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The Relationship of Social Dominance Orientation and Political Efficacy to Political Participation of Women

by

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Abstract

Two studies were conducted to examine the factors that influence women's choices of political participation. In the first study 600 University students were asked their likelihood of engaging in 35 different traditional and non-traditional political activities to create social change (the Political Activity Scale). Factor analysis identified 5 factors, one of which represented traditional political activities, one of which represented non-traditional political activities, and three of which represented a mix of traditional and non-traditional. In the second study, 80 University students read a social issue concerning poverty or the environment, and completed a revised political activity scale. They also completed the Social Dominance Orientation questionnaire (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) and Craig and Maggiotto's measure of political efficacy. Results indicated that women were more likely to participate in non-governmental organizations than were men. Tests of mediation demonstrated that the sex difference in non-governmental organization participation was partially explained by women's lower levels of social dominance beliefs, relative to men, and by their perception of the non-traditional realm being more effective in creating social change (political efficacy).

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The Relationship of Social Dominance Orientation and Political Efficacy to Political Participation of Women

"She has been working in the trenches of this party for years, and particularly around the kitchen tables of this party

-Ontario PC Association nomination speech, 1982

The purpose of this study was to examine the factors that influence the political participation of women. When we speak of political participation, there is a distinct dualism in the type of participation in which people can engage. Traditional political activities, or Large-P politics, on the one hand, are those activities that involve the conventional political structure such as working within a political party or working for a political candidate. Non-traditional political activities, or Small-p politics, on the other hand, are those activities that involve non-governmental organizational work or social action with others within one's community. These activities are those that work outside of the government, typically against the status quo.[1] When the traditional political realm is examined, there is a clear under-representation of women in these activities, as women currently represent less than 22% of elected officials in Canada.

There are a number of possible reasons for the under-representation of women in the traditional political realm. Feminist theories of oppression argue that this under-representation is due to the barriers of patriarchy that have kept women outside of elite levels of management and political office. Further, the gendered division of labor has forced women to choose between career development and becoming mothers. Therefore, established barriers within the political system and society have maintained women outside of the traditional political realm and left them to search for different avenues of political expression.

Theories of socialization offer an explanation for the under-representation of women in the traditional political realm, as well. These theories describe the development of gender roles early in life that constrain women. Young girls are socialized to be emotional, nurturing, and passive. They are not typically encouraged to express interest in political and business-oriented careers, or to be aggressive and competitive- traits that are typically used to describe the politicians within the traditional political structure.

These theories offer some degree of explanation as to why women are not active within the traditional political realm. Is this the whole story? What types of activities are women interested in then, if they remain demonstrably outside of the traditional realm? Do these theories contribute to our understanding of what underlies individuals' decisions about the type of political activity that they would prefer to participate in and how effective they feel that activity would be in creating social change? There is reason to believe that women are underrepresented in the traditional political realm because they choose to participate in more non-traditional types of political activities. The present study will demonstrate that when given the choice among several different kinds of political activity to create social change, women will indicate a preference for non-traditional forms of political behaviour rather than traditional forms. This preference for non-traditional political activities suggests that women have a different political orientation from men, and that even though women are underrepresented in the traditional realm, they may participate in the non-traditional realm in numbers that more closely represent their proportion of the population. For example, research has demonstrated that women are very active in non-traditional political activities like non-governmental organizations (Romer, 1990). How can we understand this preference for one type of political activity over the other?

Both feminist theories of oppression and theories of gender socialization suggest that women may approach the political arena in a different manner than men. As women exist within

a patriarchal society and are subject to oppression within the home and the workforce, they are less likely to support the notion of a hierarchy of social groups in the world. They are less likely to agree with the notion that some people should be more powerful than other people in society. They are more likely to want people to be treated equally.

Similarly, as women grow up and are therefore socialized within a patriarchal world, they learn to demonstrate behaviour that is nurturing and passive, behaviour that is defined as the female gender role. As women are socialized to be feminine, they are less likely to agree with statements that depict a world structured by people in opposition to other people. Women are therefore less likely to view traditional politics as a place that 'fits' with their experience as a person within society. The traditional political system is a place where there are political parties in opposition to other political parties and these parties employ aggressive tactics to become the party in power. Also, as patriarchy sets the limits on how many women are represented in powerful positions in society, there are few female role models evident in traditional politics. Therefore, with few women role models to learn from, women may feel less efficacious, or empowered, to be successful within the traditional structure. Once again, as women are socialized to be feminine and passive, they may feel that individuals like them could not possibly influence the aggressive, masculine traditional political domain.

Women also may feel that because they do not agree with the basic hierarchical structure of the traditional political structure and because there are few female role models who exist within the system, that the system is not effective in creating the social change that they feel is necessary within society. They may want to work outside of a political system that maintains a hierarchical distribution of resources and power in society. Their preference is to work within the non-traditional political system, outside of the hierarchical traditional system, where collective community work is emphasized to a greater degree, and there are numerous women visibly

working to create social change.

In describing the reasons for the preference for the non-traditional political system over the traditional political system two main political constructs have been alluded to. These two factors are social dominance orientation and political efficacy, and they can be used as mediators to explain the relationship between gender and degree of political participation. It is proposed that the sex difference in political participation is because women do not endorse ideas of group hierarchy (social dominance orientation) as much as men do. Further, as they feel less efficacious than men in influencing the political system (political efficacy) they are less likely to engage in traditional political activities. For an illustration of these mediator relationships please refer to Appendix A.

Pratto, Stallworth, and Sidanius (1994) argue that an underlying political construct defined as social dominance orientation exists. It reflects a general approach to how people view the world. Social dominance orientation concerns the endorsement of statements that reflect hierarchy or the idea that certain people should be in power and that other people should live in disadvantage. It describes the belief that it is necessary for people to work against other people to attain what they desire. Therefore, those who are high in social dominance orientation endorse the maintenance of hierarchical structures in society that keep certain people in subordinate positions to other people.

Consistently throughout the examination of this construct, sex differences have surfaced, with women demonstrating significantly lower scores than men (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Brief, 1995). These authors suggest that sex differences within social dominance orientation may account for the sex differences in political policy preference, such that women tend to express more of an interest in policies relating to issues such as social welfare, while men tend to express more of an interest in issues such as military defense. As this

construct has been used to explain the difference between men and women in political policy interest, perhaps it can be used to account for the difference between men and women in political participation. As women typically do not endorse views supporting group hierarchy or opposition, and are therefore more egalitarian with regard to groups in society, they prefer to work outside the traditional realm. They may feel that activities outside of the traditional realm are more effective in creating social change. Conceivably, their approach to addressing political issues is to work in a structure that is more collective, where the emphasis is on collective action and not group opposition.

The other factor that may influence the political participation of women is efficacy. Political efficacy, or the perception that one can influence the political system, has been researched extensively. Consistently, it has been demonstrated that women perceive themselves to be less politically efficacious than men do. As women exist within patriarchy, are socialized to not engage in aggressive masculine activities, and have few female role models that actually work within the traditional political structure, they are more likely than men to feel that they are not capable of understanding the traditional political system, or to feel that they do not have a place within the traditional political system. This lack of internal political efficacy or belief that an individual is capable of understanding and influencing the political system is a factor that may dissuade women from entering the traditional political race for office. This factor may result in women's preference for not wanting to engage in traditional political activities. But, how empowered or capable do women feel participating in the non-traditional activities?

It may be the case that women actually feel efficacious within the political system, but this efficacy is different from the type of efficacy that has been defined within the traditional political literature. This type of efficacy reflects the egalitarian approach to people in the world and reflects the value of collective work in creating social change. To examine these feelings

within collective political work. Yeich and Levine (1994) defined the construct of collective political efficacy. This feeling of collective empowerment in influencing the political structure may be an important factor in the sex difference in political participation. As women approach dealing with social issues in a collective, egalitarian manner, it follows that they would feel this approach to be collectively politically efficacious.

A final aspect of efficacy that has not been researched directly in the literature is an individual's perception of the degree of efficacy that a certain political activity (e.g., working for a political party that supports reform of a certain issue) has to create social change. We have spoken of reasons for the sex difference in political participation. Political participation consists of numerous activities that are executed for the purpose of bringing awareness or change to a particular social issue, like child poverty, for example. Therefore, political activity efficacy is the perception of how effective a specific activity is in creating social change.[2] It seems probable that how effective one thinks an activity is to create the desired result has direct influence on whether or not one would consider participating in it. Political activity efficacy may be a factor that influences preference in political participation. Perhaps, women are more likely than men to feel that non-traditional activities are capable of creating social change.

To reiterate, as women are likely to endorse statements that reflect equality of people in society, are likely to feel collectively, rather than individually, politically efficacious, and are likely to feel that non-traditional activities are effective in creating social change, women are likely to indicate a preference to participate in non-traditional activities to a greater degree than men are. It is within the non-traditional political realm that women prefer to work. Please refer to Appendix B for an illustration of the mediator relationships of social dominance orientation and political efficacy on the sex difference in preference for non-traditional political activities.

Thus, there are theories that address the structural and individualistic reasons for why women remain outside of the traditional political realm, as elected public officials. Studies examining political participation have argued that because of this under-representation, women are less interested in politics. The present study attempts to demonstrate that, when given the opportunity to choose and express preference for political participation, women are more likely to choose non-traditional activities. This different political orientation emerges from their oppressed position in society, coupled with their socialization into the assumed feminine gender role. This paper attempts to demonstrate that the female political orientation is rooted in a political schema of egalitarian approaches to social groups, coupled with a strong belief that these non-traditional political activities are effective in creating change in social issues, which in turn, results in their greater representation in non-traditional political activities.

With this in mind, what are the statistics when it comes to the traditional political representation of women?

Representation of Women in the Traditional System

Numbers on the representation of women are contingent upon geographic location and party legislation. Statistics on women's participation in major Canadian party organizations for 1992 in Ontario indicated that approximately 70% of local riding secretaries were women, 20% of campaign managers were women, 15% of cabinet members were women, and a negligible number of major party leaders were women (Bashevkin, 1993). There are marked differences in representation statistics depending on the party and between the provinces, as well. There have been efforts to increase the visibility of women in provincial executive and party committees, and the statistics reflect these initiatives. In 1982, the provincial NDP adopted an affirmative action resolution that encouraged ridings to incorporate by-laws that require equal (at least 50%) representation of women in their executives and convention delegations. This rule changed in

1989 to specify target groups, namely women, visible minorities, individuals with disability and aboriginal individuals. According to Bashevkin (1993), there have been fewer advances for the representation of women in Liberal and Conservative organizations. The Conservatives have rejected the formal creation of affirmative action policies, while committing to recruiting the 'most promising women' without the use of quotas (MacIvor, 1996, p 260). The Liberal party has committed to encouraging and promoting women, stipulating that 50% of convention delegates from ridings be female, and has stressed Liberal constitutional provisions to emphasize voluntary, informal efforts to correct any imbalance in the representation of women and men. However, in 1992, a resolution was passed that allowed the leader to select candidates in ridings where the local association had failed to nominate a woman or a visible minority person. In 1993, Jean Chretien picked a few women to run in the election.

However, when examining cross-party comparisons, the effects of affirmative action are evidenced only in both federal and provincial NDP organizations. "Women in the NDP have generally been more likely than their Liberal and Conservative counterparts to break out of the pink-collar sector within constituency organizations and to obtain party president and treasurer positions" (Bashevkin, 1993, p 79). To illustrate these resolutions on the statistics of individuals in party positions, in Manitoba, 52.2% of the NDP executives were women, followed by the 39.1% of the Conservatives who were women, and finally 31.8% of the Liberal executives were women. In Ontario, women make up 50% of NDP executives, 40% of Liberal executives and 31.3% of Conservative executives. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the context of this research and the attitudes that exist within the area that the respondents inhabit. It is clear that women are far less represented in elite politics within the traditional political realm than men are.

There are a number of theories that may help explain this under-representation of women. Two theoretical perspectives that may be relevant to this issue are feminist theories of oppression

and socialization/gender role theories. These two theories will be discussed in terms of how they account for the development of a distinct political orientation for women.

Feminist Theories of Political Participation of Women

The feminist theories on the political participation of women can be focused around the gender division of the home and the workforce, the public/private dichotomy and the barriers established by the political parties themselves.

Gender divisions in the home. The theory of the home as a source of oppression is based on the idea that responsibilities within the home are divided in a way that oppresses women (MacIvor, 1996). As women are the child-bearers of the family unit, they have been subordinated into the role of primary caregiver with men having the ability to pursue careers outside of the home. Women are expected to take care of the family within the home. They are expected to make meals, to wash laundry, to clean, and to manage family affairs. Through their role as primary caregiver, women may turn to alternative, non-traditional methods to express their political interests, like working within the community, or for the local school to raise money for a social concern. Having this dual responsibility between work within the home and any outside employment is not conducive to traditional political activity. The traditional political system is less accepting of time spent away from political work for children and home responsibilities. Therefore, because women are expected to have their family as a number one priority, the non-traditional realm is more welcoming, as it is community-oriented and has flexible work hours.

It should be acknowledged that these arguments are presented with the understanding that these factors may limit women's entry into traditional political activities in the early years of their child's development. "As long as women are assigned primary responsibility for homemaking and child-rearing, their political activism will likely be constrained"(MacIvor, 1996, p.238). Further, it should be recognized that this oppression is especially the case for low-

income families, where there is little opportunity available for outside interests.

The gendered division of workplace Within the labour sector, there are numerous factors that demonstrate the oppression of women into subordinate, second-place positions to that of men. To this date, women still make less money than their male counterparts, especially in fields that have been traditionally dominated by men (Jacquie Newman, 2000, personal communication). With the demands of being the primary caregiver and manager of domestic affairs, women tend to have only their 'spare' time available for interest in employment. If women do obtain employment, they tend to occupy low-status, low-paying jobs, as it is these jobs that represent the majority of part-time employment. Further, these jobs are more accommodating to women's main occupation within the family. As a result, within the structure of the family unit, women's careers tend to represent secondary income to that of their husband's. Therefore, as the demands of family-building and traditional gender expectations ensue, women remain at a disadvantage in attaining elite levels in law and business programs, which tend to be the arenas where political networking occurs.

The public-private dichotomy According to MacIvor (1996), "the public-private dichotomy defines women as belonging to the home and family and men as belonging to the world of power and competition. Women have been defined out of politics, and kept in their homes" (p.240). The attitude that there are private and public divisions of life has been a historical determinant of the oppression of women. The basic tenet of this theory is that the woman is private. She belongs in the home with the family. Man defines the public sphere. He is aggressive, rational and designed for politics, business, and warfare. He is outside of the home. According to MacIvor (1996) "it is still commonly assumed that women's place is in the home, and that a woman who steps into the public sphere is doing something unnatural and unwomanly" (p.25). Therefore, by participating in traditional politics, women are viewed as

going against the general assumption that politics is a man's game.

This theory of the public-private dichotomy reflects the attitude that there are roles in society that are not meant for women. Traditionally, politics has been viewed as an area that women do not engage in. The private domain is regarded as central to women's position in society- (even more so when they have limited access to social mobility by their class, race and socio-economic status) There are some authors that argue that this constraint within the private realm has kept women out of politics (Randall, 1987), while others argue that it has kept women from entry into the *elite* politics (Lee, 1976). It is here, once again, that the definition of 'political' work becomes important. Some authors feel that the amount of participation does not change when women become mothers, rather the focus of the activity changes, as women tend to become more concerned with issues pertaining to their children and to local rather than national politics (Flora & Lynn, 1974)

If existing within the private sphere has kept women outside of politics, then it is thought that existing in the public realm will increase representation in traditional politics. According to Welch (1977), employment outside of the home is associated with an increase in the rate of political participation. With the increased visibility within the workforce and exposure to world affairs, women are more inclined to participate in politics. Lee (1976) takes a different angle on this position, arguing that it is not as much the decreased amount of time available to women after they become mothers, as it is the decreased ability to *control* when they will be able to engage in political activities. In a related study, Kelley and Boutilier (1978) examined 36 active political women and found that twenty of these women could be compared on whether or not they had children at home. Out of the twenty, twelve of these women had no children at home. Of the eight who had children, all were wealthy enough to have private care or extended family to tend to them. So, employment may be a source of mobility into traditional politics only for

women who have numerous resources available to them. Currell (1974) argues this point succinctly: "Employment outside of the home imposes on women who are still expected to be housewives, and especially if they have young children, a dual burden of work which can scarcely leave them time or energy for more demanding forms of political participation" (p.8). Randall (1987) suggests that as a result of this double burden, women are not in a position to attain the skills and network from the paid workforce that serve as benchmarks for attaining any clout within the political system. Therefore, as women have been traditionally kept out of the workforce or mainly in part-time, low-paying jobs, their entry into the political system has been very slow. If we look at this double bind closely we see that traditional politics requires the experience from elite levels of employment, and women are typically overlooked in that equation, so women are bound to subordinate positions in society.

Seligman (1974) describes the barriers to institutional access at all levels of entry, arguing that it is the eligibility criteria that pose a major constraint on women as contenders, and that these criteria are created by the institutions themselves. There are a number of professions that are compatible with a political career, including private law practice, consultancy, and journalism. For women, if they do work within these areas, it is primarily within clerical support and thus, it is not viewed as credential work. What is even more interesting is that the work that women do engage in, such as time management, communications, and information management, is considered less relevant to the political arena than law or journalism, even though it is this kind of work that is crucial to political development. In other words, within the public, traditional political structure, the private work of women is devalued and considered insignificant to political credibility, and their fixed position within the private domain maintains women outside of the traditional political structure.

According to MacIvor (1996), a major consequence of the public-private dichotomy has

been the misinterpretation of the political involvement of women. Women are considered less interested in political affairs and lacking the propensity to engage in such matters. In other words, political involvement has been evaluated against the public notion of participation or the participation that occurs in the public, male-dominated arena, devaluing all other forms of activity

The barriers from the political parties. What can be more shocking than qualified candidates being denied an opportunity to enter the political realm because of barriers from the gatekeepers to the parties? For many years the attitude has been that there is no place for women in politics. Feminist theorists (Bashevkin, 1993; MacIvor, 1996) argue that the root of the opposition to women entering the political realm is inherent in the structure of the political system itself. The political system is structured on power. The emphasis is placed on the government in power, and groups are in constant opposition to maintain the hierarchy of the political system itself. This attribute of the political system reflects the gender trait of masculinity that is the root of the traditional political structure. Because of these attitudes, women have felt apprehensive about the extent to which the political system can be responsive to their voice and membership. Coupled with this has been the political system's rejection of feminist movements (Lovenduski & Hills, 1981). As stated earlier, one only has to look at two of the major Canadian political parties rejections of affirmative action policies for the representation of women as executive members (one of the main components of the feminist movement) to see that the political system fails to respond to those initiatives.

The nomination criteria used for people wanting to get into Parliament have also been traditionally unfavourable to women candidates. According to Laschinger and Stevens (1992), many officials believe that nominating women as candidates for public office is too much of a gamble for the party. In this, it is thought that voters will not respond to a female candidate as

much as they would to a male candidate. The traditional system is structured in a masculine mould that determines that there are certain behaviours that are "normal" or masculine for the system. When witnessing a woman performing in the traditional system, a role that is outside of her traditional gender role, the feminine gender stereotype of how women should be is challenged and voters are very sensitive to that challenge. As the traditional political system is fixed on reinforcing masculine values, the barriers to accepting women are fixed as well. To illustrate, without the financial support from party supporters who typically aid new candidates, coupled with the average lower income level for women, and the perceived gender role biases from voters, it is very difficult if not impossible for women to compete with men for nomination in the party ridings.

In the Canadian system there has been an attempt to address the barriers from the political parties. This attempt has been witnessed in the ability of the Prime Minister to appoint a women as ministers of the government. There are still a number of problems with this situation, as women must first still be elected to office and then find the favour of the Prime Minister There has also been a trend for some parties to establish funds to aid women in their races for political office. The results of these funds are yet to be seen.

The feminist theories that have been presented examine the reasons for the under-representation in traditional politics. But what are the implications for the political representation of women? MacIvor (1996) argues that as a result of the barriers within the political system, the overbearing public/private dichotomy and the restraint of gender-based labour, "less formal, community-based political work has offered a more attractive and promising venue" (p.231) Some feminist theorists argue that there has been a movement within the female culture to a separate political orientation, one that has evolved out of the traditional exclusion of women. Thelma McCormack in 1975 challenged the idea that women lacked the propensity to

understand, and hence hold, political attitudes/interest. Her work examined a 'dual cultures' perspective, where women have different political experiences, and work within a different political culture than men do. This theory implies that "different political orientations among women and men constitute realistic responses to disparate experiences" (Bashevkin, 1993, p 41). This understanding follows nicely from the theories of the gendered division of the home, work and the barriers of the political system itself. Jill Vickers (1981) suggests that it is women's historical exclusion from the elite and political affairs that has developed into a different world of political life for women. Bashevkin (1993) argues that if the dual cultures perspective holds, then it should be able to predict "distinctive patterns of political behaviour"(p.139). Gilligan (1982) suggests that the different socialization of men and women leads men to value separateness, and for women to value connections with others. This value of connection with others explains the involvement of women in activism and community-based organizations. Further, this valuing of connection may reflect a value of some women for a 'collective' approach to social issues.

As the structures within society create the barriers against women's entry into the elite levels of occupation, this in turn creates a bleak reality of what is being taught to young women. The social environment serves as the source of information that is used to teach individuals about the roles that are available to men and women. The sources of this teaching can be parents, teachers, siblings and friends, who tend to draw upon the information structured by societal norms on the appropriate behaviours for men and women. Parents treat their boys and girls differently; they reinforce gender-congruent behaviours and punish behaviours that fall out of the norm of respective gender behaviour (Lytton & Romney, 1991). These behaviours are gender-defined, such that men are encouraged to engage in masculine behaviours and women are encouraged to engage in feminine behaviours. Through their socialization into the feminine

gender role, women learn that to be feminine is to be passive and nurturing (Bem, 1993; Lippman, 1922), and that there are certain occupations that are designed for women (Eccles, 1987; Gardner, 1986).

Psychology and the Development of Gender Roles

This section will discuss the process by which women learn that to be a woman is to be feminine, and to be feminine is to be passive, nurturing, and to pursue interests that are feminine, like working within the home, or within the social service area. Most of the work examining gender stereotypes has concluded that men are perceived to be agentic, aggressive, and instrumental, while women are perceived to be passive, relational, and emotional (Ashmore, 1981; Bakan, 1966; Lippa, 1990; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975; Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985). In considering the traditional political system as based on social interest groups opposing other groups, and aggressive political tactics, the feminine, passive, nurturing gender role fails to 'fit in'. As women are socialized into the feminine gender role, they are not encouraged to engage in traditional political work, and they are therefore less inclined to indicate a preference for working within the traditional realm. Earlier I suggested that women are at a disadvantage for entry into elite levels of business and politics by simply existing within a patriarchal social structure. The social structure creates, and hence perpetuates, the use of information that socializes gender roles, and inevitably results in the under-representation of women in traditional politics. Women are socialized to choose vocations that are stereotypic of their gender role. Where does this information come from and what are the mechanics of this process? Particularly, how do women learn that to be a woman is to be feminine, and to be feminine is to engage in certain behaviours and not others?

According to MacIvor (1996), "if we accept that children are socialized into their gender roles, it makes sense to assume a link between gender socialization and political socialization.

Boys are taught that politics is an aggressive, masculine endeavour; girls are taught that politics is a man's world and that they are ill equipped to understand or participate in it" (p.233). There are a number of theories that describe the process by which children attain a gender identity and subsequently, live within their respective roles within society (Adler, Kless, & Adler, 1992; Bem, 1993). Theories typically articulate how individuals actively process the link between biological sex and the gender of the psyche. In other words, children are not passive slates to be filled by information around them. This notion that children are active in the construction of their gender was first discussed by Kohlberg (1966), and adapted from Piaget. Kohlberg linked theories of cognitive development to the process of gender development, and ignored the influence of factors in the social community in the formation of gender. According to Kohlberg, a child spontaneously develops a sense of the difference between males and females and then evaluates the world according to that difference. Bem (1989), among others, has challenged the idea that the social community has little influence, while accepting that children are very active in the development of their own notions of gender. Empirical evidence for the influence of the social context comes from studies where the author found that eighty percent of American children, approximately 2 years old, can make a distinction between men and women based on cultural cues, like clothing and hairstyle. However, 50% of 3 to 4 year olds fail to discriminate between men and women, when they are only provided with physical attributes, like genitalia (Carey, 1985; Goldman & Goldman, 1982). Therefore, children learn what is male and female based on what their culture determines male and female to be. These stereotypes are transmitted to children via their parents and their social community.

Contemporary Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1993) incorporates the role of the social environment into the cognitive development of the individual. It examines the creation of schemas and the role that they serve in the development of a gender identity. Schemas aid

individuals in the processing of information, and also serve as a reference point to determine what information to pay attention to and what to discard. They allow individuals to form categories, and in the extreme, prescribe how to behave within certain situations. This notion is typically regarded within the cognitive miser model of processing of information, where people use categories or schemas in order to organise a great deal of information in the world

Cognitive theorists examine how gender as a category is activated. In other words, how do people know that behaviours or activities are gender-specified, or that women should engage in certain activities and men should engage in other activities? As we know that gender is almost always the first category to be processed (Kohlberg, 1966, Kohlberg & Ullian, 1974), theorists have argued that processing information related to gender is automatic in some individuals (Biernat & Mannis, 1990). As schemas are activated, they direct individuals' attention to schema-relevant stimuli, especially when the situation is novel or ambiguous (Brown & Geis, 1984, Butler & Geis, 1990). According to Lippman (1922), gender is a category that is comprised of a number of traits, roles, behaviours and even occupations that constitute a stereotype for how we perceive men and women.

In a particular study demonstrating the socialization of gender roles based on the stereotypes of how men and women should behave, Fagot, Hagen, Leinbach, and Kronsberg (1985) examined teachers and children in playgroup activity. The authors found that both boys and girls communicated in similar ways. However, the teachers reinforced behaviours that were in accordance with their own gender stereotypes of what boys and girls were supposed to be like. Girls were reinforced for communicating gently, while boys were reinforced for communicating assertively. Similarly, when these children were observed twelve months later, they displayed different behaviours from each other, and more importantly, displayed those behaviours that were reinforced by the teachers. Whiting and Edwards (1988) argued that boys and girls are

placed in different learning environments to prepare them for their adult roles. The adults who inhabit the social community of the child have gender-stereotyped expectations for the child, and hence, they tend to treat each child differently (based on their expectations). Children learn how to behave within their gender roles based on the reactions of their parents. Fagot (1978) examined parents interacting with their children at home. She found that children were treated differently according to their sex. To illustrate, parents reinforced boys when they played with blocks, and responded negatively when they played with dolls, and/or asked for help. Parents responded positively to girls when they played with dolls, asked for help, watched television and followed the parents around. They found that parents responded negatively when they manipulated objects, ran, jumped, or climbed. Therefore, what the parents believed to be appropriate gender behaviour based on the sex of their child determined the behaviours that were reinforced by the parents. Thus, the people within the social environment served as a critical source of influence for the development of the children's gender roles. These agents therefore prescribe the roles that are deemed to be appropriate for their children. It is doubtful that female children are reinforced to play "Prime Minister". Women are taught early in life that traditional politics is best left for the boys.

Gender stereotypes determine what information is brought to men and women in their socialisation, and therefore, translate information regarding social roles into gender-specific behaviours. Carli (1990) examined same-sex and mixed-sex pairs of college students discussing a social issue for approximately ten minutes. Results demonstrated that men agreed more with women who spoke tentatively than with women who spoke assertively. According to Lott and Maluso (1993) "there is good reason to assume that this differential response to the women by the men would have affected the women's behaviour had the interaction continued, and that such consequences in other situations are effective shapers of behaviour" (p.116).

Adler, Kless, and Adler (1992) examined factors that influence popularity to "assemble the cultural norms of appropriate gender identity constructed by children" (p.170). Studies like these are very important in the understanding of learned gender roles as they demonstrate that gender behaviours that are typical of one's sex are reinforced. Children were from predominantly white, middle and upper class neighborhoods. In order to enable diverse perspectives, the researchers made observations from a number of different positions, for example, as teacher, coach, volunteer, etc.. They found that "in the school environment, boys and girls have divergent attitudes and behavioural patterns in their gender-role expectations and the methods they use to attain status, or popularity, among peers" (p.172). Boys' popularity was affected by athletic ability, as the most popular boys were the most active and visible within sports. Within this realm arose the opportunity to engage in altercations involving fighting and shoving, in the majority of these instances, the authors found that the most popular boys were the 'givers' of the physical aggression. The authors also found that 'toughness' was another indicator of popularity of the boys. "Toughness involved displays of physical prowess, athletic skill, and belligerency" (p.173). Boys were reinforced for engaging in macho behaviour. Therefore, children learned that behaviour that is consistent within their gender role yields popularity. In a display of what happens when children behave outside of their gender role, the authors found that boys chastised other boys who behaved like 'fags', or in a feminine manner.

One of the main popularity factors for girls was physical attractiveness. This attractiveness was measured in terms of clothes, make-up, and accessories. Girls who endorsed the socially acceptable images of their gender role, or dressed in a feminine manner, were considered pretty and were regarded as popular. Another major factor was how precocious, or behaviourally adult-like, the girls were. This precocious behaviour was demonstrated in how socially advanced the girls were in their interest in boys and dating.

A great amount of the children's popularity was attributed to the degree to which the children adhered to socially constructed gender roles- it made them popular. The authors concluded "in discerning, adapting to, and creatively forging these features of popularity, children actively socialize themselves to the gender roles embodied in their peer culture" (p.183). Therefore, the peer environment of the child serves to reinforce those behaviours that are consistent with the gender role of the sex of the child, and children learn that there are certain roles that are socially acceptable for women and men. The girls were socialized for their degree of femininity - this is an area that typically excludes political ambitions.

Gender stereotypes of what is female and male behaviour can also be witnessed in the stereotyping of occupations. Occupations demand certain types of behaviours and these behaviours are divided based on whether or not they fall into masculine or feminine gender roles. With certain occupations being gender-identified, this can have serious implications for the socialization of individuals and whether or not they choose to engage in political activities. Women are socialized into believing that they should not engage in behaviours that are inconsistent with the feminine gender role. This suggests that women are not encouraged to engage in traditional political work. As there are few women working in the traditional political system, proportionate to the numbers of men, women are less likely to consider this realm for political engagement. Because of the gender- stereotyping of occupations, there are numerous assumptions in society of what determines male- and female- occupations. Gardner (1986) found that when children were asked to create a picture of a scientist, all of their drawings were of men. Children are socialized very early to understand that the world is divided into areas in which women work and areas in which men work. Political activity is typically viewed as a male occupation- media portrayals of the politician are almost always of a man advocating for a certain issue.

There are numerous consequences of the gender-stereotypes of occupations within society. A dramatic consequence for women when occupations are deemed male-identified is when discriminatory conclusions are made on whether or not women could successfully engage in these occupations. The result is that women are labelled as unqualified or lacking ability in these male-dominated occupations. With this, women are less likely to engage in these activities, knowing that there is little encouragement to do so. Therefore, occupations and roles that are gender-specified within society, limit entry for persons who do not fit the invisible qualifications. This is evident in literature examining attitudes toward male and female children in traditionally male-dominated academic disciplines.

Eccles (1987) examined attitudes toward children in the math and sciences areas that can be considered traditionally male-dominated. They found that parents believe that these sciences are more difficult for their daughters, and therefore are more inclined to interpret their daughters' success as reflective of their determined hard work/effort. However, for sons, parents are more inclined to interpret their success as an indicator or a demonstration of their ability. Therefore, parental attributions for similar behaviours between boys and girls are stereotyped on the basis of what is masculine and feminine, and have direct consequences for the feedback that the children receive. This feedback at earlier stages of development can have serious implications for the type of careers that young adults choose for themselves. Hence, it becomes clear that children are socialized to view behaviours and roles as sex-appropriate because of the gender stereotypes of those behaviours.

Bem (1993) argues that when children have the 'lenses' or schemas that interpret the social world in a polarity of two genders, it limits their potential. Young children learn that the world is differential in power and a great deal of that power is attached to sex and gender. "Thus, young children learn more than the particular roles attached to the female and male categories;

they also learn about patriarchy" (p.202).

The current research acknowledges both feminist theories of oppression of women and theories of gender role socialization in a manner that identifies society as the perpetrator of the information that is transmitted to children. The subordination of women based on the gendered division of labour and the home creates the learning of gender that develops into schemas of what is and what is not appropriate behaviour. The result of this socialization of gender and power is a differential approach to the political structure, which is inherent in the different political attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour of men and women.

So, what is the literature on the political participation of women? This paper will discuss some of the main contributors to this area, with specific reference to how the research suggests that women do not prefer to work within the traditional realm. Further, a number of methodological limitations of the research will be presented that relate to the design of the current study.

Political Participation Studies- Traditional and Non-Traditional Research

Throughout the review of the main studies on political participation, it became clear that political behaviour was in need of definition. Political behaviour has been researched in a variety of ways, with the general approach entailing the examination of rates of overt participatory behaviour. By overt participatory behaviour I mean that participants are asked whether or not they have previously engaged in a particular political activity, like working for a political candidate, and then a total score of acts engaged in is calculated. This approach poses a number of theoretical problems.

If one intends to examine sex differences in political behaviour, it is necessary to consider the sex differences in what underlies behaviour; that is, the political socialization, political expressiveness, and hence, political orientation of the individual. Research that

concludes that there are sex differences based on rates of traditional political participation fails to examine the political practice that minority, disadvantaged groups may be engaging in. Political behaviour has to be considered as more than simply a checklist of activities that one has been involved in, but rather as entailing the full range of cognition and behaviour that precedes and follows participation.

Within the present study, political participation is defined as behaviour that is politically motivated. Stated otherwise, political participation is behaviour that has implications for a certain political affair or behaviour that is geared to create social change. It also involves behaviours that may lead to overt political participation at a later date, like attending a rally, or watching a political discussion on television. According to Brady (1999), political participation requires "action by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes" (p. 737). Brady (1999) defines political participation as contingent upon overt action, rather than interest, motivation, or disposition. Further, he argues that it involves behaviour by ordinary citizens, not party executive members, in activities that are inherently 'political' or directed at some government policy or activity. Finally, he stipulates that political participation is defined by activity that is intended to influence outcomes. He argues that activities like reading newspapers, or watching political discussions on televisions, "border political activity, but they are not in and of themselves attempts to influence politics" (p.738).

There are a number of problems with this definition of political participation. If we acknowledge that there are certain people who lack the resources or opportunities to engage in overt actions that intend dramatic political outcomes, then we can see that the definition of political participation is biased to address the behaviour of individuals who can. The present study looks at political participation in a more inclusive manner. Within the context of this study, political participation is regarded as participation that occurs within the community, like helping

others build a recycling program. Individuals engaging in this behaviour may not intend for the action to attack a policy that the government has passed regarding environmental health, however their action does send a very strong message to other citizens that the health of the environment is an important political social issue worth considering. It is the mobilization of similarly-minded individuals that may, one day, influence the development of new policies concerning the environment. Political participation is also regarded as expressing interests in the established political system, like working for a political candidate or a political party. The intent of this paper is to address the reasons for why we see women represented in some political activities and not others. To accomplish this, it was imperative to look at individuals' *interests* in political activities that include everything from working with friends in the community to working for a political party. Investigating political participation in this manner allows for a fair representation of the political activities of individuals who are typically excluded in measures of political engagement and likelihood of engagement in political activities. Further, it allows one to explore potential reasons for preferences for some activities over others. It is unfair to look at overt participation in a political activity at one point in time, and then to conclude that this is an indicator of one's interest in political participation. Political participation is very much influenced by an individual's interests, attitudes, resources, and the social issues that are pressing; it will take on many forms in one's lifetime.

Anecdotally speaking, through interviewing people on their political beliefs and preferences, I have noticed that women do not like the word "political". When this term is mentioned, they indicate that they lack knowledge of politics; additionally, they are less likely to declare a party affiliation, or an interest in 'politics'. However, every woman is able to articulate social/political issues that they feel strongly about and their ideas for possible solutions to these problems.

Throughout the literature there are a number of conclusions regarding the degree of political participation of women. Some research has concluded that women are not interested in political affairs (Verba, Burns, & Schlozman, 1997), women are apprehensive about the political structure (Briscoe, 1989), and that women are less involved in political activities (Lehman, Burns, Verba, & Donahue, 1995). There is also a separate body of literature that examines the participation of women in non-traditional political work (Paulsen & Bartkowski, 1997; Romer, 1990; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). In these studies, some of the focus is on factors affecting involvement, and on how earlier activist-type work leads to later traditional work. Researchers have yet to explore the type of participation preferred by women and the political interests of women. This paper will now examine some of the research supporting each of the general conclusions discussed regarding women's participation in politics.

'Women are less interested/less knowledgeable than men about political affairs'. Verba, Burns, and Schlozman (1997) examined the issue of the under-representation of women in the traditional political realm, as reflective of a term they named 'political engagement'. The authors defined political engagement as a combination of two measures: political interest and political knowledge. Together, these two indicators were used to describe participants' 'engagement' in politics. Using the Citizen Participation Study[3], they compared men and women on political engagement and then used this engagement as a predictor of political participation. Political knowledge was assessed by a political information questionnaire that consisted of a series of factual questions. The authors concluded that men had greater knowledge of political affairs as "for nine of the ten items, men were more likely to provide a correct answer" (p.1054). These questions referred to national or federal political affairs. In the final question, men and women answered equally correctly; this question referred to local politics. Finally, they found that men were higher than women in interest in political affairs, discussion of political affairs, sensitivity

to political cues (the likelihood of perceiving the political content of messages in the environment) and political efficacy. They concluded "in short, differences in political knowledge, efficacy, and interest play a decisive role in explaining the small disparity between women and men in political participation" (p. 1059).

There are a few possible critiques of and insights into this work that need to be addressed. The conclusions regarding lack of knowledge and interest in political affairs were demonstrated for national or federal politics, and not for local politics, where women showed just as much knowledge and interest as men. This lack of knowledge and interest could easily be regarded as a reflection of a different political orientation that has since been regarded as a deficiency in political ability. In other words, the tests of political knowledge focused mainly on a single dimension, that of elite and traditional politics. The fact that women are involved in the local and non-governmental sector demonstrates that they are politically interested. To accurately conclude that women are not politically interested and knowledgeable would be to conclude this across all levels of political engagement. The authors offer no explanation for this inconsistency in knowledge across the local and national levels. This poses a problem in drawing conclusions on the political participatory behaviour of women since some research does demonstrate that women are politically active (Paulsen & Bartkowski, 1997; Romer, 1990). The present research and theoretical model attempt to account for this discrepancy in the research literature by bringing traditional and non-traditional activities together, to demonstrate that women are interested in political participation. It is argued that women have a preference for political participation that is based on a general orientation to political issues. This general orientation to political issues consists of egalitarian principles toward the distribution of power in society.

"Women are apprehensive about the political system." Some research has focused on factors that may discourage women from participating in traditional politics. Briscoe (1989)

examined female lawyers and their perceptions of the traditional political domain. Over half of the members of the House of Representatives and almost two-thirds of the senators in the United States were lawyers in 1988 (Bell & Price, 1988, as cited in Briscoe, 1989). Therefore, there is a strong link between law practice and political office. Law schools offer the technical training that would seem to motivate female lawyers to become involved in the political arena. However, in the U.S. only 1 in 20 female legislators now in office is an attorney. The author examined why female lawyers display little interest in politics. Questionnaires were completed by 40 female lawyers. Participants were asked whether family members were involved in politics, whether they had ever been candidates for public office, and whether they had children. They were also asked to rate their agreement with statements reflecting drawbacks of politics, and the likelihood of what they might expect running for office, in the absence of a male competitor. The authors found that most of the female lawyers were uninterested in political candidacy. They all agreed that success in politics leads to anxiety for a woman. Two-thirds of the participants indicated that they had been discriminated against since entering the field, and more than half felt that being a woman had impeded their professional growth. The majority of female lawyers stated that "men did not seem willing to welcome women into races for public office"(p.562). Participants were finally asked why there was a lack of women in public office. The majority of their responses reflected the idea of "a larger degree of 'old boy network' and mentors who groom certain individuals for positions" (p.562). Finally, 22 of the 40 female lawyers felt that "politics is always somewhat dirty"(p.563).

One's perceptions of an area that one is potentially interested in will affect one's entry into that area. It is research on women's attitudes toward the political system that enables researchers to predict women's impressions of the political structure. It has been argued that there is a certain type of woman who participates in the traditional political system (Kelly, 1983).

The woman who does enter the traditional structure is one who is not stereotypically feminine, and who has the right amount of resources to help her enter the system (e.g., money, no children or childcare, familial connections to government). In the previous study, it has been demonstrated that even women within the law profession, an area that is traditionally male-dominated and known for its aggressive and competitive environment, felt that the political system was uninviting for women. If one were to guess the type of woman who would be most interested in political work, one would probably guess that a woman in law would be. This was not the case, as the female lawyers spoke of the discrimination that they felt within the law profession and anticipated that the traditional political structure would be the same. Along with notions that women are apprehensive about entry into the traditional political system, there is research that concludes that women are less politically active than men, as well

'Women are less active than men in political activities' Lehman, Burns, Verba, and Donahue (1995) examined whether male and female activists have a different "voice" concerning their political interests. They also examined data from the Citizen Participation Study. This study can be commended, in that it broadened the definition of political to include those activities that do not involve the traditional structure. Unfortunately, however, the authors failed to label these activities as 'political' in nature, but rather defined them as 'non-political'. The authors found that for political activities (we assume 'traditional political'), significant sex differences were evident in 'made a campaign contribution', 'worked informally in the community', 'served on a local governing board', 'contacted a government official', and 'affiliated with a political organisation,' with men displaying more activity than women.

The authors also examined sex differences in 'non-political activity'. Non-political activity was measured by having been 'affiliated with a non-political organisation', 'active in a non-political organisation', 'served on a (school) board or in official position', 'attended (church)

services once a month or more', 'gave time to religious activity', and 'gave money to church' The authors found significant sex differences on the church activities only, with women indicating more activity than men

From these findings, the authors concluded that men and women do not differ in their political participation because the sex differences evident in participation were relatively small and there was a relative similarity in the overall pattern of participation of men and women. However, they concluded that men and women have different political 'voices,' as they expressed interests in different public policies. For example, women were more interested than men in education and abortion issues. A number of methodological points can be made that challenge the method of determining whether or not men and women differed in their political 'voices' The authors' definition of public policy interest as an indicator of political 'voice' can be considered incomplete To begin with, the activities listed as 'non-political activity' failed to reflect the full range of non-traditional political activity, and therefore could not possibly capture fully the political interests of women. Further, the use of the term 'non-political' created a bias in attitude toward activities that were inherently political, for example, working with others in the community to create a petition, and writing letters for a non-governmental organisation. Perhaps when the full range of non-traditional activities is considered in comparison to traditional political activities, and the examination of the differences in public policy interests is explored, researchers will be able to gauge whether men and women have different political 'voices'

Research that focuses on the traditional political participation of women has overlooked the fact that women are very politically active in non-traditional or unconventional political activities. Women have taken an active role in a number of social movements and social causes. When non-traditional political activities are examined, such as participation in non-governmental organizations, we see that men and women are equally active and interested in these political

activities (Paulsen & Bartkowski, 1997; Romer, 1990). With findings like these, it is difficult to agree with the idea that women are not 'politically' active. Past literature has demonstrated that women have been very politically active in non-traditional political work.

Women in Non-Traditional Political Work

Some research has focused on how different political groups of the past, the protestors and the student leaders of the 1960s, are politically active presently (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994; Stewart, Settles & Winter, 1998). Sex differences in participation in protests have been addressed in a limited number of studies (Cable, 1992; Lawson & Barton, 1980; McAdam, 1992) with some indication that women were less involved. To counter this conclusion, McAdam (1992) argued that women may have been afraid to participate in the potentially dangerous Freedom Summer crusades, not encouraged to do so, or even denied participation. During this time, women were typically asked to execute the menial tasks, which may have discouraged them from participation. Researchers may not have considered these tasks to be indicators of political participatory behaviour. Another point to consider is that women's lower rates of college attendance may have resulted in less exposure to various activist networks and experiences (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). Sherkat and Blocker found that the bulk of sex differences in participation were mediated by socialization factors, "with females having lower efficacy, stronger beliefs in the Bible, and lower rates of college attendance" (p.832). Therefore, although women were participating in these movements, there were a number of external factors that impeded their participation in any of the political activities that were measured. In other words, the political behaviour of women was measured by the activities that they were *sanctioned* to participate in. More importantly, these findings offer no information on women's political interests.

What can be said for women activists in the 1990s? The feminist movement has

demonstrated that women are very politically motivated and capable of changing the traditional political structures that bind them. Women are very visible and active in challenging the current policies that impose on the maintenance of the social welfare of citizens

Participation in political demonstrations often involves a great deal of hard work and aggression because it often advocates for opposition to the political system. It could be argued that because unconventional political action can be dangerous at times, men are more likely to dominate in this sphere as well. Romer (1990) examined whether or not political activism is considered a masculine endeavour. She recruited participants who had been identified by a teacher or peer as a political activist. Interestingly, she found that relatively equal numbers of men and women responded to the requests for political activists in the study. Therefore, there were as many women as men identified as political activists. She measured participants' political behaviour as the number of affiliations with various organizations that each participant listed. Some examples of the affiliations were Amnesty International, Women Against Pornography, and the Hunger Project

Romer (1990) found that men and women were equally active in the activist organizations. There were no significant sex differences in frequency of participation within the organizations. As non-conventional political activities are situated outside of the traditional political structure, women may feel inclined to participate in a more open and community-oriented forum. It is typically in this area that people are struggling for equality and improved social programs. Romer's approach to measuring participation in the organizations deserves acknowledgement. Participants were asked to list the organizations they have worked with. This freedom to express their political interests allowed for a fair measure of participants' political participation and surveyed a full range of political organizations. It allowed the participants' political interests to serve as a gauge of their political activity. The results may have been quite

different if participants were presented with a checklist of organizations, and there were no feminist organizations listed.

Sex differences in the area of social concern surfaced as well, with women more likely than men to be interested in what are defined as feminist social areas (e.g., abortion and equality). Therefore, although men and women were equally active, they expressed interests in different areas. These findings reinforce the fact that men and women do differ in their ideas about what issues should be of legislative concern, and this difference reflects the fact that they approach political issues differently, but are as active in their political work. Men and women's experiences in their political work are very different too.

Some researchers have been interested in women's experiences working in non-governmental organizations. Paulsen and Bartkowski (1997) examined sex and perceptions of success among neighbourhood association activists. The authors found no difference between men and women in the amount of current involvement in the organizations. Men were not more likely than women to occupy leadership positions. Finally, they found no significant sex differences in the amount of time spent on association business. Thus, in terms of participation in the organizational work, women were as likely to participate as men were.

An interesting finding from this study was that women were significantly more likely than men to perceive their neighbourhood association to be successful. In other words, women were more likely than men to perceive the organizational work as accomplishing social change. Perceptions of organizational success have serious implications for political participation preferences, and this supports this argument of the current study: women have a preference for participation in non-traditional political work because they feel that it is an effective arena to work in to create social change.

As previously discussed, there is a great deal of research that demonstrates that women

are less active than men in traditional political work. There is also a great deal of research that demonstrates that women are very active in non-traditional political activities. How can we account for this preference for one domain over the other? Feminist theories of oppression have explained that women are subordinated into positions that prevent them from having the option to participate, like being a full-time mother or manager of domestic affairs. As society creates the information that parents, teachers, and friends transmit to young girls about what it means to be feminine and the roles that they should pursue, women are maintained outside of the traditional system because they are socialized to behave in a way that is not accepted by the traditional system. This has left women with a distinct preference in political participation. Women may prefer to work in the non-traditional system, as it endorses a non-hierarchical approach to social issues, it attracts numerous women who serve as role models, it is more accommodating to the double-shift that most women face from working and managing the home, and it is an area that is more responsive to their method of creating social change. In other words, women typically approach social issues in a way that reflects community development and an egalitarian attitude to all people. Therefore, the main mediators of these sex differences in political participation, social dominance orientation and political efficacy, will now be reviewed.

Social dominance orientation. Understanding how people perceive the social world and the groups that inhabit it has been a central area of concern in social psychology for many years. There has been extensive research on attitudes concerning groups and inter-group relations. A sub-area of this research has emerged that has attempted to develop a construct or orientation for how people perceive groups in society. Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) argued that attitudes toward groups could be categorised according to the extent to which individuals believe in a natural hierarchy or ordering of groups within society, with some groups maintaining and deserving a more dominant position than other groups. This propensity to agree with a

hierarchical ordering of social groups is defined as social dominance orientation (SDO); its opposite is egalitarianism or social equality. Specifically, it is the "extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups" (p.742) People who display high levels of SDO typically feel that it is acceptable that there are certain people in power and certain people who are oppressed. They feel that hierarchy among people in the world is natural. As SDO explains how people approach established structures within society, it becomes directly applicable to how one approaches social change and the political world.

The authors developed a 16-item questionnaire to assess individuals' degree of agreement with items that reflect or do not reflect SDO. The items focus on ideas that some groups are inherently superior or inferior to other groups. The scale is balanced, as half of the items concur with inequality and half with equality.

The main consistent finding from their original studies was that men displayed higher levels of SDO than women. In all but two of the samples tested, men consistently agreed with statements that reflected group dominance and group inequality. To demonstrate the validity of the scale, SDO was positively correlated with ideologies of group prejudice against other nations, ethnic groups, and women. Conversely, low SDO persons expressed more concern for others on measures of empathy, altruism, and communality. To further demonstrate the strength of the generalizability of SDO across different populations, Sidanius, Pratto, and Brief (1995) conducted a cross-cultural comparison of men's and women's perceptions of SDO. They found that within samples from Australia, Sweden, the United States and Russia, males had higher SDO scores than females.

In examining SDO as a construct that influences the type of political participation one chooses to engage in, I found myself engaging in a number of conversations with individuals who felt that SDO could simply be reflecting what we already know of how people are divided

politically conservatives and liberals. Perhaps SDO is just another way to explain maintaining social structures (conservatism) and the opposite, working for social reform (liberalism).

Is SDO just a form of Conservatism? To demonstrate the discriminant validity of the construct, Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) tested whether SDO was related to social attitudes when conservatism was partialled out. To assess political-conservatism, the authors employed a self-report liberal-conservative measure in all of the samples. Participants were asked to rate their political view on foreign policy issues, economic issues, and social issues based on a 7-point scale (i.e., 1-very liberal to 4-middle of the road to 7-very conservative). Political conservatism was calculated as the mean of self-ratings on these 3 items.

The authors found that SDO correlated with political-conservatism in 7 samples. To demonstrate that SDO was a predictor of policy attitudes above and beyond political economic conservatism, they computed correlations between SDO and policy attitudes after partialling out conservatism. They found that of the 41 significant correlations between SDO and policy attitudes, only 5 became non-significant. Therefore, SDO examined an orientation to political attitudes above and beyond that of political conservatism.

As SDO concerns attitudes toward the division of power within society, it could be argued that levels of SDO are related to whether or not one chooses to participate in traditional or non-traditional political activities. Based on the fact that women live and are socialized in a patriarchal world, they are less likely to endorse the hierarchy and power of certain groups. They may prefer to work outside of an arena that maintains hierarchy. Therefore, SDO can be viewed as an important mediator of the sex differences in type of political participation.

Rationale for SDO as a mediator of political participation. The value of SDO as a factor that influences women's choice of political participation arises from the fact that women fail to endorse tenets of SDO, and therefore feel that non-traditional political participation reinforces

the values that they tend to endorse, which involve collective egalitarian work to achieve social change. Therefore, they are less likely than men to engage in positions that reflect power over disadvantaged groups in society. Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, and Siers (1997) argued that "men are over-represented in hierarchy-enhancing roles and women are over-represented in hierarchy-attenuating roles" (p 38). They defined hierarchy-enhancing roles as roles in society that serve the interests of the elite and already privileged groups of people, and hierarchy-attenuating roles as roles in society that serve oppressed groups of people. They predicted that men and women would choose different hierarchical roles, reflecting their different perceptions regarding social equality. There are a number of studies within the socialization literature that have suggested that boys and girls have different perceptions of social equality. Erez, Borochov, and Mannheim (1989), for example, demonstrated that girls valued altruism and industrial democracy more than boys. Pryor (1983) showed that girls valued helping behaviour more so than boys. Chusmir and Parker (1991) found that female managers scored higher than male managers on measures of equality across different levels of management. This difference was found in Canada, as well, among French and English Canadians employed by the Public Service of Canada (McCarrey, Edwards, & Jones, 1978). Perron and St -Onge (1991) found that men valued status, prestige, and high incomes from their occupations more so than women.

Links to SDO and occupational choice. Pratto et al. (1997) argued that sex segregation in hierarchy roles in occupational data is apparent when occupations are categorized as hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating. Universally speaking, women remain outside of military command positions, high-ranking police officer roles, and high government office positions. Business executives are rarely women and the majority of judges in the criminal courts are men. These roles can be thought of as hierarchy-enhancing. On the other hand, many social workers are women. A greater proportion of women than men donate money to charity and are involved

in volunteer charity or social service work (Schmittroth, 1991). These roles are thought of as hierarchy-attenuating. The authors posited that "if one assumes that national or ethnic leaders are expected to maintain their nation's position of dominance with respect to other groups, then the fact that women are rare in high government office the world over also fits this pattern" (p 38)

To investigate the role of SDO in relation to occupational roles, Pratto et al. (1997) examined 173 participants on levels of SDO and occupational roles. Participants completed a questionnaire on intended occupation, job preference within occupations, and work values, as well as the SDO scale. The authors categorized people into hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating roles by asking participants to name the occupation that they intended to work in, from a list of careers categorized as hierarchy-enhancing, middling, and hierarchy-attenuating. In addition, the authors created a list of job descriptions for hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating jobs within occupations and matched them together. To illustrate, within each occupation two job descriptions were presented that were nearly identical, except for the job's influence on elite or oppressed groups. Participants chose which of the two jobs they would prefer. The authors examined whether men would choose more hierarchy-enhancing jobs than women, and whether or not the jobs chosen were related to participants' preference to work in occupations classified as attenuating, neutral, or enhancing.

Participants also rated the importance of 32 work values, 28 that reflected values that have been shown to demonstrate gender differences in the work values literature, and 4 that reflected SDO. For example, they indicated how important it was to have a high income, leadership opportunities, and respect for one's work.

The authors found a significant relationship between sex of participants and the classification of intended occupation into hierarchical roles. To illustrate, 79% of participants intending hierarchy-attenuating roles were women. They found that intended attenuators had

lower SDO scores than enhancers, and that men had higher SDO scores than did women.

To examine SDO as accounting for the gender difference in the selection of hierarchy-oriented occupation, the authors used a hierarchy classification measure as the dependent variable. The classification variable was divided as 1=attenuator, 2=middler, and 3=enhancer. A significant main effect emerged on the classification variable, with men scoring higher than women (M=2.17 and M=1.92, respectively). Gender was associated with 4% of the variance. When SDO was entered as a covariate, the variance explained by sex was reduced to 2%.

In terms of hierarchy-related job choice, the authors examined the preference for either of the two job descriptions within the occupations. They found that men chose significantly more hierarchy-enhancing jobs than women did. Further, participants with high levels of SDO chose more hierarchy-enhancing jobs than did participants with low levels of SDO. However, men and women did not differ in the amount of hierarchy-attenuating jobs that they chose.

The authors also found that enhancers valued gaining personal prestige, having high social status, leadership opportunities, and opportunities for advancement more so than middlers and attenuators. Attenuators valued working with people, being a mentor, helping others, serving the community, working with the disadvantaged and helping the underprivileged more so than middlers and enhancers. Through the examination of these work values that distinguish attenuators from enhancers, and hence, women and men, it is possible that one's perceptions of the traditional political domain are also based on how one perceives the degree of hierarchy in society.

The authors argued that SDO accounts for part of the sex segregation in hierarchy roles. They offered two explanations that echo the ideas postulated in the current study. "Self-selection and institutional selection both may lead people into careers and employment institutions that are compatible with their personal preferences and values...People assume that other apparently high

SDO people belong in hierarchy-enhancing work settings and that apparently low SDO people belong in hierarchy-attenuating work settings". Further, because men are generally higher and women lower on SDO, "cumulative matching of an individual's SDO level to a particular job will also lead to gender segregation in hierarchy roles" (p 44). The second explanation taps into gender stereotypes, in that gender stereotypes determine which sex belongs in which hierarchy role. "The banning of women from hierarchy-enhancing roles has long been a part of cultural traditions"(p 44). Therefore, men will choose hierarchy-enhancing roles more so than women. To support this argument, the authors conducted a hiring experiment where participants recommended male and female applicants with the same credentials for a job. The authors found that participants hired more high SDO participants for the hierarchy-enhancing jobs and more low SDO participants for the hierarchy-attenuating jobs. Even more interesting, participants hired more women for the hierarchy-attenuating jobs and hired more men for the hierarchy-enhancing jobs.

What are the implications of these findings for understanding an individual's willingness to participate in political activities? As we have seen, there is a significant amount of literature indicating that women do participate in non-traditional political work. There is also a great deal of research demonstrating that women perceive social groups somewhat differently than men do, and they are more likely to endorse egalitarian views. Traditional political roles can be viewed as hierarchy-enhancing, and therefore not conducive to collective work. When considering the political structure of Canada, we speak of the party in power and the one in opposition. Perceptions regarding social equality have direct influence on one's political attitudes and hence, political activities. It is for these reasons that SDO can be viewed as a mediator for the relationship between sex and participation in political work to create social change. Specifically, it is because women regard social equality and hierarchy-attenuating roles as important that

women are more likely to engage in non-traditional political activities.

Efficacy. The second factor that is thought to account for the lack of participation of women in traditional political activities is political efficacy. Efficacy can take on many forms. It can be viewed as how much power one feels in one's abilities to influence the political system, in the political structure to be responsive to one's demands, and in the political activities that one chooses to engage in to effectively create change. The first two types have been researched in the literature, and have demonstrated significant sex differences, with men generally displaying higher degrees of political efficacy than women. The latter is a novel area that has not been directly examined in the literature, and is presented in the context of this study.

In order to understand what motivates people to become involved in activities to create social change, it is necessary to examine the degree of power people feel as creators of social change. This efficacy determines whether or not people will become engaged in action, and the type of activity people will engage in. When we examine the efficacy that women feel in the political world, it becomes apparent that women feel less efficacious in traditional political activities, though they may feel empowered in other areas.

According to Bandura (1995), perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations. He describes four main types of influence on people's beliefs concerning their efficacy. These are mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, social persuasion, and physiological and emotional states. Briefly examining the definitions of two of the most crucial ones (i.e., mastery experiences and vicarious experiences), and women's experiences in the traditional political domain, will explain why women lack a sense of efficacy with respect to traditional politics.

Mastery experiences involve the accumulation and development of the cognitive and

behavioural tools for executing courses of action in the world. The accumulation and the development of mastery experiences begin at an early age. Political socialization research argues that boys are more politicised than girls. It has been thought "girls ought to differ from boys... at early ages. On most measurements they do, with girls decidedly less political. Girls are less oriented to various kinds of political action and are decidedly less informed...there is a cultural tradition of feminine non-participation transmitted in childhood" (Jaros, 1973, p.45). When the political domain is examined, it is clear that women have lacked the opportunity to develop these mastery experiences. The feminist theories of the oppression of women have posited that women have not had the opportunity to engage in the traditional political system. Sadly, the consequence of missing this opportunity is a lack of experience in the traditional political structure. Rappaport (1982) demonstrated that women consistently responded with more 'I don't know' responses in political opinion polls. Further, females are less likely to be in leadership and/or elected government positions throughout their lives (Orum, Cohen, Grasmuch & Orum, 1974). Therefore, because women have been underrepresented in the leadership positions and higher-level positions, they lack the feeling of empowerment that comes with the experience. It is clear that women lack the mastery that men have in traditional politics, and gender role socialization theories have shown that women are not encouraged to develop this mastery.

Vicarious experiences are another crucial way to develop and nurture efficacy. These experiences are provided through social models. Witnessing people similar to themselves succeed by determined effort raises observers' beliefs that they, too, possess the capabilities to master similar activities (Bandura, 1995). Hackett and Betz (1981) explained that men and women differ in their levels of efficacy in traditionally female and male occupations. They found that male students' levels of self-efficacy were relatively the same in traditionally female and male occupations. However, female students felt more self-efficacy in traditionally female

occupations and lower self-efficacy in traditionally male occupations. Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) argued that the absence of female role models in male-dominated careers leads to limited career options for women. Similarly, other authors have argued that the absence of women role models is a deterrent to women pursuing occupations in science (McLure & Piel, 1978; O'Donnell & Anderson, 1978). Matsui, Ikeda, and Ohnishi (1989) examined perceptions of self-efficacy in 10 male-dominated and 10 female-dominated occupations. The authors replicated the findings of Hackett and Betz (1981), and also found that "females reported lower self-efficacy in male-dominated occupations than in female-dominated occupations to the extent that they believed that they had fewer female role models in male-dominated occupations" (p 1). As discussed earlier, by existing in a patriarchal society, women are not given the opportunity to participate in the traditional realm. Therefore, there are few women in the traditional realm that can serve as role models. The numbers of women in high levels of public office can be discouraging to women considering activities there.

On a similar note, Mellor (1995) examined the relationship between sex composition of local unions and sex participation. The authors investigated how men's and women's participation in local activities might differ as a function of the number of men and women in local office. In other words, a large number of women represented in local office would have a positive effect on women's experience and interest in participating. The authors postulated that because women have minority status in the U.S. unions and local offices, they would be more responsive to the numbers of women in office. The authors found that "women's ratings of their competence and opportunity to participate in local activities were higher in local activities with a higher composition of women in office...ratings of their opportunity and desire to participate were positively related to gender representation of women in office" (p 706). Having a number of women visible in the union office, empowered women to seek involvement. Witnessing other

women perform in the offices allowed women to model their behaviour and to relate to their experience. As there are few women in traditional political office, the traditional political structure may be perceived as uninviting to women, as there are few women to model.

Verba, Burns, and Schlozman (1997) investigated what would happen to rates of women's engagement if the number of women among political elites in office were increased. In other words, they were interested in examining whether or not witnessing other women in office had a positive impact on women's interest in participating. The authors simply presented to participants a list of women who have served in office. Interestingly, they found a gain in engagement for the women participants who had been presented with the list compared to those who had not been. The authors concluded "for women, living in a state with a state-wide female politician has a significant impact on political information, on knowledge of public officials' names, and on political efficacy"(p. 1066). These findings demonstrate the effects of efficacy on women's interests in politics. As the political arena is an aggressive place that requires a great deal of determination and commitment, feelings of efficacy in influencing the system are crucial predictors of whether or not one will engage in any activity, and the type of activity that one will decide to engage in.

Political efficacy. The amount of efficacy that one has in influencing the political system can have serious implications for whether or not one decides to engage in any sort of political activity (Koch, 1993). Perceived political efficacy is a term that is employed to define a person's perceived ability to participate in and influence the political system (Reef & Knoke, 1999). Perceived political efficacy has been conceptualised into two distinct parts: internal and external political efficacy. Internal political efficacy involves the perception of personal skills for political participation. A person who has high internal political efficacy believes that he or she can individually influence the political system. External political efficacy involves the perception of

how responsive the political system is to the concern of individuals. A person who has high external political efficacy believes that the political system is very responsive to the efforts of the people it governs. Therefore, lacking external political efficacy means that people feel they cannot influence political outcomes because government is unresponsive. Craig and Maggiotto (1982) have conceptualised internal and external political efficacy as describing two very different ways of the citizen feeling towards the government. The authors posited that internal political efficacy, or feelings of oneself as an effective political actor, is a function of social status and one's level of political information and attentiveness. When we consider that in society women have been oppressed into not believing that the traditional political structure is a place for them, and hence, have been considered to be less politically informed and knowledgeable, it is understandable that women should perceive themselves to be less politically efficacious than men. Yeich and Levine (1994) argue that high external political efficacy can be interpreted as a naive understanding of the political system. According to these authors, because external political efficacy is related to power issues and system change, it may be that it is a reflection of, or contingent upon the sample employed (i.e., on oppressed groups vs. privileged groups). Craig and Maggiotto (1982) postulated that high internal political efficacy or high perceptions of personal competence, and low external political efficacy is the best pairing for the mobilization of people. This prime combination is based on the idea that if people feel that they are personally competent to engage in political activity, and if they perceive the government as unresponsive, then they are most likely to become involved.

Political efficacy can be considered an important mediator of the relationship between sex and political participation. As there is reason to believe that women feel less politically efficacious than men (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994), they are more likely to prefer working in the non-traditional political structure as it is an area that is more welcoming to women. Paulsen

(1991) examined predictors of political efficacy in students. Students were those who had participated in the Youth-Parent Socialization Panel Study 1965-1973. Regression analyses revealed that students from a higher socio-economic status and leaders of organizations were more likely to feel high levels of internal political efficacy. However, being female or a member of a racial minority group decreased the likelihood of feeling politically efficacious. The author found that even female students who were leaders, had good grades and who came from a high socio-economic status, were still not likely to feel as politically efficacious as male students.

If we suggest that women are more likely to choose non-traditional types of political activity, then we must be suggesting that women feel somewhat empowered in these activities. Perhaps how women feel empowered in their participation is directly related to the nature of the non-traditional political work. Yeich and Levine (1994) proposed an expansion of the definition of political efficacy labelled 'collective political efficacy'. This dimension involves the perception of the institution's responsiveness to collective efforts for social change. "While the external political efficacy component represents perceptions of the responsiveness of the political system to individuals, this new component represents perceptions of the system responsiveness when masses of people organize to demand change" (p.260). Expanding political efficacy in this way entertains the possibility that women feel politically efficacious in a way that reflects the activities that they are proportionately more involved in.

Yeich and Levine's (1994) measure of collective political efficacy assesses people's perceptions of the political system's responsiveness to organized, collective demands for change. The authors performed cluster analyses to examine the interrelationships among internal, external, and collective political efficacy scales. They found that items formed separate clusters corresponding to their respective scales, and so collective political efficacy was found to be different from the other types of political efficacy. An example of an item assessing collective

political efficacy is "Organized groups of citizens can have much impact on the political policies in this country" (p.270).

There has been limited research in the area of collective political efficacy. It reflects the contention that political activity is not constrained to traditional political activities and allows research to examine the empowerment that people feel when engaged in non-traditional activities. It is possible that the efficacy felt by women in political behaviour has been overlooked, with the assumption that women do not participate in politics and are not interested in politics. As has been demonstrated, there is reason to believe otherwise. It may be the case that how collectively efficacious women feel influences their engagement in non-traditional political work.

To feel efficacious with the people one is working with fails to account completely for why one engages in any type of activity. If one considers the amount of effort one has to invest in an activity, then there is probably a perception of the degree of efficacy that the activity itself possesses. This efficacy is defined as "how effective you feel this activity will be to create the change desired". This study introduces political activity efficacy, and suggests that it is a strong mediator influencing one's likelihood of participation in political work. Perhaps women are more likely to feel that the non-traditional political arena is effective in creating change in the barriers of the political system that oppress disadvantaged individuals. As they exist and experience the constraints in a patriarchal society, they may feel that to effectively express their concerns is to participate within a network of similar-minded people. Women are more likely to engage in non-traditional political activities because they feel that these types of activities are effective in expressing their political interests and creating social change.

There are few points that are up for debate when it comes to the political participation of women. It is clear that women are under-represented in the traditional political domain. There are

few female party executives and we have yet to see an elected female Prime Minister of Canada. However, when unconventional political activities are examined, there are many women visibly working to challenge political ideas and aid in the development of social programs. How can we understand this visibility of women working in one arena and not in the other? In this study, it is argued that women have a distinct preference in their political participation. This preference reflects their socialization into subordinated positions in a patriarchal society. This socialization fails to encourage women to enter traditional politics, and establishes boundaries that prevent women from entering the political elite. As women typically do not endorse the tenets of social dominance orientation and are less efficacious when considering their abilities to influence the political system, they are more likely to prefer to engage in an arena that is community-oriented and responsive to their positions in society. This is an area where there are numerous female role models for women to turn to for advice and guidance. It is an area that endorses, to a greater degree, an egalitarian, collective approach to management and problem-solving compared to the traditional political structure. Thus, when given the option to choose the type of political activity to create social change, it is argued that women will be more likely than men to choose non-traditional political activities. In order to account for the proposed sex differences, social dominance orientation and political efficacy are examined as potential mediators of participation. Finally, we explore a new area of political efficacy, political activity efficacy, and demonstrate that it is a strong predictor of willingness to engage in political work and the type of political work chosen.

Therefore, the hypotheses of the present study are as follows:

Hypotheses

It is predicted that there will be a significant sex difference in the likelihood of participation in traditional political activities. Men will be more likely than women to indicate a

preference for these activities.

It is also predicted that men and women will differ in their likelihood of participation in non-traditional political activities, as women will indicate a greater likelihood of participation in these activities than men.

To account for the sex difference in political participation, it is predicted that social dominance orientation and political efficacy are significant mediators. To illustrate, as women are less likely to agree with the hierarchical structuring of groups in society, they are less likely to agree with statements endorsing social dominance orientation, and therefore, are less likely to engage in the traditional political structure, compared to men. Further, as women tend to perceive themselves as incapable of influencing the political system, they tend to demonstrate low levels of political efficacy and therefore, are less likely to engage in the traditional political structure, compared to men. Please refer to Figure 1 for an illustration of this relationship.

It is also argued that women are more likely to engage in non-traditional political activities compared to men. The proposed reason for this sex difference in participation is that women are more likely to value an equal distribution of power among groups in society and are more likely to work in arenas, like non-traditional political activities, that endorse similar egalitarian values toward groups in society. Further, as there are female role models working in non-governmental organizations, women are more likely to feel that they are capable of influencing social change, and are predicted to be more likely to feel that this arena is effective in creating social change than men. They are therefore more likely to engage in non-traditional political activities compared to men. Please refer to Figure 2 for an illustration of this relationship.

Finally, it was predicted that when examining participants' preference for political activities, women would choose the non-traditional political activities more so than the

traditional political activities.

The present investigation was conducted in two studies. As one of the main goals of the research was to demonstrate that women have a distinct preference for political work, a questionnaire examining both traditional and non-traditional political activities needed to be created. The general purpose of the first study was to create a valid questionnaire measuring political activity. An extensive list of traditional and non-traditional political activities was presented to participants.

Study 1

Method

Participants

Six hundred (206 men and 394 women) participants completed Study 1. The mean age of this sample was 19 years. Participants were Introductory Psychology students at a smaller university in southern Ontario, Canada. Each participant received one research credit toward his or her Introductory Psychology grade. This study was a component of a mass testing battery employed on the Introductory Psychology Participant Pool.

Procedure

Participants received general instructions that the purpose of the study was to examine their preferences for activities to create social change. They were asked to choose, from a list, those activities that they would consider participating in, when thinking about a social issue like poverty or environmental damage. They were also asked to indicate how effective they thought each activity would be in creating social change. After participants completed the questionnaire, they received feedback concerning the main purposes of the study.

Materials

Political activity questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of 35 traditional and non-

traditional political activities to create social change. Participants were asked to indicate the degree of likelihood that they would participate in each activity, based on a 7-point scale ranging from1=very unlikely to 7=very likely, and how effective they thought each activity would be in creating change, also on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1=very ineffective to 7=very effective The list of activities was taken from a number of sources, and adapted to create an extensive list of possible political activities Some of the items were extracted from the core set of items of the American National Election Studies According to Brady (1999), these items have been used extensively in many studies of political participation around the world, including Milbrath (1965), Milbrath and Goel (1977), Conway (1991), and Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) The core set of participation items were Vote, Try to Persuade, Display Preference, Go to Meetings, Give Money, Political Work, Money to Candidate, Money to Party, Other Group Money For the purposes of the present study, these core areas were applied to the non-traditional activities and the traditional activities in the following manner, i.e., "Try to persuade others to join a non-governmental organization", or for traditional political activities, "Try to persuade others to vote for a candidate" Activities were also added from Verba and Nie's (1972) Participation in America Study These included Local Contacting, National Contacting, Local Problem Solving, and Local Group Formation. Protest and community activism activities were also extracted from Fendrich and Lovoy (1988) Sample items are "joining in a protest march" and "participating in any form of political activity that could lead to arrest" Additional items were sampled from Stewart, Settles, and Winter's (1998) political activity category of 'engaged observation'. The authors have argued that this category adequately examines those people who have traditionally been described as non-participants but have displayed an "interested observation, and moral support for a social movement" (p.64). The authors argue that both active participation and engaged observation in social movements are types of political participation. This type of

participation was presented in both traditional and non-traditional political activities. A sample item was "I would keep informed on the issue by watching television or reading the newspapers". Please refer to Appendix A for a copy of the activities questionnaire.

Results

A principal components factor analysis with a varimax rotation was conducted on the items to enable the development of the traditional and non-traditional categories. Items were conceptualised around general categories of non-governmental work, traditional political work, contacting the government, trying to persuade others to engage in some forms of political activity, protest activities, and non-active political participation, as they were taken from these sources in the creation of the original questionnaire. Factor analyses determined that there were six factors that accounted for the majority of the variability in the items (approximately 61%), and these were the factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. The first factor that emerged accounted for 36% of the item variance and demonstrated five items with factor loadings greater than .6. These items together reflected work in non-governmental organizations, and hence were labelled as the Non-governmental factor. The second factor that emerged accounted for 7% of the total item variance and demonstrated four items with factor loadings greater than .6. These items reflected work around contacting the government, in one way or another, and therefore, were labelled as the Government Contact factor. The third factor accounted for 5% of the total item variance and demonstrated three items with factor loadings greater than .6. These items displayed work around trying to persuade others to engage in some form of political activity to create social change, and were labelled as Trying to Persuade Other. The fourth factor that emerged explained 5% of the total item variance and displayed 4 items with factor loadings greater than .6. These items indicated work around participating in the traditional political realm and were labelled as the Traditional Political Work factor. The fifth factor that emerged

explained 4% of the total item variance, and demonstrated three items with factor loadings greater than .6. This factor consisted of items that reflected non-active political work, and was labelled as the Non-Active political factor. The sixth factor that emerged explained 4 % of the item variance, and displayed three items with factor loadings greater than .6. These items reflected protest political activities to create social change, and were therefore labelled as the Protest activity factor. Validity tests were conducted on each of the factors. The factors that were considered as subscales of political participation for Study 2, were the ones that generated Cronbach's alpha coefficients greater than .60. The following five factors were accepted as subscales for the second study: Factor 1- Non-governmental Organization work (alpha = .89), Factor 2- Government Contact - (alpha = .90), Factor 3- Persuade Others (alpha = .84), Factor 4 - Traditional Political Activity (alpha = .77), and Factor 6 - Protest Activity (3 items, alpha = .62). Therefore, the non-active political participation factor (4 items) was not included as a subscale, as it generated a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .54. Table 1 demonstrates the political participation factors that were accepted and their factor loadings.

Preliminary Sex Difference Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted to test for sex differences on the political activity sub-scales. Independent sample t-tests demonstrated significant mean differences for three of the sub-scales: Non-governmental organizational work, Government Contact, and Persuade Others. On each of these sub-scales women indicated a greater likelihood of participating, $t(596) = 7.105$, $p < .0001$, $t(598) = 2.759$, $p = .006$, and $t(595) = 2.846$, $p = .005$. Please refer to Table 2 for the mean scores for men and women on each of these subscales. Therefore, women were more likely than men to indicate an interest in participating in activities that involved non-governmental work, government contact, and persuading others to be involved in political activities.

Political activity efficacy subscales were also created for each of the political activity

subscales. As stated earlier, participants were asked to indicate how effective they believed each activity would be in creating social change. This allowed for an efficacy rating for each of the activity items. The political activity efficacy subscales were then determined by the sum of the activity efficacy ratings for each political activity subscale. Therefore, each political activity subscale had a corresponding political activity efficacy subscale, with an identical number of items. Independent samples t-tests were conducted on the activity efficacy scales for each political activity sub-scale. Two of the political activity efficacy sub-scales demonstrated significant sex differences. Non-governmental Efficacy (Cronbach's Alpha = .84) and Government Contact Efficacy (Cronbach's Alpha = .87). Women scored significantly higher than men on the Non-governmental Efficacy sub-scale, $t(595) = 4.723$, $p < .0001$ ($M = 23.81$, $SD = 4.98$; $M = 21.72$, $SD = 5.44$, respectively), and on the Government Contact subscale, $t(593) = 2.029$, $p = .043$ ($M = 19.39$, $SD = 6.21$, $M = 18.30$, $SD = 6.29$, respectively). Women were significantly more likely than men to believe that non-governmental organizational and government contact work were effective in creating social change.

Relationships Between the Measures

Please refer to the correlation matrix in Table 3. The data demonstrated a number of interesting correlations. Specifically, significant positive relationships between political activity efficacy and participation in the activity subscales emerged. To illustrate, non-governmental activity efficacy was significantly positively related to non-governmental activity, $r(598) = .580$, $p < .0001$. Therefore, as the amount of perceived efficacy in the activity to create change increases, the likelihood of participating in the activity increases.

Discussion

The general purpose of the first study was to create a political activity questionnaire that could be used to explore the political participation interests of men and women. The first

measure created five significant factors that demonstrated a traditional/non-traditional split in political participation. Response items that loaded onto each of the five factors significantly demonstrated political work or action within each of the respective political domains.

For the first factor, non-governmental organizational work, item responses ranged from becoming a member of an organization to working with others in the community to create social change. This arena can be thought of as working outside of the traditional political structure where the emphasis is placed on collective community work. Together these items created a valid indicator of engagement in a non-traditional area of political work.

The second factor that emerged was labeled Government Contact, as it involved communicating with the government through letters, petitions, and any other preferred mode of communication. The response items ranged from working with others in the community to working individually to express concern to the government. The degree of traditional vs. non-traditional activity within the government contact factor could be up for debate. As the activities within this sub-scale demanded some degree of reliance on the traditional political system, it could be argued that it is traditional work. On the other hand, some of the items involved creating a petition and working with other individuals in the community. Thus, the Government Contact subscale will be regarded as reflecting both traditional and non-traditional political activity as it contains items that reflect involvement within the traditional and non-traditional political structure.

The third factor that emerged was labeled 'Try to Persuade Others' to do some sort of political activity to create social change or social issue awareness. This was an interesting category, as it reflected what typically happens among people when they engage in political discussions: people persuade other people to get involved or to consider a social issue. A great deal of mobilization occurs when people encourage similar-minded people to become active in

political work. Therefore, this factor was included in the complete measure of political participation, as it was a reflection of how most people begin any sort of political work. For purposes of this study, items in this factor demonstrated trying to persuade others to become involved in both traditional and non-traditional political activities. The item responses ranged from trying to persuade others to vote for a political candidate to trying to persuade others in the community to think about a social issue. Thus the Try to Persuade Others factor included both traditional and non-traditional political activities, but reflected the nature of convincing others to engage in political work.

The fourth factor that emerged was labeled Traditional Political Activity, as it included activities that involved traditional political work, or working within the traditional political domain. Item responses ranged from working for a political candidate who supports reform of a social issue to running in the next local election. Here, the emphasis of the items was placed on the traditional political system to create social change. Together these items formed a valid indicator of traditional political participation.

The fifth factor that emerged was labeled as Protest Activity as it included activities that involved unconventional political or protest work. Item responses ranged from blocking traffic, painting slogans, or any form of political activity that would lead to arrest, to joining a protest march of the issue. This factor was included because it demonstrated the extreme unconventional political behaviour that occurs in the non-traditional political arena.

The items and hence the five main areas that they represented, were combined to form a political activity questionnaire. The items depicted both traditional and non-traditional political activities and provided participants with a full range of potential political activities.

The second goal of the first study was to examine preliminary analyses concerning the extent to which sex differences in the likelihood of engaging in political activities exist. As was

predicted, women were more likely than men to indicate a willingness to participate in non-governmental organizational work. Here we see the first indication that women prefer to participate in non-traditional work compared to men. Results also demonstrated a significant sex difference in likelihood of participation in the Government Contact subscale and the Persuade Others subscale. Women were more likely than men to indicate an interest in participating in government contact types of political activities, like writing a letter or signing a petition, and were more likely to indicate an interest in persuading others to engage in political activity.

Participants were also asked to indicate the degree of effectiveness they thought each activity would have in creating social change. This type of inquiry represented a rather novel approach to examining political participation interests, and proved to be very useful to the general content of the questionnaire. Results demonstrated that women were also more likely than men to feel that the non-governmental organization and government contact activities would be effective in creating change. These feelings may be important mediators in whether or not men and women choose to engage in these activities. The value of asking participants to indicate their perceptions of each activity's efficacy was apparent, as we were able to generate significant mean differences in men's and women's perceptions. Results also demonstrated that the political activity efficacy subscales (or the total scores of perceived effectiveness of each of the political activity subscales) were significantly positively related to participants' likelihood of participation in the political activity. This perception of the effectiveness of the political activity to create social change may be a significant predictor of whether or not one considers engaging in that activity. Future construction of political activity questionnaires would benefit from the inclusion of such a measure for an additional method of gauging the extent of interest that individuals have in political activities.

Although the first study produced a number of interesting findings, there are a few points

that can be raised. The presentation of the political activity questionnaire did not involve the presentation of social issues for participants to consider, and therefore may have left the participants feeling that the setting was too contrived. As a result they may have found it difficult to reflect on the activities that they would be interested in participating in and so they may have been inclined to simply 'over-answer', or to consider a number of activities simultaneously. This may have been the case for women particularly, as they demonstrated higher means in three of the five political activity subscales. The presentation of a social issue would allow participants to begin thinking politically early on in the experiment, and would serve as a catalyst in participants' decisions regarding the types of activities they would consider participating in.

In spite of this, an interesting finding to consider is that results failed to demonstrate a significant sex difference on the Traditional Political Activity sub-scale. In other words, men were as likely as women to indicate an interest in participating in traditional political activities. A possible reason, beyond the lack of a social issue to provide a realistic political expression from the participants, lies in the methodology of the study. As stated earlier, the goal of the study was to probe individuals' interests and preferences for political activity. In this study, participants did not have to indicate whether or not they have participated in each activity, but rather whether or not they would be interested in participating in the activity to create social change. Examining interests in this manner, allows for people who are typically excluded from statistics on the number of participated acts to indicate a preference. This may have resulted in a leveling of the mean scores between the two sexes, resulting in the finding that men and women are *as* interested in engaging in traditional political activities. However, due to the preliminary nature of these analyses, conclusions are only speculative at this time. With a condensed version of the political activity questionnaire and a social issue to consider, results concerning likelihood of participation in traditional political activities will be more conclusive in the second study.

The purpose of the first study was to generate an extensive questionnaire of political activity containing both traditional and non-traditional types of political activity. Factor analyses demonstrated that there were five main factors, and these were then used as subscales for preliminary analyses of sex differences in participation. Creating this measure of political participation, and conducting the preliminary analyses for sex differences in type of political participation, allowed for testing potential mediator relationships in study two. Knowing that sex differences in type of political participation exist affirmed the desire to explore the reasons for these sex differences. To accurately examine attitudes to activities to create social change, and to demonstrate significant mean differences between men and women that would allow for conclusive results, it was necessary to provide participants with a social issue prior to completing the political activity questionnaire. It was thought that this would enable us to create a less contrived experimental setting and to emulate the typical approach that people embark on when considering political participation.

Study 2

Why the Social Problems Approach?

Political participation allows people to voice their needs, concerns, and problems to the government. According to Brady (1999), political participation is defined as action by citizens intended to influence a political outcome. In studying political participation, researchers have employed different approaches. The three approaches that have been developed are the activities approach, the institutions approach, and the problems and needs approach. The activities approach requires the participant to recall activities that he or she has participated in, or to choose from a list of activities those that she has participated in. The institutions approach identifies places, such as work, church, or organizations, where people may participate and then asks questions about participation. The problems and needs approach inquires about people's

concerns, and then asks questions about activities. The methodology of the present study incorporated the problems and needs approach, as it involved the presentation of one of two social issues, poverty or environmental hazards, and required the participants to choose their preferred approach from several political activities. This approach acknowledges that political action is linked to people's social concerns. The introduction of a social issue allows people to begin thinking about social issues and political action. By providing participants, in addition to a social issue, the opportunity to choose from activities that they would consider participating in, this technique creates a situation that is comparable to the political reality most people live in. In other words, social awareness and social action tend to be linked in one's social worlds.

Method

Participants

Participants were 80 students (40 men and 40 women) at Wilfrid Laurier University. Background information was taken from each participant, which included participant sex, age, and political orientation. Please refer to Appendix B for a copy of the background information questions. The mean age of this sample was 19 years, and the average political orientation (1-Very Liberal to 7-Very Conservative) was Moderate or 3.6. There was no mean difference between men and women on political orientation ($p > .05$). All participants were provided with a consent form, and were debriefed on the purposes of the study. Please refer to Appendix B for a copy of the consent form, and please refer to Appendix C for a copy of the participant information sheet. Each participant received one research credit toward his or her Introductory Psychology grade for participation in this study.

Procedure

Participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine their perceptions of activities to create social change. Each participant read about one social issue, either poverty

or environmental concerns, and then completed the activity questionnaire. The social issues were randomly distributed to participants. The questionnaire package consisted of the activity questionnaire, social dominance orientation questionnaire and then the perceived political efficacy questionnaire. This was to ensure that participants were responding to the activities based on their interests, and to control for potential confounding effects of the social dominance orientation and political efficacy questions on their preferences for political activities.

Materials

Social issues. The focal social issues concerned poverty and environmental concerns. Information concerning each issue was taken from the Internet. The issues depicted a situation of grave concern, but did not suggest a solution. In the environmental issue group, participants read about the effects of smog produced by automobiles on health and vegetation. The mock article concluded with the monetary costs of acid rain on wood production, agriculture, and human recreation. In the poverty issue group, participants read about the effects of poverty on families, especially on children. Facts were included on the extent of homelessness in a major city, and concluded with the costs of living for most social service recipients. Two issues were used to control for the possible effect of an issue being domain specific and eliciting a certain type of political behaviour, and to allow for generalizations of political participation across the social issues. Please refer to Appendix E for the social issues.

Measures

Social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation (SDO) was assessed via the Social Dominance Orientation Scale. Sidanius, Pratto, and colleagues reported at least 4 different overlapping versions of the SDO scale, consisting of 8, 14, 16, or 20 items. Pratto (1997, personal communication as cited in Brady, 1999) indicated that the preferred version is the 16-item scale. Responses are made on the extent to which people express a positive or negative

feeling toward statements (i.e., 7 = very positive to 1 = very negative), where higher scores reflect higher levels of SDO. Half of the statements reflect equality and half of the statements reflect inequality. For internal consistency, Pratto et al. (1994) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .84 across 13 samples. The authors reported a test-retest reliability of .84. A sample item is "Some people are just inferior to others." In the current study, Cronbach's alpha = .87 (M = 38.01, SD = 13.25). Please refer to Appendix F for a copy of the questions.

Political efficacy. To measure political efficacy, Craig and Maggiotto's (1982) measure of political efficacy was employed. This 14-item questionnaire is divided into 5 items assessing internal political efficacy, and 9 items assessing external political efficacy. Responses are made on the extent to which people agree or disagree with the statements, based on a 7-point scale (1 = disagree to 7 = agree). The authors reported an alpha of .72 for the internal political efficacy sub-scale, and an alpha of .82 for the external political efficacy sub-scale. In the current study, Cronbach's alpha = .30 (M = 20.65, SD = 7.74) for the internal efficacy scale and Cronbach's alpha = .85 (M = 32.10, SD = 8.24) for the external efficacy scale. Yeich and Levine (1994) reported reliabilities of .60 and .83, for the internal and external political efficacy scales, respectively. A sample item from the internal political efficacy scale is "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on." A sample item from the external political efficacy scale is "It hardly makes any difference who I vote for because whoever gets elected does whatever he or she wants to do anyway"(Inverse). Please refer to Appendix G for a copy of the questions.

To assess collective political efficacy, the measure developed by Yeich and Levine (1994) was employed. The measure assesses people's perceptions of the responsiveness of the political system to organized, collective demands for change. The authors reported an alpha of .87. In the current study, Cronbach's alpha = .83 (M = 29.20, SD = 4.97). The measure consists

of 6 items that describe statements reflecting collective action for change. A sample item is "Dramatic change could occur in this country if people banded together and demanded change". Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with the statements, based on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = disagree to 7 = agree). Please refer to Appendix H for a copy of the questionnaire.

As an entire measure of perceived political efficacy, with 3 subscales of internal, external, and collective efficacy, Cronbach's alpha = .72 (M = 81.95, SD = 14.91)

Dependent Measures

Political participation. Political activity subscales that surfaced in study one, from the original political participation questionnaire, were employed in the second study. Participants were asked to choose, from a list of activities, those activities that they would consider being involved in, in order to attain the social change desired. They were asked to choose the activities that they would feel most comfortable in being involved in, and hence, would most likely be involved in. Participants indicated their likelihood of participating on a 7-point scale (1 = very unlikely to 7 = very likely). Please refer to Appendix I for a copy of the activity questionnaire that was employed. Political activity efficacy was also measured on each of the political activity items. Participants were asked to indicate how effective they perceived each activity to be in creating social change, on a 7-point scale (1 = very ineffective to 7 = very effective). Therefore, five political activity efficacy subscales were developed, as well.

The five main political participation subscales and the political activity efficacy subscales were:

Non-governmental organizational work subscale. This subscale consisted of 5 items that reflected participation in non-governmental organizations to create and advocate for social change. A sample item is "Become a member of a non-governmental organization that works on reform of the issue". Cronbach's alpha = .92, M = 17.76, SD = 7.11, and for the non-

governmental activity efficacy subscale Cronbach's alpha = .73, M = 22.03, SD = 5.87. This type of political activity can be regarded as non-traditional political work.

Government contact political work. This subscale consisted of 5 items that reflected contacting the government to create and advocate social change. A sample item is "Write to a member of the federal government expressing your concern with the issue". Cronbach's alpha = .92, M = 15.76, SD = 7.23, and for the government contact activity efficacy subscale, Cronbach's alpha = .90, M = 19.34, SD = 6.59. This type of political activity can be regarded as both non-traditional and traditional political work.

Persuade others to engage in political activities. This subscale consisted of 3 items that reflected encouraging others to engage in either traditional or non-traditional political activities to create and advocate for social change. A sample item is "Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers, to join a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue". Cronbach's alpha = .89, M = 10.91, SD = 4.81, and for the persuade others activity efficacy subscale, Cronbach's alpha = .71, M = 11.73, SD = 3.54.

Traditional political activity subscale. This subscale consisted of 4 items that reflected traditional political activities or use of the formal political system to create and advocate for social change. A sample item is "Work for a political candidate or party who advocates for change of the issue". Cronbach's alpha = .64, M = 10.35, SD = 3.91, and for the traditional political activity efficacy subscale, Cronbach's alpha = .71, M = 14.89, SD = 4.60.

Protest political activity subscale. This subscale consisted of 3 items that reflected a non-traditional type of political activity or activity that is considered unconventional political work. A sample item is "Block traffic, paint slogans, damage property, and conduct any form of political activity that would possibly lead to arrest". Cronbach's alpha = .64, M = 6.55, SD = 3.06, and for the protest activity efficacy subscale, Cronbach's alpha = .81, M = 10.50, SD = 4.16. This kind

of activity could be regarded as the extreme form of non-traditional work, or unconventional political behaviour.

Please refer to Table 1 for a review of the political activity subscales.

Results

Results are discussed in terms of the main hypotheses of the study. The following analyses were conducted with the covariate of participant political orientation controlled. Factorial analyses involved the following two independent variables: Sex of Participant (Male or Female), and Policy (Poverty or Environment) on the main dependent measures of political activity.

Main Hypotheses of the Study

The first hypothesis stated that there would be a significant difference between men and women in their likelihood of participation in traditional political activities, with men indicating a greater likelihood to do so. A 2 x 2 (Sex by Policy) between subjects factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the likelihood of participation in traditional political activities subscale (dependent measure). The ANOVA indicated no significant interaction between sex and policy, $F(1, 75) = .264$, $p = .609$, no significant sex main effect, $F(1, 75) = .386$, $p = .536$, and no significant main effect for policy, $F(1, 75) = .174$, $p = .678$. The first hypothesis was not supported, as men were not more likely than women to indicate a greater likelihood of participation in traditional political activities, Ms = 10.08, 10.63, for men and women respectively.

The second hypothesis stated that there would be a significant sex difference in non-traditional political participation, with women indicating a greater likelihood to participate than men. A 2 x 2 (Sex by Policy) between subjects factorial ANOVA was conducted on the likelihood of participation on the non-governmental organizational political activity subscale

(dependent measure). As predicted, a significant sex main effect emerged, F (1, 75) = 6.293, p = .014. Women were more likely than men to indicate participation in non-traditional (non-governmental organizational) political work, Ms = 19.68, 15.85, respectively. However, results failed to generate a significant interaction between sex and policy, F (1, 75) = .169, p = .682, and failed to generate a significant main effect for policy, F (1, 75) = .271, p = .604.

The other main sub-scales, Government Contact, Persuade Others, and Protest failed to generate significant sex main effects in the likelihood of participation in their respective political activities (p > .05). Please refer to Table 4 for mean scores on all five subscales by sex of participant.

Analyses By Type of Activity

Repeated measures analyses were conducted to examine sex difference across type of political activity. In other words, analyses were conducted to determine whether or not there was a significant interaction between type of activity (non-governmental organizational work and traditional political activity) and sex. These two political activity subscales were chosen as they were the two subscales that were considered to be the most blatant forms of traditional and non-traditional political activity. In other words, these two subscales contained items that are distinctly identified within the traditional and non-traditional forms of political behaviour. Tests of within-subjects effects demonstrated a significant type by sex interaction, F (1, 77) = 8.53, p = .005. Therefore, there were significant differences between men and women based on the different types of the political activities. Further, a significant main effect for type of political activity emerged, F (1, 77) = 16.46, p < .0001. Participants were more likely to indicate an interest in non-governmental activities over traditional political activities (Ms = 3.553, 2.588, for non-governmental and traditional political, respectively). However, results failed to generate a significant main effect for sex, F (1,77) = 3.51, p = .065. Please refer to Figure 3 for an

illustration of the interaction between political activity type and sex. In the figure we see that women were more likely to choose non-governmental organizational types of activities more so than traditional political activities. On the other hand, we see less of a dramatic effect between the activities for men. Paired samples t-tests confirmed these conclusions, as both men and women were significantly more likely to choose non-governmental activities over traditional political activities $t(39) = 4.198$, $p < .0001$ and, $t(39) = 8.402$, $p < .0001$, for men and women respectively, however, comparatively speaking, the mean difference in likelihood of participation between non-governmental and traditional political activity was larger for women than for men, 1.28 and .65, respectively. These findings suggest that when considering the preferences of women in political participation, women may prefer to participate in non-traditional political activities more so than in traditional political activities.

Relationships Among Measures

Please refer to the correlation matrix in Table 5 for the relationships between the political activity subscales and the political activity efficacy subscales, and to Table 6 for the correlations between the main dependent measures. The data demonstrated a number of interesting correlations. A significant positive relationship emerged between political activity efficacy and participation in each of the activity subscales. To illustrate, non-governmental activity efficacy was significantly positively related to non-governmental activity, $r(78) = .566$, $p < .0001$. Therefore, as the amount of perceived efficacy in the activity to create change increases, the likelihood of participating in the activity increases. Social dominance orientation was significantly negatively related to non-governmental organization activity, $r(78) = -.236$, $p = .018$. In other words, as the amount of social dominance orientation increases, the likelihood of participation in non-governmental organizational activities decreases.

In terms of the measures of efficacy examined in this study, collective efficacy (empowerment through collective action) was significantly positively correlated with internal efficacy, $r(78) = .346$, $p = .002$, and external efficacy, $r(78) = .226$, $p = .044$. As one's perceived level of efficacy in collective work increases, one is more likely to feel that one is capable of influencing the political system and that the political system is responsive to the public's demands for social change. Internal efficacy was not related to external efficacy, $r(78) = .191$, $p = .089$, supporting the contention that internal and external efficacy represent distinct feelings of empowerment toward influencing the political system.

Regression Mediation Models

Certain assumptions of the proposed mediation models require discussion prior to a presentation of the model analyses. To examine the role of social dominance orientation as a mediator of the political participation of women in non-traditional activities, a 2 x 2 between subjects factorial was conducted. This demonstrated that a significant sex difference was evident on the Social Dominance Orientation Questionnaire, with men scoring significantly higher than women, $F(1, 74) = 12.336$, $p = .001$ ($M = 42.13$, 33.90 respectively). Baron and Kenny's (1984) mediator procedure was used to test SDO as a mediator of political participation. A series of regressions was completed. The procedure typically involves a comparison of the Beta coefficients between the models, to see what proportion of the variance in the dependent variable the independent variables hold, with the intention that the independent variable approaches non-significance within the last model. To illustrate, in the first step, SDO was regressed on SEX (the independent variable). Sex was a significant predictor of SDO, $F(1, 78) = 8.425$, $p = .005$. The standardized Beta coefficient for sex was .312, and was highly significant $t(78) = 2.903$, $p = .005$. Approximately 10 percent of the variance in social dominance orientation was accounted

for by sex. Therefore, the regression demonstrates that men are more likely than women to have high SDO scores.

The second equation was generated from non-governmental organizational work (NGO) regressed on SEX (the independent variable). Sex was a significant predictor of NGO, $F(1, 78) = 6.165$, $p = .015$. The standardized Beta coefficient for sex was -.271, $t(78) = -2.483$, $p = .015$. Approximately 7.3% of the variance in likelihood of participation in non-governmental organizational work was accounted for by sex. What happened to sex as a predictor of non-governmental organizational participation when the effects of SDO are controlled for?

The last equation was generated from NGO regressed on both sex (independent variable) and SDO (mediator). With the effects of SDO controlled, the standardized Beta coefficient for sex became .218, $t(77) = -1.971$ $p = .059$. With the effects of SDO controlled for, we see a 20% reduction in the Beta coefficient, and sex becomes a non-significant predictor of participation in non-governmental organizational work. Please refer to Table 7 for a summary of the regression procedures. As this effect was still marginally significant, and the reduction in the Beta coefficient was only twenty percent, SDO can be best viewed as a partial mediator of the sex difference in non-governmental organization participation.

Out of the main measures of political efficacy, internal, external, collective and political activity efficacy, NGO political activity efficacy was the only measure that demonstrated a significant main effect for sex, $F(1, 74) = 4.530$, $p = .037$. Please refer to Table 8 for a summary of the means for men and women on the measures of political efficacy. In terms of NGO efficacy, women were significantly more likely than men to perceive non-governmental activity as effective in creating social change (M =23.49, 20.57, respectively). With these findings, political activity efficacy was the only efficacy that could be explored as a potential mediator of the sex difference in non-governmental organizational participation, as the mediation

procedure delineates that there must be significant sex differences in the mediator to account for the investigated effect. Therefore, a second procedure was employed to test non-governmental activity efficacy as a potential second mediator of the sex difference in non-governmental organization political participation. A series of regressions were completed.

In the first step, NGO EFFICACY was regressed on SEX (the independent variable). Sex was a significant predictor of NGO EFFICACY, $F(1, 78) = 4.951$, $p = .029$. The standardized Beta coefficient for sex was .24, $t(78) = -2.225$, $p = .029$. Approximately 6% of the variance in NGO EFFICACY was accounted for by sex. Therefore, analyses demonstrated that women were significantly more likely than men to feel that non-governmental organizational work was effective in creating social change.

The second equation was generated from non-governmental organizational work regressed on SEX (the independent variable). Sex was a significant predictor of NGO, $F(1, 78) = 6.165$, $p = .015$. The standardized Beta coefficient for sex was .271, $t(78) = -2.483$, $p = .015$. As stated earlier, approximately 7.3% of the variance in non-governmental organizational work was accounted for by sex. What happened to the effects of sex on non-governmental organization participation when the effects of NGO EFFICACY were controlled?

The last equation was generated from NGO regressed on both sex (independent variable) and NGO EFFICACY (mediator). NGO EFFICACY was a significant predictor of NGO, $F(2, 77) = 19.777$, $p < .0001$. With the effects of NGO EFFICACY controlled, the standardized Beta coefficient for sex was -.141, $t(77) = -1.473$, $p = .145$. This represented a 48% reduction in the beta coefficient for sex as a predictor of non-governmental organizational work. Unlike controlling for the effects of SDO, sex became non-significant when the effects of non-governmental activity efficacy were controlled. Non-governmental organizational activity efficacy accounted for approximately half of the variance in likelihood of participation in non-

governmental organizational activities, and we therefore see complete mediation. Please refer to Table 8 for a summary of the regression procedures.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the factors that influence the political participation of women. In the literature, we see that women are represented in some political activities and not others. It was hypothesized that when asked to indicate a preference for either traditional or non-traditional political activities, women would choose non-traditional activities more than men. Non-traditional political participation was measured through the context of working within the community in a non-governmental organization. Results demonstrated that women were significantly more likely to want to participate in these activities, as compared to working for a political candidate or for a political party. Expanding the definition of political measurement to include non-traditional and traditional political activities, and asking participants to indicate their likelihood of participation, allowed us to demonstrate that women are interested in political affairs, contrary to some research (Verba, Burns, & Schlozman, 1997).

This study offered a few explanations as to why women have this preference for one area of political participation over the other. Women may prefer the non-traditional political structure over the traditional structure because they tend to demonstrate lower levels of social dominance orientation, and thus, approach political interests in a more collective, egalitarian manner. This orientation to groups in society is somewhat different from what is offered in the traditional political structure. The traditional political system has come to represent, for some women, a symbol of power and opposition. They may feel traditional politics has been uninviting to them. The traditional political system is an arena that maintains the status quo and the oppression of marginalized groups in society, and women may prefer to work outside of this hierarchy-enhancing system. The non-traditional political domain is a place that fosters an egalitarian

approach to social concerns, and women may prefer to have their political interests expressed within this realm. Perhaps they feel that the non-traditional realm is more effective in creating social change, as well. In the development of these accounts of the choices for women's political participation, a number of constructs were explored.

It was necessary to first demonstrate a significant difference in political activity interest between men and women. When the non-traditional realm was considered, mainly through interest in non-governmental organizational work, women were significantly more likely than men to indicate an interest in these activities. Surprisingly, as was the case in study one, results failed to demonstrate a significant difference in likelihood of participation in traditional political activities. Women were as likely as men to indicate an interest in working for a political party, for example.

Although these findings demonstrated that within the political activity sub-scales sex differences existed, they failed to draw any conclusions about women's preference for one activity over another. Therefore, sex differences in activity preference across two of the types of political activity were explored. As was expected, women indicated higher mean ratings for the non-governmental organizational work than for the traditional political activities. For men, there was less of a difference in the means between the activity types. As the purpose of the present study was to examine the preferences of women, we see that women demonstrated a distinct interest in non-governmental organizational work over the traditional political activities. These findings contribute greatly to the contention that women have a preference when it comes to their type of political participation. Not only was it demonstrated that within non-governmental organizational activity women were more likely than men to indicate a preference for that activity but also that across the activity types, women preferred the non-governmental organizational work. Thus, it may not be the case that women are less interested in political

affairs. It may be that they actually prefer to participate in non-traditional political activities and that previous researchers have concluded that women are not interested in political affairs because they have looked solely at traditional kinds of political participation to measure political engagement. The idea that women actually choose to participate in non-traditional political acts over traditional political acts has striking implications for past theoretical support and for future theory development. In order to account for why there are sex differences in the different types of political participation, we examined the effects of two potential mediators, social dominance orientation and political efficacy.

A Review of the Mediator Effects of SDO and Political Efficacy

Social Dominance Orientation and non-traditional political participation. To account for why women would prefer non-governmental organizational work to a greater degree than men, the mediation effect of SDO was examined. It was hypothesized that because women typically score lower than men on the Social Dominance Orientation questionnaire, they have a more egalitarian attitude to social groups, and they are less likely to believe that there should be certain people in power and other people at a disadvantage in the world. They are more likely to agree with statements reflecting equality among people and the equal distribution of power in government, and therefore, they are more likely to work in the non-traditional political realm than the traditional political realm. Women are also typically not socialized to behave in a manner that is concordant with the masculine behaviour of the traditional political structure, and even if they are socialized in a complementary manner, they are perceived unfavorably by the political parties themselves.

The value of SDO as a factor that influences individuals' orientations to political participation stems from the fact that the construct reliably demonstrates sex differences, and that it predicts political interest more so than do conservative/liberal dimensions (Pratto, Sidanius,

Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). In the current study, men scored significantly higher than women on the SDO questionnaire. Further, SDO was a significant predictor of non-governmental organizational participation. When the effects of SDO were partialled out, through Baron and Kenny's mediational procedure, sex became a non-significant predictor of non-governmental organizational work. In other words, SDO accounted for part of the sex difference in the likelihood of participation in non-traditional political activities. In addition, SDO was negatively related to non-governmental organizational participation. Lower levels of SDO were associated with a greater likelihood of participation in non-traditional political activities. Thus, there was an abundance of information that suggested that SDO was a worthwhile construct to account for sex differences in participation.

Generally, when testing mediators, it is necessary to examine the change in the beta coefficients between the regression procedures and the significance of the effect being examined when the mediator is controlled for. We see that sex as a predictor of non-governmental organizational participation becomes only marginally significant when SDO is partialled out. With the effects of SDO controlled, the Beta coefficient for sex as a predictor of non-governmental participation was reduced by only 20%. Therefore, one could argue that SDO is a partial mediator of the political participation of women. If SDO is a partial mediator, what can also be accounting for the preference for one type of political activity over another?

Political efficacy and non-traditional political participation. The degree of empowerment an individual feels at being a capable actor in influencing the political system is a good indicator of whether or not an individual will engage in a political activity. There have been a number of terms explaining the degree and type of efficacy an individual or a group of people feel(s) in working for social change and being heard by the government. Previous literature has demonstrated that women tend to feel less internally politically efficacious than

men (Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). They are less likely to feel that they are capable of influencing the political system to be responsive to their political ideas, and they are less likely to feel that they have the capacity to understand the traditional political structure. It was thought that because women tend to demonstrate significantly lower scores than men on the measure of internal political efficacy (Craig and Maggiotto, 1981), then internal political efficacy would be a factor accounting for the sex difference that we see in studies on political participation. Was this the case?

Interestingly, we found that men and women failed to differ significantly in their mean scores on Craig and Maggiotto's measure of political efficacy. In our sample, men and women felt equally efficacious in influencing the political system, and felt equally efficacious in the system being responsive to individual's needs. This finding was distinctively different from past research. How can we account for this difference in levels of efficacy from previous findings?

A possible reason that women felt as efficacious as men in influencing the political system emanates from the method of examination of political interest, and from the order of administration of the questionnaires. Because we asked participants to indicate their likelihood of participation in each activity, instead of whether or not they have participated in each activity, female participants may have developed an increased feeling of competency in being capable actors at influencing the political system. Feminist theorists have explained that in the real world, women are not given the opportunity to express an interest in political affairs to the same degree that men are. Women are also not encouraged to participate in politics or to have political interests. There is reason to believe that women would be more sensitive than men to the manner in which they are asked to indicate their political interests. Earlier, it was mentioned anecdotally that in structured interviews conducted by the first author in an unrelated study, women were very sensitive to a verbal cue that the next section of the interview would involve a discussion of

political attitudes. They were more likely than the male participants to initially say that they were not involved in political activities, or that they did not understand political affairs. However, every woman had engaged in some form of political behaviour and was able to articulate social issues that she felt strongly about and proposed methods of solving these issues. Therefore, the manner in which the questions were asked concerning political participation became a very important issue. The opportunity in the current study to express their *interests* is a very different experience from not being encouraged or socialized to participate in political activities, perhaps women felt that they were capable of understanding the dynamics of the political system. There was no requirement to have participated in these activities prior to the study, and there was no mention of the word 'political' in the directions. Participants were simply asked to indicate their likelihood of participating in each activity when considering social change for the social issue presented. As the administration of the political efficacy questionnaire came after the administration of the political activity questionnaire, the effects of an open forum to express political interests may have influenced how efficacious women felt at being capable actors in influencing the political system. This method of administering questions concerning political interests has implications for future exploration of the political interests of women.

At the early stages of this research, it became clear that one's perceptions of the amount of efficacy a political activity possesses to create social change, should be examined as a factor influencing whether or not one would consider engaging in that activity. If men and women differed in their likelihood of participation in the type of political activity, would they differ in their degree of belief in the activity to create change, as well?

Findings established that women perceived the non-traditional (non-governmental organizational work) realm to be more effective in creating social change than men did. In other words, women felt that each of the activities depicting non-traditional political engagement

would be effective in creating social change to a greater degree than men did. Knowing this, we wondered whether political activity efficacy could explain women's preference for non-traditional political participation over traditional political participation.

To begin to answer this question we first demonstrated that non-governmental political activity efficacy was a significant predictor of the likelihood of participation in non-governmental organizational work. To complete the mediation procedure, both non-governmental activity efficacy and sex were regressed on non-governmental organizational participation. When the effects of non-governmental activity efficacy were controlled for, sex became a non-significant predictor of non-governmental organizational participation, and the beta coefficient for sex was reduced by almost 50%. Therefore, non-governmental organizational activity efficacy was accounting for almost half of the variance attributable to sex in participation in non-governmental organizational activities. In other words, how effective one believes a political activity to be in creating social change accounts for a significant proportion of the variability in one's preference for that activity. Not only did women indicate a greater likelihood than men to participate in the non-traditional political activities, they were also more likely than men to feel that this area was effective to create social change. Hence, non-governmental activity efficacy can be thought of a second mediator in the sex difference evident in non-governmental organizational political participation.

It was also thought that perhaps collective political efficacy would be a significant factor in whether or not one chooses to engage in non-traditional political activities. In this study, results failed to generate a significant difference between men and women in their scores on the measure of collective efficacy. This may be a function of the strength of the measure, as the items employed may have been a bit vague in examining what it is to feel collectively political efficacious. Nonetheless, it is recommended that future research consider collective political

efficacy as a valid construct articulating the type of empowerment experienced in community work, and further explore its effect as a potential mediator influencing the choices one makes when considering participation in political activities.

To review, results demonstrated that both social dominance orientation and political efficacy are important factors influencing the type of political activity one is interested in engaging in. What are the theoretical implications of these findings and do they offer information for our understanding of what motivates people to behave politically? The next section will discuss the findings of the study in relation to previous arguments and current theoretical implications

Why do Women Prefer Non-traditional Political Activities?

Thelma McCormack (1975) suggested that men and women have distinct preferences in political interest and participation. In the literature, we find that men and women differ in the types of social policies that they are interested in, and we find that they also differ in their levels of representation in the traditional political domain; women are dramatically under-represented in political party executive positions and political party leadership. We also find that there are many women active in non-governmental organizations and in social movements. These facts suggest that there is a 'dual culture' when it comes to political participation, with men and women representing the two separate cultures with different political interests. Do the results of the present study suggest that there is a dual-culture of orientation to political interests and participation?

There is reason to believe men and women differ in their political interests. One of the main explanations put forth for this sex difference in political interests was Social Dominance Orientation. The value of SDO as a potential mediator arose from our interpretation of the nature of the political system. One can think of the political domain as focused on the division of

resources and the division of power: some people get more resources, and more power, and others get less. SDO examines the extent to which people agree with statements that reflect the division of power in society. People who demonstrate high levels of SDO are more likely to agree with the idea that certain groups of people should have more power than other groups, and that it is necessary to use force against other groups of people to get what one wants. People who demonstrate low levels of SDO are more likely to agree with statements that reflect the equal division of power among people, and equal access for all people to the resources in society.

Feminist theorists have explained that women have been traditionally considered to be second-class relative to men. They represent that which is private, belonging to the home or the private dimension of man's life. Hence, we see that women have fewer opportunities outside of the home, as they are labeled as the primary caregiver of the children and family. We also see that because of this, women represent the majority of those in part-time unstable employment, if they have the time to be employed, and then suffer the double-shift of labour in the home and in the workforce. Through this constant oppression and subordination into secondary roles in society, women are sensitive to issues of oppression and are less likely to agree with statements that reflect hierarchy or the unequal division of resources in society. They are less likely to want to work in an arena that endorses hierarchy, patriarchy, and competition among people for society's resources. Theories of gender socialization explained that women are not socialized to be aggressive or competitive. Studies illustrate that young women are socialized to perform behaviours that are consistent with their feminine gender role. Hence, they are not encouraged to express interests in activities or roles that are deemed to be consistent with the masculine gender role, like being aggressive or having an interest in political affairs. Being passive and nurturant does not accord with statements that advocate for group hierarchy or use of force against other

people in order to attain what one desires. Thus, one could argue that women are not socialized to agree with SDO, as well.

Considering preference in traditional or non-traditional political activities, women are less likely to prefer to participate in traditional political activities, because they feel that it is an area that is less accommodating to their special circumstances. Most women live in an environment of having a 'double-shift' where they have little spare time for themselves, let alone time for active political participation. The traditional political domain has been documented as less welcoming to women's entry, as we see that party executives are less likely to sponsor a female candidate over a male candidate for office. In this study, we can now consider the possibility that the traditional political structure fails to address social issues in a manner that women consider right or effective. The non-traditional domain endorses a collective community approach to dealing with social issues and advocates for fair and equal distribution of resources in society. SDO, or the attitude toward the division of power in society, encapsulates the underlying force of the government process of leadership and decision-making. In the current study, we demonstrated that women scored significantly lower than men on the SDO questionnaire, and this finding is consistent with past research (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle,1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Brief, 1995). If women are less likely to support the underlying ideals of the traditional political system, then there is reason to believe that they have an orientation to political affairs that lies outside of the traditional system.

Results surrounding political efficacy also lend support to the notion that women have a preference for political participation that is distinct from men. Results demonstrated that women found the non-traditional realm more effective than men did in creating change in the social issue that they were each presented with. Women may feel that non-traditional political activities are the most reflective of the manner in which they approach political issues. This perception of the

effectiveness of these activities in turn influences their preferences to engage in them. It makes sense that women would find that the work within the non-traditional realm advocates the approach to political issues that they find effective in creating social change. The non-traditional political realm typically involves effective community mobilization and representation of a wide range of disadvantaged groups in society. It is an area that typically challenges the status quo and advocates for social reform. Therefore, women may also feel that this arena is more effective in responding to their concerns around social welfare and the distribution of power in society. This perception of the effectiveness of non-traditional activities was a significant factor influencing participants' likelihood of participation ratings in this study. It may be that it is a motivating factor for women in the general population. Women may find that bonding with other people in the community is the best way to work on social issues and to address political concerns.

As we can account for the findings concerning the likelihood of participation in non-traditional activities, what is to be said about the findings concerning traditional political activities? Specifically, how can we explain the lack of a significant sex difference in traditional political activities?

Women and Traditional Political Participation

Initially, the fact that results failed to demonstrate a significant difference between men and women in their likelihood of participating in traditional political activities was quite surprising, as much research has indicated that women are less interested than men in traditional political activities. However, if we consider the methodology employed in the study, there is a possible explanation. In the present study our indicator of political interest was not measured by the amount of activities actually carried out, but rather the degree of likelihood that one would participate in each activity. Therefore, participants had an open opportunity to express their political interests. This openness in responding may have resulted in an elevation of mean scores

for the female participants in such a manner that it eliminated a significant sex-difference in likelihood of participation. In other words, women were able to demonstrate more of an interest because the method of inquiry did not limit their responding. Further support for this argument arises from the fact that women demonstrated higher mean scores for all of the five political activity sub-scales consistently, regardless of whether or not a significant sex difference emerged. Women appeared to be more interested than men in most of the activities. Once again, the methodology employed in the study may have aided in this finding.

However, as we were solely looking at participants' interests, it makes sense that women would be as *interested* as men in traditional political activities. Women, as an oppressed group in society, are likely to realize the power that the traditional political realm holds in creating social change. Previous studies have concluded that women are not as interested as men in traditional political participation, but as already stated, these studies made conclusions on participants' interests based on participants' rates of participation. The present study demonstrates that women are interested in traditional political activities, but they prefer to participate in non-traditional political activities. Further methodological considerations will possibly shed light on the findings.

Methodology Revisited

We were very keen on being sensitive about the manner in which we inquired of participants' political participation interests. Feminist theories of oppression of women suggest that women are oppressed into positions that are inferior to those of men, and recommend that research be sensitive to that oppression (MacIvor, 1996). By being socialized to not participate in political activities or to not express political ideas, perhaps women are sensitive to the way in which they are asked about their political interests; the traditional political system is an area that women know to be inherently masculine and visibly dominated by men. Knowing that women

are not given the opportunities to engage in traditional political activities, and that they are not socialized to have interests in traditional activities, and then examining their participation in traditional political activities as a gauge of their interest in political affairs seems unfair. The current research attempted to address this issue with an open method of inquiring about participants' interests. Participants received an extensive list of possible political activities, and then indicated their *likelihood* of participation in each of the activities. Participants had the opportunity to express their interests in traditional and non-traditional political activities. Inquiring of participants' likelihood of participation in each of the activities permitted a fair estimate of participants' interests in political expression. From this method, results clearly indicated that women are very interested in political affairs. The practical implication of these findings is that they differ from past research that has concluded that women are less interested than men in engaging in political activities.

A second methodological point concerns the type of questions that participants were asked. Participants were asked to indicate how effective they perceived each activity to be in creating social change for the social issue presented. Total scores of perceived effectiveness could then be created for each political activity sub-scale. This provided an indication of how effective participants felt each political activity area would be in creating social change. Investigating participants' perceptions of each activity allowed for an additional indicator of whether or not they would consider participating in each activity. To illustrate, the activity efficacy sub-scales and the likelihood of participation sub-scales, were all positively related. Therefore, how effective one believes the activity to be in creating social change is positively related to one's likelihood of participating in that activity. The power of activity efficacy in influencing choices in political participation was evident in the regression analyses, where results demonstrated that non-governmental organization activity efficacy was a highly significant

mediator of the sex difference in the likelihood of participation in non-governmental organizational political activities. When the effects of non-governmental organizational activity efficacy were controlled for, the beta coefficient for sex as a predictor of non-governmental organization participation was reduced by almost 50%. Further, non-governmental activity efficacy accounted for approximately 34% of the variance in likelihood of participation in non-governmental organization work. Therefore, belief in the power of the activity itself to create social change is another source of information to be considered when attempting to explain what motivates people to behave politically. If people believe that a certain activity is a waste of time, it makes sense that they would be less likely to engage in that activity. In the present study, non-governmental organizational activity efficacy explained a majority of the variance in the sex difference in participating in non-traditional political activities. Women rated these activities higher in effectiveness in creating social change than men did. Knowing women's perceptions of the effectiveness of types of political participation poses a number of implications for past and future research.

Implications of the Present Research

A number of implications from the current study can be considered. One of the main points for consideration is the lack of a significant difference between men and women in their likelihood of participation on the traditional political activity sub-scale. Comparing the findings to real-world statistics, women are dramatically under-represented in traditional politics. If women are somewhat interested in traditional political activities, what are the external factors that are preventing their entry?

It is important to be aware of the messages that are transmitted to young women as they become politically mature. Research has demonstrated that girls are not encouraged or reinforced to engage in traditionally stereotyped male-dominated activities or occupations. The result of this

lack of encouragement is few female role models for future generations of women to look up to. We can argue that the women's movement has created a generation gap in attitudes toward women in politics, with the newer generation being somewhat more supportive than the latter However, there are still barriers from the political parties themselves, and in some arenas, a bitter attitude toward the efforts surrounding affirmative action. It is important to acknowledge that marginalized people lack the opportunities to develop networks within the traditional political system, and are therefore not represented in the statistics on rates of participation in political activities

The second point to consider is that participation in traditional political activity is not the ultimate route of political expression It may not be the case that the non-traditional political sector has been the alternate source of political expression for women. The non-traditional arena typically involves a great deal of conflict management and directed efforts for mobilization that can be very challenging at times Findings of the present study demonstrated that women actually *prefer* to participate in non-traditional political activities Further support for this preference stems from the fact that they rated the non-governmental organization activities as more effective in creating social change than men did Perhaps the current generation of women feels that they would rather work outside of the traditional political system. Some of their "fore-mothers" argued that entry into the traditional political system was the only way to have women visibly working in politics. Today, there are thousands of women working in non-governmental organizations lobbying the government on major political issues like gun control, nuclear weapons, and social welfare legislation. If women do prefer to be visible in the non-traditional sector, then what should future research consider?

Further Limitations and Future Research

A number of areas can be considered for future research. The present research has demonstrated that it is important to consider the method by which political engagement is examined. In this study, we directly examined political interests by asking participants to indicate their likelihood of participation from an array of political activities. We allowed participants to freely choose the activities that they would be interested in and asked them to quantify their likelihood of participation in each activity. This was a direct method of gauging participants' interests. Future research could examine the link between individuals' interests in participation and their actual rates of participation. Studies in this area could investigate the factors that influence whether or not people actually do participate in the activities that they are interested in.

In order to accurately and fairly measure participation rates in political activities, extensive measures of political participation are needed. Measures should include a complete range of potential political activities, everything from protest activities, working with friends in the community, to running for party leadership. Presenting participants with a full range of political activities allows for a comprehensive understanding of the political engagement of men and women.

Further examination of the sex differences in political participation and in the reasons for these sex differences is needed. We have already offered methodological explanations for potential major limitations in this study. Women's higher means, compared to men, on all of the political activity subscales and women's feelings of internal political efficacy. Responses on the questionnaires may represent a sampling bias. These responses may not reflect women's true political intentions (and hence, are inflated a bit) as women may simply be more likely to agree with statements concerning one's likelihood of participating in particular actions, to a greater

degree than men are. This sort of responding is complementary to women's assumed gender role as passive and agreeable.

It may also be the case that the content of the social issues influenced women's responses to a greater degree than men. It could be argued that the social issues of poverty and environmental health were more female-oriented than neutral or masculine-oriented. Perhaps, being exposed to an issue that women are more likely than men to be passionate about, may have resulted in women being more inclined to say that they are likely to engage in various types of activities, for the sole desire of evoking social change for that issue. However, in an unrelated study conducted by the first author, men and women tended to have the same levels of general support for "female" oriented issues, like health care and education, and only differed on the stereotypically male and female ones, like military defense and abortion, respectively. So, it may be that men and women were as interested in the environmental and poverty social issues. Future research should control directly for the possibility of social issues eliciting certain behaviours from particular groups of people.

Women's feelings of efficacy in influencing the political system may not be reflective of the feelings of the general population, as well. To begin with, the sample employed consisted of mainly first year Introductory Psychology students at a primarily white, middle-upper class university. As these students tend to represent a privileged population, the results of the female participants may reflect their level of education and opportunity around them. It may be the case that the female sample employed in this study was already more empowered and efficacious than the norm because they are enrolled in post-secondary education. These women may have more access to political information and to the potential of elite political participation. Research has demonstrated that higher levels of participants' education accounts partially for sex differences

in political participation (Verba, Burns, & Schlozman, 1997). Future research should explore the relationship of the constructs in the current study to race, class, and education.

A second point that may have influenced the findings is that the students represented a different generation from the majority of the general population. Their mothers would probably be able to articulate quite different attitudes toward women than are present today. Political attitudes can be regarded as culturally and historically determined and thus, it is important to consider the time in which the surveys were conducted. It may be the case that some of the students' responses on the efficacy ratings could reflect their perceptions of the success or failure of protests and small group organizing that had been presented in the media. For example, the surveys were administered after the Multilateral Agreement on Investment demonstrations and around the time of the efforts in Seattle, Washington, challenging globalization. Students' perceptions of these events may have influenced their attitudes toward these types of actions. Considering the lower averages for men and women on their likelihood to engage in activities on Protest subscale lends support to this idea. Nonetheless, the findings may simply reflect that the sample was a little conservative in the kinds of activities that they were interested in. Future research could consider the influence of time on people's perceptions of success in political actions. Further, more research is needed in examining different populations in order to test for generalizability.

The effects of collective political efficacy on one's choice of political participation should be further investigated, as well. As stated earlier, collective political efficacy may be a construct that adequately reflects the experiences of people who work in the non-traditional political structure. However more work is needed in its conceptualization. Collective political efficacy may not as of yet target feelings of collective empowerment to the degree that it has the potential to

Finally, the present research was only able to account for a proportion of the sex difference in non-governmental organizational participation, and thus, only part of the story has been told. There are a number of factors, both internal and external to women, which may influence women's choices for political participation. In the midst of the search for these factors, future researchers should continue to examine women's interests in political affairs. It is in this research that we can begin to challenge the stereotypes that maintain women outside of elite levels of traditional politics.

Final Thoughts

The purpose of this paper was to attempt to uncover some of the reasons for why we see women drastically under-represented in traditional politics. Some researchers have argued that women are simply less knowledgeable about political affairs, and are therefore less interested in political participation. In this paper, we argued that focusing solely on rates of participation in traditional political activities was an unfair measure of individuals' political interests. Allowing participants to express their likelihood of participation in both traditional and non-traditional political activities created a less biased estimate of the political participation preferences of people who have been previously labeled as inactive. This study was a good exercise in the examination of what it means to be 'politically active'. What has been demonstrated is that women are very interested in political affairs, but perhaps the methods of investigating their interests in the past have reflected a focus on a domain that they have not been traditionally allowed to participate in. Non-traditional political work may now represent women's preference for political participation and not merely their alternative source of political expression. This preference for participation arises from women's ideas concerning the distribution of power in society and the amount of efficacy they believe that the non-traditional system has in creating social change.

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Footnotes

It should be noted that the reference made to political participation in traditional and non-traditional terms is within the context of 20th century history. Prior to the 20th century, the efforts of community organizations and social movements depicted the 'traditional' or historically traditional form of political participation. Within the present study, traditional political work is defined as participation within the political structure of government, that which has been established and recognized as a main body for political participation. The value of this recognition is up for debate and will be addressed later

[2]The term 'political activity efficacy' has been created within the context of the current study.

[3]The Citizen Participation Study is a study that was conducted in the United States. The authors used data from the first two waves of the study. The study examined citizen participation in political affairs through an extensive set of measures concerning participation and knowledge of political affairs. Fifteen thousand telephone interviews were conducted in 1989. In 1990, in-person interviews were conducted on 2517 of the original 15 000 participants.

Table 1

Political Activity Items and Factor Loadings for Political Participation Factors

Item	Factor Loading	Alpha value
Factor 1: Non-governmental Organization		
13 Become a member of a non-governmental organization	.78	
27 Work for a non-governmental organization	.68	
4 Work with others in the community on the issue and advocate for change	.70	
7 Form a group of friends or community members to work and advocate for the issue	.61	
9 Join a non-governmental organization that advocates and works for change of the issue	.81	
		.89
Factor 2: Government Contact		
11 Write to a member of the federal govern -ment expressing your concern with the issue	.81	
18 Work with others in my community to contact a local government official to express our concerns over the issue	.65	
23 Write to a member of the local government expressing your concern with the issue	.82	
24 Work with others in my community to contact a federal government official to express our concerns over the issue	.74	
28 Create a petition to be sent to my government official expressing reform of the issue	.71	
		.90
Factor 3: Persuade Others...		
10 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to vote for a candidate who supports reform of the issue	.75	
14 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to join a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue	.82	
25.Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or people in the community to think about the issue and to advocate via posters, letters, etc.	.61	
		.84
Factor 4: Traditional Political Activity		
20 Work for a political candidate or party who advocates for change of the issue.	.62	
30 Run in the next local election advocating change for the issue	.61	
5. Go to a political meeting, rally, speech, or dinner supporting a candidate who advocates for reform of the issue	.72	

8. Become affiliated with a political party that advocates reform of the issue	.74	
		.77
Factor 5: Protest Activity		
22 Block traffic, paint slogans, damage property, and conduct any other form of political activity that would possibly lead to arrest	68	
31 Join a protest march for the issue	65	
34 Organize a protest march for the issue	60	
		.62

Table 2

Mean Scores on Political Activity Subscales by Sex of Participant

	Ngo.		Govt. Cont		Trad. Pol		Pers. Other		Protest	
Sex	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Men	14.62	6.30	13.78	6.79	9.77	5.32	12.29	6.09	6.17	3.21
Women	19.08	7.73	15.49	7.39	9.95	4.71	13.80	6.16	6.13	3.28

Note. Ngo = Non-governmental organizational work; Govt Cont = Government Contact political activity; Trad Pol = Traditional political work; Pers Other = Try to Persuade Others to engage in political activity; Protest = Protest political activity

Table 3

Correlations Between Political Activity Subscales and Perceived Activity Effectiveness

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Nongovt	--	612**	507 **	543**	489**	.580**	210**	306**
2 Govcont		--	525**	576**	450**	360**	.398**	276**
3 Persoth			--	498**	431**	361*	235**	.608**
4 Polact				--	400**	274**	229**	250**
5 Protest					--	245**	108**	247**
6 Ngeff						--	450**	481**
7 Gceff							--	458**
8 Perseff								--

Note. Matrix continued on next page. Nongovt= Non-governmental activity, Govcont= Government Contact activity, Persoth= Persuade Others activity, Polact= Political activity, Protest= Protest activity, Ngeff= Non-governmental effectiveness, Gceff= Government contact effectiveness, Perseff= Persuade others effectiveness, Polacteff= Political activity effectiveness, Proteff= Protest effectiveness

*p .05, **p .01

Table 3

Correlations Between Political Activity Subscales and Perceived Activity Effectiveness (cont'd)

Measure	9	10
1.Nongovt	.256**	.106**
2.Govcont	.264**	.088*
3.Persoth	.279**	.205**
4.Polact	.459**	.074
5.Protest	.126**	.352**
6.Ngeff	.521**	.319**
7.Geeff	.432**	.272**
8.Perseff	.386**	.332**
9.Polacteff	--	.068
10.Proteff		--

Note. Nongovt= Non-governmental activity; Govcont= Government Contact activity; Persoth= Persuade Others activity; Polact= Political activity; Protest= Protest activity; Noncative= Nonactive political activity; Ngeff= Non-governmental effectiveness; Geeff= Government contact effectiveness; Perseff= Persuade others effectiveness; Polacteff= Political activity effectiveness; Proteff= Protest effectiveness; Nonacteff= Nonactive effectiveness.
*p< .05; **p< .01

Table 4

Mean Scores on Political Activity Subscales by Sex of Participant

Sex	Ngo. M	Trad. Pol. M	Govt. Cont. M	Pers. Others M	Protest M
Men	15.85	10.08	15.13	10.73	6.25
Women	19.68	10.63	16.19	11.19	6.85

Note. Ngo = Non-governmental organizational work. Trad. Pol. = Traditional Political Work. Govt. Contact = Government Contact political activity. Pers. Others= Try to Persuade Others to engage in political activity. Protest = Protest political activity

Table 5

Correlations Between Subscales of Political Activity and Perceived Activity Effectiveness

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1 Nongovt	--	.780**	.645**	.700**	.530**	**.566****	.238*	.346**	.259*	.05
2 Govcont		--	.619**	.714**	.565**	.497**	**.473****	.382**	.380**	.192
3 Persoth			--	.656**	.517**	.439**	.276*	**.609****	.374**	.291**
4 Polact				--	.483**	.403**	.399**	.329**	**.363****	.204
5 Protest					--	.434**	.303**	.364**	.305**	**.476****
6 Ngeff						--	.541**	.564**	.503**	.466**
7 Geeff							--	.568**	.497**	.461**
8 Perseff								--	.621**	.427**
9 Polacteff									--	.566**
10 Proteff										--

Note. Nongovt= Non-governmental activity; Govcont= Government Contact activity; Persoth= Persuade Others activity; Polact= Political activity; Protest= Protest activity; Ngeff= Non-governmental effectiveness; Geeff= Government contact effectiveness; Perseff= Persuade others effectiveness, Polacteff= Political activity effectiveness, Proteff= Protest effectiveness

*p< .05

**p< .01

Table 6

Correlations Between Dependent Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 SDO	--	-.236*	-.175	-.114	-.133	-.025	-.077	-.025	-.012
2 Nongovt		--	.780**	.645*	.700**	.530**	.106	.065	.188
3 Govcont			--	.619**	.714**	.565**	.020	.018	.246*
4 Persoth				--	.656*	.517**	.275*	-.025	.247*
5 Trad.Pol					--	.483**	.147	.166	.242**
6 Protest						--	.021	.015	.204
7 Inteff							--	.191	.346**
8 Exteff								--	.226**
9 Colleff									--

Note SDO=Social Dominance Orientation, Nongovt=Non-governmental Organization, Govcont= Government Contact political activity, Persoth=Persuade Others to engage…, Trad. Pol=Traditional political activity, Protest= Protest political activity, Inteff=Internal Efficacy, Exteff=External Efficacy; Colleff=Collective political efficacy

*p .05

**p .01

Table 7

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Non-governmental Political Participation (SDO)

Variable	B	SE B	ß
Step 1			
Sex	-3.825	1.540	-.271*
Step 2			
Sex	-3.086	1.610	-.218
SDO	-8.99×10^{-2}	.061	-.167

Note R^2 = .073 for Step 1, R^2 = .099 for Step 2. SDO=Social Dominance Orientation
*p< .05

Table 8

Mean Scores on Political Efficacy Measures by Sex of Participant

Sex	Internal M	External M	Collective M
Men	22.13	31.68	30.03
Women	19.18	32.53	28.38

Note. p < .05

Table 9

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Non-governmental Political Participation (NGO EFFICACY)

Variable	B	SE B	ß
Step 1			
Sex	-3.825	1.540	-.271*
Step 2			
Sex	-1.988	1.350	-.141
NGOEFF	.644	.116	.532*

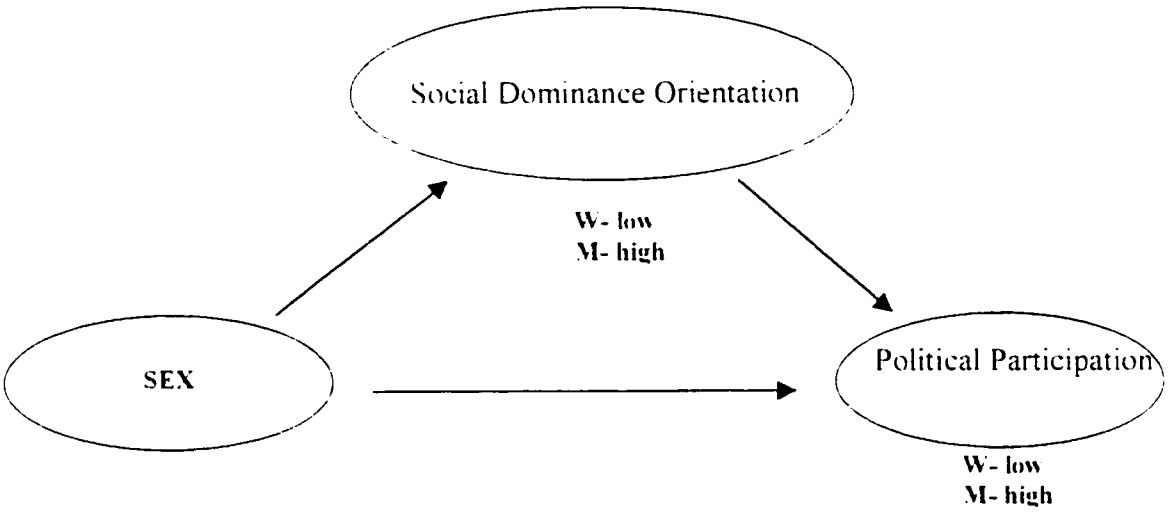
Note. R^2 = .073 for Step 1, R^2 = .339 for Step 2. NGOEFF=Non-governmental organization efficacy

*p< .05

Figure 1

Mediator Models

TRADITIONAL POLITICS



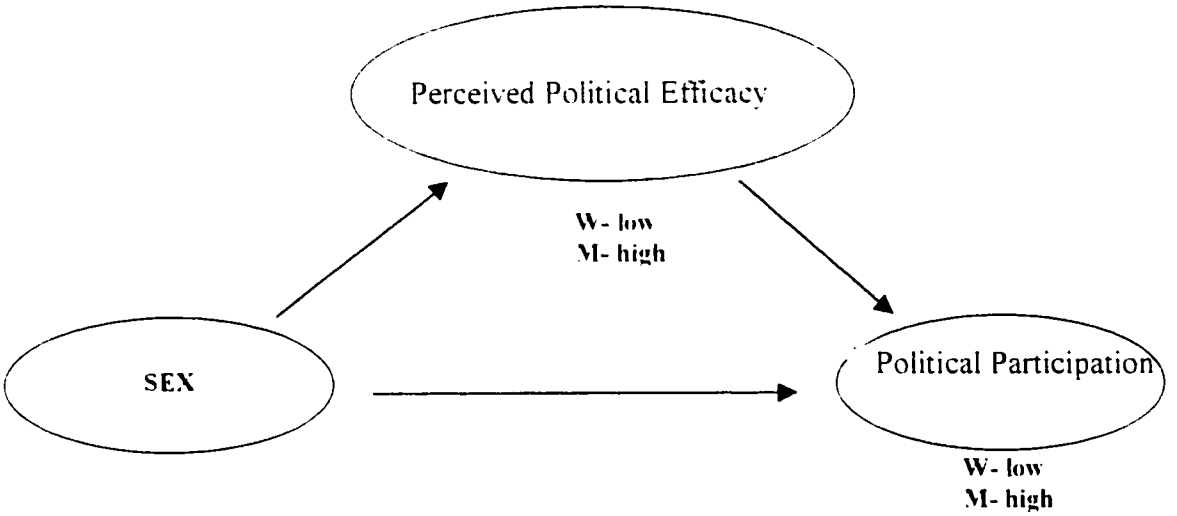


Figure 2

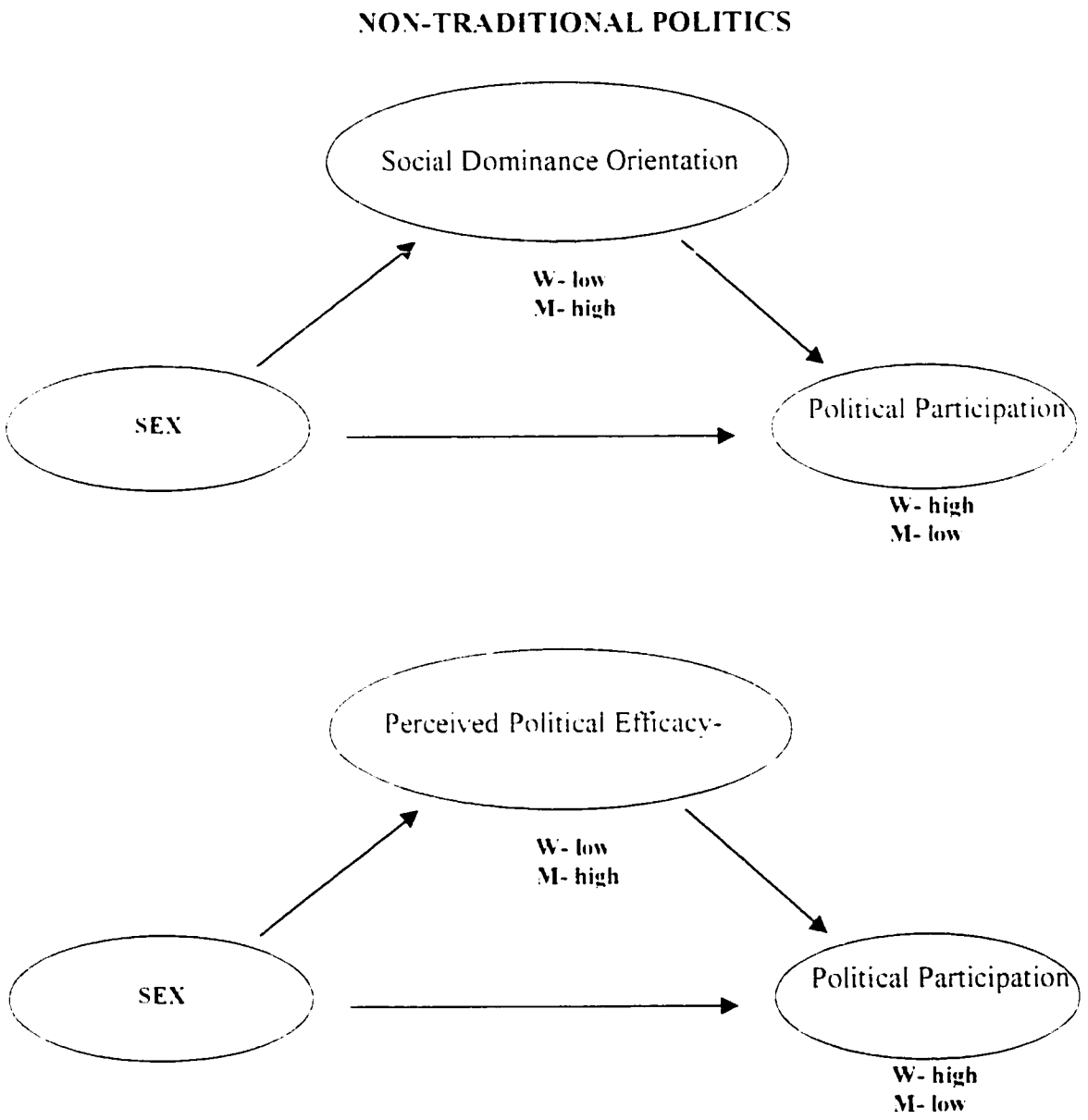
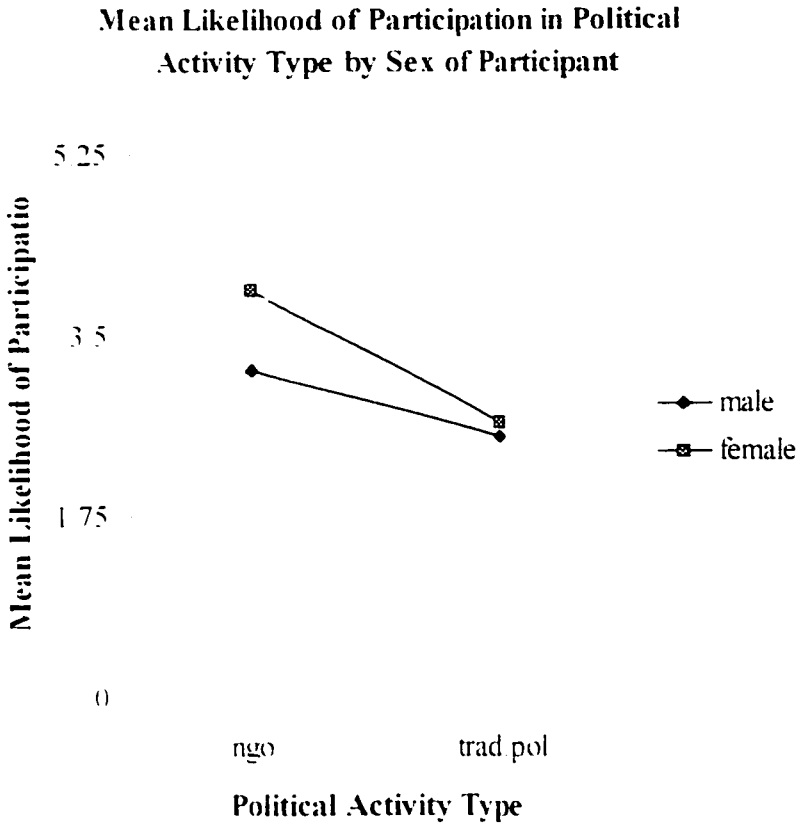

NON-TRADITIONAL POLITICS
Social Dominance Orientation
W- low
M- high
SEX
Political Participation
W- high
M- low
Perceived Political Efficacy-
W- low
M- high
SEX
Political Participation
W- high
M- low

Figure 3


Mean Likelihood of Participation in Political Activity Type by Sex of Participant
Mean Likelihood of Participatio
5.25
3.5
1.75
0
ngo
trad pol
Political Activity Type
male
female

Appendices

Appendix A

Political Activity Questionnaire

When considering a social issue like poverty or environmental damage, what types of activities would you consider participating in to create change for the issue? Please indicate below how **likely** it is that you would engage in each of the following activities, and how **effective** you think each activity would be in affecting social change. Your choices should reflect what you would feel comfortable participating in

Activities	Your likelihood of participation in this activity (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective Very effective
1 Wear a button, put a sticker on my car, or place a sign in my window that supports a non-governmental organization that advocates for reform of the issue	_____	_____
2 Attend a protest meeting on the issue	_____	_____
3 Vote for a candidate in an upcoming election who supports reform for the issue	_____	_____
4 Work with others in the community on the issue and advocate for change	_____	_____
5 Go to a political meeting, rally, speech, or dinner supporting a candidate who advocates for reform of the issue	_____	_____
6 Engage in discussions about the issue with my friends, family, colleagues, acquaintances, or others in the community.	_____	_____
7 Form a group of friends or community members to work and advocate the issue.	_____	_____
8 Become affiliated with a political party that advocates reform of the issue.	_____	_____

	Your likelihood of participation in this activity (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely / Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective / Very effective
9 Join a non-governmental organization that advocates and works for change of the issue.	_____	_____
10 Try to persuade family friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to vote for a candidate who supports reform of the issue.	_____	_____
11 Write to a member of the federal government expressing your concern with the issue	_____	_____
12 Provide moral support to my friends, family, colleagues, acquaintances, or people within my community who are working for change on the issue	_____	_____
13 Become a member of a non-governmental organization that works on reform of the issue	_____	_____
14 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to not vote for a candidate who does not support reform of the issue.	_____	_____
15 Provide a candidate who supports reform of the issue with a monetary donation.	_____	_____
16 Give money to a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue.	_____	_____
17 Wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, place a sign in your window or in front of your house supporting a candidate who advocates for reform of the issue.	_____	_____

	Your likelihood of participation in this activity. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective Very effective
18 Work with others in my community to contact a local government official to express our concerns over the issue	_____	_____
19 Refuse to engage in any behaviours that would reflect a contradiction to my position on the issue	_____	_____
20 Work for a political candidate or party who advocates for change of the issue	_____	_____
21 Go to a meeting, rally, speech or dinner hosted by a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue	_____	_____
22 Block traffic, paint slogans, damage property, and conduct any other form of political activity that would possibly lead to arrest	_____	_____
23 Write to a member of local government expressing your concern with the issue.	_____	_____
24 Work with others in my community to contact a federal government official to express our concerns over the issue.	_____	_____
25 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to join an non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue.	_____	_____
26 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or people in the community to think about the issue and to advocate via posters, letters, etc.	_____	_____

	Your likelihood of participation in this activity. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective Very effective
27. Work for a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue.	_____	_____
28. Create a petition to be sent to my government official expressing reform of the issue.	_____	_____
29. Not doing anything directly related, but I would maintain attention to the issue	_____	_____
30. Run in the next local election advocating change for the above presented issue	_____	_____
31. Join a protest march for the issue.	_____	_____
32. Inform others in my community about the issue via posters, letters, etc.	_____	_____
33. Create a non-governmental organization of your local community members that would support reform of the issue.	_____	_____
34. Organize a protest march for the issue.	_____	_____
35. Keep informed on the issue by watching television or reading the newspapers.	_____	_____

Appendix B

Background Information

The following questions require some personal information from you. Please answer honestly and remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Your responses are confidential.

Age _____

Sex: Male Female

The following question concerns your political orientation. We are interested in how you feel about social and political issues generally. Therefore, we are not inquiring about your political party affiliation, but your orientation to social and political issues.

Political Orientation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Very Liberal Moderate Very Conservative

Appendix C

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

PSYCHOLOGY

"The Relationship of Social Dominance Orientation and Political Efficacy to Political Participation of Women"

INFORMATION

Today you will be asked to complete a questionnaire. The purpose of this questionnaire is to examine differences in people's attitudes toward creating social change. You will be asked to provide some background information, read a brief description of a social issue, and answer questions pertaining to activities to create social change. You will also be asked to complete a questionnaire that examines attitudes toward groups in society, as well as a questionnaire that examines how powerful you feel in influencing the political government. It will take approximately 1 hr. to complete the questionnaire packet. You will receive one research credit for your participation today.

RISKS

There are no risks in completing this questionnaire.

BENEFITS

The benefits in completing this questionnaire involve the opportunity to explore social issues and the possible ways of acting politically to address these issues. You will be presented with all of the different forms of political participation, and will be asked to reflect on the activities that you would consider participating in, as well as the activities that you feel are most effective in dealing with social issues. The information you will provide will contribute to the creation of a theoretical model of the political participation of men and women.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your responses to the questionnaire are anonymous. After the testing session, your consent form will be removed from the questions. All information will be locked in the research office in the Psychology Dept. After the study is completed, the questionnaire will be destroyed and the consent form will be destroyed.

COMPENSATION

For completing this questionnaire, you will receive one full research credit towards your research participation requirement for PS100. You also have the option of the alternative to research credit, which is to review a research article.

CONTACT

If you have any questions at any time about the questionnaire or the procedure, you can contact the principal researchers at the Psychology Dept, Wilfrid Laurier University, 884-1970; Cherie Werhun ext 2985, or Mark Pancer, ext. 3149. If you feel that you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a research participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Linda Parker, Assistant Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, 884-1970, ext. 3126.

Results from the present study will be posted on the Research Participant Board in the Psychology Dept. by April 15, 2000.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time and you may choose to omit the answer to any question without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read and understood the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to complete the questionnaires.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date _____

Participant's Name _____

(please print)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix D

Participant Information

Thank-you for your participation in the present study! The purpose of the study was to examine people's perceptions of social change, particularly people's preferred method for attaining social change.

You were presented with one of two social issues and then a list of different activities to create change for those issues. The activities reflected the political domain, activism, non-governmental organizational and non-active political work. You were asked to choose the activities that you would feel the most comfortable participating in. The activities presented were all considered equally as important in creating social change. None of the activities were considered to be correct or better than the others. We were interested in *your* perceptions and preferences of these activities.

You also completed a questionnaire concerning group relations, and a questionnaire concerning how much power you feel as an individual, and within a group influencing the political system. There were also some questions concerning how responsive you think the political system is to people. It is believed that how one feels in relation to other groups will influence the types of activities that one prefers to be involved in. Further, how much power one feels within the political system, either as an individual or group, will influence the types of activities that one prefers to be involved in to create social change. We were interested in examining the relationships between all of these factors. For more information and reference to theories of social behavior and thought refer to Chapter 16 of your Intro. Psychology textbook (Barron, Earhard, & Ozier) pgs. 656-670.

Participation in political activities can take many forms. From the list of activities presented, you can see that there are many different ways that one can be 'politically' active. We hope that you have found the study to be informative and interesting, and were able to reflect on the different types of activities.

Please be reminded that all of your responses are confidential and that there are no right or wrong answers. If you have any concerns or questions with the study, please direct them to Dr. S. Mark Pancer (Advisor) Dept. of Psychology (519) 884-1970 ext. 3149.

Thank-you for your participation.

Cherie Werhun

M.A. Candidate
Dept. of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University

Appendix E

Social Issues

Volume 1,Issue 1

January 15, 2000

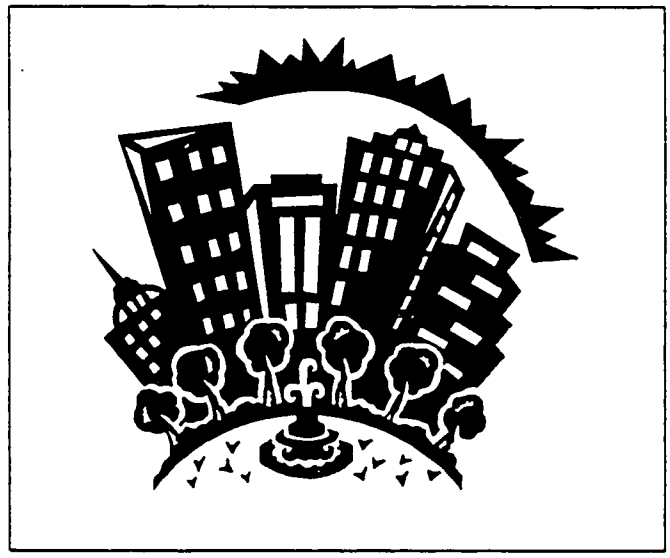
POVERTY IN CANADA

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Special points of interest:

- What will happen to the state of poverty in the Millenium?
- Stats. Canada Review
- Comments to the Editor
- Preview of Next Issue

WHERE IS THE POVERTY?



Poverty is a serious, devastating issue facing Canadians. It exists in all parts of Canada. In Canada, the income of poor households falls $7376 below the low-income line established by Stats. Canada. The situation is grim.

When the effects of poverty in Canada are examined, we see numerous impacts on health, development, and resource availability.

To illustrate, child mortality is twice as high among families at the lowest income levels compared to the highest income levels. Children from low-income families are more likely to have a psychiatric disorder, more likely to have an alcohol problem, and more likely to use drugs. These trends carry on into adulthood.

What are the effects of poverty on the accessibility of resources? Survey information on the dollar daily amount available to a low-income family is $14.60. This leaves approximately $1.47 per day for personal care items, household needs, furniture, telephone, transportation, school supplies, health care, and so on. Thus, the necessities of living are sparse.

The result: People beg for food at food banks, shelters, in schools, and on the streets. Where is poverty in Canada? Poverty is everywhere.

Volume 1,Issue 1

January 15, 2000

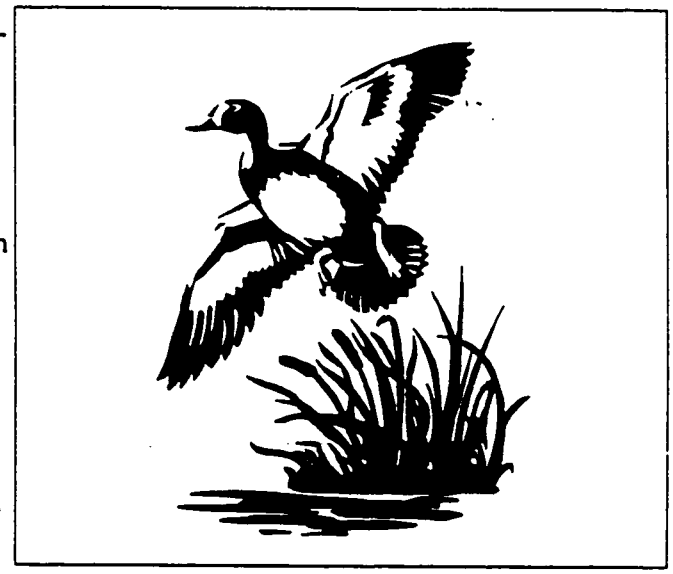
ENVIRONMENT IN CANADA

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Special points of interest:

- What will happen to the environment in the Millennium?
- Stats. Canada Review
- Comments to the Editor
- Preview of Next Issue

WHAT IS HAPPENING?



Environmental damage is a serious issue facing Canadians. The effects are widespread and devastating as it affects people and the environment. Smog produced by automobiles can have serious adverse effects on health and can damage vegetation.

The health impacts are substantial and dangerous. Impacts include increased sensitivity of asthmatics, eye irritation, decreased immune function, and a possible long term role in the development of chronic lung disease. The effects on the environment are devastating and visible.

Nitrogen oxide (from automobiles) reacts with water to produce acid rain. Acid rain is associated with suppressed vegetation growth and stratospheric ozone depletion. It accounts for an annual loss of $197 billion in commercial forest wood products and a further $1.3 billion in recreation and wildlife habit destruction.

There is also reduced agriculture productivity in crops, and reduced growth rate in trees, including red spruce and sugar maple.

What is the prognosis?

With the continual growth of the automobile industry, the health of our environment is in jeopardy.

Appendix F

Social Dominance Orientation Scale
(Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)

Please indicate the extent to which you feel positively or negatively toward the following statements, based on the following scale

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very negative Very Positive

1. Some people are just inferior to others

2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.

5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom

7. Inferior groups should stay in their place

8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

9. It would be good if groups were equal. (Inverse)

10. Group equality should be our ideal. (Inverse)

11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. (Inverse)

12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. (Inverse)

13. Increased social equality. (Inverse)

14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. (Inverse)

15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. (Inverse)

16. No one group should dominate in society. (Inverse)

Appendix G

Political Efficacy Measure
(Craig & Maggiotto, 1981)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, based on the following scale:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
strongly disagree strongly agree

Internal Efficacy

1. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.(REVERSE)

2. People like me are generally well qualified to participate in the political activity and decision making in our country.

3. I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the political issues which confront our society.

4. Today's problems are so difficult I feel I could not know enough to come up with any ideas that might solve them.(REVERSE)

5. I feel like I could do as good a job in public office as most of the politicians we elect.

External Efficacy

1. I don't think that public officials care much what people like me think. (REVERSE)

2. Generally speaking, those we elect to public office lose touch with the people pretty quickly. (REVERSE)

3. Candidates for office are interested in people's votes, but not in their opinions. (REVERSE)

4. There are plenty of ways for people like me to have a say in what our government does.

5. Politicians are supposed to be *servants* of the people, but too many of them try to be our *masters*. (REVERSE)

6. It hardly makes any difference who I vote for because whoever gets elected does whatever he or she wants to do anyway.(REVERSE)

7. In this country, a few people have all the political power and the rest of us have nothing to say. (REVERSE)

8. It doesn't matter what a person does-- if the politicians want to listen they will, and if they don't want to listen they won't. (REVERSE)

9. Most public officials wouldn't listen to me no matter what I did. (REVERSE)

Appendix H

Collective Political Efficacy Measure
(Yeich & Levine, 1994)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, based on the following scale:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
strongly disagree strongly agree

1 Dramatic change could occur in this country if people banded together and demanded change

2 If enough environmentalists got organized and demanded change, politicians would take steps to end the problem of air pollution

3 Organized groups of citizens can have much impact on the political policies in this country

4 Politicians would respond to our needs if we began a movement of concerned individuals

5 Politicians would respond to the needs of citizens if people demanded change

6 Politicians would listen to homeless and poor people if we worked together and pressured them to

Appendix I

Political Activity Questionnaire

After reading the issue, what types of activities would you consider participating in to create change for the issue? Please indicate below how **likely** it is that you would engage in each of the following activities, and how **effective** you think each activity would be in effecting social change.

Activities	Your likelihood of participation in this activity (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective Very effective
1 Work with others in the community on the issue and advocate for change	_____	_____
2 Go to a political meeting, rally, speech, or dinner supporting a candidate who advocates for reform of the issue	_____	_____
3 Organize a protest march for the issue.	_____	_____
4 Form a group of friends or community members to work and advocate the issue.	_____	_____
5 Become affiliated with a political party that advocates reform of the issue	_____	_____
6 Join a non-governmental organization that advocates and works for change of the issue.	_____	_____
7 Try to persuade family friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to vote for a candidate who supports reform of the issue.	_____	_____
8 Write to a member of the federal government expressing your concern with the issue.	_____	_____

Activities	Your likelihood of participation in this activity (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective Very effective
9. Block traffic, paint slogans, damage property, and conduct any other form of political activity that would possibly lead to arrest.	_____	_____
10 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or strangers to join an non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue	_____	_____
11 Become a member of a non-governmental organization that works on reform of the issue	_____	_____
12 Try to persuade family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, or people in the community to think about the issue and to advocate via posters, letters, etc	_____	_____
13 Work with others in my community to contact a local government official to express our concerns over the issue	_____	_____
14. Join a protest march for the issue.	_____	_____
15 Work for a political candidate or party who advocates for change of the issue.	_____	_____
16. Write to a member of local government expressing your concern with the issue.	_____	_____
17 Work with others in my community to contact a federal government official to express our concerns over the issue.	_____	_____

Activities	Your likelihood of participation in this activity. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very unlikely / Very likely	How effective you think this activity could be. (1 2 3 4 5 6 7) Very ineffective / Very effective
18 Work for a non-governmental organization that supports reform of the issue	_____	_____
19 Create a petition to be sent to my government official expressing reform of the issue.	_____	_____
20 Run in the next local election advocating change for the above presented issue.	_____	_____