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# The feminist movement: its impact on women in the state legislatures

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The feminist movement: Its impact on  
women in the state legislatures

by

Louise Ann Moede Lex

A Dissertation Submitted to the  
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The Requirements for the Degree of  
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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In a Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behavior of the American Woman, editors Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage conclude their book by noting the critical need for further research on women and politics. This exploration, they believe, will be dependent on the ". . . increased sensitivity of academia to the need for such efforts . . ." (1977, p. 427). My doctoral committee has demonstrated that sensitivity by recognizing the importance of this research project. I am particularly grateful to the chairman, Dr. George A. Kizer, who initially endorsed the proposal and whose support and encouragement have spurred my efforts. The co-chairman, Dr. Charles W. Wiggins, was always available at the crucial stages of the dissertation development with perceptive suggestions based on his broad knowledge of state legislative politics. Each of the members of the committee made separate and valuable contributions. Dr. Milton D. Brown was the first person to recommend that I pursue my interest in women and politics in the form of this dissertation. Dr. Trevor G. Howe's course in research methods was the principal guide for the dissertation format and the survey research procedures. Dr. Ray J. Bryan has been a major source of help since my first days as a doctoral graduate student. I appreciate Dr. Don F. Hadwiger's recommendation that my study be based on the entire population of women state legislators. He also deserves the credit for urging me to develop a conceptual framework in the review of the literature chapter.

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## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

## General Statement of the Problem

Until recently, only a few women campaigned and were elected to public office. Some preferred to engage in political activity through organizations like the League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan organization that provides information on candidates and public issues and, after careful study, takes positions on matters of public policy. Others have worked as volunteers in their respective parties and have constituted an essential understructure of many campaigns. As Amundsen has observed, "Were it not for the willing and hard-working women throwing themselves into the 'nitty gritty' of campaign activities and maintenance of volunteer organizations, it is a fair bet that the present party structures would quickly come to a point of collapse" (1971, p. 82).

In the early 1970s this pattern of political participation began to change on the state legislative level of government. The number of women elected to the state legislatures in November 1972 reversed the decline of the previous decade (Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1973, pp. 1-2). As a result of the November elections, out of a total of 7,561 state legislators, 441 women served in the 1973 sessions. This figure represented a 28 percent increment over the previous two year period. The number of women who campaigned for these offices also rose from 842 in 1972 to 1126 in 1974, an increase of 34 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Series P-23, No. 58, 1976, p. 56). By 1975-76, there were 611 females in the state houses, or about double the number who served in

1969 (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxxviii). Immediately after the November 1976 elections the figure rose to 685, slightly more than nine percent of all state legislators (National Women's Education Fund, Press Release, November 8, 1976, p. 1). By January 1977, the total had reached 688, twice as many as in 1971 (Institute for Studies in Equality, 1977, p. 5). The following table shows the number of women legislators for the ten year period from 1967 to 1977 and the percent of change for each two year period.

Table 1.1. Number of women serving in state legislators, and percent of change for each two year period

| Year | Percent change | Number of women legislators |
|------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1967 |                | 323                         |
| 1969 | -5.57          | 305                         |
| 1971 | +12.79         | 344                         |
| 1973 | +28.20         | 441                         |
| 1975 | +38.55         | 611                         |
| 1977 | +12.60         | 688                         |

One conclusion can be drawn from these figures: Many women are no longer content merely to play an informal role in state legislative politics. The increasing prominence of women lawmakers in American states raises several salient questions. What kinds of women have been successful aspirants to legislative office? Are these legislators a new breed of politician, reflecting the ideology of the women's movement in their

attitudes and behavior? Finally, what accounts for the changing pattern of political participation at this level of government?

#### Purpose

There has been no empirical research that would explain the increasing proportion of women who are state lawmakers, although several theories have been propounded. The socio-economic mobility theory posits a relationship between educational levels and political participation. As several researchers have shown, the higher the level of female education, the less difference there is between women and men as measured by various indices of political activity (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 485-489; Lansing in Jaquette, 1974, pp. 6-9; Pomper, 1975, pp. 70-71). A second theory, occupational role congruence, suggests that equality in occupation is a prerequisite to equality with male political leaders (Jennings and Thomas, 1968, p. 492). In American society a revolution in sex roles has been occurring, with women seeking training in traditionally male dominated fields. A third theoretical explanation is grounded in popular mass attitude changes. Several studies of public opinion have documented the restructuring of attitudes about women in public life. In the 1972 Virginia Slims Poll conducted by Louis Harris, a plurality of both sexes believed that women could do as good a job as men public officeholders in most areas of public policy (1972, p. 31). In 1975 the Gallup Poll reported seven in ten Americans felt the country would be governed as well or better if more women held political office (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 41).

Another explanation attributes the change to the influence of the women's movement. This force re-emerged after nearly a fifty-year period of quiescence. The women's rights wing of the movement viewed politics as a chief method for improving the status of women, and this group encouraged and supported women who agreed with its program to run for office. On the surface, at least, there appears to be a parallel development of the feminist movement and the increasing number of women running and being elected to state legislative office.

The general purpose of this study will be to assess the impact of the feminist movement on women who served in the 1975-76 sessions of their legislatures and to determine whether or not the movement has been a force for the changing women's pattern of participation on the state legislative level.

### Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are (1) to evaluate the extent to which the women legislators are supportive of the women's movement, (2) to examine the extent to which these lawmakers are products of the movement or have been affected by it, and (3) to investigate the dimensions of the legislators' support of the women's movement.

### Scope

The study was based on the responses to mail questionnaires sent to the 611 women legislators who served in the 1975-76 sessions of their state legislatures and who were listed in Women in Public Office: A

Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis, compiled by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers--The State University of New Jersey (1976). Four hundred and thirty-seven legislators completed the survey form, an overall response rate of 71.5 percent. The findings are limited to women at this political elite level. A comparison of this group with their male counterparts or with the women who were elected in November, 1976, was not undertaken, given the limited time and resources available.

The criterion or dependent variable that was used in the analysis was the following question: In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) somewhat opposed (5) strongly opposed (6) not concerned. Only five legislators (1.18 percent) were not concerned, and this response category was dropped. Fourteen respondents failed to answer the question; therefore, a total of 418 respondents constituted the number of valid cases. The responses to the questionnaire item provided a method of classifying the legislators into four groups: the strongly in favor, Group 1; the somewhat in favor, Group 2; the mixed feelings, Group 3; and the somewhat opposed with the strongly opposed, Group 4.

## Statement of Hypotheses

The following general null hypothesis (symbolized as  $H_0$ ) with its accompanying research hypothesis (symbolized as  $H_1$ ) will serve as the focal point of the report:

### General Hypothesis:

$H_0$  - When women state legislators are divided into groups according to their attitudes about the women's movement, they do not differ significantly in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

$H_1$  - When women state legislators are divided into groups according to their attitudes about the women's movement, they do differ significantly in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

When the attitude groups and the use of discriminant analysis are applied to the general hypothesis, one sub general hypothesis with its research hypothesis can be formulated.

### Sub General Hypothesis for All Groups:

Sub Gen  $H_{0A}$  - When a number of variables are considered simultaneously, there are no significant differences among the four groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organiza-

tion involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub Gen  $H_{1A}$  - When a number of variables are considered simultaneously, there are significant differences among the four groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

A single classification analysis of variance will be applied to the general hypothesis by testing the following sub general null hypothesis with its research hypothesis:

Sub General Hypothesis for All Groups:

Sub Gen  $H_{0B}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences among the groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub Gen  $H_{1B}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are significant differences among the groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

A further explication of the general hypothesis will be accomplished through the a priori contrast technique and the t test. The sub general

null hypothesis and the research hypothesis are listed for each of the group comparisons.

Sub General Hypothesis for the Strongly in Favor Group (Group 1) and the Opposed Group (Group 4):

Sub Gen  $H_{0C}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub Gen  $H_{1C}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are significant differences between the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub General Hypothesis for the Combined Strongly in Favor Group (Group 1) with the Somewhat in Favor Group (Group 2) and the Opposed Group (Group 4):

Sub Gen  $H_{0D}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the combined strongly in favor group (Group 1) with the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics,



political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub Gen  $H_{1D}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are significant differences between the combined strongly in favor group (Group 1) with the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub General Hypothesis for the Somewhat in Favor Group (Group 2) and the Mixed Feelings Group (Group 3):

Sub Gen  $H_{0E}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Sub Gen  $H_{1E}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are significant differences between the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization

involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

### Definition of Terms

The following concepts will be used through the analysis:

#### 1. Feminism

This term denotes a belief that women and men have the same innate capacities for human development. Feminists reject the view that biology has destined women to play a different role from men in political, economic, and social life; they assert that the sexes have been socialized into so-called "feminine" and "masculine" behaviors and roles which are accepted as natural. Until the rigid definitions of what is appropriate for men and women are eliminated, equality cannot be achieved. The elimination of the sex role system is the chief goal of the women's movement. According to Hole and Levine, "This goal provides the philosophical basis for all feminist political action" (1971, p. 398). Another key idea is the recognition of women's personal problems as having political solutions. A common refrain in women's movement literature is "the personal is the political." What were considered individual matters for women to solve by themselves--issues like reproductive freedom and child care--are raised as social problems requiring a major commitment by the society.

#### 2. The Women's Movement

Another word often used synonymously with feminism is the women's movement or the drive for female equality which surfaced during the turbulent 1960s and continued into the present decade. The movement has included structured organizations with the usual paraphernalia of

newsletters, membership lists, and elected leaders. The movement, however, also is somewhat amorphous. It '. . . exists where three or four friends or neighbors decide to meet regularly over coffee and talk about their personal lives. It also exists in the cells of women's jails, on the welfare lines, in the supermarket, the factory, the convent, the farm, the maternity ward, the streetcorner . . .' (quoted by McWilliams in Jaquette, 1974, p. 162). Although there are ideological and organizational distinctions, most of the groups have called for the elimination of job discrimination, liberalized abortion laws, child care centers, ratification of the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment, and the treatment of women as individuals rather than as sex objects. Movement women have challenged educational institutions to provide equal opportunities and to examine their curriculum and policies for hidden and overt biases against females. The goal of the movement can be achieved, to a great extent, through educating both sexes to become aware or conscious of women's unequal position as well as through training women to develop their potentialities without regard to gender-based restrictions. Another fundamental strategy for improving women's status is the enactment and enforcement of equitable laws. Some movement ideologues believe these reforms are insufficient by themselves; the entire social and economic structure will have to be reshaped. Nonetheless, as Deckard has pointed out in the concluding chapter of her book on the women's movement, "All segments of the movement have been involved in traditional forms of political action aimed at changing government policy" (1975, p. 435).

### 3. The Political Elite

Another method of attaining equity is through the election of empathetic decision makers at all levels of government. Kirkpatrick has defined these political actors as ". . . persons with more influence than most others on the outcomes with significance for the entire community" (Kirkpatrick, 1976, p. 19). She also has noted the tendency to discuss political outcomes in terms of 'forces' (p. 19). It is the elite who responds to these major currents by making decisions that affect the polity. How one growing sector of the political elite, women state legislators, has responded to a relatively new force, the women's movement, is a major consideration of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:  
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Prior to the 1970s, studies focusing on women in American politics had not been extensive. The first general assessment of women's political participation was Women in American Politics: An Assessment and Source-book by Gruberg, published in 1968. In the preface Gruberg stated that political scientists have ignored women's political activities, except for passing references to their struggle to attain the right to vote. He cited two standard works as examples--V. O. Key's Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups and Harmon Ziegler's Interest Groups in American Society (p. v). Gruberg failed to note several major exceptions. In a 1924 study of nonvoting, Merriam and Gosnell concluded that family life was a factor in explaining why one out of nine women in the Chicago mayoralty election did not believe they should vote. Women's place was in the home, and ". . . women ought to mind their own business and let the menfolks take care of politics" (p. 110). The centrality of the institution of the family and women's role within it as an explanation for female political participation also had been stressed by Bentley in his classic work, The Process of Government, first published in 1908 (1949, pp. 425-426). Gosnell, who continued to pursue his interest in women and politics, reported in 1948 that women's initial hesitancy about voting had been overcome, and there was a trend toward equal participation, a result of the increasing levels of formal educational attainment (pp. 50-78).

## Mass Political Behavioral Studies

However, sex as a variable in mass political participation studies has received considerable attention. The most concise summary of the research has been provided by Constantini and Craik: Women were less interested, less informed, had a lower sense of political involvement and political efficacy, were less apt to belong to organizations, and deferred to men in political matters (1972, p. 218). According to Campbell et al., women were more apolitical as a group because of a difference in sex roles, defined as ". . . a cluster of expectations about behavior considered 'appropriate' for the occupant of a social position or category. A sex role for behavior includes, then, that portion of expectations about behavior proper for a male or female that involves political responses" (1960, p. 484). The national woman suffrage amendment softened the definitions of appropriate behavior for men and women in the society, but the vestigial remnants have meant that men are still considered to be the prime political actors. Like Gosnell, Merriam, and Bentley, Campbell alluded to the family relationships between husbands who paid attention to politics and the wives who depended on them to take care of the business of politics (pp. 484-485). Parity in voting levels would be attained as the older generations faded and the new political role definitions were accepted as normal. The acceptance could be observed first among the younger and more cosmopolitan women who were well-educated. In the South, the rigidity of sex role definitions explained why women who were less well-educated had lower voter participation rates than men with comparable years of education. Apparently, education freed women from these social

definitions because college-trained southern females were as likely to vote as their male counterparts (pp. 485-486).

The predictions of Campbell and Gosnell subsequently were confirmed to a large extent by Lansing and Pomper. Both researchers emphasized the salience of educational levels and changing role definitions as explanations for women's increased voting (Lansing in Jaquette, 1974, pp. 5-23; Pomper, 1975, pp. 67-76). Lansing also agreed with Campbell about education making more difference for women than for men in whether or not they voted. If women had attended college, they were usually voters in presidential elections. Since the percentage of women attending college has been increasing, their voting can be expected to increase. Lansing further noted that in the 1964, 1968, and 1972 presidential campaigns, younger, better-educated women appeared to be more active than men with the same characteristics. Not only had political activism increased, it had increased at an accelerating rate (p. 22).

There are no longer any major differences between the sexes in voter turn-out, but this change has not occurred at the political elite level where women still constitute a marginal number of the elected public officials--even in positions which would appear to be an extension of their traditional roles. In 1973-74, for example, women held only 13 percent of the seats on school boards in the United States (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxi).

#### Political Elite Studies

In a study of the female members of the Norwegian parliament, Means has suggested two stages by which women or any other minority group are

integrated into the political system. The first one is increased voter participation, a stage achieved by American women in the 1960s; the second one--the election of female representatives--can be expected to follow (1972, pp. 494-495). If this process is an incremental one, then Campbell's theories about sex roles may apply to female participants at the elite level. Changing definitions about what is appropriate can first be observed among younger, highly educated, and urban women public office-holders. Since a core concept of feminist analysis is the belief that women are equally capable of being political decision makers, one could expect that the younger, more well-educated and urban female legislators elected to office in the 1970s would have internalized this concept of equal roles and would be more responsive to the goals and approaches of the women's movement than those elected at an earlier period when few questioned societal definitions of womanhood.

Women state legislators: relevant national studies

There are three major national studies of women state legislators which can serve as guides to the attitudes, recruitment patterns, political characteristics, personal and family characteristics, and community organization involvement of the women politicians who preceded the women state legislators in 1975-76. These studies were made by Breckinridge, Kirkpatrick, and Werner.

As part of her investigation of the social, political, and economic activities of women between 1900-1930, Breckinridge sent letters of inquiry to female legislators who had served during this period and whose addresses could be obtained. (An estimated 60 had been elected before the



national woman suffrage amendment was adopted in 1920.) The responses from 124 of the 320 women who were contacted indicated that nearly half of them (60) had been involved directly in the woman suffrage campaign, thirteen were sympathetic, and nineteen were hostile or indifferent to the suffrage movement. Over three-fourths of them had ". . . a special interest in that which is generally called women's legislation" (1933, p. 330). To satisfy this interest in women's rights issues was the chief motivation for many of them to run for the legislature. These pioneer legislators were novices in politics and government; less than half had no previous governmental or party experience, and few of them had been recruited by the party leadership. Breckinridge has chronicled their difficulties with male discrimination within the party system, which she said was echoed and re-echoed by the respondents (p. 331).

For the majority of Breckinridge's respondents, their political careers were a brief one term in office. There was no consistent reason why many of them did not continue in office, but Breckinridge also noted that by 1925 women had lost interest in public affairs--an interest that undoubtedly was a carry-over from the suffrage movement period (p. 336). As another researcher, Chafe, has suggested, the women leaders expected female voters to vote in larger numbers and to form a woman's bloc. Neither of these materialized (1972, pp. 25-47). Resistance to feminist politics tightened because, according to both Chafe and Breckinridge, women voters could be ignored by the party leadership (Breckinridge, p. 339; Chafe, pp.29-30). The women who did vote followed ". . . the lead of a male authority figure when they went to the polls" (Chafe, p. 33). The foundations of women's power had been established through the efforts of

the suffragists, but until women voted in sufficient numbers to achieve parity, the second phase of their integration into the political system--the election of larger numbers of female legislators--could not take place. The influx of women into legislative posts during the first five years after suffrage did not continue and would not be duplicated until the decade of the 1970s.

What kinds of women were successful legislative candidates during this nearly fifty-year interregnum? One study by Werner, based on a sample of 185 from a population of 351 legislators in the 1963-64 state houses, showed some similarities and some differences from the legislators who had preceded them in the early twentieth century. Werner confirmed Breckinridge's observation about the concentration of female legislators in the New England region, but she also noted the disproportionate number of legislators elected from rural states with small populations and low growth rates (1968, p. 43). Like their predecessors, their tenure was a brief four years; the female lawmakers appeared to be very aware of the political liabilities of their gender within parties as well as among voters that were reluctant to accept women in political roles. These women believed they could exercise more independent judgment, and had other characteristics not possessed by their male colleagues (p. 48). In contrast with the women in the earlier study, they had no burning interest in women's rights issues nor were these issues a main reason for their running for office. Breckinridge had made no generalizations about the personal and family characteristics of the first women state legislators, so no comparisons can be made for the two groups. The 1963-64 legislators

fit the norms of society in that they were married and had reared children, and prior to their running for legislative office they had been active in their party or in local government. Most of them had attended college, although not completing their degree, and most were Republican Party identifiers.

A final study of women legislators who were elected sometime in the 1950s and 1960s was done by Kirkpatrick, and it is the basis of the first book on women in the state legislatures, Political Woman. The 46 women focused upon in this study were selected on the basis of their being considered "effective legislators" by the American Association of University Women, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the League of Women Voters. (Thus, because of the selection procedure, generalizations cannot be made for the total population of women legislators.) These women were described as deviating from societal norms only in their political roles: "Most could blend easily into the social landscape of any traditional community. The most far-out political liberals among them were social conservatives: no weird life styles, no granny glasses, no bra burners, no noisy profanity. In appearance and style these women are as conservative as a group of male politicians" (1974, p. 42).

For the most part, the 46 lawmakers studied by Kirkpatrick had a negative reaction to feminism--even to the more moderate wing such as the National Women's Political Caucus and NOW. "Approximately 60% of the legislators expressed opposition to the women's liberation movement and many criticisms were leveled against the women's liberation movement" (p. 164). Only one-fifth explicitly supported and identified with it, and, although the remaining one-fifth was critical, this group felt the

movement had advanced women's rights and opportunities (p. 166). Despite the preponderantly negative reaction, Kirkpatrick found a strong reservoir of attitudes among her subjects favoring broader involvement of women in politics and beliefs in women's capacities to govern on an equal basis with male officeholders (pp. 163-164).

One should be wary of concluding that these attitudes are any indication of the kinds of responses to similar questions for legislators in the 1970s. The data were collected in the spring of 1972, a climactic year in women's recent political history, when women's rights organizations surfaced into political action and when the decline of women in the state legislatures was reversed (Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1973, p. 1). As Boals has pointed out in her review of Kirkpatrick's book, ". . . almost half of current women legislators entered politics at a time of great sex role ferment and may well have different orientations from those elected prior to the 1970s. Clearly, then, there is room for additional work even to inform us about contemporary women politicians, and we would do well to avoid premature generalizations from currently available evidence" (1975, p. 164).

Nonetheless, Kirkpatrick's contribution to this study of women legislators in 1975-76 has been substantial because she has dealt with previously unresearched areas--how these legislators were recruited into the political system, for example. But even more important is her careful examination of the theoretical explanations of why so few women have been elected to high office (pp. 8-20). In her concluding chapter, she convincingly discards the biological differences, cultural constraints, and male conspiracy explanations in favor of the role constraints explanation:

Still, the principal constraints that impeded women's full participation in the power processes of society appear to be rooted in prevailing role distributions rather than in anatomy, physiology, male conspiracy, or even in the basic values of society. Education, occupational experience, place of residence, average age of entry into a legislative career are all products of the sex role system (p. 239).

Thus, she has added further strength to the Campbell thesis about the centrality of role definitions and extended it to elite behavior. One could expect that the sex role controversy, precipitated by the women's movement in the mid-1960s and 1970s, had eased the entry of woman who may be different from those described by Werner and Kirkpatrick, particularly in their attitudes about women's rights issues. In this respect, they may be closer kins of the women legislators elected a half century ago.

Women political party activists: national convention delegate studies

In her most recent book, The New Presidential Elite: Men and Women in National Politics (1976), Kirkpatrick has provided evidence of a newer breed of political women emerging from within the political party system. The study of delegates to the 1972 Democratic and Republican National Conventions does not have the methodological problems associated with her previous research on women legislators because it was based on mail questionnaires sent to all the delegates with a response rate of 55 percent and on 1,336 follow-up interviews with a selected probability sample of delegates. Based on a composite measure called the "Newwoman Index," Kirkpatrick has identified the characteristics distinguishing the new women from the more traditional women in the presidential elite (p. 479). These new women are feminists in that they support abortion on demand, a national day care program, sexual equality in employment practices, and the women's movement. They also are politically ambitious and have

intense feelings about women in politics. By this intensity, Kirkpatrick means they reject the notion of men and women having different biological capacities for governing, they believe political and family roles do not conflict, they do not support the notion that women get a fair deal in politics, and they disagree with the indirect influence over men approach as a means for women to exert political power. The new women come from middle class backgrounds and from an urban environment. In general, they are under 40 years old, mothers of young children, highly educated, and have occupied professional or managerial posts. They are more likely to be Democrats, liberals, and newcomers to politics (pp. 479-492).

By contrast, the traditional women were more inclined to be Republican delegates, have had long political experience and be opposed to the women's movement as well as day care and abortion. They had deeper roots in rural areas or small town communities and were more apt to be active in community organizations (pp. 484-486).

Unfortunately, Kirkpatrick has not provided data on the numbers or percentages of Republican and Democratic women who fit into the new and traditional women categories. However, one of the items included in the mail questionnaire was a 10-point scale thermometer rating on attitudes toward the women's movement; 33 percent of the Democratic and only four percent of the Republican female respondents gave the movement a warm rating of 9 or 10 on the scale. Sixty-seven percent of the Democratic women, and 24 percent of the Republican women appeared above the midpoint of 5 on the scale (p. 446).

Several researchers who assisted Kirkpatrick have presented papers at professional meetings consistent with her findings (Hoag and Farah, 1975;

Fiedler, 1975; Farah and Sapiro, 1975). However, McGrath and Soule reached somewhat different conclusions about the Democratic female national convention delegates; they interviewed ten percent of the total number of delegates selected from a stratified random sample. Not only had the women's movement motivated the women delegates to become active in the Democratic Party, but most also identified with the movement, and were women's movements activists (1974, pp. 149-150). What these studies document to a greater or lesser degree is the impact of the women's movement on women party activists at the national conventions of 1972.

#### Women's Movement Studies

In another context, Lipset has asserted that the first recruits to most radical causes come from the well-to-do and the better educated (quoted in Erikson and Luttbeg, 1973, p. 141). Nearly every study of the membership of women's movement organizations has confirmed the relationship of high levels of formal education to women's movement participants (Freeman, 1975a, pp. 36-37; Burrell, 1975, p. 35; Carden, 1974, p. 19). Although there was some variation in age, there was general agreement that the activists were in the younger age group (or under 50 years of age) (Freeman, p. 37; Burrell, pp. 34-35; Carden, p. 20). Although Burrell noted the substantial number of homemakers who attended the first convention of the Iowa Women's Political Caucus, the studies identify employment outside the home as another key characteristic of the participants (Freeman, p. 65; Carden, p. 20; Burrell, p. 37). The movement originated among women in the cities and spread to the suburban communities (Chafe,

1972, p. 243). Carden's book on the movement was developed through interviews of women in seven major cities during 1969 and 1970--an indication of where feminists had organized at that time (p. 173). Regardless of their small town or urban environment, Carden has described the movement women as cosmopolitan because they were interested in national and international matters rather than in local issues (p. 20). Burrell's Iowa study showed the majority of the members of the Iowa Women's Political Caucus in 1973-74 resided in counties with an urban center (p. 34).

According to the Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll (1972), based on a representative cross-section of 3,000 women, strong sympathizers of the women's movement were women who lived in cities and to a lesser extent in suburban communities, were college-educated, and were between the ages of 18 and 29. These groups favored ". . . efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society . . ." (p. 2). The more recent Market Opinion Research poll of 1975 found 57 percent of the 1,522 women interviewed in a stratified sample had positive attitudes about the women's movement. As age increased, support decreased. Paid employment was positively related to support, while among women who had always been homemakers, only one-third had favorable attitudes (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 108).

#### Summary

The women's movement studies and public opinion polls appear to confirm Campbell's observations about the groups who are most receptive to role change. His sex role theory can be applied to a study of women



legislators, as Kirkpatrick demonstrated in her study, Political Woman. Furthermore, Kirkpatrick's recent study of women in the national elite has shown the rise of party activists who have the characteristics associated with the change process Campbell has described. Although these studies furnished the basis for using Campbell's theories as the conceptual framework for the research on women legislators in 1975-76, other research will be cited where it is appropriate in the chapter on findings.

## CHAPTER III. DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

## The Research Population

Data for the report were derived from questionnaires sent to all 611 women legislators who served during the 1975-76 sessions of the 50 American state legislatures. Nine legislators explicitly refused to respond to the survey, with their reasons for not participating ranging from personal considerations to negative reactions to the questions on the survey form. Only two women could not be contacted because there were no up-to-date forwarding addresses at their state houses. Four hundred and thirty-seven legislators (71.5 percent) returned the questionnaire. In eight states, less than 60 percent completed usable forms. These states were Alaska (44 percent), Arizona (55.6 percent), Louisiana (50 percent), Michigan (33.3 percent), Mississippi (50 percent), Ohio (50 percent), South Carolina (57.1 percent), and West Virginia (55.6 percent). States in which the rate was more than 80 percent included Alabama (100 percent), Hawaii (90 percent), Idaho (90 percent), Iowa (92.9 percent), Kansas (100 percent), Nebraska (100 percent), Oregon (81.8 percent), Pennsylvania (88.9 percent), South Dakota (81.8 percent), Virginia (100 percent), and Wyoming (85.7 percent). The number of female legislators who received questionnaires together with the number who responded and percentages of responses for each state are listed in Table 3.1.

In general, the number of respondents reflected the regional differences in numbers of women legislators. One out of every three serve in the six New England states; not quite one out of five (17 percent) is a member of the New Hampshire legislative body. One-third of the

Table 3.1. Response rate of women legislators by state

| State         | Number of women<br>legislators | Respondents |        |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------|
|               |                                | Percent     | Number |
| Alabama       | 1                              | 100.0       | 1      |
| Alaska        | 9                              | 44.0        | 4      |
| Arizona       | 18                             | 55.6        | 10     |
| Arkansas      | 3                              | 66.7        | 2      |
| California    | 3                              | 66.7        | 2      |
| Colorado      | 16                             | 75.0        | 12     |
| Connecticut   | 26                             | 76.9        | 20     |
| Delaware      | 10                             | 70.0        | 7      |
| Florida       | 13                             | 61.5        | 8      |
| Georgia       | 10                             | 60.0        | 6      |
| Hawaii        | 10                             | 90.0        | 9      |
| Idaho         | 10                             | 90.0        | 9      |
| Illinois      | 14                             | 78.6        | 11     |
| Indiana       | 9                              | 66.7        | 6      |
| Iowa          | 14                             | 92.9        | 13     |
| Kansas        | 9                              | 100.0       | 9      |
| Kentucky      | 5                              | 60.0        | 3      |
| Louisiana     | 2                              | 50.0        | 1      |
| Maine         | 24                             | 75.0        | 18     |
| Maryland      | 19                             | 78.9        | 15     |
| Massachusetts | 16                             | 68.8        | 11     |
| Michigan      | 9                              | 33.3        | 3      |
| Minnesota     | 8                              | 62.5        | 5      |
| Mississippi   | 6                              | 50.0        | 3      |
| Missouri      | 12                             | 66.7        | 8      |
| Montana       | 14                             | 64.3        | 9      |
| Nebraska      | 1                              | 100.0       | 1      |
| Nevada        | 7                              | 71.4        | 5      |
| New Hampshire | 105                            | 70.5        | 74     |

Table 3.1. (Continued)

| State          | Number of women<br>legislators | Respondents |        |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------|
|                |                                | Percent     | Number |
| New Jersey     | 9                              | 66.7        | 6      |
| New Mexico     | 5                              | 80.0        | 4      |
| New York       | 9                              | 66.7        | 6      |
| North Carolina | 15                             | 80.0        | 12     |
| North Dakota   | 16                             | 75.0        | 12     |
| Ohio           | 8                              | 50.0        | 4      |
| Oklahoma       | 6                              | 66.7        | 4      |
| Oregon         | 11                             | 81.8        | 9      |
| Pennsylvania   | 9                              | 88.9        | 8      |
| Rhode Island   | 9                              | 77.8        | 7      |
| South Carolina | 7                              | 57.1        | 4      |
| South Dakota   | 11                             | 81.8        | 9      |
| Tennessee      | 5                              | 80.0        | 4      |
| Texas          | 8                              | 75.0        | 6      |
| Utah           | 8                              | 62.5        | 5      |
| Vermont        | 22                             | 63.6        | 14     |
| Virginia       | 6                              | 100.0       | 6      |
| Washington     | 18                             | 72.2        | 13     |
| West Virginia  | 9                              | 55.6        | 5      |
| Wisconsin      | 10                             | 80.0        | 8      |
| Wyoming        | 7                              | 85.7        | 6      |

respondents (144) in this study also came from the New England region, and responses from the New Hampshire legislators constituted 16.9 percent of the total cases in this national survey. In the highly urban Middle Atlantic states of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, the 27 female legislators constitute 4.4 percent of all 611 female legislators in the nation. Similarly, the respondents from these states constituted 4.5 percent of the cases in the study. The percentage of responses in the west north central states was slightly higher than the percent of women legislators from this region. Table 3.2 shows a breakdown of responses and number of legislators for each of the nine regions established by the U.S. Census Bureau.

#### Basic Assumptions

In pursuing the research, the following assumptions were made:

1. The feminist movement has had some impact on women legislators' attitudes about the status of women and about issues related to this status.
2. Generalizations can be made from the responses of the 437 legislators who completed usable questionnaire forms and applied to the population of 611 legislators serving in the 1975-76 sessions of the 50 state legislatures.
3. The discriminant analysis procedure is suitable for classifying the legislators into four attitude groups. This statistical technique, along with the single classification analysis of variance and the t test, is appropriate for testing the null hypotheses.

Table 3.2. Response rate of women legislators by region<sup>a</sup>

| Region             | Women legislators |        | Respondents |        |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
|                    | Percent           | Number | Percent     | Number |
| New England        | 33.1              | 202    | 33.0        | 144    |
| Middle Atlantic    | 4.4               | 27     | 4.5         | 20     |
| East North Central | 8.2               | 50     | 7.3         | 32     |
| West North Central | 11.6              | 71     | 13.0        | 57     |
| South Atlantic     | 14.6              | 89     | 14.4        | 63     |
| East South Central | 2.8               | 17     | 2.5         | 11     |
| West South Central | 3.1               | 19     | 3.0         | 13     |
| Mountain           | 13.9              | 85     | 13.7        | 60     |
| Pacific            | 8.3               | 51     | 8.5         | 37     |
| Total              | 100.0             | 611    | 99.9        | 437    |

<sup>a</sup>New England states are Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island; Middle Atlantic states are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; East North Central states are Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio; West North Central states are Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; South Atlantic states are Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida; East South Central states are Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi; West South Central states are Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas; Mountain states are Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico; Pacific states are Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii.

#### The Research Procedure

The survey form was pre-tested by sending it to the fourteen women who were members of the Iowa General Assembly in September, 1976. Results of the pilot study were analyzed to determine what additional questions should be included and what deletions or clarifications should be made in the final instrument. On November 16, 1976, the questionnaire, along with

a letter explaining the general nature of the study and a business reply envelope, was sent to all female legislators who had served in 1975-76. One week later, a thank you note and reminder card followed the first mailing. On December 9, 1976, another form, business reply envelope, and a letter encouraged the nonparticipants to respond. During the last week of December and the first two weeks of January, 1977, telephone calls were made to as many of the nonrespondents as could be contacted. A personal follow-up note was sent to the women in the states where the response rate was lower than 60 percent. On January 20, 1977, a third major mailing went to all who had not returned the questionnaire. In February, 1977, the goal of a 70 percent return rate with usable forms had been achieved. By the end of March 1977 the number of responses reached 437, or 71.5 percent of the population of 611.

### The Research Instrument

The questionnaire was structured around six major categories. One set of questions provided standard biographical information for determining whether or not such factors as employment status, age, income, and education were relevant. If not, this portion of the instrument could reveal other patterns which had more salience. Another section dealt with active membership in community organizations and women's political organizations outside the political party structure. Such ties could determine interests and perspectives that related to the purpose and objectives of the research. In the third major category of questions, recruitment was considered. How did these women initially become candidates for office?

The matter of political party identification, party membership, involvement, and support, along with legislative district population, the first year of election to office, and number of years served was examined in a fourth set of questions. In the fifth category, the respondents' attitudes and positions on several dimensions were explored--whether or not the women had raised issues on the status of women in their campaigns, the effect of the women's movement on their attitudes toward women's rights issues, a women's role scale, and strategy for changing women's status. Five specific issue areas also were covered; they included explanations for women's employment status, an assessment of higher education in meeting the needs of women, abortion, child or day care, and the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment. A final category was an attempt to answer the question of why more women are running and being elected to state legislative office. The legislators were asked to rank the importance of six explanations for the increased interest of women in holding state legislative office. An open-ended question was added to account for other explanations not listed. On the average, only 61 percent of the respondents rank ordered the statements. Therefore, this portion of the instrument was not considered suitable for statistical analysis. Since the responses in this section did represent a majority opinion, however, they will be described in narrative form in the chapter on findings. Space also was provided on the form so that respondents could comment on any of the questions. (Coding procedures and the questionnaire form are in the Appendix, P. 175.)



For the most part, questions on issues and attitudes were taken directly from the 1972 Convention Delegate Study prepared by the Center for Political Studies of the University of Michigan. Using the identical format was one way of assuring the questions' construct validity. Only one of the CPS questions was modified. The word, parents, was substituted for the word, mothers, in the item on child or day care: "How do you feel about the proposal to establish a national day care or child care for working parents?" Some additional questions were formulated on campaign behavior, women's movement effect, the Equal Rights Amendment, and higher education.

To determine the reliability of the data obtained from the questionnaire, a comparison was made with the information gathered by the Center for the American Woman and Politics. In 1975 the CAWP had mailed questionnaires to several thousand women public officials, including state legislators. The findings, however, were a composite of the survey as well as of extensive biographical sources. Therefore, this description of women legislators served as one method for assessing the accuracy of the data from the 437 legislators in this report and the extent to which the results could be applied to the entire population of women state legislators. The CAWP researchers were not concerned with issues and attitudes or with recruitment patterns, so no comparisons on these dimensions were available. However, measures on similar political, personal, and family characteristics did have a reasonable consistency, thus assuring that the nonrespondents would not have changed the results to any significant degree.

According to the CAWP profile, the political party identifications for 564 legislators were the following: Democrats, 53.9 percent; Republicans, 36.1 percent, and Independent or other political parties, nine percent (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxxviii). Of the 431 legislators who responded to the question on political parties in our survey, 58 percent classified themselves as Democrats; 39 percent, Republicans, and three percent, Independent or other. Another comparison on years of formal education also showed small disparities. For 503 legislators in the CAWP report, 2.7 percent had less than a high school diploma, 12.6 had graduated from high school, 26.2 had attended college, 26.2 had graduated from a postsecondary institution, while 31.5 percent had pursued graduate study. (Johnson and Stanwick separated the women in the lower house from those in the upper house in their report. These figures represent a recalculation for the group as a whole, based on Table 10, p. xxvii.) For the 435 legislators who answered a similar question in our survey, less than one percent did not have a high school diploma, 12 had completed high school, 29 had some college training, 23 were college graduates, and 36 percent had five or more years of advanced schooling. There also was a marked consistency in the two sets of data on marital status. For 508 legislators, the CAWP report showed 75 percent as married; 6.9 percent, divorced or separated; 10.7 percent, widowed; and 7.3 percent, single. (These percentages were recalculated for both houses and are based on Table 14, p. xxx.) In our survey, 435 women indicated their marital status as married (72 percent), separated or divorced (9 percent), widowed (11 percent), and single (7 percent). Except for the increase in

the widowed and separation and divorce percentages and the decrease in the married percentages that might be explained by the intervening time period in which the two studies were undertaken, the data were nearly identical.

Because there were no major discrepancies in other kinds of comparable questions, it is reasonable to conclude that the survey instrument used in this study was reliable, and therefore, generalizations could be made about the entire population at this political elite level. The generalizations have been based on all the coded responses to the questions on the survey forms and discussed in the first part of the findings chapter.

#### Statistical Analysis Procedure

Two objectives of the study were to evaluate the extent to which the lawmakers were supportive of the women's movement and to investigate the dimensions of this support. Because stepwise discriminant analysis, a multivariate analysis technique, can be used to determine the group in which an individual case belongs, it was considered suitable for this problem of classification and an appropriate test of the sub general null hypothesis for all groups (Sub Gen  $H_{0A}$ ). Furthermore, the data met the two criteria for this statistical tool: (1) the dependent or criterion variable could be expressed in categories, and, therefore, it was a nominal level of measurement; and (2) the independent variables could be rank ordered or measured on an ordinal scale. The program used for the analysis is part of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences and is

described by Klecka in chapter 23 of the SPSS manual (Nie et al., 1975, pp. 434-466).

The dependent variable was the following question: In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) somewhat opposed (5) strongly opposed (6) not concerned.

Fourteen respondents did not answer the question, and only five indicated they were not concerned (1.18 percent). The remaining 418 who replied to the question constituted the number of valid cases. The highest number of responses, 206 (49 percent), was in the strongly in favor category (Group 1). The next two highest response categories were the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3). Each of these had 89 responses, or 21 percent of the cases. Twenty legislators (5 percent) were somewhat opposed, and fourteen were strongly opposed (3 percent). Because of their small number, the women who expressed either degree of opposition were combined into the opposed group (Group 4).

In the preliminary stepwise regression, 37 independent variables were selected for testing their power of discrimination. The program limited the maximum number of variables for entry in the analysis to 20 with an F value of 1 for inclusion or deletion and a tolerance level of .001. These variables are listed under five headings:

Recruitment

I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations. (RUNOFF 1)

I was approached by the party leadership to run. (RUNOFF 2)

My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate. (RUNOFF 3)

My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate. (RUNOFF 4)

I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process. (RUNOFF 6)

Personal and family characteristics

Age (AGE)

Occupation--Homemaker (YOUROC 8)

Family Income (FAMINCOM)

Formal Education (FORMALED)

The age of the Youngest Child When the Legislator First Became Active in Politics (CHAGEACT)

The Age of the Youngest Child When the Legislator First Ran for Legislative Office (CHAGERAN)

Marital Status (MARSTAT)

Number of Years of Legislative District Residence (LEGDISYR)

Political characteristics

The Year of First Election to Legislative Office (YRELEC)

Number of Years of Legislative Service (LEGYRSRV)

The Population of the Legislative District (DISTRPOP)

The Degree of Party Support (PARTYSUP)

The Degree of Party Involvement (POLPARIN)

Political Party Identification (POLPARTY)

Community organization involvement

Professional and Business (ACTMEM 1)

Labor Unions (ACTMEM 2)

Farm (ACTMEM 3)

Youth-School Service (e.g., PTA, Girl Scouts) (ACTMEM 4)

School (e.g., AAUW, alumnae associations ) (ACTMEM 5)

General Service (e.g., Federated Women's Clubs, Soroptomists)  
(ACTMEM 6)

Special Service (e.g., Cancer Society, Red Cross) (ACTMEM 7)

Cultural-Aesthetic (e.g., Art, Historical Associations ) (ACTMEM 8)

Fraternal (e.g., social sororities, OES) (ACTMEM 9)

Church-related (ACTMEM 10)

Issues and attitudesThe Effect of the Women's Movement on Attitudes toward Issues Re-  
lated to Improving the Status of Women (WMEFFSOW)

Raising Issues on the Status of Women in Campaigns (SOWBEHAV)

Women's Role Scale (WRSCALE)

Reasons for Women's Employment Status (MENPAIR)

Strategy for Attaining Equity (WOMPAIR)

Opinions on a National Child or Day Care Program (DAYCARE)

Attitudes about the Proposed National Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Attitudes about Abortion (ABORTION)

Twenty-one variables did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the stepwise regression analysis. These variables were not entered because the group population was more homogeneous on these variables than on the 16 that had maximized the discrimination between the four groups. Because the analysis was based on only 167 cases with complete data for all 37

variables, a final stepwise regression was performed using only the 16 variables in the preliminary analysis. The analysis used data from a substantially larger sample of 205 cases. The sample consisted of 122 cases in Group 1, forty-three in Group 2, thirty-nine in Group 3, and eleven in Group 4. The sample represented 49.0 percent of the total number of the respondents.

A comparison of the means for the four groups in the sample of 205 cases with the entire group means indicated that the sample of 205 was a self-weighting, random selection from the entire group. Therefore, the sample was a reasonably accurate basis for testing the general null hypothesis. The 213 cases with missing data also seemed to be random. Where there was missing information on the questionnaire items, the group means were substituted in certain parts of the discriminant analysis procedure by the standard SPSS program. According to Huberty's review of the literature on discriminant analysis, this type of substitution for missing values is considered to be a highly acceptable method (Huberty, 1975, p. 584). The prediction matrix is another indication that the sample represented the population, particularly for the most dichotomous groups. One hundred and eighty-five or 89.8 percent of the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and 30 or 88.2 percent of the opposed group (Group 4) were classified correctly. The other two groups fell short of this prediction accuracy. Only 28 (31.5 percent) of the 89 cases in the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and 35 (39.3 percent) of the 89 cases in the mixed feelings group (Group 3) could be predicted accurately. Thus, the findings of the discriminant analysis portion of the study are more reliable for the

strongly in favor and the opposed groups than they are for the somewhat in favor and the mixed feelings groups. The overall probability of correct classifications was 66.51 percent.

One of the most useful statistics in the discriminant analysis procedure is the calculation of group means for each of the independent variables. These means will be compared to establish the distinguishing characteristics of each of the four groups. Because the stepwise regression in the discriminant analysis does not treat each variable separately, the statistical technique, single classification analysis of variance, will test for significant differences among the means of the four groups on each of the 37 variables used in the preliminary regression analysis and will serve as the test for the second sub general null hypothesis or Sub Gen  $H_{0B}$ . Through the technique of a priori contrasts, a t test will determine how significant the differences are between the means of Group 1 (the strongly in favor) and Group 4 (the opposed); Group 2 (the somewhat in favor) and Group 3 (the mixed feelings); and Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4. The t test will test the remaining sub general null hypotheses or Sub Gen  $H_{0C}$ ,  $H_{0D}$ , and  $H_{0E}$ . For these comparisons, Cochran's C and Barlett's Box-F will be used to test for the homogeneity of the variances. If the two tests yield a probability of .05 or more, the pooled variance will be used for the t value and the t probability; if they yield a probability of .05 or less, the separate variance t value and t probability will be reported. The significance level for testing the difference is .05 ( $p < .05$ ).



## CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS

The first part of this chapter is a report of the total responses to the items on the survey form; it has been organized around the six major categories of questions: personal and family background, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, issues and attitudes, and reasons why more women are running and being elected to state legislative office. Many of the legislators' comments have been included where they supplied a further dimension to the numerical data. Additionally, the findings for the entire group are related to other relevant research. In the second section, the characteristics of each of the four attitude groups into which the legislators have been separated are described in some detail, thus establishing the setting for the statistical analysis of the data. Finally, the procedures of discriminant analysis, single classification analysis of variance, and the t test are used to test the null hypotheses.

## The Legislators: An Overview

Personal and family characteristics

Family background In her study of 46 "effective" women legislators, Kirkpatrick confirmed the findings of Wahlke, Eulau, Buchanan, and Ferguson as well as Milbrath: Many of the legislators were brought up in families where there was a high degree of parental involvement in the community and in politics. At an early age, these women were exposed to a wide range of stimuli which predisposed them to seek high public office when they became adults (1974, p. 35). Sorauf also has characterized

party activists as coming from families with a history of party activity as well as from high socio-economic status backgrounds (1968, p. 93). More recently, however, Orum, Cohen, Grasmuck, and Orum have disputed this political socialization perspective and claimed that the family models and childhood experience explanations for degrees of political involvement should be modified or discarded (Orum et al., in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 31).

To test the effect of family background as one possible cause of their interest in public office, the women legislators in this study were asked several standard questions:

When you were growing up, was your mother very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't she pay much attention to it?

When you were growing up, was your father very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't he pay much attention to it?

Did either of your parents ever hold office (party or government)?

Forty-one percent indicated their mothers did not pay much attention to politics, and 13 percent didn't know how much attention their mothers paid to it. Only 23 percent reported their mothers were very much interested, while 33 percent had mothers who were somewhat interested (N = 427). The fathers were slightly more interested than their spouses. Only 17 percent of the respondents said their father didn't pay much attention, but less than half (39 percent) had fathers who were very much interested; a few more (41 percent) remembered their fathers as having some interest, and three percent didn't know how much interest their fathers had in politics (N = 424). There also were few political role models in their immediate family. For 80 percent of the legislators, neither parent had ever held a

governmental or party office. Among the 19 percent who had parents with some office holding experience, 13 percent said their fathers had held an office, four percent had a role model in both parents, and two percent reported their mothers were officeholders. The impact of the family as a political socializing agent for women at this political elite level did not appear to be very substantial. The responses to the three questions tended to underscore the findings from the CWP study: ". . . women in office are generally no more likely than other women to indicate that their families had a high level of interest in politics" (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxv).

The respondents also were asked about their parents' political party identification. A plurality came from families in which both parents were Democrats; 44 percent identified their mothers as Democrats, and 43 percent said their fathers were Democrats. Thirty-nine percent indicated their mothers were Republicans, while 41 percent had Republican fathers. No breakdown of data was performed on the number of legislators who maintained the family party tradition, but there were more Democratic identifiers among the legislators than among their parents.

Family income Most of the legislators grew up in families with average (41 percent) or above average (24 percent) incomes. It is apparent from their responses to the question on current total family income for 1975 that, as adults, their financial status had improved considerably (Table 4.1). Only 34 percent reported incomes of less than \$19,000, while 23 percent had incomes of \$40,000 or more. If income is a measure of socio-economic status, then Sorauf's observations about party activists

Table 4.1. Respondents' total family income in 1975 before taxes

| Family income level | Percent | Number |
|---------------------|---------|--------|
| Below \$10,000      | 8       | 31     |
| \$10,000 - \$19,999 | 26      | 101    |
| \$20,000 - \$29,999 | 27      | 103    |
| \$30,000 - \$39,999 | 16      | 63     |
| \$40,000 or more    | 23      | 91     |
| Total               | 100     | 389    |

also can be applied to female legislators. Thirty-three percent considered themselves to be the principal breadwinners or shared the function equally with their spouses. For most of them, though, the chief income earners were their husbands (65 percent).

Marital status Like other women in their age group, most of the legislators were married and living with their spouses (72 percent). In 1975, married women were 74.5 percent of the female population between the ages of 35 and 64 years (U.S. Census Bureau, 1976, P-23, No. 58, p. 17).

Widows represented 11 percent of the total number of legislators in the study, a percentage roughly equivalent to the number in the population for this age level (10.1 percent). The percentage of divorced legislators was slightly higher (8 percent) than the national average of 6.6 percent. A few had never been married (7 percent), and this figure is somewhat higher than for the population in the similar age group (4.8 percent).

Contrary to the backgrounds of many women who in the past have inherited their husbands' congressional seats, widowhood has not been an

especially strong qualification for state legislative office (Bullock and Heys, 1972, pp. 416-432; Chamberlin, 1974, p. 2). Only five widows specifically cited their relationships with their deceased husbands as a reason for running, and all of them who mentioned this as a motivation felt they were qualified in their own right to serve. As one of them explained, "My husband died while in office in his second term. I was elected to fill his term. Then I ran on my own because I could contribute much to the legislative process for my community and for women."

One divorced woman felt her legislative role had placed an excessive strain on her marriage: "I definitely feel my holding office had an effect on my marriage which resulted in divorce after 32 years. I think men definitely need consciousness-raising in new roles women are assuming, and they themselves should be aware of the risks involved when they assume these new roles."

Formal education A major determinant of socio-economic status is the number of years of formal education. Clearly, these legislators could be called a knowledge elite. As shown in Table 4.2, approximately 38 percent had attended college, and 36 percent of the college women had some form of postgraduate education. None had an eighth grade education or less, while 11 percent had completed only high school. These percentages are in striking contrast to those for the general population of women over 25 years of age. In 1974 the U.S. Census Bureau reported that 39 percent had less than a secondary education, 40 percent had graduated from high school, 11 percent had from one to three years of college, seven percent had finished four years of postsecondary schooling, and only three percent

Table 4.2. Highest level of formal education of the respondents

| Formal education level completed | Percent | Number |
|----------------------------------|---------|--------|
| Elementary grades 1-3            | 0       | 0      |
| High school grades 9-11          | 1       | 4      |
| High school grade 12             | 11      | 50     |
| College 1-3 years                | 29      | 126    |
| College 4 years                  | 23      | 101    |
| College 5 years plus             | 36      | 154    |
| Total                            | 100     | 435    |

had attended college for five years or more (U.S. Census Bureau, P-20, No. 274, p. 15; cited by Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxvii).

Employment In their study of Michigan delegates to the 1964 national party conventions, Jennings and Thomas compared homemakers with women employed outside the home and concluded that not only were income earning women more willing to become involved in electoral politics, they also were more likely to win elections: "Career women have more than twice as much experience in public office as those who are not (43 percent versus 17 percent, gamma .61)" (1968, p. 481). The women members of the Norwegian Parliament who were interviewed in another study stressed their professional and business contacts as vital to their successful campaigns (Means, 1972, p. 508). Homemakers also can develop these connections through volunteer activities, but their ability to form a network of supporters is dependent on their husbands' willingness to share family and child care tasks, particularly when their youngsters are preschoolers (Flora and Lynn, in Jaquette, 1974, p. 45).

Therefore, it was not surprising that only 28 percent of the legislators classified their occupation as homemaker, although this classification was the largest of the 13 specific occupations listed on the questionnaire. (Six percent designated homemaker and another occupation, despite the instructions to check only one response.) Since most of the legislators (59 percent) said their mothers had worked in the home, the percentage of homemaker responses for the legislators represented a substantial generational shift between mothers' and daughters' occupations. When the responses for the four professional categories--college teaching, research, or administration; elementary or secondary school teaching; attorney; and other professional--were combined, 47 percent designated themselves as professional women. Fourteen percent checked managerial, administrative, or semi-professional; seven percent owned a business; and each of the farmer and clerical-retail classifications had two percent. No farm laborers, one semi- or unskilled wage worker, and one crafts-person were reported in the other occupational groupings (Table 4.3).

A substantial number of the legislators (46 percent) had spouses who were members of a profession; 18 percent owned businesses; and 20 percent had positions in managerial, administrative, or semi-professional fields. The smallest percentages were in the farmer and family farm worker (5 percent), semi- or unskilled wage worker (4 percent), clerical or retail sales (4 percent), craftsperson (1 percent), and homemaker (1 percent) classifications (Table 4.4). A generational shift in jobs was quite evident between the husbands and the fathers of the legislators. Among the male parents, there were more farmers and farm laborers (16 percent),

Table 4.3. Occupations of the legislators who checked only one occupational category

| Occupations of women legislators                 | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| Farmer and family farm worker                    | 2       | 8      |
| Farm laborer                                     | 0       | 0      |
| Semi- or unskilled wage worker                   | 0       | 1      |
| Craftsperson                                     | 0       | 1      |
| Clerical, retail sales                           | 2       | 8      |
| Owner, small business                            | 5       | 19     |
| Owner, large business                            | 2       | 7      |
| Homemaker  | 28      | 103    |
| Managerial, administrative,<br>semi-professional | 14      | 51     |
| College teaching, research, or<br>administration | 7       | 24     |
| Elementary or secondary school<br>teaching       | 16      | 57     |
| Attorney   | 4       | 13     |
| Other professional                               | 20      | 75     |
| Total  | 100     | 367    |

semi- or unskilled wage workers (10 percent), craftspersons (9 percent), business owners (21 percent), and fewer managerial, administrative and semi-professional workers (12 percent) and professional men (25 percent). (The number of fathers who were homemakers remained the same.) These occupational changes may explain why the legislators had relatively high family incomes, but described themselves as being reared in families of average or above average economic status.



Table 4.4. Occupations of lawmakers' spouses

| Occupations of spouses                           | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| Farmer and family farm worker                    | 5       | 18     |
| Farm laborer                                     | 0       | 1      |
| Semi- or unskilled wage worker                   | 4       | 14     |
| Craftsperson                                     | 1       | 5      |
| Clerical, retail sales                           | 4       | 14     |
| Owner, small business                            | 14.5    | 50     |
| Owner, large business                            | 3       | 11     |
| Homemaker  | 1       | 5      |
| Managerial, administrative,<br>semi-professional | 20      | 68     |
| College teaching, research, or<br>administration | 9       | 31     |
| Elementary or secondary school<br>teaching       | 2       | 8      |
| Attorney   | 12.5    | 43     |
| Other professional                               | 22      | 77     |
| Total  | 98      | 345    |

Children Several studies have called attention to the conflict between the dual roles of motherhood and public officeholder. In their sample of women delegates from four states at the 1972 Democratic and Republican conventions, Lynn and Flora found ". . . only half as many women with children as without children aspire to elective office--even when urged to declare their 'ideal' political ambition" (in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 142). On a local level, Lee compared male with female political participants in four municipalities in upstate New York. For both sexes, the presence of children at home had some influence on their

decision to run for office, but the factor was more restrictive for females than for males. Approximately 21.5 percent of the men who ran for an elected office had children at home compared to 5.3 percent of the women (in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 128). According to Lee, the presence of children at home is one of three salient reasons why so few women hold public office (pp. 135-136). Children did not inhibit women from participating in other forms of political work, however, and these activities entailed a considerable investment in time away from the family (p. 122).

For the group of women in this survey, the majority had children (82 percent). Not quite half (45 percent) had three or more children. Few of them, however, initially ran for the legislature when their youngest child was eight years old or less (23 percent), but over half of them were active in politics at that time. These findings appeared to confirm Lee's observations at the local level. The mode for the age of the youngest child when they first became active in politics was considerably lower than it was for the age of the youngest child when they ran--a difference of 15 years (Table 4.5). Thirty-four percent did not run for office until their youngest child was at least 18 years old, but only 13 percent became active after their youngest reached that age.

Age If female lawmakers waited until their child rearing responsibilities had ebbed, a logical corollary is that they would be substantially older than the median age for women in the population, which in 1975 was 30 years (U.S. Census Bureau, 1976, P-23, No. 58, p. 6). In fact, the mean (50 years), the mode (54 years), and the median (51.5 years) showed that the legislators were considerably older and beyond the

Table 4.5. Age of the youngest child when the legislators first became active in politics and age of the youngest child when the legislators sought legislative office

|             | Age of the youngest child<br>when the legislators<br>became active in politics | Age of the youngest child<br>when the legislators<br>sought legislative office |
|-------------|--|--|
| Mean        | 8.68   | 14.70  |
| Median      | 7.43   | 14.47  |
| Range       | 0-36   | 0-40   |
| Valid cases | 336  | 349  |

age of child bearing. For the politically ambitious, state legislative office is considered to be a stepping stone to higher offices. But as Schlesinger has demonstrated in his study of major political leaders in the states, the office is only significant for this purpose ". . . until the political entrant reaches the age of 50 . . ." (Schlesinger, 1966, p. 181). For these women, most of whom were first timers in elective politics, their age operates as a barrier against their running for higher offices. (According to Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xl, 52 percent of the state senators and 84 percent of the members of the lower house have never held any previous elective office.)

Legislative district residence Another characteristic related to age is years of legislative district residence. On the average, the respondents had resided in their districts for 23 years; the median was 20 years. Only 25 of these women were typical of many American families because they had lived in the district from which they were elected for

five years or less. Clearly, these legislators as a group shared one quality of other political elites--residential stability (Kirkpatrick, 1976, p. 80). The following table is a breakdown of years of residency by the number and percent of cases in each category.

Table 4.6. Respondents' years of legislative district residence

| Number of years of legislative district residence | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| 3 - 10 years                                      | 21.56   | 91     |
| 11 - 20 years                                     | 30.81   | 130    |
| 21 - 30 years                                     | 26.06   | 110    |
| 31 - 40 years                                     | 9.95    | 42     |
| 41 - 50 years                                     | 5.21    | 22     |
| 51 - 60 years                                     | 3.32    | 14     |
| 61 - 73 years                                     | 3.08    | 13     |
| Total   | 99.99   | 422    |

### Political characteristics

Gruberg has described women as the footsoldiers of the American political party system. In many communities they are ". . . the only large remaining pool of political labor that can be tapped to fill the vanishing ranks of patronage mercenaries" (1968, p. 52). According to Amundsen, their party activities are confined to rather routine, but essential, campaign tasks, and "The prevailing pattern in politics . . . is to encourage 'the girls' to come out and work in campaigns and to generally rely on them for volunteer clerical services, but to give them a cold shoulder if they have ambitions beyond that" (1971, p. 83).

Amundsen's contention is that male politicians are unwilling to give women an equal voice in party affairs and to reward them for services by permitting them to run for office. The Tolchins also support this allegation and have warned women who seek real power to expect outright sabotage by male party leaders; women who are selected for nominal party positions are loyal to the male leadership and not to women as a group (1976, pp. 63-64). This indictment is supported to some extent by a comparative study of precinct committee women and women voters in Pittsburgh. Wells and Smeal found ". . . the current recruitment of women into party positions is much like that of Uncle Tom blacks in the past. They are window dressing and not expected to promote themselves or other women into higher positions of power" (in Jaquette, 1974, p. 62). A party position, then, may inhibit women from seeking public office. From the information compiled by the CAWP, it would appear that many of the legislators in 1975-76 have leaped from party footsoldier to public officeholder, skipping the intervening step of party leader. Only one-third of them had ever held a party position (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. x1).

Political party identification, support, and involvement      Ninety-seven percent of the legislators identified with the two major parties; 251 (58 percent) were Democrats, and 169 (39 percent) were Republicans. Although they had not held party office, a majority was highly involved in party activities, and 51 percent described their party support as strong. To determine the degree of involvement and party loyalty, the legislators were asked the following questions:

How would you characterize your involvement in your political party over the last five years? (1) very much (2) somewhat involved (3) not involved (4) don't know

Would you try to rate yourself on the following scale? (1) strong party supporter (2) moderate party supporter (3) weak party supporter (4) disappointed with party and may change

When the first two response categories were combined for both questions, 91 percent of the respondents were very much or somewhat involved in their parties and were strong or moderate party supporters. There was some variation in the percentages for the various categories, as is shown by Tables 4.7 and 4.8.

Table 4.7. Degree of respondents' party involvement

| Degree of party involvement | Percent | Number |
|-----------------------------|---------|--------|
| Very much                   | 60      | 258    |
| Somewhat involved           | 31      | 131    |
| Not involved                | 9       | 37     |
| Don't know                  | 0       | 2      |
| Total                       | 100     | 428    |

Table 4.8. Degree of respondents' party support

| Degree of party support                | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| Strong party supporter                 | 51      | 218    |
| Moderate party supporter               | 40      | 171    |
| Weak party supporter                   | 6       | 27     |
| Disappointed with party and may change | 3       | 13     |
| Total                                  | 100     | 429    |

It is fair to conclude that the legislators had devoted a substantial part of the last five years to party activities, and they were either strong or moderate party supporters. Only a small minority had not been active (9 percent), was disappointed with the party (3 percent), or characterized their party support as weak (6 percent).

Year ran, year elected, and total number of years served Another generalization can be made about the political activities of women legislators. As displayed in Table 4.9, they were relative newcomers to legislative politics. Eighty percent of them (348) ran for election for the first time between 1970 and 1975, and of this group, 260 (60 percent) campaigned in 1972 and 1974. These two years also were the years in which the majority (63 percent) won election. On the average, the legislators had served between four and five years. The mode, however, was somewhat lower; 42 percent reported serving two years.

Table 4.9. Descriptive statistics for tenure of women legislators

|                     | Years served |
|---------------------|--------------|
| Mean                | 4.72         |
| Mode                | 2            |
| Median              | 3.62         |
| Range               | 1-40         |
| Standard deviation  | 4.60         |
| Number of responses | (430)        |

The effect of the November 1976 elections Most of the women were elected the first time they ran for legislative office. Those who ran for re-election in November, 1976, also were successful. Eighty-eight percent who answered the question on the results of the November elections said they had won. Some whose terms ended in November did not seek re-election, and fifty of them explained their reasons. Twenty-four mentioned personal considerations such as health, age, retirement, moving, other interests, family concerns, and job changes. Sixteen ran for other offices, with the most frequently mentioned office being the state senate, although one ran for the U.S. Senate, U.S. House of Representatives, lieutenant governor, and state treasurer. Eight lost primary contests, and two discussed other political considerations in their decision not to run again.

Political ambitions In her book, The New Presidential Elite, Kirkpatrick has stated there are two basic reasons why women do not run for elective office: In the past, (1) male party leaders have discriminated against women as prospective candidates, and (2) women have not aspired to high public office (1976, p. 488). The legislators were asked about their aspirations in the following question:

What are your future political office-seeking plans? (1) I plan to seek election to the same office. (2) I do not plan to run again for office. (3) undecided (4) I plan to run for another office (specify which office).

The largest answer category was the third response, or undecided. Forty-one percent had not made a decision or, possibly, did not want to reveal their political plans. Thirty-eight percent expected to run again for the



same office. Only 11 percent had decided to retire from politics after completing their term because of personal considerations, age, financial problems, dislike of politics, and the fulfillment of their public service obligation. Thirty-five (not quite 9 percent) specifically mentioned they planned to run for one of the following higher offices: state senate (18), U.S. Senate (1), U.S. House of Representatives (4), governor or lieutenant governor (8), another state-wide office (4).

District population On the whole, women's opportunities for elective offices are greater in districts with small populations. At the local and county levels, 58 percent of the municipal council members are elected from districts with less than 25,000 persons (Johnson and Stanwick, 1976, p. xxiii). This pattern was typical at the state legislative level as well, despite the wide variation in district size across states and types of legislative districts. (Slightly more than half or 51 percent said they were elected from single-member districts, while the remainder came from multi-member districts in which several legislators are elected to represent the district.) Table 4.10 reveals that most of the legislators were elected from districts smaller than 30,000; and only 15 percent, from districts of 100,000 or more. The average district size was 6,352, but the median was considerably higher--27,994. The difference in the mean and median size can be explained in part by the large number of women elected in New Hampshire, 17 percent of the total number of women legislators and 16.9 percent of the respondents in the study. These women represented constituencies as small as 1300 people. By contrast, in many of the urban states the districts were substantially larger and the number

Table 4.10. Frequency distribution of legislators by population size of legislative districts

| Population of legislative districts | Percent | Number |
|-------------------------------------|---------|--------|
| 1300 to 10,000                      | 22      | 93     |
| 11,000 to 20,000                    | 17      | 70     |
| 21,000 to 30,000                    | 17      | 71     |
| 31,000 to 40,000                    | 5       | 20     |
| 41,000 to 50,000                    | 4       | 15     |
| 51,000 to 60,000                    | 6       | 25     |
| 61,000 to 70,000                    | 4       | 18     |
| 71,000 to 80,000                    | 4       | 16     |
| 81,000 to 90,000                    | 5       | 22     |
| 91,000 to 99,000                    | 0       | 1      |
| 100,000 or more                     | 15      | 64     |
| Total                               | 99      | 415    |

of women legislators was fewer. In Illinois the legislators reported district sizes ranging from 150,000 to 250,000. Women were six percent of the total number of Illinois legislators in 1975-76. Based on data from the New Jersey respondents, the smallest district in this eastern seaboard state had a population of 100,000. The percent of women in the New Jersey legislature was slightly larger than in Illinois--eight percent. In California, two of the three California female legislators reported they represented between 240,000 and 250,000 people; in 1975-76, the three women accounted for two percent of the members of the California legislature.

Diamond has attempted to explicate the relationship of district size to the number of women legislators. She has hypothesized that "The

percentage of the legislature that consists of women will vary directly with the number of seats per 100,000 persons. A high seats-to-population ratio means fewer opportunities and hence more competition" (1976, p. 6). According to her analysis, "seats per 100,000 persons (logged value) explains 21% of the variance" (p. 9). Salary did not explain the pattern across the states, particularly when the New Hampshire legislators were removed from the analysis. (The biennium salary for state legislators in New Hampshire is \$200.) Except for Florida, the South did not fit her predictions, and she has ascribed the smaller number of women legislators than expected by her model to the more traditional culture with its narrower definitions of women's role (p. 15).

#### Recruitment

According to Kirkpatrick, there are two principal routes women can take to attain legislative office--active participation in their political parties and in volunteer organizations. She found the legislators in her 1974 study had concentrated on one of the two avenues (p. 61). In spite of the fact that some of the women had not devoted much time to party work, they had a reputation for leadership in the community and a potential constituency support; hence, they were accepted by the party gatekeepers (p. 65). Aside from these observations, there is almost no analysis on female recruitment to public office.

Reasons for running Kirkpatrick's study established the need to focus on community organizations and political party recruitment, and four statements were designed to tap two related aspects, participation and direct encouragement. The legislators also were asked about husbands'

support, feelings of competency, issues as a motivation, a desire to continue their public service involvement, their concern for more female representation, and the influence of their formal educational background. The respondents were directed to rate ten statements as they applied to their initial reasons for running by using this scale of significance: a (1) if the statement was of no significance; a (2) if it was of some significance; a (3) if it was significant; a (4) if it was very significant; and a (5) if it was a most significant reason. In Table 4.11 the ratings of each statement, along with the number of respondents rating it, are shown.

A comparison of the means for the ten statements indicated that the two most important reasons for running were highly personal. As a group, the legislators had a strong sense of competency; they were convinced they could make a major contribution to the policy process ( $\bar{x} = 4.1$ ), and they had a strong public service orientation to their legislative responsibilities ( $\bar{x} = 3.9$ ). The next most significant assessment related to their community activities, which they felt had provided them with enough contacts to become successful candidates ( $\bar{x} = 3.4$ ). Not only was their candidacy supported by members of community organizations, there was support within the family in that their husbands had encouraged them to run for office ( $\bar{x} = 3.1$ ).

Many of them commented on their spouses' part in financing their campaigns and in urging them to run. A New England legislator who had been involved in party politics for many years stated:

Table 4.11. Distribution of responses by legislators to ten statements concerning the initial decision to run for legislative office by adjusted percentages

| Statements  | Responses                   |             |                         |             |                      | Number | Mean |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------|------|
|   | No signif-<br>icance<br>(1) | Some<br>(2) | Signif-<br>icant<br>(3) | Very<br>(4) | Most<br>sign.<br>(5) |        |      |
| 1. I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations.                                    | 38                          | 25          | 19                      | 9           | 9                    | 419    | 2.3  |
| 2. I was approached by the party leadership to run.   | 48                          | 14          | 11                      | 9           | 18                   | 424    | 2.4  |
| 3. My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate.                          | 37                          | 17          | 16                      | 13          | 17                   | 415    | 2.6  |
| 4. My involvement in community organizations convinced me I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate. | 15                          | 13          | 21                      | 25          | 27                   | 421    | 3.4  |
| 5. My husband encouraged me to become a candidate.  | 27                          | 11          | 14                      | 18          | 30                   | 383    | 3.1  |
| 6. I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process.                              | 3                           | 8           | 21                      | 26          | 43                   | 425    | 4.1  |
| 7. My decision was linked to a particular issue about which I felt strongly.                                  | 43                          | 15          | 15                      | 11          | 15                   | 423    | 2.4  |
| 8. I viewed my candidacy as a continuation of my involvement in public service.                               | 9                           | 6           | 18                      | 21          | 46                   | 423    | 3.9  |
| 9. I felt that more women were needed to represent the special concerns of women.                             | 28                          | 16          | 19                      | 17          | 21                   | 427    | 2.9  |
| 10. I felt that my formal educational background made me an especially qualified candidate.                   | 33                          | 18          | 18                      | 14          | 17                   | 424    | 2.6  |

When we couldn't find a candidate in '72 my husband talked me into running. I had two children at the time, one 14 and one 12. At the end of my first term I gave birth to a young lady who will be governor of the state . . . .

Another legislator from an industrial, eastern state credited her election to her husband's financial support:

Because of my independent stature, I received little, if any, support from local party leaders. However, I am fortunate to have a husband who believes that women have a right to pursue their own careers and who not only encourages me to stay in politics but also insures that my campaigns are well financed. It is far better that I be obligated to my husband than to interest groups.

Most of the legislators were motivated to run because they believed more women were needed to represent women in the policy process. A total of 57 percent considered the need to have more women represent the special concerns of women either significant, very significant, or a most significant reason for their recruitment. One out of five who responded to this statement ranked it a most significant reason for their decision to run. The mean for this statement was 2.9 or close to the significant rating of 3.

Formal education as a qualification for running was not quite as significant with a mean of 2.6. Other least significant reasons were involvement in the party as a qualification ( $\bar{x} = 2.6$ ), the linkage of the legislators' decision with an issue ( $\bar{x} = 2.4$ ), party leadership recruitment ( $\bar{x} = 2.3$ ), and community organization encouragement ( $\bar{x} = 2.3$ ). These reasons were of some significance, but other factors played a more crucial part in the highly interrelated motivations that accounted for their candidacy, a conclusion that appears to be justified by the correlation matrix (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12. Correlation matrix for the recruitment variables

|           |  | RUNOFF<br>1 | RUNOFF<br>2 | RUNOFF<br>3 |
|-----------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| RUNOFF 1  | Encouraged by community organizations  | 1.00        | .21*        | .06         |
| RUNOFF 2  | Approached by party leadership         | .21*        | 1.00        | .25*        |
| RUNOFF 3  | Involvement in the political party     | .06         | .25*        | 1.00        |
| RUNOFF 4  | Involvement in community organizations | .38*        | .08         | .25*        |
| RUNOFF 5  | Encouraged by husband                  | .17*        | .14         | .17*        |
| RUNOFF 6  | Feelings of competence                 | .09         | -.02        | .16*        |
| RUNOFF 7  | Linkage of decision to an issue        | .11         | -.08        | -.09        |
| RUNOFF 8  | A desire to continue in public service | .19*        | -.01        | .11         |
| RUNOFF 9  | Need for women to represent women      | .23*        | -.00        | .03         |
| RUNOFF 10 | Education training as a qualification  | .05         | -.17*       | -.04        |

<sup>a</sup>Only married women were included.

\*Significant at the .001 level (2-tailed test).

| RUNOFF<br>4 | RUNOFF<br>5 <sup>a</sup> | RUNOFF<br>6 | RUNOFF<br>7 | RUNOFF<br>8 | RUNOFF<br>9 | RUNOFF<br>10 | Number |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| .38*        | .17*                     | .09         | .11         | .19*        | .23*        | .05          | 419    |
| .08         | .14                      | -.02        | -.08        | -.01        | -.00        | -.17*        | 424    |
| .25*        | .17*                     | .16*        | -.09        | .11         | .03         | -.04         | 415    |
| 1.00        | .28*                     | .29*        | .04         | .42*        | .22*        | .14          | 421    |
| .28*        | 1.00                     | .18*        | .00         | .13         | .04         | .05          | 366    |
| .29*        | .18*                     | 1.00        | .22*        | .32*        | .13         | .25*         | 425    |
| .04         | .00                      | .22*        | 1.00        | .12         | .22*        | .20*         | 423    |
| .42*        | .13                      | .32*        | .12         | 1.00        | .22*        | .19*         | 423    |
| .22*        | .04                      | .13         | .22*        | .22*        | 1.00        | .19*         | 427    |
| .14         | .05                      | .25*        | .20*        | .19*        | .19*        | 1.00         | 424    |



In addition to the ten statements, an open-ended question requested the legislators to list any other most significant reasons for their decision to run. Two hundred and ten responded with additional comments that could be categorized as self-assessment (36 percent), recognition of a political opportunity (15 percent), a generalized issue like more responsible government (11 percent), an assessment of their opponent (10 percent), and encouragement by friends, influential citizens, or members of their family (9 percent). The other reasons were so diverse they could not be put into categories. The overriding impression obtained from an evaluation of the 210 volunteered statements was that these women had a strong sense of confidence and self-worth. Several of them, for example, gave these brief explanations:

"I knew I could win."

"I observed that my predecessor was not an active-type legislator."

"The others were clods."

"Incumbent was bad and beatable."

"A strong desire to win."

"As a lobbyist I felt I could do better than most legislators."

The legislators also were asked to list the issue that was linked with their decision to campaign, and 174 responded to this request. The four top issues propelling women into their participant roles were education and school finance (20 percent), environmental concerns (13 percent), a variety of women's rights issues (11 percent), and more ethical and responsible government (10 percent). The remaining 46 percent of the issue responses could not be classified because of their diversity.

Community organization encouragement      The solons who were encouraged by organizations were asked to check the types of groups giving them support. The most important types of organizations that backed their candidacy were in order of importance, nonpartisan civic groups, school and school-related groups, professional or occupationally-related groups, church-related groups, and women's service clubs. Providing the least assistance were men's service clubs, farm organizations, labor unions, and business organizations (Table 4.13).

Community organization involvement

Women's political organizations outside the political parties      If participation in community organizations was one of the most important reasons why women became candidates, it would be logical for many of them to have taken an active part in organizations like the League of Women Voters (LWV), a nonpartisan political organization concerned with local, state, and national issues. Although the League does not oppose or support candidates, it is proud of its historic role since suffrage days of training women to assume an active part in public affairs. Two organizations that also can be classified as political organizations are identified with the women's movement. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was organized in 1966 as an interest group to press for changes in the status of women, particularly on the national level (Freeman, 1975a, pp. 54-56). Since its founding, however, NOW has spawned many local units. The National Women's Political Caucus is the youngest of the three groups and was organized in 1971 for specific political purposes, one of which was to "Raise women's issues in every election and to publicize the

Table 4.13. Group support of legislators' candidacy by percentages and numbers

| Groups   | Support |        |
|--|---------|--------|
|  | Percent | Number |
| Nonpartisan groups (e.g., environmental groups, better government organizations) | 69      | 207    |
| School and school-related groups (e.g., PTA, education associations)             | 55      | 165    |
| Professional or occupationally-related groups                                    | 42      | 126    |
| Feminist groups (e.g., NOW, Women's Political Caucus)                            | 37      | 112    |
| Church-related groups  | 34      | 102    |
| Women's service clubs (e.g., Federated Women's Clubs, Soroptomists)              | 32      | 98     |
| Labor unions   | 25      | 75     |
| Business organizations   | 22      | 66     |
| Farm organizations   | 14      | 43     |
| Men's service clubs (e.g., Rotary, Lions)  | 12      | 36     |

records on such issues of all male and female candidates, so that they shall be made to rise or fall on their position and action for human equality" (Statement of Purpose in Papachristou, 1976, p. 245). The Caucus frequently is described as the political arm of the women's movement. Organizations whose purposes are not directed specifically toward political action also have taken strong positions on women's rights issues, despite their broader scope. These groups turned to these issues with "new interest and enthusiasm" in the early 1970s and included the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW), the American Association of University Women (AAUW), the Young Women's

Christian Association (YWCA) and the National Council of Negro Women (p. 222).

Because there is no sharp delineation of what is a woman's political organization, and there are many variations of strength and effectiveness throughout the 50 states, the legislators were asked a series of three questions:

Are you active in women's political organizations outside the organizations in your party (i.e., League of Women Voters, Women's Political Caucus)? (1) yes (2) no (3) no such organizations in my district

If yes, what organizations are these?

Did participation in these organizations help you to develop the skills and expertise which were important to you as a campaigner and/or as a legislator? (1) very helpful (2) helpful (3) some help (4) no help (5) don't know

Approximately 57 percent (239) of the respondents belonged to what they perceived to be a women's political organization, 37 percent (153) did not belong, while six percent (24) indicated there were no such organizations in their districts. It was expected that the League of Women Voters, an organization founded in 1919, would have the largest percentage of membership. Of those who listed the organizations to which they belonged, 73 percent (174) had been active in the League. Unexpected finding was the relative strength in membership of the Women's Political Caucus. Fifty-seven percent (129) had been active in the Caucus. NOW was listed by 13 percent; AAUW by 10 percent; and BPW by 12 percent. Within the states there also were coalitions of organizations, and five percent mentioned their membership in a pro-Equal Rights Amend-

ment organization. Nineteen percent listed organizations that were too infrequent to be coded.

Most of the members felt these groups had been helpful to some degree in developing their political leadership potential; the responses were distributed among very helpful (30 percent), helpful (18 percent), and some help (23 percent). Twenty-five percent believed their participation experience had been of no help, and three percent didn't know. Several legislators singled out the LWV as particularly important in their political education. One solon from a western state said, "In 1976 we Democrats had four women on the ticket for 5 seats. We won 2 of the seats. All four women are members of the League of Women Voters--a good training ground."

Community organizations A list of ten types of community organizations also was provided, and the respondents were requested to check the ones in which they were or had been active. The results of this portion of the questionnaire are provided in Table 4.14.

Only seven percent of the respondents did not answer this questionnaire item or did not participate in at least one of the ten community organizations. Most of them had been involved in youth-school service activities, an expected response for women with children. Another type of involvement associated with personal and family characteristics was membership in occupationally-related groups. Because a substantial percentage classified themselves as women employed outside the home, membership in business and professional organizations was consistent with their occupational characteristics.

Table 4.14. Respondents' membership in community organizations

| Community organizations                                       | Member  |        | Number |
|---|---------|--------|--------|
|   | Percent | Number |        |
| Youth-school service (e.g., PTA, Girl Scouts)                 | 61      | 248    | 406    |
| Professional and business                                     | 58      | 237    | 406    |
| General service (e.g., Federated Women's Clubs, Soroptomists) | 48      | 194    | 406    |
| Church-related  | 48      | 195    | 406    |
| School (e.g., AAUW, alumnae associations)                     | 43      | 176    | 406    |
| Special service (e.g., Cancer Society, Red Cross)             | 42      | 172    | 406    |
| Cultural-aesthetic (e.g., art, historical associations)       | 35      | 143    | 406    |
| Fraternal (e.g., social sororities, OES)                      | 27      | 110    | 406    |
| Farm  | 13      | 52     | 406    |
| Labor unions  | 6       | 25     | 406    |

The women believed their community organization experiences had helped them develop the skills and expertise which were important to them as campaigners and legislators. The responses were fairly evenly distributed between very helpful (28 percent), helpful (30 percent), and some help (32 percent). One area legislator observed, "My participation in organizations did help me by giving me experience in public speaking, organizing and coordinating my work. I gained self-confidence and was exposed to issues, making me aware of public opinion."

### Issues and attitudes

Fiedler has argued that a feminist consciousness clearly separates women at the political elite level from those who are citizen participants. She has defined a feminist consciousness as a belief that women are the natural equals of men in professional/political life and that family roles do not conflict with full time political roles (1975, pp. 11-12). Her conclusion was a result of comparing responses to similar questions in the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies 1972 Delegate Study (an elite sample) with the 1972 Virginia Slims Poll (a citizen sample). In contrast to women citizens, the female national convention delegates rejected the notion of inherent female inferiority and role incompatibility. At the mass behavioral level, a study of political participants, voters, and nonvoters has supported Fiedler's contentions: "Highly participant women tend to favor equal roles for women in society. This is only marginally true for women voters and reverses the relationship found among nonparticipant women" (Hansen et al., 1976, p. 589). According to these researchers, as women's participation increased, their support for the feminist positions on role equality, employment, and abortion rose. Both studies are consistent with the findings on women legislators in 1975-76.

Women's role scale For women who have gained entry to the traditionally male domain of the state legislatures, support of equal roles for both sexes in business, industry, and government was an expected response. The respondents were asked to place themselves on a scale from 1 (Women and men should have equal roles.) to 7 (Women's place is in the home.).

Sixty-nine percent (278) felt women and men should have equal roles, one percent (4) believed women's place is in the home, and the remaining 30 percent (119) made responses that fell between the two extremes (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15. Summary of respondents' self-rating on the women's role scale<sup>a</sup>

| Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| 1. Women and men should have an equal role.  | 69      | 278    |
| 2.   | 11      | 43     |
| 3.   | 5       | 20     |
| 4.   | 11      | 44     |
| 5.   | 2       | 9      |
| 6.   | 1       | 3      |
| 7. Women's place is in the home.   | 1       | 4      |
| Total  | 100     | 401    |

<sup>a</sup>The questionnaire item with the women's role scale is provided in the Appendix, p. 179.

Why women do not have the top jobs      The responses to role equality not only corresponded with Fiedler's conclusions, the legislators also rejected the innate differences between the sexes explanation as a cause of women's job status. Fifty-four of the respondents, however, refused to select one of the two statements in the following questionnaire item:



Which of these two statements do you agree with most? (1) Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women. (2) Men have more of the top jobs because they were born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.

Eighty-nine percent (320) agreed with the first statement; 11 percent (38), with the second one.

Cooperation versus individual effort In addition, by substantial numbers, the legislators supported collective efforts for overcoming barriers to female progress. The finding is based on responses to this query:

Which of these two statements do you agree with most? (1) It is not enough for a woman to be successful; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women. (2) Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual careers in as feminine a way as possible.

Eighty-one percent (307) subscribed to the need for an organized effort, while 19 percent (72) supported the pursuit of careers on an individual basis with the emphasis on femininity. (Twenty-nine respondents could not be included because they refused to make a choice and preferred to comment on the degree to which one or neither expressed their real attitude.)

In general, the attitudes about equal roles, employment, and the need for an organized effort to achieve equality coincided with the women's movement approach. The movement developed because the feminists believed that individual efforts were like band-aids applied to a patient in need of surgery. What was needed was an organized effort to remove the barriers to equality, or, in women's movement parlance, to eliminate institutional sexism. As McWilliams has noted, the feminists insisted ". . . on defining the difficulties of women as a social problem rather

than as individual challenges and 'hang ups' . . ." (in Jaquette, 1974, p. 159).

The effect of the women's movement It could be argued that these general attitudes are part of the civil libertarian stance of political elites rather than a direct effect of the women's movement. Therefore, a question on its impact was formulated. For 81 percent (344) of the respondents, the movement had been an influence on their attitudes toward women's status, 17 percent (73) felt the movement had not affected them, while two percent (7) didn't know what the effect had been (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16. Respondents' rating of the degree of effect of the women's movement on issues related to improving the status of women

| Would you say that the women's movement has affected your attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Substantial   | 38      | 161    |
| Some effect   | 43      | 183    |
| No effect   | 17      | 73     |
| Don't know  | 2       | 7      |
| Total   | 100     | 424    |

General attitudes about the women's movement If the movement had an effect on the attitudes toward the issues of women's status for more than three-fourths of those who responded to the question, how did the legislators respond to the movement itself? A large percentage could be classified as supporters, and this finding is shown in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17. Respondents' attitude rating concerning the women's movement

| In general, what is your attitude about the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Strongly in favor   | 49      | 206    |
| Somewhat in favor   | 21      | 89     |
| Mixed feelings  | 21      | 89     |
| Somewhat opposed  | 5       | 20     |
| Strongly opposed  | 3       | 14     |
| Not concerned   | 1       | 5      |
| Total   | 100     | 423    |

This support was further substantiated by the legislators' opinions on the crucial issue areas of abortion, day or child care, the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment, and higher education. Each of these issues will be examined separately along with the legislators' responses.

Abortion Although feminists have differed on the political salience of the abortion issue, all of them believe "that it is a woman's basic and inalienable right to limit her reproduction" (Hole and Levine, 1971, p. 302). The issue of reproductive freedom was not settled by the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decisions (Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton). At that time the court upheld the constitutional right of women to terminate an unwanted pregnancy during the first trimester by a licensed physician (Davidson, Ginsburg, and Kay, 1974, p. 360). Despite the prevailing public opinion favorable to abortion under various conditions reported by the Gallup and the Survey Research Center surveys (see Bozeman et al. in

Githens and Prestage, 1977, pp. 48-50), nine state legislatures have petitioned Congress to call a constitutional convention for considering an amendment to abrogate the 1973 decision. In 12 states, the resolutions are pending, and in other states, legislators have promised they will introduce the petition proposal (Leitzer, 1977, p. 5). One reviewer of the controversy has called abortion a hotter issue in some states than the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (Gratz, 1977, p. 55).

A clear majority of the legislators (290 or 69 percent) favored liberal abortion laws. An additional 3 percent believed abortion should not be a matter for state or federal legislation. In Table 4.18 the distribution of responses to the abortion item is provided.

The proposed national Equal Rights Amendment Since 1970, feminist organizations have lobbied for the adoption of an equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The proposal appears to be a straightforward statement of the American creed of egalitarianism: 'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex' (Davidson et al., 1974, p. 1). Two additional sections are standard implementation and enforcement provisions found in other constitutional amendments. The amendment has had a long legislative history; it had been introduced in every session of Congress since 1923, at the instigation of the National Woman's Party (NWP). A vestige of the successful woman suffrage campaign, the NWP and its leadership have contended that gender-based laws, designed to protect women, have the effect of discriminating against them. The ERA proposal would remove these inequities and guarantee women equal legal status. Until 1970, however,

Table 4.18. Respondents' opinions concerning the abortion issue

| There has been discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of these opinions best describes your own view? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Any woman who wants an abortion should be able to have one.   | 32      | 134    |
| If a woman and her physician agree, she should be able to have a legal abortion.  | 37      | 156    |
| Abortions should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman are in danger.                                   | 17      | 72     |
| Abortions should never be permitted.  | 3       | 13     |
| Other (specify)   |         |        |
| Impossible to categorize  | 6       | 22     |
| Not a legislative matter  | 3       | 11     |
| Support of abortion under special circumstances   | 2       | 10     |
| Total   | 100     | 418    |

there was little support for the amendment outside the small band of former militant suffragists and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 6).

At the same time the feminists were directing their attention to the measure, the strongest source of opposition to ERA, organized labor, began to reverse its position (Freeman, 1975b, p. 15). By March, 1972, the amendment had congressional approval and was referred to the states for ratification. ERA appeared to be a political "shoo-in"; by the fall of 1973, 30 states had ratified it, and only eight states were needed to make the proposal the 27th amendment to the federal Constitution (League of Women Voters, 1973, p. 2). Since 1973, ratification efforts have been

successful in only five states, due in large part to an organized resistance. This opposition, led by Phyllis Schlafly and her STOPERA followers, has generated the same type of pressure on the state legislative level that the proponents had found so successful with Congress. The anti-ERA movement has been especially effective in the southern and rural states (Freeman, 1975a, p. 221).

The arguments of both sides have not touched most American women. In 1975, the Market Opinion Research Poll conducted a national survey of women and found only 53 percent knew about the amendment, and 74 percent of this group did not have an opinion on the issue (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 108).

By contrast, women at the state legislative level of government had definite opinions. Only nine of the 437 legislators did not respond to the question on the ERA proposal, two responses could not be categorized, and nine said they were undecided. A majority of 84 percent (357) favored ratification (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19. Respondents' opinions concerning the abortion issue

| How do you feel about the proposed National Equal Rights Amendment? Are you very much in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed, very much opposed, or what? | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| Very much in favor   | 72      | 305    |
| Somewhat in favor  | 12      | 52     |
| Undecided  | 2       | 9      |
| Somewhat opposed   | 7       | 29     |
| Very much opposed  | 7       | 31     |
| Total  | 100     | 426    |

Child or day care According to feminists, one of the major barriers preventing women from attaining equality is the lack of adequately funded child or day care facilities; they contend that a national program for providing quality care is required to meet the needs of both children and parents, regardless of their economic status. This point of view is expressed most cogently in a NOW press release:

'A basic cause of the second-class status of women in America and the world for thousands of years has been the notion that . . . because women bear children, it is primarily their responsibility to care for them and even that this ought to be the chief function of a mother's existence. Women will never have full opportunities to participate in our economic, political, cultural life as long as they bear this responsibility almost entirely alone and isolated from the larger world . . .' (quoted by Hole and Levine, 1971, p. 305).

Other supporters of national funding of child-day care facilities may or may not subscribe to the women's movement critique, but many professional and lay groups have lobbied vigorously for a larger federal commitment in this area (League of Women Voters Education Fund Publication, 1973, p. 9). In spite of the broad-based support, several major bills passed by Congress have been vetoed, and there have not been enough votes in Congress to override the vetoes (Des Moines Register, May 6, 1976, p. 9A).

The opponents to the 1976 child care bill deluged Congressional offices with mimeographed leaflets containing the same arguments President Nixon used in his 1971 veto message: Child care is a family responsibility, and shifting it to child care centers would weaken the family as 'the keystone of our civilization' (Des Moines Sunday Register, January 4, 1976, p. 3E). The proponents have denied the charge and asserted the

opposite: "All proposals for a national comprehensive day care program have had as a major goal strengthening families" (LWV, p. 9). Furthermore, the advocates have pointed to the realities of family life--one out of three mothers with children under six is in the employed work force, and many children are left to fend for themselves because there are no relatives or child care centers available (LWV, p. 5).

Harris has forecasted a continued struggle at all levels of government for increased budget allocations for child-day care facilities, led by a coalition of women's movement activists who are young, black, single, separated or divorced, and who reside in metropolitan communities (1973, p. 97). Unlike the ERA issue, there also is widespread support among women who favor government assistance for such programs on an ability-to-pay basis (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 107).

Are women legislators the natural allies of the proponents of a national program for child-day care? Support on this issue was not as strong among them as it was for the abortion and Equal Rights Amendment issues, but a majority, or 62 percent (262), was either very much or somewhat in favor of the proposal (Table 4.20).

Higher education Americans are strong idealists. They believe in the principle of equality of opportunity and in a system of justice and freedom. The expansion of education at all levels can be explained in part by the desire of Americans to implement their ideology. For many people, schools are viewed as a chief method of developing a society based on the American creed. The tensions that have developed relate not only



Table 4.20. Respondents' opinions concerning the day or child care issue

| How do you feel about the proposal to establish a national day care of child care program for working parents? Are you very much in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed or what? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Very much in favor  | 34      | 144    |
| Somewhat in favor   | 28      | 118    |
| Undecided   | 16      | 66     |
| Somewhat opposed  | 12      | 50     |
| Very much opposed   | 10      | 44     |
| Total   | 100     | 422    |

to the difference between the ideal and the reality but to the question of the meaning of educational opportunity. As Tesconi and Hurwitz point out in their book, Education for Whom?, "What do we imply when we assert that the opportunity of student John Doe to get an education is equal to that of student Jane Smith?" (1974, pp. 15-16).

In the late 1960s, feminists began to look at this question as it applied to the movement's main goal--the elimination of the sex role system, a system which prescribes behavior patterns and assigns roles solely on the basis of sex. Supporters of this point of view concluded that what Horace Mann termed, 'the great balance wheel of the social machinery' was out of kilter (quoted by Tesconi and Hurwitz, p. 15). Education had not altered women's roles or increased their options. Furthermore, it had not made any substantial impact on developing their consciousness as independent intellectuals. It had served to perpetuate a

system in which women were relegated to service roles, helpmates, mothers, and community volunteers. Such sex-role stereotyping, the feminists asserted, was a contradiction to the democratic principle of realizing the fullest potential of individuals in the society.

What justification did movement women have for making this frontal assault on the educational system? Women constituted over 40 percent of the full time work force, but despite their gradual entry into the labor market within the last thirty years, they worked in jobs which were classified primarily as female occupations. Congresswoman Martha Griffiths noted this fact in the hearings held by the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress on the economic problems of women:

The median school years completed is the same for the female force as for the male labor force. Yet with the same educational backgrounds as men, women have different jobs, usually with less responsibility and less pay. For example, among college graduates only 5 percent of all employed women are managers compared to 20 percent of all employed males. What is even more discouraging is that the percent of women in many occupations has barely changed in the last 20 years (1973, p. 2).

The increasing numbers of women in the work force were not reflected by increasing numbers of them in high ranking positions, but in such areas as clerical employment which had risen from 62 to 74 percent during the last twenty years (p. 2). (A popular poster among feminists is a picture of Golda Meir, captioned, "But can she type?")

In 1975 the Twentieth Century Fund published a comprehensive study of women and employment and made five generalizations about the 48 percent of women between the ages of 16 and 64 who are employed outside the home:

1. Working women earn, on the average, only 58 percent of what working men earn: Black women earn even less.

2. Women who want to work are much more likely than men to be unemployed.
3. Most women work in 'female occupations' (such as stenographer, teacher, waitress, household worker) which are often neither unionized nor protected by strong federal legislation.
4. Over a third of the families headed by women live in poverty, compared to only about 12 percent of all families.
5. Women's chances for top management jobs are slim, regardless of their abilities (Simmons et al., 1975, p. 3).

Such data are the basis for the allegation that education had played a major part in socializing women to accept feminine roles which carried with them little or no pecuniary rewards, lower status, and reduced aspirations.

In academia, the employment pattern for women also reflects the societal pattern. In a 1969 national survey of university and college faculty conducted by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in cooperation with the Office of Research of the American Council on Education, an important predictor of academic rank was sex: ". . . even after controlling for a large number of variables that account for rank differences among academic personnel, much of the differential could still be attributed solely to sex" (Astin and Bayer in Rossi and Calderwood, 1973, p. 339). Twenty-five percent of the male faculty members were full professors, but only nine percent of the female faculty held that rank; 35 percent of the women were instructors compared with 16 percent of the men who were in this rank. The salary differential between male and female faculty members was on the average, \$1,000, after controlling for other predictor variables (p. 353).

Women academicians initiated a study of their own situation; this study not only led to organization and the filing of complaints against universities and colleges for sex discrimination, it also led to questions about the effects of the educational process on women students. Why did women who enter college with higher achievement records set lower goals? Why were there fewer women than men in Ph.D. programs and in professional schools? If women and men were given the same education, why were their aspirations different? Many of those who raised these questions found part of their answer in the curriculum which they believed was male-biased; the achievements of women were rarely discussed in the classroom. The message in the textbooks was clear: ". . . men work, write, and make history, psychology, theology; women get married, have babies, and rear them" (Howe and Ahlum in Rossi and Calderwood, 1973, p. 401). Discrimination was inherent in the curriculum itself, or as one prominent academician summarized it, "Humanities courses have traditionally assumed that man (meaning male) is the measure of all things" (Trecker, 1971, p. 83).

In 1920 John Dewey had wondered why there were not more 'shrill and querulous women' who refused to accept the division of labor which was assigned to them because of their sex (quoted by Boydston, 1975, p. 448). By the late 1960s and early 1970s there were enough women in academia who were willing to institute curricular innovations which they considered necessary to change the second class status of college women and to revise the attitudes and understandings of college men. These changes are frequently classified under the rubric of women studies courses and programs.

Academic women were not alone in their efforts to shift the direction of higher education. By the late 1960s the student demand for "relevance"

had produced a measure of curricular change; courses on the Far East, Marxism, and black and ethnic studies had been legitimized within the college and university structure. Some institutions had established experimental colleges, and interdisciplinary approaches no longer were treated with academic disdain. These precedents and reforms helped to set the stage for women's studies (Howe and Ahlum in Rossi and Calderwood, 1973, pp. 396-398). Outside academia, strong support for this approach came from the women's movement. It is fair to conclude that the feminist movement preceded and directed the emergence of women's studies on many college campuses (Rosenfelt, 1973, p. ix).

The movement also had a profound impact on federal legislation for higher education. Prior to 1972 there were no federal laws which prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of sex in academia. The Equal Pay Act of 1963, the first law that dealt with sex, required that men and women receive equal pay for equal work under equal conditions; the law exempted administrative, professional, and executive positions from its provisions. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 included a prohibition against sex discrimination in private employment, employment agencies, and unions; but among those exempt from the provisions were teachers and administrative personnel in educational institutions (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973, p. 1). The issue of sex discrimination in education wasn't raised in the 1960s when Congress was considering educational measures, despite studies like the one conducted by the American Council of Education which revealed the paucity of women in the professoriate (Heath, 1974, pp. 58-67).

The breakthrough did not occur in Congress, but rather with the issuance of Executive Order 11375, signed by President Johnson on October 3, 1967 as an amendment to Executive Order 11246, an order issued in 1965 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin by federal contractors and subcontractors. The amendment added sex to the discriminatory bans and was the result of two years of intensive lobbying by women's groups. (See Hole and Levine, 1971, pp. 44-48 and pp. 316-322.)

In 1972 Congress began to pass laws giving academic women legal rights to equal employment opportunity and pay. Sandler has called what happened in the 92nd Congress "a genuine explosion concerning sex discrimination in education" (U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee Hearings, Part I, p. 122). In July, 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was amended to cover professional, executive, and administrative employees. The provisions in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 relating to sex discrimination in employment were extended to the academic community on March 24, 1972, and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission was given court enforcement powers (p. 122). Discrimination on the basis of sex was covered for students and employees of educational institutions in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. This law prohibited "sex discrimination in all federally assisted education programs . . ." (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972, Appendix, Tab G1). In a memorandum sent to all institutions of higher education participating in federal assistance programs, the HEW Office of Civil Rights indicated that all benefits and services must be extended to students without discriminating on the basis of sex. Certain types of institutions, such as private

undergraduate colleges, were exempt from the admissions provisions, and there were other exemptions for religious institutions and military schools.

By the end of the year, 1972, the official journal of the U.S. Office of Education reported that '. . . change in customary ways of doing things, change of revolutionary proportions, is now enveloping education at every level. At its core is the issue of women's rights--and more particularly, three piece of Federal Legislation that have made 1972 a climactic historic date in the drive by women for treatment in education equal to that afforded by men . . .' (quoted by Heath, 1974, p. 58).

At the same time legal barriers were being removed, the number of women enrolled in undergraduate and graduate programs and in professional schools increased dramatically. In 1970, female law students constituted 10.2 percent of the total enrollment; by 1975, they were 26.8 percent. During this five year period, the number of women in medical schools increased from 11.1 percent to 23.8 percent (Report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 49). The total number of women with four years of college or more increased by 5.5 percent between 1970 and 1975 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976, Series P-23, No. 58, p. 23).

The progress of women faculty members has not been so sanguine. The ratio of female to male faculty members has remained the same from 1974-1975, but there has been a decline in the number of women at the professor and associate professor levels. Salary increases have been less for women than for their male counterparts; the average salaries of women are lower than men at every academic rank (Report of the National Commission on the

Observance of International Women's Year, 1976, p. 54). The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year reported that federal funds have never been withdrawn from any college or university because of sex discrimination (p. 50). Strong anti-discrimination and affirmative action efforts appear to be more dependent on a favorable institutional climate than on federal legislation (Sugnet, 1974, p. 42).

Because state tax money supports a substantial part of the costs of higher education, this climate can be reinforced at the state legislative level. In 1975, postsecondary institutions spent 30.5 billion dollars, and the estimated monetary outlays for 1976 were 35 billion dollars. State governments assumed 37 percent of this amount, and they are the largest source of financial support (Change Panel on Academic Economics, 1976, p. 51). Therefore, colleges and universities cannot afford to ignore the opinions of state legislators about the degree to which they are meeting the needs of women students (47 percent of the total enrollment) and pursuing fair employment practices.

Women legislators are keenly interested in education and its financing. Not only did many of them decide to run because of their interest, they also discussed the issue of equal educational opportunities in their campaigns. More than half the women who raised issues on the status of women discussed this issue (53 percent). However, only 25 percent responded affirmatively to this question: Do you think that higher education is meeting the needs of women? Forty-six percent believed that women's needs were being met partially, and 19 percent gave a negative answer. These findings suggest that the majority had some misgivings



about the performance of colleges and universities in this area (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21. Respondents' opinions concerning higher education and women's needs

| Do you think that higher education is meeting the needs of women? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Yes   | 25      | 105    |
| No  | 19      | 77     |
| Partly  | 46      | 191    |
| Don't know  | 10      | 43     |
| Total   | 100     | 416    |

A number of legislators also explained their responses to the question. Most frequently, they censured higher education for channeling women into sex-stereotypical jobs or traditional roles. One legislator expressed this predominant criticism: "I believe that most colleges are still tracking women into higher echelons of 'women's work' and not helping women entering those professions dominated by men and treating women as 'space takers' in pre-med and engineering classes." Several pointed to their own educational experiences. One observed, "My education taught me in a very subtle way that women don't apply to law school. At 33 I was finally accepted at a law school. I resent the time I wasted, but my anger helps me fight for my own needs." Another cited the difficulty she had combining homemaking with law school because only full-time students were admitted. Other kinds of criticisms included archaic attitudes of the faculty and administrators, inequities in financial

assistance, greater consideration to the problems of male students, language references, courses designed for men, the inadequate number of women in top administration, the decreasing number of female faculty members, and ignoring women's issues at the teaching training level.

There were some concrete recommendations for remedying these inadequacies: More women should be admitted to professional schools, greater resources should be provided for women re-entering college, courses should be initiated that would permit women to meet the challenge of executive and supervisory careers, women's need for role models should be recognized, opportunities for women in all careers should be emphasized, time schedules should be adjusted to fit those of women students who are mothers and homemakers. A few statements alluded to recent progress in higher education. Some legislators denied the existence of any discrimination; educational opportunities were available, but women had not taken advantage of them.

These comments are anecdotal, but they indicated that the legislators who made them are concerned about the importance of providing equal educational opportunities in postsecondary institutions. One fundamental fact of educational financing, according to the Change Panel on Academic Economics is the ". . . direct line of accountability between those who provide funds and how such funds are spent" (1976, p. 55). Although women still constitute a marginal number of members in most legislatures, they do have the power to ask questions during budget hearings and when appropriations bills are debated. In presenting its case for more state funding, representatives of higher educational institutions may be called upon

to demonstrate that student Jane Smith is receiving the same opportunities as student John Doe.

Raising issues on the status of women in campaigns Based on the survey data, a majority of the legislators have displayed a feminist orientation toward sex roles, strategy, perceptions about discrimination, and issues. This perspective, however, can be confined to personal feelings and not translated into political behavior. As Kirkpatrick and Mezey have shown, women political elites have beliefs paralleling those of the women's movement, but they are hesitant about identifying themselves with women's issues in their campaigns or in the state legislatures (Kirkpatrick, 1974, p. 99 and pp. 163-167). Mezey found only 15 percent (7) of the female candidates who ran for state and county offices in Hawaii in 1974 discussed women's rights issues in their campaigns (1976, p. 11). Despite their feminist posture, they did not ". . . see their offices as stepping stones for the promotion of women's issues or themselves as principle (sic) advocates of policies that benefit women" (p. 13).

To assess whether or not the legislators' attitudes were consistent with actions, several questions were asked about campaign behavior:

In your campaign(s), have you ever raised any issues related to the status of women? (1) yes (2) no

If you answered no . . . , which statement best explains why you did not raise such issues? (1) Issues related to the status of women were not a major concern for my constituents. (2) I felt there were other more important issues that needed to be raised in my campaign. (3) Present state laws adequately protect women. (4) I did not want to be labeled "the women's liberation" candidate. (5) Other (specify)

If you answered yes . . ., check each issue you discussed in your campaign. Child Care; Employment (e.g., affirmative action, equal pay); Equality of Educational Opportunity; The National Equal Rights Amendment; Rape; Legal Rights of the Homemaker; Credit; Insurance; Inheritance; Abortion; More Women in Government; Others (Specify)

As displayed in Table 4.22, a majority did raise women's rights issues in their campaigns. (Six respondents qualified their answers and therefore were not included in the tabulations.)

Table 4.22. Legislators' responses to campaign involvement with issues related to the status of women

| In your campaign(s), have you ever raised any issues related to the status of women? | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| Yes  | 56      | 237    |
| No   | 44      | 190    |
| Total  | 100     | 427    |

The two top campaign issues were the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment and employment; nearly three-fourths of those who raised issues said they discussed these topics in their campaigns. A majority also discussed child care, abortion, more women in government, credit, and equality of educational opportunity. Less than a majority campaigned on the issues of rape, inheritance, the legal rights of homemakers, and insurance. Sixteen percent specified other issues not listed on the survey form; these included family and welfare, employment-related, maternity, prostitution, divorce, elderly women, and nonsexist educational materials (Table 4.23).

Table 4.23. Involvement of the legislators with selected issues in their campaigns

| If you answered yes to question 20, check each issue you discussed in your campaign. | Percent | Number |
|--|---------|--------|
| The National Equal Rights Amendment  | 73      | 186    |
| Employment (e.g., affirmative action, equal pay)                                     | 67      | 173    |
| Child care   | 58      | 149    |
| Abortion   | 54      | 138    |
| More women in government   | 54      | 138    |
| Credit   | 53      | 136    |
| Equality of educational opportunity  | 53      | 136    |
| Rape   | 47      | 121    |
| Inheritance  | 40      | 103    |
| Legal rights of the homemaker  | 36      | 92     |
| Insurance  | 34      | 88     |
| Others   | 16      | 42     |

Why didn't 44 percent of the lawmakers raise status of women issues? Not quite half felt these issues were not of major constituent concern (27 percent) or there were other more important issues that needed to be raised (22 percent). Twelve percent did not want to be labeled "the women's liberation" candidate, an unexpectedly low response category. Only six percent did not deal with women's status issues because they believed present state laws adequately protected women, and 21 percent responded that their reasons were a combination of more than one of the explanations listed in the questionnaire item. Another 12 percent made specific comments which did not fit the categories (Table 4.24)

Table 4.24. Explanations of legislators for not raising status of women issues in their campaigns

| If you answered no to question 20, which statement best explains why you did not raise such issues? | Percent | Number |
|---|---------|--------|
| Issues related to the status of women were not a major concern for my constituents.                 | 27      | 57     |
| I felt there were other more important issues that needed to be raised in my campaign.              | 22      | 46     |
| Present state laws adequately protect women.  | 6       | 12     |
| I did not want to be labeled "the women's liberation" candidate.                                    | 12      | 26     |
| A combination of more than one of these explanations  | 21      | 43     |
| Other comments that did not fit any category  | 12      | 25     |
| Total   | 100     | 209    |

When the legislators were asked to explain their responses to the question on campaign issues, some felt it was the responsibility of their constituents to raise the issues. Several said they preferred to discuss these matters with women's groups like teachers' organizations, the League of Women Voters, and the American Association of University Women. Others believed it was a unique opportunity to educate the electorate on the need for change, regardless of the risks to their candidacy:

I raised these issues because I want to educate women or at least to get them thinking about their lack of power in politics.

In my community awareness is lacking. People need to hear and hear again. The status of women needs change.

I believe there is a vast opportunity at this time to make people aware of women as equal human beings.

Several suggested they had a special responsibility to raise the issues because they were women:

I am a woman. I want to know it's real when I say "liberty and justice for all!"

As a woman one has to raise women's issues. My district is conservative, so it must be done with tact.

Some preferred to wait until they could champion women's causes in the state house. In nearly every state at least one legislator affirmed her role as a chief sponsor of bills to end sex discrimination.

Those who felt handicapped by their support of women's rights issues discussed their opposition as coming from religious or right wing groups:

The L.D.S. (Mormon) Church is strong in this district. I attribute my loss in the November election . . . to an organized effort against me by the extreme right wing element of the L.D.S. Church for my stand on women's issues (ERA, abortion, day care, etc.) even though I did not actively campaign on said issues.

As stated earlier, I did not raise the issues, but my opposition did; therefore, I did speak to ERA and abortion. It did affect my campaign since I do have German Catholics in my area and many do take a stand against both issues.

I was prime sponsor of the abortion reform bill which was referred to the voters and approved by them in 1970. My opponent in the Senate race was Catholic and made an issue out of this but he was defeated in 1974.

I did have an avowed John Birch woman who ran on an ERA rescind as part of her platform. (I) Beat her by only 123 votes. Scary!

When the characteristics of the district were discussed as reasons for not raising issues, the most frequently mentioned were an elderly constituency, conservative attitudes, and an agricultural economy. In a farm-oriented district, a legislator observed, women's issues were "irrelevant."

Many raised the issues of women's rights as part of a broad concern for human rights. Thus, these campaigners successfully dodged the epithet, "woman's libber." A legislator from the deep South noted the slow progress women had made in her state and said, "I appealed consistently for simple justice." A midwesterner stated, "Generally it (women's issues) is only one string to my bow. I raise equal rights in the context of human rights and services, major interests to me."

Some legislators specifically avoided women's issues, and they attacked the women's movement or contended their sex had no effect on their candidacy:

I ran as a candidate and not as a woman.

Too much women's lib turns men and women off.

I feel that women's needs are adequately taken care of and women's lib is not helping women any.

These anti-feminists were in the minority, however. Contrary to previous studies, not only did the legislators have what Fiedler has termed a feminist consciousness, a majority expressed their beliefs by raising issues on the status of women in their campaigns.

Why more women are running and being elected to state legislative office

The legislators were asked to rank order the following explanations of why more women are running and being elected to state legislative office:

The electorate is developing a greater degree of confidence in the ability of women to assume political roles.

Women legislators are encouraging other women to run for these offices.



More women are working in jobs outside the home; changes in traditional role definitions have had a spillover effect in the political arena.

Women's educational attainment has been increasing and with it their feelings of competence for state legislative office.

The women's movement has supported and stimulated women in their aspirations for state legislative office.

Political parties have intensified their efforts to recruit women candidates.

Table 4.25 provides a breakdown for the responses by percentages and total numbers responding to each statement.

The effect of public opinion      Sixty-seven percent of those who responded to the statement on changing public opinion ranked growing confidence by the electorate in the ability of women to assume political roles as the first or second most important explanation for the larger number of women running and being elected in the 1970s. This evaluation corresponded with several public opinion polls documenting the greater receptivity of the voters to women candidates. In 1945, 26 percent of the men and 38 percent of the women queried by Gallup pollsters agreed that women should have important jobs in government (Gallup Poll Survey #360-K, cited by Bozeman et al., in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 54). By 1970, 83 percent of the men and 84 percent of the women said they would vote for a qualified female Congressional candidate (Gallup Poll Survey #810-K, cited by Bozeman et al., in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 54). Using data from the Gallup Poll and the National Opinion Research Center for the period from 1958-1972, Feree also found women and men were becoming far more amenable to women in politics. In 1958, 53 percent of the women and 55 percent of the men expressed a willingness to vote for a well-qualified

Table 4.25. Summary of respondents' rank ordering of statements concerning the increased number of women running and being elected to state legislative office, by adjusted percentages

In the 1970s the number of women running and being elected to state legislative office has been rising at a rapid rate. How would you rank these six statements as explanations for this change? Rank them First through Sixth most important.

| Statements  | Most important |     |     |     |     |     | Number | Mean |
|---|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|------|
|   | 1st            | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th |        |      |
| 1. The electorate is developing a greater degree of confidence in the ability of women to assume political roles                                | 44             | 23  | 14  | 10  | 4   | 5   | 279    | 2.2  |
| 2. Women legislators are encouraging other women to run for these offices.  | 5              | 15  | 14  | 21  | 25  | 19  | 265    | 4.0  |
| 3. More women are working in jobs outside the home; changes in traditional role definitions have had a spillover effect in the political arena. | 30             | 27  | 18  | 12  | 10  | 2   | 271    | 2.5  |
| 4. Women's educational attainment has been increasing and with it their feelings of competence for state legislative office.                    | 7              | 13  | 27  | 17  | 22  | 15  | 259    | 3.8  |
| 5. The women's movement has supported and stimulated women in their aspirations for state legislative office.                                   | 14             | 17  | 17  | 22  | 19  | 10  | 264    | 3.5  |
| 6. Political parties have intensified their efforts to recruit women candidates.  | 9              | 7   | 9   | 16  | 17  | 42  | 266    | 4.5  |

Table 4.25. (Continued)

In the 1970s the number of women running and being elected to state legislative office has been rising at a rapid rate. How would you rank these six statements as explanations for this change? Rank them First through Sixth most important.

| Statements   | Most important |     |     |     |     |     | Number | Mean |
|--|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|------|
|  | 1st            | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th |        |      |
| Are there any other explanations for this change?              |                |     |     |     |     |     |        |      |
| Women have more time and/or are not the chief breadwinners.    |                |     |     |     |     |     | 17     |      |
| Women have become more aware of their stake in politics.       |                |     |     |     |     |     | 13     |      |
| Women are superior to men in politics.                         |                |     |     |     |     |     | 14     |      |
| There are more women in politics, creating a snowball effect.  |                |     |     |     |     |     | 18     |      |
| Women are more self-confident about their political abilities. |                |     |     |     |     |     | 14     |      |
| Political changes have eased their entry.                      |                |     |     |     |     |     | 7      |      |
| Other kinds of explanations                                    |                |     |     |     |     |     | 39     |      |

woman from their party for President (1974, p. 393). By 1972, 69 percent of both sexes were inclined to vote for a female presidential candidate. For men, the attitude change developed gradually over this time frame. But for women, 1972 signaled an abrupt turn, particularly among the younger and more well-educated. Feree has attributed the switch in female opinion to the impact of the women's movement as the factor most responsible for the striking change (p. 398).

However, the legislators in their comments did not mention the women's movement as a direct cause of the electorate's greater support for women candidates. Instead, they reported that voters were alienated and distrustful of government and male politicians, and they are turning to women who have not been tainted by the adverse influence of power or charges of corruption. As one legislator described it, "People are beginning to trust women in politics more than men." Another said, "I believe that deterioration of the image of the male politician has given the greatest impetus to women candidates--corruption and sex scandals involving male politicians versus the fresh, clean honesty (so far) of women candidates."

Some of the statements assigning the increased support of female politicians to growing public confidence in them came from avowed anti-feminists. These legislators touted the superiority of women. Their ideas were reminiscent of the arguments used in the suffrage fight in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The suffragists argued that women should have the vote because they would reform government. The anti-suffragists also believed women had superior qualities, but their

virtues should be most useful within the domain of the family rather than in politics (Kraditor, 1971, pp. 12-57). Typical responses of the legislators who believed women were better than men were:

Women have greater integrity than men and can give more time to the legislative process.

I feel party loyalty is deteriorating. Women are, by and large, more open and forthright in their elected positions. Men long entrenched in the political system actually seem to wish the women weren't there.

Women are perhaps more seriously concerned than men about many things--clean politics, the future generations and their well-being, and trends in government.

Another main theme relating to a changing public attitude was the observation among legislators about increased support of their candidacy from women voters:

While campaigning door-to-door I had recurrent unsolicited statements from women at home that indicated that if more women were involved in government, there could be more efficiency, fewer wars, less corruption, and more empathy with the people. In other words, if you can bear this, the hand that rocks the cradle might well steer the ship of state.

I've found my greatest financial support from politically aware women, women who realized how difficult it is to tap the usual fund sources. Sisterhood is great!

Changes in role definitions      Fifty-seven percent ranked the spillover effect of women working outside the home as the first or second most important explanation for the increasing number of female legislators and candidates. This attitude about the impact of paid employment is consistent with the Jennings and Thomas prediction; change in women's participation at the elite level would be preceded by society's acceptance of women's equal role in the market place (1968, p. 492). Theoretically, this transformation already has occurred; only 30 percent of the males and

31 percent of the females in the Survey Research Center national survey of 1972 placed the position of women closer to the "Women's place is in the home" than to "Women and men should have an equal role" on a seven point scale (Bozeman et al., in Githens and Prestage, 1977, p. 47).

Some of the respondents discussed the progress of women politicians in light of the traditional or changing attitudes about roles:

In \_\_\_\_\_ (a far western state), women do not get elected in large numbers because of the built-in cultural bias against women moving outside the domain of the home. It is so discouraging here; many of us wonder if change will occur in our lifetime--but we continue to fight.

Women themselves are the greatest obstacle to women in government because the thought of losing their traditional role-position threatens and frightens large numbers of women.

Women's concern for home and children will always make a smaller group in the "continuous work" field of women who can be tapped for higher positions.

It is now acceptable to work away from home in the legislature even with small children at home.

Women are going into politics and professions because attainment is now possible.

The women's movement effect      The effect of the women's movement proved to be the third most important explanation for the increasing number of women political aspirants. Thirty-one percent considered this factor to be either the first or second most powerful stimulus. This explanation generated many adverse comments, however. The complaints were directed toward the feminists' militancy, or as one legislator defined it, "women waving flags, demanding equal rights." Such approaches, the critics declared, have been counterproductive for women in politics and have

turned off a broad segment of the population or created a backlash. Many suggested the better method was the "soft sell":

Women serve the cause of women best if they allow their competence and concern for all human problems to speak for itself. Harping on the issue of women's rights often does the cause more harm than good.

I have carried many bills to correct discrimination but never have been "noisy" about it and have been successful.

In my experience, those who are pegged libbers get absolutely nowhere with their bills . . . .

Those who decried the movement's flamboyant methods had their own prescriptions for success. The qualities they stressed were hard work, competency, knowledge of the issues, running as a qualified person and not as a female, and an interest in all the constituents. One summary of this viewpoint was the following statement:

I think if a woman is a lady, capable, hard working, loves people, is honest, and is not afraid of anyone but God and still has a sense of humor, she can win. I did.

Inherent in this interpretation was that women would increase their numbers at the state legislative level when more women developed these winning characteristics. The paucity of women legislators could be explained by the failure of women as individuals to develop these capacities rather than by the restraints placed on women as a group.

A few legislators credited their election to direct support of feminist organizations, but many discussed the role of women in political life in the idiom of the women's movement:

Conscientious people are needed; and until 50 percent of legislators are women, men will be overrepresented.

Perhaps many women have felt the helplessness and powerlessness that I myself felt and saw what I could do to change things.

A growing awareness on the part of women that "the personal is the political" and that little will change unless women become a part of the total political process.

I ran when I thought I could win rather than express my philosophy through the support of a male candidate.

Women need to be represented in the political process.

Women need all the help they can get! One of my campaign pledges was to work actively for ERA in Illinois.

Women are underrepresented in the political process and discriminated against throughout our system.

The effects of women legislators' encouragement and formal educational attainment Both statements on the effects of formal educational attainment and the encouragement of women legislators were rated a first or second most important explanation for the rise of successful women candidates by 20 percent of the respondents to this portion of the questionnaire. Some remarked that there were more role models to emulate, an indirect encouragement to prospective female candidates. Furthermore, the highly visible women legislators had done an outstanding job and thus increased the credibility of women candidates as a whole. Few comments were made about the direct effects of women's increased educational attainment. One legislator quipped, "Over-educated women are offensive to some voters--especially 'under-educated' men!" Many alluded to women's growing sense of confidence, political interest, and awareness of their stake in political decision making. These attributes, however, were never related to education, or, for that matter, any other explanation.

The effect of the political parties' increased recruitment efforts The statement receiving the lowest rating by percentages was intensified recruitment efforts of the political parties. Only 16 percent felt this



explanation was of first or second importance. Furthermore, 42 percent ranked the statement the lowest in importance. These ratings do not point to overt discrimination against women by the political parties, but they do indicate that the legislators believed the parties have not made any greater efforts to find women nominees than they have in the past. To some extent, this opinion is further substantiation of the Jennings and Thomas observation about change occurring from outside the political party structure rather than from within it (1968, p. 492). Moreover, there were no supporting statements about the parties' recruitment efforts. In most cases, the comments could be described as caustic. The following statements are suggestive of the prevailing attitudes:

Women are rarely allowed to set policy or invited to discussions on policy, and this leaves you on the outside unless you're forceful.

Political parties do not encourage women to run.

Only when the party can't find a candidate.

Women are winning elections in so-called "safe seats" where the party can't find a man.

We (the women) sort of took them by surprise--the party leaders, I mean, and they aren't too happy about it because they don't control us.

In some areas political parties look for women, but not a majority as yet.

The major parties have been the last to recognize the potential of women as officeholders. In my part of the state they're still dragging their feet in grooming women for political office.

Women are fed up doing men's work in politics.

Summary There appeared to be no broad consensus among the legislators on why more women are aspiring and attaining state legislative office. Instead, the phenomenon could be explained by several key

factors--greater public acceptance of women elected officials, a redefinition of women's roles, and the stimulus of the women's movement. Women legislators' encouragement and higher levels of female education also had some influence, but these were not as significant. The effect of the political parties' increased recruitment efforts was the least important in developing women's leadership potential at the state legislative level. These influences cannot be separated into single strands, but they are part of the social fabric that has permitted more women to attain state legislative positions.

#### The Characteristics of Each of the Four Women's Movement Attitude Groups

The legislators were divided into four attitude groups, based on responses to the following question:

In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) somewhat opposed (5) strongly opposed (6) not concerned

The legislators who expressed opposition were combined into the opposed group, and the not concerned respondents were dropped from the analysis. The distinguishing characteristics of each of the four groups--the strongly in favor of the women's movement, the somewhat in favor of women's movement, the mixed feelings, and the opposed--were determined by comparing the group means established through the discriminant analysis procedure. Because each group will be discussed separately, the tables of means and standard deviations on the various categories of variables are provided at the end of this portion of the chapter (Tables 4.27, 4.28,

4.29, 4.30, and 4.31). Not all of the characteristics were significantly different among the groups or between the contrasting groups. The statistically significant differences will be treated in a subsequent part of the chapter. Therefore, the following descriptions should be considered as an introduction to the statistical analysis.

Group 1: The strongly in favor of the women's movement

Personal and family characteristics This group was the youngest in age (47.9), the most likely to be employed outside the home, and the most well-educated; on the average, these women had completed four years of college. They also had the highest family incomes, and they were the second most likely group to be married and living with their husbands. This cohort entered politics and ran for office at a time when their last child was somewhat younger in age than the last child of the legislators in the other groups. Apparently, these women were able to combine the responsibilities as parents of younger children with their political roles. Another characteristic differentiating these women from those in the other groups was that they had lived in their legislative districts for the shortest time period--20 years.

Political characteristics These legislators were the most apt to identify themselves as Democrats and moderate party supporters. They were slightly more inclined to be involved in party affairs than Group 3 (the mixed feelings group), the least involved group. Their tenure in office was somewhat longer than the most recent newcomers, Group 2 (the somewhat in favor group), and they represented districts with the largest populations.

Recruitment Community organizations gave them the strongest support, and they considered their contacts in these organizations to be a significant reason for their running for legislative office. They ranked recruitment by the party leadership slightly higher than the group giving it the lowest rating, Group 3. Involvement in the political party was the least important to this cohort, a rating that is consistent with their responses to the question on degree of party involvement. Although the women in all four groups firmly believed they could make a contribution to the policy process, Group 1 gave the highest rating to the statement, "I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process." It would appear that community organization involvement and encouragement along with a strong feeling of competency were more significant factors than recruitment through party involvement or the party leadership.

Community organization involvement However, when the total number of organizational memberships was calculated and compared for the four groups, Group 1 was not as active in the community as Groups 3 and 4, and only slightly more active than Group 2. The Group 1 women were likely to be members of business and professional organizations. Of the four groups, these women were least likely to be members of church-related, fraternal, farm, and special service organizations.

Issues and attitudes This cohort's attitudes and position on issues could be described as decidedly feminist. These women were the most inclined to raise issues on the status of women in their campaigns, to have been affected by the women's movement, to support equal roles for

women and men, to feel that women do not have the top jobs because of discrimination, and to believe in an organized effort to change the status of women. On the issues of child-day care and ERA, they were the strongest supporters. Only one other group, Group 2, had stronger opinions about liberalizing abortion.

Group 2: The somewhat in favor of the women's movement

Personal and family characteristics There were some slight differences between Groups 1 and 2. Group 2 was older by three years, less likely to be employed outside the home, and less well-educated. The Group 2 women had resided in their legislative districts four and one-half years longer than the Group 1 women. They could be distinguished from the other three groups by their marital status and family incomes. They were the least likely to be married and living with their husbands, and they had the lowest incomes. They also had become active in politics when their last child was the oldest (10.3), and they ran for office for the first time when their youngest child was 16.2 years old; only the women in Group 4 had children who were approximately at this age level.

Political characteristics There also were some striking similarities between Groups 1 and 2 on political characteristics. Group 2, though, was somewhat less likely to be Democratic Party identifiers and slightly more likely to be stronger party supporters and more involved in party affairs. Additionally, these women were more recent arrivals to the legislature, and they represented districts with smaller populations.

Recruitment Their party support and involvement are reflected in the greater weight they gave to recruitment through party involvement and

the party leadership. Community organizations were rated a significant avenue for recruitment, but this group's rating of the statements, "My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate" and "I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations," were somewhat lower than for Group 1. The Group 2 women also did not consider their ability to make a contribution to the policy process as having as much impact on their decision to run as it did with the women in Group 1. The chief differences between the two groups appear to be the somewhat greater importance of the political parties for Group 2 and this group's slightly lower assessment of their competency and recruitment through community organizations.

Community organization involvement      The lower rating of community organizations as a motivation for running was consistent with the degree of community organizational membership, which was the lowest of the four groups. There was only one type of organization in which these women were most active--youth-school service organizations.

Issues and attitudes      On all of the questions that related to issues and attitudes except for the one on abortion, the responses of Group 2 followed the same pattern as those for Group 1, and they could be described as slightly less supportive of the women's movement positions. On the abortion question, this cohort took a somewhat more liberal view.

Group 3: The group with mixed feelings about the women's movement

Personal and family characteristics      The women in Group 3 were the oldest (53.7), the second most likely group to classify their occupation as homemaker, the second less well-educated, and the second most likely

group to be separated, single, or divorced. Only the women in Group 4 had lived in their legislative districts longer.

Political characteristics This cohort was more likely to be identified with the Republican Party than Groups 1 and 2, and of all the groups, the Group 3 women were the least involved in their political party. However, they were strong party supporters, second only to Group 4. Group 3 women had the longest tenure in their legislatures; on the average, they had served 5.4 years. Their district populations were the second smallest of the four groups.

Recruitment Despite their lower party involvement, Group 3 women considered this involvement an important reason for running for office, and they ranked it highest of the four groups. At the same time, they were the least likely to consider recruitment through the party leadership an important reason for running. They were encouraged by community organizations and gave this reason the second highest rating. Curiously, they gave the lowest rating to community organization involvement or to their feelings of competency. Apparently, their initial decision to be a candidate was a combination of party involvement and community organization encouragement.

Community organization involvement Over a period of years, this group had developed ties to many kinds of organizations, and this may explain why the Group 3 women were encouraged to run by community organizations. Of the four groups, this cohort was the most actively involved in community organizations, particularly in business and professional, general service, special service, and cultural-aesthetic associations.

Group 3 had the second highest mean for membership in farm, youth-school service, school alumnae, fraternal, and church-related organizations.

Issues and attitudes On the whole, these legislators were second only to Group 4 in their reluctance to raise issues on the status of women in their campaigns, to support equal roles for both sexes, to attribute women's job status to discrimination, to believe in an organized strategy to change the status of women, to support a national child-day care program and ERA, and to be affected by the women's movement in their attitudes about women's status issues. They expressed stronger opposition to liberalized abortion than did Group 4, however.

Group 4: The group opposed to the women's movement

Personal and family characteristics In age, this group was the second oldest (53.3). These women were most likely to be married homemakers with the least number of years of formal education, and they had the second lowest family incomes. They had become active in politics when their youngest child was 9.6 years old, but they waited until the child reached 16.7 years of age before running for office. Of the four groups, their children were the oldest when they initially ran for office. Clearly, most of these legislators did not combine the nurturing role with that of public officeholder. Another distinctive feature of the Group 4 women was their residential stability; they had lived in their districts the longest of the four groups--31 years.

Political characteristics The Group 4 women were the strongest party supporters, the most involved in their party, and the most likely group to be identified with the Republican Party. The districts from



which they were elected were smallest in size, and their legislative tenure was only 6 months shorter than the cohort with the longest experience in the legislature, Group 3.

Recruitment It was expected that women in Group 4 would be the most likely group to be approached by the party leadership to run, and this expectation was confirmed. However, the women gave a higher rating to community organization involvement as a reason for recruitment than they gave to political party participation. A strong sense of competency (the second highest) also was an important motive for their running.

Community organization involvement This group was deeply involved in community organizations, an involvement that was only slightly lower than the most participant women in Group 3. Of all the groups, these legislators were most active in church-related, farm, fraternal, and school-alumnae groups. In only one type of organization, cultural-aesthetic, was their participation the lowest.

Issues and attitudes With the exception of the abortion question, these women were the most opposed to issues and attitudes associated with the women's movement, and they also were the least affected by it.

Summary The women in Group 4, the opposed group, were strong party supporters and activists, and they were most opposed to the women's movement in their attitudes and position on issues. If membership in farm organizations and district population-size are a reflection of small towns and rural communities, these legislators could be classified as coming from this milieu. The mixed feelings group, Group 3, closely resembled the women in Group 4, although there were some exceptions to this generalization. By contrast to Group 4, the legislators who strongly favored the

women's movement, Group 1, were younger in age, more highly educated, and more likely to have worked outside the home; their legislative district residency was substantially shorter; they belonged to fewer organizations and were not as strongly attached to church-related, farm, and fraternal groups. Many of them had combined their roles as parents of younger children and as politicians. Although they were not the newest of the newcomers to legislative politics, they were more recent arrivals, and they tended to be more moderate party supporters. To the extent that they represented districts with the largest populations, they came from a more urban setting. A major difference between the two groups was in the area of issues and attitudes. The Group 1 women had intensely positive feelings about equal roles for both sexes, and they strongly supported women's rights issues and the women's movement. On many of the variables, the somewhat in favor of the women's movement group, Group 2, seemed to be most closely aligned with the women in Group 1, particularly in the area of issues and attitudes.

The women in Group 4 had many qualities similar to the traditional women at the 1972 national party conventions, described by Kirkpatrick in her book, The New Presidential Elite (1976, p. 486). With one exception, the Group 1 legislators fit Kirkpatrick's delineation of the new breed of political women which she has termed, "newwoman" (pp. 480-486). According to her analysis, these newwomen were most likely to be northeasterners or midwesterners (p. 480). This conclusion did not apply to the women state legislators. A breakdown by the nine U.S. Census Bureau regions showed that the legislators who supported the women's movement were more inclined

to come from the Pacific and Mountain States as well as from the Middle and South Atlantic States, while there was a greater likelihood that the mixed feelings group or the opposed group would be found in the New England Region or in the East and West South Central States (Table 4.26).

Table 4.26. Distribution by region of respondents' attitude rating concerning the women's movement

In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) opposed

| Region             | Number | Mean | Standard deviation |
|--------------------|--------|------|--------------------|
| Pacific            | 36     | 1.50 | .74                |
| Middle Atlantic    | 19     | 1.58 | .84                |
| South Atlantic     | 57     | 1.67 | .87                |
| Mountain           | 59     | 1.69 | .93                |
| West North Central | 55     | 1.71 | .98                |
| East North Central | 30     | 1.77 | 1.07               |
| West South Central | 13     | 2.15 | 1.28               |
| New England        | 138    | 2.20 | 1.05               |
| East South Central | 11     | 2.63 | 1.03               |
| Total              | 418    | 1.88 | 1.01               |

Table 4.27. The means and standard deviations of the four groups for recruitment<sup>a</sup>

| Recruitment variables   | Group 1 |                    | Group 2 |                    | Group 3 |                    | Group 4 |                    |
|---|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
|   | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation |
| I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations.   | 2.36    | 1.31               | 2.17    | 1.17               | 2.90    | 1.40               | 2.06    | 1.41               |
| I was approached by the party leadership to run.  | 2.30    | 1.54               | 2.44    | 1.53               | 2.26    | 1.60               | 2.71    | 1.72               |
| My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate.                               | 2.39    | 1.46               | 2.67    | 1.53               | 2.81    | 1.59               | 2.45    | 1.43               |
| My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate. | 3.38    | 1.28               | 3.37    | 1.34               | 3.24    | 1.56               | 3.68    | 1.51               |
| I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process.                                   | 4.10    | 1.00               | 3.87    | 1.20               | 3.80    | 1.23               | 3.90    | 1.11               |

<sup>a</sup>The four groups are defined on pp. 35-36.

Table 4.28. The means and standard deviations of the four groups for issues and attitudes

| Issues and attitudes variables   | Group 1 |                    | Group 2 |                    | Group 3 |                    | Group 4 |                    |
|--|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
|  | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation |
| Raising issues on the status of women in campaigns                                       | 1.22    | .41                | 1.46    | .50                | 1.75    | .44                | 1.85    | .36                |
| The effect of the women's movement on attitudes related to improving the status of women | 1.41    | .62                | 1.89    | .44                | 2.33    | .73                | 2.64    | .65                |
| Reasons for women's employment status  | 1.02    | .14                | 1.05    | .23                | 1.31    | .47                | 1.59    | .51                |
| Strategy for attaining equity  | 1.02    | .14                | 1.13    | .33                | 1.50    | .53                | 1.81    | .40                |
| Women's role scale   | 1.14    | .52                | 1.63    | 1.00               | 2.74    | 1.62               | 3.38    | 1.66               |
| Child or day care  | 1.78    | .99                | 2.50    | 1.24               | 2.92    | 1.36               | 3.88    | 1.30               |
| Equal Rights Amendment   | 1.01    | .09                | 1.29    | .65                | 2.34    | 1.28               | 4.29    | 1.09               |
| Abortion   | 2.16    | 1.66               | 2.14    | 1.35               | 2.75    | 1.80               | 2.52    | .85                |

Table 4.29. The means and standard deviations of the four groups for personal and family characteristics variables

| Personal and family characteristics variables       | Group 1 |                    | Group 2 |                    | Group 3 |                    | Group 4 |                    |
|---|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
|   | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation |
| Age   | 47.98   | 10.68              | 50.96   | 10.84              | 53.74   | 11.58              | 53.52   | 11.96              |
| Years of formal education                           | 5.06    | .98                | 4.69    | 1.02               | 4.44    | 1.14               | 4.29    | 1.19               |
| Family income                                       | 3.41    | 1.28               | 2.95    | 1.09               | 3.06    | 1.42               | 3.04    | 1.32               |
| Marital status                                      | 1.79    | 1.37               | 1.88    | 1.34               | 1.87    | 1.50               | 1.58    | 1.15               |
| Age of youngest child when first active in politics | 8.14    | 7.22               | 10.30   | 7.74               | 8.5     | 8.37               | 9.63    | 7.36               |
| Age of youngest child during first campaign         | 13.45   | 7.50               | 16.16   | 7.16               | 15.57   | 8.22               | 16.66   | 8.88               |
| Years of residency in the legislative district      | 20.05   | 12.27              | 24.53   | 16.52              | 26.20   | 14.52              | 30.94   | 17.6               |
| Occupation: Homemaker                               | .30     | .46                | .31     | .47                | .33     | .47                | .38     | .49                |

Table 4.30. The means and standard deviations of the four groups for political characteristics

| Political characteristics variables   | Group 1 |                    | Group 2 |                    | Group 3 |                    | Group 4 |                    |
|---------------------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
|                                       | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation |
| Political party identification        | 1.34    | .58                | 1.54    | .68                | 1.57    | .67                | 1.76    | .61                |
| Degree of party support               | 1.64    | .75                | 1.61    | .72                | 1.58    | .67                | 1.48    | .80                |
| Degree of party involvement           | 1.49    | .63                | 1.43    | .64                | 1.55    | .79                | 1.41    | .61                |
| Year first elected to the legislature | 1971.60 | 3.68               | 1972.30 | 2.96               | 1970.31 | 5.91               | 1970.91 | 5.20               |
| Number of years served                | 4.44    | 4.04               | 3.70    | 2.77               | 5.40    | 5.15               | 5.03    | 5.08               |
| District population in hundreds       | 731.45  | 918.09             | 599.15  | 861.64             | 516.65  | 881.85             | 413.06  | 598.56             |

Table 4.31. The means and standard deviations of the four groups for active membership in community organizations

| Community organizations variables                             | Group 1 |                    | Group 2 |                    | Group 3 |                    | Group 4 |                    |
|---|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|
|   | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation | Mean    | Standard deviation |
| Professional and business                                     | .61     | .49                | .48     | .50                | .69     | .47                | .50     | .51                |
| Labor unions  | .08     | .28                | .02     | .15                | .05     | .21                | .06     | .24                |
| Farm  | .06     | .23                | .15     | .36                | .17     | .37                | .29     | .46                |
| Youth-school service (e.g., PTA, Girl Scouts)                 | .59     | .49                | .72     | .45                | .62     | .49                | .50     | .51                |
| School (e.g., AAUW, alumnae associations)                     | .47     | .50                | .32     | .47                | .46     | .50                | .47     | .51                |
| General service (e.g., Federated women's Clubs, Soroptomists) | .47     | .50                | .43     | .50                | .56     | .50                | .47     | .51                |
| Special service (e.g., Cancer Society, Red Cross)             | .40     | .49                | .45     | .50                | .48     | .50                | .41     | .50                |
| Cultural-aesthetic (e.g., art, historical associations)       | .37     | .48                | .33     | .47                | .38     | .49                | .32     | .47                |
| Fraternal (e.g., social sororities, OES)                      | .20     | .40                | .30     | .46                | .33     | .47                | .38     | .49                |
| Church-related  | .43     | .50                | .44     | .50                | .54     | .50                | .79     | .41                |
| Total organizational membership                               | .37     |                    | .36     |                    | .43     |                    | .42     |                    |



## Discriminant Analysis

Stepwise regression

In the preliminary stepwise regression analysis 37 independent variables were selected for testing their power of discrimination. The program limited the maximum number of variables for entry in the regression to 20 with an F value of 1 for inclusion or deletion and a tolerance level of .001. The following variables in the five categories did not meet these criteria and were dropped from the analysis:

Recruitment "I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations." (RUNOFF 1) "I was approached by the party leadership to run." (RUNOFF 2)

Personal and family characteristics Age (AGE); Occupation--Homemaker (YOUROC 8); The Number of Years of Legislative District Residence (LEGDISYR); The Population of the Legislative District (DISTRPOP); Formal Education (FORMALED); Marital Status (MARSTAT)

Political characteristics The Number of Years of Legislative Service (LEGYRSRV); Political Party Identification (POLPARTY); Degree of Party Support (PARTYSUP); The Year of First Election to Legislative Office (YRELEC)

Community organization involvement Labor Unions (ACTMEM 2); Youth-School Service (ACTMEM 4); Special Service (ACTMEM 7); Cultural-aesthetic (ACTMEM 8)

Issues and attitudes Attitudes on Child or Day Care (DAY-CARE); Abortion (ABORTION); Women's Role Scale (WRSCALE)

These variables were not entered because the group population was more homogeneous on these measures than on the variables that were entered. However, when the group means were tested in a one-way analysis of variance, some significant differences did emerge. Nevertheless, when the other variables were controlled as is the case in stepwise regression, the variables that were dropped from the analysis did not discriminate among the groups.

Based on a sample of 167 cases with complete data for all 37 variables, 16 variables discriminated among the groups. They were the following:

Recruitment "My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate." (RUNOFF 3) "My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate." (RUNOFF 4) "I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process." (RUNOFF 6)

Personal and family characteristics Family Income (FAMINCOM); Age of the Youngest Child when the Legislator First Ran for Legislative Office (CHAGERAN)

Political characteristics Degree of Party Involvement (POLPARIN)

Community organization involvement Business and Professional (ACTMEM 1); Farm (ACTMEM 3); General Service (ACTMEM 6); Fraternal (ACTMEM 9); Church-related (ACTMEM 10)

Issues and attitudes Attitudes about the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); The Effect of the Women's Movement on Attitudes toward

Issues Related to Improving the Status of Women (WMEFFSOW); Explanations for Women's Status (MENPAIR); Strategy for Improving Women's Status (WOMPAIR); Raising Issues on the Status of Women in Campaigns (SOWBEHAV)

Two variables that were entered and then removed from the analysis because they became nonsignificant were the community organization variable, School (ACTMEM 5) and the personal and family characteristics variable, Age of the Youngest Child when the Legislator Became Active in Politics (CHAGEACT).

Because there were only 167 cases in the sample, a final stepwise regression was performed using only the 16 variables that had maximized the discrimination in the preliminary regression. This analysis used data from a substantially larger sample of 205 cases. It consisted of 122 in the strongly in favor group (Group 1), 43 in the somewhat in favor group (Group 2), 39 in the mixed feelings group (Group 3), and 11 in the opposed group (Group 4). The prediction matrix is strong evidence of the degree to which the sample represented the population. In Groups 1 and 4 a correct classification was achieved for almost 90 percent of the cases. Predicted membership for Group 2 was only 31.5 percent, and for Group 3 it was 39.3 percent (Table 4.32). The study, then, has limited application to the latter groups, but a high degree of accuracy for Groups 1 and 4.

Although the program specified a maximum number of 16 variables, only thirteen were entered in the stepwise regression. Active membership in fraternal (ACTMEM 9) and church-related (ACTMEM 10) organizations and the age of the youngest child when the legislator first ran (CHAGERAN) were not eligible for inclusion because they did not change the F approximation

Table 4.32. Prediction matrix with prediction results for the four groups

| Actual group  | No. of cases | Predicted group membership |             |             |              |
|---|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
|   |              | Group 1                    | Group 2     | Group 3     | Group 4      |
| Group 1<br>Strongly favor                             | 206          | 185<br>89.8%               | 18<br>8.7%  | 3<br>1.5%   | 0.<br>0.0%   |
| Group 2<br>Somewhat favor                             | 89           | 44<br>49.4%                | 28<br>31.5% | 15<br>16.9% | 2.<br>2.2%   |
| Group 3<br>Mixed feelings                             | 89           | 19<br>21.3%                | 14<br>49.4% | 35<br>39.3% | 21.<br>23.6% |
| Group 4<br>Opposed                                    | 34           | 0.<br>0.0%                 | 1.<br>2.9%  | 3.<br>8.8%  | 30<br>88.2%  |
| Total   | 418          |                            |             |             |              |
| Percent of grouped cases correctly classified: 66.51% |              |                            |             |             |              |

of Wilks' Lambda or Rao's V. In stepwise regression each variable is treated as if it were the last one to enter; thus the thirteen variables made separate contributions and were highly significant discriminators among the four groups. The order in which they were reported indicates their power to discriminate or to predict group membership. The test for the equality of the means for the four groups is provided by the Wilks' Lambda statistic, signified by  $\Lambda$ , and it is comparable to the  $R^2$  in multiple regression. Rao's V, according to Klecka, is a generalized distance measure. Changes in it indicate the ability of each variable to contribute to the overall separation of the groups (Klecka, in Nie et al., 1975, p. 448). In the following table a summary of the regression is provided (Table 4.33).

Highly significant differences were found in all of the variable categories. Among the recruitment variables, RUNOFF 3 was the strongest

Table 4.33. Summary table of the results of the stepwise regression

| Type of variable <sup>a</sup> | Variable name | Step number | F to enter or remove (rounded) | Wilks' Lambda | Significance | Rao's V (rounded) | Change in Rao's V (rounded) | Significance of change |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| IA                            | ERA           | 1           | 160.33                         | .29472        | .001         | 480.99            | 480.99                      | .001                   |
| IA                            | WMEFFSOW      | 2           | 16.45                          | .23640        | .001         | 536.08            | 55.09                       | .001                   |
| O                             | ACTMEM 3      | 3           | 3.94                           | .22314        | .001         | 564.44            | 28.36                       | .001                   |
| IA                            | WOMPAIR       | 4           | 6.00                           | .20454        | .001         | 591.21            | 26.77                       | .001                   |
| R                             | RUNOFF 3      | 5           | 2.13                           | .19811        | .001         | 613.13            | 21.92                       | .001                   |
| IA                            | SOWBEHAV      | 6           | 4.12                           | .18635        | .001         | 629.50            | 16.37                       | .001                   |
| IA                            | MENPAIR       | 7           | 2.92                           | .17834        | .001         | 643.83            | 14.33                       | .002                   |
| O                             | ACTMEM 1      | 8           | 4.22                           | .16740        | .001         | 661.02            | 17.18                       | .001                   |
| PF                            | FAMINCOM      | 9           | 2.46                           | .16125        | .001         | 675.08            | 14.06                       | .003                   |
| R                             | RUNOFF 6      | 10          | 1.10                           | .15853        | .001         | 686.44            | 11.36                       | .010                   |
| R                             | RUNOFF 4      | 11          | 1.33                           | .15529        | .001         | 700.46            | 14.02                       | .003                   |
| P                             | POLPARIN      | 12          | 1.66                           | .15131        | .001         | 707.22            | 6.76                        | .080                   |
| O                             | ACTMEM 6      | 13          | 1.03                           | .14888        | .001         | 712.41            | 5.19                        | .158                   |

<sup>a</sup>Variable type: IA = Issues and Attitudes; P = Political Characteristics; PF = Personal and Family Characteristics; O = Community Organization Involvement; and R = Reasons for Running for Legislative Office.

of the three variables that discriminated ( $\Lambda = .19811$ ). This variable name was assigned to the statement, "My involvement in the political party made me feel I was the most qualified candidate." RUNOFF 6 also was significantly different among the groups ( $\Lambda = .15853$ ). This variable measured a feeling of competency, expressed in the statement, "I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process." The third most important variable was RUNOFF 4, "My involvement in community organizations made me feel I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate" ( $\Lambda = .15529$ ). The personal and family characteristics variable, family income (FAMINCOM) with a Lambda of .16125 and the political characteristics variable, degree of party involvement (POLPARIN) with a Lambda of .15131 were highly significant. These community organization involvement variables emerged as important discriminators: ACTMEM 3 or membership in farm organizations ( $\Lambda = .22314$ ), ACTMEM 1 or membership in business and professional groups ( $\Lambda = .16740$ ), and ACTMEM 6 or membership in general service clubs ( $\Lambda = .14888$ ).

Of all the variable categories, the issues and attitudes variables appeared to be the strongest, constituting five of the variables entered in the regression. Except for membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3) and involvement in the party (RUNOFF 3), no other variables were such powerful discriminators. The most powerful predictor variable was attitudes about ERA ( $\Lambda = .29472$ ), followed by the women's movement effect on attitudes toward issues related to the status of women (WMEFFSOW) with a Lambda of .23640. The other strong discriminators were strategy for improving women's status or WOMPAIR ( $\Lambda = .20454$ ), raising issues on the status of

women in campaigns or SOWBEHAV ( $\Lambda = .18635$ ), and explanations for women's employment status or MENPAIR ( $\Lambda = .17834$ ).

After controlling for the other variables, the thirteen variables entered in the regression analysis discriminated among the four groups. Therefore, the groups are significantly different. When the attitude groups and the use of discriminant analysis are applied to the general null hypothesis, the following sub general null hypothesis for all groups ( $H_{0A}$ ) can be rejected: When a number of variables are considered simultaneously, there are no significant differences among the four groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

#### The classification function coefficients

The relative contribution of each variable to the process of classifying individual legislators to one of the four groups can be understood by an examination of the unstandardized classification function coefficients. Because the legislators could be classified most accurately into the strongly in favor (Group 1) and the opposed (Group 4), a comparison of the variable coefficients for these two groups can be justified. Only subtle weight differences appeared for the degree of party involvement (POLPARIN), family income (FAMINCOM), membership in general service (ACTMEM 6) and business and professional (ACTMEM 1) organizations, and raising issues on the status of women in campaigns (SOWBEHAV). There were more striking weight differences for women's movement effect on issues relating to the status of women (WMEFFSOW) and the three recruitment

variables (RUNOFF 3, 4, and 6). The sharpest contrasts appeared on the membership in farm organization variable, ACTMEM 3, and the issues and attitudes category variable coefficients for ERA, strategy for improving women's status (WOMPAIR), and explanations for women's status (MENPAIR). ERA, WOMPAIR, and ACTMEM 3 made a greater contribution to the classification of legislators into the opposed group (Group 4), while MENPAIR made a substantially larger contribution to identifying the likelihood of membership in the strongly in favor group (Group 1) (Table 4.34).

Table 4.34. Classification function coefficients for the 13 variables entered in the stepwise regression

| Variable name | Group 1<br>Strongly favor | Group 2<br>Somewhat favor | Group 3<br>Mixed feelings | Group 4<br>Opposed |
|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| RUNOFF 3      | 0.07467                   | 0.05367                   | 0.13234                   | -1.17066           |
| RUNOFF 4      | 2.01549                   | 2.12677                   | 2.11273                   | 3.16370            |
| RUNOFF 6      | 2.75385                   | 2.57314                   | 2.31193                   | 1.55948            |
| ACTMEM 1      | 5.70248                   | 4.94548                   | 7.14997                   | 6.54397            |
| ACTMEM 3      | 3.52911                   | 3.51786                   | 3.78389                   | 10.67918           |
| ACTMEM 6      | -1.00486                  | -1.15104                  | -1.99275                  | -1.34920           |
| FAMINCOM      | 2.29623                   | 1.97672                   | 2.51360                   | 2.97257            |
| ERA           | -3.03388                  | -2.94409                  | -1.68771                  | 11.02305           |
| WMEFFSOW      | 2.90561                   | 4.77388                   | 4.99738                   | 4.28110            |
| MENPAIR       | 16.50601                  | 16.37227                  | 18.81966                  | 12.81701           |
| WOMPAIR       | 13.49427                  | 11.98801                  | 17.06967                  | 18.89148           |
| POLPARIN      | 2.74369                   | 2.41834                   | 3.29023                   | 2.10377            |
| SOWBEHAV      | 7.85486                   | 8.57839                   | 9.71473                   | 7.14547            |
| Constant      | -37.45100                 | -37.58997                 | -53.53497                 | -80.00081          |



### Discriminant functions

Brown has defined discriminant analysis as ". . . attempting to maximize between groups variance and minimize within groups variance" (Brown, 1970, p. 218). Some variables perform this discriminant function better than others; the discriminant function variables are limited to either the total number of variables or the number of groups in the dependent variable minus one--whichever number is the smallest.

In this four group problem, the three discriminant functions that explained the variance between the groups were, in descending order of importance, attitudes about ERA (ERA), the women's movement effect on attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women (WMEFFSOW), and active membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3). The ERA attitudes' variable clearly accounted for most of the variance, and it carried an eigenvalue of 2.91917, a value seven times as large as the eigenvalue for the second function (WMEFFSOW) and more than thirteen times as large as the third function (ACTMEM 3). When these variables were considered together, the first function's strength was 82.36 percent, while the second was 11.52 percent and the third was 6.12 percent. The canonical correlation also expresses the power of the variables. (Canonical correlation may be defined as the correlation of the dependent variable with the independent variable when within sums of squares and between sums of squares are considered.) The canonical correlations for ERA were .863; for WMEFFSOW, .538; and for ACTMEM 3, .422. The chi-square approximations of Wilks' Lambda also were highly significant (Table 4.35). Not only was there a strong relationship between attitudes toward the women's

Table 4.35. The three discriminant functions variables

| Discriminant function | Eigenvalue | Relative percentage | Canonical correlation | Functions derived | Wilks' Lambda | Chi-square | Degrees of freedom | Significance |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 ERA                 | 2.91917    | 82.36               | .863                  | 0                 | .1489         | 372.344    | 39                 | .001         |
| 2 WMEFFSOW            | .40824     | 11.52               | .538                  | 1                 | .5835         | 105.315    | 24                 | .001         |
| 3 ACTMEM 3            | .21696     | 6.12                | .422                  | 2                 | .8217         | 38.387     | 11                 | .001         |

movement and the three variables, the variables also powerfully discriminated between the groups of legislators with differing attitudes.

Standardized discriminant function coefficients

Based on the coefficients of the other variables entered in the stepwise regression, the relationships of these variables to the discriminant function variables can be explored. These coefficients are similar to beta weights in multiple regression, and they help to answer the question of how the variables contributed to each discriminant function. Because the most powerful discriminant function variable, attitudes about ERA (ERA), yielded a negative coefficient value, the coefficients for the two most important variables for this function also had negative values. These variables were membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3) and strategy for improving women's status (WOMPAIR). The variables that made the least contribution were two recruitment variables, competency (RUNOFF 6) and involvement in the political party (RUNOFF 3). The variables that made the most important contributions to the second function, women's movement effect on attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women (WMEFFSOW) were raising issues on the status of women in campaigns (SOWBEHAV) and explanations for women's status (MENPAIR). The variables making the most negative contributions were attitudes on ERA (ERA) and active membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3). Attitudes on ERA (ERA) and women's movement effect on attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women (WMEFFSOW) made the largest contribution to the third discriminant function, active membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3), while strategy for changing women's status

(WOMPAIR) and membership in business and professional organizations made the least contribution. Except for the contribution of membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3), to the ERA discriminant function, it seemed that the strongest contributors to all three functions were in the attitudes and issues variable category (Table 4.36).

Table 4.36. Standardized discriminant function coefficients for the 3 discriminant functions variables

| Variable name | Function 1<br>ERA | Function 2<br>WMEFFSOW | Function 3<br>ACTMEM 3 |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| RUNOFF 3      | .09381            | .00786                 | -.06754                |
| RUNOFF 4      | -.07324           | -.04081                | .06602                 |
| RUNOFF 6      | .07500            | -.04586                | -.03103                |
| ACTMEM 1      | -.04311           | .09947                 | -.25318                |
| ACTMEM 3      | -.11531           | -.10451                | .03593                 |
| ACTMEM 6      | .01910            | -.10118                | .04465                 |
| FAMINCOM      | -.05697           | -.02267                | -.18619                |
| ERA           | -.68269           | -.43495                | .12837                 |
| WMEFFSOW      | -.06697           | .36886                 | .30930                 |
| MENPAIR       | .03934            | .19498                 | -.14203                |
| WOMPAIR       | -.11106           | .09827                 | -.30061                |
| POLPARIN      | .01165            | .08632                 | -.15784                |
| SOWBEHAV      | .00204            | .23653                 | -.01106                |

### Summary

The discriminant analysis has provided a test of the overall equality of the groups through stepwise regression. Individual legislators have been classified into four groups based on the coefficients of the thirteen

variables entered into the regression. The relative contributions of the variables to the process of classification have been compared for the most dichotomous groups, Groups 1 and 4, because membership in them could be predicted most accurately. The most important variable discriminators have been identified, and the relationship of the other variables entered in the regression to the discriminant function variables have been examined. The next step in the statistical analysis of the data will be to report the significant differences among the means of the four groups for the 13 variables that were entered in the regression as well as the remaining 24 variables which failed to meet the F criterion on the preliminary stepwise regression.

#### Single Classification Analysis of Variance

Thirty-seven analyses of variance were performed, using the four attitude groups as the dependent or criterion variable and all the independent variables that were selected for the preliminary stepwise regression in the discriminant analysis. This approach could reveal statistically significant differences in the means among the four groups on an independent variable despite the lack of significance in the regression framework. Furthermore, the variables that were entered in the stepwise regression could be functioning with different capacities when each of them was used singly rather than as a group of variables. Therefore, the single classification analysis of variance procedure was used as an appropriate test of the sub general null hypothesis for all groups ( $H_{0B}$ ): When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences among the groups in personal and family characteristics,

political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

### Recruitment

The hypothesis was tested for the statistical significance of the four group responses to the following questions on initial reasons for running for state legislative office:

I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations. (RUNOFF 1)

I was approached by the party leadership to run. (RUNOFF 2)

My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate. (RUNOFF 3)

My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate. (RUNOFF 4)

I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process. (RUNOFF 6)

These statements were designed to tap three aspects of recruitment-- participation and encouragement of the political parties and community organizations and a feeling of competency vis à vis the legislative policy-making process. On the average, the legislators in Group 1 considered community organization encouragement to be the most valuable, and this group also expressed the strongest feelings of their own competence as a reason for their candidacy. Of the four groups, Group 3 gave the highest rating to party involvement, and Group 4 gave the highest ratings to recruitment through involvement in community organizations and the encouragement of the party leadership. Statistically significant differences failed to emerge when the means were tested in the analysis of variance. For these variables in the category of recruitment, then, there

were no significant differences among the groups, and on the basis of the test, there was insufficient evidence to reject this part of the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ).

#### Personal and family characteristics

There also were no significant differences among the four groups on employment, despite the fact that the strongly in favor (Group 1) was most likely to be employed outside the home and the group most likely to be classified as homemakers was the opposed group, Group 4. For women legislators the occupational classification, homemaker, did not make a difference in attitudes about the women's movement. Therefore, the null hypothesis for this variable cannot be rejected. This conclusion was unexpected. Freeman noted the resistance of homemakers to women's liberation, although she also indicated the resistance has been diminishing in recent years. Nonetheless, working women are more receptive to feminism (Freeman, 1975a, p. 91). By contrast, it is the homemakers ". . . who are least likely to join a feminist group" (p. 65). In a 1970 CBS public opinion poll, Chandler classified homemakers as most opposed to the women's movement: "Of all the characteristics analyzed, the fact that a woman is not employed and does not want to be employed is the clearest indication of resistance to Women's Liberation" (Chandler, 1972, p. 44). As Andersen has pointed out in her analysis of Survey Research Center election studies from 1952 to 1972, however, the impact of the women's movement on homemakers' campaign participation rates was not substantial until 1970. Between 1970 and 1972, there was a marked increase in these rates, and she has attributed the change directly to feminism (Andersen,

1975, pp. 443-450). The findings of nonsignificance for the employment variable, homemaker, appeared to be consistent with Andersen's conclusions. On the average, these legislators campaigned and were elected to office during the early 1970s, the period in which the women's movement was having its greatest effect on the political participation of homemakers.

Andersen also found that the increased rate of campaign participation was greatest among the age cohort of employed women who were born after 1939, and the second largest increase was among the group born between 1924 and 1939 (pp. 448-449). For women legislators there were highly significant differences among the four groups on age; this difference is demonstrated in the table on analysis of variance (Table 4.37). On the basis of this test, for the variable of age, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0g}$ ) can be rejected.

Table 4.37. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on the age variable

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 2378.5625      | 792.8540     | 6.541   | .001    |
| Within groups  | 394  | 47758.0625     | 121.2133     |         |         |
| Total          | 397  | 50136.6250     |              |         |         |



Significant differences also existed among the groups on family income (Table 4.38). (This personal and family characteristics variable was the only one that discriminated among the groups in the final stepwise regression.) The level of significance, however, was not as high as it was for the age variable. Nonetheless, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) also can be rejected for family income.

Table 4.38. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on the family income variable

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 15.8064        | 5.2688       | 3.245   | .022    |
| Within groups  | 374  | 607.2634       | 1.6237       |         |         |
| Total          | 377  | 623.0698       |              |         |         |

The variable, age of the youngest child when the legislators first became active in politics proved to be nonsignificant; but there were differences among the groups on the age of the youngest child when the legislators initially ran for office (Table 4.39). Therefore, on the basis of the analysis of variance test for this variable, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected.

Among the groups, years of formal education were substantially different at the F probability level of .001 and an F ratio of 10.929. Using the analysis of variance test, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected. There is a highly significant difference among the groups in the years of educational attainment (Table 4.40).

Table 4.39. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on the age of the youngest child when the legislators ran for office for the first time

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 585.8750       | 195.2917     | 3.282   | .021    |
| Within groups  | 333  | 19815.6250     | 59.5064      |         |         |
| Total          | 336  | 20401.5000     |              |         |         |

Table 4.40. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on years of formal education

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 35.5547        | 11.8516      | 10.929  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 413  | 447.8789       | 1.0845       |         |         |
| Total          | 416  | 483.4336       |              |         |         |

Another variable that showed highly significant differences among the groups was the number of years of legislative district residence. For this variable, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of variance test which is shown in Table 4.41.

#### Political characteristics

Three political characteristics variables were significant. They were political party identification with an F ratio of 6.762 and an F probability of .001, the number of years of legislative service with an F

Table 4.41. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on years of legislative residence

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 4840.3125      | 1613.4375    | 8.000   | .001    |
| Within groups  | 403  | 81273.7500     | 201.6718     |         |         |
| Total          | 406  | 86114.0625     |              |         |         |

ratio of 2.648 and an F ratio of .048, and the year of first election to the legislature with an F ratio of 3.502 and an F probability of .015.

On the basis of the analysis of variance tests for these variables, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected. The results of the tests are indicated in Tables 4.42, 4.43, and 4.44.

Table 4.42. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on political party identification

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 7.8616         | 2.6205       | 6.762   | .001    |
| Within groups  | 412  | 159.6677       | .3875        |         |         |
| Total          | 415  | 167.5293       |              |         |         |

Table 4.43. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on total years of legislative service

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 138.1523       | 46.0508      | 2.647   | .048    |
| Within groups  | 411  | 7149.1602      | 17.3945      |         |         |
| Total          | 414  | 7287.3125      |              |         |         |

Table 4.44. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on year of first election

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 190.8867       | 63.6289      | 3.502   | .015    |
| Within groups  | 412  | 7484.8750      | 18.1672      |         |         |
| Total          | 415  | 7675.7617      |              |         |         |

#### Community organization involvement

Four of the ten community organization involvement variables yielded F values that were significantly different among the groups. These variables were business and professional (ACTMEM 1) with an F ratio of 3.143 at a probability level of .025, farm (ACTMEM 3) with an F ratio of 6.606 and a probability level of .001, fraternal (ACTMEM 9) with an F value of 2.906 and a probability level of .034, and church-related (ACTMEM 10) with an F value of 5.840 and a probability level of .001. For these variables, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected. A summary of the analysis of variance for each variable is provided in Tables 4.45, 4.46, 4.47, and 4.48.

Table 4.45. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on business and professional organizations

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 2.2525         | .7508        | 3.143   | .025    |
| Within groups  | 387  | 92.4534        | .2389        |         |         |
| Total          | 390  | 94.7059        |              |         |         |

Table 4.46. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on farm organizations

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 2.0145         | .6715        | 6.606   | .001    |
| Within groups  | 387  | 39.3359        | .1016        |         |         |
| Total          | 390  | 41.3504        |              |         |         |

Table 4.47. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on fraternal organizations

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 1.6923         | .5641        | 2.906   | .034    |
| Within groups  | 387  | 75.1108        | .1941        |         |         |
| Total          | 390  | 76.8031        |              |         |         |

Table 4.48. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on church-related organizations

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 4.2300         | 1.4100       | 5.840   | .001    |
| Within groups  | 387  | 93.4427        | .3415        |         |         |
| Total          | 390  | 97.6727        |              |         |         |

### Issues and attitudes

Except for attitudes about abortion (ABORTION) which had a significance level of .022, there were highly significant differences among the groups on all the variables tested in the issues and attitudes category;

the level of significance was .001. These variables included the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to the status of women (WMEFFSOW), raising issues on the status of women in campaigns (SOWBEHAV), the women's role scale (WRSCALE), reasons for women's employment status (MENPAIR), strategy for attaining equity (WOMPAIR), opinions on a national child or day care program (DAYCARE), and attitudes about the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). No other category had as many variables with as high levels of significance. For the attitudes and issues variables, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ) can be rejected. Summaries of the analysis of variance test for each of the variables are provided in the following tables:

Table 4.49. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups on opinions about abortion

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 24.2898        | 8.0966       | 3.233   | .022    |
| Within groups  | 398  | 996.6860       | 996.6860     |         |         |
| Total          | 401  | 1020.9758      |              |         |         |

Table 4.50. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to the status of women

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 79.3118        | 26.4373      | 69.415  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 405  | 154.2483       | .3809        |         |         |
| Total          | 408  | 233.5601       |              |         |         |

Table 4.51. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and raising issues on the status of women in campaigns

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 23.9492        | 7.9831       | 42.289  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 404  | 76.2646        | .1888        |         |         |
| Total          | 407  | 100.2139       |              |         |         |

Table 4.52. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and women's role scale

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 209.9207       | 69.9735      | 67.033  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 385  | 401.8896       | 1.0439       |         |         |
| Total          | 388  | 611.8103       |              |         |         |

Table 4.53. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and reasons for women's employment status

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 8.2615         | 2.7538       | 36.839  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 342  | 25.5654        | .0748        |         |         |
| Total          | 345  | 33.8269        |              |         |         |

Table 4.54. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and strategy for attaining equity

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 21.8767        | 7.2922       | 74.916  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 366  | 35.6262        | .0973        |         |         |
| Total          | 369  | 57.5029        |              |         |         |

Table 4.55. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and opinions on a national child or day care program

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 174.3303       | 58.1101      | 43.392  | .001    |
| Within groups  | 405  | 542.3694       | 1.3392       |         |         |
| Total          | 408  | 716.6997       |              |         |         |

Table 4.56. Analysis of variance for the four attitude groups and attitudes about the proposed Equal Rights Amendment

| Source         | D.F. | Sum of squares | Mean squares | F ratio | F prob. |
|----------------|------|----------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Between groups | 3    | 372.5369       | 124.1790     | 232.876 | .001    |
| Within groups  | 405  | 215.9622       | .5332        |         |         |
| Total          | 408  | 588.4990       |              |         |         |

### Summary

There were either significant or highly significant differences among groups on 20 of the 37 variables tested in four of the five variable categories. Because of these differences, the sub general null hypothesis



( $H_{0B}$ ) could be rejected for personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes. There was, however, substantial homogeneity among the groups on these variables: the five variables in the category of recruitment, the occupation of homemaker, the age of the youngest child when the legislators initially became active in politics, marital status, the population of the legislative district, the degree of party involvement and party support, and six community organization variables. For seventeen variables, there was insufficient evidence to reject the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0B}$ ).

#### The t Tests

The t test will be used to clarify the findings of significance in the analysis of variance tests for three contrasting groups; it will provide a sharp delineation of how the means of each of the four groups, when contrasted with the means of another group or a combination of two groups through the a priori contrast technique, are substantially similar or significantly different on the 20 separate, independent variables. Group 1 and Group 4 will be compared to test the following sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0C}$ ): When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women. Group 1 will be combined with the group it most closely resembles, Group 2, and

compared with the opposed group (Group 4) to test the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0D}$ ): When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the combined strongly in favor group (Group 1) with the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women. A final comparison will be made for the intermediate groups, Group 2 and Group 3, to test the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0E}$ ): When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

#### Group 1 and Group 4

Group 1, the youngest of the four groups, was significantly different in age from the second oldest group, Group 4. The difference fell short of high significance (.012). When they initially ran for office, the legislators in Group 1 had the youngest children, and the Group 4 legislators had children who were oldest; the difference between the groups on this variable was significant at the .032 level. The disparities in educational attainment for the most well-educated group, Group 1, and the group with the least number of years of formal education, Group 4, were statistically significant at the .001 level. Similarly, there was a highly significant difference between the groups on years of legislative

residency. (The legislators in Group 1 had lived in their districts the shortest period of time; and the Group 4 legislators, the longest.) Only one political characteristics variable sharply differentiated between the two groups--political party identification, and it was highly significant at the .001 level. The Group 1 women were the most likely to be classified as Democrats, while the Group 4 cohort was most inclined to be Republican Party identifiers. There also were some major dissimilarities in community organization involvement: Group 4 was the most active in farm, church-related, and fraternal organizations; and Group 1 was the least active. The community organization differences were significant at the following levels: farm, .006; church-related, .001; fraternal, .030. In addition, the women who opposed the women's movement also could be differentiated from the strongly in favor group by the degree of opposition to equal roles for women and for men, a national child or day care program, and the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment; by their greater support of the statement that men have more of the top jobs because they were born with more drive . . .; by their reluctance to raise women's rights issues in their campaigns and to believe in a unified strategy for improving the status of women. By contrast, the Group 4 cohort had been least affected by the women's movement in attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women, and the Group 1 cohort had been most affected by it, another highly significant difference. These variables in the issues and attitudes category were significant at the .001 level. Therefore, on the basis of the t tests for the two contrasting groups and the 15 variables,

the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0C}$ ) can be rejected. Table 4.57 summarizes the results of the t tests for Groups 1 and 4.

Table 4.57. Summary of the t tests for Group 1 and Group 4 on the 15 variables that were statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| AGE           | -5.3428         | 2.1266         | -2.512  | 394  | .012    | Pooled            |
| FORMALED      | .7690           | .1928          | 3.989   | 413  | .001    | Pooled            |
| CHAGERAN      | -3.2090         | 1.4930         | -2.149  | 333  | .032    | Pooled            |
| LEGIDSYR      | -10.8831        | 3.2307         | -3.369  | 36   | .002    | Separate          |
| POLPARTY      | -0.4265         | .1153          | -3.698  | 412  | .000    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 3      | -0.2365         | .0811          | -2.917  | 36   | .006    | Separate          |
| ACTMEM 9      | -0.1782         | .0820          | -2.173  | 387  | .030    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 10     | -0.3648         | .0915          | -3.988  | 387  | .001    | Pooled            |
| WMEFFSOW      | -1.2324         | .1218          | -10.118 | 42   | .001    | Separate          |
| SOWBEHAV      | -0.6307         | .0816          | -7.731  | 404  | .001    | Pooled            |
| WRSCALE       | -2.2314         | .3415          | -6.534  | 24   | .001    | Separate          |
| MENPAIR       | -0.5674         | .1235          | -4.595  | 16   | .001    | Separate          |
| WOMPAIR       | -7.893          | .0884          | -8.931  | 21   | .001    | Separate          |
| DAYCARE       | -2.1002         | .2145          | -9.790  | 405  | .001    | Pooled            |
| ERA           | -3.2843         | .1867          | -17.590 | 33   | .001    | Separate          |

The only variable in the issues and attitudes category that did not yield statistically significant differences was attitudes about abortion. Other variables that failed to show differences at the .05 level were family income, the year of the first election to the legislature, the number of years of legislative service, and membership in business and professional organizations. Because the t tests did not demonstrate any

significant differences for these variables, there was insufficient evidence to reject the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0C}$ ). A summary of the nonsignificant variables is provided in Table 4.58.

Table 4.58. Summary of the t tests for Group 1 and Group 4 on the 5 variables that were not statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| FAMINCOM      | .3770           | .2580          | 1.461   | 374  | .145    | Pooled            |
| YRELEC        | -.6443          | .9285          | -.694   | 39   | .492    | Separate          |
| LEGYRSRV      | -1.7011         | .9166          | -.642   | 40   | .525    | Separate          |
| ACTMEM 1      | .1073           | .0910          | 1.180   | 387  | .239    | Pooled            |
| ABORTION      | -.3577          | .1923          | -1.860  | 72   | .069    | Separate          |

#### Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4

When the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) were combined and contrasted with Group 4 on the 20 independent variables, the highly significant differences between Group 1 and Group 4 persisted in formal education, years of legislative district residence, political party identification, church-related organizations, and the variables in the issues and attitudes category. In addition, there was a significant difference between the combined groups and the opposed group on attitudes about abortion. This change can be explained by the impact of the more liberal abortion opinions of the somewhat in favor group. Combining the two groups also reduced the level of significance for membership in farm organizations to .023. A total of 13 variables in the four categories yielded significant or highly significant

differences. Therefore, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0D}$ ) can be rejected. (There is a summary of the t test for each variable in Table 4.59.)

Table 4.59. Summary of the t tests for the combination of Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4 on 13 variables that were statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| FORMALED      | .5840           | .1905          | 3.066   | 413  | .002    | Pooled            |
| LEGDISYR      | -8.6459         | 3.2652         | -2.648  | 59   | .010    | Separate          |
| POLPARTY      | .3259           | .1139          | -2.863  | 4    | .004    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 3      | -.1922          | .0821          | -2.339  | 54   | .023    | Separate          |
| ACTMEM 10     | -.3599          | .0903          | -3.986  | 387  | .001    | Pooled            |
| WMEFFSOW      | .9919           | .1181          | -8.396  | 55   | .001    | Separate          |
| SOWBEHAV      | -.5102          | .0807          | -6.323  | 404  | .001    | Pooled            |
| WRSCALE       | -1.9871         | .3442          | -5.773  | 28   | .001    | Separate          |
| MENPAIR       | .5504           | .1239          | -4.443  | 18   | .001    | Separate          |
| WOMPAIR       | -.7369          | .0890          | -8.198  | 28   | .001    | Separate          |
| DAYCARE       | -1.7413         | .2118          | -8.222  | 405  | .001    | Pooled            |
| ERA           | -3.1455         | .1898          | -16.574 | 43   | .001    | Separate          |
| ABORTION      | .3672           | .1791          | -2.051  | 139  | .042    | Separate          |

The two groups were substantially homogeneous in age, family income, age of the youngest child when the legislators initially ran for office, years of legislative service, the year of the first election to office, membership in business and professional and fraternal organizations (Table 4.60). These variables failed to differentiate between the two groups at

Table 4.60. Summary of the t tests for the combination of Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4 on 7 variables that were not statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| FAMINCOM      | .1462           | .2551          | .573    | 374  | .577    | Pooled            |
| AGE           | -3.8503         | 2.1023         | -1.831  | 394  | .068    | Pooled            |
| YRELEC        | -1.0180         | .9148          | -1.113  | 48   | .271    | Separate          |
| LEGYRSRV      | .9605           | .8954          | -1.073  | 49   | .289    | Separate          |
| CHAGERAN      | -1.8547         | 1.4646         | -1.266  | 333  | .206    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 1      | .0415           | .0898          | .462    | 387  | .645    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 9      | -.1278          | .0810          | -1.579  | 387  | .115    | Pooled            |

the .05 level, and there was insufficient evidence to reject the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0D}$ ).

#### Group 2 and Group 3

When the two intermediate groups were contrasted, the pattern of significance on the issues and attitudes category of variables was continued. The difference in opinions on the abortion question was greatest between Group 2 and Group 3 than in the other group contrasts, and there was the least amount of difference between these two groups on the day care issue; on both issues the differences came close to attaining a level of high significance. Clearly, women in Group 2 were stronger supporters of feminism than were their Group 3 counterparts. However, the groups were remarkably homogeneous on the personal and family characteristics variables; and with one exception, they could not be distinguished by their active involvement in community organizations. Of all the groups,

Group 3 had the highest mean for membership in business and professional organizations. This characteristic was evidenced by the high significance level for this variable in the Group 2 and Group 3 contrast. Other highly significant differences between the two groups were the year of the first election to legislative office and the number of years of legislative service. These findings were expected since the Group 2 cohort included women who were the most recent arrivals to the legislature. A total of 11 variables differentiated Group 2 from Group 3 (Table 4.61). On the basis of these t tests, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0E}$ ) can be rejected for political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Table 4.61. Summary of the t tests for Group 2 and Group 3 on 11 variables that were statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| YRELEC        | -1.996          | .7043          | -2.835  | 128  | .005    | Separate          |
| LEGYRSRV      | -1.7011         | .6627          | -2.732  | 133  | .007    | Separate          |
| ACTMEM 1      | -.2149          | .0759          | -2.832  | 387  | .005    | Pooled            |
| WMEFFSOW      | .4405           | .0916          | -4.809  | 140  | .001    | Separate          |
| SOWBEHAV      | -.2912          | .0661          | -4.407  | 404  | .001    | Pooled            |
| WRSCALE       | -1.0915         | .2148          | -5.082  | 122  | .001    | Separate          |
| MENPAIR       | -.2577          | .0643          | -4.010  | 89   | .001    | Separate          |
| WOMPAIR       | -.3961          | .0899          | -8.198  | 28   | .001    | Separate          |
| DAYCARE       | -.4176          | .1760          | -2.373  | 405  | .018    | Pooled            |
| ERA           | -1.0538         | .1558          | -6.764  | 123  | .001    | Separate          |
| ABORTION      | -.6075          | .2459          | -2.471  | 152  | .015    | Separate          |



This conclusion does not apply to the personal and family characteristics variables, to political party identification, or to membership in farm, fraternal, and church-related organizations. For these variables, there was insufficient evidence to reject the sub general null hypothesis (Table 4.62).

Table 4.62. Summary of the t tests for Group 2 and Group 3 on the 9 variables that were not statistically different

| Variable name | Mean difference | Standard error | t value | D.F. | t prob. | Variance estimate |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------|------|---------|-------------------|
| FAMINCOM      | -.1121          | .2009          | -.558   | 374  | .577    | Pooled            |
| AGE           | -2.7734         | 1.6938         | -1.637  | 394  | .102    | Pooled            |
| FORMALED      | .2550           | .1566          | 1.629   | 413  | .104    | Pooled            |
| CHAGERAN      | .5887           | 1.2888         | .457    | 333  | .648    | Pooled            |
| LEGDISYR      | -1.6689         | 2.3637         | -.706   | 169  | .481    | Separate          |
| POLPARTY      | -.0337          | .0933          | -.361   | 412  | .718    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 1      | -.0203          | .0567          | -.358   | 164  | .720    | Separate          |
| ACTMEM 9      | -.0285          | .0684          | -.416   | 387  | .678    | Pooled            |
| ACTMEM 10     | -.0967          | .0763          | -1.268  | 387  | .206    | Pooled            |

### Summary

The t tests have shown that there were significant or highly significant differences between the three contrasting groups. These differences were particularly sharp for all groups on the issues and attitudes category of variables. The Group 1 women could be distinguished from the Group 4 women by their higher levels of educational attainment, the age of their youngest child when they first campaigned for legislative office, and their briefer number of years of legislative district residence. For the

most part, the strongly in favor of the women's movement legislators in Group 1 were Democrats, while the legislators who opposed the women's movement or Group 4 were Republicans. The Group 4 cohort was separated from the cohort in Group 1 by its greater participation in farm, church-related, and fraternal organizations. Several of these differences dissolved when Group 1 was combined with Group 2 and contrasted with Group 4. One variable that failed to be significant was the age of the youngest child when the legislators first ran for office. This finding indicated that Group 1 women were most likely to combine their roles as parents of younger children and as politicians. Another difference that failed to emerge was membership in fraternal organizations. This lack of significance may be explained by the greater involvement of Group 2 legislators in this type of organization. No other group had as strongly liberal attitudes about the abortion question as the women in Group 2. This difference in attitude was apparent in the combined Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4 as well as Group 2 and Group 3 contrasts. Besides the differences in the issues and attitudes category of variables, Group 2 could be differentiated from Group 3 by a lower participation in business and professional organizations and by a later arrival to the legislature. Unlike the other group contrasts, there were no significant differences between the groups on the personal and family characteristics variables. Family income, the variable that was significantly different among the groups in the analysis of variance and a variable that had discriminated among the groups in the stepwise regression, failed to be significant in the t tests for the contrasting groups. There was not enough difference in the means to approach significance.

## CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

## Purpose

The general purpose of this study was to assess the impact of the feminist movement on women who served in the 1975-76 sessions of their legislatures and to determine whether or not the movement has been a force for changing the women's pattern of participation on the state legislative level.

## Basic Elements of the Approach

The study was based on responses to questionnaires mailed to the 611 women legislators who served in the 1975-76 session of their state legislatures. Between November 1976 and March 1977, 437 legislators completed usable forms, a response rate of 71.5 percent. The findings for the group as a whole were derived from the total number of responses to the items on the survey form.

Because two objectives of the study were to evaluate the extent to which the lawmakers were supportive of the women's movement and to investigate the dimensions of this support, the respondents were divided into four groups on the basis of the following question: In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) somewhat opposed (5) strongly opposed (6) not concerned. Fourteen respondents did not answer the question, and only five indicated they were not

concerned. The remaining 418 who replied to the question constituted the number of valid cases. The highest number of responses, 206 (49 percent), was in the strongly in favor category (Group 1). The next two highest categories were the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3). Each of these had 89 responses or 21 percent of the cases. Twenty legislators (5 percent) were somewhat opposed, and fourteen (3 percent) were strongly opposed. Because of the small number, the women who expressed either degree of opposition were combined into the opposed group (Group 4).

The discriminant analysis procedure was used to determine the group in which an individual case belonged. Membership in Group 1 and Group 4 could be predicted most accurately on the basis of 13 independent variables that entered the stepwise regression phase of the analysis. The findings for these two groups, therefore, were more reliable than for the intermediate groups, Group 2 and Group 3.

Through the discriminant analysis procedure, group means were calculated for 37 variables. These means were compared and described. Analyses of variance tested for significant differences among the groups, and the t tests tested for significant differences between three contrasting groups: Group 1 and Group 4; the combination of Group 1 with Group 2 and Group 4; and Group 2 and Group 3.

At various stages, variables in the following categories were analyzed: personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, issues and attitudes, community organization involvement, and reasons why more women are running and being elected to state legislative office. The latter category was dropped from the statistical analysis

procedures because the responses were considered too small to be reliable. Nonetheless, a majority of the respondents completed this part of the survey form, and these responses were described rather than analyzed by a statistical technique. From the other five categories 37 independent variables were selected for testing the hypotheses.

### Summary of the Findings

The following general null hypothesis served as a focal point of the study:

$H_0$  - When women state legislators are divided into groups according to their attitudes about the women's movement, they do not differ significantly in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

The general null hypothesis was rejected through the application of the discriminant analysis procedure to the sub general null hypothesis for all groups:

Sub Gen  $H_{0A}$  - When a number of variables are considered simultaneously, there are no significant differences among the four groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Because 13 variables discriminated among the groups at the .001 level of significance, the sub general null hypothesis was rejected. These variables were in all five categories, and they are listed in the order of their power to discriminate: attitudes about the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women (WMEFFSOW), membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3), strategy for attaining equity (WOMPAIR), involvement in the political party as a reason for running for office (RUNOFF 3), raising issues on the status of women in campaigns (SOWBEHAV), reasons for women's employment status (MENPAIR), membership in business and professional organizations (ACTMEM 1), family income (FAMINCOM), a feeling of competence about their ability to contribute to the policy process as a reason for running (RUNOFF 6), involvement in community organizations as a reason for running (RUNOFF 4), degree of political party involvement (POLPARIN), and membership in general service organizations (ACTMEM 6). The strongest category of variables for predicting group membership was in the issues and attitudes category. The most powerful variable performing the discriminant function was attitudes about ERA. This variable accounted for most of the variance, followed by the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to the status of women (WMEFFSOW) and membership in farm organizations (ACTMEM 3).

Through the single classification analysis of variance, the separate effects of 37 variables were analyzed. The results of these tests further supported rejecting the general null hypothesis for four of the five

variable categories. The sub general null hypothesis that was tested was the following:

Sub Gen  $H_{0B}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences among the groups in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, recruitment, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

The four groups were substantially homogeneous on the recruitment variables, and, therefore, there was not enough evidence to reject this portion of the null hypothesis. On the basis of significant or highly significant differences among the groups on 20 variables, the null hypothesis was rejected for personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women. These 20 variables along with their F probability were: age (.001), family income (.022), the age of the youngest child when the legislators ran for office for the first time (.021), formal education (.001), years of legislative district residence (.001), political party identification (.001), total years of legislative service (.048), the first year of election to office (.015), membership in business and professional organizations (.025), membership in farm organizations (.001), membership in fraternal organizations (.034), membership in church-related organizations (.001), opinions on abortion (.022), effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to the status of women (.001), raising issues on the status of women in campaigns

(.001), women's role scale (.001), reasons for women's employment status (.001), strategy for attaining equity (.001), opinions on a national child or day care program (.001). All of the variables in the issues and attitudes category yielded highly significant or significant differences among the groups.

A further explication of the general null hypothesis was accomplished by contrasting the group means on each of these 20 independent variables for three group comparisons. The results of the t tests lent additional support to the rejection of the general null hypothesis. The sub general null hypothesis for the first comparison was the following:

Sub Gen  $H_{0c}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the strongly in favor group (Group 1) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

There were highly significant differences between the two groups in all four categories on 12 variables, and on three variables there were significant differences. Thus, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0c}$ ) could be rejected. The highly significant differences were found between the groups on these variables: formal education (.001), years of legislative district residence (.002), political party identification (.001), membership in farm organizations (.006), membership in church-related organizations (.001), the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward



issues related to improving the status of women (.001), raising issues on the status of women in campaigns (.001), the women's role scale (.001), reasons for women's employment status (.001), strategy for attaining equity (.001), opinions on a national child or day care program (.001), and attitudes about the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment (.001). The variables that were significantly different were age (.012), the age of the youngest child when the legislators first ran for legislative office (.032), and membership in fraternal organizations (.030).

Some of these differences persisted when Group 1 was combined with Group 2 and the means were contrasted with the means for Group 4 in a test of the following sub general null hypothesis:

Sub Gen  $H_{0D}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the combined strongly in favor group (Group 1) with the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the opposed group (Group 4) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

The variables that became nonsignificant in this group comparison were age, the age of the youngest child when the legislators first ran for legislative office, and membership in fraternal organizations. All of the variables with high significance in the first comparison continued to be highly significant in this second comparison, with one exception--membership in farm organizations. The significance of this variable dropped to

.023. However, attitudes about abortion were significantly different (.042). Because there were significant differences between the groups on 13 variables in all four categories, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0D}$ ) was rejected.

A final group comparison substantiated the rejection of the general null hypothesis through the testing of the following sub general null hypothesis:

Sub Gen  $H_{0E}$  - When a number of variables are considered separately, there are no significant differences between the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and the mixed feelings group (Group 3) in personal and family characteristics, political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

Unlike the previous group comparisons, there were no significant differences between Group 2 and Group 3 on personal and family characteristics, and therefore, there was not enough evidence to reject this portion of the null hypothesis. However, the significant differences in the issues and attitudes category of variables were continued, with two variations. The issue of a national child or day care program was less significant (.018) and the attitudes about abortion were more significant for this group contrast (.015) than for the others. Additionally, contrary to the findings for the other comparisons, the differences in the year of the first election to state legislative office and the total number of years served as well as membership in business and professional organizations were

highly significant. Therefore, on the basis of differences between the two groups on eleven variables, the sub general null hypothesis ( $H_{0E}$ ) was rejected for political characteristics, community organization involvement, and issues and attitudes related to improving the status of women.

### Postscripts

#### An evaluation

The data have demonstrated that most of the women who served in the 1975-76 sessions of their state legislatures were either strongly supportive or somewhat supportive of the women's movement, and they also were influenced by it. These women possessed what Fiedler has termed, a feminist consciousness, and they were willing to express this ideological perspective by raising the issues of women's rights in their campaigns within the context of human rights or as separate issues. A majority of the legislators, however, did not feel that more women are running and being elected to office because of the stimulus of the movement; instead, the legislators gave greater weight to the electorate's growing confidence in the ability of women to assume political roles and to the changes in traditional role definitions. For many reasons, women have extended their sphere of activity beyond children and family life by seeking paid employment. The economic shift, according to the legislators, has had political reverberations. Within this climate of social and economic change, women are beginning to share the power of political decision making. The women's movement is but one factor facilitating the rise of a new breed of political women.

Who are these women and where do they come from? A composite picture of their personal and family characteristics is a confirmation of the extension of Campbell's voting behavior theories to this political elite level. Campbell asserted that an increase in women's voting and political activism would occur first among women who rejected the traditional definition of politics as a male domain; this rejection would take place initially among well-educated, younger women from cosmopolitan areas (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 484-493). Among the legislators, the strongly in favor of the women's movement group (Group 1) was the youngest, the most well-educated, and the least inclined to be active in farm organizations, an indirect indication of an urban orientation. This group was not as constrained by their role as parents of younger children in running for office--strong evidence that these women had experienced the greatest shift away from traditional role definitions. The comparatively low involvement in church-related activities and fraternal organizations like the Organization of the Eastern Star also lends support to this group's rejection of activities circumscribed by kinder, kirche, and küche. Although these legislators maintained the pattern of residential stability in all four groups, the Group 1 women had lived the shortest number of years in their legislative districts; possibly, they had the least opportunity to absorb the norms of a society that has defined political women as deviants. Campbell also ascribed the lower female voter turn-out in the South to the more rigid role definitions for southern women. A breakdown by region showed that the women's movement supporters were least likely to come from the East South Central states; at the same time, many women's movement

supporters could be found in the South Atlantic states, a region that includes a number of states in the deep South.

One political characteristic differentiating the strongly in favor group from the opposed group was their political party identification; the Group 1 women were the most likely group to be Democratic Party identifiers, while the legislators in Group 4 were the most likely to be Republican Party identifiers. When the strongly in favor group (Group 1) was combined with the somewhat in favor group (Group 2) and contrasted with Group 4, the differences in party identification continued to be highly significant. These findings are consistent with those of McGrath and Soule and Farah and Sapiro; McGrath and Soule inferred from survey data on the 1972 women delegates to the Democratic National Convention that the women's movement had led many of these women to become involved in Democratic politics (1974, p. 149). In a comparison of Republican with Democratic female delegates at the 1972 conventions, Farah and Sapiro found 68 percent of the Democratic women favored the women's movement, but among the Republican women, only 22 percent supported it (1975, p. 14).

The most important variables in this study of 1975-76 women legislators were in the issues and attitudes category. Two of the three most powerful variables that discriminated among the groups were attitudes about the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment and the effect of the women's movement on attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women. These variables along with the other six variables in the category were highly significant or significant in the differences

among the groups and between the contrasting groups. The one exception to this generalization was attitudes about abortion, which failed to be significantly different in the comparison of Group 1 and Group 4.

In discussing the powerlessness of American women, Amundsen noted the special significance of women breaking into the predominantly male world of the state legislatures, political arenas where the major decisions on women's movement priorities are made (1971, pp. 77-78). As the data from the survey of women legislators who served in the 1975-76 sessions of their legislatures have shown, not all female legislators are interested in issues of women's equity, but the majority of them had been responsive to these issues in their campaigns and had attitudes in tune with those of the women's movement. If women continue to assume a greater share of the power of decision making at the state legislative level, the prospects for changing the status of women through the political process appear to be favorable.

#### Implications for further research

This study was the first assessment of the impact of the women's movement on women state legislators in the 50 states. Further research is needed on other levels of government as well. The conclusions, for example, may not apply to women at the local and county levels. A comparative study of male and female legislators on a similar scale could determine the influence of gender on attitudes and perceptions about women. Research also should be conducted over a larger time frame than one year to establish the long range effects of the movement. Another potential area of investigation is the study of female legislators' voting

behavior. Further assessments of the effects of family life, formal education, and employment would be of great assistance in understanding the complex influences shaping female political leaders. Another subject with potential for exploration is the role of political parties in encouraging prospective female candidates. Do political parties assist female candidates in mounting their campaigns in the same way male candidates are helped? Finally, more research can be done on the entire spectrum of women and politics.

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## APPENDIX: THE SURVEY FORM AND THE CODING PROCEDURES

## The 1976 Survey of Women State Legislators

Here are some reasons candidates give for running for office. Rate the significance of each statement as it applies to your initial decision to run for state legislative office. Circle a (1) if the statement was of no significance; a (2) if it was of some significance; a (3) if it was significant; a (4) if it was very significant; and a (5) if it was a most significant reason.

|  | No Signif-<br>icance | Some | Signif-<br>icant | Very | Most Signif-<br>icant |
|--|----------------------|------|------------------|------|-----------------------|
| 1. I received encouragement for my candidacy from community organizations  | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 2. I was approached by the party leadership to run.  | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 3. My involvement in the party made me feel that I was the most qualified candidate.                               | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 4. My involvement in community organizations convinced me that I had enough contacts to be a successful candidate. | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 5. My husband encouraged me to become a candidate.   | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 6. I was convinced that I could make a major contribution to the policy process.                                   | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 7. My decision was linked to a particular issue about which I felt strongly.                                       | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 8. I viewed my candidacy as a continuation of my involvement in public service.                                    | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 9. I felt that more women were needed to represent the special concerns of women.                                  | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |
| 10. I felt that my formal educational background made me an especially qualified candidate.                        | 1                    | 2    | 3                | 4    | 5                     |

Coding: (1) no significance; (2) some; (3) significant; (4) very; (5) most significant; (9) failed to respond

11. Were there any other most significant reasons for your decision to run? \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) self-assessment; (2) political opportunity; (3) generalized issue; (4) assessment of the opponent; (5) encouragement by friends, influential citizens, or members of the family; (6) other reasons; (9) failed to respond

12. If your decision was linked to a particular issue, what was the issue? \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) education and school finance; (2) women's rights issues; (3) more ethical and responsible government; (4) environmental concerns; (5) other issues; (9) failed to respond

13. If you received encouragement for your candidacy from community organizations, check the types of groups that gave you support. (Check all that apply.)

- Church-related groups \_\_\_\_\_
- Nonpartisan civic groups (e.g., environmental groups, better government organizations) \_\_\_\_\_
- School and school-related groups (e.g., PTA, education associations) \_\_\_\_\_
- Professional or occupationally-related groups \_\_\_\_\_
- Labor unions \_\_\_\_\_
- Farm organizations \_\_\_\_\_
- Business organizations \_\_\_\_\_
- Feminist groups (e.g., NOW, Women's Political Caucus) \_\_\_\_\_
- Women's service clubs (e.g., Federated Women's Clubs, Soroptomists) \_\_\_\_\_
- Men's service clubs (e.g., Rotary, Lions) \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (0) no support; (1) support; (9) failed to respond

14. Are you active in women's political organizations outside the organizations in your party (i.e., League of Women Voters, Women's Political Caucus)? (1) yes (2) no (3) no such organizations in my district \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) yes; (2) no; (3) no such organizations in my district; (9) failed to respond



15. If yes, what organizations are these?

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) League of Women Voters; (2) Women's Political Caucus; (3) National Organization for Women; (4) American Association of University Women; (5) Pro-ERA groups; (6) Business and Professional Women's Club; (7) other organizations; (9) failed to respond

16. Did participation in these organizations help you to develop the skills and expertise which were important to you as a campaigner and/or as a legislator? (1) very helpful (2) helpful (3) some help (4) no help (5) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very helpful; (2) helpful; (3) some help; (4) no help; (5) don't know; (9) failed to respond

17. Check the types of organizations in which you are or have been an active member. (Check all that apply.)

- Professional and business \_\_\_\_\_
- Labor unions \_\_\_\_\_
- Farm \_\_\_\_\_
- Youth-school service (e.g., PTA, Girl Scouts) \_\_\_\_\_
- School (e.g., AAUW, alumnae associations) \_\_\_\_\_
- General service (e.g., Federated Women's Clubs, Soroptomists) \_\_\_\_\_
- Special service (e.g., Cancer Society, Red Cross) \_\_\_\_\_
- Cultural-aesthetic (art, historical associations) \_\_\_\_\_
- Fraternal (e.g., social sororities, OES) \_\_\_\_\_
- Church-related \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (0) not an active member; (1) active member; (9) failed to respond

18. Did participation in these organizations help you to develop the skills and expertise which were important to you as a campaigner and/or as a legislator? (1) very helpful (2) helpful (3) some help (4) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very helpful; (2) helpful; (3) some help; (4) don't know; (8) no help; (9) failed to respond

19. How would you characterize your involvement in your political party over the last five years? (1) very much (2) somewhat involved (3) not involved (4) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very much; (2) somewhat involved; (3) not involved; (4) don't know; (9) failed to respond

20. In your campaign(s), have you ever raised any issues related to the status of women? (1) yes (2) no \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) yes; (2) no; (8) yes and no; (9) failed to respond

21. If you answered no to question 20, which statement best explains why you did not raise such issues? (1) Issues related to the status of women were not a major concern for my constituents. (2) I felt there were other more important issues that needed to be raised in my campaign. (3) Present state laws adequately protect women. (4) I did not want to be labeled "the women's liberation" candidate. (5) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Coding: (1) Issues related to the status of women were not a major concern for my constituents. (2) I felt there were other more important issues that needed to be raised in my campaign. (3) Present state laws adequately protect women. (4) I did not want to be labeled "the women's liberation" candidate. (5) comments; (6) a combination of more than one number; (9) failed to respond

22. If you answered yes to question 20, check each issue you discussed in your campaign.

- Child care \_\_\_\_\_
- Employment (e.g., affirmative action, equal pay) \_\_\_\_\_
- Equality of educational opportunity \_\_\_\_\_
- The national Equal Rights Amendment \_\_\_\_\_
- Rape \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal rights of the homemaker \_\_\_\_\_
- Credit \_\_\_\_\_
- Insurance \_\_\_\_\_
- Inheritance \_\_\_\_\_
- Abortion \_\_\_\_\_
- More women in government \_\_\_\_\_
- Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Coding: (0) did not discuss the issue; (1) discussed the issue; (9) failed to respond

23. Would you say that the women's movement has affected your attitudes toward issues related to improving the status of women? (1) substantial (2) some effect (3) no effect (4) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

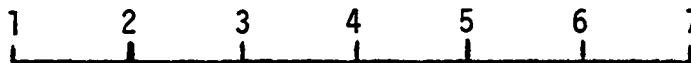
Coding: (1) substantial; (2) some effect; (3) no effect; (4) don't know; (8) comment; (9) failed to respond

24. In general, what is your attitude toward the women's movement? Would you say that you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed to it, or what? (1) strongly in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) mixed feelings (4) somewhat opposed (5) strongly opposed (6) not concerned

Coding: (1) strongly in favor; (2) somewhat in favor; (3) mixed feelings; (4) somewhat opposed; (5) strongly opposed; (9) failed to respond

25. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Women and men should  
have an equal role.



Women's place is  
in the home.



8 don't know  
9 haven't thought  
much about it

Coding: (1) Women and men should have an equal role; (7) Women's place is in the home; (2), (3), (4); (5), and (6) for the points on the scale; (8) don't know; (9) haven't thought much about it; (0) comment

26. Which of these two statements do you agree with most? (1) Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women. (2) Men have more of the top jobs because they were born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.

Coding: (1) Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women; (2) Men have more of the top jobs because they were born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women; (8) comment; (9) failed to respond

27. Which of these two statements do you agree with most? (1) It is not enough for a woman to be successful; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women. (2) Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual careers in as feminine a way as possible.

Coding: (1) It is not enough for a woman to be successful; women must work together to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women; (2) Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their individual careers in as feminine a way as possible; (8) comment; (9) failed to respond

28. Do you think that higher education is meeting the needs of women? (1) yes (2) no (3) partly (4) don't know

Coding: (1) yes; (2) no; (3) partly; (4) don't know; (9) failed to respond

29. Would you briefly explain your answer to question 20?
- 
- 
- 

30. There has been discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of these opinions best describes your own view? (1) Any woman who wants to have an abortion should be able to have one. (2) If a woman and her physician agree, she should be able to have a legal abortion. (3) Abortions should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman are in danger. (4) Abortions should never be permitted. (5) other (specify)

Coding: (1) Any woman who wants to have an abortion should be able to have one; (2) If a woman and her physician agree, she should be able to have a legal abortion; (3) Abortions should be permitted only if the life and health of the women are in danger; (4) Abortions should never be permitted; (5) responses that could not be categorized; (6) not a legislative matter; (7) support of abortions under special circumstances; (9) failed to respond

31. How do you feel about the proposal to establish a national day care or child care program for working parents? Are you very much in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed or what? (1) very much in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) undecided (4) somewhat opposed (5) very much opposed \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very much in favor; (2) somewhat in favor; (3) undecided; (4) somewhat opposed; (5) very much opposed; (8) comment; (9) failed to respond

32. How do you feel about the proposed national Equal Rights Amendment? Are you very much in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed, very much opposed or what? (1) very much in favor (2) somewhat in favor (3) undecided (4) somewhat opposed (5) very much opposed \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very much in favor; (2) somewhat in favor; (3) undecided; (4) somewhat opposed; (5) very much opposed; (8) comment; (9) failed to respond

33. How many years have you lived in your legislative district? \_\_\_\_\_

34. How many years of formal education have you completed? (1) elementary grades 1-8 (2) high school grades 9-11 (3) high school grade 12 (4) college 1-3 years (5) college 4 years (6) college 5 years plus \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) elementary grades 1-8; (2) high school grades 9-11; (3) high school grade 12; (4) college 1-3 years; (5) college 4 years; (6) college 5 years plus; (9) failed to respond

35. Do you identify yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent or what? (1) Democrat (2) Republican (3) Independent (4) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Coding: (1) Democrat; (2) Republican; (3) Independent; (4) other identification; (9) failed to respond

36. Would you try to rate yourself on the following scale? (1) strong party supporter (2) moderate party supporter (3) weak party supporter (4) disappointed with party and may change \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) strong party supporter; (2) moderate party supporter; (3) weak party supporter; (4) disappointed with party and may change; (9) failed to respond

37. When you were growing up, was your mother very much interested in politics, somewhat interested, or didn't she pay much attention to it? (1) very much interested (2) somewhat interested (3) not much attention (4) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very much interested; (2) somewhat interested; (3) not much attention; (4) don't know; (9) failed to respond

38. Did she think of herself mostly as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or what? (1) Democrat (2) Republican (3) Independent (4) other (specify) (5) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) Democrat; (2) Republican; (3) Independent; (4) other; (5) don't know; (9) failed to respond

39. When you were growing up, was your father very much interested in politics, somewhat interested in politics, or didn't he pay much attention to it? (1) very much interested (2) somewhat interested (3) not much attention (4) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) very much interested; (2) somewhat interested; (3) not much attention; (4) don't know; (9) failed to respond

40. Did he consider himself mostly a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or what? (1) Democrat (2) Republican (3) Independent (4) other (specify) (5) don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) Democrat; (2) Republican; (3) Independent; (4) other; (5) don't know; (9) failed to respond

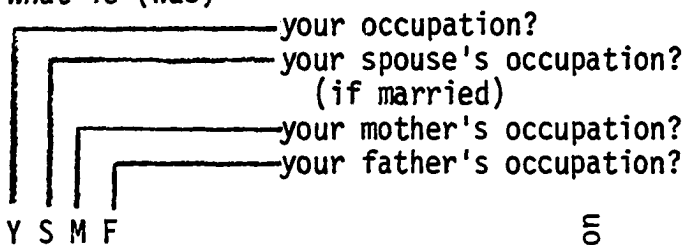
41. Did either of your parents ever hold office (party or government)? (1) yes, mother did (2) yes, father did (3) yes, both did (4) no \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) yes, mother did; (2) yes, father did; (3) yes, both did; (4) no; (9) failed to respond

42. How would you characterize the economic status of your family when you were a teenager? (1) poor (2) somewhat below average (3) average (4) above average (5) wealthy \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) poor; (2) somewhat below average; (3) average; (4) above average; (5) wealthy; (9) failed to respond

43. What is (was)



(Check only 4 responses, one in each column)

|  | Your<br>occupation | Spouse | Mother | Father |
|--|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Farmer and family farm worker                    | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Farm laborer                                     | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Semi- or unskilled wage worker                   | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Craftsperson                                     | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Clerical, retail sales                           | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Owner, small business                            | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Owner, large business                            | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Homemaker  | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Managerial, administrative,<br>semi-professional | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| College teaching, research,<br>or administration | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Elementary or secondary<br>school teaching       | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Attorney   | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |
| Other professional                               | Y ___              | S ___  | M ___  | F ___  |

Coding: The one response for each column was coded (1) and the rest with (0s). Two responses for each column were coded (2) and the rest with (8s). Failure to respond in each column was coded with a 9.

44. Who is the principal breadwinner in your household? (1) me (2) my husband (3) my mother (4) my father (5) other \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) me; (2) my husband; (3) my mother; (4) my father; (5) other; (6) breadwinning shared equally between spouses; (9) failed to respond

45. What is your present marital status? (1) married and living together (2) presently married but separated from spouse (3) presently divorced (4) widowed (5) never been married (6) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) married and living together; (2) presently married but separated from spouse; (3) presently divorced; (4) widowed; (5) never been married; (6) other; (9) failed to respond

46. In what year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

47. How many children do you have? (1) none (2) one (3) two  
(4) three (5) more than three \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) none; (2) one; (3) two; (4) three; (5) more than three;  
(9) failed to respond

48. If you have any children, how old was your youngest child  
when you first became active in politics? \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (00) before birth; (01) babies; a two digit number assigned for  
each year; (99) failed to respond

49. If you have any children, how old was your youngest child when  
you first ran for the legislature? \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (00) before birth; (01) babies; a two digit number assigned for  
each year; (99) failed to respond

50. What was your total family income before taxes in calendar  
year 1975? (1) below \$10,000 (2) \$10,000-\$19,999 (3)  
\$20,000-\$29,999 (4) \$30,000-\$39,999 (5) \$40,000 or more \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) below \$10,000; (2) \$10,000-\$19,999; (3) \$20,000-\$29,999;  
(4) \$30,000-\$39,999; (5) \$40,000 or more; (9) failed to  
respond

51. In what year did you first run for the state legislature? \_\_\_\_\_

52. In what year were you elected to the state legislature  
for the first time? \_\_\_\_\_

53. How many years have you served in the legislature? \_\_\_\_\_

54. What is the approximate population size of your legislative  
district? \_\_\_\_\_

55. In some states several legislators are elected from the same  
legislative district (multi-member district). In other states  
one legislator is elected for each legislative district  
(single member district). From what type of district were  
you elected? (1) single member district (2) multi-member  
district \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) single member district; (2) multi-member district; (9)  
failed to respond



56. Did your term of office end in January 1977? (1) yes (2) no \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) yes; (2) no; (9) failed to respond

57. If you answered yes, were you a candidate for re-election in November? (1) yes (2) no \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) yes (2) no (9) failed to respond

58. If your term ended in January and you did not seek re-election, would you explain why you were not a candidate?

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Coding: (1) personal considerations; (2) ran for another office; (3) lost in the primary; (4) political considerations; (5) other reasons; (9) failed to respond

59. If you ran for re-election in November, did you win or lose? (1) win (2) lost \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (1) won; (2) lost; (9) failed to respond

60. What are your future office-seeking plans? (1) I plan to seek election to the same office. (2) I do not plan to run again for office. (3) undecided (4) I plan to run for another office (specify which office). \_\_\_\_\_

Coding: (01) I plan to seek election to the same office; (02) I do not plan to run again for office; (03) undecided; (04) I plan to run for another office, but no office specified; (05) I plan to run for the state senate; (06) I plan to run for the U.S. Senate; (07) I plan to run for the U.S. House of Representatives; (08) I plan to run for lieutenant governor or governor; (09) I plan to run for a state-wide office; (88) The answer did not fall into any category; (99) failed to respond

61. If you do not plan to run again for office, would you explain why?

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Coding: (1) public service obligation fulfilled; (2) personal considerations; (3) age; (4) financial considerations; (5) political considerations; (8) responded but could not be categorized; (9) failed to respond

62. In the 1970s the number of women running and being elected to state legislative office has been rising at a rapid rate. How would you rank these six statements as explanations for this change? Rank them First through Sixth most important.

|  | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The electorate is developing a greater degree of confidence in the ability of women to assume political roles.                               | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Women legislators are encouraging other women to run for these offices.  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| More women are working in jobs outside the home; changes in traditional role definitions have had a spillover effect in the political arena. | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Women's educational attainment has been increasing and with it their feelings of competence for state legislative office.                    | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The women's movement has supported and stimulated women in their aspirations for state legislative office.                                   | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Political parties have intensified their efforts to recruit women candidates.  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Are there any other explanations for this change? _____  |     |     |     |     |     |     |

Coding: (1) first importance; (2) second importance; (3) third importance; (4) fourth importance; (5) fifth importance; (6) sixth importance. If the rankings were not in consecutive order, a value of (8) was assigned to the statements. Other explanations were assigned the following numbers:

- (1) Women have more time and/or are not the chief breadwinners.
- (2) Women have become more aware of their stake in politics.
- (3) Women are superior to men in politics.
- (4) There are more women in politics, creating a snowball effect.
- (5) Women are more self-confident about their political abilities.
- (6) Political changes have eased their entry.
- (7) Other kinds of explanations that were too infrequent to be categorized.

Failure to respond to the question was indicated with a 9.

Are there additional comments you wish to make on any of the questions?

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.