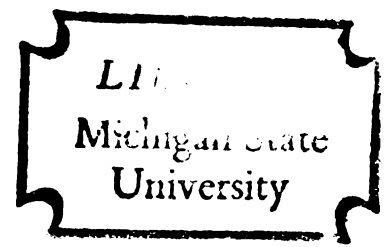


EMPLOYMENT AS A DETERMINANT OF  
POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND IDEOLOGY  
OF MARRIED WOMEN

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
DIANE ELLEN SEAGREAVES  
1974



## **ABSTRACT**

### **EMPLOYMENT AS A DETERMINANT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND IDEOLOGY OF MARRIED WOMEN**

**By**

**Diane Ellen Seagreaves**

**As increasing numbers of married women have entered the labor force in the United States within the past decade, the effects of this increased employment have been felt in all aspects of the social order, including the political sphere. This thesis examines some of the effects of employment on the political activity and ideology of middle-class, married women in Allentown, Pennsylvania at two different points in time, 1970 and 1972.**

**Employment is viewed as an independent variable which results in increased social contacts in the larger society. These social contacts are conducive to increased political awareness, interest, and involvement. From this perspective, the following hypotheses were formulated to act as guidelines for the research conducted:**

- 1. Among wives who are not employed outside of the home, those wives who are socially active tend to be more politically involved than wives who are not socially active.**

2. Wives who are employed outside of the home tend to be more politically involved than wives who do not hold jobs outside of the home.

3. Wives who are employed outside of the home tend to have less conservative political attitudes than wives who are not employed outside of the home.

4. The political attitudes of employed wives tend to be more independent of the attitudes of their husbands than do the political attitudes of non-employed wives.

The study samples were selected from six "middle-class" census tracts in Allentown by use of a random sampling procedure, resulting in 113 respondents in 1970 and 100 respondents in 1972. The data obtained from interviews with the respondents in 1970 evidence support for the above hypotheses; the data obtained in 1972, however, does not evidence such support.

The discrepancies in these findings cannot be attributed to any one factor, but rather may be due to the effects of several factors, including that of a possible intervening variable, namely, social activity.

EMPLOYMENT AS A DETERMINANT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY  
AND IDEOLOGY OF MARRIED WOMEN

By

Diane Ellen Seagreaves

A THESIS

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

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1974

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincere thanks and gratitude to the chairman of my committee, and advisor, Dr. Harry Schwarzweller. Without his guidance and patient toleration throughout the past year, this thesis would not have been completed.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Rick Hill and Barrie Thorne, who approved this thesis, allowing me to continue onward to loftier pursuits.

And special notes of thanks to Tom Lyson, who acted as my computer consultant, and to Phil Fulton, who acted as a dispenser of helpful hints during the last stages of thesis preparation.

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## INTRODUCTION

In August of 1920 the 19th Amendment gave American women the right to vote. Three months later, one-third of the eligible female voters went to the polls to exercise their newly won right. By the presidential election of 1972, sixty percent of the female electorate voted and, more significantly, female voters numerically surpassed male voters by eight million.

These facts may not, however, dispel the notion that politics, once defined as strictly the male's domain, has become the shared concern of both sexes. From the point of view of contemporary attitudes, this notion appears to be true. According to a 1971 Harris poll, whose national sample consisted of both men and women, sixty percent of the female respondents felt that women should become more involved in the political arena.<sup>1</sup>

Sixty-three percent of the total sample, male and female respondents, however, replied that men are more suited emotionally for politics than are women. This leads to the fact that, behaviorally, women do not appear to be becoming more involved in the political sphere, although the total picture is not clear. Only seventeen percent of the above female respondents claimed to be politically active. Women

may voice a concern for the need to become politically involved, but they do not appear to follow through with action to that extent.

This increased concern about political involvement has been occurring during a time when married women have been entering, or re-entering, the labor force in greater numbers than ever before. Well over one-third of all married women in the United States, and almost one-half of all mothers, are now employed in jobs outside of the home. Has this increased involvement in the world of work outside of the home affected involvement in the sphere of politics?

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate this question, i. e. the effects of employment on participation in politically-oriented activities and on the political attitudes of married women. Also to be explored is the effect of employment of the wife on the political agreement of the spouses.

This investigation takes place in Allentown, Pennsylvania at two different points in time. A study was first conducted during the early winter months of 1970, prior to a gubernatorial election, and was then replicated in the summer of 1972, prior to a presidential election and during the Republican and Democratic party conventions. The replication was undertaken to determine if there was any change in the political activity rates or attitudinal responses of non-employed and employed wives over the two year period.

## The Political Role of Women in the United States

The political science literature that deals with political participation tends to ignore women, except to stress that females are much less politically involved than men, voting less and taking an indifferent view of politics as a whole.<sup>2</sup> A second point often emphasized is that, in the past, there has been an "anti-feminist" attitude toward women holding political office in the United States, and toward women being involved in politics at all.

The political role of women, and their participation in political life, cannot be separated from societal norms concerning the role of women generally. According to Parsons, American women tend to be oriented toward emotional-expressive behavior, while men tend to be oriented toward instrumental behavior. Woman's role, having been centered in the home and with the family, has tended to be a passive one. The male role, being largely identified with the male's occupation and career, has tended to be an active and competitive one.

An American cultural tradition is expressed by the adage "A woman's place is in the home." According to this view, the "outside world", including the sphere of politics, belongs to men. It is inappropriate for women to be involved in the sphere of politics which provides the nation's governmental leaders.

Women tend to see themselves as having an apolitical role in society. This role interpretation is due, in part,

to the way that women see themselves reflected in the mass media and, in part, to the stereotyped role of women as housewives and mothers.

Cultural patterns in this country did not create an image in which any self-respecting woman would even consider becoming a politician, nor did these patterns advocate that women be given educational opportunities which would expose them to issues and ways of thinking necessary for political involvement in general. As Robert Lane explains in his book Political Life,

. . . the culture emphasizes moral, dependent, and politically less competent images of women which reduce their partisanship and sense of political effectiveness and define a less active political role for them.<sup>3</sup>

In their voting study, The People's Choice, Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet found that if women are not interested in political issues, they feel no compulsion to vote.<sup>4</sup> Men, however, are under more social pressure and tend to vote even if they are not interested in the candidates or the issues. Not only do many women feel no obligation to vote, but some of them consider their apathy a virtue. These women remark:

'I don't care to vote. Voting is for the men.'

'I think men should do the voting and the women should stay home and take care of their work.'

'I have never voted. I never will. . . . A woman's place is in the home. . . . Leave politics to the men.'<sup>5</sup>

These statements exemplify why some women do not vote. As mentioned earlier, however, the majority of women eligible to vote do go to the polls. An insightful question to ask is why women do not vote, besides the fact that they view political involvement as inappropriate for women. This leads to a second question: why do some women become politically involved while other women do not?

### The Relationship of Social Activity to Political Activity

In his book Political Man, Lipset discusses various social factors which affect rates of voting turnout. These factors include access to information (which is determined by the individual's amount of contact, communication, and leisure time) and group pressure to vote (which is affected by the individual's extent of social contacts and the pressure of group norms opposing voting).<sup>6</sup>

If the individual has access to political information through communication in social contacts, if he has a substantial amount of leisure available to obtain this information, and if he feels group pressure to vote, then he will be likely to vote.

This issue is also discussed by Katz and Lazarsfeld. They list several factors which they feel are most likely to be related to female voting turnout and participation in public affairs. These factors include:

1. education — women with higher educational backgrounds are more likely to become politically involved.

2. social climate — women who experience motivated interaction with other people who are politically interested and active (or with people whom Merton calls opinion leaders), are more likely to become politically interested and active themselves.

3. leisure — women who have time available to them for the pursuit of interests and activities outside of the home are more likely to become politically involved.<sup>7</sup>

From these factors, especially those of social climate and leisure, it is apparent that an individual's political interest and involvement is dependent on his interaction with other people, particularly other people who are politically interested and involved. This includes Lipset's factor of group pressure.

Robert Lane remarks that political attitudes and behavior are learned from associates, friends, co-workers, and the fellow members of organizations to which a person belongs. He claims that social isolation tends to make a person politically apathetic.<sup>8</sup> If a person is socially isolated, he has less access to political information and has less opportunities to meet politically knowledgeable and involved people. Such a social isolate also feels no pressure from associates, friends, co-workers, or fellow members of organizations to discuss public affairs, to vote, or to be otherwise politically involved.

If isolation tends to make an individual politically apathetic, then increased contact with people outside of

the home should make an individual more politically aware, interested, and perhaps even more politically involved. One such type of contact with people outside of the home occurs in voluntary social organizations.

Various studies dealing with voting, with political participation in general, and with social activity mention that social or organizational involvement is related to political involvement.<sup>9</sup>

There is mounting evidence that participation in voluntary associations enhances the likelihood of voting and actively participating in the polity. . . . Membership is typically seen as bringing individuals into contact with those who are already active, especially persons who join instrumental groups. Association with others is a catalyst for involvement.<sup>10</sup>

Voluntary organizations function as interest groups. When an individual becomes affiliated with a voluntary organization, he can be presumed to be seeking to protect and augment his own interests.

Over two hundred years ago Alexis de Tocqueville described the voluntary organization in the United States as an organizer of people with common interests. Through these organizations a group of people is made aware of its common interests and a unified opinion or attitude emerges. Voluntary organizations also facilitate the diffusion of opinions among a population. Indeed, de Tocqueville concluded that voluntary organizations serve as a means for involving the individual in the social and political processes of society as a whole. He notes that

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In all the countries where political associations are prohibited, civil associations are rare. The inference should be that there is a natural, and perhaps a necessary, connection between these two kinds of associations. Certain men happen to have a common interest in some concern . . . ; they meet, they combine, and thus by degrees they become familiar with the principle of association. The greater is the multiplicity of small affairs, the more do men . . . acquire facility in prosecuting great undertakings in common. Civil associations, therefore, facilitate political associations.<sup>11</sup>

That social participation is positively correlated with political participation is a view which is also advanced by Herbert Maccoby. Dr. Maccoby conducted a study which explores the thesis that voluntary associations (clubs or formal groups) act as stimuli which rouse their participants to greater involvement in the general political life of the society. In his study of the Warren County-Front Royal Recreation Association, Inc. in Virginia, Maccoby finds that the membership had been recruited from other organizations; thus, one would regard the members of the Recreation Association as being socially active, irrespective of their participation in that particular organization. He also finds that these members are more likely to be voters, more likely to remain voters, and more likely to become voters if they had been non-voters, than people who are not members of the Association; that is, members are more likely than non-members to be politically involved, at least to some degree.<sup>12</sup>

A major factor contributing to this increased political activity by members of voluntary organizations appears to be the influence of people whom Merton labels opinion leaders.

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Lipset describes such opinion leaders as individuals whose greater knowledge, interest, and personality make them influential among their friends and acquaintances. These leaders are found among the better-educated and higher income groups and they tend to be active in associations and organizations of all kinds.<sup>13</sup>

The authors of The People's Choice conclude that contact with an opinion leader appears to be more important than exposure to formal propaganda in affecting political behavior, activity, and attitudes.<sup>14</sup> Members of voluntary organizations generally speaking, would be more likely than non-members to come into meaningful contact with an opinion leader who acts as a positive influence in stimulating political interest and involvement.

As noted earlier, Katz and Lazarsfeld conclude that social climate, i.e. contact with politically knowledgeable and active people, is a major factor in feminine participation. One avenue for coming into contact with these people, of course, is through voluntary organizations. Socially active women, therefore, would tend to be more active politically than socially non-active women.

Underlying this supposition is the notion that isolation breeds political apathy and, therefore, exposure to people in social organizations outside of the home facilitates political interest and involvement. In his book Political Life, Lane states that

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. . . evidently a life of work outside of the home, with its responsibilities, social contacts, and training in the relevance of political 'abstractions' enhances the individual's interest in public policy.<sup>15</sup>

Lane also mentions that a further analysis of Scott's Bennington study shows that those people who were less politically involved were more likely to be oriented toward the home.<sup>16</sup>

### The Effects of Employment on Political Activity

Myrdal and Klein, in their study, Women's Two Roles: Home and Work, conclude that

. . . housewives suffer from social isolation . . . . Their work does not naturally lead to social contacts as do other occupations. . . . Moreover, the housewife particularly has been the victim of the middle-class ideology of privacy . . . which has made 'keeping oneself to oneself' one of the essential virtues in the accepted code of middle-class and lower middle-class proprieties.<sup>17</sup>

This reinforces the idea that having some type of contact and involvement with people outside of the home, such as with fellow members of organizations, friends, or co-workers leads to increased social and political awareness and involvement.

There are other means besides organizational involvement, however, which bring the individual into contact with people in settings outside of the home and one of these means is employment (having a job outside of the home, for which the individual receives a salary). Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee note that the people with whom a person works may

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not be a direct influence on the individual, but they may serve as

. . . contact points through which the individual is connected to whole networks of social relations that affect political behavior.<sup>18</sup>

The place of employment, like the voluntary organization, is a setting where the individual may encounter an opinion leader or where group pressure to be politically aware and/or involved may be exerted on the individual.

Being socially active (in formalized associations such as clubs) and being employed outside of the home both, therefore, increase possible social contacts which tend to enhance or reinforce political awareness and participation. Even though a non-employed wife may have more leisure time available to be politically active, nevertheless, unless she is socially active, she will tend not to have as many contacts outside of the home as a wife who is employed.<sup>19</sup>

In connection with this idea, Nye and Hoffman, in The Employed Mother in America, find that

Contrary to common sense expectations younger employed mothers (those with children of school age) belong to as many organizations as mothers who are not employed . . . . No evidence supports the assumption that employment results in the curtailment of attendance at meetings of organizations to which the mothers belong.<sup>20</sup>

Obviously, these findings cannot be automatically applied to the entire female population of this country. But it is conceivable that, if mothers with young, school-age children and with jobs outside of the home are able to participate in

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voluntary organizations, then other wives who are employed, but who have no school-age children, would also be able to be involved in voluntary organizations.

In a way, this supposition lessens the effect of leisure time as a factor influencing feminine interest and participation in public affairs. Katz and Lazarsfeld's other two factors, education and social climate, may determine, to a greater extent, whether or not a married woman will become politically aware and involved. Even if she has a full-time job and has a husband, children, and housework to look after, leaving her only a small amount of leisure time, if she is motivated due to her educational attainment and the social climate in which she finds herself, the busy employed wife will find the time necessary to keep herself aware of political events and to take part in politically-oriented activities.

The following hypothesis appears to summarize the principle that emerges from the various findings reported above: social isolation tends to result in political disinterest. As this isolation is broken down, however, by becoming active in social organizations outside of the home and/or by entering the labor force, the individual's sense of political awareness is heightened. And once this awareness has been increased, it becomes more possible for a sense of participation to develop, resulting in some form of political action, even if it is only an elementary action such as voting.

To recapitulate, involvement in formal social associa-

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tions and employment outside of the home tend to produce a positive social climate which may result in political awareness, interest, and involvement. A positive social climate, by definition, is one in which the individual has opportunities to come into contact with politically informed and active people, including opinion leaders.

### The Effects of Social and Political Activity and Employment On Political Ideology

In addition to their tendency to be political "abstainers" in comparison with men, women also tend to be more politically conservative than men.<sup>21</sup> This statement depends, of course, on one's definition of conservatism. The definition which is used most frequently is: a favorable attitude toward the retention of the status quo.

Lipset theorizes that this ideological difference between the sexes may result from a variation in life experiences. Since they tend to have more contacts outside the home, in their work and in their leisure activities, married men are more exposed to the dominant opinions of their social class than are their wives, who tend to spend most of their time in the home.

Women, especially housewives, are less involved in the intra-class communications structure, see fewer politically knowledgeable people with backgrounds and interests similar to their own, and are therefore more likely to retain the dominant conservative values of the larger culture.<sup>22</sup>

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This statement makes several assumptions. The first is that the majority of the population of this country is politically conservative. The second assumption is that individuals who are involved in the intra-class communications structure and who come into contact with "politically knowledgeable people with backgrounds and interests similar to their own" tend to shed their conservative ideology and develop more liberal leanings. The third assumption is that women, particularly housewives, do not tend to fall into the category of people described in the second assumption.

The first assumption is regarded as being true — it has been supported by past research.<sup>23</sup> The third assumption is accepted, but only in part — the part that states that a large majority of housewives fit into this category. The second assumption is accepted. Married women who have more interests and/or social contacts outside of the home would tend to be less conservative politically than wives who are strict "homebodies".

This second assumption follows from the discussion in the second section above. Once the wife begins to leave the household setting, to participate in voluntary social activities or to become a member of the labor force, she increases her opportunities to become involved in the class structure mentioned by Lipset and to meet and be influenced by people with backgrounds similar to her own but with different political attitudes.

If social activity and employment affect the wife's

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ideological views, do they also affect the degree to which her views are similar to those of her husband? Eldersveld, et al, in their survey of political behavior research, conclude that "women adjust to their husband's political orientation to the degree that there is strong cohesion and male dominance."<sup>24</sup>

Wives are generally aware of the political opinions of their husbands, but few husbands tend to be aware of the views of their wives.

The Princeton class of '62 was polled 10 years after graduation. A similar poll was sent to the graduates' wives. 'Politically, the Princeton man is a liberal Republican,' the study concluded, 'and will accordingly vote for Nixon in the '72 primary.' The wives, on the other hand . . . favor Muskie over Nixon almost two to one. The men, however, appeared to be ignorant of their wives' disagreement and when asked if their wives shared their political views, a full 88 percent of the men answered, 'Yes.'<sup>25</sup>

Men tend to tell their wives about politics rather than discuss politics with them. Campbell, et al, express this view in The American Voter.

The wife who votes but otherwise pays little attention to politics tends to leave not only the sifting of information up to her husband but abides by his ultimate decision about the direction of the vote as well.<sup>26</sup>

In a study of the League of Women Voters, James March finds that women who have higher degrees of political involvement rely less on their husband's political advice than do women who are less politically involved or active.<sup>27</sup> It has been stated that wives who are politically involved have more contacts in the outside world (outside of the home,

that is). This also tends to be true of women who are socially active and/or employed outside the home.

Scammon and Wattenberg state that if women vote the same way as their husbands, it is because both spouses have the same interests and, because of this, agree on candidates. If they have the same interests and agree on candidates, they would also tend to have similar political ideological views or attitudes. This tendency should decline, however, as the wife increases her contacts in the "outside world".

Wives who spend more time outside of the home would have more opportunities to meet people whose political views and attitudes differ from their own and perhaps from those of their husband. These wives would be more likely to adopt political attitudes different from those of their husbands.

#### Specification of the Problem

Previous studies show that there is a positive relationship between social and political involvement. Social involvement precedes and perhaps even causes political involvement. Wives who are politically active tend also to be socially active. Conversely, socially active wives are more likely to be politically active than wives who are not socially active.

It appears clear that involvement in social activities decreases a wife's isolation in the home and brings her into contact with politically knowledgeable people. This increases the possibility that she will become more politically

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aware and involved and, thereby, increases the possibility that she will develop political attitudes that differ from those of her husband. Being a member of the labor force, of course, also decreases a wife's isolation in the home and gives her more opportunities to meet politically knowledgeable people. This implies that employment also increases the possibility that a wife will become more politically aware and involved and that she will develop political attitudes that differ from those of her husband.

Social involvement and employment outside of the home are both factors which lessen social isolation by increasing the individual's social contacts. This, in turn, increases the individual's exposure to views different from his own. Do differences exist, therefore, in the degree of political involvement and in the political attitudes of employed and non-employed wives and of socially active and socially non-active wives?

This is a question which this thesis attempts to explore. The following guiding hypotheses serve to organize the inquiry:

1. Among wives who are not employed outside of the home, those wives who are socially active tend to be more politically involved than wives who are not socially active.

2. Wives who are employed outside of the home tend to be more politically involved than wives who do not hold jobs outside of the home.

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3. Wives who are employed outside of the home tend to have less conservative political attitudes than wives who are not employed outside of the home.

4. The political attitudes of employed wives tend to be more independent of the attitudes of their husbands than do the political attitudes of non-employed wives.

Operational definitions of the terms "social activity", "political activity", and "political conservatism" will be set forth in the following chapter. As mentioned previously, this study is longitudinal. Data on the social and political involvement and the political attitudes of married women were collected at two different points in time in the same community, utilizing a similar sampling procedure that yielded samples with basically the same characteristics. Such a longitudinal approach is useful in studying attitudes to determine whether or not, and to what extent, attitudes and generalizations derived from attitudinal research are stable over time. It is necessary, of course, to take into account any changes in the socio-political climate of the society and the socio-economic circumstances of the local community that have occurred during these two points in time in order to assess the meaning of observed variations in attitudinal patterns.

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## RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This chapter will describe and explain the various research procedures utilized to examine the effects of employment status on the political involvements and ideological attitudes of married women. These procedures include: a description of the research setting; characteristics of the study population; sampling procedures; measurement procedures; and the analytic strategy.

### The Setting

The research for this study was conducted in Allentown, a city with a population of 109,000 according to the 1972 United States Census, located approximately sixty miles northwest of Philadelphia, in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. Allentown is the largest city in the Lehigh Valley, which is a highly industrialized area with concentrations of both heavy and light industry and manufacturing. The city boasts a Mack Truck plant, a Western Electric plant, the Lehigh Structural Steel plant, and numerous textile factories and small businesses. The Lehigh Valley is well-known for its productive dairy farms and orchards.

Allentown was chosen as the site for this study because of its proximity and familiarity to the researcher. Being

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a city of medium size, it has a fairly representative population, encompassing all age, sex, and social class groups. Like most other "typical" American cities of its size, Allentown's population consists of a range of social classes, from the very poor, a large segment of working-class families, to a small segment of upper-class residents. In Allentown, perhaps more so than in other American cities, members of each class are concentrated in various neighborhoods, from the working-class First and Sixth Wards to the upper-class Lehigh Parkway West.

In general, working-class housing is found mainly within the large area surrounding the center of the city, middle-class housing is found further away from the downtown area, but within the peripheral areas of the city, and the upper-class housing can be found along the edges of the city where there is more land available for sprawling estates.

Allentown is an example of Banfield's theory about social class and physical space of housing patterns.<sup>28</sup> Banfield proposes that lower class housing is crowded, in close proximity to each other. Houses in and around downtown Allentown are mostly row homes which are right next to one another, wall-to-wall. According to Banfield, middle-class housing occupies more space and tends to be divided from one another by small strips of land. Houses further away from downtown Allentown tend to be twin homes (two houses wall-to-wall, with each house having some open space on one of its

sides) or single homes. Upper-class housing occupies a large amount of space on the outskirts of the city and these houses are often separated from one another by fences or walls.

For anyone familiar with the physical patterns in Allentown, it is not difficult to identify various areas of the city that are predominantly working-class, middle-class, or upper-class. These areas are generally distinguished by housing type.

### The Study Population

Previous studies have shown that various characteristics are associated with involvement in social and political activities and organizations. People who possess these characteristics tend to be more socially and/or politically active than people who do not.<sup>29</sup> By limiting the study population to individuals with these specific characteristics, the possibility was reduced that the resultant data are influenced too greatly by a large number of respondents who have either very low or very high levels of social or political involvement. The characteristics by which the study population was delimited are listed below, along with a brief explanation of the relevant rationale for using each of the delimitations.

#### Age

An age limitation was placed on the study population because, as Hausknecht suggests in The Joiners, there is a

tendency for an individual to become a "joiner" (socially active) as he approaches middle-age, but then he tends to drop out of these activities and groups when he approaches "old age". Joan Moore applies this directly to women by stating that

. . . age patterns of women's participation in associations parallel their participation in the labor force with low points in the late twenties and early thirties and a sharp rise in the late thirties.<sup>30</sup>

Lipset discusses age as a variable affecting voting patterns. He lists middle-aged people (ages thirty-five to fifty-five) as having a higher voting rate than young people (under thirty-five).<sup>31</sup> Lipset explains that this results partly from the fact that younger people have not yet become fully integrated into the organized social life of the adult community and, therefore, they do not feel the social pressures and inner feelings of social obligation to vote which contact with dominant social groups places on the individual.<sup>32</sup>

According to Lipset, older people are also affected by this lack of integration. They become less involved in the social life of the community, losing their social contacts because of retirement, sickness or infirmity, or the death of friends and associates.

Age boundaries of thirty-five and sixty-five were placed on the study population to ensure the inclusion of those women who were most likely to be politically and socially active.

## Race

Hausknecht also observes that there tends to be little difference in associational membership according to race. Lane concurs with this statement by mentioning that there are no outstanding differences in rates of social involvement among racial groups. Other studies, however, have found that blacks have a significantly higher rate of social participation than do whites.<sup>33</sup>

Williams, et al, state that blacks probably have such a high rate of membership in social organizations because of their exclusion from many other societal forms of participation.

Although acculturated, Blacks were probably led by such factors as high visibility, subordinate status, and overt discrimination to fall back on each other and organize into groups to maintain their dignity and achieve personal fulfillment.<sup>34</sup>

In the past, blacks have been blocked from full participation in white-dominated societal activities, such as voting, holding a political office, and other forms of political involvement. This led them to form their own groups and associations, often church-centered, to fill this gap.

Blacks are excluded from the study population because of low participation in one type of activity and high participation in another type of activity. First, blacks tend to have low participation rates in politically-oriented activities, as mentioned above. Secondly, black women have very high rates of participation in socially-oriented activ-

ities. Williams, et al, reveal that in twelve categories of different types of associations, black women have higher percentages of membership than do white women, in ten of the twelve categories. In nine of these ten categories, the differences in percentages are more than twice as much. Because of this possible discrepancy between social and political involvement, it was decided to exclude blacks from the study population.

### Social Class

Education, income, and occupation, the three most commonly used components of social class, vary positively with social and political participation — as each of the three components increases, so do the individual's rate of social and political participation. This pattern is confirmed by most of the literature surveyed.<sup>35</sup>

As for differing degrees of organizational involvement among the classes, Dotson concludes that the majority of working-class or lower-class people do not participate in formally organized voluntary associations.<sup>36</sup> This does not mean, however, that these people are not socially active. What it does mean is that many working-class people, especially women, are involved in informal social activities, such as neighboring and visiting relatives, rather than in more formal social activities, such as belonging to clubs.<sup>37</sup>

Working- or lower-class groups vote less than other social class groups. Lane states that

The lesser degree of political participation and interest in lower status groups is partly accountable by the following factors: (1) Lower strata women (but not men) have less leisure available for political activity. (2) Lower status persons have less economic security, and, partly for that reason, feel less of a sense of control over their (political) environment.<sup>38</sup>

Lipset reasons that lower-class individuals are often fully occupied by trying to survive from day to day and do not have the time or energy necessary to be politically aware or involved.

William Erbe finds that the higher a person's social status, the more likely he is to register, to vote, to be interested in politics, to belong to politically relevant organizations, and to attempt to influence the political views of others (all of these factors result in the individual being politically active).<sup>39</sup>

In many studies political and social activity participation figures of upper-class individuals are not distinguishable from those of middle-class individuals, especially when income is used as a criterion. For example, the upper income category in Hausknecht's table entitled "Membership in Voluntary Associations By Income" is \$7,000<sup>+</sup>, which includes both middle- and upper-class individuals. This creates difficulties in determining whether or not there are significant differences in participation rates of middle- and upper-class individuals. It was decided, therefore, to focus this study on middle-class individuals, using

income, education, and occupation as determining factors of social class.

### Nativity

Few studies of social and/or political involvement use nativity as a direct social factor affecting the individual's participation in social and political activities. It may be reasonably assumed, however, that a person not born or reared in the United States might have a different attitude about the desirability of participation in such activities than would a native-born American.

In this country, social and political participation tend to be viewed as effective means of involving the individual in the social and political processes of society as a whole and, also, as effective instruments through which the demands and interests of the citizens may be made known to those who govern. This feeling is not shared by the citizens of many other countries, especially those in which the formation of social and political associations has not developed. For example, in France voluntary associations and political parties are weak and not well-organized, so that social and political activity is not widespread. In addition, many Frenchmen have a low opinion of political activity because they consider it ineffective and unproductive.<sup>40</sup> Because of these reasons, it was decided to eliminate foreign-born wives from the study population.

### Home Ownership

According to Hausknecht's study, people who own their homes are more likely to belong to voluntary associations than people who rent. Renters also tend to be more mobile than owners, therefore, they have less opportunities to become socially and politically involved. Homeownership links an individual rather directly into the general society. Since he almost automatically has a major economic interest in the area because of his house, the homeowner feels that he has a stake in his neighborhood and the wider community, and that he can protect his interests by becoming involved in community activities.<sup>41</sup>

Social and political happenings in the community affect the economic climate, including property taxes, zoning laws, and property values, all of which are a direct concern to homeowners. These individuals can exercise some control over the socio-economic structure of the community by joining social and political organizations through which they may voice their concerns and opinions. It was decided, therefore, to limit the study population to homeowners.

Questions were asked during the initial phase of the interview to ascertain the wife's age, educational background, nativity, homeownership, and social class. Race was determined by observation so as not to jeopardize rapport. Marital status and whether or not the spouses were living

together at the time of the interview was determined by use of an "opening line" question framed as a request by the interviewer to gain permission for the interview.<sup>42</sup>

The variables listed and described above were controlled, therefore, by design. The study population, then, is composed of married women who were

1. living with their husband at the time of the interview
2. between the ages of thirty-four and sixty-six
3. white
4. middle-class
5. at least high school graduates
6. native-born American citizens
7. homeowners.

The sample from the 1970 study consists of 113 wives and their husbands and the 1972 sample consists of 100 wives and their husbands. The total sample, therefore, numbers 213 wives and their husbands.

### Sampling Procedure

Since it was decided to focus on middle-class families for this study, it appeared appropriate (and practical) to derive a sample from middle-class neighborhoods in Allentown. A census tract map of the city was obtained (a 1960 map was used for the 1970 study and a 1970 map was used for the 1972 study — the latter map had just become available in the spring of 1972). Using both the 1960 and 1970

U. S. Censuses, the following procedures were employed (the 1960 figures will be cited in order to exemplify the procedure).

For each of the twenty-three census tracts of the city, the percentage of families with income between \$5,000 and \$15,000 and the percentage of individuals having a high school education or more were determined.<sup>43</sup> Those tracts in which the obtained income percentage was 35.55 percent or more and the obtained education percentage was 63.35 percent or more were chosen as the sampling areas. This yielded six tracts with a total population of about twenty-seven thousand individuals, twenty-five years of age and older (the same six census tracts were arrived at with data from both the 1960 and 1970 Censuses). The number of foreign-born and the number of non-whites in each of the six tracts was checked, but none of these figures was large enough to cause any of the six tracts to be excluded from use.

By use of the time-honored traditional means of drawing slips of paper from a hat, it was determined that the fourth house from the south corner (in 1972 the third house from the south corner was used) on both sides of specified blocks of streets running north and south were to be contacted as potential interview sites. Every block of the streets running north and south in each of the six census tracts was numbered. Slips of paper containing these numbers were placed in a hat and two hundred slips were drawn

at random, so that four hundred houses were designated for contact (two hundred blocks times two houses — one house on each side of the street — equals four hundred houses).

In 1970 this had been considered a sufficient number of potential households, since the total number of completed interviews required had been set at no less than one hundred. Four hundred available houses were sufficient in 1972, but in 1970, after only fifty completed interviews had been obtained, one hundred and forty of the two hundred blocks (two hundred and eighty houses) had been utilized. It was necessary, therefore, to select another one hundred and fifty blocks (three hundred houses), making a total of three hundred and fifty blocks (seven hundred houses) available for interviewing.

### The Interview Process

Table 1 summarizes the contacts made during the interviewing process. The final sample consists of completed interviews for which:

1. the wives met all of the criteria for inclusion in the study population, as listed on page 28
2. the spouses gave responses to all questions on the interview schedule
3. the spouses could be classified on the Ideological Spectrum — to be classified on the Spectrum the respondent may have only two "not sure" responses (the Spectrum will be fully discussed in the fourth chapter).

Table 1. Summary of Interview Contacts Made During Collection of Data Process in Allentown, Pennsylvania in 1970 and 1972

|                                                                                                                    |      |      |       |  |  |  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|--|--|--|
| Percent Interviewed<br>of Base Population                                                                          | 56%  |      |       |  |  |  |
| Final Samples                                                                                                      | 113  | 100  | 213   |  |  |  |
| Total Number<br>Interviewed                                                                                        | 221  | 125  | 346   |  |  |  |
| Total Number of House-<br>holds Where at Least<br>One Spouse Refused to<br>be Interviewed                          | 206  | 23   | 229   |  |  |  |
| Total Number of Eligi-<br>ble Respondents (in<br>base Population)                                                  | 397  | 214  | 611   |  |  |  |
| Total Number of<br>Households Where<br>One or Neither Spouse<br>Was Available                                      | 78   | 91   | 169   |  |  |  |
| Total Number of<br>Households Contacted<br>Where Wife Did Not<br>Meet Criteria For<br>Inclusion in Pop-<br>ulation | 108  | 25   | 133   |  |  |  |
| Total Number of<br>Households Con-<br>tacted as Potential<br>Interview Sites                                       | 505  | 239  | 744   |  |  |  |
| Year                                                                                                               | 1970 | 1972 | Total |  |  |  |

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The most common population criterion not met by wives was the age criterion, although several wives were not high school graduates and one wife was not native-born. Over two hundred people refused to be interviewed. The most frequent reason given for this refusal was that the person was too busy to answer any questions. Almost all of these individuals also refused to be interviewed at a later date when they would be "less busy".

As can be noted from Table 1, this refusal rate was significantly higher in 1970 than in 1972 (41 versus 10 percent). A high refusal rate such as this presents biasing possibilities which could affect the data collected and thus seriously alter the final conclusions drawn from the data obtained. Biasing might also have been introduced because of the higher percentage of households where one or neither spouse was home in 1972 (38 versus 16 percent in 1970).

These two sets of figures could have opposite results. The large percentage of people who refused to be interviewed in 1970 could have been individuals who were not socially and/or politically active and were, therefore, more likely to be home and family-centered, reducing the likelihood that they would admit a stranger to their home to answer questions about social and political involvement. The large percentage of households where one or neither spouse was home in 1972 could have meant that these wives

were involved in some social or political activity at the time and that the majority of wives who were home and were interviewed were homebodies, or not involved in social and political activities.

There is also a significant difference in the final sample as percent of total contacts figures for 1970 and 1972, the first figure being 20 percent lower than the second. In 1972 less than half the number of households contacted in 1970 were needed to obtain nearly the same number of completed interviews. In 1972 the interviewer had less trouble gaining access to homes, obtaining completed interviews, and less trouble finding wives who met all of the population criteria, but more trouble finding both spouses at home. These difficulties, or non-difficulties, in obtaining completed interviews could have resulted in final samples with some characteristics not taken into account which could have an effect on the resultant data.

The interviews were conducted in the evening, mainly between 6:30 and 8:30 P.M. to insure the highest probability that both spouses would be home. Also for this reason, most of the interviews were conducted on weekday nights. The interviews were oral in nature and, on the average, took from ten to fifteen minutes, the longest interview lasting about thirty minutes.

In most cases both husband and wife were present through-

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out the entire interview. In several instances, however, the wife was interviewed first and then the husband appeared from another room to be interviewed.

### The Interview Instrument

A copy of the interview schedule is presented in Appendix A. Items one through seven, excluding item five, consist of background questions designed to elicit the necessary "screening" information by which the population was delimited. If the wife did not qualify as a potential respondent for the purposes of this study, the interview was terminated as near to item ten as possible.<sup>44</sup>

Item five determines employment status. This status is based not only on the respondent's present employment situation, but also on her having been employed in the recent past and her willingness to seek employment. Items six and seven are the components of the Index of Social Position, a measuring device to determine an individual's social class standing. It should be noted that on these items, the interviewer, not the respondents, determines into which occupational and educational categories the husband is to be placed.

Item nine consists of the components of the social activity index. When these questions are asked, the respondent is shown a sample list of broad categories of social organizations and clubs. These categories are:

Veterans, military, or patriotic  
 Lodges or fraternal  
 Civic or service  
 Church or religious  
 Social, sports, hobby, or recreational  
 Cultural, educational, or college alumni  
 Economic, occupational, or professional.<sup>45</sup>

Item eight and items ten through nineteen comprise the Political Activity Index. On item ten, if the respondent answers that she is a registered voter, she is then asked if she had voted within the past two years. This is done because in Pennsylvania, if a registered voter does not vote within a two-year period, his name is stricken from the voting records and he must re-register if he wishes to vote again. Therefore, if the wife replies that she is a registered voter but has not voted in the past two years, then she is not a registered voter.

Item twenty, and the item listed on the husband's part of the interview schedule, are items of the "Ideological Spectrum" designed to determine the individual's degree of political conservatism. The five items of the Spectrum were printed on index cards and presented to the respondents to read while the interviewer read them aloud.

#### Measurement Procedures

Although the samples were chosen from areas of Allen-

town that were determined to be largely middle-class in nature, additional data were obtained to determine the families' specific social class position. This information was used as a check on the method of sample selection and it also served as a means to categorize any marginal cases that might be encountered. Hollingshead and Myer's Index of Social Position, the ISP, was utilized as a classification instrument.

The ISP employs a seven-point occupational and a seven-point educational index to measure social class. The occupational index is a modification of the Alba Edwards system of classifying occupations into socioeconomic groups as used by the United States Bureau of the Census. The Edwards index does not, however, differentiate among types of professionals or sizes of businesses. The ISP remedies this by dividing professionals into major-, lesser-, and semi-professional and by ranking businesses by their size and value. It is "premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society."<sup>46</sup>

The educational index is based on the premise that people having similar educational backgrounds tend to possess similar attitudes and tastes and exhibit similar behavioral patterns. Slight modifications were made in the wording of the education index. For example, the category "standard college or university graduation" was reduced to

read "college graduate".

To obtain the individual's ISP score, the category number of the occupational index is multiplied by seven and the category number of the educational index is multiplied by four. These two products are then added together. The resultant number is the ISP score. An example of this process is, if a husband is a skilled worker (occupational category five) and is a high school graduate (educational category four), his ISP score is  $(5 \times 7) + (4 \times 4) = 35 + 16 = 51$ .

To be classified as a member of the middle-class, the respondent's score must fall between seventeen and sixty-four points. On the original ISP the middle-class is divided into lower middle, middle, and upper middle. Distinctions such as these were not needed in this study, so the three categories were combined into a general "middle-class" category. Because social class is an exclusionary, rather than a dependent or independent, variable, the relatively gross measurement of the ISP was deemed to be sufficient for the purposes of this study.

A device is also employed to measure the extent of the wife's social involvement. In his study, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," William Erbe uses the following measures to determine organizational involvement: number of memberships in social organizations, frequency of attendance at meetings, expressions

of interest in organizational affairs, and participation as measured by committee memberships, office-holding, and financial contributions.<sup>47</sup>

The index adopted for use in this study is a modified version of Erbe's measuring device. It consists of the following components:

1. number of memberships in social organizations
2. frequency of attendance, as measured by hours per month devoted to the organizations, including time spent at meetings and at other organizational activities
3. number of offices held in the organizations.

Erbe's measure, expressions of interest in organizational affairs, was not used because an individual may express great interest in the organization(s) to which he belongs, but this does not mean that he is an active member of the organizations, attending meetings, or taking part in other organizational activities. Regular attendance at meetings, and holding an office, demonstrates sufficient interest in organizational affairs.

Financial contributions are disregarded because some organizations do not require direct financial support from their members. Rather, they gain finances through sponsoring various affairs such as bake sales or bazaars. A determination of how much and how often an individual supports these affairs financially and what this means relative to the financial support typically given the organization is

quite difficult to make.

Scoring for the resultant social activity index is as follows:

|                                              |             | <u>score</u> |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| number of memberships                        | 1 - 3       | 1            |
|                                              | 4 and over  | 2            |
| frequency of attendance<br>(hours per month) | 1 - 5       | 1            |
|                                              | 6 - 9       | 2            |
|                                              | 10 and over | 3            |
| offices held                                 | 1 - 2       | 1            |
|                                              | 3 and over  | 2            |

The range of possible scores is from zero to seven. A person scoring 0 - 1 is considered socially inactive and scores from 2 - 7 indicate that the person is socially active. The three index items will be analyzed individually in the third chapter, and then be combined into a scale form.

Once this index had been developed to measure social activity, a device was needed to measure extent of political activity. Political organizations are considered as distinct from what are classified as social organizations. The Woodward-Roper Political Participation Scale was modified and expanded to serve this purpose. It uses six categories which make up the following Index of Political Activity:

**Voting**

Once or more in the past four years  
Three times or more  
Five times or more

**Discussing Public Issues With Others**

Discusses frequently and takes an equal share  
in the conversation

Discusses frequently and usually tries to con-  
vince others he is right

**Belonging to Organizations That Take Stands on Public Issues**

Belongs to 1 or more such organizations

Belongs to two or more

**Written or Talked to Congressman or Other Public Official to Give Own Opinion on a Public Issue**

One or more times in the past year

Two or more times in the past year

**Worked for the Election of a Political Candidate in Last Four Years****Contributed Money to a Party or Candidate in Last Four Years<sup>48</sup>**

Woodward and Roper state that these actions constitute an operational definition of the term "political activity". Several types of political action have been overlooked in this index, however, so that the index was expanded to an eleven-item scale which provides a working definition of the term "political activity" as utilized in this study (the resultant Political Activity Index is found in Appendix B).

Woodward and Roper's category "Voting" is divided into "Registered to Vote" and "Voting" to include respondents who show even some slight political interest by registering to vote, but, for various reasons, never actually vote. The respondent is not asked directly how many times she has voted in the past four years because people sometimes forget how many elections have transpired (in Pennsylvania

as in many states, elections are held every year, so that there are eight elections within any four year period).

The category "Discussing Public Issues With Others" is limited by Woodward and Roper to include only those individuals who discuss public issues frequently and also the extent to which these individuals attempt to influence the political views of others. This category, therefore, is divided into "Discuss Public Issues With Others", which includes respondents who discuss these issues occasionally rather than frequently, and "Attempt to Influence the Political Views of Others" which is a distinct action from merely talking about politics or public issues.

The category, "Belonging to Organizations That Take Stands on Public Issues," is modified to "Belong to Organizations That are Politically Relevant," to include only organizations whose purpose is more-or-less "purely" political. Such organizations in Allentown include The Young Democrats and The South Side Republican Club. Lane explains that

. . . the political nature of organizations that take stands on issues varies from time to time depending on the social, economic, and political situation as a whole.<sup>49</sup>

Many organizations, at one time or another, may concern themselves with a public issue such as housing, better government, or school problems, but that does not infer that these organizations are in any way political. Woodward and Roper do not define what they mean by "taking a

stand on public issues." Do they mean discussing public issues, reaching some type of group consensus about them, or taking direct action to attempt to change the situation? It is difficult, therefore, to determine which organizations should be included in this category.

In addition to counting number of memberships in politically relevant organizations, frequency of attendance at meetings, as measured by hours per month devoted to the organizations, and offices held in the organizations are used to determine extent of activity in politically relevant organizations.

The notion of giving one's opinion is excluded from the category "Written or Talked to Congressman or Other Public Official to Give Own Opinion on a Public Issue" because it is felt that generally the main purpose in writing or talking to an official is to express one's opinion on some issue.

The last two categories of Woodward and Roper's Index are maintained in their original form, except that the last category is reduced from four to two years because the respondents might not have been able to remember back that far. Three categories are added to the above eight: "Read About Politics", "Attend Political Rallies", and "Ran for Political Office".

This modified index is considered to be cumulative in that, if a person participates in an activity near the end

of the index ("Ran for Political Office" is the last category), then he will have participated in all the previous activities. The index begins with what is considered to be the most basic activity related to political participation, i. e. reading about politics, and works its way up to the highest form of political activity, i. e. holding a political office.

The sequence of the categories of the Political Activity Index is not important in the scoring process because scoring is not based on one category being more important than another, but rather on one response within a category being more important than the other responses, having a higher score, that is. The categories are ranked, but this rank is in order of occurrence, not importance.

Scoring for the index is shown on the sample in Appendix B. For example, on question eleven, if the respondent answers occasionally, she receives one point, and if she answers frequently, she receives two points. A score of twenty-eight is possible on the index. As with the Social Activity Index, the items of the Political Activity Index and the responses to them will be analyzed individually and then be reduced to scale form in the third chapter.

A final index was required to determine political ideology, or rather, extent of political conservatism. An index developed by Free and Cantril was used for this purpose. They developed two devices to measure political

conservatism, an Operational Spectrum and an Ideological Spectrum. Free and Cantril state that

. . . practically speaking, one of the best ways to differentiate liberals from conservatives in this country under present conditions is to test attitudes toward new uses of power and resources of the Federal government as the means to accomplish domestic social objectives. The general disposition of the liberals is to approve of such use, of the conservatives to disapprove.<sup>50</sup>

The Operational Spectrum includes one question which deals with the "proposed" Medicare program which was adopted after the Spectrum was developed. It would have been necessary, therefore, to formulate a question to replace this one. The Ideological Spectrum, on the other hand, contains five statements which are still socially and economically relevant. These statements deal with attitudinal ideas about the role of government which label the individual's ideological framework as to the degree of conservatism.

The Ideological Spectrum rates respondents according to their responses to five statements, some dealing with "ideological conceptions of the proper role and sphere of government and some with abstract ideas about the nature and functioning of our socioeconomic system."<sup>51</sup> An individual's responses to these statements is a rough index of his acceptance or rejection of the traditional American conservative ideology.

On the Spectrum the respondent is asked to agree, disagree, or say that he is not sure of a response. On the

original Spectrum the third possible response was "don't know". This was changed to "not sure" to allow the respondent to show uncertainty without sounding ignorant or knowledgeable.

To be rated on the Spectrum, the respondent must agree or disagree with at least three of the five statements, having no more than two "not sure" responses. In the original rating system Free and Cantril had five categories: completely liberal, predominantly liberal, middle-of-the-road, predominantly conservative, and completely conservative. Distinctions this precise were not necessary for the purposes of this study so the first two categories were combined into "liberal" and the last two categories were combined into "conservative". The resultant rating system is as follows:

|                    |   | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> |
|--------------------|---|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| liberal            | { | 0            | 5               | 0               |
|                    |   | 0            | 4               | 1               |
|                    |   | 0            | 3               | 2               |
|                    |   | 1            | 4               | 0               |
|                    |   | 1            | 3               | 1               |
|                    |   | 1            | 2               | 2               |
| middle-of-the-road | { | 2            | 3               | 0               |
|                    |   | 2            | 2               | 1               |
|                    |   | 3            | 2               | 0               |

|              | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Not Sure</u> |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| conservative | 2            | 1               | 2               |
|              | 3            | 1               | 1               |
|              | 3            | 0               | 2               |
|              | 4            | 1               | 0               |
|              | 4            | 0               | 1               |
|              | 5            | 0               | 0               |

It was found to be more useful for the purposes of this study, however, to analyze each of the five items of the Ideological Spectrum individually, rather than combining the five into a scale, especially in light of the finding that the items form a two-dimensional, not a unidimensional, index. This analysis will be conducted in the fourth chapter.

#### Procedures for Analysis of Data

Once the data were collected, they were coded and punched on IBM cards. Frequency distributions were then obtained for all data categories: the three items of the Social Activity Index; the eleven components of the Political Activity Index; and the five items of the Ideological Spectrum. Seven sets of distributions were obtained — distributions of employed versus non-employed wives in each year (yielding two distributions), of the 1970 versus the 1972 employed wives, of the 1970 versus 1972 non-employed wives, of all 1970 wives versus all 1972 wives, of all employed versus all non-employed wives, and of all wives combined (total sample). A portion of the various

percentages which resulted from these distributions are reported in the third and fourth chapters.

The frequency distributions of the responses to the five statements composing the Ideological Spectrum demonstrated a possibility that these statements formed a Guttman scale. A scalogram analysis was conducted, therefore. The results are discussed in the fourth chapter.

The percentages of the "agree" responses of the various groups of wives — non-employed and employed in both sample years — were examined and compared. The results suggested that an examination of the rates of both husbands and wives who gave "agree" responses to the same items of the Ideological Spectrum might throw additional light on the hypotheses. This, also, will be examined in the fourth chapter.

In addition, an attempt was made to determine if previous employment, seeking a job, and extent of employment had any effect on social and political activity rates. It had been assumed that if the wife, although not presently employed, had been employed in the last five years, or had sought employment within the last year, then she might tend to have attitudes similar to those of an employed wife. However, none of the non-employed wives in either sample had sought employment in the past year, and a total of only fifteen wives from the two samples had been employed at some time during the previous five years. This number was not large enough for any significant conclusions to be made. The wives, therefore, were retained in the non-employed

cate

time

had

men

wiv

ful

category.

Working wives were asked if they were employed part-time or full-time to determine if extent of employment had any effect on the wife's social and political involvement. When the rates of social and political activity of wives employed part-time were compared with wives employed full-time, no significant difference emerged.

## **FINDINGS: LEVELS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY**

In this chapter the degree of social and political activity of the respondents will be examined and analyzed by use of the indexes described in the previous chapter. A comparison will be made according to sample year and employment status.

"Social" and "political" activities are aspects of the same general configuration, namely, social interaction. A comprehensive definition of social activity will encompass political activities and, generally, the two dimensions are interrelated. For the purposes of this study, the two types of social interactional activity are separated. Political activities are operationally defined as those activities specified by the Political Activity Index; social activities are those specified by the Social Activity Index. In studying the social organizational behavior of married women in middle-class neighborhoods of Allentown, any organization which is not deemed as being a political organization or club is designated a social organization or club.

### **Effects of Employment on Social Activity Rates of Married Women**

A comparison of the levels of social activity of non-employed and employed wives by year and by total sample is

presented in Table 2. This comparison shows that non-employed wives had basically the same levels of social participation in 1970 and 1972; the percent holding memberships in social organizations and holding offices in these organizations was similar. In 1972, however, a slightly higher percentage of non-employed wives devoted more than four hours per month to organizational activities, including meetings (a difference of 4 percent).

In comparing the 1970 and 1972 employed wives, distinct differences can be found; the latter group had a lower level of social activity in all three categories. Also, there were 14 percent fewer employed wives in 1972 as in 1970 who held memberships in one or more social organizations; 19 percent less who participated in organizational activities exceeding a total of four hours per month; and 7 percent fewer who held offices in these organizations.

Despite the fact that the non-employed wives had similar rates of social activity in 1970 and 1972 whereas the employed wives had dissimilar rates, for the total sample (1970 and 1972 combined), employed wives manifest higher participation rates in two of the three social activity categories. That is, employed wives are generally more socially active than non-employed wives.

There are significant differences in the rates of activity of non-employed and employed wives in 1970, but there are no such distinct differences between these groups

Table 2. Percentage Distributions of Type and Level of Social Activity of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania, By Year and Employment Status

| Type and Level                                                         | 1970 | 1972 | TOTAL |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| of non-employed employed non-employed employed non-employed employed   |      |      |       |
| Social Activity (N = 73) (N = 40) (N = 69) (N = 31) (N = 142) (N = 71) |      |      |       |
| Membership in one                                                      |      |      |       |
| Or More Social                                                         | 42   | 60   | 43    |
| Organizations                                                          |      |      | 54    |
| Participation in                                                       |      |      |       |
| Organizational Activ-                                                  |      |      |       |
| ities Exceeding Total                                                  | 18   | 45   | 22    |
| of Four Hours Per                                                      |      |      | 26    |
| Month                                                                  |      |      | 37    |
| Officer in One or                                                      |      |      |       |
| More Social Organ-                                                     | 7    | 10   | 9     |
| izations                                                               |      |      | 3     |
|                                                                        |      |      | 7     |

in 1972, except that the employed wives are less likely to hold offices in organizations than are the non-employed wives (3 versus 9 percent). The gap between the rates of the 1972 wives is, therefore, smaller than the gap between the 1970 wives. The differences between the 1970 groups are large enough to result in the differences between the two total sample groups.

The employed wives are more likely to belong to social organizations and more likely to spend more than four hours per month in organizational activities than non-employed wives. The proportions of non-employed and employed wives holding offices in organizations are similar, however; in both cases, the proportions are low.

The higher social activity rates of employed wives confirms one of the suppositions proposed in the first chapter, namely, that employed wives exhibit higher rates of social participation than do non-employed wives. This confirmation is not as strong as had been expected, however. The differences in the activity rates of the two groups are not as noticeably distinct in 1972 as they are in 1970 (there is a 2 percent difference in 1972 and an 18 percent difference in 1970).

The non-employed wives have similar rates of membership in organizations, participation in organizational activities, and holding offices for both sample years, while the employed wives have greater differences in these rates, the 1972

group having the lower rates in each of the three categories.

There are distinct differences between the 1970 groups, with the employed wives having higher social activity rates. There are no such differences between the 1972 groups, however. The non-employed wives have maintained similar rates while the employed wives have lower rates in 1972, and these rates have been lowered to the same level as those of the non-employed wives. According to these results, employment status has an effect on the social activity rates of the 1970 sample respondents. A variable which has not been taken into account has affected the latter respondents in some way, resulting in no differences between these groups.

One possible reason for the lessened social activity rates of the employed wives is that these women have less time available to them for participation in formal social activities. This possibility was rejected in the first chapter, but perhaps the amount of leisure time available to employed wives is a greater influence on involvement in social activities than was thought. This does not necessarily mean that employed wives are not engaged in any type of social interaction. These wives may be spending more time in informal social activities, such as neighboring, visiting friends or relatives, or participating in recreational activities not formally organized. Or these wives

could be expending more time and energy on activities which are politically-oriented.

This supposition is not substantiated, however, by the political activity results obtained. As described in the following section, participation of the total study sample in those simpler types of political activity, such as reading about politics and being registered to vote, are fairly high, but the participation rates lessen as the "higher" levels of political activity, such as working in a campaign or attending a political rally, are examined.

#### Responses to the Components of the Political Activity Index

Lane reports that five-sixths, 83 percent, of the population of the United States read a newspaper regularly and three-fifths, 60 percent, read at least one magazine regularly. Assuming that this reading is not too superficial and that some people read a "news magazine" such as Time or U. S. News and World Reports, rather than sports or fashion magazines, then a majority of the population should read about politics. In the present Allentown samples, 89 percent of the female respondents replied that they do read about politics rather than skip politically-oriented articles.

Lane also states that political discussion of one sort or another is almost universal throughout American society. This is substantiated by the fact that all but one of the

213 Allentown respondents reported that they discuss public issues with family, friends, or associates at least occasionally.

Talking about politics differs from, and is more frequent than attempts at political persuasion, but these attempts at influence are often made by people who otherwise exhibit no "higher" forms of political participation. At first examination the category "Attempt to Influence Political Views of Others" appears to be just an expansion of the previous category, "Discuss Public Issues With Others" in that it measures the extent to which one discusses political issues. Implicit in the possible responses, however, is the idea that expressing one's opinions, even on a somewhat infrequent basis, is part of the groundwork necessary for attempts to influence others. Ninety-seven percent of the total sample said that they at least inject their opinions now and then in a conversation about politics.

If a person reads about politics and discusses it and tries to influence the political views of others, he should feel a social obligation to register to vote, if not to actually vote. Seventy-eight percent of the total sample were registered voters at the time of the study and only seven of these 167 respondents said that they had voted occasionally rather than frequently.

According to Lane, a majority of the American population would be willing to write to public officials, but

only about 10 to 15 percent actually do so. It was found that 30 percent of the Allentown wives either wrote or spoke to a public official in the past year and most of these women explained that they had talked rather than written. This 30 percent is a substantially higher outcome than would have been expected in light of the 15 percent figure mentioned by Lane. Also, the fact that most of the study respondents who answered yes to this question had engaged in spoken rather than written interaction with a public official shows a higher form of activity. Writing a letter is basically more impersonal than speaking directly to an individual.

It had been assumed that attending a political rally would entail less commitment than making financial contributions to a party or candidate. However, more of the study respondents gave financial contributions than attended political rallies (14 versus 3 percent). The very low rate of attendance at rallies was not due to a lack of such political happenings. Major rallies sponsored by local political organizations had occurred during the two years prior to each sample year in and near Allentown, including rallies at which presidential candidates appeared and spoke. Apparently, however, making a financial contribution entailed more political commitment than attending a rally, although both categories did have very low response rates. The differences between the two may not be that significant

because of these low percentages.

Joining a political club or organization is a far more "activist" step in level of political participation, implying almost all of the previous types of activity. Political clubs often sponsor their own rallies (category 7) at which members have an opportunity to speak to public officials (category 6). It is assumed that the member is a registered and practicing voter (categories 5 and 4) before joining the club.

Discussions of public issues (category 2) would most certainly take place and the members would also probably attempt to convince non-members that their political views are right (category 3). It is expected that club members read about politics (category 1). Only seven (3 percent) of the total respondents, however, belonged to any political organizations, and two of these women did not attend any of the organization's meetings or other activities, reducing the percentage of respondents who participate in these organizations to 2 percent, a very low and insignificant rate. This outcome was not totally unexpected in light of the fact that membership in social organizations was low, as reported in the previous section. Since political organizations are much less prevalent than social organizations, there would be a lower expectancy rate for membership in the former type of organization.

Political party funds tend to come primarily from

large contributions of a relatively few donors; making a monetary contribution, even a rather small one, to a political party or candidate is not widely practiced and would require a substantial amount of political interest and motivation on the part of the donor. People who belong to a political organization should feel a greater obligation, and probably be under more social pressure, to make at least a token contribution. As mentioned earlier, 14 percent of the respondents had made financial contributions, which includes more than the members of political clubs.

For a person to take part in a political campaign, whether doing clerical work at a candidate's headquarters or going door-to-door seeking votes, he would have to be highly motivated. This motivation would be gained, in part, from participation in various other political activities. Twelve percent of the respondents had done some type of work for a political candidate in the previous four years. This response was higher than was expected.

The highest form of political participation is that of holding a political office, including both elective and appointive offices. If a person had ever held such an office, or even run for one, he will probably have participated in many other forms of political activity, if not before taking office, then during or after taking office. None of the respondents, however, had ever run for or been appointed or elected to such an office.

This is not surprising in light of the low rates of involvement of the respondents in each of the political activity categories examined above and also in light of the fact that only a very small percentage of American women do hold any type of political office.

In examining the rates of involvement of the study respondents in the various categories composing the Social and Political Activity Indexes, it is evident that these rates are not significantly high. The wives in the total sample are not active socially or politically. Despite these low rates, however, there are differences in the involvement of employed versus non-employed wives and in the rates of the 1970 wives versus the 1972 wives, as noted in the two previous sections. In the following section, the political activity rates of the non-employed and employed wives are examined and compared.

#### Comparison of Political Activity Rates of Non-Employed and Employed Wives

A comparison of the levels of political activity, as determined by the various items included in the Political Activity Index, of non-employed and employed wives, by year and by total sample, is shown in Table 3. As with the rates of social activity, there are significant differences between the various activity rates of non-employed and employed wives in 1970, but there are few significant



**Table 3. Percentage Distributions of Type and Level of Political Activity of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania, By Year and Employment Status**

| Type and Level                                                         | 1970 | 1972 | TOTAL |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| of non-employed employed non-employed employed non-employed employed   |      |      |       |
| Social Activity (N = 73) (N = 40) (N = 69) (N = 31) (N = 142) (N = 71) |      |      |       |
| Seek out Books and Articles About Politics                             | 3    | 0    | 1     |
| Discuss Public Issues With Others Frequently                           | 11   | 1    | 23    |
| Attempts to Influence Political Views of Others                        | 1    | 4    | 3     |
| Registered to Vote                                                     | 88   | 67   | 79    |
| Voted Frequently in Past 4 Years                                       | 82   | 67   | 78    |
| Wrote or Talked to Public Official at Least Once in Past Year          | 23   | 19   | 45    |

Table 3a. Percentage Distributions of Type and Level of Political Activity of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania, By Year and Employment Status

| Type and Level       | 1970         |          |              |          | 1972         |          |              |          | TOTAL |
|----------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------|
|                      | non-employed | employed | non-employed | employed | non-employed | employed | non-employed | employed |       |
| Social Activity      | (N = 73)     | (N = 40) | (N = 69)     | (N = 31) | (N = 142)    | (N = 71) |              |          |       |
| Attended at Least    |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| One Political Rally  | 4            | 10       | 0            | 0        | 2            | 6        |              |          |       |
| in Past 2 Years      |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Membership in at     |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Least 1 Political    | 4            | 5        | 1            | 3        | 3            | 4        |              |          |       |
| Organization         |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Participation in     |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Organizational Ac-   |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| tivities Exceeding   | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        |              |          |       |
| Total of 4 Hours     |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Per Month            |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Officer in 1 or      |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| More Political       | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        |              |          |       |
| Organizations        |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Contributed Finan-   |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| cially to Party or   | 4            | 35       | 13           | 13       | 9            | 25       |              |          |       |
| Candidate            |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Worked for Election  | 15           | 30       | 0            | 7        | 8            | 20       |              |          |       |
| of Candidate         |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Held or Ran for      |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |
| Elective or Appoint- | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        | 0            | 0        |              |          |       |
| ive Political Office |              |          |              |          |              |          |              |          |       |

differences between the various activity rates of non-employed and employed wives in 1972.<sup>52</sup>

Of the thirteen categories of political activity shown in Table 3, the 1970 employed wives have higher percentage rates than the 1970 non-employed wives in eight categories. And in six of these eight categories, the differences are more than ten percent. The 1972 employed wives have higher percentage rates than the 1972 non-employed wives in only five of the thirteen categories, and all of these differences are less than ten percent.

Of the total sample, employed wives have higher percentages of activity rates than non-employed wives in six of the thirteen categories. The most significant differences are in the following categories: "Discuss Public Issues With Others Frequently," "Wrote or Talked to Public Official at Least Once in Past Year," "Contributed Financially to Party or Candidate in Past Four Years."

In the first category of the above-mentioned four, there is a 16 percent difference between the activity rates of the two groups of wives; but even so, only 23 percent of the employed wives discuss public issues frequently with family, friends and associates. This percentage may be greater than that of the non-employed wives, but it is not a significant proportion, considering that discussing public issues with others is at the "lower" end of the Political Activity Index (meaning that more women should

exhibit this type of behavior).

Twenty-four percent more employed wives than non-employed wives wrote or talked to a public official. This difference is significant because forty-five percent of the employed wives wrote or spoke to an official, and this is a substantial rate of participation for this category, especially in light of a statement made by Lane, as reported previously, that only 10 to 15 percent of the general population write to public officials.

A significantly larger proportion of employed wives made financial contributions to a party or candidate than did non-employed wives (25 versus 9 percent) for the total sample. An interesting note is that three-fourths of this 25 percent consists of wives from the 1970 sample.

There are three categories for the total sample which have zero percentages for both employed and non-employed wives. These categories are "Participation in Organizational Activities Exceeding Total of Four Hours Per Month," "Officer in One or More Political Organization," and "Held or Ran for Political Office." There are two categories for the 1972 sample which have zero percentages for both groups of wives. The categories are "Seek out Books and Articles About Politics," and "Attended at Least One Political Rally in Past Two Years."

One fact pointed out by the figures in Table 3 is that the total sample of both non-employed and employed

wives in 1970 and 1972 are not politically active. There are several categories, notably "Registered to Vote," "Voted Frequently," and "Wrote or Talked to Public Official" which show fairly high rates of participation, but there are other categories which show very low rates. Seven of the thirteen categories have percentage figures for both employed and non-employed wives which are less than 10 percent. Employed wives may have higher percentage rates of participation than non-employed wives in a number of categories of political activity, but even though 6 percent is larger than 2 percent, the first figure is itself indicative of a low level of participation.

A second fact pointed out by the figures in the table is that the participation rates of both non-employed and employed wives were lower in 1972 than they had been in 1970. Even though both groups declined in levels of activity, the employed wives had a greater decline in participation in the various categories than did non-employed wives.

These findings are puzzling in light of the fact that the temporal setting of the 1972 study seemed to be of a nature that would be more conducive to increased political participation. During the summer preceeding a presidential election there generally tends to be a flurry of political activity. In a comparison of the total sample by year, however, 20 percent of the 1970 wives versus 2 percent of the 1972 wives discussed public issues frequently,

91 versus 63 percent were registered voters, 87 versus 63 percent had voted frequently, and 20 versus 2 percent had worked for the election of a political candidate.

Toward an Explanation of Discrepancies Between 1970 and 1972

One possible explanation for discrepancies between the situations in 1970 and 1972 is that the summer is still too early for increased political participation to occur before the election. Perhaps people became more active in the month or two right before the election (the election was in November while data collection occurred in the months of June through August).

A second plausible explanation is that the 1972 presidential election did not interest many people. There was not a substantially high electoral turnout that November, and political scientists indicated that the electorate appeared to be more apathetic than usual during the entire 1972 election. The general mood of the population toward that election could have resulted in the lower participation rates in general of married women in Allentown.

Another possibility is that the decreased levels of political participation of the wives in 1972, as compared with the levels in 1970, could be due to the general attitudes of these women toward the desirability and effectiveness of such participation. This, in turn, might be due to the way that these wives feel about the role of govern-

ment and the economic system, as evidenced by the sample respondents, both male and female.

As noted previously, social activity tends to precede political activity. An individual who is politically active also tends to be socially active. In fact, the two types of involvement enhance one another. Neither the 1970 nor the 1972 sample, however, is significantly socially active (and, therefore, the total sample is not very active). From these results, one would suspect that neither sample exhibits high rates of political participation. This was found to be the case.

Because of the fairly low rates of social and political activity of the sample wives, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the patterns which emerge from the data results, as reported above. Employment status had an effect on the social activity of the 1970 wives and this effect was in the expected direction — the employed wives were noticeably more socially active than the non-employed wives. This pattern was not repeated in the 1972 data, however. The employed wives had lower rates in 1972 than in 1970, while the non-employed wives had similar rates in the two years, resulting in comparable rates for the two groups in 1972.

The findings for the 1972 data are even less clear-cut, due to the fact that there are a number of categories of the Political Activity Index for which response rates are

very low. It is difficult to conclude, therefore, whether or not there is a significant difference between 3 and 5 percent. The patterns which do emerge from these data are the same as those resulting from the social activity data; that is, there are greater differences between the non-employed and employed wives in 1970 than in 1972, and the differences in 1970 are in the expected direction of the employed wives having higher activity rates.

Employment status has the expected effect on both social and political involvement in 1970, but not in 1972. An examination and discussion of plausible reasons for this discrepancy will be made in the fifth chapter.

## FINDINGS: THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM

The majority of Americans, according to some observers, tend to be politically conservative. Among the findings which substantiate this statement are those obtained by Free and Cantril from a 1964 national sample. Before findings and generalizations such as these can be fully understood, however, the term "conservative", which has undergone a change in connotation in the United States over the past two hundred years, must be more clearly defined.

In the past, to be politically conservative meant that the individual favored a status quo situation in so far as the nature and role of government was concerned. That is, a "conservative" was satisfied with what the government was doing. Liberals in America were people who advocated individualism — the protection of the individual from the growing powers of government, especially the Federal government, which was highly distrusted. Liberals valued private enterprise, economic freedom, individual initiative, and self-reliance. States' rights were advocated, with a system of checks and balances and a division of power, to ensure that the Federal government would not encroach on areas which could best be handled closer to home by local governments.

A liberal ideology was linked to a laissez-faire view of government, and this ideology was influenced by theories of social Darwinism prevalent at that time. These theories held that competition was necessary to assure the survival of the fittest. According to these views, poverty labelled the individual as being inherently inferior. As Free and Cantril note,

State intervention, by inhibiting the development of individual initiative and responsibility, was seen as stultifying the development of character and protecting the lazy, the inefficient, and the shiftless. These doctrines of 'liberalism' (old style), widely propagated by the stories of Horatio Alger, are what we mean by the traditional American ideology.<sup>53</sup>

By the twentieth century, liberals favored the strengthening of governmental powers in order to promote the public welfare and social justice. Modern liberals approve of increased governmental intervention because, as they see it, individual initiative is not strong enough to cope with the system.

#### Measurement of the Liberalism-Conservatism Polarity

Liberalism and conservatism, as discussed above, can be conceptualized as consisting of two distinct polarities: attitudes toward the role of government and attitudes toward the general socioeconomic system. Free and Cantril formulated their Ideological Spectrum specifically to deal with these two types of attitudes. Items one and two tap the role of government, while items three, four, and five tap

the socioeconomic system and the use of individual initiative. These five items are:

1. The Federal Government is interfering too much in state and local matters.

2. The government has gone too far in regulating business and interfering with the free enterprise system.

3. Social problems here in this country could be solved more effectively if the government would only keep its hands off and let people in local communities handle their own problems in their own way.

4. Generally speaking, any able-bodied person who really wants to work in this country can find a job and earn a living.

5. We should rely more on individual initiative and ability and not so much on governmental welfare programs.

Free and Cantril took these five statements, which deal with two different attitudinal concepts, and combined them to form one index which they believe taps an individual's political ideology, labelling him as a "liberal" or a "conservative". On the operational assumption that these items are derived from a common universe of content, an attempt was made to fit them into a scalogram pattern. From the frequency distributions of the responses of the total sample of wives, the items appeared to be scalable. The percentages of wives who agreed with each of the items ranged as follows:

| <u>Item</u>              | <u>Percentage of Wives Agreeing</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Individual Initiative    | 74                                  |
| Employment Opportunities | 62                                  |
| Local Control            | 51                                  |
| Government Interference  | 38                                  |
| Governmental Regulation  | 29                                  |

It was hypothesized that these items formed a Guttman scale pattern and, consequently, the data were subjected to scalogram analysis. The results clearly demonstrate that the items of the Ideological Spectrum do not form an acceptable Guttman scale pattern. In this case, the "best fit" scale obtained had the following characteristics:

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| coefficient of reproducibility   | .7765 |
| minimum marginal reproducibility | .6413 |
| percent improvement              | .1352 |
| coefficient of scalability       | .3770 |

This scale, then, is clearly not acceptable.<sup>54</sup>

Correlation coefficients for the five items were also obtained, as shown in Table 4. Item one, dealing with government interference, is correlated highest (.40) with item two, dealing with governmental regulation. The third item, dealing with community control, is correlated highest with item four, the employment opportunities item (.45), while item four and item five, dealing with individual initiative, are correlated highest with one another (.87).

These coefficients demonstrate conclusively that the

Table 4. Correlation Coefficients of Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, According to Agreement Responses of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania in 1970 and 1972

| Components of the<br>Ideological Spectrum | Dimension One               |                            | Dimension Two    |                             |                          |      |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------|
|                                           | Government<br>Interference  | Governmental<br>Regulation | Local<br>Control | Employment<br>Opportunities | Individual<br>Initiative |      |
| Dimension<br>One                          |                             |                            |                  |                             |                          |      |
|                                           | Government<br>Interference  | 1.00                       | .40              | .18                         | .10                      | -.14 |
|                                           | Governmental<br>Regulation  | .40                        | 1.00             | -.32                        | -.41                     | .00  |
| Dimension<br>Two                          | Local<br>Control            | .18                        | -.32             | 1.00                        | .45                      | .27  |
|                                           | Employment<br>Opportunities | .10                        | -.41             | .45                         | 1.00                     | .87  |
|                                           | Individual<br>Initiative    | -.14                       | .00              | .27                         | .87                      | 1.00 |

five items form a two-dimensional index or spectrum. Dimension One focuses on the sphere of government and consists of the government interference and the governmental regulation items. Dimension Two focuses on the socioeconomic system and is comprised of the community control, employment opportunities, and individual initiative items. The first two items fit together, as do the last two, with the community control item being associated more with the latter two items.

The Ideological Spectrum, then, consisting of two dimensions rather than one, is not a cumulative, i. e. a unidimensional, scale. To agree or disagree with one of the five items might evidence a conservative attitude, but a certain pattern of responses, (e. g. to agree with two items and disagree with the remaining three) does not necessarily label the respondent a liberal or a conservative.

Because there are clearly two distinct dimensions included in the Ideological Spectrum, the responses to individual items will be examined item by item, rather than as a summated scale. This phase of the research is concerned with various comparisons of the non-employed and employed wives at the two points in time, 1970 and 1972.

#### Employment Status and Ideological Perspectives

If differing attitudes exist between the two sample groups of wives, this will become clear when the responses

of each group to the components of the Ideological Spectrum are examined. This comparison is shown in Table 5, where it can be noted that there are significant differences in the agreement rates of the two year groups for the items of dimension one (19 and 23 percent), but only slight differences in the rates of agreement for the items of dimension two (2, 8, and 6 percent). From this table it can also be noted that, except for the employment opportunities item, the 1972 sample of wives had higher agreement rates than the 1970 group, even though several of the differences are slight.

There is a definite increase of pessimistic feelings toward government control on the part of the 1972 wives. Attitudes favoring more local and individual control have not increased, however. This has resulted in a more compatible relationship between dimension one and dimension two. A majority of the 1970 wives felt that the federal government was not exercising excessive control, but a majority also expressed the opinion that social problems could best be handled by use of local control and individual initiative. The 1972 wives have lessened the gap between their responses to the two dimensions, although they, too, tend to favor more local control and individual initiative than less control by the federal government.

This pattern can be further examined by a comparison of non-employed wives in 1970 and 1972 and of employed wives

Table 5. Percentage Distributions of Agreement Responses of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania to Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, By Year

| Components of the    |                          | 1970      | 1972      | Total     |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Ideological Spectrum |                          | (N = 113) | (N = 100) | (N = 213) |
| Dimension One        | Government Interference  | 29        | 48        | 38        |
|                      | Governmental Regulation  | 18        | 41        | 29        |
|                      | Local Control            | 50        | 52        | 51        |
|                      | Employment Opportunities | 66        | 58        | 62        |
| Dimension Two        | Individual Initiative    | 71        | 77        | 74        |

in both years. Discernable patterns are more difficult to find in this comparison (see Table 6). For the non-employed wives on the first dimension there are differences of 12 and 28 percent, while for the employed wives these differences are 32 and 16 percent. The latter group evidences only slightly higher rates of difference for the sphere of government dimension than do the non-employed wives.

In a comparison of the responses to the socioeconomic dimension, it can be seen that there are more noticeable differences between the employed groups than between the non-employed groups. There is a higher rate of change, therefore, between the two year groups of employed wives than between the two groups of non-employed wives. There is not, however, a noticeable difference between the responses of each group for the two dimensions as there is between the two year groups (as shown in Table 5).

The most noticeable pattern which emerges from Table 6 is that the agreement rates of the non-employed wives increase from 1970 to 1972 on the sphere of government dimension, but then decrease from 1970 to 1972 on the socioeconomic dimension. This is not true of the employed wives, whose agreement rates increase on all five items.

By transposing the year and employment categories of Table 6, a comparison of the non-employed and employed wives in each year can be made, as demonstrated in Table 7. According to the guiding hypotheses set forth in the first

Table 6. Percentage Distributions of Agreement Responses of Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania in 1970 and 1972 to Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, By Employment Status

|                  | Components of the<br>Ideological Spectrum | Non-Employed   |                | Employed       |                |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|                  |                                           | 1970<br>(N=73) | 1972<br>(N=69) | 1970<br>(N=40) | 1972<br>(N=31) |
| Dimension<br>One | Government<br>Interference                | 34             | 46             | 20             | 52             |
|                  | Governmental<br>Regulation                | 16             | 44             | 20             | 36             |
| Dimension<br>Two | Local<br>Control                          | 64             | 52             | 25             | 52             |
|                  | Employment<br>Opportunities               | 82             | 57             | 38             | 61             |
|                  | Individual<br>Initiative                  | 82             | 75             | 50             | 81             |

Table 7. Percentage Distributions of Agreement Responses of Non-Employed and Employed Middle-Class Wives in Allentown, Pennsylvania to Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, By Year

| Components of the<br>Ideological Spectrum | 1970                        |                    | 1972                   |                    |    |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----|
|                                           | Non-Employed<br>(N=73)      | Employed<br>(N=40) | Non-Employed<br>(N=69) | Employed<br>(N=31) |    |
| Dimension<br>One                          |                             |                    |                        |                    |    |
|                                           | Government<br>Interference  | 34                 | 20                     | 46                 | 52 |
|                                           | Governmental<br>Regulation  | 16                 | 20                     | 44                 | 36 |
| Dimension<br>Two                          | Local<br>Control            | 64                 | 25                     | 52                 | 52 |
|                                           | Employment<br>Opportunities | 82                 | 38                     | 57                 | 61 |
|                                           | Individual<br>Initiative    | 82                 | 50                     | 75                 | 81 |

chapter, the non-employed wives should have higher agreement rates, and thus more conservative attitudes, for the five items of the Spectrum. This holds true in 1970, except for the governmental regulation item, to which slightly more employed wives agree. There are significant differences in the rates of the two groups of wives in 1970 on the socioeconomic dimension, but less significant differences on the sphere of government dimension.

There are no patterns evident in the responses of the two groups of wives in 1972. Only slight differences exist in the agreement rates of the non-employed and employed wives for dimension one (6 and 8 percent) and for dimension two (0, 4, and 6 percent). There is not much difference, therefore, in the responses of the two groups of wives in 1972. In fact, the two groups have equal agreement rates on the local control item. In 1972 the attitudes of non-employed and employed wives toward governmental power, local control, and individual initiative are similar — the gap between employment groups has lessened.

Unlike the 1970 sample, the non-employed wives in 1972 do not have higher agreement rates on the five items of the Spectrum than do the employed wives. In fact, the employed wives have higher rates on three items (the non-employed group is higher on the governmental regulation item and the two groups have equal rates on the local control item).<sup>55</sup>

To recapitulate, a comparison of the 1970 and 1972 wives shows significant differences for the sphere of government dimension. When these two year groups are compared as non-employed and employed groups, the non-employed wives also demonstrate more significant differences for the sphere of government dimension than for the socioeconomic dimension from 1970 to 1972. The employed wives, however, have fairly equal differences for both dimensions from 1970 to 1972 (the mean difference for dimension one is 24 percent and the mean difference for dimension two is 27 percent).

There are greater differences between the 1970 and the 1972 employed wives than there are between the 1970 and 1972 non-employed wives. The differences between the employed wives, therefore, account for most of the differences in a comparison of the total 1970 wives and total 1972 wives (see Table 5). When these two total year samples are each broken down into employment groups, the results from the 1970 sample are as expected. The responses of the non-employed and employed groups in 1972 are not as were anticipated, however. There appear to be circumstantial conditions evident in 1972 which must be taken into account so that the attitudinal changes in 1972 may be fully assessed. Intervening variables may be present, one of which may be reflected in a comparison of the wife's attitudes toward the sphere of government and the socioeconomic system to

those of her husband. It was proposed in the first chapter that non-employed wives would tend to have political attitudes similar to those of their husbands while the attitudes of employed wives tend to differ more from those of their husbands.

#### Employment Status and Agreement With Husband's Ideological Perspective

Non-employed wives, not being involved in larger societal networks of interrelationships and patterns of interaction, should tend to rely upon the political attitudes of their husbands in order to formulate their own attitudes. Employed wives, however, being exposed to a variety of attitudes, in the work situation and in the social networks that evolve from the work environment, should tend to develop political attitudes which differ from those of their husband.

Since the 1972 sample wives evidence attitudes different from those of the 1970 wives, as revealed in their responses of agreement to the Ideological Spectrum, one expects that differences might also exist between rates of the 1970 spouses and the 1972 spouses. Table 8 shows the percentage rates of both wives and husbands of each sample year who agree with each of the five items of the Spectrum.

There are no significant differences between the responses of the 1970 wives and husbands, the largest

Table 8. Percentage Distributions of Agreement Responses of Middle-Class Wives and Their Husbands in Allentown, Pennsylvania to Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, By Year

| Components of the    |                          | 1970  |          | 1972  |          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| Ideological Spectrum |                          | Wives | Husbands | Wives | Husbands |
| Dimension One        | Government Interference  | 29    | 22       | 48    | 72       |
|                      | Governmental Regulation  | 18    | 26       | 41    | 46       |
|                      | Local Control            | 50    | 58       | 52    | 55       |
| Dimension Two        | Employment Opportunities | 66    | 74       | 58    | 54       |
|                      | Individual Initiative    | 71    | 87       | 77    | 67       |

difference between the two groups being 16 percent, with the husbands having a higher agreement rate. For the 1972 spouses, there are also no significant differences, except on the government interference item. Twenty-four percent more husbands agree with this statement than do wives. The differences between the rates of spouses for both years is constant. The mean difference between the responses of wives and husbands for all five items in 1970 is 9.4 percent and the mean difference for these groups in 1972 is 9.2 percent. Although the agreement rates of the 1972 wives differ from those of the 1970 wives, the agreement rates of the 1972 husbands also differ from those of the 1970 husbands. This results in similar patterns of difference for both the 1970 and 1972 spouses.

A further avenue of investigation is to examine whether or not the spouses for each year both have agreement responses to the same items of the Spectrum. According to the supposition advanced in the first chapter, non-employed wives should agree more with their husband's responses than employed wives. These patterns of agreement are set forth in Table 9, where the wives are divided by year and then by employment status. Each of these four groups is subdivided by their responses to each of the five items of the Spectrum. The subsequent groups of wives who agree with the items are then divided into final groupings according to the husband's responses to the items.

Table 9. Percentage Distributions of Congruence Between Agreement Responses of Non-Employed and Employed Middle-Class Wives and Their Husbands in Allentown, Pennsylvania to Five Items of Free and Cantril's Ideological Spectrum, By Year

| Percentages of Agreement                                                                                | Proportion of Wives and Husbands Who Both Agree With Each Item (Percentage Based on Number of Husbands Who Agree) |                |                    |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
|                                                                                                         | 1970                                                                                                              |                | 1972               |                |
|                                                                                                         | Non-Employed Wives                                                                                                | Employed Wives | Non-Employed Wives | Employed Wives |
| Percentage of Agreement of Wife With Husband's Agree Response to Items of Dimension One of the Spectrum | 29                                                                                                                | 45             | 46                 | 54             |
| Percentage of Agreement of Wife With Husband's Agree Response to Items of Dimension Two of the Spectrum | 83                                                                                                                | 50             | 74                 | 72             |
| Percentage of Agreement of Wife With Husband's Agree Response to All Items of the Spectrum              | 74                                                                                                                | 46             | 63                 | 76             |

The percentages in Table 9 are obtained by determining the sum total of husbands who agree with each item with which their wives have also agreed, for all five items, and dividing this number by the sum total of all husbands who agree with all of the five items. For example, on the government interference item, there are twenty-five non-employed wives in 1970 who agree with this statement, but only four of these twenty-five husbands also agree with the statement. This is out of a total of seventeen husbands who agree with the statement (four husbands agree, eight husbands are not sure, and thirteen husbands disagree).

When examining all five items of the Spectrum as an index of agreement, the results in Table 9 reveal that the 1970 employed wives and their husbands have a lower percentage rate of agreement than do the non-employed wives and their husbands. This is as expected. Data for the 1972 groups, however, do not support the supposition expressed earlier — the 1972 employed wives and their husbands have a higher percentage rate of agreement than do the non-employed spouses.

Viewing the agreement response patterns of all five items of the Spectrum masks the two-dimensional nature of the Spectrum. The 1970 non-employed wives and their husbands may have a higher agreement rate than the employed wives and their husbands when the five items of the Spectrum are examined, but when the rates of these groups for

the sphere of government dimension and the socioeconomic dimension are taken separately, the picture is altered. The non-employed wives and their husbands retain a higher percentage of agreement than the employed wives on dimension two (83 versus 50 percent), but this pattern is reversed on dimension one where the employed wives and their husbands have a higher rate of agreement than do the non-employed wives (45 versus 29 percent).

The non-employed group has a 74 percent agreement rate to all components of the Spectrum, but only a 29 percent rate for the two components of the first dimension. This, in turn, is in comparison to an 83 percent agreement rate for the second dimension. The spouses for the group of 1970 non-employed wives agree more on the use of local control and individual initiative than they do on the interference of the federal government in spheres which are not of its concern.

The employed wives and their husbands in 1970 evidence no such discrepancies in agreement rates. The 46 percent rate for all components of the Spectrum is comparable to the 45 percent rate for dimension one and is not significantly different than the 50 percent rate for dimension two. The non-employed wives and their husbands may have higher agreement rates than the employed wives, but there are internal discrepancies within the former group which mar the total results.

The 1972 groups are somewhat more consistent in their agreement rates, although the figures are not in a pattern expected — the employed group has a higher rate of agreement than the non-employed group for both the whole Spectrum (76 versus 63 percent) and for the items of dimension one (54 versus 46 percent). The rates for dimension two are nearly equal (72 and 74 percent). One noticeable pattern which emerges from these figures is that, like with the 1970 non-employed group, there are higher agreement rates for wives and husbands on dimension two than on dimension one.

The results shown in Table 9 do not support the proposed pattern of results. The discrepancies evident in the rates of the 1970 non-employed group for all five items combined and for the two groups of items (dimensions one and two) make the outcome (higher agreement rate of non-employed wives and their husbands) questionable. In any event, data reported in Tables 8 and 9 show that the proposed patterns are not obtained in 1972. The non-employed and employed groups are either comparable or the employed group has higher, rather than lower, percentage rates than does the non-employed group.

Similar patterns have emerged in the response rates of the sample respondents as emerged in the social and political activity rates of the female respondents. Once again the differences which have emerged are questionable, due to

the very small number of responses in some of the categories of the Ideological Spectrum. Despite the low percentages from which to draw conclusions, however, it was found that the data obtained in 1970 substantiated the proposed outcomes as stipulated in the study hypotheses, while the 1972 data does not. There are no distinct differences in agreement rates of the two groups of 1972 spouses. This is in contradiction to the differences which do exist between the various 1970 groups.

It is again difficult to conclude whether or not employment status had an effect on the variable examined, namely political ideology. From the findings noted in this and the previous chapter, it is evident that a variable not taken into account produced unexpected results in 1972. Several plausible variables will be discussed and examined in the following, and concluding, chapter.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the results of the research experience reported here and to determine the extent to which these findings substantiate or shed new light upon the hypotheses set forth at the beginning of the thesis. Plausible explanations for the discrepancies discovered between 1970 and 1972 data will also be discussed and these, in turn, will provide a basis for suggesting useful directions for future research.

### Summary of Study Findings

The aim of this research was to investigate the effects of employment on the participation in politically-oriented activities and on the political attitudes of married women. Also explored were the effects of employment on social involvement and on the political ideological agreement of the wives and their husbands. Four hypotheses were formulated to help organize these inquiries.

The first hypothesis is that among wives who are not employed outside of the home, those who are socially active tend to be more politically involved than those who are not socially active. From the data obtained, it appears clear that this is substantiated in 1970 but not in 1972. The

second hypothesis states that wives who are employed outside the home tend to be more politically involved than wives who do not hold jobs outside the home. This statement is also supported by data obtained in 1970 but not by data obtained in 1972. In 1972 social activity had no effect on the political involvement of non-employed wives and employment status had no effect on political activity rates.

Conflicting results were also obtained in an attempt to substantiate the third hypothesis, which states that wives who are employed outside the home tend to have less conservative political attitudes than wives who are not employed outside the home. The 1970 sample conformed to this pattern more than the 1972 sample. There was also no support for the fourth hypothesis in 1972, despite substantiation by the 1970 data. There are differing results also, therefore, about whether or not the political attitudes of employed wives tend to be more independent of the attitudes of their husbands than are the attitudes of non-employed wives.

It should be noted that these married women, in general, were not very active socially or politically. That is, even though there were noticeable differences in the degree of social and political activity between the non-employed and employed wives in 1970, these rates were not very high in an absolute sense. In 1972 employment status

does not appear to affect the social and political involvement to married, middle-class women in Allentown. Nor does employment status appear to have an effect on the political attitudes of these 1972 wives, or on the ideological agreement of the 1972 spouses.

This lack of effect could be due, in part, to an unanticipated restrictive quality inherent in the hypotheses. A modification of these hypotheses might result in more supportive findings. The independent variable, employment status, had been conceived of as a distinct factor affecting social and political activity in a positive manner. These three variables, however, may be linked in a much more interlocking fashion. All three would increase (or be indicative of an increase in) a wife's exposure to stimuli which tend to make her more aware of what is happening in society in general.

As far as political ideology is concerned, employment and social involvement may work the same way. Both increase a wife's contacts in society as a whole, exposing her to various political orientations, thus enhancing the possibility that she will develop political attitudes differing from those of her husband. Employment may be an independent variable competing with social activity. Thus, to specify the interrelationships between employment status and degree of political activity, one should perhaps take degree of social activity into account as an

intervening variable. Social and political involvement and employment may all be similarly linked to the social action system, involving similar patterns of social relationships and interaction.

This reasoning, however, still does not explain completely the fact that different results were obtained in 1970 and 1972, except in so far as the meaning of "employment" might be undergoing modification. With more women becoming a part of the labor force in the United States every year, a re-evaluation of what employment implies socially might be in order for future investigation.

In addition to this reconceptualization of the term "employment", there are several other aspects of this study which should be considered as possible explanations for the discrepancies in the data findings. These are presented in the following section.

#### Reconsideration of the Research Methods

The introduction of bias at any point in a research study is always a possibility. In this study, by design, controls were used to keep any suspected sources of biasing at a minimum. The population was specifically limited in terms of certain criteria to obtain a homogeneous sample. A structure interview schedule was used with the least number of open-ended questions possible to maintain uniformity in both the question and answer processes, and



the same questions, with exact wording, were used in both sample years. The same sampling procedure was followed in 1970 and 1972; a simple random sample procedure ensured that any member of the population could be chosen for sample inclusion.

Despite the use of the same procedures in each of the sample years, biasing could have inadvertently been introduced at any point, especially during the interviewing process. Even slight differences in question wording could lead to considerable differences in the proportion of people who answer one way or another. Obviously, too, the behavior of the interviewer may influence responses.

One aspect of the methodological procedures which differed in the two study years was the time of year when the interviewing was conducted. There was a higher refusal rate by potential respondents in the winter of 1970 than in the summer of 1972, and a higher rate of people not home in 1972 than in 1970. This could have resulted in the inclusion, or exclusion, of wives having some unaccounted for characteristic which acted as a variable affecting social and political involvement and political attitudes.

Another aspect of the methodological procedures which could have resulted in the discrepancies in the findings is three of the measuring devices used, namely, the Social and Political Activity Indexes and the Ideological Spectrum. It is of utmost importance that all measuring devices

be reliable and valid, that they truly measure what they claim to measure. The Spectrum, as discussed in the fourth chapter, deals with two separate attitudinal dimensions which might be best tapped by use of a different index and more numerous items; i. e. a larger battery of items.

Not only did the effect of employment on political activity not run in the expected direction in 1972, but also the response rates of these wives were noticeably lower than the rates of the 1970 wives in many of the categories of the Political Activity Index. This reduced involvement could be due to some variable in the social climate of the times which made the 1972 wives more politically apathetic. Three such variables are the general political climate throughout the nation, the more specific political climate in Allentown, and a change in the views of American women toward the government or political activity itself.

The political climate of the nation prior to and during the presidential election of 1972 was one of disinterest and apathy. Only slightly more than a simple majority of the electorate turned out to vote on Election Day. For any conclusive statement to be made about the effect of this national mood on the political activity rates of the Allentown sample, the rates of activity of the total national population of wives should be obtained and the two sets of rates be compared to determine if the

Allentown sample is truly representative of the total population.

One factor which adds credence to the possibility that the 1972 sample had lower political activity rates because of an increased distrust toward the government is seen in the higher agreement rates of the 1972 sample to the sphere of government dimension of the Ideological Spectrum. These responses reveal a growing concern toward governmental encroachment into areas not directly its concern and therefore could have been a factor contributing to decreased political involvement.

During the two-year period between the samples, the Women's Movement in the United States was gaining momentum. One of the goals of this Movement was to increase the political awareness and involvement of American women. There may be an increased number of women in the political or governmental process itself — holding elective and appointive political offices, being members of political boards and committees — but the majority of women, especially middle-aged, white, high school-educated, middle-class housewives, may still remain comparatively unaware and uninvolved in political happenings. The findings of this study, especially the 1972 data, show that this may be the case.

Implicit in this reconsideration of methodological procedures are several avenues of inquiry that may prove

useful for future research. Because the study findings were not stable over time, certain aspects of this research may merit further investigation. There are broader implications of the results of this study and of the general study variables, namely employment, social activity, and political activity and ideology, which also deserve further research.

### Suggestions for Future Research

The one finding of this study which deserves further investigation most is that which is evident from the data in Table 3 (in the third chapter). These figures demonstrate that non-employed wives maintained their levels of social activity from 1970 to 1972, while the levels of the employed wives fluctuated. Employment status may, therefore, be a variable which cannot be totally separated from social activity. The two may be more interrelated than thought.

Both employment and social involvement remove the wife from social isolation in the home and increase her social contacts and networks of social relationships in the general society. These two variables may act in conjunction to affect political involvement. Instead of comparing the political activity rates of non-employed and employed wives, perhaps we should compare the rates of socially non-active or active non-employed wives to the

rates of socially non-active or active employed wives. This proposition merits future research.

The discrepancy in the results of this study or, more specifically, the lower social and political activity rates of the 1972 wives and their increased distrust of governmental power was unexpected. The most obvious method which would shed some light on this would be to requestion the 1972 sample respondents and ask them directly why they were not politically involved or interested and why they had such low regard for the federal government. This action is highly unfeasible, however.

A reconstruction of what was happening locally and nationally in both social and political spheres would certainly lay to rest the proposal that these occurences are what caused the discrepancies in the study findings. As mentioned in the previous section, the different rates of social and political activity and attitudinal responses in 1970 and 1972 may be a clue to the discrepancies, but a further analysis of this specific data is also unfeasible because the number of cases in each of the response categories of the various indexes is too small.

There is no simple solution for discovering why the 1972 findings came out the way they did. One direction to take, however, is to investigate the total concepts of social and political activity using employment as a related variable. A relevant avenue of investigation is to

examine these concepts as applied to women.

The fact that employment increases the wife's social relationships and networks has been mentioned several times. This has always been accepted as being true for men. An interesting question is: Are these social relationships and networks of the same nature for both men and women? If so, this lessens the argument that employed wives should develop political attitudes different from those of their husband. If they, too, are employed outside the home, they may be subjected to the same type of attitudinal influences that their husbands are. A variable which would have to be controlled in an investigation of this supposition is type of employment. Working women are concentrated in rather specific job categories, many of which are basically "female jobs". Being concentrated in different types of occupations may mean being involved in different types of social relationships and networks and, therefore, developing political attitudes different from males, especially husbands.

Women's studies have become fashionable; despite this trend, such studies are useful because the role of women in American society, and how they accept this role, is gradually undergoing alteration — and has been understudied. Social and political awareness and involvement and employment outside the home, as aspects of this role, are also being subjected to change. Studies, especially

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longitudinal ones, dealing with these variables, as this thesis attempted to do, would lead to valuable insights into the changing role of women and how this change is affecting society, in general.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Charlotte Robinson, "How Women Make Up Their Political Minds," Detroit Free Press, August 26, 1973, sec. D, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Examples include Lipset's Political Man, Eldersveld et al's "Research in Political Behavior" in Political Behavior, and Campbell, et al's, The American Voter.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 215.

<sup>4</sup>In 1940 approximately 3,000 people in Erie County, Ohio were interviewed. This group resembled the total city population in age, sex, residence, education, telephone and car ownership, and nativity.

<sup>5</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 48-49.

<sup>6</sup>Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), p. 190.

<sup>7</sup>Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Personal Influence," in Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld, and Morris Janowitz, Political Behavior (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 149-150.

<sup>8</sup>Lane, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup>These studies include William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," Lane's Political Life, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's The Civic Culture, and Herbert Maccoby's "Differential Political Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association."

<sup>10</sup>J. Allen Williams, Jr., Nicholau Babchuk, and David R. Johnson, "Voluntary Associations and Minority Status: A Comparative Analysis of Anglo, Black, and Mexican Americans," The American Sociological Review, 38 (October 1973), p. 637.

<sup>11</sup>Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Volume II, trans. by Henry Reeve (New York: D. Appleton and Company, Inc., 1904), p. 602.

<sup>12</sup>Maccoby, American Sociological Review, 23 (October 1958), pp. 524-532.

<sup>13</sup>Lipset, p. 196 and Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 387-420.

<sup>14</sup>Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, p. 150.

<sup>15</sup>Lane, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup>John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review, 22 (June 1957), pp. 315-326.

<sup>17</sup>Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles: Home and Work, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956), p. 147.

<sup>18</sup>Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 94.

<sup>19</sup>It is conceded that there are some jobs which do not allow the worker to have much social interaction with his fellow workers and that some housewives have various opportunities for interaction with other people throughout the day, e. g. with clerks at the supermarket or in department stores, with door-to-door salesmen, neighbors, or friends or relatives who might happen to drop by. But these contacts are not likely to be the type which would bring the individual into contact with opinion leaders.

<sup>20</sup>F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman, The Employed Mother in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963), p. 368.

<sup>21</sup>This statement is confirmed by Scammon and Wattenberg.

<sup>22</sup>Lipset, pp. 207-208.

<sup>23</sup>One such study is Free and Cantril's The Political Beliefs of Americans.

<sup>24</sup>Samuel J. Eldersveld, Alexander Heard, Samuel P. Huntington, Morris Janowitz, Avery Leiserson, Dayton D. McKean, and David D. Truman, "Research in Political Behavior," in Eulau, Eldersveld, and Janowitz, p. 74.

<sup>25</sup>Robinson, p. 1. This article also reports that the 1971 Harris poll for Virginia Slim cigarettes found that 64 percent of its female respondents reported that "they didn't vote the way their husbands told them."

<sup>26</sup>Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960), p. 78.

<sup>27</sup>James G. March, "Husband-Wife Interaction Over Political Issues," Public Opinion Quarterly, 17 (Winter 1953), pp. 461-470.

<sup>28</sup>Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968).

<sup>29</sup>Several comprehensive studies which discuss the effects of these characteristics include Voting and The People's Choice (election survey studies that include discussions of the characteristics of the voter) and Political Man and Political Life (which discuss social characteristics of the politically involved) and The Joiners which is a comprehensive study of the socially active.

<sup>30</sup>Joan W. Moore, "Patterns of Women's Participation in Voluntary Associations," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (May 1961), pp. 594-595.

<sup>31</sup>Lipset, pp. 200-202.

<sup>32</sup>This statement may also be applied to housewives who are not socially active or employed outside of the home. Many of these wives are not fully integrated into the organized social life of the adult community and do not feel social pressures or obligations to vote or pursue other politically-oriented activities.

<sup>33</sup>Two of these studies include Williams (mentioned previously) and Nicholas Babchuk and Ralph V. Thompson, "The Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 27 (October 1962), pp. 647-655. An important note about these findings is that although blacks have high rates of social involvement, this involvement tends to occur in all-black organizations and associations rather than in wider societal or community organizations.

<sup>34</sup>Williams, p. 644.

<sup>35</sup>The only differences in the literature are that some studies stress one or two of the three components more than the others. Education seems to have the strongest effect on rates of participation.

<sup>36</sup>Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, 16 (October 1951), p. 692.

<sup>37</sup>Young and Wilmott found this pattern in Family and Kinship in East London as did Dotson in his study.

<sup>38</sup>Lane, p. 234.

<sup>39</sup>Erbe, p. 200.

<sup>40</sup>Roy C. Macridis and Robert F. Ward, eds., Modern Political Systems: Europe (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 159.

<sup>41</sup>Hausknecht, p. 126.

<sup>42</sup>This opening line was "Hi, I'm a student from Moravian College" (for the 1970 study) or "Hi, I'm a graduate student working on my Master's thesis" (for the 1972 study) and "I wonder if you and your husband (or wife) could spare a few minutes to answer some questions for me."

<sup>43</sup>These income figures were chosen as being most representative of middle-class income figures at that time.

<sup>44</sup>In several instances it was necessary to extend the interview to item 14 because, to gain entry to the home for the interview, the interviewer had to explain that the study being conducted dealt with political participation and, therefore, felt obligated to ask the wife several questions dealing with political participation.

<sup>45</sup>Hausknecht, p. 112.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas E. Lasswell, Class and Stratum (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 126.

<sup>47</sup>Erbe, p. 201.

<sup>48</sup>Julian Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens, " in Eulau, Eldersveld, and Janowitz, p. 136.

<sup>49</sup>Lane, p. 76.

<sup>50</sup>Lyoyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967), p. 5.

<sup>51</sup>Free and Cantril, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup>This was substantiated statistically. In a comparison of the political activity rates of the 1970 non-employed and employed wives, a resultant F score was 21.12 with 1, 71 df. At the .05 level of confidence,  $F = 3.99$ , demonstrating a significant difference between the groups. The resultant F score for the 1972 non-employed and employed wives was 0.74 with 1, 66 df. At the .05 level of confidence,  $F = 4.00$ . No significant difference exists between these groups.

<sup>53</sup>Free and Cantril, p. 9.

<sup>54</sup>For the five items to form a valid scale, the coefficient of reproducibility, which ranges from 0.00 to 1.00, must be greater than 0.90. For the items to form a cumulative scale, the coefficient of scalability, which also ranges from 0.00 to 1.00, must be greater than 0.60. Since the coefficient of reproducibility is less than 0.90 and the coefficient of scalability is less than 0.60, the Ideological Spectrum is not a cumulative or a valid scale.

<sup>55</sup>A comparison of the total sample of wives by employment status was not made because by combining the 1970 and 1972 non-employed wives into one group and the 1970 and 1972 employed wives into one group, the differences between the two year groups for both employment groups (as shown in Table 6) are lessened. This would distort the total picture of a comparison of the groups. An intervening variable appears to be present and this variable results in a distortion of differences between non-employed and employed wives. When the responses of all non-employed wives are compared to the responses of all employed wives, there are slight differences for dimension one (6 and 3 percent) and significant differences for dimension two (22, 22, and 16 percent). This is comparable to the differences for the 1970 non-employed and employed wives. Combining the two year samples into total non-employed and employed groups thus camouflages distinctions which exist between the two years.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

number \_\_\_\_\_

page 1

WIFE'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Were you born in this country?      ☐ yes      ☐ no
2. Into which of the following age categories do you fall?
- 1. under 35
  - 2. 35-44
  - 3. 45-54
  - 4. 55-65
  - 5. over 65
3. Are you a high school graduate?      ☐ yes      ☐ no
4. Do you own or rent your home?      ☐ own      ☐ rent
5. Are you presently employed outside the home?
- 1. no

Have you been employed within the past 5 years?

- 1. yes
- 2. no

Have you sought employment within the past year?

- ☐ yes      ☐ no
- 2. yes      ☐ part-time      ☐ full-time

6. What is your husband's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

Where does he work? \_\_\_\_\_

1. executive or proprietor of large concern; major professional
2. manager or proprietor of smaller business; lesser professional
3. administrative personnel of large concern; owner of small independent business; semi-professional
4. owner of little business; clerical or sales worker; technician
5. skilled worker
6. semi-skilled worker
7. unskilled worker

7. What is the last grade or year your husband completed in school?

1. graduate professional training
2. college graduate
3. partial college training ( completed at least one year )
4. high school graduate
5. partial high school
6. junior high school ( 7th, 8th, or 9th )
7. less than 7 years of school

SCORE \_\_\_\_\_ (18-63)

8. Do you belong to any political organizations?      EXAMPLES

1. no

2. yes      How many? \_\_\_\_\_

How many hours per month would you say you devote to  
these organizations? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you hold any offices in these organizations?

1. no

2. yes      How many? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Do you belong to any other organizations or associations?

SHOW LIST OF EXAMPLES

1. no

2. yes      How many? \_\_\_\_\_

How many hours per month would you say you devote to  
these organizations? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you hold any offices in these organizations?

1. no

2. yes      How many? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Are you presently a registered voter?

1. yes (2)

2. no      Have you ever been registered in the past?

\_\_\_\_ yes (1)      \_\_\_\_ no

3. Have you voted within the past 2 years? \_\_\_\_ yes      \_\_\_\_ no

11. In the past 4 years would you say you have voted

1. never

2. occasionally (1)

3. frequently (2)

12. Have you written or talked to a Congressman or other public  
official in the past year?

1. no

2. yes      \_\_\_\_ once (1)      \_\_\_\_ more than once (2)

13. Have you attended any political rallies in the past 2 years?

\_\_\_\_ no      \_\_\_\_ yes (1)

14. Have you made any financial contributions to a political candidate  
or party in the past 2 years?

\_\_\_\_ no      \_\_\_\_ yes (1)

15. Have you worked for the election of a political candidate in the past 4 years?
1. no
  2. yes    What type of work did you do? \_\_\_\_\_
    1. no direct public contact    (1)
    2. indirect public contact    (2)
    3. direct public contact    (3)
16. When you read a magazine or newspaper do you
1. skip articles about politics
  2. read articles if in magazine or newspaper regularly read    (1)
  3. seek out articles or books about politics    (2)
17. Would you say that you discuss public issues with your family, friends, or associates
1. never
  2. occasionally    (1)
  3. frequently    (2)
18. In a conversation about politics would you say that you
1. have your own opinions but just listen
  2. mostly listen but do inject your own opinions now and then    (1)
  3. take an equal part in the conversation    (2)
  4. take part and try to convince others your views are right    (3)
19. Have you ever held a local or national political office?
1. no

Have you ever run for such an office?    \_\_\_ no    \_\_\_ yes    (2)
  2. yes

Was this office    \_\_\_ elective    (3)    \_\_\_ appointive    (1)

20. I'm going to read several statements you sometimes hear, and ask whether, in general, you agree, disagree, or are not sure.

1. The Federal Government is interfering too much in state and local matters.

\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_ not sure

2. The government has gone too far in regulating business and interfering with the free enterprise system.

\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_ not sure

3. Social problems here in this country could be solved more effectively if the government would only keep its hands off and let people in local communities handle their own problems in their own ways.

\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_ not sure

4. Generally speaking, any able-bodied person who really wants to work in this country can find a job and earn a living.

\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_ not sure

5. We should rely more on individual initiative and ability and not so much on governmental welfare programs.

\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_ not sure

SCORE:    \_\_\_ agrees  
          \_\_\_ disagrees  
          \_\_\_ not sures

HUSBAND'S QUESTIONNAIRE

I'm going to read several statements you sometimes hear, and ask whether, in general, you agree, disagree, or are not sure.

1. The Federal Government is interfering too much in state and local matters.  
\_\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_\_ not sure
2. The government has gone too far in regulating business and interfering with the free enterprise system.  
\_\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_\_ not sure
3. Social problems here in this country could be solved more effectively if the government would only keep its hands off and let people in local communities handle their own problems in their own way.  
\_\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_\_ not sure
4. Generally speaking, any able-bodied person who really wants to work in this country can find a job and earn a living.  
\_\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_\_ not sure
5. We should rely more on individual initiative and ability and not so much on governmental welfare programs.  
\_\_\_\_ agree      \_\_\_\_ disagree      \_\_\_\_ not sure

SCORE: \_\_\_\_ agrees  
\_\_\_\_ disagrees  
\_\_\_\_ not sures

INDIVIDUAL TALLY SHEET

Employment Status

- ☐ working
- ☐ not working
- ☐ worked in past five years
- ☐ sought employment

Social Activity Score \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ inactive
- ☐ active
- ☐ very active

Political Activity Score \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ inactive
- ☐ active
- ☐ very active

Liberalism-Conservatism Status of Wife

- ☐ liberal
- ☐ middle-of-the-road
- ☐ conservative

Liberalism-Conservatism Status of Husband

- ☐ liberal
- ☐ middle-of-the-road
- ☐ conservative

## APPENDIX B

Political Activity ScaleScore

## 1. Read About Politics

- 0 1. skip articles about politics
- 1 2. read articles if in magazine or newspaper regularly read
- 2 3. seek out articles or books about politics

## 2. Discuss Public Issues With Others

- 0 1. never
- 1 2. occasionally
- 2 3. frequently

## 3. Attempt to Influence Political Views of Others

- 0 1. have own opinions but just listen
- 1 2. mostly listen but do inject own opinions now and then
- 2 3. take an equal part in the conversation
- 3 4. take part and try to convince others your views are right

## 4. Registered to Vote

- 0 1. never
- 1 2. was in past but not presently
- 2 3. am presently

## 5. Voting (number of times in past 4 years)

- 0 1. never
- 1 2. occasionally
- 2 3. frequently

Score

## 6. Written or Talked to Congressman or Other Public Official (in past year)

- 0 1. no
- 1 2. once
- 2 3. more than once

## 7. Attend Political Rallies (in past 2 years)

- 0 1. no
- 1 2. yes

## 8. Belong to Organizations That are Politically Relevant

## 1. number of memberships

- 0 a. 0
- 1 b. 1 - 3
- 2 c. 4 and over

## 2. frequency of attendance at meetings (hours per month)

- 1 a. 1 - 5
- 2 b. 6 - 9
- 3 c. 10 and over

## 3. offices held

- 1 a. 1 - 2
- 2 b. 3 and over

## 9. Financial Contributions to Party or Candidate (past two years)

- 0 1. no
- 1 2. yes

## 10. Worked for Election of a Political Candidate (2 years)

- 1 1. no direct public contact
- 2 2. indirect public contact
- 3 3. direct public contact

Score

## 11. Ran for Political Office

- |   |                                             |
|---|---------------------------------------------|
| 0 | 1. never held or ran for a political office |
| 1 | 2. held an appointive political office      |
| 2 | 3. ran for elective office                  |
| 3 | 4. held elective office                     |

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