lesser social class and more often had to work.

Attitudes

Hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 relate social participation to three attitudes. Hypothesis 6 posits that women who report more satisfaction with their lives will more often participate in informal, formal and labor force activities than will less satisfied respondents. Hypothesis 7 states that respondents who report that they prefer an exciting, changing life tempo will more often participate socially than will respondents who prefer a steady, unchanging kind of life. Hypothesis 8

suggests that women who report that they feel that "a person can do much to make his life happier" will be more socially active than will less self reliant women who agree that "a person can do little to make his life happier."

There was a moderately substantial relationship between feelings of life satisfaction and self reliance (see Table 54). Self reliant women were happier. There was no relationship between life satisfaction and preferred tempo or between self reliance and preferred tempo.

There are 12 relationships involved in the three hypotheses: three attitudes and four kinds of social participation. In ten of the twelve relationships there is a positive relationship between the attitudes and social participation in the direction hypothesized. See Table 55.

Two of the four relationships between life satisfaction and social participation are positive. The more satisfied women had worked and do belong to clubs. Neighboring however is not related to satisfaction, and currently working is related to dissatisfaction.

When these four relationships are partialled for others of the attitudes used in this study, there is no further explanation. Age does not explain the relationships between life satisfaction and social participation (Table 71). Nor does education provide explanation (Table 72) or social class as indicated by husband's occupation (Table 73).

All four of the relationships between preferred tempo and the four kinds of social participation are positive (supporting hypothesis 7). See Table 55. The women who would choose an exciting, changeful kind of life over a steady one have more often been in the labor force.

Women who prefer an exciting life will more often be working, participating in clubs, and neighboring than will the women who prefer a more steady kind of life tempo.

When these four relationships are partialled for others of the attitudes in this study there is no further explanation.

The relationship between preferred tempo and social participation was also controlled for age, education, and social class. Age suppresses the relationship between preferred tempo and formal participation. The relationship between preferring an exciting life and belonging to clubs is especially strong for women who are less than 45 years old.

Education explains two of the relationships between preferred tempo and social participation but does not completely account for them (Table 72). Women who want an exciting life join clubs; this is especially true for the women who have had less than 12 years of schooling. It is not true for the women who have more years of schooling (they more often work away from home).

Husband's occupation does not explain any of the relationships between preferred tempo and social participation (Table 76).

Feelings of <u>self reliance</u>, that you can do much to make your own life happier, were positively related to three of the four kinds of social participation (Table 55). The more self reliant women more often had been in the labor force, belong to clubs, and interact informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives than do women who are less self reliant. Being in the labor force at the present time was related negatively to feelings of self reliance and of satisfaction. Could this be

explained by the assumption that some women must work and are not happy about it and would not have chosen to work? They may not be doing that which they would really like to do with their time and energy.

When these four relationships are partialled for others of the attitudes used in this study there is no further explanation.

The four relationships were also partialled for age, education, and social class. Age does not explain the relationship between self reliance and social participation (Table 71). Women who have had 12 or more years of education show a much stronger relationship between self reliance and having been in the work force (Table 72). There is no explication of the relationships between self reliance and social participation when partialled for husband's occupation as an indicator of social class (Table 76).

It was hypothesized that women who are more satisfied with their lives, who prefer change to a steady life tempo, and who were more self reliant would more often participate socially (in the labor force, formally, and informally) than would less satisfied, less self reliant women who prefer a steady pace of living. Both zero order and partial Q values support this hypothesis in ten of the twelve cases. The strongest support was in the areas of labor force participation history and formal participation. Self reliant women who preferred change and excitement and who are more satisfied with their lives are much more likely to have been in the labor force and to belong to clubs and other formally organized groups than the less self reliant, less satisfied women who preferred a steadier pace. The former group of women interacted informally more than did the latter group.

The aberrant situation is that of attitudes and current labor force participation. Women who liked change were more likely to be working. However, women who were less satisfied with their lives and who were less self reliant more often reported being in the labor force currently than did the more self reliant, more satisfied women. These relationships are of a low negative magnitude, not explained by the partials.

There could be several explanations for this finding. Because of the small number of women who are currently working, the results may not be an accurate picture of the actual situation. The erratic nature of women's employment may give less than complete data about working when collected at one specific time. However, these results cannot be dismissed. Neither can they be adequately explained within the framework and limitations of this study. It is suggested that further research relating other attitudes and other social characteristics to current labor force participation could be very interesting.

It is concluded that, in general, hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 are supported. The more satisfied, self reliant women who preferred an exciting kind of life were more often involved in some kind of social participation than were the less satisfied, less self reliant women who preferred a steady life tempo. The aberrant cases showed that women currently in the labor force are often the less satisfied and less self reliant women. It was suggested that this may have been the case because they had to work and would rather not have been doing so.

Cumulative Theory of Social Participation

Although not completely supported in every hypothesis, the cumulative theory of social participation has received more support in this study than has a substitution theory of social participation for women who do participate socially.

Women who are active in one kind of social interaction are often active in other kinds of social participation. Women who have been in the labor force more often belong to clubs and maintain friendly interaction with neighbors, friends, and relatives than do women who have never worked. Women who belong to clubs do more neighboring, and are more likely to be working or to have worked than women who do not belong to formally organized groups. More of the women who participate informally with neighbors, friends, and relatives will also belong to clubs and have worked than women who do less neighboring. All of these relationships support a cumulative theory of social participation. There is one discordant situation: women who are now working do less neighboring.

The same conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of mother's and daughter's social participation. The congruence between generations is supported more often than negated. Daughters of mothers who were in the labor force more often are or have worked than daughters of non-employed mothers. Daughters of mothers who belonged to clubs will more often themselves belong to clubs than will the daughters of mothers who did not affiliate with formally organized groups. However, this pattern is not found in the case of informal participation. Daughters of mothers

who interacted more with neighbors, friends, and relatives do not neighbor more than daughters of less informally active mothers. They interact informally less.

Other relationships support the hypothesis of a cumulative theory of social participation. When labor force participation history is related to formal and informal participation, the higher participators consistently show a stronger relationship between the kinds of social participation. See the conditional Q values in Table 6.

The more self reliant and more satisfied women who prefer a changeful life tempo participated more often in all three areas of social participation: they had been in the labor force, they belong to clubs, and they neighbor more than less self reliant, less satisfied women who prefer a steady pace. Some of the less satisfied women preferred an exciting life tempo but did not belong to clubs and had not been in the labor force. Another group of less satisfied women preferred an unchanging life tempo but were in the labor force. It is suggested that this dissonance may be a cause of their lesser satisfaction with their lives.

Another support for a cumulative explanation for participation is shown in the very strong relationship between mother's formal and informal participation (see Table 21).

Typology: High and Low Participators

If the case is made that a cumulative theory of social participation is more realistic and more useful than a substitution theory, at least for women who do participate socially, where does the researcher

go from there? It seems appropriate to consider the possibility of two types of participators: women who are working or have worked, who belong to clubs, and who do more neighboring and informally interaction than many other women do, and women who do not and have not worked, who belong to no clubs, and who neighbor less than other women. The former group are high participators; they "get out and get things done". Are these women different from the ones who participate socially less, and "stay-at-homes"? In what ways are they different?

In this section high participators are compared with low participators. High participators are defined as meeting the following requirements: they are or have been in the labor force, they are among the most active formal participants, and they do the most informal participating. Seventeen women met all three of these requirements. Low participators are defined as those who have never worked or have worked less than a year, they do not belong to any clubs, and they do less neighboring than the median for the sample. Sixteen women met these requirements. The two groups of women will be compared in the sequence used to describe the entire sample of non-urban Michigan women in Chapter I. Because these two groups are small, the only statistics that are employed are medians and percentages.

1. More of the high participators are farm women than are low participators (41% as opposed to 19%).
2. By definition, the low participators have not been in the labor force or they have worked less than a year. By definition the high participators have worked a year or more. The median length of time worked was 5 to 8 years.

3. Also by definition, the low participators are not currently in the work force. Neither are most of the high participators; only 2 of the 17 are working away from home.
4. Formal participation was assigned a score based on a modified Chapin scale:
   1 point for membership
   1 point for participating once a month or oftener
   1 point for being an officer

   Low participators did not belong to any formally organized groups or clubs. The median score for high participators was 5 (minimum for participators is 1, maximum 9).
5. Informal participation was scored on the basis of answers to six questions about interaction with neighbors, friends, relatives, etc. The answers were scored to a six-point scale. Low participators were in the first three categories (total N = 77). High participators were in the highest two categories (total N = 53). Again, this was by definition.
6. The high participators were slightly younger than the low participators (40-44 years as median for high participators and 45-49 for low participators). However, nearly half (44%) of the low participators were 60 years of age or older. Only 18% of the high participators are in this age category.
7. The high participators have more years of schooling than do the low participators: median of high school graduation as compared to incompleted high school as median for the low participators.

8. There are more married women in the high participators, more widows in the low participators (88% of the high participators are married, 12% are widowed; 63% of the low participators are married, 25% are widows, and the rest single or divorced). The low participators include more older women, so it is not surprising that it should include more widowed women.
9. It is also no surprise that there are fewer children at home with the low participators. Nearly half (44%) have no children at home, and the median number at home is 1. A quarter (24%) of the high participators have no children at home, and the median for this group is 2 children at home.
10. If type of birthplace can be put on a continuum by size of community, small towns are the median birthplace for both low and high participators. However, none of the high participators were born in large or very large cities, whereas 38% of the low participators were big city born. Could these low participators be downward mobile city women, or are they suburbanites looking for more space?
11. Small towns were also the median area type in which both high and low participators were reared. Again, none of the high participators was reared in large cities, but 31% of the low participators grew up in large or very large cities.
12. Both groups had lived in more than a few residences over their lifetimes: five for the high participators, five plus for the low participators.

13. The median educational attainment for fathers of the respondents was eighth grade for the high participators and grade 11 for the low participators. This might support a hypothesis of downward mobility for these women.
14. Both groups were similar in their perceptions of their mother's formal and informal social participation: both saw mothers as less active than most of her (the mother's) friends. Both groups had mothers who had worked: 53% of high participator's mothers and 38% of low participator's mothers had been in the labor force.
15. The data on husband's occupation, which can be taken as a measure of social class, shows some interesting figures. Half of the husbands of high participators are reported as professional, managerial, or farmers. Only a quarter of the low participators report husbands with these occupations. This suggests that the high participators more often live in middle class families than do low participators.
16. Both low participators and high participators watch an average of 3 hours of television per day. High participators listen to more hours of radio per day than do low participators (averages of 4 and 2 hours respectively).
17. High participators read more magazines (an average of 4 regularly) than do low participators (an average of 3 regularly). Both groups read two newspapers, on the average.
18. Almost all of the high participators reported that they voted: 94% in the last presidential election and 88% in the last

gubernatorial election. Fewer of the low participants voted: 69% in the presidential election and 50% in the last gubernatorial election. This is a fairly striking difference in community involvement.

19. When asked about life satisfaction, on an 11 point scale (0 = the worst possible life, 10 = the best possible life), the median reported by high participators was 8; for low participators it was 6. Evidently high participators were more satisfied with their lives.
20. When a choice was asked about desired tempo of living, 11 point scale (0 = steady, unchanging kind of life; 10 = exciting pace), high participators recorded 5 as their choice. Low participators chose 3, a less exciting, steadier tempo. This may be a reflection of the larger number of older women in the low participators.
21. High participators thought that people could do more to make their own lives happier: median of 8 on the 11 point scale. Low participators showed a median selection of score 6.

The high participator emerges as more often a farm woman, slightly younger, longer schooled, more often married with children at home, and more of their mothers worked than did the mothers of the "stay-at-homes". Their husbands were more often professional, managerial, or farmers, they listen more to the radio and read more magazines, and they voted in larger proportion than did the "stay-at-home" wives. They report more satisfaction with their lives, are more self reliant, and more often choose an exciting, changeful life to a steady tempo than do

the women who are low participators.

They are the women for whom a cumulative pattern of social participation is particularly appropriate. They handle several kinds of social interaction at one time or serially.

There appears to be a group of downward mobile women in the study sample. More of the low participators were born in large cities or grew up in large cities and subsequently moved to a non-urban area than did high participators. The median grade of school completed by the fathers of high participators was 8th grade; the fathers of low participators had finished 11th grade on the average. This strongly suggests downward mobility when combined with the fact that the husbands of low participators were seldom reported to be professionals, managers, or farmers (upper class). These women do not participate cumulatively. Some of them must work, but that is all they do. Presumably that is all they have time or energy to do.

It would seem that if a woman has more schooling and upper class membership (as defined by husband's occupation) she has more options open to her. She does not <u>have</u> to work to help support her family. She may <u>choose</u> to work, however. And because of her education she can find a job that is worth her while. Or she may join clubs or other formally organized groups if that is her choice. Perhaps, at particular times in her life (when her children are pre-schoolers, for example) she may choose to spend her time chatting with neighbors, coffee-ing with friends, or similar informal activities. Options are available for her.

These options are often <u>not</u> available to the women with little schooling, one whose husband is not a manager, professional, or farmer.

She may be downwardly mobile. She may have to work to help buy groceries. Because she has to work she cannot go back to school to update skills or learn new ones. And the older she gets, the harder it is to get back to school, especially if she has expanding family responsibilities.

A cumulative theory of social participation is neither appropriate nor applicable for her. She is constrained in her choices. Forces, perhaps beyond her control, do not allow her freedom or opportunity. She is on a train with the doors closed, headed one way. She can go from the club car to the diner or back to her seat. But she is on that train and cannot get off.

The women who have worked and who belong to clubs are often more satisfied with their lives. Is high participation necessary for happiness? Not necessarily. Women who preferred a steady, unchanging life tempo and who were not working were more satisfied than those who were working as were those who preferred a changeful, exciting life and who had been in the labor force or belonged to clubs. It is suggested that a consonance must prevail between attitudes about life tempo, for example, and kind and amount of social participation for the individual to be satisfied with her life.

A happy high participator accumulates activities as she goes; a happy low participator takes them one at a time. But a low participator forced to work or forced to stay home and neighbor may not be as satisfied as she would be if she had a "free" choice of her one activity. A cumulative theory and pattern fits high participators while a "free choice" substitution pattern is best suited to low participators.

Further Implications and Suggestions for Research

It was noted in Chapter I that sociologists have been, and are, interested in social participation. This study has investigated the social participation of a segment of our population: non-urban women.

It is documented that women are increasingly involved in the labor force. There has been concern that this will result in less involvement in voluntary organizations, to the detriment of those organizations. This study should allay that concern. Women who are in the labor force are more often involved in formally organized groups and clubs than those who do not work. The experience of having worked results in more participation in formal organizations.

If participation in clubs or in the work force integrates persons into the larger group, we can expect women to become a part of a group broader than that bounded by the traditional smaller and more primary groups of family and neighborhood as more of them participate in social activities away from their homes. They will become part of a larger and more comprehensive community. Evidence for this is shown in this study: almost all of the high participators reported that they had voted in the last presidential and gubernatorial elections. More high participators voted than did low participators.

If women are to be not only contributing members of the larger group, but also do some share of the directing of the larger concerns, it can be expected that the cutting edge of feminism will be found in women with social characteristics similar to the high participators in

this study. They will have the interest, the skills, and the ability to "make a difference".

High participators are also the women who, according to the findings of this study, are more satisfied with their lives, more self reliant, and who prefer an exciting life as compared with the low participators who are less satisfied, less self reliant, and more often choose a steady life pace. Will the "stay-at-homes" change? How could they become more satisfied and self reliant? If a member of this group received more education or married into the middle class, would she then become a high participator, more satisfied and self reliant?

What about the daughters of the respondents? We can expect that the daughters of higher participators would emulate their mothers in the areas of labor force and formal participation (as the respondents emulate <u>their</u> mothers), if the findings of this study are correct. The integration of women into the larger group would not stop with one generation, but continue into the future.

It is tempting to want to discuss area of origin and social participation in the future: city born and reared women participating less and town or country born and reared women participating more. But the group of city women in this study were no longer living in the city, and there may be special reasons why this is not so (downward mobility has been suggested as a possibility). So to talk about possible lesser integration of city women is inappropriate.

And it is tempting to view the relationships between life satisfaction and participation and not suggest simplistically that if you join or work or neighbor (or join <u>and</u> work <u>and</u> neighbor) you will be

happier. It is not so uncomplicated a situation. A sociologist finds social class variables that also accompany the reported satisfaction with life (professional, managerial, or farmer husbands; more education; mothers who also participated, and more). These factors must be taken into account, as well as individual attitudes.

But the fact remains that the presumably middle class women are the ones who participate more widely in broader community concerns than women who do not have middle class characteristics. They are the ones who are more likely to take leadership roles in effecting change. And as Form (1973) suggests about more skilled workers as compared to less skilled, highly educated women who have worked have a greater opportunity for solidarity than do the lower participators. These women have the ability and opportunity to unite and achieve some modicum of power in community affairs.

Further study of the higher and lower participators among women with special interest in social class would be interesting, especially if it were possible to find high participators who were less well educated and whose husbands did not have middle class occupations. Lower participators from solidly middle class backgrounds could be studied, with special interest not only in social background characteristics, but also in social psychological characteristics.

Other suggested avenues for research could be the investigation of the interrelationships of the three kinds of social participation with men as the population studied. Another sub-population that could be investigated is urban women. If several populations showed reasonably similar patterns of social participation interrelationships, a cumulative

(or substitution) theory of social participation could be more strongly supported.

As certain social trends continue, trends that closely affect women such as more single parent families, more women in the work force and more women in positions of authority in their jobs, smaller sized families, and the re-emergence of the "independent" woman (she first appeared in the twenties), we can expect that there will be more, rather than less, interest in the social interactions that result in the integration of women into the areas of broader concerns than "kirche, kuchen, and kinder".

APPENDIX

The data used in this study was collected in two stages. The major portion was collected by The Gallup Organization, Inc. and was part of a lengthy questionnaire. Only those pages in the questionnaire that contained questions pertinent to this study are reproduced in the Appendix.

Additional data was collected by the author. A double postcard explained the request for more information and included a card to be filled out and returned to the author. These are also reproduced in the Appendix.

Time Interview Began
_____a.m.
_____p.m.

GALLUP OPINION SURVEY
The Gallup Organization, Inc.
Princeton, N. J.

July, 1970

GO 7077

SUGGESTED INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is ... I'm from The Gallup Organization in Princeton, New Jersey. We're conducting a survey for a leading University to learn about people's attitudes and beliefs connected with their daily life. Is there some place we can talk without being disturbed? I think you will find the questions interesting. Please answer them as frankly and completely as you can.

First, I'd like to ask you:

1. About how much time each day would you say you look at television? (RECORD BELOW)

2. About how much time each day would you say you listen to the radio? (RECORD BELOW)

	Q.1 - TV	Q.2 - Radio
None	0[ ]	0[ ]
0:01-1:00 hr	1[ ]	1[ ]
1:01-2:00 hrs	2[ ]	2[ ]
2:01-3:00 hrs	3[ ]	3[ ]
3:01-4:00 hrs	4[ ]	4[ ]
4:01-5:00 hrs	5[ ]	5[ ]
5:01-6:00 hrs	6[ ]	6[ ]
6:01-7:00 hrs	7[ ]	7[ ]
7:01-or more	8[ ]	8[ ]
Don't know, refused, other	9[ ]	9[ ]

3. Which, if any, magazines do you read either regularly or occasionally?

0[ ] None

MAGAZINES:

4. Which, if any, newspapers do you read either regularly or occasionally? (IDENTIFY BY NAME OF CITY: "THE DETROIT NEWS", "THE OWOSSO ARGUS PRESS", "KALAMAZOO GAZETTE", ETC.)

0[ ] None

NEWSPAPERS:

_____

_____

5a. Regardless of how you voted last time, what do you consider yourself politically?

1[ ] DEMOCRAT 2[ ] REPUBLICAN 3[ ] INDEPENDENT* (ASK 5b)

9[ ] OTHER (Specify): _____

*(IF NON-SPECIFIC "OTHER", ASK 5b)

*If "INDEPENDENT" OR NON SPECIFIC "OTHER", ASK 5b:

b. Toward which party do you lean?

1[ ]DEM. 2[ ]REP. 3[ ]INDEP. 9[ ]OTHER (Specify: _____)

5c. In the 1968 Presidential election--when Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace were running--did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

1[ ]Yes, voted 2[ ]No, did not vote 9[ ]Don't remember

5d. And in the 1966 Gubernatorial election--when George Romney and Zoltan Ferency were running for governor--did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

1[ ]Yes, voted 2[ ]No, did not vote 9[ ]Don't remember

6. What was your age on your last birthday?_____

7. What was the last grade or class you COMPLETED in school?

0[ ]None
1[ ]Grades 1-4
2[ ]Grades 5, 6, 7
3[ ]Grade 8
4[ ]High School, INCOMPLETE (Grades 9-11)
5[ ]High School, GRADUATE (Grade 12)
6[ ]Technical, Trade, or Business
7[ ]College, University,INCOMPLETE
8[ ]College, University,GRADUATE

_____
College, University Attended

8a. Where were you born? (IF RESPONDENT WAS BORN OR GREW UP IN RURAL AREA, GET COUNTY INSTEAD OF CITY)

(City or County) (State) (Nation)

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD A)

b. Was that on a farm, in a small town, in a medium size city, in a large city, or in a very large city?

1[ ] FARM 2[ ] OPEN-COUNTRY NONFARM 3[ ] SMALL TOWN
4[ ] MEDIUM SIZE CITY 5[ ]LARGE CITY 6[ ]VERY LARGE CITY

If "FARM" or "OPEN-COUNTRY", Ask 8c

c. What is the name of the nearest town (NOT LARGE CITY) to where you were born?_____

8d. Where did you grow up?_____
(City or County) (State) (Nation)

e. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Were you raised mostly on a farm, in a small town, in a medium size city, in a large city, or in a very large city?

1[ ] FARM 2[ ] OPEN-COUNTRY NONFARM 3[ ] SMALL TOWN
4[ ] MEDIUM SIZE CITY 5[ ] LARGE CITY 6[ ] VERY LARGE CITY

If "FARM" or "OPEN COUNTRY", ask 8f

f. What is the name of the nearest town (NOT LARGE CITY) to where you were raised?_____

9a. Thinking back over all the places you have lived throughout the years, how many different residences would you say you have had?

TOTAL NUMBER_____

b. How many of those were:

On a farm? _____
In open-country, nonfarm? _____
In a small town? _____
In a medium sized city? _____
In a large city? _____
In a very large city? _____
TOTAL _____

(INTERVIEWER:--The total number of residences named in 9b must equal the total in 9a)

ASK 10a and 10b ONLY OF RESPONDENTS NOW LIVING ON FARMS:

10a. Do you own, rent, or work this farm on shares?

1[ ]Own 2[ ]Rent 3[ ]Shares 4[ ]Hired Hand 9[ ]Other

_____
Specify)

b. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) Which statement on this card best describes this farm?

1[ ] A 2[ ] B 3[ ] C 4[ ] D 5[ ] E

11a. What was the usual occupation of your father (the person who raised you) while you were growing up?

TITLE_____

b. What type of work did he do in that job? DESCRIPTION_____

_____

12. What was the last grade or class he (she) COMPLETED in school?

0[ ]None
1[ ]Grades 1-4
2[ ]Grades 5, 6, 7
3[ ]Grade 8
4[ ]High School, Incomplete (Gr. 9-11)
5[ ]High School, Graduate (Gr. 12)
6[ ]Technical, Trade, or Business
7[ ]College, University, Incomplete
8[ ]College, University, Graduate

_____
(College, University Attended)

13. Are you married, single, divorced or separated, or widowed?

1[ ]Married 2[ ]Single 3[ ]Divorced or Separated 4[ ]Widowed

ASK MEN ONLY:

14a. Are you now employed?

1[ ] Employed (Full-time) (Ask 14c)
2[ ] Employed (Part-time) (Ask 14c)
3[ ] Retired* (Ask 14b)
4[ ] Unemployed* (Ask 14b)
9[ ] Other (Specify): _____

*IF "RETIRED" or "UNEMPLOYED", Ask 14b and then skip to 15a

b. How long?

(Get answer in terms of months or years)

ASK 14c and 14d of EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS:

c. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD C) I would like you to look at this card. What would you say your yearly income is from your present job? Please tell me your answer by letter.

1[ ] A 2[ ] B 3[ ] C
4[ ] D 5[ ] E 6[ ] F
7[ ] G 8[ ] H 9[ ] I 0[ ] J

d. Do you presently hold more than one job? 1[ ] Yes 2[ ] No

ASK WOMEN ONLY:

14a. Are you now employed outside the home, or not?

1[ ]Yes (Full-time) (SKIP TO 14d)
2[ ]Yes (Part-time) (SKIP TO 14d)
3[ ]No* (ASK 14b)

*IF "NO", ASK 14b:

b. Are you retired or unemployed from a job outside the home?

1[ ]Yes* (ASK 14c)
2[ ]No (IF RESPONDENT IS MARRIED, WRITE HOUSEWIFE IN 15a

THEN SKIP TO 17a.

OTHERWISE SKIP TO 17a.)

*IF "YES" ASK 14c:

c. How long?

(Get answer in terms of months or years)

ASK 14d and 14e of EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS

d. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD C) I would like you to look at this card. What would you say your yearly income is from your present job? Please tell me your answer by letter.

1[ ] A 2[ ] B 3[ ] C
4[ ] D 5[ ] E 6[ ] F
7[ ] G 8[ ] H 9[ ] I 0[ ] J

e. Do you presently hold more than one job? 1[ ] Yes 2[ ] No

INTERVIEWER: In the next two questions, try to get a job title and a short description of the job. If a person is UNEMPLOYED or RETIRED, get his or her usual occupation while working. If a person is a HOUSEWIFE, write in "Housewife", in 15a and go on to 17a.
If respondent has two jobs, get what he considers his main full-time job.

15a. What is (was) your occupation? TITLE_____

b. What type of work do (did) you do in that job? DESCRIPTION_____

_____

16. How many years have (did) you worked (work) at your present (last) job? _____

INTERVIEWER: If respondent held same job as present one 10 or more years, skip to 19a.

17a. Now we'd like to go back in time a little on the subject of jobs. Did you have a job ten years ago, in 1960?

1[ ] Yes* (ASK 17b, 17c) 2[ ] No** (SKIP TO 17d)

*If "Yes", ask 17b, 17c:

b. What was your occupation then? TITLE_____

INTERVIEWER: If same job as now, write in "Same Job" and skip to 19a.

c. What type of work did you do in that job? DESCRIPTION_____

_____

**If "No", ask 17d:

d. Have you ever had a job?

1[ ] Yes (SKIP TO 19a) 2[ ] No, Never (SKIP TO 22a)

18. How many years did you work at that job?_____

19a. Now let's go back to when you first started working. What was your very first full-time job? TITLE_____

INTERVIEWER: If the respondent's first full-time job is his present job or the one he held 10 years ago, write in "Same Job" or "Same as Job 10 Years Ago" and skip to 23a.

b. What type of work did you do in that job? DESCRIPTION_____

_____

20. How many years did you work at that job?_____

21a. Where did you live when you had that job?

_____
(City or County) (State) (Nation)

21b. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Was that on a farm, in a small town, in a medium size city, or in a very large city?

1[ ]Farm 2[ ]OPEN-COUNTRY NONFARM 3[ ]SMALL TOWN
4[ ]MEDIUM SIZE CITY 5[ ]LARGE CITY 6[ ]VERY LARGE CITY

IF "FARM" OR "OPEN-COUNTRY NONFARM", ASK 21c

c. What is the name of the nearest town (NOT LARGE CITY) to where you lived then? _____

INTERVIEWER: Ask married, separated, divorced, or widowed women only (Q. 13) employed or unemployed. If respondent is male or an unmarried woman, skip to 23a.

22a. What is (was) your husband's occupation?

TITLE_____

b. What type of work does (did) he do in that job? DESCRIPTION_____

_____

c. How many years has (did) he worked (work) at that job?_____

d. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD C) I would like you to look at this card. What would you say your husband's yearly income is (was) from his job?

1[ ] A 2[ ] B 3[ ] C 4[ ] D 5[ ] E 6[ ] F

7[ ] G 8[ ] H 9[ ] I 0[ ] J

ASK EVERYONE:

23a. Let me turn to another kind of question. Do you own any stock or other shares in any private corporation or business firm, such as General Motors, AT&T, IBM, etc.?

1[ ] YES (SKIP TO 24) 2[ ] NO ** (ASK 23b)

** IF "NO" ASK 23b:

b. Have you ever thought about buying stock or other shares in any private corporation or business firm?

1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO 9[ ] DON'T KNOW

24. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D) If you were asked to describe your social class, to which class would you say you belonged--working, lower, lower-middle, middle, upper-middle, or upper? (MAKE NO SUGGESTIONS. ASK RESPONDENT WHICH OF THESE TERMS HE WOULD USE TO DESCRIBE THE SOCIAL CLASS HE BELONGS IN. WE WANT AN ENTIRELY SUBJECTIVE RATING.)

1[ ] WORKING 2[ ] LOWER 3[ ] LOWER-MIDDLE 4[ ] MIDDLE

5[ ] UPPER-MIDDLE 6[ ] UPPER

NOTE: Questions 25 through 27 do not relate to this dissertation.

28a. Other than church membership, do you belong to any religious groups or church clubs of any kind?

1[ ] YES* (ASK 28b, 28c, 28d) 2[ ] NO (SKIP TO 29)

*IF "YES", ASK 28b, 28c, 28d:

b. How many such religious groups or church clubs do you belong to? (CIRCLE NUMBER) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 or more

INTERVIEWER: If only one group is named, enter its name in 28c.
If more than one is named, ask 28c.

c. Would you give me the name of the ONE which is the most important to you? ACTUAL NAME

d. How often do you participate in the activities of this group?

1[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
2[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
3[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
4[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
5[ ] ONCE A YEAR
6[ ] LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR
7[ ] NEVER

We have been talking about religious or church groups. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about some other groups and organizations which are not officially connected with the church or religion.

29a. Do you belong to a labor union, farm organization or business or professional organization?

1[ ] YES* 2[ ] NO (IF "NO" SKIP TO 30)

*IF YES ASK 29b, c, d, e, f:

b. Which organization (organizations) are you a member of?

1[ ] LABOR UNION 2[ ] FARM ORGANIZATION 3[ ] BUSINESS OR PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION

c. What is (are) the name (names) of the organization (organizations)?

(RECORD NAME OF EACH ORGANIZATION IN SPACE AT TOP OF EACH QUESTION. THEN ASK 29d, c, f, SEPARATELY FOR EACH.)

	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)
d. Are you an officer in this organization?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO
e. How often do you participate in the activities of this organization?				
AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]
A FEW TIMES A MONTH	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]
ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]
A FEW TIMES A YEAR	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]
ONCE A YEAR	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]
LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]
NEVER	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]
f. Does your (wife) (husband) belong to this organization also?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

30a. Do you belong to any fraternal, social, or recreational organizations?

1[ ] YES* 2[ ] NO (IF "NO" SKIP TO 31)

*IF "YES", ASK 30b, c, d, e, f:

b. Which organization (organizations) are you a member of?

1[ ] FRATERNAL ORG. 2[ ] SOCIAL OR COUNTRY CLUB 3[ ] RECREATIONAL ORG.

c. What is (are) the name (names) of the organization (organizations)?

(RECORD NAME OF EACH ORGANIZATION IN SPACE AT TOP OF EACH QUESTION. THAN ASK 30d, e, and f SEPARATELY FOR EACH.)

	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)
d. Are you an officer in this organization?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO
e. How often do you participate in the activities of this organization?				
AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]
A FEW TIMES A MONTH	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]
ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]
A FEW TIMES A YEAR	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]
ONCE A YEAR	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]
LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]
NEVER	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]
f. Does your (wife) (husband) belong to this organization also?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

31a. Do you belong to any political, education, or service organization?

1[ ] YES* 2[ ] NO (IF "NO" SKIP TO 32)

*IF "YES", ASK 31b, c, d, e, f:

b. Which organization (organizations) are you a member of?

1[ ] POLITICAL ORG. 2[ ] EDUCATIONAL ORG. 3[ ] SERVICE ORG.

c. What is (are) the name (names) of the organization (organizations)?

(RECORD NAME OF EACH ORGANIZATION IN SPACE AT TOP OF EACH QUESTION. THEN ASK 31d, e, and f SEPARATELY FOR EACH.)

	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)	(Name)
d. Are you an officer in this organization?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO
e. How often do you participate in the activities of this organization?				
AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]	1[ ]
A FEW TIMES A MONTH	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]	2[ ]
ABOUT ONCE A MONTH	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]	3[ ]
A FEW TIMES A YEAR	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]	4[ ]
ONCE A YEAR	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]	5[ ]
LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]	6[ ]
NEVER	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]	7[ ]
f. Does your (wife) (husband) belong to this organization also?	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO	1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

INTERVIEWER: If respondent has NOT belonged to any organization in Questions 28, 29, 30, and 31, skip to 33. If respondent mentioned he or she belonged to only one group, write in name of organization below and go on to 33. If he or she mentioned more than one organization, ask:

32. Taking ALL of these groups and organizations into consideration, which ONE is the most important to you?

ACTUAL NAME_____

ASK EVERYONE:

Now, let's leave the subject of organizations and talk about the contact you have with relatives of yours and your (wife) (husband). First we'll ask you about your relatives and then ask you a separate question about the contact you have with your children.

33. How often do you get together with any of your relatives, other than those living at home with you? (RECORD BELOW)

1[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
2[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
3[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
4[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
5[ ] ONCE A YEAR
6[ ] LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR
7[ ] NEVER

34. How often do you get together with any of your children that no longer live at home? (RECORD BELOW)

INTERVIEWER: If more than one child, record for that child seen most frequently.

1[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
2[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
3[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
4[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
5[ ] ONCE A YEAR
6[ ] LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR
7[ ] NEVER
*8[ ] RESPONDENT HAS NO CHILDREN, OR NO CHILDREN AWAY FROM HOME

*INTERVIEWER: If respondent has no children or no children living away from home, SKIP to 36.

36. Apart from the relatives and the recognized groups and formal organizations we have been talking about, some people just get together informally every once in a while. Sometimes they just talk or visit and sometimes they do things together. Now, here are some questions about such people and you.

a. How often do you get together with any of your neighbors?

1[ ] ABOUT EVERY DAY
2[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
3[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
4[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
5[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
6[ ] ABOUT ONCE A YEAR OR LESS
7[ ] NEVER

b. How often do you get together, outside of work, with any of the people you (your husband) work(s) with?

1[ ] ABOUT EVERY DAY
2[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
3[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
4[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
5[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
6[ ] ABOUT ONCE A YEAR OR LESS
7[ ] NEVER

c. And how often do you get together with any other friends?

1[ ] ABOUT EVERY DAY
2[ ] AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK
3[ ] A FEW TIMES A MONTH
4[ ] ABOUT ONCE A MONTH
5[ ] A FEW TIMES A YEAR
6[ ] ABOUT ONCE A YEAR OR LESS
7[ ] NEVER

37. How many close friends would you say you have right now, not including relatives? By close friends, we mean people you like to be with, people you trust, people who would help you, or that you would help.

TOTAL NUMBER_____

38a. Do all of these close friends come from the same language or racial backgrounds?

1[ ] YES* (ASK 38b) 2[ ] NO** (ASK 38c)

*IF "YES" IN 38a, ASK 38b:

b. Is YOUR racial or language background the same?

1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

**IF "NO" IN 38a, ASK 38c:

c. If YOUR racial or language background the same as the background of most of your close friends, some of your close friends, or none of them?

1[ ] MOST 2[ ] SOME 0[ ] NONE

39. Have you ever considered moving from this town? (FOR RURAL AREAS, USE "COUNTRY".)

1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

40a. Have you ever visited or lived in any foreign countries; this would include Canada and Mexico?

1[ ] YES *(ASK 40b, 40c) 2[ ] NO (SKIP TO 41)

*IF "YES", ASK 40b, 40c:

b. In all of your life, have you spent a total of at least one month outside the country?

1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

c. Have you ever been in Mexico?

1[ ] YES 2[ ] NO

46. Are there any of these groups you would PREFER not to have as citizens of our country?

YES, PREFER NOT TO HAVE	YES, PREFER NOT TO HAVE
1[ ] PROTESTANTS	6[ ] MEXICANS
2[ ] CATHOLICS	7[ ] WHITES
3[ ] JEWS	8[ ] ALL ARE ACCEPTABLE
4[ ] NEGROES	9[ ] OTHER (Specify):_____
5[ ] JAPANESE	_____

INTERVIEWER: Hand Respondent Ladder Card F Showing Ladder. Point to top of ladder each time you mention it. (Top of ladder is step number 10). Point to bottom of ladder each time you mention it. While you ask a question, move your finger up and down ladder rapidly.

Now, here's an interesting question:

47. Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents YOUR greatest hopes for the United States and the bottom represents YOUR worst fears for the United States.

    a. What step of the ladder do you think the United States stands on at the present time? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step did the United States stand on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think the United States will stand on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

48. Now, let's change things which stand at the top and bottom of the ladder. Suppose we say that at the top of the ladder stands a person who is living the best possible life, and at the bottom stands a person who is living the worst possible life.

    a. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand on right now? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step would you say you stood on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think you will be on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

49. Now at the top of the ladder stands a person who wants to do new things all of the time. He wants life to be exciting and always changing although this may make life quite troublesome. At the bottom stands a person who wants a very steady and unchanging life.

    a. What step of the ladder would you place yourself right now? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step did you stand on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think you will stand on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

50. Suppose at the top of the ladder stands a person who feels living on a farm is the best possible place to live, and at the bottom stands a person who feels living on a farm is the worst possible place to live.

    a. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand on right now? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step would you say you stood on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think you will be on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

51. Suppose at the top of the ladder stands a person who feels living in a small town is the best possible place to live, and at the bottom stands a person who feels living in a small town is the worst possible place to live.

    a. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand on right now? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step would you say you stood on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think you will be on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

52. Suppose at the top of the ladder stands a person who feels living in a very large city is the best possible place to live, and at the bottom stands a person who feels living in a very large city is the worst possible place to live.

    a. What step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand on right now? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. What step would you say you stood on five years ago? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. What step do you think you will be on five years from now? STEP NUMBER_____

53. At the top of the ladder stands someone who can do very much to make his life happier. At the bottom stands someone who can do very little to make his life happier.

    a. Where do you stand on the ladder right now? STEP NUMBER _____

54. Now, let's think of the top of the ladder as the place where those nations stand whose PEOPLE you feel most friendly toward and the bottom of the ladder as the place where the nations stand whose PEOPLE you feel least friendly to.

    a. On which step would you place the people of the United States? STEP NUMBER_____

    b. On which step would you place Mexico in terms of how friendly you feel toward the Mexican PEOPLE? STEP NUMBER_____

    c. And on which step would you place the Soviet Union in terms of how friendly you feel toward the Russian PEOPLE? STEP NUMBER_____

55. Now, here are a set of statements in which we would like you to tell us whether you agree or disagree:

    INTERVIEWER: Check the appropriate category.

    a. Do you agree or disagree that pollution problems are confined to the urban areas?

       1[ ] AGREE 9[ ] NO OPINION 2[ ] DISAGREE

    b. Do you agree or disagree with the government's policy to improve the economy and life in rural areas?

       1[ ] AGREE 9[ ] NO OPINION 2[ ] DISAGREE

    c. Do you agree or disagree with college students going on strike as a way to protest the way things are run in this country?

       1[ ] AGREE 9[ ] NO OPINION 2[ ] DISAGREE

Supplementary data request letter (1972):

POSTCARD

Agricultural Experiment Station - Michigan State University

Dear Madam:

In the summer of 1970 you kindly answered a Gallup Poll questionnaire sponsored by the Agricultural Experiment Station of Michigan State University. I am planning to use some of those answers in a study about women and their activities, but unfortunately the Gallup questionnsire did not ask for all the information that I need. A few important questions are included on the attached card. I would be most grateful if you would answer the questions on that card and mail it back to me (no stamp required). Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Carolyn P. Thomas

Supplementary data questions:

In August 1970 how many children under 21 lived at home?_____
How old were they? Girls_____, Boys_____

About how many years have YOU worked (for pay) full time?_____

About how many years have YOU worked (for pay) part time?_____

How much of the work of the household do YOU do?_____
If not all, who helps you? Husband ( ), Children ( ), Other relatives ( ), Hired help ( ), Other, specify ( )_____

And now some important questions about YOUR MOTHER:

What was the last year of schooling that she finished?_____

About how many years did she work (for pay) full time?_____

About how many years did she work (for pay) part time?_____

Would you say that your mother, over most of her adult life, has been more or less active in clubs and other organizations than most of her friends? Check one: more ( ), less ( )

Has she done more or less "neighboring" and informal visiting, etc. than most of her friends? Check one: more ( ), less ( )

Please make any further comments on the other side of this card.

LIST OF REFERENCES

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