

WHAT MAKES MARY RUN?: A STUDY OF WOMEN WHO WERE
CANDIDATES FOR POLITICAL OFFICE IN KANSAS
AND MISSOURI

by

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Culturally and traditionally, politics is man's domain. Historically, American women have been excluded from active political participation as though as a sex, they were apolitical creatures, lacking in the ability to govern effectively.

Not only in mutual concerns have women had little or no voice, but they have been almost totally dependent upon the compassion and largesse of men for the protection of their own rights as persons under the Constitution. Further, except for Suffrage, the goals of the women's movement of 1848 which included equal rights with men to participate fully in religion, the professions, commerce, and the trades are largely unfilled in 1977.¹

In recorded history too, women's political activities have been almost totally ignored. This is partly attributable to the generic usage of the word "mankind"² and to the fact

¹Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1971), pp. 316-396.

²Elise Boulding, "How Women Can Build a More Livable World," interviewed by Jean Drissell, ed., Transition 3, special issue (February, 1976).

that the activities of men have been labelled "political," but not those of women. Grossholtz and Bourque point out that all political activity has been defined in terms of men's political behavior. They note that when school boys like pictures of war, and girls do not, that boys' attitudes were labelled "more political" than girls'--a fallacious conclusion. Women are assumed to be non-political persons if their activities are non-public.³

One of the most substantiated findings in social science is that men are more likely to participate in politics than women. Berelson, Lazarsfeld and others have found that men are also more likely to be psychologically involved in politics than women.⁴ Further, Almond and Verba found women to be especially low in political interest, according to their system of measurement, and somewhat more candidate oriented than men.⁵

Other studies revealed the propensity of women to be less active in party politics.⁶ That presumed lack of interest

³Jean Grossholtz and Susan Bourque, "Politics as an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female Participation," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, cited by Mary L. Shanley and Victoria Schuck, "In Search of the Political Woman," Social Science Quarterly 55 (December, 1974): 639.

⁴Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 54 and Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 49.

⁵Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 387-397.

⁶Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 135-136.

may be attributed to the relegation of women to positions of little or no power in the party system. As a New Orleans mayor once commented, "Women do the lickin' and stickin' while men plan the strategy."⁷ Thus, the dull jobs to which they are assigned obviates their incentive to participate.

Studies which support the pervasiveness of women's lack of interest in politics may be perpetuating a myth, however. The definition that researchers have attached to politics has excluded much of the work that women have done through the centuries. The "social work" accomplished by Jane Addams in Chicago was not "political"; nor was Margaret Sanger's crusade for family planning, which was labelled "educational."⁸ Unfortunately, politics has been termed a masculine pursuit which largely excludes women.

Politics, commonly defined, is the art or science of government, or the art or science concerned with guiding or influencing governmental policy.⁹ Karl Deutsch has defined it as "decision-making by public means," the result of which is government.¹⁰ Although Lasswell sums it up succinctly

⁷Susan Tolchin and Martin Tolchin, Clout (New York: Coward, McCann & Georghagan, Inc., 1974), p. 13, quoting Mayor Moon Landrieu.

⁸Nancy McWilliams, "Contemporary Feminism, Consciousness-Raising, and Changing Views of the Political," in Women in Politics, ed. by Jane S. Jaquette (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 161.

⁹Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1973.

¹⁰Karl Deutsch, Politics and Government (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), p. 5.

in his title Politics--Who Gets What, When, How?,¹¹ Robert Dahl's commonly accepted definition is that: "Politics is a persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, power, rule, or authority."¹²

It is too often assumed that politics is concerned only with power relationship. Defined more clasically from its Greek root, polis, politics is "the area of shared values and citizenship"¹³ in which power relationship is only one related feature. Viewed in this way, politics may well be a "natural" interest of women. Consistent with this viewpoint is the characteristic of politically active individuals as those who are concerned for the welfare of others, and who do things for humanity.¹⁴

That women are perceived to possess these attributes and even surpass men in this area, is reinforced by a 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll. Seventy-one percent of the women and sixty-eight percent of the men felt that "women are more sensitive to the problems

¹¹Harold D. Lasswell, Politics: Who Gets What, When, How? (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1936).

¹²Robert Dahl, Modern Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 6.

¹³McWilliams, "Contemporary Feminism, Consciousness-Raising," p. 161.

¹⁴David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, "Criteria for Political Apathy," in Studies in Leadership, ed. by A. W. Goulder (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 55, cited by Paul R. Mussen and Anne B. Warren in "Personality and Political Participation" in Learning About Politics: A Reader in Political Socialization, ed. by Roberta S. Sigel (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 285.

of the poor and underprivileged than men are."¹⁵ By this criterion, the socialization of women to think of others before self particularly equips them for political leadership.

It is apparent that women have been viewed as innately non-political, and further, that their political activities have borne very little relationship to positions of power. More importantly, the traditional stereotype--that which adheres to the social customs and attitudes handed down from one generation to another--has kept women on the periphery of society where, as we shall see later, there is little or no political interaction.

Regardless of the political imbalance between the sexes, however, both men and women have an equal stake in the common problems of developing human resources, conserving our natural resources, preventing a polluted environment, developing renewable energy sources, preserving international order and other social and political problems. Therefore, it is equally important to both men and women that the other half of this nation's intelligence and talents--those of women--are utilized when crucial decisions are made.

The Constraints of Woman's "Place"

It is evident, however, that our tradition and culture have constrained the participation of women who might otherwise have accepted equal responsibility in making those

¹⁵Virginia Slim's American Women's Opinion Poll, a study by Louis Harris and Associates, p. 33.

political decisions. Margaret Mead tells us that

different cultures have styled the relationships between men and women differently. When they have styled the roles so that they fitted well together, so that law and custom, ideal and practical possibilities, were reasonable close together, the men and women who lived within that society have been fortunate. But to the degree that a style of beauty that was unobtainable by most people, or a style of bravery or initiative, modesty and responsiveness, was insisted upon although the culture had inadequate devices for developing such initiative or such responsiveness, then both men and women suffer.¹⁶

It is well known that the secondary status of women, and hence, their non-political nature has been exhorted since Biblical times, and centuries later, touted by Rousseau, representative of his age, who believed that "the whole education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them...and to make life sweet and agreeable to them...."¹⁷

Since the founding of the United States Constitution, many of this nation's leaders have either ignored women, or denied them a place in governmental affairs by conveniently emphasizing that their only "place" is that of wife and mother.¹⁸ Should she reach the political pinnacle as a

¹⁷The Bible. Eph. 5:22. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord;" Jean Jacques Rousseau, "L'Emile or a Treatise on Education" ed. by W. H. Payne (New York: 1906), p. 203, cited by Eleanor Flexnor, Century of Struggle (New York: Atheneum, 1973), pp. 23-24.

¹⁸John Adams in a letter to Abigail Adams, April 4, 1776, in The Feminist Papers, ed. by Alice S. Rossi (New York: Bantam Books, 1973), p. 11; Adlai Stevenson in a commencement address at Smith College in 1955. Women's political job is "to help her husband find values that will give purpose to his specialized daily chores....I think there is much you can do about our crisis in the humble role of housewife. I could wish you no better vocation than that;" quoted in Betty Friedan,

wife of a politician, it was her role to enhance and support her husband's career. Not until she reached the state of widowhood did society confer its approval upon her political activities.¹⁹

Recognition of these constraints is of grave importance, for it may tell us some of the reasons why so few women have become involved in the political process, and consequently, why so few women run for political office as the record will subsequently reveal. As former Representative Julia Butler Hanson, Democrat from Washington once remarked, "Every essence of a woman's life prevents her involvement in politics...the problem is related to the larger question of a woman's role in society."²⁰ Duverger points out

if the majority of women are little attracted to political careers, it is because everything tends to turn them away from them: if they allow politics to remain essentially a man's business, it is because everything conduces to this belief, tradition, family life, education, religion, and literature. From birth, women are involved in a system which tends to make them think of themselves as feminine. The small part played by women in politics merely reflects and results from the secondary place to which they are still assigned by the customs and attitudes of our society and

The Feminine Mystique (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1963), pp. 53-54; and Senator Barry Goldwater's remark concerning a possible woman Vice-President for President Ford, "I have nothing against a woman, just so she can cook and get home on time," W74, Win With Women, Newsletter No. 7, 3 (October, 1972): 3.

¹⁹Margaret Mead, Male & Female (New York: William Morrow & Company, Publishers, 1949), noting the criticism of Eleanor Roosevelt as a political wife, and her approved status as a political widow, p. 304.

²⁰Kirsten Amendsen, The Silenced Majority (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 86.

which their education and training tend to make them accept as the natural order of things.²¹

The major impetus to the broad examination of the status of women came from Betty Friedan who in 1963, "pulled the trigger of history."²² Friedan unveiled the "feminine mystique" as the image of women as the helpmate to her husband, teacher to her children, bound by a society that repressed the development of her own unique talents as a human being.²³

True to Rousseau's patterns for women's education, nearly every cue a woman receives since she was a child has guided her into the so-called "woman's sphere:" The doctor--he, the nurse--she; the administrator--he, the secretary--she. Not only are school subjects slanted toward "his" and "hers" in restrictive ways, but even her title as "Mrs." is but an appendage of her husband's name. Advertisements confront her from every facet of the media. It is a woman who cleans the oven, mops the floor, and is some man's "girl Friday," as if these activities were the limits of her talents. Women's perfumes, shampoos, beauty aids, and vitamin pills are extolled as a means to reach the primary goal of a woman's life--to be sexy and seductive for the man in her life. Henley and Freeman call these cues "the sexual politics of interpersonal behavior"

²¹Maurice Duverger, The Political Roles of Women (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), pp. 129-130.

²²Alvin Toffler in Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, cover.

²³Friedan, Betty, The Feminine Mystique, pp. 54-56.

from which women internalize their own inferiority.²⁴

Lopata observes that "slowly but surely...the role of the housewife assumes center stage for most married women. The coming of the first child completes the transition as most women are forced to quit school or job to become full-time housewives."²⁵

George Ritzer, who illustrates the stereotype of language in the title of his book Man and His Work, labels "housewife" as a "low-status female occupation which is a dead-end in career pattern terms."

The position of housewife is a terminal occupation, offering no opportunity for upward or downward mobility....Childhood socialization stresses for the female the centrality of the wife and mother roles. An unsatisfying occupational experience is therefore not as catastrophic as it would be for a male, for whom the occupation is the central area....Further, females may indeed be well-suited to some of the alienating occupations in which they find themselves. Trained to be passive, they may truly revel in the powerlessness of such occupations as secretary and maid. After all, they are being dominated by a male and this is supposed to be 'natural' in our society. (Italics added)²⁶

²⁴Nancy Henley and Jo Freeman, "The Sexual Politics of Interpersonal Behavior," in Women: A Feminist Perspective ed. by Jo Freeman (Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 391-201.

²⁵Helena Znaniecki Lopata, "The Life Cycle and Social Role of Housewife," Sociology and Everyday Life, ed. by Marcello Truzzi, quoted by George Ritzer, Man and His Work: Conflict and Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 267-268.

²⁶George Ritzer, Man and His Work, pp. 267-268.

To those who say that women have a choice in their roles in society, Sandra and Daryl Bem point out that our society manages very subtly to consign a large part of our population to the role of housewife, solely on the basis of sex, much in the same way that blacks and minorities are relegated to the jobs of janitors and domestic workers on the basis of race. The Bems remind us that society has spent twenty years of a young girl's life conditioning her to say "No" to other alternatives. Thus, while her alternatives have not been controlled, her motivation to choose has been limited.²⁷

The conditioning of women to confinement in a narrow segment of society has effectively prevented them from participating fully in the simple act of voting. Five years after the Suffrage amendment was ratified, women were still voting in consistently lower percentages than men. Some of them refrained because they "disbelieved in the propriety of the franchise for women."²⁸ Not until 1964 did women vote in greater numbers than did men.²⁹ At the highest levels of political participation, women are still a miniscule proportion.

²⁷ Sandra Bem and Daryl Bem, "We're all Nonconscious Sexists" adapted from Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs by Daryl Bem (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 113-116, in Psychology Today (November, 1974), p. 26.

²⁸ Charles Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, Non-Voting: Causes and Method of Control (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 109-111, cited by Shanley and Schuck, "In Search of the Political Woman," p. 637.

²⁹ Marjorie Lansing, "The American Woman: Voter and Activist," In Women in Politics ed. by Jane Jaquette, Table 1.1, pp. 5-6.

Women in Political Office: A Review

Since the election of Jeanette Rankin of Montana to the United States House of Representatives in 1916,³⁰ only 100 women have served in the Congress. Their numbers reached an all-time high of 19 in 1960, dropped to nearly half in 1962, and did not peak again until 1975 when 19 women again served in the nation's legislative branch of government.³¹

Representation of women in Congress from its meagre 3.5 percent of the total body dropped again in 1976 when Leonor Sullivan, Democrat from Missouri, retired after 12 terms and wasn't replaced.³²

One of the four women who retired in 1974 from congressional service, Ella T. Grasso, subsequently won the gubernatorial race in Connecticut. She was the first woman to win that office without benefit of a husband who preceded her in office. Dixie Lee Ray joined that exclusive category when she became Governor of Washington in 1976.³³

Subsequent to 1948, the United States Senate has included one or two women, but in 1972, when Senator Margaret

³⁰"Women Candidates: A Big Increase over 1972," Political Report-15, Congressional Quarterly (October 26, 1974): 2973. Representative Rankin was elected again in 1941.

³¹Naomi B. Lynn, "Woman in Politics: An Overview," in Women: A Feminist Perspective ed. by Jo Freeman, Table 5, p. 366.

³²Britannica Book of the Year, 1977, "Government and Politics," p. 714.

³³Britannica, 1977, "United States Statistical Supplement. Developments in the United States in 1976," p. 702.

Chase Smith was defeated after more than 30 years service in Congress,³⁴ it reverted to an all-male body as it remains today in 1977.

No woman has yet won a major party's nomination for President or Vice-President, although five women in our history have tried.³⁵

There is reason for optimism in other areas, however. New gains were made when three women became state Lieutenant Governors of New York, Mississippi, and Kentucky in 1974 and 1975, where there were none before.³⁶

In state legislatures, it appears that as more women run, more are inspired to run. The 1972 election revealed an 18.8 percent increase from 344 to 424 in elected legislators who were women, and in 1974, the gain was 30.6 percent from 424 to 610, bringing the total of women to 8 percent of some 7500 seats in state assemblies and legislatures in the

³⁴Britannica Book of the Year, 1973, "Government and Politics," p. 751.

³⁵Dr. Jacqueline Balk Tusa, Historical Highlights and Quotations, W74, Win With Women, A Project of the National Women's Political Caucus, 1974. Victoria Claflin of New York was the Equal Rights Party's nominee in 1872. Belva Ann Bennett Lockwood of Washington, D.C., ran on the same party ticket in 1884 and 1888; Britannica Book of the Year, 1965, s.v., "Political Parties." In 1964 Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) unsuccessfully sought the nomination for President, p. 648; Hope Chamberlain, A Minority of Members: Women in the U.S. Congress (New York: A Mentor Book, New American Library, 1973). In 1972 Representative Shirley Chisholm view for the presidential nomination, also unsuccessfully, p. 332; Britannica, 1977, s.v. "Ellen McCormack" in 1976 ran for president on the Pro-Life Action Committee. Her name was placed in nomination at the Democratic Convention for the anti-abortion cause. Jimmy Carter won the nomination.

³⁶National Women's Political Caucus Newsletter 4 (November 18, 1975) 1, and "Some Big Wins for Women," U.S. News and World Report (November 18, 1974), p. 32.

United States. According to state summaries, women's positions in the lower house of the legislatures range from a low of only one in Alabama to a high in New Hampshire of 102, or 20 percent of the total.³⁷

Of the estimated 100,000 governing units in the United States,³⁸ less than one percent of the population will compete for offices within them. Although relatively few men run for public office, the number of women who do is even fewer. Of all the political offices in government, women hold little more than 9 percent or less, regardless of governmental level.³⁹

Women are constantly being told, "You've come a long way, Baby," but political progress for women has come only after years of struggle, and then only incrementally. Women fought for the Nineteenth Amendment for more than fifty years, and it gave them the right of suffrage and nothing more; the campaign for equal rights, which was temporarily abandoned in the struggle for suffrage, was not resumed again until 1923 when Representative Daniel Anthony and Senator Charles Curtis introduced the Equal Rights Amendment in the Congress

³⁷Ruth B. Mandel, "Women in Elected Office: Some Bad News and Some Good," Women's Political Times 1 (July 1976): 8.

³⁸Kenneth Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders: A Study of Citizen-Politicians (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970), p. 3.

³⁹Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers--The State University, 1976), xvii. Hereinafter referred to as National Profile.

for the first time.⁴⁰ A half century has passed, and in 1977 the amendment still lacks three of the thirty-eight states which are required for ratification by March, 1979.⁴¹

Despite some signs of optimism, the fact remains that after two hundred years of American government, women still find themselves ruled by a preponderance of elected male officials who comprise the smaller "half" of the population. If women are to effect changes in government, they must occupy the policy-making positions of government. Therefore, researchers and women themselves, need to know more about the essential components of eligibility which lead one to candidacy for political office.

The Study

In 1974 I became the first woman in my district to run for the Kansas House of Representatives. My experience as a reluctant candidate led to an interest in the factors that propelled other women into candidacy. What prompted the decision of some 1800 women to run for state and congressional offices? Why did these women flaunt tradition to become candidates?

⁴⁰Hole and Levine, Rebirth of Feminism, p. 55.

⁴¹Britannica, 1977, p. 704. Four more states were needed for ratification until Indiana ratified January 18, 1977, see "The Heat's on for Passage of ERA in 1977," Frontline, Common Cause, (Jan-Feb, 1977): p. 5. The ERA states in Section 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. See further The Equal Rights Amendment: A Report on the Proposed 27th Amendment to the Constitution. (Washington, D. C.: Common Cause, n.d.)

The study is about the selection of women for candidacy--not as they are chosen on election day in which voters confer legitimacy on a prior selection of two or three choices, but of the processes that select initially the few candidates from the many thousands of citizens who are legally qualified to hold public office.

The purpose of this study is to determine the characteristics of women who were candidates in Kansas and Missouri and to determine the factors or combination of factors that led them to commit themselves to the ultimate involvement in politics--candidacy for political office. This embraces the more general question of why people participate in politics, and why women are more reluctant to become candidates than men, as evidenced by the small number of women now occupying public office.

This study will focus on a process model from which we will try to determine the relationship between an individual's socializations and motivations for candidacy. This Model of Eligibility, as we shall call it, will be comprised of three components which emerge from selected studies of recruitment patterns of males and/or females, and studies of profiles of elected political representatives at local, state, and national levels.

These components constitute the factors which may qualify, and perhaps predispose one to decide to become a candidate for political office. They will reside under the umbrella of the Model of Eligibility to indicate the level of political participation which influences an individual's

proximity to the center or the periphery of society. They will be called the Components of Center-Periphery, the Components of Political Socialization, and the Components of the Political Personality.

The Hierarchy of Political Involvement

Throughout this study we shall refer to Milbrath's "hierarchy of political involvement" which includes a wide range of political activities in which people participate.⁴²

At the base is the political apathetic who, upon exposing oneself to political stimuli, is at the Spectator level where 40 to 70 percent of the adult population participates. Activities there range from the act of voting to the public display of a button or campaign sign or sticker, where participation dwindles to about 15 percent of the population.

Ten to thirteen percent of the adult population are involved in transitional activities which include contact with a public official, joining a political party or attending political meetings. Progressing further one is involved in gladiatorial activities where, at lower levels, four or five percent of the population contribute time to a political campaign, become active party members, attend caucus meetings and solicit political funds.

It is at the uppermost level of political activity with which this study is most closely concerned where, as a Gladiator, one runs for, or is elected to party or political office. In the rarified atmosphere at the top of the ladder,

⁴²Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 18-19.

it is estimated that less than one percent of the population participates.⁴³

⁴³Ibid.

PART II

THE MODEL OF ELIGIBILITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The term Model of Eligibility has its roots in Mosca's discussion of the ruling class of southern Italy--the aristocrats who provided a disproportionate share of the country's political leaders. A set of characteristics--primarily high socio-economic status (SES) which includes income, occupation, and education--tended to make some people more "fit" to govern than others.¹

These factors as well as age, marital status, rural-urban residency, and group memberships and activities, strongly influence a person's location at the center or periphery of society. Milbrath finds this center-periphery concept to be "one of the most thoroughly substantiated propositions in all of social science." It simply states that "persons near the center of society (or those who perceive themselves to be at

¹Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class, translated by Hannah D. Kahn (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1939), cited by Kenneth Prewitt, Recruitment of Political Leaders, pp. 50-57.

the center) are more likely to participate in politics than persons near the periphery."²

Center-Periphery Concept

The Center-Periphery concept has no precise definition, but embodies many different characteristics. Lane sees the center as a place where persons "are more accessible, more likely to be informed, partake in more discussions, belong to more organizations, (and) are more likely to be opinion leaders."³ A sociological definition classifies persons who are at the center of society which is inhabited by the privileged class, as "top dogs." Persons at the periphery are classed as "underdogs"--the underprivileged of society with "low income, little education, low prestige who feel that they have little power or control over their every-day life."⁴

Another term for the center is a community role named "active advisor" which Agger and Ostrom characterize as having higher educational attainment, more group memberships, closer attachment to the community, frequent associations with school or governmental officials, and more likelihood to election to political office.⁵ Persons in that role are less

²Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 113, citing Berelson, et al., Voting, and Angus Campbell, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960).

³Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 110-111, citing Robert Lane, Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 196.

⁴Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 112, citing Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of an Underdog," Political Opinion Quarterly 11 (Spring 1947): 103-114.

⁵Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 112, citing Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom "Political Participation

likely to be women than men and unlikely to be young people.⁶

Milbrath concludes that

Persons close to the center occupy an environmental position which naturally links them into the communications network involved in policy decisions for the society. They become identified with the body politic. They receive from, and send, more communications to other persons near the center. They have a higher rate of social interaction, and they are active in more groups than persons on the periphery. This central position increases the likelihood that they will develop personality traits, beliefs, and attitudes which facilitate participation in politics. There are many more political stimuli in their environment, and this increases the number of opportunities for them to participate.⁷

It must be noted that a close relationship exists between the political stimuli at the center, and political participation which creates a circular pattern: "The more stimuli about politics a person receives, the greater the likelihood one will participate in politics." Conversely, "persons with a positive attraction to politics are more likely to receive stimuli about politics and to participate more."⁸ One of the major links to the center, which makes an individual a separate elite, is socio-economic status of which the major indicators are income, education, and occupation.

in a Small Community" in Political Behavior ed. by Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld and Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 138-148.

⁶Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 112.

⁷Ibid., p. 113.

⁸Ibid., p. 40, citing Berelson, Voting.

In addition to the central position in society, the Model of Eligibility must embody the "qualifications" for high level political activity. Hence, to determine "eligibility" as a Gladiator, one must also be in harmony with the Components of Political Socialization, in which group memberships are included, and the Components of the Political Personality. To be considered in the center-periphery concept are income, occupation, education, age, marital status, and rural-urban residency.

THE COMPONENTS OF CENTER-PERIPHERY

Income

The positive relationship of income as a factor in political participation is evident in the fact that there is significantly more political activity at the middle income level than there is at the low level.⁹ The income variable relates to certain political acts, but not to others. People of higher income are slightly more apt than middle-income people to do party work, join a political organization, attend meetings, and try to persuade others to adopt their political viewpoints. More significant is the fact that higher-income persons are more likely than middle-income persons to display a bumper sticker or wear a political button. An explanation might rest in the fact that public acknowledgement of political preferences requires high self-esteem which higher-income persons have been found to possess,

⁹Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 120

in relation to high self esteem.¹⁰ One might also suspect that higher income people have occupations that are less sensitive to the political opinions and pressures of their superiors. That moneyed people contribute more financially to politics than less well-off people is a more easily understood fact. It is apparent that high income exposes one to the political stimuli near the center.

Occupation

Occupation, a somewhat less clear-cut variable in predicting political activity is still found to have sufficient influence under certain circumstances: If (1) the skills within it are related to politics, (2) it affords the opportunity to interact with people like themselves, (3) it carries with it a higher than average stake in public policy, and (4) its functions include or encourage public service.¹¹

Occupations which are closer to the center are seen to have higher status than those at the periphery. Hence, people of higher occupational status are more likely to participate in politics than people in lower-status occupations. Professional people are the most likely to become involved in politics, followed by businessmen, clerical, skilled, and unskilled workers, respectively.¹²

Sex Differences in Income and Occupation

A view of the status of working women compared with

¹⁰Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 121.

¹¹Lane, Political Life, p. 334

¹²Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 124-126.

that of men reveals a wide disparity in both income and job status. Government statistics tell us that in 1974, 45.6 percent of the labor force were women.¹³ The gap between the median incomes of men and women has widened since 1955 when women were earning 63.9 percent of those of men in comparable jobs. By 1970, the median earnings of women had dropped to 59.4 percent and by 1974 the median income for women was only 57 percent that of men's.¹⁴

Even more glaring are the disparities between men's and women's salaries at the \$10,000 and over category: of the 92.5 percent of men with incomes who worked full or part-time, 41.6 percent earned \$10,000 or more--over four times greater than the 9.2 percent of women--70.8 percent of whom were in the same category.¹⁵

That more men than women earn high incomes in more prestigious positions supports findings that men move in environments that are politically more stimulating than women do.¹⁶ Far more men than women hold professional and managerial positions which are closer to the center of society where there is more social interaction among opinion leaders of the

¹³Calculated from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Index, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 99, 1974.

¹⁴U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Economic Problems of Women, 93d Cong., 1st sess., p. 134, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 99, 1974.

¹⁵U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Money Income in 1974, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 101, January 1976, Male p. 100, Female p. 102.

¹⁶Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 42.

community, and among policy makers of government. The bulk of women's jobs are closer to the periphery of society where women find less political stimuli. Hence, women are disadvantaged in the relationship of their income and occupation to political participation.¹⁷

Education

Many studies show education as having a greater impact on political behavior than any other variable. Campbell and associates in their 1962 study found that high SES persons, especially the more highly educated, were more likely to be politically active in a wide variety of ways--to vote, attend meetings, join a party, and to campaign. Campbell observed:

Perhaps the surest single predictor of political involvement is the number of years of formal education...One may surmise that education tends to widen the scope of one's acquaintance with the political facts, to increase capacity to perceive the personal implications of political events, or to enlarge one's confidence in his own ability to act effectively politically.¹⁸

Almond and Verba found that in all cultures, further manifestations of education relate to political activities. The higher the educational attainment, the higher the inclination of persons to feel more trust in other people, to be more aware of the impact of government on the individual, and to feel politically efficacious, i.e., to feel that they are

¹⁷Francine Blau, "Women in the Labor Force," in Women: A Feminist Perspective, ed. by Jo Freeman, Table 2, p. 220.

¹⁸Angus Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Acta Sociologica 7 (September 21, 1962): 9-21, cited by Lester Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 54.

capable of influencing government.¹⁹ It is not surprising, then, that college and professional degrees are prevalent among persons holding political office.²⁰

Further implications of SES variables were found to relate to several factors leading to political participation. Higher SES people, especially those of higher education, are more likely than lower SES people to develop a sense of citizen duty; they also tend to become more highly involved psychologically in politics, and hence, to feel more efficacious about political activity. Conversely, persons who feel efficacious politically are more likely to become actively involved in politics. The circulatory effects of participation in politics and its relationship to feelings of efficacy have been recognized.²¹

Sex Differences in Education

In view of the lower income and lower prestige of women's occupations, it is not surprising that in 1974, only 6.0 percent of all women in the general population over the age of 14 had attended four years of college compared with 7.4 percent of the men; and that 2.6 percent of women in the population at large had completed five or more years of college compared with 5.8 percent of the men.²²

¹⁹Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 317-318.

²⁰Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 123-124.

²¹Ibid., pp. 56-58.

²²Calculated from "Educational Attainment by Age, Race, and Sex, 1974," The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1976), p. 198.

In the Constantini and Craik study of 1,000 legislators, Republican and Democratic national convention delegates and alternates, and county chairpersons, males were significantly better educated than their female counterparts. Nearly a third more men than women had college degrees, and the gap widened at the graduate level where more than 40 percent of the males had attained graduate or professional degrees compared with only 12 percent of the females.²³

One might expect that the male political leader attained his position through the higher class status of his parents. In fact, the reverse was true; the educational achievement of his most educated parent was substantially less than the educated parent of a female leader. Consequently, male political leaders enjoyed a greater thrust to upward mobility than did females.²⁴

Age and Marital Status

As age is considered, we must also view the variables that often accompany it--community ties, marital status, and children in the family--all of which are associated with political interest.²⁵ Hence, age and marital status are explored together.

²³Edmond Constantini and Kenneth H. Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Backgrounds, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," Journal of Social Issues 28 (1972): 220.

²⁴Ibid., p. 221-222.

²⁵Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 55.

Numerous studies tell us that political participation rises gradually with age, peaks in the late forties, levels off in the fifties, then gradually declines after the age of sixty.²⁶ Strongly influencing participation are the factors of integration with the community, availability of free time, and the state of good health.²⁷

Age is also related to gladiatorial activity. In Kenneth Prewitt's 1965-66 survey of 435 city councilmen from the San Francisco Bay area, the largest number of political candidates were ambitious before the age of 35. A significant increase occurred during the following ten years, but after the age of 45, the proportion markedly declined.²⁸ In their National Profile of 3,562 women holding elective office in the United States in 1974 and 1975, Johnson and Stanwick's findings suggest that women are predominantly ambitious in their late forties.²⁹ This may be due to a special handicap imposed upon young women by the domination of men in the political arena. Hence, it may take women longer than men to achieve elite status within their party.³⁰ Lynn and Flora in their study of thirty-two young mothers in Manhattan, Kansas, found that motherhood, which usually accompanies marriage,

²⁶Ibid., p. 134, citing Campbell, et al., The American Voter and Jack Jensen, "Political Participation," Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1960.

²⁷Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 135.

²⁸Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, Table 8-6, p. 188.

²⁹Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

³⁰Constantini and Craik, "Women as Politicians," p. 222.

retards the growth of her political self so that she no longer sees herself in political terms.³¹

The presence of young children, however, is no preclusion to candidacy as evidenced in the National Profile.³² Further, according to their study of women who were legislators in thirty-seven states, Werner and Bachtold found that married women combined their multiple roles without stress.³³ That is confirmed by the opinion of women who were respondents in a 1972 Virginia Slims Opinion Poll. An overwhelming majority of them (85 percent) disagreed with the statement, "It is almost impossible to be a good wife and mother and hold public office too." A firm majority of all adult women also disagreed, compared with two-thirds of the male legislators, and half of all adult males.³⁴

We might presume that women are accustomed to their fragmented position in the home and community, and that before they run for office, they anticipate and plan for their new roles; consequently, their myriad duties are executed in a smooth and orderly fashion.

Although family responsibilities within marriage

³¹Naomi B. Lynn and Cornelia B. Flora, "Motherhood and Political Participation: The Changing Sense of Self," Journal of Political & Military Sociology 1 (1973): 97-98.

³²Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, p. xxxii.

³³Emmy E. Werner and Louise M. Bachtold, "Personality Characteristics in Women in American Politics," in Women in Politics, ed. by Jaquette, p. 83.

³⁴The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, cited by Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1974), p. 237.

generally deter political participation, marriage itself appears to stimulate political interest. The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan classifies its respondents by a combination of age, marital status, and age of children. Cross tabulation of the campaign activity index (CAI) with these life cycle positions revealed that participation is highest among married persons with no children, or those with older children.³⁵ We might surmise that the stabilizing factors which accompany age, i.e., ties with the community and job responsibilities, also accompany marriage and thus, encourage political participation of married persons more than single persons without those intervening variables.

Rural-Urban Environment

One's environmental position in relation to the center of society is also of considerable importance in predisposing one to political participation. Rural men and women are less likely to become politically active than urban persons because of their greater distance from the center of political activity. Campbell suggests that

city people seem to be subject to a much broader range of stimulation than rural people, and are more responsive to it. There are many aspects of urban life which contribute to this relatively high level of interest, but probably none is more important than the fact that the urban citizen is in constant contact with groups of people whom he may identify with and be influenced by.³⁶

³⁵Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 135.

³⁶Ibid., p. 42, citing Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," pp. 9-21.

Differences in political participation between urban and rural women are particularly striking, especially when women were in families engaged in agriculture, forestry, or fishing. Their role precludes much social interaction with other people, and their duties leave little time for politics. Further, the traditional view of politics as a man's world, considered to be prevalent in rural areas, tends to exclude women as political persons.³⁷

Size of community is also a factor in participation, with larger communities showing higher rates than smaller cities and towns. Social movements which are prone to erupt in cities as opposed to rural areas, attract greater political participation among people who are normally least associated with political activity.

At the gladiatorial levels of participation, Seligman and his associates reported that of the 109 Oregon legislative candidates surveyed in the 1966 election, most rural candidates were "reluctants" who had to be persuaded to run. Compared with urban districts, there are fewer incentives to run--less reason to advance political careers, to develop their private occupations, or improve their social status.³⁹

³⁷Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 129.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 130-131.

³⁹Lester Seligman, Michael R. King, Chong Lim Kim, and Roland E. Smith, Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses Its Lawmakers (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 72-73.

THE COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The concept of socialization is based in several disciplines of the behavioral sciences--particularly social anthropology, psychiatry, social psychology, and sociology. It is the pattern of social learning and cultural transmission from which children learn the traditions of the society in which they live. Very young children pick up cues from their parents and peers which tell them what behavior is "consistent with society's expectations." That process is called "socialization."⁴⁰ Political socialization is a further refinement of the broader term, and is the process "through which a citizen acquires his own view of the political world."⁴¹ It is apparent then, that people's political socialization--what they believe or feel about politics--is both cause and effect in politics, since those feelings both shape and reflect the politics of the country.⁴²

The result of political socialization is the "political self" which embodies

...feelings of nationalism, patriotism, or tribal loyalty; identification with particular partisan

⁴⁰Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 6-8.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 6.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 5, 18.

factions or groups, attitudes and evaluations of specific political issues and personalities; knowledge regarding political structures and procedures; and a self-image of rights, responsibilities, and position in the political world.⁴³

It is generally agreed that political socialization is one of the many social and psychological learning processes in developmental sequence which takes place in an individual's background. It occurs "as individuals meet and mix with other persons and respond to the symbols and institutions of society."⁴⁴ The process begins at birth when parents and family, teachers and relatives interact with the individual. It may be acquired through direct, overt methods of indoctrination, training, or teaching, or it may be imparted indirectly through more subtle means of internalization or absorption. Therefore, children may "be politically socialized," or they may "politically socialize themselves."⁴⁵

Primary Agents

The Family

Both direct and indirect processes occur through a child's relationship to primary and secondary agents of political socialization. In nearly all political systems, the most important primary agent is the family whose close-knit, emotional interrelationships influence a young child's

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁵Jack Dennis, ed. Socialization to Politics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973), pp. 20-21.

orientation to politics. Exerting the greatest influence within the family is the parent-child relationship through which a child learns community identification, devotion to country, and attitudes toward, and perceptions of social and political structures.⁴⁶

Studies by Herbert Hyman identify a wide variety of political views including party identification, held and transmitted by the parents, which persist into the adult life of offspring.⁴⁷ The process that occurs most often is indirect, however, since few families consciously or systematically train their children politically.

Children are taught by the example of their parents. As members of the family they learn to accept their responsibilities in the family, their relationship to the community, and channels of authority. They acquire personality traits which condition their later response to specific political stimuli. The interrelations with parents and siblings also help children develop their own self identification. Further, the economic and social environment which the family provides exposes offspring to religious beliefs, ethnic traditions, and cultural and educational values, all of which contribute to the formation of the child's aspirations and goals.

⁴⁶Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 108.

⁴⁷Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization (New York: The Free Press, 1959), p. 72.

Most important is the family's position in society-- its distance from the center or the periphery which helps children find their location in society, and their relationship to the political world. A combination of many factors of parental influence tends to develop children's political self which determines their interest and their future participation in politics. If children are reared in a politically active home, they are more likely to become politically active.⁴⁸

Peer Groups

Peer Groups outside the home are also primary agents of political socialization. They are characterized by memberships of relatively equal status, and a high degree of homogeneity of age, belief, occupation, social status, or other factors. They are highly personal, unstructured groups which are important socializing agents, especially during adolescence when they gradually replace parents, teachers, and other figures of authority. Their influence extends throughout adult life and is a major factor in the continuing politicizing process.⁴⁹

Marriage, professional interests, neighborhood associates, and social activities tend to determine the nature of peer groups in later life. Election studies in 1954 by Campbell and associates substantiate the importance of peer

⁴⁸Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 99, 115.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 129 citing Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in Modern Society," Harvard Education Review 29 (1959): 297-318.

influence. Questioning the voting preferences of spouses, three closest friends, and work associates disclosed that correlations of influence ranked highest between spouses, second among friends, and third, among work associates.⁵⁰

There are several reasons for the influence of these associations. Peer groups serve as reference figures; individuals tend to emulate associates whom they respect and like. Further, members are pressured to accept the group's political orientations and norms; groups tend to express subtle or blatant approval or disapproval of a member's behavior. Thus, a group's reaction, whether praise or ridicule, is an effective instrument of socializing its members. The more important the group is to the individual, the more sensitive the individual is to its influence.⁵¹ The saliency of peer group influence is well summarized in a statement by Festinger, Schachter, and Back:

The hypothesis may be advanced that the 'social reality' upon which an opinion or an attitude rests for its justification is the degree to which an individual perceives that this opinion or attitude is shared by others. An opinion or attitude which is not reinforced by others of the same opinion will become unstable generally.⁵²

It is apparent that the forces of peer groups strongly shape a person's political self and establish one's relationship to the political world. Because of the individualized

⁵⁰Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954), pp. 199-206.

⁵¹Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 135.

⁵²Ibid., p. 134, quoting Leon Festinger, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper, 1950), p. 168.

nature of primary relationships, diverse political attitudes and views are, and will probably continue to be prevalent in political life. Secondary relationships, on the other hand, tend to promote political education per se; consequently, they tend to have a more direct role in the politicizing process.

Secondary Agents

Secondary agents of political socialization include educational institutions, political groups, civic organizations, trade unions, and the mass media. Compared to primary groups, most of these groups are more highly organized, more formal in structure, and more subject to government manipulation and propagandizing.

Schools

Schools in particular instill in students the political values that are proper in a given society. Through patriotic ritual and curricula, a student learns the precepts of good citizenship in general, and loyalty to the nation. Charles Merriam, in his classic study of citizenship training in eight western nations observed,

The school emerges in recent times as the major instrument in the shaping of civic education... With the development of universal education, the training is extended to the entire populations, female as well as male, and the whole community is drawn into the net.⁵³

His 1931 study disclosed that in all eight nations, "the school

⁵³Charles Merriam, The Making of Citizens (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 273, cited by Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 148.

emerges as the heart of the civic education of the political community, and in all probability will continue to function increasingly in this role."⁵⁴

As the first figure of authority whom the child meets outside the home, the teacher not only instills complaisance, conformity and obedience, but influences a child's political orientation. The teacher is both a representative of society and a partner in the rearing of children, and as that figure, disseminates the rules of standard conduct that are primary adjuncts of political order.⁵⁵

More informally, but within the school setting, extra-curricular activities help to orient the student to competition, "the rules of the game," and an awareness of social process. These school activities are analagous to the voluntary organizations of adulthood, and help to develop feelings of social trust and political efficacy.⁵⁶

Although the various aspects of school play an important part in the shaping of an individual's political self, of even greater value is the status of being educated, a fact we have noted earlier. Studies by V. O. Key indicate that better educated people feel (1) a stronger sense of duty to participate in politics, (2) feel a greater sense of political efficacy, (3) will be more involved in politics, and (4) will be more politically active than a citizen with less

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 159-162.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 171

education.⁵⁷ Almond and Verba's studies produced similar results. Hence, the politicizing process occurring through schooling and education is both cause and effect.⁵⁸

Organizational Memberships

Almond and Verba observed in their five nation study that

Voluntary associations are the prime means by which the function of mediating between the individual and the state is performed. Through them the individual is able to relate...meaningfully to the political system.

Membership in an organization, political or not, appears...to be related to an increase in the political competence and activity of an individualOne reason organizational memberships might be expected to effect political competence and activity is that the members...receive training for participation within the organization, and this training is then transferable to the political sphere.⁵⁹

Thus, people who belong to organizations are more likely than non-members to become politically informed and to assume their duties as citizens who vote and otherwise participate in political life.⁶⁰ For some participants the concerns of the organizations engender the inevitable conclusion that in order to implement change in any area of interest, one must have a hand in deciding government policy.

Other Secondary Agents

Religious groups, occupational organizations, and

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 175, citing V. O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), pp. 323-331.

⁵⁸ Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 380-381.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 300, 310-313.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 310.

labor unions, though primarily non-political, have within them political action arms which promote political interests. Social groups, while also non-political in nature, serve as reference points which articulate norms, or influence political attitudes. It is these secondary groups which provide the social context for primary groups and distribute and link various political orientations to other social structures.⁶¹

Individuals derive their political perceptions not only from the family, peer groups outside the family, and the more highly organized secondary groups, but from the sights and sounds of political events and experiences. Further expanding socialization and political orientations are the communications media of radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and books. Much of the political data comes to people indirectly through opinion leaders who disseminate it to less attentive persons.⁶²

At no time in life can it be said that the political self is complete. Many persons, events, perceptions, and experiences continue to affect the dynamics of politization, and subsequently, one's level of political involvement.⁶³

⁶¹Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, pp. 186-190.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 197-198.

⁶³Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan, Leroy C. Ferguson, and John C. Wahlke, "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," in Legislative Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research, ed. by Wahlke and Eulau (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 305-313, cited by Dennis, Socialization to Politics, p. 24.

THE COMPONENTS OF THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY

In the process of establishing the Model of Eligibility, we have confirmed the need for the components of SES which place a person close to the communications networks at the center of society where a high level of political participation is encouraged. We have also indicated the impact of the family, of primary and secondary peer groups and the media on one's propensity to participate in politics. Yet to be explored in the model are the components of a so-called "political personality."

The "political personality" in this study is that defined by Lane as

...the enduring, organized, dynamic response sets habitually aroused by political stimuli. It embraces (a) motivation, often analyzed as a combination of needs and values (the push-pull theory); (b) cognitions, perceptions, and habitual modes of learning; and (c) behavioral tendencies, that is, the acting out of needs and other aspects of manifest behavior.⁶⁴

More concisely, the political personality constitutes "the habitual patterns of feeling, learning and knowing, and behaving in political situations." Thus, personality is much more than a collection of traits, although they are included. Within the personality are the elements which tend to shape attitudes, beliefs, and reactional behavior.⁶⁵ It might also

⁶⁴Robert E. Lane, Political Man (New York: The Free Press, 1972), p. 5.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 6-7.

be said that personality is the medium through which beliefs and attitudes are expressed.

Personality Traits

It is readily apparent that precise measurement is veritably impossible because these elements are theoretical conceptualizations. Therefore, the presence of one or more of these traits must be either inferred from behavioral patterns, or operationally defined via a measuring instrument. A scale or index which is created by the researcher may or may not accurately reflect the data to reality. Further, because of the close interrelationships of personality, attitudes, and beliefs which are circulatory in nature, cause and effect cannot be separated.⁶⁶ However, despite the difficulty of identifying and applying these factors, they must be explored, for they may provide further clues to the predisposition to a high level of political participation.

Sociability

Sociability is an element of personality which is generally required of a person who engages in politics. The correlation exists between sociability and political participation regardless of controls for SES which is closely related to sociability. Although sociable persons are more likely than non-sociable persons to enter politics--especially candidacy, or activities which require social interaction--the trait is not a sufficient condition for political

⁶⁶Milbrath, Political Participation, pp. 48-50.

activity.⁶⁷ Conversely, however, it is highly unlikely that unsociable people would engage in politics.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem, ego strength, and efficacy are also part of the sociability syndrome. People who have a strong sense of personal worth tend to trust people more, thus facilitating their political participation. Closely associated with self-worth are the feelings of competence and self-confidence which relate positively with sociability, and incline a person to political participation. Feelings of confidence and other related variables are encouraged by high SES, especially education.⁶⁸

Highly salient in determining the propensity for political participation is Dahl's 1961 study which revealed that when feelings of self-confidence and efficacy were controlled, SES lost its statistical significance. This suggests that personality traits shaped by the environment are primary elements affecting political participation.⁶⁹ Hence, feelings about oneself appear to extend to positive feelings about the environment and the government, thus raising the likelihood of political participation.

A comparison of the characteristics of politically active people versus the politically apathetic tell us that some of the requirements for political participation are

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 53-56.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 77, 58, citing Robert Dahl, Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 291-292.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 77

energy and courage, self-awareness, and criticalness of authority. Conversely, disinterest and submissiveness characterize the apathetic person. Further, a consistent criterion for political participation is selflessness--"doing things for humanity."⁷⁰

Werner and Bachtold found in their study of women who were legislators that, compared with women in the general population, they were "more intelligent, more assertive, more venturesome, more imaginative and unconventional, and more liberal in their attitudes....While elected male leaders appeared more enthusiastic, self-assured, and self-controlled, women holding political office appeared to be more assertive, imaginative, and liberal in their attitudes--regardless of party affiliation."⁷¹

Their findings were similar to those of Barber's study of effective Connecticut lawmakers who were "high in activity and personal and moral standards, coupled with self-confidence, high achievement motivation, and a fundamental respect for and empathy with people unlike himself."⁷²

Comparing males to females, Constantini and Craik found that political leaders of both sexes were "outgoing, socially skilled, and persistent." Relatively higher scores were recorded for females on self control, projecting a less

⁷⁰Riesman and Glazer, *Criteria for Political Apathy*," p. 551 in Learning about Politics, ed. by Sigel, p. 285.

⁷¹Werner and Bachtold, "Personality Characteristics of Women in American Politics," pp. 79-83.

⁷²Ibid., p. 83, citing J. D. Barber, The Lawmakers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

easy-going, direct style of expression than males had. Women are characterized as different from their male counterparts in their "tendency toward a serious and dutiful manner and in a fretful uncertainty about themselves and their situation, which is accompanied by a greater degree of anxiety and readiness for psychological change."⁷³

Refuting some of the negative factors in her 1972 study of forty males and forty-six females who were effective legislators in twenty-six states, Jeanne Kirkpatrick found many psychological similarities between the sexes:

Strong egos, high self-esteem, a high sense of personal effectiveness and political efficacy, a well-integrated self-system with low guilt, anxiety and aggression, broad identifications, habits of participation, a persistent need for achievement, realistic expectations (and) pragmatic orientations.⁷⁴

Candidacy may offer a challenge to persons who love competition and conflict, and political participation in general may serve the needs of certain personality traits such as a curiosity or the need to explore.⁷⁵

Negative Traits

Anomie, cynicism, and alienation are personal traits which attract negative feelings about environment and government. Hence, persons possessing them are less likely to participate politically. According to Almond and Verba,

⁷³Constantini and Craik, "Women as Politicians," p. 226.

⁷⁴Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 220.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 75 and Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 69.

educational attainment is an effective counter measure against anomie. Cynicism and alienation cause a more severe rejection of politics. Persons of high SES, especially higher educational achievement, are less likely to develop negative attitudes about politics.⁷⁶ This is probably because people with higher levels of education have a greater sense of efficacy and are closer to the center of political activity.

Organizational Membership as a
Manifestation and Cause

People who are involved in social organizations are less likely to have feelings of alienation from society and politics. Dahl, Campbell, and others found that organizational memberships and group activities, whether they are formally organized interest groups, or homogeneous in race or national origin, are conducive to political participation. The organization itself, especially if it is involved in a social movement, motivates its members to become politically involved.⁷⁷ Consequently, organizational membership and community involvement for some persons may be a manifestation of feelings of self-confidence, self-esteem, efficacy, and faith in people and institutions. We might speculate that anomic or alienated persons who are drawn into politically active organizations may develop more positive personal feeling because of their placement closer to the center of

⁷⁶ Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 86-88.

⁷⁷ Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 81, 17, 131.

society where they feel more politically efficacious.

Milbrath summarizes the feelings of the Gladiator who has been equipped with the personal factors with which to deal with his environment:

They feel personally competent; they know themselves and feel confident of their knowledge and skills; their ego is strong enough to withstand blows; they are not burdened by a load of anxiety and internal conflict; they can control their impulses; they are astute, sociable, self-expressive, and responsible....Gladiators seem to glory in political battle and are self-sufficient enough to withstand the rough-and-tumble of partisan politics. The political arena is not a hospitable place for insecure, timid, and withdrawn people who do not have great faith in their ability to deal effectively with their environment.⁷⁸

Political Attitudes

Political attitudes are positive or negative feelings and cognitions about politics. They have both direction and intensity, and indicate the degree of political involvement one may possess. A much substantiated and nearly universally accepted fact is that people who are concerned about an election are more likely to vote. Further, the more psychologically involved an individual is, the more likely one is to engage in political activities beyond voting. How intensely one identifies with a party, candidate, or issue, influences political participation. One who strongly identifies with party is more likely to be an active participant in the political process. Identity with party indicates one's congruence with party ideals and goals which are conducive to

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 51.

political participation.⁷⁹

It appears that the cause of these valences toward politics, i.e. positive or negative attitudes, is the inter-relationship between social position and personality development. As noted earlier, higher SES, especially education, is a contributing factor to intense psychological involvement. Psychological involvement encourages feelings of political efficacy which sequentially, increases the likelihood of active political involvement. Upper SES persons, especially the more highly educated are more likely than lower SES persons, to feel competent in their daily tasks, and to participate in politics. As educated people, they tend to feel that their knowledge of the political world makes them more able to effect change. As we might suspect, this sense of political efficacy is closely associated with trust in politics and politicians.⁸⁰

Several factors which pose negative valence toward political participation are divergence with political party ideology or candidates lack of identification with groups, anxiety about personal problems, and lower SES, especially education--all of which may contribute to, or result from, certain personality traits.⁸¹

None of the components of eligibility which we have

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 51-53.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 56-65.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 53.

examined--center orientation, political socialization, nor personality can be isolated as independent elements of political participation. They must be viewed as interrelated process factors which influence, but do not cause political participation. Why is it then, that many people who possess nearly every element of eligibility for political office remain uninvolved except for routine spectator levels of participation? What is it that moves one to the gladiatorial level of political involvement?

Motivation

Motivation is sometimes defined as "'drive' which serves as a stimulus to action as it presupposes a state of tension of felt need to gain something (or to avoid something). This tension mobilizes the organism to engage in behavior designed to bring about tension reduction."⁸² Incorporated into motivation are such terms as "stimulus" and "cue" which incite a response. Although these terms are both descriptive of political socialization, we can assume that the motivation and response are more specifically related to a particular goal. Political socialization reflects one's political background, but motivation determines the intensity of political activity.⁸³ Like other conceptualized variables, however, motivation is difficult to analyze.

Gladiators, i.e. political candidates--may be motivated by ideological concerns, or the altruistic desire to make the

⁸²Sigel, Learning About Politics, p. 4.

⁸³Ibid.

world a better place in which to live. They may aspire for personal gain, for fame and public recognition, or they may enjoy the competitive nature of politics.

Lester Seligman and associates, in their study of 109 legislative candidates in the Oregon 1966 election, explored their motivation for candidacy. More than half their number were "reluctants" who filed only at the behest of a sponsor--a person, party, or interest group which appealed to their sense of civic responsibility. "Without the pressure, most of these individuals would not have run because the rewards of candidacy offered them so little."⁸⁴

In her study of thirty-three men and eighteen women who were candidates in the 1973 legislative race in New Jersey, Leader identified half of the men as "self-starters" and only a third of the women. Similarly, in Nikki Hightower's sample of forty-six New York candidates, more than half were recruited by a political party.⁸⁵

More significantly, Kirkpatrick found that sponsors were intrinsic to three out of five of her respondents. Most of the reluctants were "Ready Recruits" who had thought of running, but lacked the courage to file of their own volition. It mattered little whether it was husband, organizational

⁸⁴Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, pp. 72-73.

⁸⁵Shelah Leader, "Women Candidates for Elective Office: A Case Study," unpublished paper for the Center for the American Women and Politics (CAWP), Rutgers University, 1975 .

associates, party, or a friend who casually nudged them into running. What really mattered was that psychologically, they were relieved of the responsibility of initiating their own candidacy. Although most women in this sample eagerly accepted the opportunity to run, there were some to whom it had never occurred to run.⁸⁶

This raises the question of political socialization and the widely accepted stereotype of politics as a man's world. It is also closely interrelated with personality traits and attitudes. More specifically, it has to do with the view that women have of themselves in relation to the political world--their "political self." Although some men who are otherwise "eligible" never see themselves as political candidates, their reasons are based on personal preclusions, not on the reason of sex as a barrier to political participation.

Kirkpatrick suggests that most women fail to see themselves in the role of elected political leader because they view it as aggressive and somehow unfeminine. They have been taught to wait to be asked

to dance, to lunch, to go on a date, to marry, and to make love...women learn to stand back and let others (principally males) take the initiative. Traditional socialization and roles habituate women to taking initiative only within quite restricted circumstances--circumstances determined by others. (Italics added)⁸⁷

Justification for initiative in women occurs in areas of the

⁸⁶Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 77.

⁸⁷Ibid.

home, in food selection and preparation, the children's education, and fund-raising activities for humanitarian pursuits. For most women in Kirkpatrick's study, the barrier of their own lack of initiative was eliminated when someone asked them to run for office.

Motivation was somewhat different for "enthusiasts" of Seligman's study than it was for the "reluctants." Enthusiasts initiated their candidacies as a means to power or greater income. Some attorneys ran because of the advertising value in the face of the ethical prohibition against it in their profession. Business men and insurance agents found that regardless of the outcome of the election, the campaign rewarded them through increased business or more clients who buy insurance policies.⁸⁸

Disagreeing to some extent with the concept of selfishly conceived candidacies, Prewitt emphasized other circumstances among his sample of City Councilmen.

For most councilmen, (candidacy) is the result of social experiences and personal contact which draw them into and up through the network of relationships which control--whether by design or not--access to political office. For a sizable contingent of councilmen, their contacts include incumbent office holders and other community actives.⁸⁹

Despite Prewitt's statement, however, many of his respondents acknowledge that their livelihood depended upon social contacts in order to acquire clientele.⁹⁰ It must be noted that more

⁸⁸Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, pp. 72-73.

⁸⁹Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, Table 5-2, pp. 112-113.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 90.

then sixty percent of Prewitt's all-male sample knew the incumbents "very well" or "moderately well," which is the basis for the "buddy system" in which incumbents name or encourage their successors, thus limiting women's chances for nomination. The fact that ninety-two percent to ninety-five percent of all public offices in the United States are held by men appears to substantiate the proposition that men perpetuate themselves in political office.⁹¹

Like the Seligman survey, Leader's study emphasized differences between men's and women's motivations for candidacy. A generous majority of both sexes (61 percent each) agreed that women are more selfless in their bid for candidacy--that men have a greater interest in advancing their careers and fulfilling other personal aspirations.⁹² Hightower, too, found that New York candidates were motivated by "idealism, a spirit of voluntarism, issue commitment, and a desire for social change."⁹³ Nor were occupational advantage or professional advancements a consideration among Kirkpatrick's "Office Seekers" who initiated their own candidacies. "Their roles and personal situations precluded careerist motives." Politics as a career was also discounted as most women "thought of the

⁹¹Ibid., Table 5-2, p. 113, and Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, p. xx.

⁹²Leader, "Women Candidates for Elective Office," p. 10.

⁹³Nikki Van Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Xerox University Microfilms), p. 147.

legislature as the last step rather than a first."⁹⁴

Studies have shown that there appear to be differences between the motives of men and women who run for political office. However, we must beware of interpreting as innate feminine characteristics the reticence to seek office and altruistic motives. It is the culture which has molded women to assume a passive demeanor, and it is tradition which has barred all but a few of them from careers for which advancement might have become a motive.

⁹⁴Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 73.

PART III

THE SAMPLE

A sample was drawn to represent some of the women who had accepted the challenge to run for public office. Names and addresses of the seventy-four Democratic and Republican candidates from Kansas and Missouri who ran in 1974 were compiled from the 1974 Kansas Voters' Guide, and from the Missouri Certification of Candidates.¹

Kansas was first chosen as a setting for the survey because of its accessibility for interview. Missouri was added to provide a more generous sample. More importantly, however, the choice seemed appropriate since there have been no major studies of women's candidacies in the central midwestern states.

Because the candidates of third parties are so often sacrificial candidates with no chance of election, only the two major party candidates were chosen, omitting the two

¹David L. Wollrich, Kansas Voters' Guide: 1974 General Election (Lawrence, Kansas: Institute for Social and Environmental Studies. The University of Kansas, September, 1974) and James C. Kirkpatrick, Certification of Candidates (Jefferson City, Missouri: James C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary of State, May 11, 1974).

women who ran for Congressional offices on a third, minor party ticket.

The candidates selected were those who ran for positions in the House of the Kansas Legislature, for the Senate and House of the Missouri General Assembly, for Secretary of State, for State Treasurer, and for seats in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Nearly four out of five ran for state legislatures (see Table 1).

Table 1. - Offices Sought by Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates in 1974*

Office Sought	Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates			
	Total Female Candidates		Respondents	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
State Representative	59	79.7%	55	82.0%
State Senate	5	6.7	4	6.0
Secretary of State	2	3.0	2	3.0
State Treasurer	1	1.3	1	1.5
U.S. Representative	6	8.0	5	7.5
U.S. Senate	1	1.3	-	-
Total	74	100.0%	67	100.0%

*Both total numbers of female candidates running, and number of respondents are shown.

Only state and congressional offices were chosen because, unlike county and municipal positions, they were more than a mere extension of the voluntary organizational work that most women do.

Each of the seventy-four women were contacted by letter and with a telephone call in order to schedule interviews.

Sixty-seven interviews were finally conducted of which fifteen were in person and fifty-one conducted by telephone. At her request, one respondent answered a mailed, written questionnaire, producing a 90.5 percent rate of response.

Omissions

Of the seven who were not interviewed, one had moved and left no forwarding address. Three others had unlisted telephone numbers and failed to respond to the original inquiry or to the follow-up letter. Two others were called repeatedly, but none of the suggested appointments seemed convenient to them. They were apologetic, but by mutual agreement, further attempts to schedule interviews were abandoned. The seventh candidate was cordial and willing, but for very logical reasons, in view of her past experience of intimidation relating to the Hatch Act of 1887, which prohibits federal employees from participating in political activities, she felt that the interview or its results might jeopardize her job from which she was close to retirement.

Interestingly, of all the women who couldn't find time for the interview or the questionnaire, none of them were elected officials whose schedules were probably the most demanding.

Overview of the Sample

Of the 67 candidates who were interviewed, 27 were Kansans and 40 were Missourians (see Table 2). By party identification, the split was 27 Republicans and 40 Democrats.

Table 2. - Party Identification of Kansas and Missouri
Female Candidates in 1974

Party Identification	Kansas		Missouri	
	Respondents	Female Candidates	Respondents	Candidates
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Democrats	66.7%	67.9%	55%	56.5%
Republicans	33.3	32.1	45	43.5
Total	100.0% N=27	100.0% N=28	100% N=40	100.0% N=46

At 66 percent this was a somewhat larger proportion of Democrats than the 63.3 percent who held Democratic seats in all state legislatures in 1975.²

The question arises as to whether the majorities are an indication that the Democratic Party is more receptive to women in politics than is the Republican Party.

Incumbents constituted nearly a fifth of the number interviewed, which included four from Kansas and five from Missouri. Five candidates withdrew before the election, one, because of health, one because a job she needed badly became available, and another, because her law practice became too demanding. A fourth found herself in conflict of interest with her position in a national office of a voluntary organization, and she was forced to withdraw.

A fifth candidate found that politics put her marriage in jeopardy. Her decision to run was a climax to the conflict

²Summary of Democratic Women in State Legislators' Responses to Questionnaire, Office of Women's Activities (Washington, D. C.: Democratic National Committee), March 1976.

that resulted between the couple's heavy schedules of voluntary, community, and political duties, and their parental responsibilities to their young children. During the interview, the candidate assured me that they had reappraised and adapted their outside activities, and that their prospects for a happy marriage were optimistic. However, this is a clear case of deciding between political aspirations and family responsibilities, resulting in the woman's withdrawal from candidacy.

The five candidates who withdrew were interviewed with the others on the assumption that their decision to run was the result of the same or similar reasons that led the other women to candidacy.

Data Collection

I conducted the research through taped personal or telephoned interviews. The choice between the two was made on the basis of my proximity to the candidate.

Introductory letters and a description and purpose of the study were sent to each candidate included in the sample. Enclosed was my obsolete campaign card as a means of introducing myself and authenticating my candidacy. Also included was a request for their signed consent to be interviewed and their telephone number, and a stamped, self-addressed envelope.³ For those who did not respond by mail, telephone numbers were found through information service operators in the towns and cities in both states. Through the efforts of one of the Kansas legislators to be interviewed, eight

³See introductory letter, description of the study, campaign card, and consent form in Appendix I.

appointments were arranged at the State House during the legislative session. Further appointments for personal interviews were made with other state officials and candidates who lived in Topeka so that they could be conducted over a two-day period. Another appointment was made for a personal interview at the request of a candidate who lived in a more distant city. Because I was a candidate in the 1974 election, my self-interview is included in the sample.

Methodology

Interviews were of an unstructured schedule type in which a standard questionnaire was used, but questions could be reordered, or rephrased according to individual option.⁴ Questions were based on five general areas: (1) Family background, (2) educational and employment, organizational memberships, and political interest, (3) factors leading to the decision to run, (4) campaign experiences, and (5) feminist orientation.

Each interview lasted from thirty to ninety minutes, depending on the time the candidate had available and her propensity to talk. Of the personal interviews, eleven took place in offices of the elected officials, one in a hospital room where a candidate was recovering from an asthma attack, and two, in the homes of candidates.

Interview Interaction

Although only half of the candidates responded to my

⁴See questionnaire in Appendix II.

initial letter, I experienced very little resistance to my telephoned request for an interview. Only one candidate hung up and this happened after my first sentence. I waited a week, called back and asked her not to hang up, but to listen to my full request. She responded as all the others had--with warmth and good humor, and as the interview ended, wished me good luck on my project.

Several candidates wrote notes later to clarify points they had made or to send me additional information about themselves. There was some cause for amusement when, a full sixteen months after an interview, I received a page of campaign material which focused on a particular issue that we had discussed after the interview. It was sent in the stamped enclosure envelope which was now slightly battered, as though she had mislaid it and only lately, had retrieved it.

My use of the tape recorder appeared to place no restraint on their freedom of expression. I presumed the fact that I had been a candidate accounted for our instant rapport. Along with the hard work, the disappointments and frustrations of the campaign, and the losses on election day, candidacy appeared to be, for most women, a productive and enjoyable experience which they were happy to recall and share with me.

Two of the interviews began with friendly husbands who talked with me in their wife's absence. Through them I was able to record routine information and arrange for a future interview.

There were light moments as I attempted to call candidates who were named Cleo, Corley, Jewel, Gail, and Marion, only to find that I was interviewing a male. One respondent was a high school football coach who chuckled when he discovered my mission. He chatted a bit about himself and how he had enjoyed his candidacy even in defeat, and wished me well. A written reply from the wife of a potential respondent told me that her husband was no lady! But she added that the confusion about his name happened all the time.

As a whole, I found these candidates to be good natured, friendly, optimistic women who were accustomed to challenges--who weren't afraid to make mistakes, who persistently aimed for success, but who had no trouble adapting to defeat.

The Characteristics of Kansas and Missouri

Kansas, the "Sunflower State," which is located in the geographic center of the forty-eight contiguous states in the nation, is largely agrarian.⁵ Because of its high ranking in wheat production (first in 1974), because of its heavy exports of grain to foreign markets, and because it is the location of the only milling school in the world (at Kansas State University), it has been called the breadbasket of the world. In 1974 its total farm income was \$4.3 billion--fifth in the nation. Kansas ranked second in the production of sorghum

⁵The World Almanac & Book of Facts 1976 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1976), p. 376.

and sixth in cattle production.⁶ Forest products, especially walnut lumber, also added to the economy.⁷

Missouri, the "Show Me State" also ranks high among the states in agriculture. Although its farm income in 1974 was only two-thirds that of Kansas, it was fourth among states in hogs, cattle, and turkeys which constitute two-thirds of its agricultural income. Manufacturing is its top income producer, adding over \$8.1 billion annually. Transportation equipment, especially from the aerospace industry, is the highest contributor to the economy, followed by food processing, especially meat packing, grain milling, beer, and other beverages. Missouri is a leader in barite and lime mining and its output of lead in 1974 was the largest in the nation.⁸

Manufacturing in Kansas is only thirty-percent that of Missouri with transportation equipment, food processing, machinery, and chemicals as major factors in the economy. Wichita ranks first in the nation in the production of private aircraft. Kansas has large reserves of natural gas, ranks high in petroleum production, and is first among states in helium production. Salt mining is also a part of its economy.⁹

Kansas has fifty-three institutions of higher learning of which the two largest are the University of Kansas at

⁶Glen H. Beck, "Need for Expanding Agri-Research and Extension Support in Kansas," unpublished paper, Kansas State University, June 26, 1974.

⁷The World Almanac, 1976, p 376.

⁸Ibid., pp. 380-381.

⁹Ibid., p. 376.

Lawrence and Kansas State University at Manhattan.¹⁰ Of Missouri's seventy colleges, the largest is the University of Missouri at Columbia.¹¹ For persons fourteen years and over, the median number of school years completed in Kansas in 1970 was 12.2 compared with 11.6 for Missouri.¹²

The number of college years attained by women was similar in both Kansas and Missouri. In Kansas women constituted 49.7 percent of the total number of persons completing four years of college compared with 48.2 percent of Missouri women. Of the total number of persons completing five or more years of college in Kansas, 31.4 percent were women compared with 31.7 percent in Missouri. Although women were a close second to men in the attainment of four years of college in both states, the proportion of women completing five or more years of college constituted only 45 percent that of Kansas and Missouri men in the same category.¹³ Of the total number of persons who completed four years of college nation-wide, only 43.5 percent were women, but at five years or more, 32.6 percent were women.¹⁴

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., p. 381.

¹²U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Detailed Characteristics: Kansas, PC(1), D18, Table 148, p. 520, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Detailed Characteristics: Missouri, PC(1), D27, Table 148, p. 597.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Calculated from "Educational Attainment by Age, Race, and Sex: 1974," World Almanac, 1976, p. 198.

The population of Kansas is nearly 2,270,000 and has a comparatively low density of 27.7 persons per square mile, compared with 22 for the United States. Wichita is its most populous city with more than 276,000 inhabitants, followed by Kansas City with about 170,000 population. The capitol city of Topeka is third with 125,000. Kansas is composed of 105 counties and has 33 cities of over 10,000 population.¹⁵ The median age is 27.2 for males, and 30.3 for females.¹⁶

Missouri is fifteen percent smaller in area than Kansas, contains nearly twice the population of Kansas at 4,747,000 and has nearly three times the number of cities of over 10,000 population. Hence, its density of 68.8 persons per square mile is two and a half times that of Kansas. St. Louis is its largest city with over 622,000 inhabitants and Kansas City, Missouri, is three times larger than its Kansas twin with a population of more than 407,000. The state capitol is Jefferson City of nearly 32,000 population. Missouri is composed of 114 counties.¹⁷ The median age was similar to that of Kansas with 27.9 for males and 31.1 for females.¹⁸

¹⁵The Book of the States, 1974-1975, 20 (Lexington, Kentucky: The Council of State Governments), and The Book of the States, 1976-1977 21.

¹⁶U.S. Department of Commerce, Detailed Characteristics: Kansas 1970, Table 138, p. 479.

¹⁷The Book of the States 20 and 21.

¹⁸U.S. Department of Commerce, Detailed Characteristics: Missouri 1970, Table 138, p. 553.

Kansas Politics

Kansas has long been considered politically conservative, and Republican leadership has consistently dominated its congressional delegation. Among political notables of the state are the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower of Abilene, and former Vice-Presidential candidate, Alfred M. Landon, who resides in Topeka, both Republicans.

Although the 1973 legislative membership reflected nearly three out of five Republicans in the House and more than two out of three in the Senate, the Democratic Party has made tremendous strides in the last several years. In 1970 and 1972 Democratic governor, Robert Docking, was elected to unprecedented third and fourth two-year terms.¹⁹ Democratic Congressman Bill Roy served two terms in the United States House of Representatives.²⁰ Hence, there was a great deal of Democratic pressure to find legislative and congressional candidates for office in 1974.

The year 1974 brought Roy's defeat in his bid for Republican Robert Dole's seat in the United States Senate,²¹ and a Republican governor, Robert Bennett, was elected to the first four-year term ever accorded Kansas governors, as a result of a recent referendum to amend the Kansas Constitution.

Roy's vacated House seat was held for the Democrats by a newcomer, Martha Keys, in her first bid for political office.

¹⁹Book of the States, 1970-1972, 18; Book of the States, 1972-1974, 19; and Book of the States, 20 and 21.

²⁰Britannica, 1973, "Government and Politics," p. 751.

²¹Britannica, 1975, s.v, "United States."

Curt Schneider, Democrat, won the Attorney General's post for the Democrats, and the job of State Treasurer was also won by a Democrat.²²

In 1976 Representative Martha Keys was re-elected to Congress and the Democrats added Dan Glickman to the delegation.²³ A spectacular victory was won in the Kansas Legislature when, for the first time in sixty-three years, the Democrats controlled the House. Furthermore, the Democrats won nineteen of the forth Senate seats, lacking only two of having a Senatorial majority. Thus, the trend in Kansas politics is a shift from Republican rule to what may be a new Democratic era in the state.²⁴

Missouri Politics

Missouri, too, can claim a President of the United States as a native son--the late Harry S. Truman of Independence, who was a product of its predominantly Democratic politics.

In 1973 the Missouri State House was the reverse of that of Kansas with three out of five of its members labelled Democratic. The Senate held about the same ratio.²⁵ In the 1974 election, however, Missouri lost its Democratic governor to Republican Christopher Bond,²⁶ an event which encouraged

²²Book of the States 20 and 21.

²³Britannica, 1977, "Politics and Government," p. 714.

²⁴KANDID: Kansas Democratic Information Digest (January-February, 1977), p. 7.

²⁵Book of the States 19.

²⁶Book of the States 20.

heavy Republican Party activity during the 1974 election year. In a surprise defeat of Bond in 1977, however, the state reverted to a Democratic governor, Joseph Teasdale, and continued to maintain its Democratic majorities in both houses of its General Assembly.²⁷ Although the Republicans added a Senator and two Representatives to Missouri's congressional delegation, the tally remained three to one Democratic with nine Democrats and three Republicans.²⁸

Women Holding Office in Kansas and Missouri

The election of women to state offices in 1974 constituted an unprecedented hike. The increase was reflected in Kansas where there had been only a long-term Secretary of State, one state senator, and five representatives who were women. In 1974, Kansas had a forty-two percent gain in state and congressional officials when they increased their numbers to twelve.²⁹ At the same time, Missouri recorded a fifteen percent increase from eleven to thirteen women in their General Assembly, the only state offices there which include women.³⁰ Despite substantial gains, their proportions still remain less than those in legislatures nation-wide. Of women in state legislatures, there were 5.4 percent in Kansas

²⁷Book of the States 21.

²⁸Britannica, 1977, "Politics and Government," p. 714.

²⁹Kansas Legislative Guide 1975-1976 (Topeka, Kansas: The League of Municipalities, 1975).

³⁰1975-1976 Roster: State of Missouri (Jefferson City, Mo.: James C. Kirkpatrick, Secretary of State, 1976).

and 5.6 percent in Missouri, somewhat below the 6.9 percent in the National Profile which averaged 4.5 percent in state senates and 9.3 percent in state houses.³¹

In 1976, women in the Kansas Legislature gained 20 percent in the House from 11 to 16 members,³² while retaining their positions in other state offices and in the Congress. Missouri increased 31 percent in their General Assembly with 14 women in the House and two in the Senate,³³ but lost their female representative in Congress with Leonor Sullivan's retirement. Gains in Kansas and Missouri in 1976 were more substantial than those made in all state legislatures where their numbers rose from 610 to 685 for a 10.9 percent increase.³⁴

It can be seen from the comparison of characteristics of Kansas and Missouri that the two states are relatively homogeneous in nature. One might expect that the participation of women in politics might be similar in other states which have similar characteristics.

The Decision to Run

In this study the Model of Eligibility will be related to the actual candidacies of this sample of the 67 women who

³¹Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, "State Summaries," p. xvii.

³²Kansas Legislative Guide, 1977-1978.

³³A telephone call to the Office of Secretary of State, Jefferson City, Missouri, March 28, 1977, and Britannica, 1977, p. 713.

³⁴Women Today 6 (November 29, 1976).

ran for state and congressional offices in Kansas and Missouri. In order to determine the relationship between their eligibility for candidacy and their decision to run for office, the candidates will be characterized as Self-Starters (SS's) or Reluctant Recruits (RR's). Thus, the SS-RR distinction as it relates to the Model of Eligibility may provide valuable insights which reflect the self-image of these candidates as viable participants and policy-makers in the mainstream of politics.

Self-Starters (SS)

Within the scope of this study, an SS is a woman whose interest in politics and government led her to conclude that she, herself, was candidate material. It was her own idea to run, although she may have heard casual comments such as "You'd make a good candidate," or "You ought to run for political office sometime." Her conditioning was probably a gradual process during which she may have heard public speeches admonishing women in general to become more actively involved in the decision-making processes of government.

Her decision may or may not have surprised her friends, but in any case, it was she who conceived the idea to run, chose a propitious moment to act, approached party people, and proceeded to file, regardless of their support or non-support.

Though not to as high a degree, SS's in some ways resembled the men in Prewitt's study who were "selected" for office years before their first campaign or initial political

victory.³⁵ The decisions that most SS's made evolved over a considerable length of time in which they considered the question, and prepared themselves to become viable contenders for political office.

Reluctant Recruits (RR's)

On the other hand an RR in this study is a woman who would not file for public office until she was asked. Within that generalized group she is one of two types of women--those who recognized their own capabilities but didn't have the courage to pursue them--dubbed Ready Recruits--and those who had never seriously thought of running for office until they were asked.

The reticence of the first group is seen as a hold-over from the traditional game women have always had to play in their secondary role in society, as they waited for a man to initiate their choices. A woman's recruitment by others legitimated in her own mind her deviant desire to become active in the political arena. These women were reluctant only in the act of filing. For the most part they were eagerly waiting in the wings to accept the role.

The second group are more deeply reluctant, for they have probably never envisioned themselves in the role of political candidate. An RR of this type is a person who is busy "doing her thing" within the traditional parameters of her home, job, voluntary organization, political party, or all of these.

³⁵Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, p. 57

Her decision to run came about in direct contrast to that of the councilmen in Prewitt's study who believed that "it wasn't something you 'just decided to do.'"³⁶ For RR's candidacy was indeed thrust upon her and she sometimes had little or no time to consider the implications, nor to plan strategies that might increase her prospects of winning.

THE MODEL OF ELIGIBILITY AND THE SAMPLE

Within the scope of this study, a Model of Eligibility has been designed in order to identify the components of center-periphery, of political socialization, and of the political personality which includes personality traits, attitudes, and motivations which most men and women must have to qualify for political office. Collectively, these components of eligibility have been commonly held by the majority of elected officials. Similarity to the model, which places people closer to the center of society, does not necessarily precipitate political participation or candidacy, but inclines them to a high level of political participation, especially candidacy for political office.

Because so few women have run for, and been elected to political office, all but a few studies examining the recruitment to candidacy have focused on males. Hence, much of the model is comprised of elements that apply predominantly to males. Therefore, exploration of the candidacies of the Kansas and Missouri women in this sample may tell us whether

³⁶Ibid., p. 112

the model is equally applicable to women or whether there are discernable differences in the process that lead women to candidacy.

THE COMPONENTS OF CENTER-PERIPHERY

One of the primary requisites for political candidacy is to be economically free to participate. An individual's higher economic status in occupation, income, and education serves that purpose. It also places a person in a more likely position to participate, for it is at the center of society where one finds the politically active ones who influence public policy. Studies tell us that candidates are representatives of the elites of the community, not of the general electorate. It is the elites who as members of a centrally located social group, dominate community politics, and who constitute the "pool of eligibles" from which candidates are selected and recruited.³⁷

Occupations of the Candidates

It is hardly surprising that nearly 70 percent of the legislative candidates of the 1966 Oregon election held high-status occupations in the major or minor professions, or in prestigious managerial positions. Nor is it unusual for candidacies of attorneys, physicians, professors, business executives, and proprietors to prevail in most states.³⁸

³⁷Ibid., p. 50 and Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, p. 129.

³⁸Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, p. 122.

Does this phenomenon which is typical of men who run for office also predominate among women who are candidates--especially Kansas and Missouri women?

Johnson and Stanwick found in their National Profile that only one out of three of the 547 state and congressional office holders were employed full or part-time before holding office. This is a slightly lower proportion than the 42 percent for women over twenty years of age in the general population.³⁹ This difference may be credited to the fact that older women are less likely to be employed.

As we might suspect, the occupations of all office holders reporting were concentrated among those which are traditionally held by women. A third to a half were in the lower status professional categories which included librarians, health technicians, nurses, and social workers. A fourth were clerical or secretarial workers. At the state and congressional levels, (where all comparisons will be made in this study unless otherwise noted), 11 percent were lawyers with a low of 5 percent in the House and 21 percent in the Congress.⁴⁰

In contrast, Nikki Hightower's New York women who were candidates for state and congressional offices were 83 percent employed-regularly, and on a full-time basis. Although the professions and managerial positions were less well-represented in her sample than for men, seven of the 40 candidates were

³⁹Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, Table 13, p. xxix.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. xxviii.

lawyers, a much higher rate than in the National Profile.⁴¹

One suspects that the greater commitment to employment and the higher status occupations of New York candidates is because of the diversity of jobs available and the more accessible educational opportunities of this metropolis. More importantly, however, is the disparity between their median age of 39 and the median age of 48 in the National Profile. Younger women are more likely to be employed than older women. Perhaps too, because of their New York residence, those candidates were more sophisticated in their job orientation.

Of Kansas and Missouri candidates, only five had never worked after they were out of school or married. More than four out of five had held full or part-time jobs at some time during that period, and most of those had continued to work intermittently, part-time, or full-time. Surprisingly, more than half the candidates were holding a job at the time they filed for office (58 percent), considerably more than elected women in the National Profile, or working women in the population at large.⁴² Thus, in that respect, they seem to be slightly less tradition-bound than most women. Some infractions of tradition can be expected however, since the act of running for office characterizes them as deviant.

At the time of their candidacies, these Kansas and Missouri candidates had many and varied occupations. At the

⁴¹Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," pp. 207, 213.

⁴²Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, Table 13, p. xxix and Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 72.

uppermost level of the professions there were three (4.5 percent) lawyers nearly equalling the 5 percent of elected legislators in the National Profile (see Table 3). Kansas and Missouri

Table 3. - Occupations of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates, and Elected Women in the National Profile^a

Occupations	Kansas & Missouri Candidates	National Profile
	Percent	Percent
Lawyers	8.0%	11.5% ^c
College Professors	2.5	6.5
Manager or Proprietor	15.0	29.5
Teachers, Counselors, Nurse & Kindred	33.0	14.0
Real Estate, Sales, Insurance Underwriter	20.5	16.0
Clerical, Office, Bank	13.0	9.5 ^d
Other	8.0	
Total	100.0% N=39 ^b	N=364

^aSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers-The State University, 1976), Table 12, p. xxix.

^bThis constituted 58% of the total sample.

^cAverages calculated for state and congressional offices only.

^dOnly selected occupations were comparable.

candidates also included one college professor. Six were managers or proprietors of their own businesses, which included a florist shop, a public relations and survey company, a real estate and insurance office, a paper route, a bar, and an auto-parts company. Their proportion was about

one-half that of the National Profile. A third of the candidates who were in the largest category included teachers, counselors, nurses, dietician, hand-writing analyst, and choir director and organist, more than twice the number found at the national level. Somewhat more Kansas and Missouri women were found in real estate and kindred occupations, and in clerical jobs than elected women in the nation. Other occupations held by Kansas and Missouri women were cosmetician and auctioneer. One candidate was a former army drill sergeant.

Of the three lawyers, only two practiced continuously full or part-time since college. A third continued to teach in the public schools for more than twenty years after she received her law degree. Shortly before her candidacy, she finally joined her husband in law practice, which allowed her free time to campaign and attend legislative sessions if she won. One wonders if the traditional attitudes characteristic of a small town in which she lived prevented her earlier entry into the profession.

Of the women who were employed either full or part-time, only a fourth had upper level positions. However, the very fact of employment and salary is to some women, a mark of worth and self-esteem. As yet, traditional tasks women do--caring for their home and children, contributing vast amounts of time to voluntary community work and organizations--have no monetary value which, in our society, is the only gauge of achievement. Therefore regardless of the socio-economic level of the job itself, these women probably derived from employment a high degree of efficacy which extended into

their political lives.

Further, three of the clerical jobs held by these candidates were in state legislatures where they became familiar with the duties of elective office and developed an interest in politics. Hence, for most candidates, occupational status was not a valid indicator of the central position in society.

To nearly a third of Kansas and Missouri candidates, their jobs were an impediment to candidacy. Seven (10.4 percent) gave them up to run, and another 14 (20.9 percent) would have resigned, had they been elected. It is apparent that many women were not seriously committed to their occupations--an understandable attitude since so few were of career calibre. Further, the economic security of the majority of married and widowed women, unlike that of men's is dependent upon their spouse's occupation and income.

Husband's Occupation

A survey of the occupations held by the 54 husbands or late husbands of these Kansas and Missouri candidates suggest that they were an important link to the center. More than half of them were doctors, lawyers, minister, manufacturer, college professors, administrators, engineers, bankers, proprietors, or elected officials (see Table 4). Of particular significance is the fact that 11, or 17 percent of the candidate's husbands had been, or were presently, legislators, state executive, judge, senator, or congressman--a much higher concentration of elected officials than Prewitt's estimate of one percent or less in the general population.

Other occupations were those of postman, pipefitter, factory worker, and general office workers.

Table 4. - Occupations of the Husbands of Late Husbands
of Kansas and Missouri
Female Candidates

Occupations	Percent
Elected official, held presently or formerly	17.0%
Doctors, lawyers, etc.	22.0
Proprietors, bankers, etc.	13.2
Farmers	5.5
Teachers, journalists	9.2
Clerical	7.4
Skilled workers	9.2
Retired, disabled	11.0
No answer	5.5
Total	100.0% N=54

Candidate's Upward Mobility

Father's Occupation

Compared with their SES as they were growing up, these Kansas and Missouri candidates were overwhelmingly upwardly mobile. Only a fourth of the fathers of the candidates held top-level professional jobs compared with over half of the husbands (see Tables 4 and 5). Top level occupations were those of doctor, lawyers, minister, engineer, college professor, store owners, livestock buyer, and custom tailor. Farmers were not included because of their low income and prestige during that era. Included in the lower occupational levels

were factory workers, office workers, railroad workers, truck driver, miner, and laborers.

Table 5. - Occupations of the Fathers of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates

Occupations	Percent
Doctors, lawyers, engineer	13.4%
Proprietors	22.4
Farmers	18.0
Clerical	3.0
Factory workers	12.0
Blue collar workers	19.2
Other	6.0
No answer	6.0
Total	100.0%
	N=67

Mother's Occupation

More than a third of the mothers were employed, a high proportion compared to only a fourth or less who were in the labor force during the 1920's.⁴³ Most of their jobs were of lower status than those of the candidates. One was an office manager, three were teachers, and one, a nurse (see Table 6). In the largest category were the six who helped their husbands in the family store, and an equal number who worked outside on the farm. Perhaps the discrepancies between the numbers of women in the labor force statistics, and working mothers in this sample rests in the fact that, although in the candidates view their mother's assistance to

⁴³Blau, "Women in the Labor Force," Table I, p. 217.

their fathers was "employment," the mothers probably received no pay and therefore, were not included in the labor statistics.

Table 6. - Occupations of Mothers of Kansas and Missouri
Female Candidates

Occupations	Percent
Office Manager	4.3%
Teachers, nurse	17.4
Clerical workers	21.8
Assistant for family store or farm	52.2
Pastry Chef	<u>4.3</u>
Total	100.0% N=23*

*The 23 working mothers constitute 34.3% of the total number of mothers or step-mothers.

A fourth were clerical workers, several had jobs as waitresses, cooks, or factory workers. One mother kept boarders. The pastry chef worked for an exclusive city restaurant, and was considered by her daughter to be a specialist in her field.

The candidates' upward mobility was apparent in their greater numbers in higher status jobs than their mothers (see Tables 3 and 6).

Education of the Candidates

Past research has strongly indicated that of the three factors contributing to high SES--income, occupation, and education--the number of years of formal education--is probably

the surest predictor of political activity.⁴⁴ Higher educational achievement influences a great many factors which trigger a high level of political activity, i. e., a sense of civic duty, high psychological involvement, greater trust of people and institutions, awareness of the impact of government on the individual, and political efficacy. While it is difficult to isolate the reason for these relationships, we might surmise that education, in opening the doors of perception, is the catalyst between political activity and the attainment of one's life goals. Implicit too in a woman's college education is that it prepares her for marriage to high SES males who occupy, or may soon occupy a central position in society.

The National Profile tells us that nearly 60 percent of elected women have college degrees. The differences were startling at higher levels of candidacy where the proportion of college education women ranged from 55 percent in the State House to 77 percent in the state executive. Only at county and local levels of government were women found to have college degrees at rates as low as 38 percent to 43 percent.⁴⁵

Of Hightower's New York sample, nearly three-fifths were college graduates,⁴⁶ and of Kirkpatrick's legislators

⁴⁴Milbrath, Political Participation, p. 51.

⁴⁵Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, Table 10, p. xxvii.

⁴⁶Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," Table VIII-7, p. 204.

more than half had completed college.⁴⁷ They compared favorable with legislators, who were primarily male, from eight states who were surveyed by Jewell and Patterson.⁴⁸ Half were college graduates. They were less well-educated than Wahlke's survey of four state legislatures in which the percentage of college graduates ranged from 73 to 77 percent in Ohio, Tennessee, and Indiana, 68 percent in Wisconsin,⁴⁹ and 51 percent in Sarouf's study of Pennsylvania legislators.⁵⁰ Seligman's Oregon candidates exceeded all the others with a 55 percent attainment of a Bachelor's degree and 34 percent with advanced or professional degrees.⁵¹

Kansas and Missouri candidates, while much better educated than women in the population at large, are less well-educated than the samples cited above (see Table 7). Only two out of five candidates held Bachelor's degrees or above, although more than a fourth of the high-school graduates had some college hours. Seven held Master's degrees, three law, and one, a Ph. D.

⁴⁷Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 33.

⁴⁸Malcolm Jewell and Samuel Patterson, The Legislative Process in the U.S., 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 80, cited by Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, n. 10, p.40.

⁴⁹John C. Wahlke, et al., p. 489, cited in Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, p. 122.

⁵⁰Frank J. Sorauf, Party and Representation: Legislative Politics in Pennsylvania (New York: Atherton Press, 1963) cited by Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, p. 12.

⁵¹Seligman, Patterns of Recruitment, p. 121.

Table 7. - Educational Attainment of Kansas and Missouri
Female Candidates, Women over Age 25 in the
United States,^a and Elected Women in
the National Profile^b

Level Attained	Kansas and Missouri Women Percent	U.S. Pop. + 25 years ^a Percent	National Profile Percent
High School	16.4%	40%	10.3% ^d
Some College	28.3	11	25.0
Vo-Tech or related	12.0		
Bachelors Degree	25.4	7	22.0
Masters Degree	10.4	3	21.8
Ph. D. or equivalent	5.9		21.7
No Answer	1.5		
Total	99.9% N=67	^c	100.8% N=588

^aSource: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 274, December 1974.

^bSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Elective Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1975), Table 10, p. xxvii.

^cAverages will not total 100 because "less than high school" was omitted.

^dCalculated averages of state and congressional offices only.

Educational Orientation of the Candidates

There is no doubt that the majority of these Kansas and Missouri candidates were determined to acquire schooling beyond high school. Only eleven went no further than high school. After marriage and three children, one candidate commuted fifty miles every day for three years to attain her undergraduate degree. She now has her Master's degree. Two others with young children are finishing their graduate degrees. A candidate in her early thirties with only a few hours of

college hopes to finish her college work. Two older candidates in their mid-fifties are completing work in degrees in Political Science--one at the baccalaureate level and the other at the graduate level.

The parents of a candidate who wanted to study law considered it an "improper" vocation for a girl. Persistently, she taught in the public schools during the day and began law school at night. When her father recognized her determination, he capitulated and helped her continue on a full-time basis.

The commitment of these candidates to seek further education implies ambition, persistence, dedication, diligence, and drive, all of which give them upward mobility. These women were achievers who reached beyond themselves to develop their potential. This strong motivation to learn and to achieve is a mark of psychological involvement in their community and the world about them. Their curiosity and pursuit of knowledge was an important link to the center of political activity. Thus, on the basis of their educational orientation, they were much more likely than less well-educated women to participate at the highest level of gladiatorial activity.

Age

Studies by Kirkpatrick, and Johnson and Stanwick found that women who are elected to public office are older than women in the general population.⁵² Women in their samples had a median age of 48 compared with 43 for women over 18 in

⁵²Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 29

the United States population. The median age of forty-eight persisted among state and congressional elected women in the National Profile where the range was 19 to 86 years of age, and where only four percent were under age 30, compared with 28 percent among all United States women 18 and older (see Table 8). Among elected women, there were also fewer women

Table 8. - Ages of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates,
Women over Age 18 in the United States,^a
and Elected Women in the National
Profile^b

Age	Kansas and Missouri Candidates Percent	U. S. Pop. Women 18+ years Percent	National Profile Percent
20-29	9.0%	28.0%	4.0% ^c
30-39	25.4	-	19.0
40-49	20.9	-	30.0
50-59	32.8	-	32.5
60-72	11.9	24.0	15.5
Total	100.0% N=67		100.0% N=568
Median Age	46.5	43.0	48.5

^aSource: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 529, p. 4. Data are for 1974.

^bSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1976), Table 8, p. xxvi.

^cCalculated averages of state and congressional offices only.

over the age of 60 than in the general population.⁵³ Only

⁵³Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, Table 8, p. xxvi.

among New York candidates was the median for women as low as 39 years of age.⁵⁴

Kansas and Missouri candidates ranged in age from 25 to 71 with a median age of 46. The predominant age group was the fifties, and it also underrepresented the upper and lower age groups compared with women in the United States population (see Table 8). However, compared with the National Profile, Kansas and Missouri candidates resembled the over-60 category, but were significantly better represented in the under-40 age group with 34 percent compared with 23 percent.

The scarcity of younger women may be attributed less to the difficulties of combining political duties with those of motherhood, as to the public's perception of the incompatibility of the dual roles and their subsequent censure of her candidacy. Bearing this out was the comment of a Kansas woman who said, "I had wanted to run for the legislature earlier, but I waited until our youngest child had graduated from high school. It was just as well because public opinion would have been against me anyway." She attributed the loss of her female opponent partially to the fact that she had young children and suffered pervasive criticism that she should be home where she belonged.

Marital Status

Nearly three out of four Kansas and Missouri women were married, somewhat more than the general population and among

⁵⁴Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," p. 187.

office-holding women in the National Profile (see Table 9).

Table 9. - Marital Status of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates, Women over Age 30 in the United States,^a and Elected Women in the National Profile^b

Marital Status	Kansas and Missouri Candidates	U.S. Pop. Women 30+ Years	National Profile
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Married	71.6%	68.0%	64.9% ^c
Divorced	9.0	8.0	9.4
Widowed	10.4	18.0	15.8
Single	9.0	6.0	9.9
Total	100.0% N=67	100.0%	100.0% N=590

^aSource: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 271. Data are for 1974.

^bSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1976), Table 18, p. xxxii.

^cCalculated averages of state and congressional offices only.

One in ten Kansas and Missouri candidates were widows compared with nearly 16 percent among elected women, a fact that might be attributed to their higher median age. Among women of thirty or over in the United States, 18 percent are widows. The proportion of divorced women was similar in all samples. Single women were in slightly higher proportions among Kansas and Missouri candidates and the women in the National Profile, compared with women over the age of thirty in the general population.

The Candidates and Motherhood

More than three out of four candidates from Kansas and Missouri, women in the United States population and elected women in the National Profile had children (see Table 10).

Table 10. - Number of Children of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates, Women over Age 30 in the United States,^a and Elected Women in the National Profile^b

Number of Children	Kansas and Missouri Candidates	U.S. Pop. Women 20-60 years	National Profile
	Percent	Percent	Percent
None	22.4%	22.7%	25.7% ^c
One	13.4	15.0	12.9
Two	23.9	23.3	23.4
Three	22.4	39.0	19.3
Four or more	17.9		18.7
Total	100.0% N=67	100.0%	100.0% N=472

^aSource: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-20, No. 279 (March 1975), Table 12.

^bSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1975), Table 17, p. xxxiii.

^cCalculated averages of state and congressional offices only.

Somewhat surprisingly, the three groups were similar in all categories, indicating that political women are traditional in their family orientation, and also that the presence of

children is little or no impediment to candidacy and office holding.

As we might expect, more than a third of the candidates from Kansas and Missouri and elected women in the National Profile had finished rearing their families when they ran for, or were elected to office (see Table 11). Both samples had

Table 11. - Age of Youngest Child of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates and of Elected Women in the National Profile^a

Years of Age	Kansas and Missouri Candidates	National Profile
	Percent	Percent
Under 6 years	4.5%	7.1% ^b
6 - 11	16.4	7.0
12 - 17	17.9	18.3
18 or over	38.8	34.6
No age given	-	7.2
Total Mothers	77.6% N=52	74.2% N=350

^aSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers - The State University, 1976), Table 18, p. xxxiii.

^bCalculated averages of state and congressional offices only.

similar numbers of teen-agers, and although the proportions were small, the presence of children under six appeared not to impede women's candidacies. One candidate ran for office during her first pregnancy and delivered during her first term of office, an event which might be a tribute to her determination and the voters' maturity.

Rural-Urban Environment

More than a fourth of the candidates were reared exclusively on farms but more than half had lived in the country, on farms, or in small towns all or part of their lives. Of the few who lived in suburbs, several felt that their life there approximated that of small town living. As in small towns, there was a neighborhood closeness and shared community activities and interests which are not usually prevalent in large cities. Two out of five candidates spent all or part of their childhood in large cities.

Although much has been written about the greater political orientation of urban dwellers compared with rural residents, other studies refute this theory. Donald Matthews found that a small town "supplies far more than its share of United States Senators,"⁵⁵ Kirkpatrick added that rural communities "also contribute more than its share of female legislators in the state houses of America."⁵⁶ Thus, it would appear that of rural or urban settings, neither can preclude or predict political participation.

This sample of Kansas and Missouri candidates was too geographically mobile to establish either a rural or an urban pattern of living. Two candidates were reared in highly unusual settings which exemplified the extremes of both environments. One was reared in Shanghai where her father

⁵⁵Donald Matthews, U.S. Senators and Their World (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 17, cited by Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 31.

⁵⁶Political Woman, p. 31.

was a British engineer with the diplomatic service. Until she reached college age she lived in an international atmosphere among families of many nationalities. Not until she returned home to England was she aware of the uniqueness of her childhood. The experience contributed to her interest in world affairs and consequently, to her desire to run for a congressional office.

The second candidate lived with her missionary parents in an African village in Zaire until she was seventeen. She and her family escaped three times from terrorists who burned all their possessions following coups d'etats. After her return to the states when the shock of Watergate occurred, her reaction to the Nixon-Ford transition was one of amazement: "It was so smooth I couldn't believe it."

THE COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

In conformity with the central-peripheral components, these Kansas and Missouri candidates were in a centrally located societal position to be influenced by many communications networks which precipitated a high level of political participation. For many married candidates who owed their central location to their husband's high status occupations, their familial ties suggested further impetus for their own involvement in politics--especially candidacy.

Will they conform to the components of political socialization which is the beginning of a continuous process starting with early childhood? In what environment and political climate were these candidates nurtured? What kinds

of people were their parents? Were they politically inclined? What was their position in society? What sort of childhood did these candidates have, and in retrospect, what impressions did they have of that period of their lives? Were they even then, ambitious, interested in activities around them and eager to achieve?

The Childhood of the Candidates

Family Situation

More than half the Kansas and Missouri candidates grew up in nuclear families where both parents were present. Twelve were reared in all-female households which included mother, grandmother, aunts, or a combination of the three.

Unusual exceptions were found in two candidates who as orphans, were shuffled from relative to relative during their childhood. One lived with a grandmother until she was five years old and later, with an aunt. Even in the depression, they were "poorer than poor." A foster father made no attempt to disguise his feelings about her. He wanted her to "get raised" so he could be rid of her. With no pretty clothes and no one to care, she worked hard to excel in school. She was interested and active in extra-curricular activities. She graduated at the age of fifteen and went to work in a restaurant for her aunt and uncle. Further schooling didn't come until years later when she attended beauty school at the age of thirty-eight.

The other orphan was also reared by a grandmother. When she was eight years old she went to live with an aunt

"who wasn't the motherly type," and her aunt's several husbands who became her temporary step-fathers. Very early she developed a sense of humor, primarily in self-defense she admitted, became a tomboy, and adopted a strong feeling of independence. She married at seventeen, became an army sergeant with a motor transport unit in France in World War II. "After dabbling in everything--mostly men's jobs," she was happy and gratified to be celebrating her thirty-fourth wedding anniversary at the time of the interview.

Both women realized their ambitions for marriage and families. The first adopted three children and was foster mother to six more and the second had three children of her own.

Both candidates deviated from the predicted norms for orphans as persons who are not generally predisposed to political interest or participation. Neither developed a cynical or mistrustful attitude, nor a lack of faith in their own political efficacy that is so often present in similar negative situations.⁵⁷ In each case these women recognized the adverse situation, adapted to it the best they could and developed the talents they had within the opportunities that were available to them. Having overcome formidable barriers in their personal lives, they developed self-confidence and self-esteem which they transferred into the political sphere.

⁵⁷Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 19.

Children in the Family

Four-fifths of Kansas and Missouri candidates came from families of two or more children (see Table 12).

Table 12. - Children in the Homes of Kansas
and Missouri Female
Candidates

Numbers of Children	Percent
Only child	17.9%
2 - 4	56.7
5 - 8	16.4
9 or more	9.0
Total	100.0% N=67

A fourth were reared in large families of five to eleven children. In contrast only 10 percent of Hightower's candidates who were younger, came from families of four or more. They were similar in proportion of only children with 15 percent compared with 18 percent among Kansas and Missouri candidates.

Studies indicate that the ordinal place in the family is somewhat related to intelligence or conducive to the development of greater responsibility and independence--both qualities which are part of a high political profile. A 1958 report found that 14 of 16 Michigan State University women in the top one percent scholastically were either only children

or eldest children.⁵⁸ Hightower's sample revealed 67 percent in this double category compared with 42 percent of Kansas and Missouri candidates.⁵⁹ Further study is needed, however, to establish valid correlations in this area.

Family Life

The economic depression of the 1930's was a very real part of the lives of most candidates over fifty years of age. They remembered it for its severe limitation on their family styles and subsequently, of their education. Rural women recalled that they had grown up in a completely different era with no electricity and no running water. All radios were battery-powered if they had them at all. There were few frills in the house and several candidates remembered the dresses they had that were made out of printed feed sacks--an idea promoted by enterprising manufacturers of chicken and livestock feed.

It was not necessarily an unhappy period, but for most candidates of that era it was an impressionable one which they remembered especially for its economic and political impact during the Roosevelt recovery years. They recalled with repugnance the farm policy of the day which required the destruction of litters of pigs to counterbalance the oversupply of pork and the subsequent low prices received by farmers. There were candidates who remembered the "bank

⁵⁸Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," p. 157, citing Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Woman's Place (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p. 78.

⁵⁹Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," p. 157.

holiday" imposed by "F.D.R." and the loss of their own or their family's small savings which were only partially recovered by dribbles during the following years.

As might be expected, male and female roles were clearly defined in most homes. A fourth of the fathers helped their wives with household tasks, but the majority provided only occasional help or none at all. Eleven mothers were fortunate enough to have hired household help, evidencing higher SES than other families.

Most candidates helped with the usual household work--cleaning, ironing, and sometimes cooking. Others worked in their father's store or helped care for younger children. Most farm children had outside chores and sometimes substituted as tractor or truck drivers during haying season or wheat harvest. Only six candidates did little or no work at home. One who helped with seasonal farm work had escaped cooking and had "never dried a dish" because her mother had insisted that she practice the piano instead. The diversion to music became the candidate's vocation and fulfilled her mother's aspirations for a rewarding and productive adulthood for her daughter.

Working Parents

More than half the fathers of candidates were hard-working farmers, railroad workers, laborers, truck drivers, and factory workers in low-income, low status jobs (see

Table 5).⁶⁰ In the middle and upper class they were store-keepers, managers, engineers, economists, missionary, professional people and government workers.

Nearly two-thirds of the mothers filled the conventional role of wife and homemaker, but a third worked full or part-time outside the home as the children were growing up. One mother was dedicated to her work as a teacher of African children assisting her husband in his Christian mission, but few of the jobs were career type occupations. They were held in the name of economic necessity.

Parents' Activities

Involvement in community and political activities placed parents close to central communications networks and consequently, provided the children with a link to public affairs. A third of the mothers and 37 percent of the fathers of Kansas and Missouri candidates were interested or critical of community or governmental affairs. Although the question was not asked specifically, a third of the candidates volunteered the fact that politics was discussed in their homes frequently or a great deal. Several mentioned that their parents had held strong feelings about presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, and remembered heated political discussions between their fathers and uncles or grandfathers.

⁶⁰ Farmers were independent business men, to be sure, but they were also persons with no control over the markets (a condition which persists today). They were victims of the times which gave them a far lower SES than they have in 1977.

One candidate professed an "inherited" interest through a highly politicized family in which a great grandfather had founded the Conservative Party in England. Another who had not known her natural father until she ran for public office discovered that he had been elected to public office in another state, which made her wonder if politics is innately inherited.

Another was reared in an all-female household in which her grandmother was a Suffragette who voiced strong political opinions supporting women's rights. She felt that both her mother and grandmother "geared (her) for the role of political candidate." Her mother was a piano teacher and as breadwinner of the family she often resorted to bartering piano lessons for milk. Although she had little time for political activities, she and the grandmother managed to impart the cues that gave the candidate "a strong sense of urgency to get into the mainstream of politics." She now serves in public office.

A candidate whose family included three sons-in-law who had served, or were serving in the state legislature, recalled that it was her mother rather than her father who was politically active in the family. She instilled in the children the idea that "it was our duty to be interested in politics and government." She subsequently joined her brothers-in-law in the state legislature.

More than two-thirds of the mothers and 43 percent of the fathers were active in civic activities, church, or community organizations (see Table 13). Predictably, more

Table 13. - Activities of the Parents of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates

Activities	Mother	Father
	Percent	Percent
Civic, church, and kindred		
Party work		
Held elective or appointive office		
No activities		
Total		

^aPercentage of parents who were political activists (47.8 percent total).

fathers were politically active than mothers. Seventeen of the candidates' fathers were involved in party work compared with only eight mothers. Three mothers held elective or appointive office as judge, schoolboard member, or postmistress. Four fathers held positions on city councils, school boards, as sheriff, and as an appointee to foreign service in government. In view of Prewitt's estimate that only 5 to 10 percent of American families include one member who is active in politics, the nearly 50 percent activity rate of Kansas and Missouri parents can be considered high. Further, they were substantially more active than families of municipal leaders in St. Louis and New Haven Studies and in the Prewitt sample in the San Francisco Bay area of whom 30 to 40 percent

were politically active.⁶¹ Of Seligman's Oregon candidates, 40 percent were active, fewer than Kansas and Missouri parents.

Goals of the Candidates

Achievement orientation is a major indicator of eligibility and directs one's desire for further education and the general or specific articulation of life goals. Nearly one in five candidates considered the traditionally "feminine" profession of teaching. Ten wanted to be performers, concert pianists, singers, or dancers. Law or nursing were the choices for another ten candidates, and the rest included a far more imaginative assortment of vocations than they realized as adults. They wanted to become doctors, psychiatrist, architect, geologist, missionary, race-car driver, and FBI agent. Only two had political ambitions, one wanted to be a "seeker of truth," and another wanted only to "help mother with her tasks." Only two candidates mentioned marriage or motherhood as a specific goal, but from their marriage rate of over 90 percent, it was probably an assumed part of their future lives.

As the candidates faced the future more realistically, their ambitions focused on the immediate goals of acquiring skills for future jobs. With a tight economy, many who had hoped for college recognized the economic obstacles and settled for vocational training in business, looked for a job,

⁶¹Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, pp. 66-67, citing Bryan T. Downes, "Suburban Differentiation and Municipal Policy Choices: A Comparative Analysis of Suburban Political Systems," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (St. Louis: Washington University, 1966). and Dahl, Who Governs?

or were married. One candidate found it grossly unfair that Summerfield scholarships were offered to men and not to women. Only two pursued a career in law, but as we have seen, the third merely postponed her education in law temporarily, *supra* p. 84. The truth-seeker acquired a degree in Philosophy.

Parental Encouragement

About half the parents of Kansas and Missouri candidates supported their daughters' ambitions for college, for success or independence. Only two fathers "couldn't have cared less," and four did not believe in higher education for women. Nearly a third of the parents voiced no particular ambitions for their children, but for many of the candidates, "it was just understood" that they would go to college. For others marriage seemed to be a sufficient resolution of a young woman's future.

The Candidates View of Their Childhood

When asked if they felt that they had been reared in a way that was especially different from that of their friends, the candidates responded with a variety of views. A fourth thought that their backgrounds were "just average" (see Table 14). Twelve thought they had been given a stronger sense of moral responsibility and integrity than their friends while a similar number felt that they had more freedom of thought and a greater sense of independence. Some felt that their backgrounds were enriched. They recognized the greater advantage of "more books," "more money," "wider opportunities to meet important people." Several felt advantaged by the extreme intelligence of one parent or the other.

Table 14. - Kansas and Missouri Female
Candidates' View of
their Childhood

Reared Differently From Friends	Percent
No. Just Average	26.9%
More enriched	9.0
More loving	6.0
More religious	15.0
More strict	17.9
More liberal	15.0
Poorer	9.0
Alienated	10.4
	N=67

Note: Totals are omitted because categories overlap.

Another was proud of her parents' concern for people in the community who were less fortunate than themselves. Several candidates looked back nostalgically to a very loving family background or a wonderful mother. Several remembered their mothers as "hardworking" and as one "who sacrificed a lot for (us) children." Others felt that their mothers were too "narrow," or too much the typical homebody. Another candidate admired her mother as "more worldly, more attractive and stylish because she worked." A few candidates had parents whom they appreciated as "less sexist" in rearing their families of boys and girls.

Six women felt they were different because of their extreme poverty even by depression standards of the thirties. Another seven felt set apart, embarrassed or oppressed because of divorce, race, religion, or rural setting. As children growing up, they had felt "out of things."

They appeared to be on the periphery of society lacking in contact with the political heart of the community--thus, lacking in self-esteem and efficacy. It must have required great tenacity of spirit and dogged determination to overcome their disadvantaged status. These candidates were truly motivated in the sense that they deeply needed to reduce the tension by "gaining something"--in this case perhaps, higher economic status, peer recognition, and a greater measure of affinity with their environment.⁶²

Adolescence and Adulthood

School Activities

As children grow into adolescence, the function of political socialization shifts from parental influence to peer groups. Both Talcott Parsons and James Coleman in separate studies documented peer groups during the high school years as significant reference agents within which social interaction encourages political participation.⁶³ Extracurricular activities in high school or in college place the student at the center of the communications networks much as voluntary, civic, and political groups do for adults. Involvement with others helps to develop rapport with one's environment, a sense of belonging, and a feeling of self-worth and efficacy. Group participation is both

⁶²Sigel, Learning about Politics, p. 4.

⁶³Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 129, citing Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System," pp. 297-318 and James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

conducive to, and a manifestation of sociability, trust in others, and a freedom to realize one's talents and potential.

More than two-thirds of the candidates as high-school or college students participated in many extra-curricular activities (see Table 15). Music was a first choice for a

Table 15. - Extra-Curricular Activities of
Kansas and Missouri Female
During High School or
College

Participation	Percent
Many activities	56.7%
Employed part-time	10.4
One event	11.9
None	21.0
Total	100.0% N=67

fourth of them, followed by drama, athletics, debate, school paper, year book, pep club, and student government. More than 38 were active in only one event, and seven were too busy working in order to finance part of their expenses in high school to participate. It is highly probable, however, that they developed feelings of efficacy through the independence they gained in their jobs as waitress, cook, sales clerk, housekeeper, and assistant to an elderly neighbor. That most of these candidates were sociable, out-going, interested, and achievement-oriented students during their high-school and/or college years is apparent in their extra-curricular participation and in their enterprising efforts

of self-help to finance their schooling.

Organizational Memberships

That organizational membership is an antecedent of political activity or candidacy has not been specifically documented, but it is fact that politically active people tend to belong to numerous organizations.⁶⁴ In the absence of occupations with which to link political activity, voluntary organizations provide the means through which women acquire their more humanitarian, but nonetheless, political concerns. They discover that solutions to social problems must come through decision-making in government, and of necessity, they must accept responsibility for, and contribute to these decisions. Hence, the participation of Kansas and Missouri candidates in civic or political organizations which gives them influential communication and contact with the center of society, was another step in harmony with the Model of Eligibility.

When these candidates left school, married, or entered the job market or both, three-fourths of them joined voluntary associations. At that time nearly a third joined a political party or continued their earlier associations. Their interests were varied and included the League of Women Voters, church work, music, art, the historical society, professional and business organizations, Eastern Star, the YWCA, Women's Federated Clubs, garden and social clubs. Only a fourth of the candidates were non-members at this particular period of their lives.

⁶⁴Dawson and Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 129.

As they acquired families and more responsibilities, their interests and consequently their memberships increased until at the time of their candidacies all but three women were associated with two or more organizations. Their multiple interests broadened to include Scouts, PTA's and school-related activities in which their children were involved (see Table 16). But like 30 to 80 percent of elected

Table 16. - Organizational Memberships of
Kansas and Missouri Female
Candidates

Type of Group	Percent
Common Cause, ACLU, NAACP, etc.	37.3%
Political party or club	56.7
League of Women Voters	13.4
Scouts, PTA, school, etc.	23.9
Church work	20.9
Professional or business	31.3
Volunteer work	20.9
Art and music	9.0
Social	7.5
Feminist, WPC, NOW	38.8
	N=67

Note: Totals are omitted because of multiple memberships held by many candidates.

women in the National Profile, the major interests of Kansas and Missouri candidates were in Republican or Democratic clubs or citizen or activist groups which now included Common Cause, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Paraguayan Partners.

Feminist Organizations

A feminist organization may be defined as one in which the goals are to advance the rights and interests of women--primarily through political action. Membership in a feminist organization probably indicates that a woman is aware, or is becoming aware of the problems of her gender, and believes in the cause of women's rights sufficiently to work for them.

Worthy of notice was the candidates' unusually high rate of membership in feminist organizations. Nearly two out of five women belonged to Women's Political Caucus (WPC) or the National Organization for Women (NOW)(see Table 17).

Table 17. - Feminist Organizational Memberships of Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates, Elected Women in the National Profile,^a and New York Candidates^b

Members of NOW, WPC, and kindred	Percent
Kansas and Missouri Candidates	38.8% N=67
National Profile	20.0 N=472
New York Candidates	46.0 N=46

^aSource: Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Profile of Women Holding Office (New Brunswick: Rutgers - The State University, 1976), Table 21, p. xxxvii.

^bSource: Nikki Van Hightower, "The Politics of Female Socialization," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Microfilms, 1975), p. 254.

Their proportion was nearly twice that of elected women in the National Profile, and approaches the 46 percent among New York candidates who as residents of the most urbanized area in the country, are more sensitive to the pressures of mass movements. The numbers of feminist memberships are surprising in view of the commonly accepted image of Kansas and Missouri as states which are, because of their agrarian nature and their distance from the meccas of elite society in New York and San Francisco, less sophisticated and by some standards, totally provincial.

The activities of these Kansas and Missouri candidates exemplify the continuing process of political socialization as primary and secondary peer groups outside the family influence the life of an adult.

It is evident that these Kansas and Missouri women led active lives'. Two thirds of them worked full or part-time, and half the mothers had children under the age of eighteen. They resembled elected women in the National Profile in that they appeared not to limit their activities in one area in order to compensate for high activity in another. Nor did their family responsibilities appear to curtail their myriad memberships and civic activities. Johnson and Stanwick found to the contrary, that an elected woman with children "averages more memberships than those with no children, and the age of children has no effect on the number of affiliations."⁶⁵

⁶⁵Johnson and Stanwick, National Profile, Table 20, p. xxxvi.

COMPONENTS OF THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY

These Kansas and Missouri candidates in many ways resemble women everywhere. Except for their decision to run for office they were traditional in their choice of occupations, patterns of life cycle, childhood background, and in their numerous organizational memberships. Ethnic background information was not available for all respondents, but white, black, part American Indian, Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant were all represented in this sample. What then will precipitate for these women their departure from the lower levels of gladiatorial participation occupied by many other women, to the peak of the political hierarchy where there are so few?

Personality Traits and Attitudes

It has been observed that elected officials have certain personality traits which are more conducive to political participation than others. In his study of California councilmen, Prewitt states that "leadership selection processes place a premium on interpersonal skills. The 'democratic man' who can compromise, negotiate, and comfortably interact in fact-to-face politics will have an edge over persons lacking in these skills."⁶⁶

⁶⁶Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, p. 117.

In 1948 Lasswell characterized the political personality as power-centered, but in his more recent studies of the mid-fifties, he determined that rigid personality types were detrimental to political activity and would probably be eliminated by self-selection. The self-selection process may explain why most studies of elected officials reveal so few negative traits. Laswell concluded that if political individuals were to be successful, they should be flexible, adaptable, congenial, free of internal conflicts, and possessed of "a basically healthy personality (which) is essential to survive the perpetual uncertainties of political life."⁶⁷ Werner and Bachtold found in their study of women who were legislators that personality traits that characterize effective political leadership were consistent with the findings for elected male leaders.⁶⁸

In a 1975 study conducted by the Office of Women's Activities of the Democratic National Committee found in its survey of 152 of the 386 Democratic legislators from 41 states that the following characteristics were considered important to women's candidacies:

honesty, integrity, friendliness, receptiveness, seriousness, openness, self-confidence, naturalness, candor, courtesy, sincerity, responsiveness, accessibility, attentiveness, credibility,

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 116 and 117, citing Harold Lasswell, "The Selective Effect of Personality on Political Participation" in Studies in the Score and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality," pp. 197-225, Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, ed. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 197-225.

⁶⁸Werner and Bachtold, p. 79.

congeniality, diligence, tirelessness, persistence, patience, optimism, and cheerfulness.⁶⁹

Kansas and Missouri candidates felt that their most important characteristics and attributes were honesty, intelligence, maturity, self-confidence, enthusiasm, objectivity, good judgment, the ability to listen, the skill to organize, the "guts to win," and interest in and compassion for people.

It was not surprising to learn that many Kansas and Missouri women possessed innovative qualities. One had been elected to the Office of County Clerk, had worked to make it an appointive position, and had been its first appointee. Another organized an art association in her town while yet another started the Women's Political Caucus (WPC) in her state. Through the efforts of another candidate, a Democratic women's party was activated in her area. Two candidates had received "Women of the Year" awards for outstanding community service. Another was appointed by the Governor to the Commission for the Status of Women.

These Kansas and Missouri candidates have exhibited feelings of political efficacy in many ways. The duration of their political interest is yet another, although the relationship is circulatory in nature. Nearly half of them had been interested in politics longer than five years and more than a fifth traced their interest to college, high school or childhood (see Table 18). Their long record of political involvement refutes their possession of negative attitudes

⁶⁹"Summary of Democratic Women State Legislators' Responses to Questionnaire," p. 4.

Table 18. - Duration of Political Interest
of Kansas and Missouri
Female Candidates

Length of Political Interest	Percent
5 years or less	26.8%
Over 5 years	49.3
Since childhood	22.4
No answer	1.5
Total	100.0% N=67

of alienation, cynicism, or rigidity. It more likely illustrates their interpersonal skills, congeniality, and sociability.

It appears that these traits and attitudes were the catalysts between their home bound role and political participation, and that the interrelations of personality and their social and political involvement placed them at the center of society. By inference we can comfortably assume that these candidates had a political personality typical of elected political leaders. It is not clear, however, whether they acquired it as a result of their activities, or whether their political personality precipitated their participation. It is more likely perhaps that cause and effect are irrevocably bound together.

The Decision to Run

SS's and RR's

We have seen that Kansas and Missouri candidates were

in harmony with the Model of Eligibility. Their political activities and the duration of their interest ascertained their high degree of self-esteem and political efficacy. Yet in this sample only 27 of the candidates initiated their own candidacies (see Table 19). Thirty-nine were RR's who were

Table 19. - The Decision to Run of Kansas
and Missouri Female
Candidates

Type of Decision	Percent
Self-Starters	40.3%
Reluctant Recruits	58.2
Unknown	1.5
Total	100.0% N=67

asked to run or urged to run. Three of the RR's, who were really Ready Recruits, were eager to run but hadn't the courage to become SS's. One candidate refused to be typed. It could not be determined whether it was she or her father who had launched her candidacy in their mutual effort to defeat an incumbent whom they found repugnant. Therefore, the sample split into slightly less than a 40-60 ratio as seen in Table 19.

Evaluation of the decision of these Kansas and Missouri candidates can be made only through the exploration of the conditions that precipitated the decision. Who and what influenced them to think of themselves as policy-makers in

government? What was the reaction of the RR's when they were asked to run? What were the general attitudes of RR's and SS's toward their candidacies?

Motivation

Source of Political Interest

More than 40 percent of Kansas and Missouri candidates became involved in politics through their interest in the campaigns of friends, relatives, or state or national candidates (see Table 20). One woman campaigned for her son

Table 20. - Source of Political Interest of
Kansas and Missouri Female
Candidates

Source of Political Interest	Percent
Party or campaign work	33.0%
Husbands or relatives' campaigns	9.0
Issues, League of Women Voters	20.9
Occupation	9.0
Husband's Interest	6.0
Home, school, other	16.2
No answer	6.2
Total	100.0%
	N=67

who lost his bid for the legislature. Ironically, eight years later she ran against the same incumbent her son had faced, only to lose also. Five candidates became politically interested and involved through the campaigns of husbands or brothers-in-law. One brother-in-law had worked not on his

own campaign, but closely with Senator George McGovern in his 1972 presidential campaign.

Fourteen of the candidates were issue-oriented and these women turned to politics as a way to implement change. Six became interested in politics through their clerical work for legislators or political leaders where they saw political action at close range.

Some candidates developed their first interest through political talk at home among parents and family members. A civic teacher's requirement that students work on someone's campaign as a term project launched a life-long political interest for one candidate when she campaigned for the late President Roosevelt. Another candidate was impressed by a professor's colorful discussions of government and history. A Political Science professor's emphasis on the importance of participation in party politics captured the interest of another. For another woman, interest in partisan politics in high school led her to become a precinct captain at the age of nineteen.

A candidate whose political interest began as recently as 1974 was persuaded by a lawyer friend to file at the last minute, partially as a lark and partially for the experience. She held a full-time job and campaigned very little. As a participant of candidate forums however, she learned a great deal. She hopes to run again and next time to wage a serious campaign. In this case political participation triggered her political interest.

Candidates who were vitally concerned with social problems had more serious reasons for becoming involved in politics. One realized years ago "that civil rights could come only through political power." Another worked "to translate our philosophies into political terms" by campaigning for minority candidates on school boards, city councils, and in state and federal government. Both candidates were later elected to the legislature.

The Transition to Candidacy

Probably the most revealing answers relating to the circumstances of candidacy resulted from the question, "When did you first begin to think of yourself in the role of political candidate or policy-maker?"⁷⁰

More than a fourth of the candidates had never thought of running until someone asked them or their husbands to run (see Table 21).

A fifth of the sample became aware of their viability as candidates through their work in campaigns or as party leaders, especially those whose job it was to fill the ticket. One of the three party people who were looking for candidates appraised her own qualifications and became an SS. The other two reluctantly filed to "hold the seat" for a missing candidate who never appeared.

For another 20 percent of the candidates, contact with political action at the center proved to be a strong influence

⁷⁰See Questionnaire in Appendix II, p.

Table 21. - When Kansas and Missouri Female
Candidates Considered
Running

Reasons	Percent
Asked by party or WPC	25.3%
Party asked husband	3.0
Respondent needed a candidate	4.5
Campaign work	10.4
Became a party leader	6.0
Observed government	19.4
Issue	6.0
Incumbent didn't file	4.5
Husband died	7.5
Never did	10.4
No answer	3.0
Total	100.0% N=67

in their self-image as potential elected officials. In their jobs close to legislative bodies, in their lobbying efforts, or through visits to observe governing bodies, these Kansas and Missouri candidates realized that they "could do just as well, if not better than the person who was elected."

Four wives of elected officials considered candidacy only when their husbands died--three through party encouragement. A candidate's husband who had vacated his legislative seat because of a terminal illness urged his wife to run in his place. Both candidate and husband were deeply disappointed that she didn't win in order to fulfill his wish for her before he died.

Surprisingly, two of the women whom the party had appointed to fill the last few months of their late husbands' unexpired term received no party help at election time.

Consequently, they both fought hard battles to win their husbands' legislative and congressional seats against party candidates who were thought to have a better chance of winning. Another candidate hoped to succeed her husband with whom she had worked closely before the tragedy of his assassination during his term in the legislature.

Ten percent of the sample "never did" think of themselves as candidates. One legislator confessed that she still "has butterflies" every time she spoke in public. She is now serving her third term of office and has proven herself to be an effective lawmaker in the legislature.

Persons who Influenced Candidacy

Encouragement to run for political office is an integral part in the decisions of both men and women, but it appears that women are more dependent upon support, since politics is a non-traditional area for her and her sex. The major portion of influence and support appears to come from somewhat different directions than it does for men. In Prewitt's study more than 60 percent of the councilmen were influenced by incumbents, many of whom helped these councilmen to do their "pre-work" through appointments to advisory governmental boards, thus "apprenticing" them for candidacy.⁷¹

It is not surprising to find that of the 48 married Kansas and Missouri candidates, nearly three-fourths had husbands who approved of their running, (35 - 71.4 percent).

⁷¹Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, p. 113.

For two out of five mothers whose children were under the age of eighteen, the support of a husband, if she had one, was essential. Most of the husbands who didn't approve at first went along with the idea and later developed enthusiasm for their wife's success. Husbands who disapproved, did so passively except for one.

Years earlier when the candidate was married she was introduced to a whole new world through her husband's avid interest in politics. Over a period of some fifteen years he was elected and re-elected to two high state offices. The candidate loyally campaigned for him and developed a deep interest in becoming a candidate herself. Repeatedly her husband persuaded her to postpone candidacy because of its interference with his campaigns. At last he lost an election and gave up partisan politics to become a lobbyist. His reaction to her announcement that she was going to run for the legislature was, "I'm not about to lobby my own wife!" The candidate commented, "Each election I had wanted to run and he wouldn't let me. You work your tail off for the guy you love, and then he keeps putting you down." The injustice was too much. They were divorced.

The unexpected reaction of other husbands to their wife's candidacy was their enthusiasm and the fact that a fourth of them urged their wives to run (see Table 22). To RR's their spouse's support was crucial to their decision to run for political office.

Party leaders influenced nearly another fourth of the candidates. Partisan pressure came primarily from the

Table 22. - Persons Who Influenced Kansas and
Missouri Female Candidates
To Run

Influential Person	Percent
Husbands	25.3%
Party leaders	22.4
Professors	6.0
Fathers, children	6.0
Friends	6.0
Speakers at political events	9.0
Other	25.3
Total	100.0% N=67

minority parties in each state--not only from local county chairpersons but from the Governor, his wife, the Attorney General, and state party leaders. The influence of professors, children, friends, and a father were important to twelve other candidates.

That political rallies are important in recruiting candidates to public office is evidenced by the six candidates who were stirred by the feature speaker at an event. At a Women's Political Caucus dinner, Representative Martha Griffiths, Democratic Congresswoman from Michigan, called for more women in politics, and inspired candidates from both states. One rose to her feet with others when Representative Griffiths asked women to stand if they thought they might someday run for office. A speech by Attorney General Vern Miller at a Democratic fund-raising dinner was the source of influence for another. One candidate was persuaded to run by Carolyn Bond, wife of former Governor Christopher Bond of

Missouri, and another, through her experience as a delegate to the national convention.

Attitudes Toward Candidacy

The Developing Image of "Political Self"

The self-image held by both SS's and RR's as political, efficacious people was bound by tradition to activity within the confines of organizational memberships, party work, and lobbying efforts of political action groups. To reach the real world of politics where government policy is made, their "political self" had to be freed from its chrysalis.

The candidates' reasons for running reveal the changing attitudes of SS's which, surprisingly, seem to bear no relationship to the outcome of the election. In the following disclosures, winners will be indicated.

Running for office wasn't a goal five years ago, and it never was a personal one. But after devoting full time to a presidential campaign for a year without pay, strictly as a volunteer, I had a growing commitment to seek change and accept responsibility. I felt that I had the personal resources to be productive. When the seat was vacant and I had convinced myself that I could do the job well and be effective, I filed.

This candidate was a winner. Another comment was

I'm so tired of getting other people elected and then they turn around and do exactly what they want. Why should I always work for someone else? Who can I trust? Me. I know what I want for the country. The Constitution is set up for Mrs. John Brown to run as well as for Mr. John Brown. So I filed.

Awareness of their comparative political talents sometimes came as a result of the candidate's observation of governing

bodies at work.

After observing the ineptness of the legislature, you can't come away without saying, 'Any idiot could do that.' Some people work at it and some just slop along.

A feeling of urgency and a sense of duty transcended what was probably the natural reticence of the candidate to file.

It was simply a combination of events and knowing for sure that if somebody didn't run and somehow force the issue (Equal Rights Amendment) that vote could be lost--coupled with the fact that I seemed to be the only one willing and in a position (to file) at the time.

That candidate won.

While working as an assistant in the legislature one term, I saw the excessive power that legislators have and saw the difference between effective and dangerous people. I felt an obligation to the public.

SS's motivated themselves to run for office, but RR's had to be asked. An RR's reaction to the invitation to run tells us a great deal about the attitude she has about her traditional "place" in society and her emerging "political self" as a candidate in the political arena.

Nearly 70 percent of the candidates who were asked were surprised and immediately reluctant to run. Four were flattered and excited, but only three were eager to run. Only one was reluctant because she knew she was a sacrificial candidate with only a minimal chance of winning.

Like some SS's, RR's felt a strong sense of duty to run.

I really didn't have enough friends, or confidence, and I didn't think I could win--there was so much (rural) area to cover. But I thought, 'Somebody has to have the guts to try.' At least I wasn't afraid to say what I thought--I had nothing to lose.

In spite of her doubts she waged a strong campaign and won.

Another candidate's reaction was one of total surprise when the Women's Political Caucus approached her to run in a district they had targeted as "winnable." The fifth time they called at her house, her husband, a lawyer and manufacturer learned of their request and intervened. His reaction to her skepticism was, "I don't think it's silly; I think you'd enjoy that." She won her first campaign which her son managed for her and is serving her third term in the legislature.

A husband who was asked to run, but declined, added, "Why don't you ask my wife?" Her reaction was "I had never considered running at all. It was amazing to me that I could run." In retrospect she found it almost unbelievable that after years of working in the civil rights movement that "it never dawned on me to run." She, too, was a winner.

Sometimes candidates who were present when their husbands were asked to run suddenly saw themselves in a gladiatorial context and took advantage of the situation.

Three of these candidates asked lightly and tentatively for fear of being rebuffed, "Are you limiting this to men?", "Hey, I'd be interested," and "If you don't, I will." One was a Ready Recruit who had wanted to run, but hadn't mustered the courage. When the party people failed to find an "eligible" candidate to fill the ticket, they resorted to the wives who were interested in candidacy.

One candidate was told that they needed a white, Catholic male, and that they didn't think a woman could win. When such

a candidate was not forthcoming they told her to "go ahead and try." This candidate did indeed lose. However, had the party's attitude toward women in politics been less patronizing, and had they volunteered more than half-hearted support, the outcome might have been different.

An unusual entry to politics occurred when a husband who had previously held a state elective office came home one day to tell the candidate that there was something he wanted her to do.

I just thought he wanted me to put some shirts in the laundry or something. Instead he went on to say that the incumbent wasn't going to run for the legislative seat in our district and he wanted me to run. I thought he was kidding. It would never have entered my mind to run. I was happy substitute teaching, being precinct committee woman, and being active in the community.

I thought it over for about three weeks and filed, even though I didn't think I had a chance. Three days before the closing date, the incumbent filed. It made me mad and I decided he wasn't going to win sitting down.

She canvassed door to door and won 53 percent of the vote. She has since been re-elected and is considered to be an outstanding legislator.

Another candidate's husband held a legislative office. At first the two joked about what a "kick" it would be to work together in the state capitol. After helping her husband win two campaigns,

Divine Providence intervened. The incumbent retired and when no one opposed the other Party's candidate, my husband urged me to run. I lacked self-confidence and dragged my feet until two days before the closing date to file. I decided I couldn't let the seat go unchallenged.

She too was a winner and was re-elected in 1976.

Illustrative of the dichotomy between a woman's innermost self and aspirations, and the public self and goals which she feels are creditable ones, is this comment:

Even though one of my professors had said casually that I really ought to run for the legislature sometime, when I was asked point blank to seriously consider running, it was a shock. I told my husband about the conversation and said, 'But of course I won't run.' This was kind of weird too, because I had actually been fascinated with guest lectures by a congressional campaign manager, party workers, and an elected official who explained the mechanics of candidacies and campaign activities. Somehow it was just an idea to toy around with and not to deal with as a reality. If friends hadn't encouraged me, I never would have run.

Thus, except for a few Ready Recruits among them, RR's failed completely to bridge the gap between their inconspicuous roles in voluntary community and political work and the policy-making positions in government. Only at the instigation of others did their "political self" blossom into the total political woman.

PART IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has revealed that these Kansas and Missouri candidates were in harmony with the Model of Eligibility and its components of center-periphery, of political socialization, and of political personality. They were indeed, political women. Through their "eligibility" and their central position in society, they were overwhelmingly more likely than women in the general population to become candidates for political office.

Although 58 percent were employed full or part-time, the majority of their occupations were "feminine" jobs of lower status and hence, peripherally located. For the 82 percent who were married or widowed, however, it was the high SES of their husbands or late husbands which conferred high status upon them. Significantly, more than one candidate in five was the wife, widow, mother, or relative of a former or presently elected official or candidate. This was unusually high considering the fact that less than one percent of the population participates at the gladiatorial level of candidacy or election to public office.

Forty-one percent of the candidates were college graduates, including seven who had Master's degrees, four who had law degrees, and one, a Ph. D. Although their educational attainment far surpassed women in the general population, Kansas and Missouri women were less well-educated than elected women in the National Profile and far below the educational level of male legislators in six states.

The candidates ranged in age from 24 to 72 with a median age of 46--higher than women in the population at large, but lower than elected women in the National Profile. Compared with women in the National Profile of office holders, more Kansas and Missouri candidates were married, fewer widowed, but nearly equal in proportions of divorced and single women.

The presence of children in the home was apparently no impediment for Kansas and Missouri candidates nor for elected women in the National Profile. Of Kansas and Missouri candidates, 77 percent were mothers and half of those had children under the age of 18. Three had children under six and one candidate ran for office during her first pregnancy and delivered during her first term of office.

Most of the Kansas and Missouri sample had traditional backgrounds. A majority were reared in nuclear homes but twelve grew up in all-female households. Two candidates were orphans and two were reared in foreign countries. Their high rate of participation in extra-curricular activities and the jobs that some of them held during high school were indications of a growing feeling of efficacy and a budding political personality. Their participant styles were predictive of the

extent of their community and political activities in adulthood.

Nearly 50 percent of the candidates came from political homes where one parent or the other was involved in party work, ran for or held political or appointive government office. This exceeded the rate of male office holders in several other studies who claimed political parents. The presence of political parents in the homes of the candidates was significantly higher than among homes in the general population where only five to ten percent of the families include a political activist.

The candidates continued to become more highly politicized in adulthood when all but three women joined social and political organizations. Their interests focused on issues and more than half participated in political party work and/or political campaigns, all of which moved them closer to the center of society.

Significantly, 39 percent of Kansas and Missouri candidates belonged to feminist organizations--nearly twice the proportion of members among office-holders in the National Profile. It suggests (1) their increasing awareness of the general status of women in our society and, more specifically, (2) their realization that feminist organizations were providing an impressive pool of eligible women who run for office.

This study revealed that Kansas and Missouri candidates were endowed with or had acquired a political personality that was typical of men and women who were effective legislators. Their work with others to attain common goals was a

manifestation of interpersonal skills, congeniality, sociability, and political efficacy. Their efforts toward further education implied not only curiosity and intellect, but tenacity, persistence, and a high motivation to achieve.

It is apparent that these Kansas and Missouri candidates were "eligible" for candidacy through their conformity with the components of the model. Although the model appears to be as valid a description of women's eligibility as previous studies had indicated they are for men, differences in the application of the model include the fact that women run for different reasons than men. Their motives appeared to be more altruistic than those of men, many of whom sought to enhance their social status through their high visibility as a Gladiator. A far more basic reason for their differences appeared in the analysis of the RR's decision to run, in which the candidate's self-image of secondary status in politics was disclosed.

RR's ran because they were asked. Except for three women who had recognized their own qualities of leadership, and were reluctant only in their decision to file for office, RR's had never before seriously considered candidacy. Some RR's had to be drafted, coerced, cajoled, and otherwise persuaded to file before they came to the realization that it was a viable choice for them. To others it came more quickly. To all of the truly reluctant ones, the invitation to run resulted in a reaction of shock, surprise, and an initial reluctance to accept a new role in the traditional male bailiwick.

For them candidacy was internalized as deviant behavior, and the constraints of the traditional women's "place" was endemic to the question to be resolved. Fundamentally, these Kansas and Missouri women, both SS's and RR's ran because of a growing sense of awareness that candidacy was an option for them and that by exercising that option they might be able to improve the quality of government more effectively than in any other way. SS's discovered that for themselves, sometimes years earlier.

Other studies found that men, too, were reluctant to run for office, but it was usually because the costs of candidacy were so high and the rewards so few--never for the reason that candidacy was a questionable option for a man.

Reluctant as these Kansas and Missouri candidates were, they were pleased and flattered by the invitation to run which extrinsically, was a boost to their ego. Concomitantly it legitimated their non-renumerative community and political activities as worthwhile and valuable contributions to society.

Unlike the concerns of men who counted the "costs" of running, their acceptance was never seriously related to their chances of winning or losing. Regardless of the strength of their opponents or the lack of politically realistic chances of winning, they were likely to accept candidacy on its own merits. Nearly all of them considered the possibility of losing, but more than three out of five optimistically thought that they could win. It is paradoxical that the constraints of culture and tradition worked adversely for them as leaders

in the mainstream of politics, but as children of tradition, their socialization to respond to duty and be of service to others was intrinsic to their acceptance of candidacy.

This study revealed that the RR's among these Kansas and Missouri candidates were very nearly victims of their own sex stereotyping of roles in the political arena. But for the party's desperate need for candidates and/or the vigorous support and encouragement of husbands and friends who recognized in their wives and associates their potential as political leaders, these women might never have become candidates. Hence it is more than speculation to say that women's attitudes toward themselves and their position in society may be responsible in large part for the fact that so few women run.

The theory that women's awareness of discrimination and of the status of women has an impact on their political participation is advanced by Wells and Smeal in their survey of urban registered voters and party committee-women. The authors discovered that the variable that distinguishes supporters from non-supporters of women in politics was

...the awareness of discrimination against women based on their sex, either in employment, education, or in general social encounters....The standard variables for social status and role such as religious affiliation, age, income level, educational level, occupational status, marital status, political participation level, and party affiliation appear less valuable in locating support among women than the level of consciousness of the outgroup status of women in society.¹

¹Audrey Siess Wells and Eleanor Cutri Smeal, "Women's Attitudes Toward Women in Politics: A Survey of Urban Registered Voters and Party Committee women," in Women in Politics, ed. by Jane S. Jaquette, p. 701.

Their conclusions suggest that greater support for women in politics may be effected through their increased exposure to information about women's place in society.

Perspectives for Women in Politics

In view of the fact that women's "place" has been firmly entrenched in our society and has been vigorously reinforced for so long, we wonder how the future of women in politics can be enhanced. Perhaps women need to know more about candidacy.

First, women must realize that there is a need for their gladiatorial efforts. In the 1974 general election 36 of the 125 seats in the Kansas House of Representatives were unopposed and 62 of the 163 House seats in Missouri went unchallenged.² This phenomenon is not peculiar to Kansas and Missouri but is found in other states as well. Kirkpatrick reported that in Pennsylvania "in well over half of the legislative primaries there was only a single entry."³

Women should know that candidacy is exciting and challenging and is in itself a broadening, educational experience. Many Kansas and Missouri women who ran for office described their candidacies as "Great!", "A fantastic experience." Typical of the comments was this one.

I was not far into the campaign before I realized that no matter how the election came out I couldn't lose. The experience I was getting and the things I was learning couldn't be had in any educational institution in the land.

²State of Kansas Election Statistics, pp. 96-116, 1974, and 1975-1976 Roster: State of Missouri, pp. 109-121.

³Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, p. 69.

Women with leadership potential should actively participate in political parties and campaigns, civic organizations, or issue-oriented groups such as the League of Women Voters in order to enhance their "eligibility" for political office. In particular, these women should join feminist organizations such as the National Women's Political Caucus in order to encourage other women, and to be encouraged to assume their legitimate place in policy-making positions of government.

Finally, women should know that sex bias appears to be less prevalent at the polls than it does in every day life. Leader found in her New Jersey study that women win in equal proportions with men.⁴ Nearly identical results were found among Kansas and Missouri candidates. Of those who were opposed in the Primary election, 18 won, 16 lost, and one withdrew (see Table 23). Four withdrew from the General

Table 23. - Results of the 1974 Primary and General Elections in which Kansas and Missouri Female Candidates Participated

Election	Won	Lost	No Opposition	Withdrew	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Primary	26.8%	23.8%	47.7%	1.5%	100.0% N=67
General	47.8	50.0	2.1	5.9	100.0% N=46

⁴Leader, "Women Candidates for Elective Office," p. 27.

election and of the 46 who had opposition, 22 won and 23 lost. One candidate was a winner with no opposition in her seventh campaign for the legislature, bringing the total number of winners to 23--eleven from Kansas and twelve from Missouri.

To advance the future of women in political office, there is a need to further study the recruitment patterns of women's candidacies--not only as they are practiced through the political party system, but as they have occurred in the National Women's Political Caucus which has encouraged women's candidacies since its founding in 1971.⁵ Other less structured areas of selection and recruitment should also be explored. It is important to learn more about feminist orientations as they relate to a woman's self-selection or her reluctance to candidacy. Further, there is a need for a comparative study of candidacies by sex in order to examine the differential attitudes that men and women have of themselves as potential political leaders.

I suggest that as more women become aware of their political choices, they will be more likely to accept their political responsibilities in a world that desperately needs the talents of all of its citizens.

⁵Hole and Levine, Rebirth of Feminism. The National Women's Political Caucus was organized July 10, 1971, pp. 426-427.

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**THIS BOOK
CONTAINS
NUMEROUS PAGES
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BOTTOM.**

**THIS IS AS RECEIVED
FROM THE
CUSTOMER.**

Introductory Letter

1908 Blue Hills Rd.
Manhattan, Kansas 66502
April 17, 1975

Dear

I am writing to you to ask for a personal or phone interview.

Like you, I was a candidate for political office in the last election. Unlike some candidates, I didn't win. Although I was a school "drop-out" in order to run, I am resuming my graduate work at Kansas State University in Political Science.

In the process of examining my motives for running for office, it occurred to me that a survey of the backgrounds of other candidates might be interesting and encouraging to other women who might be well-qualified for political office, but who have not yet seen themselves in that role. This thought became the subject of my thesis "What Makes Mary Run?".

My survey is to include some seventy-five Kansas and Missouri women who were candidates for state and congressional offices in the last election. In order to allow greater freedom of response and informality, I am conducting personal or phone interviews within the next month or two. When I call, I would appreciate your talking with me then, or arranging a later more convenient time.

The enclosed consent form, instigated by the department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the federal government, is for the protection of your right of privacy. It can be mailed to me in the stamped, self-addressed envelope now or later.

The interviews I have had with the women in the Kansas legislature have been most enjoyable. I hope you too will find it so. I am enclosing my out-dated campaign card so that you will know a bit more about the voice at the other end of the line.

Thankyou for any help you might give me.

Sincerely,



Rosalys M. Rieger

2/27/75

Thesis Proposal of Rosalys M. Rieger to Satisfy Partial Requirements Towards
A Master's Degree in Political Science from Kansas State University

THESIS COMMITTEE: Dr. Naomi B. Lynn, Advisor
Dr. Pierre Secher
Dr. Shanto Iyengar
Dr. Cornelia B. Flora

GOAL: To determine "Differential Motivations and Socializations Among Women Who are Candidates for Political Office."

DESIGN: Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with Republican and Democratic women who were candidates for state and congressional offices in the primary and general elections of 1974 in Kansas and Missouri.


Two primary groups of women run for office: the "Self-Starters" (SS) who initiate their own candidacies, and the "Reluctant Recruits" (RR) who wait for someone to ask them to run for office. This study will look at differences in motivations, and in political and sex-role socializations between the two groups.

METHODOLOGY: Appointments will be made in advance for interviews either in person or by telephone. Each interview should be completed in approximately one hour. With the permission of the respondent, each interview will be taped to insure an accurate report.

Anonymity will be scrupulously preserved. No names or identifying district numbers will be used in this thesis, nor in any subsequently published work relating to this survey. Before information is computerized, all identifying names, addresses, and district numbers will be removed from the questionnaire and replaced with a code number. Every effort will be made to prevent any linkage of biographical material or quotations to the respondents. No one other than Rosalys M. Rieger and the Thesis Committee will have access to the tapes or to the transcriptions.

All tapes will be destroyed no later than five years from the termination of the project, the termination to be designated as the date of thesis approval by the Thesis Committee.

The Informed Subject Consent will be obtained at the time of the appointment, or at the time of the interview.


Rosalys M. Rieger

INFORMED SUBJECT CONSENT

As indicated by my signature below and being of sound mind, I do hereby voluntarily consent to serve as a subject in the proposed procedure identified and explained in the document dated _____ and entitled "Differential Motivations and Socializations among Women Who are Candidates for Political Office" which is attached to and is hereby made a part of this consent.

Subject Name

Subject Signature

Date

Witness _____

Campaign Card



State District 66

Democrat

REPRESENTATIVE

Questionnaire

148

SECTION ACODE NO.

NAME

DATE

ADDRESS

TEL. NO.

CANDIDATE FOR (1974)

DISTRICT NO.

CODE NO.

1. Was 1974 the first time you ran for office?
2. If no, when? What office?
3. What term of office are you serving now?
4. Marital status? 5. Age? 6. Ages of children?

7. Elections: no. of	Sex?	Incumbent?	Won	Lost	No contest
Opponents					
PRIMARY					
GENERAL					

8. Do you think you'll run for office again?

SECTION BCODE NO.

9. Did you live with both parents as a child? If not, with whom?
10. Did you grow up in a city? Small town? Suburb? Farm? Other?
11. What was your father's occupation?
12. Was your mother employed full or part-time while you were growing up?
If yes, what job?
13. What household duties were done by your mother?
14. By your father? Did these duties overlap?
15. What kinds of duties did you do at home?
16. Did you have brothers and sisters? Older or younger than you?
Or were you an only child?
17. What did your mother want for you after high school? Further education?
Job independence? Marriage? Other?
18. What were your father's wishes for you?
19. What were your early ambitions for yourself when you were a child?
What did you want to do after high school or college? Career?
Marriage?
20. How would you describe your mother? Creative? Sensitive to the needs
of others? Outspoken? Critical of community or governmental affairs?
21. How would you describe your father?
22. Were either of your parents active in community work? Social, civic,
church work; Party work? Did either parent ever run for political office?
23. Did it appear to you that you were reared in a way that was different from
the way your friends were reared? More or less strict? Different
principles stressed? More or less pressure on you to do well in school?
Different goals?

SECTION C

24. What schooling have you had? High school? College? Major?
25. Were you active in high-school or college politics? In what way?
26. Were you active in extra-curricular activities in H.S. or college?
(Hold office, belong to clubs, cheerleader, etc)
27. Have you always been a (Party ID) _____ If not, why did you change?

SECTION C (cont)CODE NO.

28. What political party did your parents belong to?
29. Did you have a full or part-time job before you were married?
If yes, what was it?
30. Did you have any jobs after you were married? If yes, what were they?
31. What is your husband's occupation? Did it influence your
interest in politics? If yes, elaborate.
32. After you were out of school or married, did you join any voluntary
organizations? (Social, civic, pol., or other)
33. What organizations are you most active or interested in now?
34. When and how did you become ACTIVE IN GOVERNMENT OR POLITICS?
Appointive boards? LWV? Party work? Lobbying? Elaborate.
35. When did you first begin TO THINK OF YOURSELF IN THE ROLE OF POLITICAL
CANDIDATE OR POLICY-MAKER?
36. Was there any particular person, family member, event, or circumstance
that influenced you?

SECTION D

37. Do you remember what actually TRIGGERED YOUR DECISION TO BECOME A
CANDIDATE FOR POLITICAL OFFICE? Was it your idea? Did someone ask
you to run?
38. If you were asked, who was it? What was your reaction?
Did you accept readily, or did you have to think it over and get used
to the idea?
39. What kinds of things did you worry about? Losing? Did you think
you could win? How it would affect your job? Family? Other?
40. What qualities did you feel that you had as a candidate?
41. How did your friends feel about it? Party leaders?
42. What was your husband's attitude towards your candidacy?
Did he approve? Disapprove? Did he say why?
43. If your husband had opposed the idea, would you have run anyway?
Did you discuss this with him?

SECTION ECODE NO.

44. How would you characterize your campaign? Agressive? Low-key?
Did you work hard to win? What did you stress? Issues? Canvassing?
45. What was the approximate cost of your campaign?
How much of it did you finance?
46. Did your County and/or State Party contribute financially or otherwise?
Office? Publicity? Workers? Workshops? Other?
47. Did you run in a Republican or a Democratic district?
48. Did you ever feel guilty at the time spent away from your husband or family?
49. How do you view your campaign on the whole? Did you enjoy it?
50. To what do you attribute your victory/loss?
Funds? Campaign organization? Past political experience?
Party ID? Party support? Endorsements? Strength or weakness
of opponent? (Incumbent?)
Other?

SECTION F

51. What issues did you stress in your campaign?
52. Did you stress your position for or against the Equal Rights Amendment?
What was your position on ERA?
53. Did any women's groups work for you in the campaign? Which ones?
54. Have you ever attended any conscious-raising meetings or workshops on the feminist movement?
55. Do you belong to any feminist groups? Which ones?
56. Have you personally experienced any discrimination as a woman?
(In business? In school or college? At home? Other)
57. In your marriage, what household duties are shared?
58. Would you give up political or career aspirations if your husband asked you to?

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN QUESTIONS - 1972 SRC

In general, women in society have not been as successful as men in business, politics, and the leadership positions in our country. The following statements may be reasons to explain why this is so: ("Don't know" or "No answer" may be used)

59. Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal
60. Women have less opportunity than men to get education for top jobs.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal
61. Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal
62. Women have just as much chance to get big important jobs as men: they just aren't interested.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal
63. By nature, women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal
64. Women should stay out of politics.
Agree great deal/ Agree somewhat/ Disagree somewhat/ Disagree great deal

WHAT MAKES MARY RUN?: A STUDY OF WOMEN WHO WERE
CANDIDATES FOR POLITICAL OFFICE IN KANSAS
AND MISSOURI

by

ROSALYS MCCREREY RIEGER
B. M., University of Kansas, 1946

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Political Science

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1977

Because of the cultural and traditional view that politics is a man's domain and because of the dearth of women in elective office, there has been little research on women's candidacies and no major studies in the central-midwestern states. The purpose of this study was to determine the characteristics of Kansas and Missouri women who were candidates, why they ran and why women are more reluctant than men to become candidates.

Of the seventy-four Democratic and Republican women who ran for state and congressional offices in Kansas and Missouri in 1974, sixty-seven were interviewed in person or by telephone except for one who answered a written questionnaire.

A Model of Eligibility was formulated which focused on the central location in society where social communications networks encourage political participation--especially candidacy. It embodies the Components of Center-Periphery, of Political Socialization, and of Political Personality which included traits, attitudes, and motivations. The intent was to relate the model to the candidate's socializations and motivations for candidacy.

Through their central position in society, these women were overwhelmingly more likely than women in the general population to become candidates for political office. Although fifty-eight percent were employed, for the eighty percent who were married or widowed, it was their husband's high socioeconomic status which placed them at the center. Over one candidate in five was the wife, widow, mother, or relative of a former or presently elected official or candidate.

Forty-two percent of the candidates had Bachelor's degrees or more, and the majority were highly active in organizations or political party work, moving them nearer the center. Nearly two out of five belonged to feminist organizations, a much higher proportion than among elected women in the nation.

These candidates ranged in age from twenty-four to seventy-one, with a median age of forty-six. Seventy-eight percent were mothers and two out of five had three or more children. Three had children under six and one ran for office during her first pregnancy and delivered during her first term of office.

Except for two who were orphans and two who were reared in Shanghai and Zaire, these candidates had traditional backgrounds. Forty-eight percent came from political homes where one parent or the other was involved in party work or held political or appointive governmental office.

It appeared that these candidates possessed a political personality including traits of sociability, optimism, political efficacy, and a high motivation to achieve. Forty percent were Self Starters (SS's) who initiated their own candidacies, and sixty percent, Reluctant Recruits (RR's) who had to be asked to run. Only after they were urged by party, friends, or relatives, of whom a fourth were husbands, did RR's decide to run. Fundamentally, both SS's and RR's ran because of a growing awareness that candidacy was an option, and by exercising that option, they could improve the quality of government.

Based on other studies, their reason for reluctance differed from that of men, most of whom were reluctant because

the costs of candidacy were so high and the rewards so few; but never--assuming they were "eligible"--because candidacy was a questionable option for a man.

This study has established that congruence with the Model of Eligibility significantly predisposed these Kansas and Missouri women to candidacy. It also revealed that most women still perceive their "place" in cultural and traditional terms as outside the parameters of governmental leadership. For this reason, it is likely that many other capable "eligible" women fail to consider candidacy for political office.