Women and the Social Movements of the 1960s: Activists, Engaged Observers, and Nonparticipants

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Many women in the generation that attended college during the 1960s have reported that they were influenced by the social movements of that era, even women who did not participate in them. In addition to political activists, social movements also appear to include "engaged observers"—individuals who are attentive to movement writings and activities, and express moral and even financial support for them, but who take no other action. Although activism in a movement may be the best predictor of future political action, engaged observation may be related to other indicators of political socialization, such as a powerful felt impact of the movement and well-developed political attitudes. Evidence to support this notion is drawn from studies of three samples of college-educated white and black women.

KEY WORDS: social movements; political participation; activism

A substantial body of research has explored the personal and political effects of participation in particular social movements—in the United States, especially the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and the movement protesting the Vietnam war (e.g., Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Carson, 1981; Fendrich & Turner, 1989; Keniston, 1968; McAdam, 1988, 1989). There is also a literature exploring the psychological impact of social movements outside the United States (e.g., Braungart & Braungart, 1993). Although most of the research has focused on men, there has been some research on women (e.g., Carroll, 1989; Cole & Stewart, 1996; Payne, 1990; Sapiro, 1989; Thorne, 1975). To the extent that it has been studied, protest activism in women predicts adult political participation in much the same way as it does for men. In fact, participation in social movements has been found to have other implications for women later in life—perhaps even broader effects than for men (e.g., McAdam, 1992).

One important consequence of efforts to include attention to women's political experiences has been discussion of the need to recognize the fact that the "public" and the "private" are neither fully separate nor distinguished by the concept of "the

political." Some scholars have argued that traditional studies of political behavior are based on an androcentric model of the public sphere and of "the political," which inevitably excludes women and many of their concerns; others have pointed to the ways in which public and private domains define and shape one another (e.g., Elshtain, 1974, 1981; Okin, 1991; Phillips, 1991; Sapiro, 1983, 1995; Sigel, 1996). When women are included in studies, more attention is often paid to activities focused on improving family, neighborhood, and community well-being, as well as on connections between the private sphere and politics (e.g., women politicians' focus on children's welfare, or the link between family roles and political participation; see Burns, 1997).

We suspect that it may be similarly helpful to broaden our understanding of social movement participation. Specifically, in this paper we examine three groups of women: women who participated in social movements in the usual ways (activists); women who participated in more indirect ways (engaged observers); and women who were nonparticipants. We believe that in previous research the women we identify as engaged observers have sometimes been counted as activists, more often as nonparticipants. Defining this group in either way keeps us, we think, from recognizing a crucial form of political socialization that may differ from active participation or nonparticipation: interested observation of, and moral support for, a social movement.

Predicting Political Participation

Most research on political participation treats participation as a dependent variable or outcome, and seeks to identify factors that account for the level and type of participation in which individuals engage. A long line of theorizing and research on participation in political science was inspired by Downs' (1957) rational choice approach, which seeks to understand the choice to participate in terms of the costs and benefits to individuals. The socioeconomic and mobilization models draw on this tradition. The standard socioeconomic model emphasizes the importance of the elements of socioeconomic status, particularly education, in predicting political participation. (This model is expressed in Verba & Nie, 1972, and is updated substantially in Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995.) Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) developed the mobilization approach. They argued that socioeconomic status influences *who* participates, but that mobilization by political elites drives *when* and *how* they participate. Finally, psychologists more often view political participation as an outcome of personality dispositions (e.g., efficacy) or attitudes (e.g., political identity, gender, racial/ethnic or "minority" consciousness; see, e.g., Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969; Rothman & Lichter, 1982; Stone & Schaffner, 1988).

The socioeconomic model, as originally formulated, was static; it sought to explain participation in terms of the characteristics of the individual (e.g., education, income, political efficacy) at that moment. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady

(1995) extended this approach considerably in their "civic voluntarism" model. They focused on the broad range of psychological, institutional, and material resources available to an individual that could be used for political participation. These include traditional resources such as time and money, psychological characteristics (e.g., political efficacy), and civic skills (e.g., education, language skills). However, they also emphasized the institutional sources of adult civic skills (e.g., jobs, political and nonpolitical groups, churches) and considered the ways that different resources enable different types of participation. Moreover, and most important for our purposes, they extended their model over time and considered the ways that skills, orientations, and structural positions develop through the life course to prepare an individual to participate. Thus, they traced the ways that pre-adult life experiences (including education and school activities) influence institutional involvements in adulthood (e.g., job, organizational involvement, religious observance), which in turn influence "participation factors" (such as income, time, skills, and political interest), which in turn are the proximate cause of political participation.

Psychological approaches to predicting political participation have focused on the personality dispositions, beliefs, or attitudes that increase the likelihood that individuals invest attention and interest in the public sphere or will take action to express their political beliefs (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Crosby, 1982; Crosby, Pufall, Snyder, O'Connell, & Whalen, 1989; Duncan & Stewart, 1995). Even more commonly, psychologists explore the conditions under which individuals—especially members of underrepresented groups—develop group consciousness or group identity and a commitment to collective or political action (Cross, 1971, 1991; Downing & Roush, 1985; Gurin, 1985; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980; Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Henderson-King & Stewart, 1997; Rinehart, 1992; Tajfel, 1978). These psychological approaches focus, then, on political participation as an outcome of social, experiential, and personality processes.

Across disciplines, the literature that treats participation as a dependent variable often considers a relatively narrow and proximate set of effects: political attitudes, political interest, partisanship (party identification), and political orientation (such as civil rights attitudes or liberal-conservative ideology). However, this literature does indicate that, in addition to social resources, personality, and attitudes, skills and experiences accumulated over the life course are important predictors of political participation. It suggests, then, that earlier political experiences often have consequences for later political life.

Consequences of Political Participation

A very different, much smaller body of literature considers the possible effects of political participation, both on society and on the individual participant. Some political scientists have examined the implications of participation patterns for democratic representation of political perspectives and opinions within the polity.

For example, some research has shown (surprisingly, but perhaps happily) that voters and nonvoters have indistinguishable policy attitudes (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). However, Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) found significant socioeconomic bias in participation (which was decreased but not eliminated when mobilization increased), and Verba et al. found differences in policy agenda and "politically relevant characteristics" such as need for government services. In addition, Verba et al. found that the differences between participators and nonparticipators increased for nonvoting forms of participation.

A second approach looks at the effects of participation on individuals. In their investigation of the causes and consequences of political protest, Pierce and Converse (1990) found that although preprotest attitudes did little to explain subsequent protest, protest did predict subsequent political attitudes. Drawing on his political socialization panel study of high school students and their parents, Jennings (1987) found evidence that participation in the student protest movements had lasting effects on relatively broad orientations, such as partisanship and views of civil liberties. Looking at narrower measures, such as attitudes on specific policies, he found that differences between protesters and nonprotesters disappeared over time.

Others have examined broader psychological and political effects of social movement activity. For example, Morris, Hatchett, and Brown (1989) explained the evolution of the civil rights movement in terms of the ongoing interactions between African-Americans' structural location in society and their psychological orientations. McAdam (1992) found that for white women, participation in the civil rights movement (specifically, Freedom Summer) had pervasive effects on personal identity, lifestyle, and values in later life. Sapiro (1989) documented the ways that participation in the women's movement led to the development of gender consciousness, and Carroll (1989) found that the women's movement led to resocialization of participants' autonomy and feminist consciousness.

Thus, studies that have focused on the impact of particular movements have considered the influence of participation on a relatively broad set of outcomes, including identity. However, these studies are still relatively narrow in terms of their definition of movement participation and their focus on a single movement.

Conceptualizing Women's Social Movement Experience

Extensive evidence, both anecdotal and systematic, has documented the powerful influence of the social movements of the 1960s—civil rights, the women's movement, and the antiwar movement—on individual women's lives (Evans, 1979; Franz, 1994; Giddings, 1984; Stewart, 1994) and on women of particular age cohorts (Agronick & Duncan, in press; Duncan & Agronick, 1995; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Stewart, 1994; Stewart & Healy, 1989). Specifically, women who were late adolescents or young adults during the period when these movements

were under way—regardless of their direct participation in them—tend to report that they found the movements meaningful and influential. These results have been interpreted as supporting Mannheim's (1952) general notion that generational units (socially defined groups within a generation, e.g., college students in a given cohort) are influenced by events in their late adolescence, as well as Erikson's (1975, 1980) view that social historical context influences the content of individual identities (Duncan & Agronick, 1995; Stewart & Healy, 1989).

Here, we expand on these ideas to suggest that connections can be made between empirical demonstrations of the influence of these movements on a large proportion of a cohort or generation unit, and the literature on the effect of political participation on individuals. To understand this connection, though, it is important for us to be more precise in defining participation in social movements. Specifically, we suggest that most college-educated women (and men) who came of age during the 1960s had one of three basic relationships to each of the social movements of that time. Some were largely indifferent to a given movement and focused their attention on other things; some were extremely interested in it, read about the ideas it promoted, and felt sympathetic with its goals and activities; and some were active participants in the movement. (Logically and in fact, there were also some who were actively or indirectly opposed to these movements. In our samples there were no individuals who fit these logical possibilities.) We suspect that both active participation and engaged interest in social movements are forms of political participation, and that both have politically socializing effects compared with nonparticipation. We further propose that the impact on the individual of direct activism is likely to be greater than, and different from, the impact of engaged observation; therefore, it is useful to separate these two forms of political participation.

Research Questions

We examined the reported effects of these three different relationships to four kinds of social movements of the 1960s in three samples of college-educated women. In all three samples, we examined the impact of participation in the civil rights and women's movements. In one sample, we also examined the impact of the antiwar movement and of student protests about university policies and practices.

First, using data drawn from samples of black and white alumnae from the University of Michigan, we examined whether the three different relationships occurred in both racial groups, and whether the reported effect of two movements (the civil rights and women's movements) at midlife is the same for black and white women. We considered the possibility that black and white women had different relationships to the civil rights and women's movements. Black women had more direct personal and group interests at stake in the civil rights movement than did white women. Both groups of women had personal and group interests at stake in the women's movement, but black women may have felt the movement's goals conflicted with race-based goals, divided the black community, or were not

inclusive of black women's concerns (e.g., Cole & Stewart, 1996; Giddings, 1984). We also examined whether different relationships to both movements were associated with some of the conventional indicators of political socialization—political orientation, political attitudes, political participation, and political self-concept—for black and white women.

Using data from a third sample—participants in a longitudinal study of mostly white alumnae from the class of 1964 at Radcliffe College—we attempted to replicate the differences among the three groups in terms of the reported impact and meaning of the same two movements, as well as one other movement that was also important in this generation's youth: the anti–Vietnam war protest movement. In addition, we considered the possibility that participation in these different kinds of movements, as well as student protests (that is, protests of university policies and practices), had different kinds of implications in later life. More specifically, our hypotheses were:

Hypothesis 1.   Movement activism will be most strongly associated with indicators of concurrent and later political participation, but participation as "engaged observers" will also be associated with indicators of political socialization (e.g., felt impact of the movements, political attitudes, and political self-concept).

Hypothesis 2.   Black and white women's motives and experiences in the civil rights and women's movements were both similar and different; differences in experience will result in different patterns of findings. First, because the women's movement was widely viewed in the black community as in competition with the civil rights movement, and as disruptive not only to racial progress but to racial unity, it was likely to have been a more powerful shaping influence on white women than on black women. Moreover, because black women experienced more direct benefits from the civil rights movement than did white women, it was likely to have a stronger effect on them than on white women. However, sexism within the civil rights movement has been identified as a source of motivation for the women's movement for both white and black women, so participation in the civil rights movement may be less associated with political socialization indicators than participation in the women's movement, for both black and white women.

Hypothesis 3.   The four social movements will differ in the nature of their perceived effects among the Radcliffe sample. Generally the movements will be perceived to have had effects on women's political ideologies, personal lives, identities, and networks of family and friends. They will, however, differ in terms of which of these kinds of effects women felt occurred most commonly. Specifically, the women's movement is likely to have had the largest overall impact, to have affected the widest range of domains, and specifically to have affected their personal lives. In contrast, the Vietnam war protest movement is most likely (relative to the other movements) to have had effects vicariously, or through its impact on family and friends. Finally, because these women are white, the civil rights movement is more likely to have influenced their political lives than their

private lives. (No specific hypotheses were formed about the impact of student protest movements.)

STUDY 1: BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN ALUMNAE AND RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Participants

Study 1 drew on two samples of women who were graduates of the University of Michigan (both from the Women's Life Paths Studies, or WLPS): a longitudinal sample of women who graduated in 1967 (nearly all of whom were white), and a sample of African-American women who graduated between 1967 and 1973. The women from the longitudinal study were first studied in 1967 by Tangri (1969), when they were seniors. The measures used in this study come from the fourth wave of the longitudinal study (1992), when the women averaged 48 years old. Of the 200 women in the original sample, 107 participated in this wave of the study; of the women who actually received the 1992 questionnaire, the response rate was 72%. Respondents and nonrespondents did not differ in terms of mother's or father's level of education, parents' income, mother's employment, number of siblings, or family religion. The African-American sample was collected because the original alumnae study was virtually all white. Sixty-eight alumnae from the classes of 1967 to 1973 made up the African-American sample.

The white and black samples did not differ on several demographic variables, including level of education, income, and number of children. However, the white women were more likely to be married or living with a partner [$\chi^2(1, N = 172) = 16.14, p < .01$]. Because they graduated in an earlier class than did most of the black women, they were significantly older [$M = 46.91$ years, SD = .43 years vs. $M = 43.17$ years, SD = 1.81 years; $t(1, 169) = 16.39, p < .001$]. T tests comparing the black women who were older to those who were younger (using a median split on age) revealed no differences on relevant variables (relationship to movements, midlife political activity, organizational activity, political orientation, political efficacy, power discontent, and system blame). Therefore, the African-American sample was treated as a single group in all analyses.

Measures

Relationship to Social Movements

To determine women's relationship to each social movement of their youth, we asked them to indicate the ways in which they had participated in the civil rights movement and the women's movement, using standard indicators of political participation (see, e.g., the overall activity index of Verba, Schlozman, & Brady,

1995). The women were asked to indicate their participation in each movement in the following six ways: marching or demonstrating, providing financial support, providing moral support, performing organizational work, supporting political candidates, and playing a leadership role. Women were coded as having been activists in the movement if they indicated that they had participated through marching or demonstrating, performing organizational work, or playing a leadership role. Women were coded as being engaged observers in the movement if they had participated through providing moral support, supporting political candidates, or providing financial support (and did not participate in any of the ways used to code women as activists). Women who checked none of these modes of participation were considered nonparticipants.

Validation of Relationship to Social Movements

Student political participation.   An independent retrospective report of student activism was used to determine whether women who reported different relationships to the movements also reported having engaged in different levels of political participation when they were students. We expected that movement activists would have engaged in the most student political participation, followed by engaged observers, with nonparticipants reporting the least student participation. The student political participation measure, developed by Fendrich and Lovoy (1988), asked how often women had engaged in 18 different political activities while they were students.

Items in the scale tapped several aspects of political activity, such as campaign activity (e.g., "took an active part in a political campaign"), cooperative activities (e.g., "formed a group to work on local problems"), and political communication (e.g., "contacted local officials about social issues" and "sent messages to a political leader"). Each question was measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 0 (never) to 3 (regularly). The mean of the scores for all the items on the scale was computed, so that the final scores ranged from 0 to 3, with higher numbers indicating higher levels of political activity. The overall internal consistency of this measure was quite high for both samples ($\alpha = .83$ for white women and .87 for African-American women). Although this measure of student political involvement was retrospective, previous research with the white sample showed that retrospective reports of activism in the women's movement significantly correlated with a single-item measure of exposure to and involvement in the movement, administered 22 years earlier (Cole & Stewart, 1996).

Felt impact of the movement.   In order to assess whether the women who had different relationships to each movement were different from each other in ways we would expect, we collected indicators of the impact of each movement on the women. Thus, for example, using a measure originated by Stewart and Healy (1989) and used in subsequent research (Agronick & Duncan, in press; Duncan & Agronick, 1995; Duncan & Stewart, 1995), the women rated how personally

meaningful each movement was to them, on a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all personally meaningful) to 3 (very personally meaningful). They were also asked to rate how much their lives had been affected by each movement, on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (very little) to 5 (very much).

Measures of Midlife Political Activity

Midlife political participation. In order to examine the link between relationship to social movements and current political behavior, midlife political participation was measured with the same scale used to assess student political participation (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). The only difference between the two scales was that the midlife political participation measure asked how frequently women had engaged in the 18 different political activities in the past 2 years. The reliability of this scale was high for both samples (α = .87 for white women, .84 for black women).

Organizational participation. Midlife political participation was also measured in terms of organizational activity. Women reported the number of community organizations, political organizations, and organizations primarily concerned with women's issues to which they had belonged in the past 10 years. The score for each of these indicators was the total number of organizations of that type to which the women had belonged.

Measures of Midlife Political Attitudes

Political orientation. Women were asked to report their current political orientation. Responses ranged from 1 (very conservative) to 5 (radical). Past studies have shown that scoring at the high end of this scale (or "left-ideology") is characteristic of activists in the civil rights movement and the women's movement (see Jennings, 1987).

Power discontent. In order to assess whether different relationships to social movements were related to attitudes about the power of different groups within society, the Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) measure of power discontent (often used as an indicator of collective group consciousness) was given. The items of interest within the scale asked the women about how they viewed the amount of power and influence white men and black men have in our society. The items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (too much) to 5 (too little), with a midpoint of 3 (about right). Thus, low scores indicate discontent that men have too much power, and high scores indicate discontent that they have too little power. Because both movements were associated with left ideologies, we expected movement participation to be associated with discontent with both white men's power (too much) and black men's power (too little).

System blame. A second indicator of collective group consciousness designed by Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) assessed the degree to which women

endorsed external (caused by social/political systems) explanations for the amount of opportunity provided to women and blacks. Seven of the items in the scale assessed explanations for the opportunities provided to women, and eight of the items assessed explanations for the opportunities provided to blacks. Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree); higher scores indicate that respondents blame the system, whereas lower scores indicate that respondents blame the individual. Total scores for system blame were computed by summing the relevant items. Reliability estimates were high for both system blame for gender inequality ($\alpha = .73$ for white women, .78 for black women) and system blame for racial inequality ($\alpha = .77$ for white women, .69 for black women).

Measures of Midlife Political Self-Concept

Internal and external political efficacy. Political efficacy was measured using a scale designed by Craig and Maggiotto (1982). The scale consists of 16 items, 5 assessing internal political efficacy and 11 assessing external political efficacy. Internal political efficacy is the perception that the individual can participate competently in the political system; external political efficacy is the sense that individuals in general can make a difference in society by working through the political system. Each item was measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Scores for internal political efficacy ranged from 0 to 30; scores for external political efficacy ranged from 0 to 66. For both internal and external political efficacy, high scores indicate high levels of efficacy. Internal consistency was reasonably high for both scales ($\alpha = .76$ for internal and .90 for external efficacy among white women; $\alpha = .65$ for internal and .81 for external efficacy among black women).

Results

In all of the analyses discussed below, the impact of relationship to one movement was analyzed while controlling for the relationship to the other. This was done to rule out the possibility that the results were merely due to an overall disposition to act (or not). The results were unchanged when this control was introduced, suggesting that the associations we found were indeed specific to the women's relationship to the particular movement in question.

Relationships to Social Movements

The three relationships to social movements were generally identifiable in the data for both black and white women. A few women (five to seven, depending on the movement and the sample) did not provide information about their participation in one or the other movement, and were therefore excluded from further analysis.

Considering the civil rights movement, we found that white women were much less likely to be activists than black women. Twenty white women (18.9%) reported activities that identified them as activists, 33 (31.1%) as engaged observers, and 53 (50%) as nonparticipants. In contrast, 50 black women (76.9%) reported activities that identified them as activists, 9 (13.8%) as engaged observers, and only 6 (9.2%) as nonparticipants. Because so few of the black women fell into the categories of engaged observers or nonparticipants in the civil rights movement, these two groups were combined for all further analyses. (We will return to this issue below.)

Turning to the women's movement, we found that all three groups were analyzable in both samples. Thirty-five (33.7%) of the white women were activists, 28 (26.9%) were engaged observers, and 41 (39.4%) were nonparticipants. Among the black women, 15 (22.7%) were activists, 14 (21.2%) were engaged observers, and 37 (56.1%) were nonparticipants.

Validation of Relationship to Social Movements

The groups defined as reflecting different relationships to the civil rights movement and the women's movement for the two samples were validated in two different ways: with retrospective reports of student political participation, and with concurrent reports of the impact of the movements (see Table I).

We found the hypothesized pattern of reported student political participation. White women with an activist orientation toward the civil rights movement reported higher levels of participation than engaged observers in the movement, who in turn had higher levels of participation than nonparticipants. A similar pattern of results was found for relationship to the women's movement and student political participation for white women.

Black women whose relationship to the civil rights movement was activist reported significantly higher levels of student political participation than did the combined engaged observer/nonparticipant group. For relationship to the women's movement, women with an activist orientation also indicated significantly higher levels of student political participation than did engaged observers and nonparticipants (who were equivalent in reported college activism).

With respect to the felt impact of the movements, we found, as predicted, that white women who were activists in the civil rights movement rated both the effect and meaningfulness of the movement as greater than did the engaged observers, whereas the engaged observers rated the effect and meaningfulness as greater than did the nonparticipants. The two groups of black women (activists vs. engaged observers/nonparticipants) differed in terms of how personally meaningful they felt the civil rights movement was in retrospect. There was, however, no difference in the reported impact on their lives (which was quite near the ceiling in both groups).

The overall analysis of variance (ANOVA) was highly significant among white women for both the effect of the women's movement and the meaningfulness

	WLPS: White women												WLPS: Black women											
	Civil rights movement			Women's movement			Civil rights movement			Women's movement		
Variable	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
College political activity	$F=23.91$**			$F=15.20$**			$F=10.78$*			$F=5.59$*		
Activist	20	1.01[a]	0.41	34	0.87[ab]	0.38	47	1.29[a]	0.48	13	1.57[ab]	0.54
Engaged Observer	33	0.66[a]	0.33	27	0.61[a]	0.33				14	1.06[a]	0.63
Nonparticipant	51	0.43[a]	0.27	41	0.43[b]	0.43	12	0.77[a]	0.53	33	1.05[b]	0.41
How affected by the movement	$F=15.53$**			$F=17.14$**			$F=0.75$			$F=3.20$*		
Activist	20	3.65[a]	1.18	35	4.23[a]	0.88	50	4.68	0.55	15	3.80[c]	0.77
Engaged Observer	32	3.44[b]	1.05	27	3.41[a]	1.15				14	3.64	1.01
Nonparticipant	53	2.30[ab]	1.15	41	2.68[a]	1.33	15	4.73	0.59	37	3.00[c]	1.33
How meaningful is the movement	$F=28.10$**			$F=20.32$**			$F=7.46$*			$F=20.32$**		
Activist	20	2.85[a]	0.37	35	2.83[a]	0.38	50	3.00[a]	0.00	15	2.83[a]	0.38
Engaged Observer	32	2.41[a]	0.50	28	2.57[b]	0.50				14	2.57[b]	0.50
Nonparticipant	53	1.87[a]	0.59	41	2.12[ab]	0.57	15	2.87[a]	0.35	37	2.12[ab]	0.56

Note. For the variables "how affected by the movement" and "how meaningful is the movement," the movement corresponds to the movement in the column headings.
[a]Means different at $p < .05$.   [b]Means different at $p < .05$.   [c]Means different at $p < .10$.
*$p < .05$,   **$p < .001$.

of that movement, as hypothesized. The means for the three groups were all significantly different from each other for the effect of the movement. For personal meaningfulness of the movement, both the activists and the engaged observers scored significantly higher than the nonparticipants.

For black women, the overall ANOVA for relationship to the women's movement was also significant for both the effect of the movement and the meaningfulness of the movement, as was predicted. As was the case for the white women, activists' and engaged observers' scores for personal meaningfulness were significantly different from those of nonparticipants. In terms of how much the movement affected their lives, there was a trend for activists to score higher than nonparticipants ($p < .10$).

Midlife Political Activity

The results of analyses concerning the relationship between relationship to social movements and midlife political activity are presented in Table II. For relationship to the civil rights movement, the overall difference in the mean level of midlife participation was significant for white women but not for black women. White women activists had significantly higher levels of midlife activity than did nonparticipants. Scores for engaged observers were not different from those of either of the other two groups.

Considering relationship to the women's movement, black and white women both showed the predicted differences in their levels of midlife political participation, and these overall differences were significant. For white women, those with an activist orientation had significantly higher levels of midlife political activity than did engaged observers or nonparticipants. For black women, activists had significantly higher levels of midlife political activity than did nonparticipants, but the difference in activity between activists and engaged observers was not quite significant.

The analyses evaluating the association between relationship to social movements and midlife organizational activity are also presented in Table II. For relationship to the civil rights movement among white women, there was an overall difference in the mean number of political organizations. This difference was significant for activists and nonparticipants, and there was a trend for activists versus engaged observers. However, there was no difference in community organization memberships for the three groups of white women, and only a trend for membership in organizations concerned with women's issues.

For white women, relationship to the women's movement was associated with membership in community organizations and organizations concerned with women's issues. Activists were significantly more likely than nonparticipants to belong to community organizations and organizations concerned with women's issues. They also tended (not quite significantly) more often to belong to political organizations. In addition, engaged observers of the women's movement were

Table II. Analyses of Variance in Midlife Political Activity, by Relationship to Social Movement

Variable	WLPS: White women												WLPS: Black women											
	Civil rights movement			Women's movement			Civil rights movement			Women's movement		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Political participation		F=5.20*			F=10.68**			F=2.42			F=3.19*	
Activist	20	1.23[a]	0.47	33	1.24[ab]	0.52	48	1.20	0.50	14	1.41[c]	0.51
Engaged Observer	32	0.96	0.43	27	0.86[a]	0.35				14	1.03	0.41
Nonparticipant	50	0.83[a]	0.48	40	0.78[b]	0.42	14	0.97	0.40	35	1.05[c]	0.49
Number of community organizations		F=0.93			F=3.14*			F=0.88			F=0.07	
Activist	19	1.47	1.43	33	1.67[c]	1.88	47	1.64	2.17	13	1.46	1.27
Engaged Observer	30	1.17	2.28	24	0.92	1.91				14	1.64	1.08
Nonparticipant	50	0.88	1.29	40	0.73[c]	1.22	14	1.07	1.07	35	1.40	2.44
Number of political organizations		F=7.32**			F=2.73[t]			F=0.77			F=2.83[t]	
Activist	19	1.16[ac]	1.34	33	0.79[c]	1.14	47	0.38	0.68	13	0.69[c]	0.85
Engaged Observer	31	0.55[c]	0.93	25	0.56	1.00				14	0.29	0.47
Nonparticipant	50	0.24[a]	0.62	40	0.28[c]	0.68	14	0.21	0.43	35	0.23[c]	0.55
Number of organizations concerned with women's issues		F=2.74[t]			F=8.96**			F=0.80			F=5.59*	
Activist	19	1.11	0.99	33	1.18[a]	0.98	45	1.13	1.78	13	2.08[ac]	1.61
Engaged Observer	31	0.94	0.77	23	1.00[b]	0.85				12	1.00[c]	0.85
Nonparticipant	47	0.62	0.82	40	0.43[ab]	0.55	13	0.77	0.93	35	0.77[a]	1.14

[a]Means different at $p < .05$.　　[b]Means different at $p < .05$.　　[c]Means different at $p < .10$.
[t]$p < .10$,　　*$p < .05$,　　**$p < .001$.

significantly more likely than nonparticipants to belong to organizations concerned with women's issues.

Among black women, relationship to the civil rights movement was unrelated to political and community organization membership. However, black women with an activist orientation to the women's movement were significantly more likely to belong to organizations concerned with women's issues than were nonparticipants; they also tended to do so more than engaged observers of that movement. There was a trend for black women activists in the women's movement to belong to more political organizations than did nonparticipants.

Midlife Political Attitudes

ANOVAs were performed to examine the connections between relationship to social movements and midlife political attitudes (see Table III). White women with an activist or engaged relationship to the civil rights movement also had significantly more "left" political orientations than those who were nonparticipants. There were no differences among the three groups in terms of power discontent with respect to either white men or black men, nor with respect to system blame for gender inequality. However, white women who were activists in the civil rights movement were significantly more likely than nonparticipants to blame the system for racial inequality.

In terms of relationship to the women's movement, the white women who were activists and engaged observers both had significantly more "left" overall political orientations than did the nonparticipants (though activists were even more "left" than engaged observers). Activists were also significantly more likely than nonparticipants to express the view that white men had too much power and that black men had too little. Finally, activists were significantly more likely to express a system-blaming view of the origins of both race and gender inequality. White women who were engaged observers of the women's movement were significantly more likely than nonparticipants to express a system-blaming view of the origins of race inequality, and they tended to be more likely to express a system-blaming view of the origins of gender inequality.

Among black women, there were no differences in any political attitudes as a function of relationship to either social movement.

Midlife Political Self-Concept

The final set of analyses for Study 1 examined the association between relationship to social movements and midlife political self-concept, as measured by internal and external political efficacy (see Table IV). Among white women, relationship to the civil rights movement was unrelated to political self-concept. However, white women activists and engaged observers of the women's movement were significantly higher in external political efficacy than nonparticipants. There

Table III. Analyses of Variance in Midlife Political Attitudes, by Relationship to Social Movement

| | WLPS: White women | | | | | | WLPS: Black women | | | | | |
| | Civil rights movement | | | Women's movement | | | Civil rights movement | | | Women's movement | | |
Variable	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Political orientation		F=13.80**			F=29.18**			F=0.29			F=0.76	
Activist	19	3.79ª	0.79	34	3.88ª	0.54	46	3.59	0.78	13	3.54	0.88
Engaged Observer	33	3.58ᵇ	0.56	26	3.35ª	0.63				14	3.36	0.63
Nonparticipant	50	2.78ᵃᵇ	1.02	40	2.55ª	0.96	15	3.47	0.64	34	3.65	0.73
Power discontent: White men		F=1.52			F=3.99*			F=0.01			F=1.87	
Activist	19	1.26	0.56	33	1.21ª	0.48	48	1.13	0.39	14	1.14	0.53
Engaged Observer	31	1.61	0.76	24	1.58	0.78				14	1.29	0.47
Nonparticipant	48	1.48	0.68	39	1.64ª	0.74	15	1.13	0.35	35	1.06	0.24
Power discontent: Black men		F=0.68			F=4.39*			F=0.58			F=2.06	
Activist	19	4.47	0.77	33	4.58ª	0.56	48	4.63	0.49	14	4.50	0.52
Engaged Observer	31	4.26	0.68	24	4.29	0.69				14	4.57	0.51
Nonparticipant	47	4.26	0.74	38	4.08ª	0.82	15	4.73	0.46	35	4.77	0.43
System blame: Women		F=1.24			F=8.46**			F=1.38			F=1.24	
Activist	20	20.90	5.49	34	21.85ª	3.60	50	21.56	5.58	15	22.20	6.91
Engaged Observer	33	19.97	4.12	27	20.19ᶜ	3.63				14	19.00	6.10
Nonparticipant	51	19.04	4.60	41	17.76ᵃᶜ	5.23	14	19.50	6.60	35	21.40	5.11
System blame: Blacks		F=4.38*			F=6.28*			F=0.70			F=0.59	
Activist	20	23.10ª	4.06	34	22.00ª	4.75	49	22.98	4.83	15	22.00	5.89
Engaged Observer	33	20.93	5.11	27	21.63ᵇ	4.20				14	22.00	3.98
Nonparticipant	50	19.04ª	5.85	40	18.15ᵃᵇ	5.94	14	21.79	4.21	34	23.29	4.42

ªMeans different at $p < .05$.　　ᵇMeans different at $p < .05$.　　ᶜMeans different at $p < .10$.
*$p < .05$,　　**$p < .001$.

Table IV. Analyses of Variance in Midlife Political Self-Concept, by Relationship to Social Movement

| | WLPS: White women | | | | | | WLPS: Black women | | | | | |
| | Civil rights movement | | | Women's movement | | | Civil rights movement | | | Women's movement | | |
Variable	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Internal political efficacy	*F*=1.06			*F*=2.45[t]			*F*=1.45			*F*=3.89*		
Activist	20	23.05	5.06	34	23.24	4.64	49	23.76	4.88	14	26.07[ac]	3.41
Engaged Observer	33	20.82	5.92	27	21.00	5.43				14	21.93[c]	4.23
Nonparticipant	51	21.61	5.19	41	20.63	5.78	14	22.07	3.41	35	22.51[a]	4.88
External political efficacy	*F*=1.60			*F*=5.88*			*F*=0.00			*F*=0.34		
Activist	20	32.50	8.71	34	32.97[a]	8.85	49	30.65	7.96	14	31.29	8.17
Engaged Observer	33	31.33	12.55	27	32.22[b]	11.29				14	28.71	7.75
Nonparticipant	51	28.02	10.58	41	25.39[ab]	11.29	14	30.71	10.53	35	30.63	9.47

[a]Means different at $p < .05$.   [b]Means different at $p < .05$.   [c]Means different at $p < .10$.
[t]$p < .10$,   *$p < .05$,   **$p < .001$.

was a trend for activists to score higher than either of the other groups in internal political efficacy.

Among black women, there were no significant associations between relationship to the civil rights movement and political self-concept. Black women who were activist in their orientation to the women's movement were significantly higher than engaged observers and nonparticipants (who were not different from each other) in internal political efficacy.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 largely supported our hypotheses. First, our indicator of relationship to the social movements was strongly associated with an independent measure of political participation in the movements. Although both of these measures are retrospective, it is comforting that the measure of "relationship" (which is based on checklist reports of only six types of activities) and the measure of "participation" (which is based on ratings of intensity of 18 activities) are strongly associated for both samples and both movements. Moreover, the activists score highest on political participation, with engaged observers scoring between them and nonparticipants. The consistency and precision of this pattern of results lends support to our confidence that these reports are reasonable indicators of overall relationships to the movements.

We also found that the three groups of women with different relationships to the social movements were significantly different from each other on measures of the felt impact of both movements for both black and white women. (Of course, we only had two groups for the civil rights movement for black women.) On these measures, engaged observers' scores were closer to those of activists than to those of nonparticipants, as we would expect. Overall, then, the three groups had distinctive patterns: Activists scored high both on reported political activity in college and on personal meaning and effect of the movement; engaged observers scored moderately on political activity and quite high on felt impact and meaning; and nonparticipants scored low on both political activity and felt impact and meaning. These patterns were broadly true for both movements and for black and white women (though we were not able to separately distinguish black women who were engaged observers of the civil rights movement).

Second, relationship to social movements was associated with midlife political activities, attitudes, and self-concept among white women; among black women, associations were weaker. More specifically, relationship to the civil rights movement was not associated with political participation for black women. This may be due in part to the high rate and low variability on relationship to the civil rights movement, as well as to the significantly higher level of political participation by black women, and their greater homogeneity on it (see Cole & Stewart, 1996). In addition, relationship to the women's movement was less associated with midlife political ideology or behavior for black women than for white women, although the linkages

were in the same direction for both groups. Relationship to the civil rights movement was not associated with midlife political self-concept for either white or black women, though there was some association for relationship to the women's movement.

Thus, there appeared to be several interesting general associations between relationship to the civil rights movement and relationship to the women's movement, but there were also some suggestions that the two movements might have somewhat different implications. However, in Study 1 we were unable to examine in detail the specific types of effects that the different movements had on the women. Study 2 was conducted to replicate the validation of relationship to social movements, as well as to add a third movement (the Vietnam war protest movement). With this common base established, we could then examine the different types of effects described as a result of four different social movements (civil rights, women's movement, Vietnam war protest, and student protests) in a different sample of women.

STUDY 2: PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON LIVES OF WOMEN IN THE RADCLIFFE LONGITUDINAL STUDY

Participants

The second study drew on women from the Radcliffe Longitudinal Study of women who graduated from Radcliffe College in 1964. The measures used for this study come from responses to a mailed questionnaire administered to the women in 1996, the seventh wave. The questions used for the current examination of political behavior were a small part of the larger questionnaire, which included items about the women's mental and physical health, family life, occupation, and religious activities. Of the original 264 women in the sample, some were deceased ($N = 12$), refused to participate either in this or earlier waves ($N = 15$), or could not be located ($N = 14$). The response rate for women receiving the questionnaire was 45%. Of the 101 women who participated in the current wave of data collection, 96 completed all questions about movement participation.

As expected, the women in the Radcliffe study were significantly older ($M = 53.32$ years, SD = .61 years) than either the white women ($M = 46.91$ years, SD = .43 years) or the black women ($M = 43.17$ years, SD = 1.81 years) in the Women's Life Paths Study. The samples from the two studies did not differ on individual yearly income, household yearly income, or whether they had raised children.

Measures

Relationship to Social Movements

Relationship to social movements was coded in the same way as in Study 1. However, in Study 2, relationship was determined for an additional social movement: protest against the Vietnam war.

Measures for validation of relationship to social movements. In order to validate the relationships to social movements in the Radcliffe sample, the impact of each movement on the women in the sample was assessed in the same manner as in Study 1. Women rated the personal meaningfulness and effect of the Vietnam war on their own lives, in addition to rating these variables for the civil rights and women's movements.

Measures for Effects of the Movements

To assess the effects of the movements, we asked respondents an open-ended question about each one: "In what ways have you been affected by the X movement?" The three movements assessed with the previous questions (about personal meaningfulness and felt impact) were examined here (civil rights, women's movement, anti–Vietnam war protest). In addition, a fourth movement was assessed with the open-ended question (student protests). The responses to each question were coded into eight categories: (1) No Effect or Trivial Effect, (2) Societal Effects, (3) Effect on Worldview, (4) Action Effects, (5) Personal Effects, (6) Emotional Effects, (7) Friends and Family Effects, and (8) Political Identity Effects.

For each open-ended question, a code of 0 (absent) or 1 (present) was given for each type of effect; thus, more than one "present" code was possible for each question. Interrater reliability was established by two expert coders (percent agreement = .91). One of the coders completed all of the coding while the second did a random reliability check (percent agreement = .87).

Responses were coded as present for No Effect or Trivial Effect if the respondent mentioned explicitly that the movement had no or only a trivial effect (e.g., "at the time they were more of a disturbance than anything else"). Societal Effects were coded as present if the responses included mentions of the movement affecting the individual through its effect on society or culture as a whole (e.g., "only as our whole society was affected").

We coded two kinds of effects on women's political lives. Worldview Effects were coded as present if a mention was made of the movement having an impact on a broad perspective or specific political issue, including references to values and to political ideas and arrangements (e.g., "awareness of rights of everyone to dignity and opportunity," "awareness of racism," "they made me realize that changes in attitudes can occur if enough voices are heard," "made me a liberal democrat"). Action Effects were coded if the response mentioned specific acts performed as a result of the movement ("I got involved in the abortion issue; I worked with a clinic to provide abortions and counseling," "I went out to teach in Africa").

Two kinds of effects indicated changes in the individual's personal life and/or choices. Personal Effects were coded as present if the response mentioned that the movement affected the individual's personal growth or development, including increases in confidence, self-efficacy, or self-determination (e.g., "enabled me to

reach another level of self-confidence that was instrumental in my academic and professional achievements"). Personal effects were also coded as present if responses indicated that the movement affected the respondent's "lifestyle," that is, activities or behaviors at a specific or broad level (e.g., "were part of the ferment which made the whole free-thinking, autonomous style of my life possible, both then and now," "brought black people into my life as peers," "I, personally, felt freer to leave my husband for a more fulfilling sex life"). Emotional Effects were coded if the movement had, or continues to have, an emotional impact on the individual (e.g., "dramatic, involving—still painful to remember").

More indirect or vicarious effects through network members were also recorded. Effects on Friends and Family were coded if the response indicated that the movement had an impact on the participant's friends or family members (e.g., "permanently scarred friend who was in combat").

Finally, global influence on creating a politicized identity was recorded. Political Identity Effects were coded as present if the response combined elements of the personal and political in ways that made them inseparable, or if mentions were made that personal identity was shaped or influenced by the movement (e.g., "I see myself as a socialist feminist," "I have a strong social conscience," "My feelings toward minorities have been a factor in my stance as a teacher").

In order to assess differences in the overall range of kinds of effects, a total score for the number of different kinds of effects was created by counting the number of different types of effects attributed to each movement.

Results

Relationship to Social Movements

Most women in the sample could be classified in terms of relationship to the movements; however, for the women's movement, 2 were blank; for civil rights, 6; and for the Vietnam war, 3. For the civil rights movement, 35 (36.8%) of the women were activists, 27 (28.4%) were engaged observers, and 33 (34.7%) were nonparticipants. For the women's movement, 32 (32.3%) were activists, 31 (31.3%) were engaged observers, and 36 (36.4%) were nonparticipants. Finally, for the Vietnam war protest movement, 47 (49.0%) were activists, 9 (9.2%) were engaged observers, and 41 (41.8%) were nonparticipants. Because so few of the women were engaged observers in the Vietnam war protest movement, this group could not be analyzed separately. Because we had combined engaged observers and nonparticipants for the black University of Michigan alumnae with respect to the civil rights movement, we used the same approach here.

Validation of Relationship to Social Movements

Validation of the reported relationship to social movements was replicated in the Radcliffe sample using two of the same variables used in Study 1: the reported

effect of the movement and the meaningfulness of the movement (see Table V). Activists and engaged observers both differed significantly from nonparticipants for both the civil rights and women's movements in terms of perceived effect of the movement on a person's life and its personal meaning for her. Activists protesting the Vietnam war also differed from the combined engaged observer/nonparticipant group on both variables.

Effects of the Movements

The results of an ANOVA on the reported effects of the four movements in different domains showed that the women's movement was associated with significantly more different types of effects than the student protest movement (mean for women's movement = 1.29; student protest movement = .74), and had the largest absolute number of effects of all four movements [mean for civil rights movement = 1.01; Vietnam war protest movement = 1.00; $F(3, 380) = 6.94$, $p <$ .001].

Chi-square analyses (Table VI) indicated significant movement differences on six of the eight types of influences attributed to the four movements. No or trivial effects were most often attributed to the student protest movement, whereas broad societal effects were most often attributed to the Vietnam war protests and the women's movement. In the political domain, worldview effects were frequently reported to have occurred as a result of all four of the movements, but only the civil rights movement was viewed as having influenced taking of action by large numbers of respondents.

Consistent with its emphasis on the connections between the personal and political, the women's movement was far more likely than any other movement to be seen as having influenced the personal domain; more than half of the respondents reported effects in that domain. However, the women's movement was not more likely to be reported to have had more effects in the domain of emotions.

As expected, the Vietnam war protest movement was most frequently reported to have had indirect effects through family and friends. Finally, the student protest movement was the movement most frequently described as having had an effect on the formation of a political identity.

Discussion

The results from Study 1 are consistent with the literature suggesting that youthful political activism itself is most associated with midlife political behavior. It is, of course, possible that a third variable predated and predicted the student activism. We cannot rule out the possibility that student activists are inherently different from other students in exactly the ways that they differ in later years. However, mere activity is not the key, because controlling for activism in one movement does not reduce the observed relationships with activism in another. The

Table V. **Table V.** Analyses of Variance in Felt Impact of Movements by Relationship to Social Movement
(Radcliffe; White Women)

Variable	Civil rights movement			Women's movement			Vietnam protest movement		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
How affected by the movement	$F=10.98$**			$F=18.45$**			$F=43.81$**		
Activist	35	4.00[a]	1.08	32	4.81[a]	0.47	47	3.91[a]	1.19
Engaged Observer	27	3.37[c]	1.28	30	4.07[a]	0.98			
Nonparticipant	31	2.58[ac]	1.34	34	3.35[a]	1.28	39	2.15[a]	1.27
How meaningful is the movement	$F=13.24$**			$F=19.98$**			$F=38.40$**		
Activist	35	2.77[a]	0.43	32	2.97[a]	0.18	46	2.72[a]	0.50
Engaged Observer	27	2.74[b]	0.45	31	2.74[b]	0.44			
Nonparticipant	27	2.15[ab]	0.66	32	2.19[ab]	0.74	36	1.89[a]	0.71

Note. For the variables "how affected by the movement" and "how meaningful is the movement," the "movement" corresponds to the movement in the column headings.

[a]Means different at $p < .05$.   [b]Means different at $p < .05$.   [c]Means different at $p < .10$.
[t]$p < .10$,   *$p < .05$,   **$p < .001$.

Table VI. Chi-square Analyses of the Effects of the Four Social Movements

Women reporting:	Civil rights movement	Women's movement	Vietnam War protest movement	Student protest movement	df	Chi-square
Trivial or no effect	4	2	4	30	3	59.83**
Societal effect	5	10	14	4	3	8.59*
Worldview effect	40	35	31	26	3	4.90
Action effect	21	3	6	9	3	21.32**
Personal effect	17	52	4	15	3	76.54**
Emotional effect	6	3	12	5	3	7.54[t]
Friends and family effect	4	10	28	2	3	43.12**
Political identity effect	4	5	1	10	3	8.86*

Note. $N = 384$ for all analyses.
[t]$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$.

fact that movement "effects" reported here are generally in relatively narrow domains relevant to the particular movement also argues for the likelihood that the movement experience itself was effective. However, none of this can rule out the possibility that important constraints on the impact of movement experiences are set by the selection of certain individuals into them.

Within these broad interpretive limits, results from all three of our samples also support our suggestion that being an "engaged observer" of a social movement is politically socializing. Black and white women in both groups were significantly more likely than true nonparticipants to report that a given movement affected them and was meaningful to them. This issue could be explored among the black women only with respect to the women's movement, because very few in this cohort reported not participating in the civil rights movement. Moreover, for black women, scores for both self-perceived effects and meaningfulness of the civil rights movement were very high even among nonparticipants (and were significantly higher than for white women). However, results for the women's movement for the black women were much like those for the white women, with scores on effect and meaningfulness for engaged observers falling much closer to those for activists than those for nonparticipants. These results were replicated with the Radcliffe alumnae for those two movements. In the case of the Vietnam war protest movement, there were too few engaged observers for separate analysis, but the activists did score higher than the combined comparison group. Because two of the six movement groupings assessed had too few engaged observers to analyze separately (civil rights for black women, Vietnam war protest for Radcliffe alumnae), it is clear that engaged observers may not *always* be an important feature of movement participation. On the other hand, we used a uniform definition of "engaged observer" and "activist" across these three movements in these two samples; that may have been the problem, as we will see below.

There was a clear general pattern of support for the notion that having been either an activist in or an engaged observer of these movements was associated with midlife political attitudes and actions. Social movement activists were more likely (among both black and white women) to engage in midlife political activities than either of the other two groups, and they were more likely than nonparticipants to belong to community and political organizations. Interestingly, engaged observers differed in some ways from both activists and nonparticipants. They were (generally) similar to nonparticipants in political participation levels, were somewhat more active in organizations than nonparticipants but less so than activists, and were quite similar to activists both in the felt impact of social movements and in some political attitudes. One key difference between engaged observers and activists may help to account for their relatively low levels of political participation: their low level of internal political efficacy. This is particularly striking in the case of engaged observers of the women's movement. Although at least the white women who were engaged observers of the women's movement scored quite high on external political efficacy as well as on system blame for both gender and racial

inequality, they—like their black counterparts who did not score as high on external political efficacy—scored quite low on internal political efficacy.

Political self-concept was associated with relationship to the women's movement, but not to the civil rights movement, for both black and white women. As was noted above, for white women relationship to the women's movement was significantly associated with external political efficacy; both activists and engaged observers had more confidence in individuals' ability to be heard than did nonparticipants. In contrast, relationship to the women's movement was associated with internal political efficacy for black women; activists were more confident than either engaged observers or nonparticipants of their ability to take political actions. Involvement with the civil rights movement was not associated with increased political self-concept for either group. These results confirm the notion that participation in the civil rights movement was not generally empowering for either white or black women (perhaps because of sexist gender relations within the movements; see, e.g., Cole, 1994; Giddings, 1984), but participation in the women's movement was empowering. The differences in effects of the women's movement suggest that, from participation in the women's movement, white women gained a sense that individuals could generally be heard, whereas black women did not. In part this may have been because the means for political efficacy for all three groups of black women were fairly high.

One implication of these results is that it is important to differentiate "political socialization" in terms of what is being socialized. Different movements seem to promote different indicators of political socialization—political action versus political ideology, attitudes, and self-concept—for different groups. These results also support the notion that being an engaged observer of a social movement should be differentiated both from being an activist and from being an indifferent observer or nonparticipant in that movement. We found that activism itself is most likely to promote future political action, but activists and engaged observers were both different from nonparticipants in many other ways, particularly in the domains of the felt impact of the movements and political ideology. We suspect that political self-concept may be critical in differentiating the experience of being an engaged observer versus being an activist. Perhaps only activists discover their own capacity to take political actions, whereas engaged observers—particularly, perhaps, engaged observers who do not feel a legitimate right to act in the political sphere on gender or other grounds—may develop a sense of potential political competence without acquiring personal confidence.

Many of the results of Study 1 suggest that political involvements were more consequential among white women, particularly for midlife political beliefs. We believe that this is because black women are generally more politicized as a group, regardless of experience in social movements, than white women. First, more than three-quarters of the black women reported having been active in civil rights; thus, the overwhelming majority of the black women had been active in some social movement. Because so few women were in either of the other two groups, we were

forced to combine them. As a result, it would be very difficult to uncover any effects of relationship to the civil rights movement in this sample of black women. Second, the black women scored significantly higher than the white women on political orientation (that is, more in the left direction), independent of movement experience. Similarly, black women scored nearly at the extreme ends of the scales for power discontent, and scored significantly higher than white women (regardless of relationships to the movement) on several indicators of political attitudes and actions (e.g., felt effect and meaning of the civil rights movement, internal political efficacy, and political participation). Thus, we suspect that it is not the case that college-educated black women of this cohort were not affected by the civil rights movement; rather, the effects were so powerful and so uniform that they could not be demonstrated with our data.

Because the black women in our study reported such high levels of participation in the civil rights movement, we wondered whether the problem was with our definition of activism. Perhaps among college-educated black women of this generation, certain activities (moral support, support for candidates, and financial support) did not truly constitute movement activism. Instead, perhaps distinctions could be made between women who participated in organizational politics associated with the movement and those who participated in more diffuse activities. We divided the black women who had been considered civil rights movement "activists" into two groups: those who reported having marched in protests, and those who reported having played leadership roles or participated in organizations (this latter group usually also reported marching in protests). These two groups were about equal in size (22 marchers, 24 "organizational activists") and differed in many of the ways that engaged observers and activists differed in other analyses presented here, despite the limitations of ceiling effects and reduced variance. Thus, black women who had been organizational activists in the civil rights movement differed from black women who merely reported marching in protests in describing significantly more political activity in college (M for marchers = 1.12, M for organizational activists = 1.41, $t = 2.09$, $p < .05$) and in midlife (M for marchers = 1.05, M for organizational activists = 1.33, $t = 1.95$, $p = .06$), belonging to more political organizations in middle age (M for marchers = .18, M for organizational activists = .59, $t = 2.04$, $p < .05$), rating the civil rights movement as having had significantly more effect on their lives (M for marchers = 4.52, M for organizational activists = 4.83, $t = 1.98$, $p = .05$), and tending to score higher on internal political efficacy (M for marchers = 22.52, M for organizational activists = 24.96, $t = 1.80$, $p = .08$). These differences suggest that the nature of activism—and the nature of being an engaged observer—may be different for different groups and different movements. By adopting a uniform standard, we may have created a false equivalence that led us to underestimate the similarity of effects of the women's movement and the civil rights movement for black women.

These conclusions are supported by other evidence that different social movements have different felt effects on college-educated women's lives. Although we

had some evidence that this was so in Study 1, we had much fuller data with which to examine this possibility in Study 2. The Radcliffe women reported in some detail on the felt effects of four social movements (civil rights, the women's movement, the student protests, and protests against the war in Vietnam). We view these kinds of self-reports as valuable because they inform us about women's perceptions, not because we believe such reports can be presumed to tell the full or only story.

All four movements were viewed as having influenced women's worldviews or broad political ideologies. However, there were also differences in the movements' perceived effects. As predicted, the women's movement was felt to have had the largest number of effects for this group of mostly white, educated women. It was also much more likely to be viewed as having had effects in the personal domain. For example, one woman said that the movement affected "my intellectual work, my divorce, my career, my sense of self," while another wrote, "Believing that women have a right to choose how they lead their lives has affected the way I lead my life and what I tell my daughter and friends."

In contrast, the Vietnam war protests were viewed as having more vicarious effects, or effects through friends and family. Thus, for example, one woman wrote, "My husband's career path was affected by his need to stay in grad school to avoid the draft." These effects, nevertheless, were clearly meaningful and important to women: "Concern about husband's draftability and feeling that the war was wrong led to disillusionment with society in general and rejection of established ways of school and work."

Unexpectedly, the civil rights movement was reported by the largest number of women to have had an effect on later life actions in spheres other than the personal. One woman indicated that "being involved in issues of social justice has been important," while another said, "I gave up my high school teaching job to go to the South and teach at a black college for 4 years." Perhaps the influence of a movement on behalf of a group of which one is not a member requires a more self-conscious politicization than does the influence of a movement on behalf of oneself or one's own group.

Finally, the student protest movements were considerably more likely to be described as having had no or trivial effects, and—for a smaller group—as having had an effect on political identity. These apparently paradoxical results can be reconciled: Most of the women viewed the student protest movements as having fairly trivial social or personal significance. However, for a small group of women they were also the beginning of a "career" as a political activist. One woman wrote, "The student protest movements gave me a feeling that I had goals in common with others my age, that we could change things, and that it was important to stand up for what we thought was right." Another indicated that they were "extremely important. I totally identified with them and took part in many of them. I continued to identify with radical causes up to the present. I felt comfortable joining the anti-nuclear movement in the '80s as if I was returning home." Having tried out political action within the university context, these student protest activists moved

on to larger social and political issues, movements, and actions. Thus, this experience set in motion a lifetime of political experiences and gathered meaning over time.

CONCLUSIONS

We join with many others in confirming that participation in social movements is associated with continued political participation (and, of course, we recognize that this social movement participation may itself be a function of prior political socialization or other enduring dispositions). Future research might profitably aim to identify similarities and differences in the effects of movement activism versus other kinds of political participation in young adulthood. Do the risk-taking, nonlegitimacy, and nonconformity implicated in protest politics make a difference? Or does all political participation simply increase the likelihood of later political participation?

We believe we have done more than merely replicate the link between early and later political participation. We have shown how nonactivist women who are nonetheless "engaged observers" of movements resemble activists in their later political attitudes and ideology, and nonparticipants in their actual political participation. These women are high in political interest without being high in political activity; as such, they are an underinvestigated anomaly (see Rinehart, 1992). It is important for future research to clarify whether this group of women is equally easy to identify among men and other cohorts, what prevents them from participating in the political sphere, and whether they constitute a politicized (hence readily mobilized) segment of the population. Even more narrowly, we wonder whether it is primarily internal political efficacy, or personal empowerment to act in the political sphere, that differentiates women who are engaged observers of politics from political participants.

Finally, it is important to stress that political participation in the social movements of the 1960s—both as an activist and as an engaged observer—was felt to have powerful consequences for women of this cohort. We sometimes doubt the lasting impact of movement politics on our social institutions and political life, sensing the rollback of previous gains or backlashes against them. There is nevertheless substantial evidence here of their impact on individual psychology. At least college-educated black and white women of this generation seem to have been influenced in their later personalities, political ideologies, and political participation by their involvement in social movement politics—perhaps most clearly, consistently, and pervasively by the women's movement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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