GROUP INFLUENCE, SOLIDARITY AND ELECTORAL OUTCOMES

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Scholarly and popular debate provide credibility to the suggestion that the impact of interest groups on American politics is sizable. Writing at the end of the sixties Lowi (1969) argued that the influence of organized interest groups is so great as to paralyze government and thwart the general will. More recent work suggests that this impact may have increased even beyond what it was when Lowi was writing. Walker (1983) and Berry (1984), for example, document an increase in the number of active interest groups, including "public interest" groups, and the recency of this growth.

While the political impact and growth in interest groups appears well established, this literature suffers one major limitation: research abounds on professional Washington lobbyists and highly centralized professional interest organizations without granting equal attention to the nature of individual level commitments to groups. This shortcoming appears more compelling when one considers the theoretical foundation on which much of the interest group literature relies. Rational choice and social-psychological theories of human behavior suggest that individual support for groups may be more politically sophisticated and instrumental than originally assumed, leading the discipline to rethink The American Voter's (1960) equation of group-based conceptions of politics as crude and uninformed.

Yet despite the rich theoretical work that surrounds the nature of individual contributions to group politics the few empirical investigations that employ the group concept generally confine their research to professional organizations operating on the national level. By concentrating on an explanation of the aggregated behavior of

groups, the process through which individuals establish an identification with groups and the nature of their commitments to these groups goes unexplored and its connection to the generalized public goods competition remains an implicit assumption.

A complete examination of the influence of groups in politics today would necessarily include an analysis of the nature of individual contributions to groups, the process of group formation and maintenance, and the interaction of groups and other actors at the national level. Such an analysis would require reconciling a significant body of theory that concerns several aspects and levels of group involvement and influence. This paper takes an initial step in that direction by examining the relationship between individual commitments to groups and group effectiveness and influence at the national level.

Theories of Individual Motivations for Supporting Interest Groups

A good deal of intellectual controversy and debate surrounds the question of what individual level motivations lie behind the formation and maintenance of interest groups. Early theoretical writing on the rise of organizations or associations aimed at representing the interests of certain sectors of society gave considerable weight to shared attitudes and common concerns among group members as the foundation of interest groups. Truman (1951, p. 16) for example, viewed the array of interest groups existing at any one point in time as a natural extension of the categorical statuses prevalent in society. The formation of interest groups derived spontaneously from the interaction that followed a growing sense of shared concern among members of the categorical group. These shared interests motivated continued support for the organization or association formed to

represent the group. In turn the organization itself utilized these shared interests as the basis for mobilizing the group's constituency. Truman concluded that the interest group system as a whole provided a vital and legitimate representational component to democratic forms of government.

Later theoretical work by Olson (1971) introduced a telling critique of the assumptions underlying Truman's thesis. Olson argued that it was irrational for any given individual to support a large interest group that was promoting collective goods because their own contribution would have a negligible effect on attaining the group goal, and they would personally benefit even without contributing. In short, agreement with the political goals and concerns of the group are insufficient to overcome these rational obstacles to cooperating with others in supporting the group effort.

Rather than the rational pursuit of shared interests, Olson argued that interest groups form and survive because group leaders provide selective benefits that individuals can receive only in exchange for membership dues and group suppport. With the exception of very visible, large contributors, the survival of the interest group does not depend upon promoting political policies that are congruent with individual member preferences, but providing those selective incentives valued by the self-interested membership. Consequently, a broader implication of Olson's theory is that interest groups as a whole may not provide a responsive system for accurately representing citizen preferences in general.

Olson's critique of Truman appears most applicable when economically or occupationally based associations are the focus of inquiry. The criticisms are less valid when applied to non-economic

groups. For example, Olson's theory of interest groups certainly did not accurately anticipate the marked growth in the number and influence of public interest groups or the new social movements that appeared both in the United States and Europe during the seventies (Offe, 1985). These groups and movements tend to reflect broader interests that are of concern to society in general rather than particularized material incentives for a limited set of individuals. According to Olson's theory such groups should not emerge in society, or if they do they will not be sustained. Indeed, Walker (1983, p. 391) has recently reminded us that "Associations which attempt to represent socially disadvantaged elements of the society and which depend on their members for financial support in response to mainly purposive incentives typically will be short-lived".

Other theorists, however, in an attempt to develop a more inclusive model of interest groups, have given more emphasis to individual motivations. This recent thinking is aimed at providing correctives to the assumptions that Olson's model makes about the values and psychological factors that structure individual attachment to groups. In one of the earliest critiques of Olson's work, Wilson (1973, p. 23) suggests that "...people join associations for many different reasons - some for status, some for money, some from a sense of guilt, some because they have been asked by a friend to whom they do not wish to say no." Recalling categories he developed a decade earlier (Clark and Wilson, 1961) Wilson argues that material incentives are only one of three types of incentives organizations can offer their membership. Individuals may also be attracted by 'solidary' incentives, those derived from belonging to a group and receiving the prestige, companionship, and acceptance as a result, or 'purposive'

incentives that reward participants with the opportunity to express their values and interests. The importance of Wilson's contribution is evident in the extent to which these distinctions have been adopted and applied in research on public interest groups (Berry, 1984; McFarland, 1984; Scholzman and Tierney, 1986).

Moe's (1981) criticism of Olson has also focused on non-economic purposive incentives, but in addition he emphasizes political efficacy as a crucial factor in group membership and support. Political efficacy is important because it reflects the individual's belief that their contribution can make a difference to political outcomes. Objectively the individual's contribution may not be significant, but subjectively they may believe it is, and thus be more likely to support the group. Purposive incentives in Moe's conception, derive from ideological, moral or religious principles, and reflect a broader concern for other citizens, economic justice or political equality, that far outweigh any economic gains individuals expect for themselves. Moe (1981, p. 537) hypothesizes that "To the extent that individuals are efficacious and/or value purposive incentives, groups will find that their political goals do have inducement value in attracting members; in such cases, formation may sometimes occur in a spontaneous fashion on the basis of common interests."

Theories of social movements also offer correctives to Olson's view of group formation. For example, Tilly (1978), Fireman and Gamson (1979), and Oliver (1984), all suggest that a strong sense of identity or solidarity, that is, a sense of shared interests with others is critical to the success of organizational recruitment and mobilization. The term solidarity should not be confused with Wilson's notion of solidary inducements for membership such as socializing, congeniality,

friendship, fun and conviviality. Solidarity is a psychological concept that reflects an individual's awareness of being a member of a particular social category. It also implies that they share in common with others of that category a set of interests, a similar fate and a general commitment to defend the group.

In addition to solidarity, Fireman and Gamson, like Moe, point to the role of both efficacy and principles in the mobilization process. Principles refer to those collective goods that are perceived as entitlements, as "...something deserved as a matter of justice, equity or right" (p. 26), thus they are synonomous with what Moe has labeled purposive incentives. Unlike Moe, however, Fireman and Gamson conceptually distinguish between individual and group efficacy (pp. 10, 30), a point we return to later.

Social psychologists such as Tajfel (1981) have also provided insight into the individual level psychological processes that link group identification with collective action. Humans have limited cognitive capacity for processing information, thus they simplify the world by categorizing the objects and people around them. Social characteristics are important criteria for categorization. Individuals define themselves, that is, their social identity, in terms of these categories or groups that reflect visible social characteristics such as age, race and gender. If an individual is a member of a group that is historically and culturally defined as subordinate, and from which they cannot exit, they will explain their social situation by either blaming themselves (internal limitations) or factors in the environment. If they perceive social barriers as responsible for the disadvantaged social situation of their group, and view this condition as unjust, they will be more likely to support collective action and

organizations aimed at social change and redressing the grievance of their group.

In summary, Olson's theory of interest groups, with its emphasis on rational self interest, suggests that shared interests in collective goods, group solidarity and group goals are irrelevant to interest group formation and maintenance, and thus to the influence of these groups in the political arena. Other theorists from various social science disciplines argue the contrary position. Unfortunately group studies usually make a leap from dispositions of individuals to dispositions of groups without providing plausible accounts of the processes and important factors connecting the two.[1] The purpose of this paper is to begin, in a very preliminary way, to explore empirical evidence that speaks to the association, or lack thereof, between aggregate level group influence and individual level group solidarity. We begin by describing the power situation of certain disadvantaged categorical groups during the period from 1972 to 1984. Next we explore the level of group solidarity evident in the subpopulations defining these groups. Lastly we attempt to ascertain if there is a significant connection between group solidarity and group influence.

Defining and Narrowing the Group Focus

Political power is evident when the interests of one group prevail over those of other groups that are in contention for limited political outcomes. The pursuit of political power involves the use of resources to influence government and political decisions. The contenders for power within a society involve all the groups that are collectively devoting resources to influencing the government. Those groups that have achieved influence or control over government are said to be

members of the polity (Tilly, 1978, p. 125). Those that have not are the challengers (Gamson, 1975).

Conceptually groups can be defined in a number of ways using either objective or subjective criteria. Initially we define groups in terms of objective categorical characteristics. Thus, the potential group members include all those individuals sharing some common social or physical trait that is relevant to the visible social status hierarchy. Later a subjective dimension of group identification that implies an awareness of shared interests will be added to the definition.

Although there are numerous categorical groups in society, the focus here is on women, blacks and the elderly. Theoretically, and in terms of practical politics, this is a relevant and important set of groups. These groups represent important population categories. Women represent more than half of the population, at least in number if not in influence. Blacks are historically the most visible and politically the most important minority in the United States. The elderly represent a rapidly growing segment of the population, but one that is still seen in rather negative terms. Unfortunately data on the elderly are very limited, therefore, this group will be a minor element in the analysis and discussion.

There are significant theoretical reasons for studying women, blacks and the elderly, and the interest groups that represent these categorical groups. Common sense and a good deal of previous research indicates that these are subordinate groups that are challenging the social and political order rather than established groups attempting to maintain the status quo. The interest groups formally representing these categorical groups tend to deal with collective goods or issues

of concern to citizens in general and not just selective economic incentives. However, some interest groups representing the elderly may be an exception. Walker (1983), for example, points out that the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons offer a number of selective benefits to the elderly, such as special medical insurance policies, which help maintain their membership.

In addition, these groups are important because recent history suggests that the level of politicization of these groups may be changing. The civil rights movement of the sixties, the women's movement of the seventies and emerging political activities of the elderly (e.g., the formation of the Gray Panthers), all suggest increasing political involvement for these groups in recent years. Given that our substantive concern is understanding the formation and maintenance of interest groups, it is imporant to seek cases where shifts in both interest group activity and group solidarity among the citizenry may be occurring.

Indicators of Group Power

Assessments of group power, that is, the ability of the group to mobilize resources and influence political outcomes, are clearly multifaceted. There is no widely accepted standard or ideal set of empirical measures that indicate the social and political influence of groups. A theoretically reasonable set of such indicators, however, might include the degree of influence the group is perceived to have in society, the size of formal organizational memberships, the magnitude of monetary contributions the group makes to political campaigns, the extent of a communications network reflecting the interests of the group, and the number of elected officials who represent the group.

Perceived Influence

Public perceptions regarding the distribution of influence among various groups in the United States is of particular relevance to social-psychological theories of intergroup relations. Perceived power and actual power may not be the same, but in some cases perceived influence may be the most appropriate indicator of group power as perceptions frequently affect behavior. The general public, as well as political decision makers may often act on the basis of perceived influence. Equally important is the fact that an individual social identity, that is, the aspect of one's self-concept that is defined in terms of the groups to which one belongs, reflects evaluations of the relative status of the group in society. Individuals coming from groups that occupy an inferior position of social influence presumably have a more negative sense of self-worth than those coming from dominant groups (Tajfel, 1981). Again this can potentially influence political activity through related feelings of political efficacy.

Survey evidence from the University of Michigan, National Election Studies regarding public perceptions of the influence enjoyed a wide variety of political and social groups in 1976 suggests substantial differences in the degree of influence attributed to various groups (see Table 1). For a majority of the groups (15 out of 24), most people felt the group had just about the "right" amount of influence in American society. Nevertheless, even for several of these groups, a sizable proportion of the public still felt that the group had either "too much" or "too little" influence. (Businessmen, for example, were perceived as having "too much" influence by 36 percent of the survey respondents, whereas the same proportion believed that young people and women had "too little" influence.)

The data imply an uneven distribution of power in the United States, although the groups percieved as having too much influence do not on the surface appear as a cohesive power elite. They include business, unions and the politicized wings of two challenging groups -- black militants and to a lesser extent the women's liberation movement. There was in 1976 apparently as much disdain for those who actively and radically pursue change as there was for groups that attempt to maintain their position of dominance, as has been previously argued (Campbell and Schuman, 1968; Sears, 1969). The groups perceived as having too little power also seem rather unlikely coalition partners, thereby questioning the formation of coalitions among the disadvantaged (Piven and Cloward, 1981).

Unfortunately the influence questions have not been repeated in more recent National Election surveys. Virtually the same rank ordering of groups did occur, however, in both 1972 and 1976, thereby hinting at the impermeability of the political system and suggesting a rather static structure of unevenly distributed group influence. Nevertheless, 57 percent of the respondents who closely identified with women, blacks and the elderly felt that these groups could increase their influence in the future (removing the elderly raises the figure to 75 percent). Unfortunately the absence of more recent data prevent us from talking about change in perceived group influence that may have occurred from the seventies to the eighties. The data of Table 1 do serve, however, as a useful starting point. These data support our common sense notion of blacks, women and the elderly as challenging groups lacking social influence, at least as of the mid-seventies.

Organizational Memberships

What do other data suggest about the change in the power of these

groups across time? Information on the size of organizational memberships across time is very difficult to obtain and rather sketchy. Nonetheless, the available evidence reveals some long-term growth, particularly in support for organizations representing women and the elderly. Between 1965 and 1979 the combined memberships in the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons rose from 750,000 to over 13 million (Walker, 1983, p. 396). However, most of this growth, according to Walker, was in response to selective incentives.

The National Organization for Women (NOW), which focuses primarily on the articulation of feminist issues rather than the provision of selective benefits, also witnessed dramatic growth from the mid-sixties to the early eighties. Gelb and Palley (1986), report that NOW membership was only 1,122 in 1967, but efforts toward ERA ratification increased the visibility of the organization and its membership attained a high of 181,000 in 1982. Since then membership had fallen and stood at 156,000 in 1985. The recent declines may reflect disappointment with the defeat of ERA and the lackluster showing of the Democratic presidential ticket in the 1984 election.

Whatever the explanation for the recent decline, NOW membership has enjoyed a long-term increase, just the opposite of what has happened with some traditional women's political organizations. The League of Women Voters, for example, has experienced a continuous and rather dramatic decline in membership since the early seventies (see Figure 1). The feminist movement and the changing lifestyle of contemporary women has apparently reduced the pool of women available and willing to participate in the political service functions often performed by the League.

Unlike the growth in organizations representing women and the elderly, black organizations appear to have experienced a period of membership stability between 1972 and 1984. Although a number of different organizatons represent blacks today, the NAACP is one of the largest and oldest. The NAACP refuses to disclose exact annual membership figures, but during the last 15 years the membership has remained fairly constant, changing by no more than 1-2 percentage points per year, and fluctuating somewhere between 450,000 and 500,000 (Edward Muse, NAACP, personal communication, August 1986). While the NAACP has not witnessed any major growth in membership during the recent past, it has apparently also not experienced short-term shifts as large as those seen for NOW membership.

Communications Network

Shared communications play an important role in promoting group interests. Early work on group dynamics placed a great deal of emphasis on face-to-face interaction and communications as a necessary element in the development of group cohesion. More recent conceptions of group formation argue that this function of information dissemination has been largely replaced by the mass media and specialized publications that effectively portray group differences. Hraba and Siegman (1974), for example, find that attention to black publications and race-related television programs is more important in the development of black consciousness than is the personal experience of direct discrimination.

All of the formal organizations representing blacks, women and the elderly have newsletters and special mailings that are used to maintain communication with their membership. But a broader outlet for the group's message would not only be the various channels of mass

communications, but the somewhat specialized yet popular print media reflecting the group's interests. Although MS. magazine is not an official journal of the women's movement it surely reflects a feminist orientation. Similarly, while there are a number of popular magazines that reflect different images of blacks, Ebony magazine has by far the largest readership, it has been in existence since 1945, and has a history of dealing with important racial issues and covering a positive image of blacks.[2]

After its founding in 1972 the readership of MS. magazine rose rapidly until 1977. Since that point the circulation of the magazine has paralleled the fortunes of the women's movement (see Figure 2). Between 1977 and 1980, the years of disappointing realization for feminists that they would not attain ratification of the ERA by the 1979 deadline, MS. readership fell by more than 10 percent. The growing opposition of women to Reagan's election in 1980 and a renewed effort by the feminist organizations to earn ratification for ERA prior to the extended deadline of 1982, may help account for the surge in MS. readership between 1980 and 1982. In the end ERA was not ratified, nor was Geraldine Ferraro elected, two events that might help account for the decline in MS. readership since 1982.

Although readership for MS. magazine is larger than membership in NOW, the across-time trend for the two parallel each other very closely (see Figure 3). The similarity in the two trends, albeit on a limited member of time points, suggests that both MS. readership and NOW membership respond to current political events of interest to women. It also reinforces Fireman and Gamson's (1979, p. 30) emphasis on the importance of political success for mobilizing collective action. Apparently having a goal to strive for, such as ERA

ratification, and the hope for success can act to motivate group support. But failure to attain the goal can also lead to rather rapid declines in group support when there are no other rewards available to help maintain active commitment.

Ebony readership is substantially larger than that for MS., and has shown a markedly different trend over time. From 1972 to 1982 the readership was gradually rising. A temporary and minor decline in readership of less than five percent occurred between 1976 and 1978, a period of economic decline. But, in 1982 and 1983 Ebony's readership increased dramatically (see Figure 4). Marketing and sales personnel at Ebony attribute the recent increase in readership entirely to special promotional activity. Excluding the effect of recent magazine promotions, the readership of Ebony has been quite stable over the past two decades.

In summary, MS. and Ebony represent nationally circulated magazines that provide a popular outlet for conveying a particular image, a sense of shared interest and common concerns on topics of importance to women and blacks in America. If these magazines are thought of as a vehicle for mobilizing group solidarity and support, then the much higher readership figures for Ebony suggest that blacks are in a stronger position than are feminists for reaching their respective constituencies.

Office Holding

Holding an elective office is yet another indicator of political power. Although having a member of a categorical group fill an elected position is not a guarantee that the group's interests will be reflected in government decisions, it is a potential source of considerable influence. Clearly, if political power is reflected in

the ability to influence government outcomes, then holding office is the direct route to political power.

In addition, the visibility of blacks or women in office provide important role models for others in the group to identify with and to emulate. For members of subordinate groups gaining elective office can often mean victory over legal and traditional barriers against entry into the polity. Historically in the United States blacks in particular have frequently been excluded by law from participating in the political arena. The political behavior of women, on the other hand, has not been circumscribed so much by the law as by unwritten social norms, which have had perhaps an even stronger impact on their lives than has written law (Hernes, 1986, p. 21). For women the step from the personal, private sphere of the home to the visible, public domain of elective office is monumental despite the absence of legal barriers.

The historically disadvantaged political position of women and blacks is quite evident in the small number of elected offices held by members of these categorical groups. Treating the number of white male, female and black federal elected officials as a percentage of their respective subgroup populations dramatically illustrates the underrepresentation of women and blacks (see Figure 5). While women are more than half the population they currently fill only 4.7 percent of the seats in the U.S. Congress. Similarly, blacks comprise somewhat more than 10 percent of the population but fill only 3.7 percent of the Congressional offices. White males on the other hand control 91.5 percent of the congressional seats.

The number of black and female elected officials has, however, increased substantially over the past decade and a half. Today women

and blacks fill a larger percentage of the congressional seats than they did at the outset of the seventies (see Figure 6). There has also been significant progress at the state level which frequently acts as a training ground for national office. For example, in 1970 there were only 169 black elected officials at the state level. By 1986 that figure had risen to 400 office holders.[3] Likewise, the number of women state legislators has increased markedly from 344 in 1971 to 1103 in 1985.[4] Although women and blacks continue to fill a disproportionately low number of elected positions in the United States, they have made significant gains in greater representation during the recent past.

Although women, blacks and the elderly have historically been considered as socially subordinate groups lacking in political power, the limited data presented above suggest some growth in the influence of these groups during the recent past. This change appears to be most evident for women. Here we find organizational growth, increased group communication and rising representation in the political arena. Next we need to consider if these shifts in power are associated with greater group solidarity in the relevant subgroup populations.

Defining Group Solidarity

An examination of the hypothesized association between group influence at the macro level and group solidarity at the individual level, however, requires a more complete definition of solidarity. Theoretically the rise of a mass movement or the formation of an interest group initially involves the development of a solidary or collective orientation toward what had previously been a personal, private concern. At the individual level this implies the formation of group identification and consciousness.

Group Identification

The first step in the formation of group consciousness is the development of a psychological awareness of shared interests among the categorical members (Jackman and Jackman, 1973; Gurin et al., 1980; Miller et al., 1981). To speak of individual behavior in terms of groups requires that individuals come to think of themselves and others as members of certain groups or categories (Tajfel, 1981). In addition, this explicit acceptance of membership in a category must go beyond simply acknowledging that one is a member of the category to an expression of shared solidarity.

Individuals can and often do deny the reality of their situation, or they fail to make comparisons between their situation and that of others. Having a sense of group identification implies that the individual is aware of their social categorical membership, that they share certain characeristics, interests and experiences in common with others of their category and that these interests differ from those of other social groups. Group identification also points to a distinction between the person who makes social comparison in individual terms (I make less than my coworker) and one who makes comparisons in terms of groups (blue-collar workers make less than white-collar workers). The latter comparison indicates that the individual thinks about their social situation in collective terms. That is, they think of themselves in terms of their own group and differentiate that group from other groups in society.

This social identity, that is, thinking of oneself in terms of categorical groups, implies that identification with a group is a positive attribute for the individual. After all, no one would set out

to devalue their self-image (Tajfel, 1981, p. 137, 256). Strength of identification with a group, therefore, represents both the degree to which the group contributes to the self-definition of the individual and the extent of solidarity or shared interests among the members of the group.

Trends in Group Identification

Empirical evidence on group identification reveals different levels and trends for women, blacks and the elderly. Women and the elderly have experienced increased identification between 1972 and 1984, whereas black identification has remained rather stable (see Table 2).

The largest increase in gender identification occurred between 1972 and 1976 when the percentage of women in the University of Michigan, National Election Study (NES) survey who were not "close" to other women in terms of shared interests dropped from 57 to 40 percent.[5] That percentage remained fairly stable until 1984 when there was again a noticable decrease in the proportion of women who did not identify at all with the category "women".

Although there was a marked increase in the proportion of women expressing a gender identification between 1972 and 1984, the percentage of women indicating the strongest sense of identification with women failed to grow. The percentage of women who said they felt "closest" to "women" when asked to select from a list of 16-19 categorical groups that group to which they felt closest hovered around 10 percent from 1972 to 1980 and then fell to 8 percent in 1984. The consistently small percentage of females who were strongly identified with women suggests that this was never a very intensely held identification and that the intensity appears to have peaked in the

late seventies.[6] Despite the recent decline in the percentage of strongest identifiers, the overall level of gender identification, as summarized by a Percentage Difference Index (PDI), attained a new high in 1984.

By comparison, it is apparent that group solidarity among women has not yet reached the level consistently exhibited by blacks for some time (compare the PDI for blacks and women in Table 2). Relative to blacks a much higher proportion of women fail to identify at all with their gender group. Moreover, the percentage of blacks that are most strongly identified with their group is roughly three times that found for women.

Identification among the elderly on the other hand reveals a trend similar to gender identification, but a level of attachment that is approaching what is found for blacks. Similar to women, the growth in age identification among the elderly (those over 60) has occurred mainly through a decrease in the percentage of those who are not identified with the category of elderly at all. The percentage of older people who think about themselves primarily in terms of their age group has remained at about 30 percent for over a decade.

The relatively higher level of group identification evident for blacks is presumably one of the reasons why blacks act as a solidary political group (Verba and Nie, 1972, chapter 10). The relatively lower incidence and strength of identification for women and the elderly suggests that we cannot expect these groups to act as cohesively in the political arena as blacks. Nevertheless, the rise in gender identification among women and age identification among the elderly suggests the potential for increased participation and political solidarity among these groups.

Group Consciousness

Group identification alone, however, does not necessarily translate into political mobilization. Another step is needed before group identification is politicized. When politics and social participation are involved, a distinction must be drawn between identification and group consciousness (Gurin, et al., 1980). Identification, as indicated above, refers to one's awareness of oneself in relation to others within a particular group or category. It implies that the person believes that they have ideas, feelings, interests and characteristics in common with others who are members of the same category and that they are distinct from members of other groups. Group consciousness reflects cognitions that arise out of comparing the social status of one group with another (Tajfel, 1981). Group consciousness develops when individuals believe that their own group is unfairly in a subordinate position and that collective action in the political arena is a legitimate and necessary avenue to redressing the situation.

Because group identification and consciousness are conceptually distinct, it is possible that an individual may identify with a group, even a subordinate group, without seeing the group's relative position in society as unjust or believing that political action is necessary for changing its relative position in society. Individuals may accept their relatively lower status for a variety of reasons (see Tajfel, 1981 for a discussion of these) and believe that individual rather than collective or political action is the best way to improve either their own situation or that of the group.

Operationalizing Group Consciousness

Operationally group consciousness could be indicated by how strongly an individual endorsed various politically active organizations that represent the group's interests. For example, for blacks it may be represented by support for civil rights leaders or activist black organizations such as PUSH, for the elderly by an endorsement of the gray panthers, and for women by support for NOW or the women's liberation movement more generally.

Available survey evidence is rather limited in the number of items that could be used to measure group consciousness across time. The only relevant questionnaire items consistently asked between 1972 and 1984 were the feeling thermometer rating of the "women's liberation movement" and "civil rights leaders". Over that period the average rating of the movement among women rose from 45 to 59 degrees. In 1972 only four out of ten women rated the movement positively (i.e., above 50 degrees), by 1984 that figure had risen to almost six of ten. Yet, women as a whole exhibited far less group consciousness than blacks. In both 1972 and 1984 somewhat more than 80 percent of blacks were equally as positive about civil rights leaders.

The operationalization of group consciousness for the elderly was more difficult. The thermometer measure available was for "elderly" rather than an activist group. Moreover, the elderly thermometer was available only for 1976, 1980 and 1984, thus in 1972 the perceived influence of the elderly was used as a substitute.

The final group consciousness measures were formed by combining the thermometer ratings for the respective group with the group identification measure presented earlier.[7] It should be noted that this operation of combining identification and support for an activist group orientation into a single measure conveys more than merely a

methodological statement. We are not saying that the NES group identification measure is a weak or invalid indicator of the underlying concept, and that the only way to improve it is by combining it with another indicator. Rather, we contend that substantively the measurement model underlying the concept of group consciousness can only be fit by combining these two components into one. If previous research and social psychological theories on intergorup relations are correct, the result should be a substantively more relevant and valid measure of politicized group identification.

The resulting distributions for group consciousness are presented in Table 3. Because each measure is uniquely constructed to indicate attachment to a particular group, across group comparisons are no longer valid as they were with group identification taken alone. The trends for each group are, nonetheless, interesting. The means for blacks and the elderly, for example, suggest a high degree of stability in the aggregate level of group consciousness from 1972-1984. The mean value of age consciousness among the elderly, however, conceals the fact that compensating change has occurred at both the highest and lowest levels of group consciousness. Apparently the earlier negative stigma associated with thinking of oneself as elderly has declined, thereby making it easier for older people to identify with their age group. Yet there seems to be a concurrent tendency for the elderly to think of themselves first and foremost in terms of some other group and then secondarily as older.

Gender consciousness among women on the other hand has exhibited an uneven but long-term increase. The level of gender consciousness rose noticably from 1972 to 1976, declined in 1980 and then turned up again in 1984 (see Table 3). The aggregate trend for gender

consciousness thus closely parallels the ups and downs seen earlier for membership in NOW and MS. readership. The similarity in these trends, as well as the close correspondence between stability in black consciousness, NAACP membership and Ebony readership, suggests that group solidarity plays an important role in support for political organizations, individuals and actions aimed at promoting the collective interests of the group. It remains for us to test this assumption at the individual level.

Individual Level Linkages Between Group Consciousness and Group Power

Promoting and maintaining a group requires certain types of commitment and contributions from group members. These include holding and expressing attitudes and policy preferences that reflect the goals of the group; actively joining and participating in the organizations of the group; contributing resources to promote group activities; as well as campaigning and voting for candidates that favor the group. But is group consciousness or solidarity, at the individual level, significantly related with these types of attitudes and behaviors that would maintain and promote the group, as suggested by the theoretical arguments of Fireman and Gamson? Or, is Olson correct in suggesting that a feeling of psychological attachment to a group is irrelevant to actively supporting the group when the goals of the group focus on the provision of collective goods?

Group Membership and Consciousness

Empirical evidence directly addressing the question of the relationship between group consciousness and organizational membership is rather limited. Since 1972, however, the American National Election

Studies have asked the respondents if they "belong to any organizations or take part in any activities that represent the interests and viewpoints of (the group they felt closest to in the identificaton sequence used above)". These data reveal a moderate correlation between strength of group consciousness and organizational membership for women and blacks, but a weak to insignificant relationship for the elderly.

Blacks were more likely than women to mention an organizational membership (for example, 31 and 21 percent respectively in 1984). But the correlation with group consciousness was stronger among women. For example, in 1984 only 9% of women with a low level of gender consciousness belonged to an organization reflecting the interests of women, whereas 31% of the strongest identifiers were members. Among blacks the comparable figures were 25 and 37 percent. Organizational membership among the elderly rose steadily from 1972 to 1984 (from 19 to 31 percent), but the zero-order correlations suggest that the increase had little to do with age consciousness.

Indeed, even for women and blacks the simple correlation between organizational membership and group identity may reflect personal and social factors other than group solidarity. Research on political participation, for example, suggests that political involvement depends largely on personal resources such as education and income (see among others, Verba and Nie, 1972). Political efficacy, as suggested earlier, may also account for active engagement in group organizations. If group consciousness is also a reflection of these same causal forces, then the simple correlation between consciousness and organizational membership may be spurious. The results of a multivariate analysis, however, provide evidence to the contrary.

Even after controlling for these alternative factors, group consciousness has a substantial effect on organizational membership among women and blacks (see Table 4). Although level of education is generally the most important element influencing participation in organizations, group consciousness is often equally as important. Moreover, internal political efficacy, as suggested by Moe (1981), did have a significant independent effect on organizational membership, but it was generally somewhat weaker than group consciousness.

In short, group consciousness provides a strong motivation for organizational participation that under some circumstances even compensates for a lack of political efficacy. An individual may feel that they personally will have little impact in the political arena, but will join an interest group despite this feeling of powerlessness if they identify strongly with the group. The distinction that Fireman and Gamson (1979) have made between individual and group efficacy is also important here. Redoing the analysis of Table 4 for 1972 (the only year in which the indicators are available) with measures of both concepts reveals a more substantial effect for group than individual efficacy. That is, women and blacks who perceived their group as effective in the political arena were more likely to hold an oragnizational membership. Yet even after controlling for both types of efficacy, group consciousness remained the strongest motivation for organizational membership.

It is also significant, theoretically as well as empirically, to note that policy preferences, or what are generally thought of as policy goals of the group, are not important directly in motivating organizational membership. The issues used to measure policy preferences in Table 4 are very relevant to the concerns of each group

and thus serve to address some key theoretical assumptions. If purposive motivations include the policy goals of a group, then the results in Table 4 conclusively demonstrate that shared policy interests alone do not promote active support of organizations. That is not to say, however, that policy goals do not play an important indirect role in promoting active group support. Indeed, previous research shows that shared policy interests are a critical part of group identification (Miller, Hildreth and Simmons, 1986). But, it is only through the politicization of group identification that these shared policy interests get connected with collective action. It is the realization that the system may be unjustly biased against the attainment of these group goals, that is, through the development of group consciousness, that eventually promotes active involvement.

All of these findings, however, apply only to women and blacks. Age consciousness among the elderly is not significantly related with organizational membership. This may partly be the result of the negative connotations associated with the category elderly, which subsequently causes the most active older people to deny their age status. Or, the results may reflect the measurement limitations of the elderly group consciousness indicator. On the other hand, the results may confirm Walker's (1983) argument that interest group membership among the elderly is based primarily on selective incentives.

The above findings for the elderly, as well as for women and blacks, extend to other types of group connections in addition to organizational membership. For example, in 1972, those older people most closely identified with the elderly were much less likely to report regularly reading a publication that represented the interests of their group than were highly identified women and blacks (19, 44 and

71 percent respectively). Again there was no significant relationship between publication reading and strength of group consciousness for the elderly, but there was for women and blacks. Among women the relationship, estimated from a multivariate analysis similar to Table 4, was slightly stronger than that found for organizational membership. The strength of this association implies that the correspondence between the trend for NOW membership and MS. readership noted earlier may be accounted for by individual level group consciousness. If a similar connection exists between black consciousness and Ebony readership the 1972 data would suggest that it would be weaker than the relationship found for women. Readership surveys for both Ebony and MS., however, reveal that the regular readers of both magazines are quite similar, demographically, to blacks and women who express a high level of group consciousness. Unfortuantely the question on reading group relevant publications has not been asked in recent NES surveys, thus the connection must remain merely speculative.

Electoral Participation, Candidate Choice and Group Consciousness

More definitive evidence is available, however, for determining if group consciousness has a substantial effect on participation in the general electoral arena. Previously blacks and women had been largely underrepresented in electoral politics. Blacks were frequently prevented from participating in the electoral process by law, whereas women were often inactive because of the traditional norms suggesting that politics were for men. In response to these social and legal barriers, much of the effort expended by organizations representing women and blacks in recent years has been directed at mobilization in the electoral arena. Part of the recent trend of increasing participation among these groups, especially women, appears to be the

result of changing level of group consciousness.

Women and blacks who were most strongly identified with their groups were more likely to participate in a whole series of campaign and election related activities in 1972 and 1984 than those lacking a sense of group consciousness (see Table 5). The relationships were more consistent and stronger in 1984 than in 1972, thus suggesting that group consciousness had become more politicized in recent years (see Miller, Hildreth and Simmons, 1986 for a confirmation of this thesis). Indeed, when incorporated into a multivariate analysis similar to that presented in Table 4, group consciousness was not significantly related to an activity index that represented the number of campaign activities (excluding the vote) in which the respondent had engaged in 1972. But, in 1984 group consciousness for women and blacks was not only significant at the .01 level, it was the second most important predictor, surpassed only by education. Again these findings apply only to gender and race consciousness not age consciousness. Among the elderly the strongest identifiers are frequently less likely to participate.

When compared with the earlier analysis of organizational group membership, it is quite evident that group consciousness is less potent as a motivation for general electoral participation than it is for organizational involvement. This difference may arise because the connection between election outcomes and group benefits are often ambiguous. The increased politicization of gender and race consciousness in 1984 may have occurred, therefore, because group implications were more clearly perceived in that election. For women part of that clarified perception may have resulted from Geraldine Ferraro's candidacy.

Group consciousness certainly was significantly related with candidate choice in both 1972 and 1984 (see Table 5). Among all three groups strong identifiers were more likely than non-identifiers to support the Democratic candidate. Yet, a multivariate analysis reveals that in 1972, a highly issue laden election, group consciousness had a significant ($p<.01$) effect on the vote only among blacks. In 1984, on the other hand, with heightened awareness of both gender and racial cleavages prompted by Reagan administration cuts in welfare programs and increased military spending, group consciousness substantially influenced the vote among women, as well as blacks, but not the elderly.

This is not to imply that group consciousness was more important in explaining the vote than was economic performance, or domestic welfare policy concerns, or worries about war. No, the results clearly indicate that, unlike the decision to participate, the choice of which candidate to vote for does depend first and foremost on assessments of economic performance and policy preferences, not group consciousness. Nevertheless, in 1984, after taking all those more powerful predictors into account, gender and black consciousness still had a significant independent effect on the vote.

The impact of group solidarity on voting as discussed thus far focuses on candidate choice at the individual level, rather than the magnitude of the "group" impact that consciousness has had on election outcomes. Axelrod's (1972, 1984) work suggests that group power in the electoral arena can be thought of as the proportion of the active electorate, or the proportion of the vote won by a particular party, that can be attributed to a given group. Between 1972 and 1984 turnout rates among women, blacks and the elderly have been gradually rising

while those for the population in general have declined by about 3 percentage points. Consequently these groups currently account for a slightly larger proportion of the active electorate than they did in 1972. Similarly, because of increased defections among white male voters in recent elections, women, blacks and the elderly accounted for about 3 percent more of the Democratic coalition in 1984 than they did in 1972. Thus we could conclude that the political power of these groups has increased.

Most of the rise in the electoral power of these groups has not come from group members in general, however, but because of increased group consciousness. Figures 7 and 8 vividly display the growing importance of highly identified women and blacks as a component of the total active electorate and the Democratic coalition. The figures reveal that the electoral power of strongly identified blacks has increased only slightly more than blacks in general, and that for identified elderly it has actually decreased a bit. For women the change is much more dramatic. In 1972 highly identified women accounted for only 11% of all voters and 15% of the Democratic vote. By 1984 they comprised 20% of the active electorate and one-third of all the votes won by the Democratic presidential ticket. Largely because of rising group consciousness women have emerged as a growing force in American politics and a major element in the Democratic voting coalition.

Conclusion

The analysis and empirical evidence presented above holds implications for yet further revisions of theories concerning the formation and maintenance of interest groups. Previous research has already indicated that people support groups for reasons other than

selective economic incentives, particularly when the group goals focus on collective goods. What this research suggests is that earlier theorizing has underestimated the importance of group solidarity or consciousness in motivating support for interest groups. In addition, those who have previously considered solidarity as a motivation for group support have failed to specify the types of groups, or political conditions and circumstances, for which solidarity will be more or less important in the mobilization process. Clearly group solidarity is not equal across all groups nor is it static across time, further work is clearly needed to specify these parameters more definitively.

Similarly, the fact that group consciousness incorporates and mediates the impact of certain other factors on group mobilization also has implications for revising interest group theories. For example, previous research shows that group consciousness encompasses certain aspects of what others have labeled purposive reasons for group support, particularly notions of equity and legitimacy (Gurin, et al. 1981; Gurin 1985; Miller, Hildreth, & Simmons, 1986). Likewise, Wilson (1973) includes the group's policy goals in his notion of purposive reasons for participation. Yet the results presented above suggest that people rarely join organizations because they agree with the goals of the group. Policy agreement may be a necessary component of group support but it is hardly a sufficient one. Yet, when perceptions of shared policy concerns, or perceptions of unfair treatment of individuals are combined in a politicized idelology of group awareness, these elements do contribute indirectly to the mobilization of collective action. Under these circumstances, however, it is group consciousness and not the separate components of group awareness that directly prompts the political activity.

Moe's (1981) argument that political efficacy is important to interest group involvement is certainly substantiated by the results reported above. Nevertheless, the distinction between individual and group efficacy is clearly important for both conceptual and empirical reasons. An individual who feels personally powerless to influence political outcomes may rationally still participate if they feel that their efforts are part of a group and that the group as a collective can have influence in the political arena. Indeed the empirical evidence demonstrates that this frequently occurred in 1972.

Theories and interpretations of voting behavior could also benefit from the research reported above. Thinking about oneself and politics in terms of groups is far more ideological than Converse (1966) suggested in his path-breaking article on mass belief systems. Moreover, group attachment, as the 1984 results indicate are frequently more important in determining the vote, election outcomes and party fortunes than the The American Voter implies. Over the years the Democratic party has consistently used group appeals to attract voters, especially from disadvantaged groups. In recent years those appeals have strongly influenced the vote among women and blacks. At the same time that this strategy has produced an increasingly large pool of votes from these groups, it has also resulted in an image problem for the Democratic party. With an ironic twist to the traditional meaning of "special interests", the Democratic party in recent years has been popularly tagged as the party of special interests, meaning unions, blacks, women, people on welfare and gays. Such a predicament creates problems for the appeal of the Democratic party, as well as disadvantaged groups that are attempting to gain political power through that party.

Women and blacks have gained political power in recent years. This conclusion is substantiated by a host of social and political indicators, some of which have been considered above. Group solidarity has played a role in this increased political power. Given that solidarity fluctuates with the perception of inequities in the system, the urgency of attaining political goals and the success of the group, we can expect the strength of these movements to rise and fall. Unlike groups that depend on selective incentives to maintain their membership and organizational strength, the leaders of the black and women's movements must sustain group consciousness if they are to continue to increase their political influence in the future.

While women and blacks have come a long way in the struggle for political influence, they still have a very long way to go before equity is gained, not only for their own group but other disadvantaged persons as well. But addressing these objective conditions is only one element in the pursuit of political influence. Perhaps a more important aspect of the future success of these groups rests on altering the cognitions that people have of that reality. As Turner (1981, p. 6) suggests, "Altered ways of viewing both self and larger systems of social relationships are often more important products of social movements than any specific organizational or political accomplishments. Conditions that have long been viewed as misfortune are reassessed as injustices...", thus promoting collective activity aimed at redressing inequities in the political system.

FOOTNOTES

[1]An example of a recent study that commits the logical fallacy of attributing individual motivations to entire groups is Pollack (1982). He classifies entire organizations using Wilson's categories of solidary, purposive and material reasons for why individuals join associations. Besides the logical fallacy underlying this approach, the work violates Wilson's basic argument that people join any type of organization for various reasons. For example, having labeled a group as purposive it is impossible to argue that people may support that group for solidary or material reasons.

[2]We want to thank Wendy Sheffer from MS. magazine, and Robert Fentress and Dennis Boston of Ebony magazine for providing information on the readers of these publications.

[3]These figures are from the 15th edition of Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, published by the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C.

[4]Information on the number of women in state government was supplied by the Rutgers University, Center for the American Woman and Politics.

[5]The actual survey question used to measure a minimal degree of identification was "Here is a list of some of the groups we just asked you about. Please read over this list and tell me the letter for those groups you feel particularly close to — people who are most like you in their ideas, interests and feelings about things."

[6]In 1984 "feminists" was added to the list of groups from which the respondent was asked to select the one group to which they felt "closest." Only 1.1% of women selected feminists as their closest group. When constructing the gender identification measure those women who selected "feminists" were combined with those who chose "women" as their closest group.

[7]The thermometer measure was dichotomized at the 1972 median rating obtained from the group members only, i.e., women, black or elderly ratings of their own respective groups. The dichotomized thermometer when combined with group identification then formed five categories: not identified, feel close to the group and give a below the median thermometer rating; feel closest to the group and a below the median rating; close and above the median rating; closest and above the median rating.

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Table 1: Public Perceptions of How Much Influence Various Groups Have in American Society - 1976, Total Sample

	Too Much	About Right	Too Little	Percentage Difference[a]
Big Business	82%	15	3	79
Labor Unions	68%	26	6	64
Black Militants	60%	30	10	50
Businessmen	36%	52	12	24
Liberals	28%	61	11	17
Men	24%	69	7	17
Women's Liberation	29%	55	16	13
Democrats	20%	73	7	13
Jews	23%	63	14	9
Blacks	33%	39	28	5
People on Welfare	36%	33	31	5
Republicans	20%	63	16	4
Catholics	13%	78	9	4
Whites	15%	68	17	-2
Protestants	5%	87	8	-3
Conservatives	14%	64	22	-8
Southerners	8%	69	23	-15
Young People	13%	51	36	-23
Women	7%	58	36	-29
Chicanos	12%	44	44	-32
Middle Class	3%	52	45	-42
Workingmen	5%	40	55	-50
Poor	7%	21	72	-65
Older People	3%	27	71	-68

[a]The percentage difference is obtained by subtracting the percent saying "Too little" from the percent saying "Too much." Positive values indicate a predominance of too much influence, negative values a predominance of too little influence.

Table 2: Group Identification Among Women, Blacks and Elderly

	1972	1976	1980	1984
Women				
Closest Identifiers	9%	11%	10%	8%
Close Identifiers	34	49	47	60
Not Identified	57	40	43	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1238)	(1064)	(783)	(1044)
PDI*	-48	-29	-33	-24
Blacks				
Closest Identifiers	33%	32%	36%	32%
Close Identifiers	51	49	51	53
Not Identified	16	19	13	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(211)	(163)	(160)	(192)
PDI*	+17	+13	+23	+17
Elderly				
Closest Identifiers	32%	28%	34%	28%
Close Identifiers	32	44	46	54
Not Identified	36	28	20	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(421)	(424)	(280)	(446)
PDI*	- 4	0	+14	+10

*The PDI was computed by subtracting the percentage not identified from the percentage closest.

Source: NES

Table 3: Group Consciousness Among Women, Blacks and Elderly

	1972	1976	1980	1984
Gender Consciousness[a]				
Closest High	5%	6%	6%	6%
Close High	14	26	19	32
Closest Low	4	5	4	2
Close Low	20	23	28	28
Not Identified	57	40	43	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1238)	(1064)	(783)	(1044)
Mean[b]	1.89	2.35	2.10	2.50
Black Consciousness[a]				
Closest High	15%	9%	13%	10%
Close High	17	15	14	16
Closest Low	18	22	23	22
Close Low	33	35	37	37
Not Identified	17	19	13	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(211)	(163)	(160)	(192)
Mean[b]	2.80	2.60	2.80	2.65
Age Consciousness[a]				
Closest High	24%	17%	17%	10%
Close High	20	20	21	19
Closest Low	8	11	17	18
Close Low	12	24	25	35
Not Identified	36	28	20	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(421)	(424)	(280)	(446)
Mean[b]	2.80	2.70	2.90	2.60

[a]See footnote 7 for the definition of group consciousness.

[b]For calculating the mean closest high was scored 5, not identified was 1.

Table 4: Multivariate Regression Analysis Explaining Organizational Membership

	1972			1984		
Predictors	Women	Blacks	Elderly	Women	Blacks	Elderly
Group Consciousness	-.15*	-.17*	-.06	-.25*	-.16*	-.10
	(-.01)	(-.02)	(-.22)	(-.02)	(-.02)	(-.01)
Internal Political Efficacy	-.12*	-.13	-.10	-.23*	-.02	-.08
	(-.11)	(-.17)	(-.11)	(-.28)	(-.03)	(-.13)
Policy Preferences[a]	-.05	-.11	-.06	.01	.01	-.18*
	(-.01)	(-.16)	(-.04)	(.01)	(.01)	(-.68)
Income	.11	.05	-.03	.07	.12	.00
	(.20)	(.09)	(-.07)	(.11)	(.19)	(.01)
Education	-.10	-.35**	-.03	-.25*	-.31**	-.15
	(-.17)	(-.61)	(-.07)	(-.44)	(-.58)	(-.30)
R^2	.06	.19	.02	.21	.10	.07
N	(110)	(68)	(130)	(88)	(64)	(123)

[a]The issues used were women's equal role for women, aid to minorities for blacks, and government sponsored health insurance for the elderly.

The table entries in parentheses are the unstandardized ordinary least squares coefficients, the other entries are standardized.

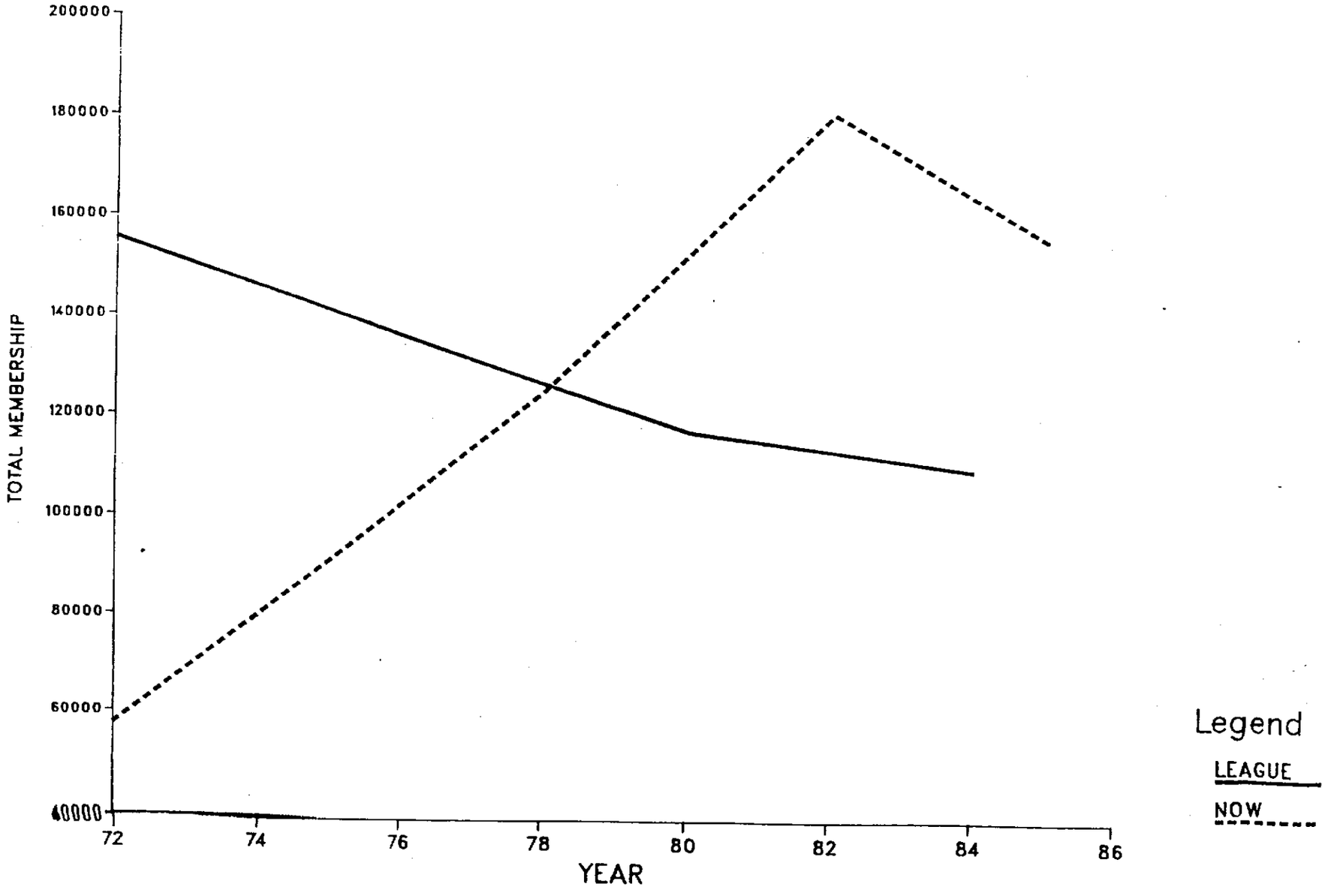
*$p < .01$ **$p < .001$

Table 5: Participation in Election Related Activities by Group Consciousness[a]

		1972						1984					
		Women		Blacks		Elderly		Women		Blacks		Elderly	
ACTIVITY	Consciousness:	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Influence others vote		26	35	23	34	19	22	27	42	13	35	33	21
Wear button		13	20	22	17	7	6	6	11	6	14	7	7
Attend meeting		7	11	12	5	6	6	3	13	3	16	9	5
Give money		8	12	11	5	10	3	10	15	0	10	17	10
Work in campaign		5	8	3	7	5	2	3	7	3	7	7	4
Vote		65	78	65	69	72	69	69	79	57	69	84	74
Presidential vote:													
Democrat		36	49	71	94	25	36	37	66	86	96	33	58
Republican		64	51	29	6	75	64	63	34	14	4	67	42

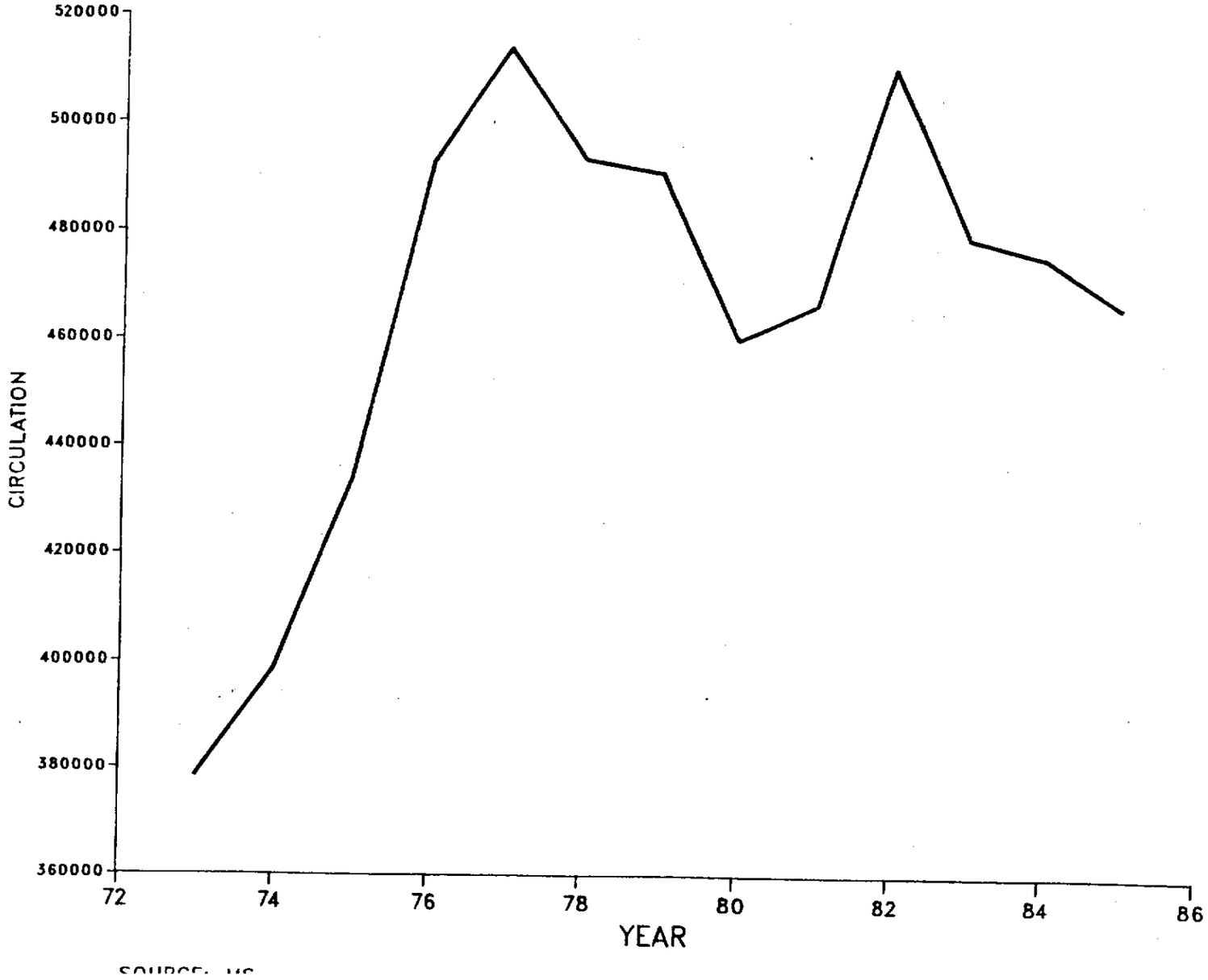
[a]Table entries are the percentage of those not identified with the group or those with the highest level of group consciousness who participated in each listed activity.

FIGURE 1: MEMBERSHIP FOR LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND NOW, 1972–1985



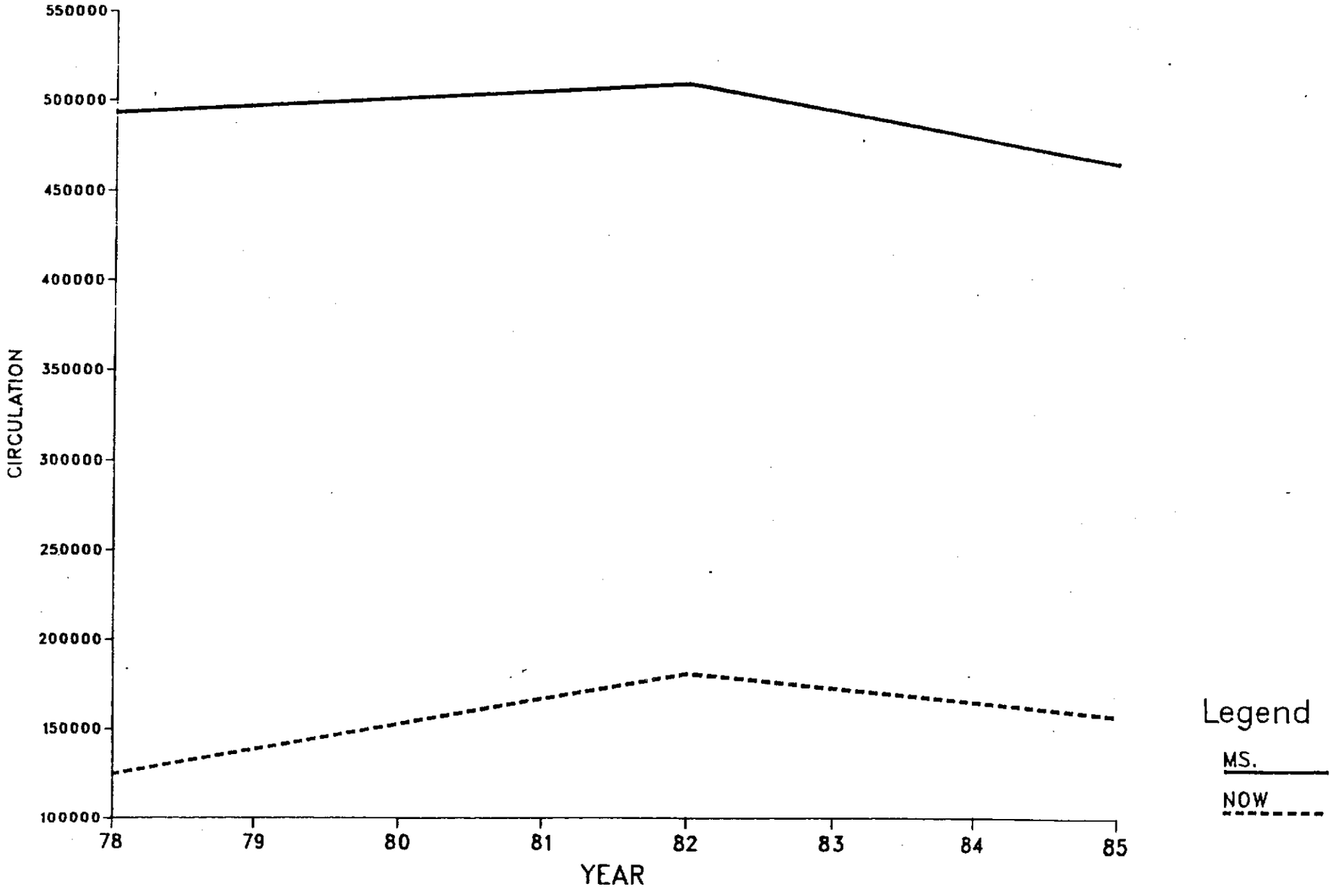
SOURCE: LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS; GELB AND PALLEY (1986)

FIGURE 2: CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR MS. MAGAZINE, 1973–1985



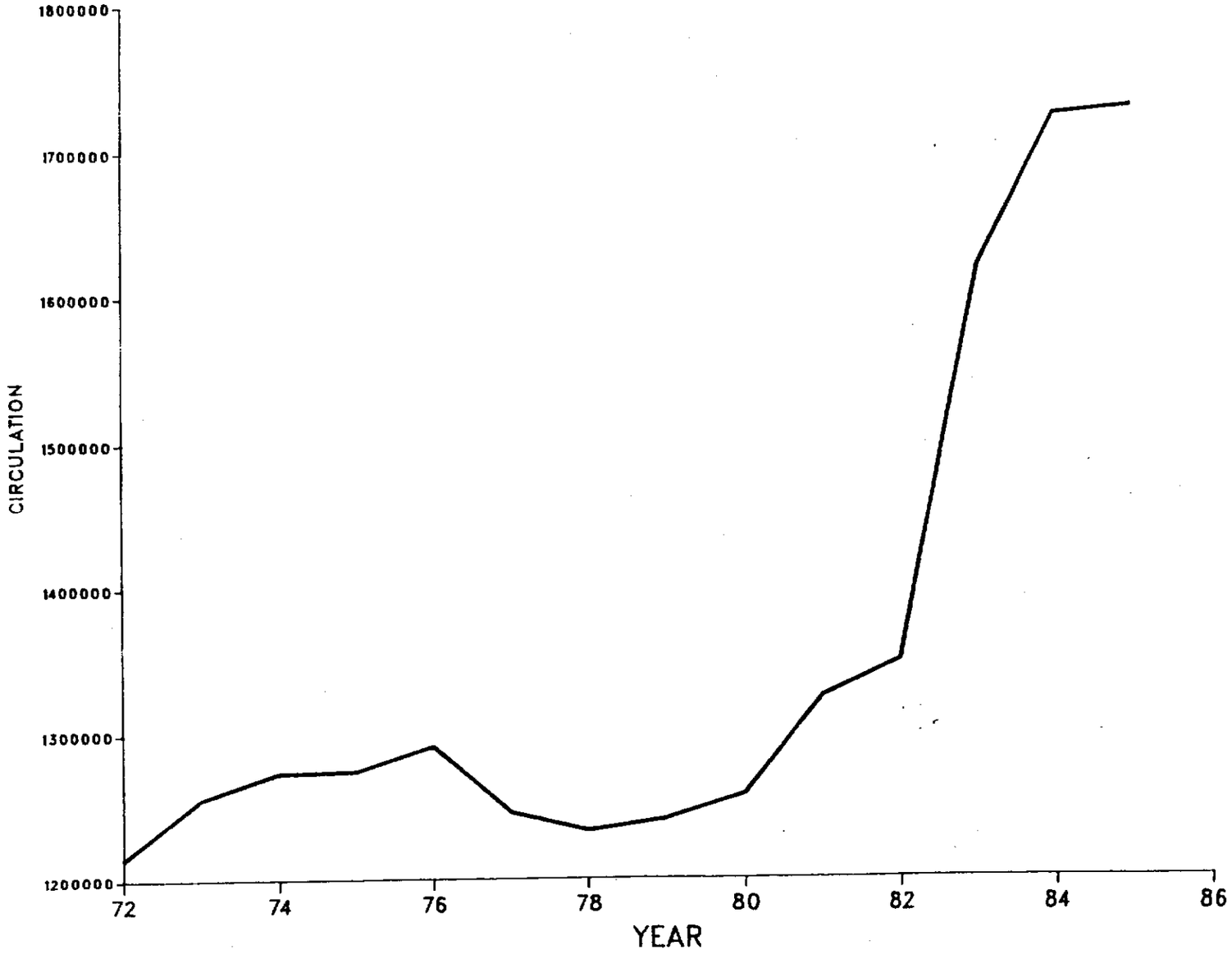
SOURCE: MS

FIGURE 3: CIRCULATION OF MS. AND MEMBERSHIP OF NOW, 1978–1985



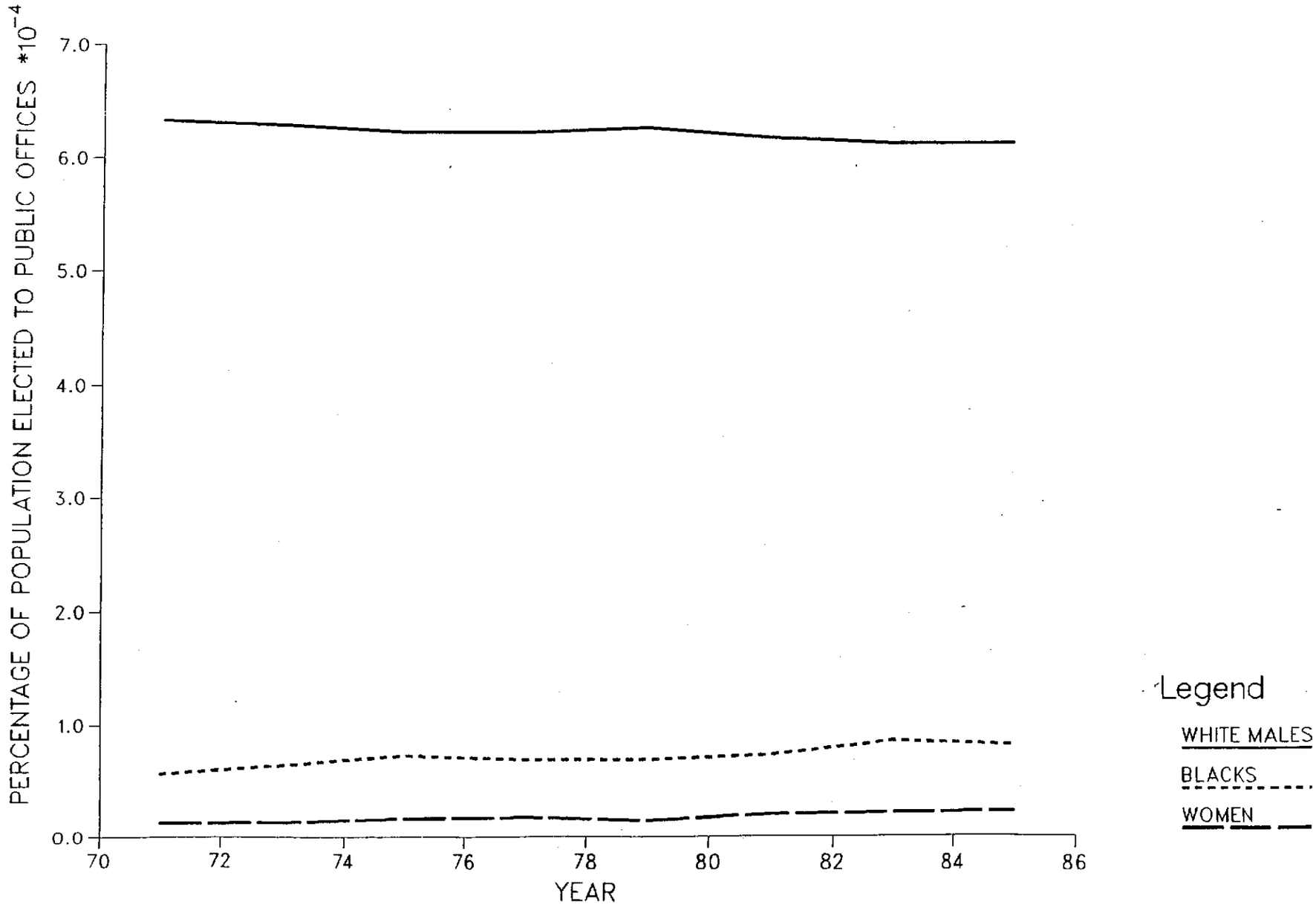
SOURCE: MS.; GELB AND PALLEY (1986)

FIGURE 4: CIRCULATION FIGURES FOR EBONY MAGAZINE, 1972–1985



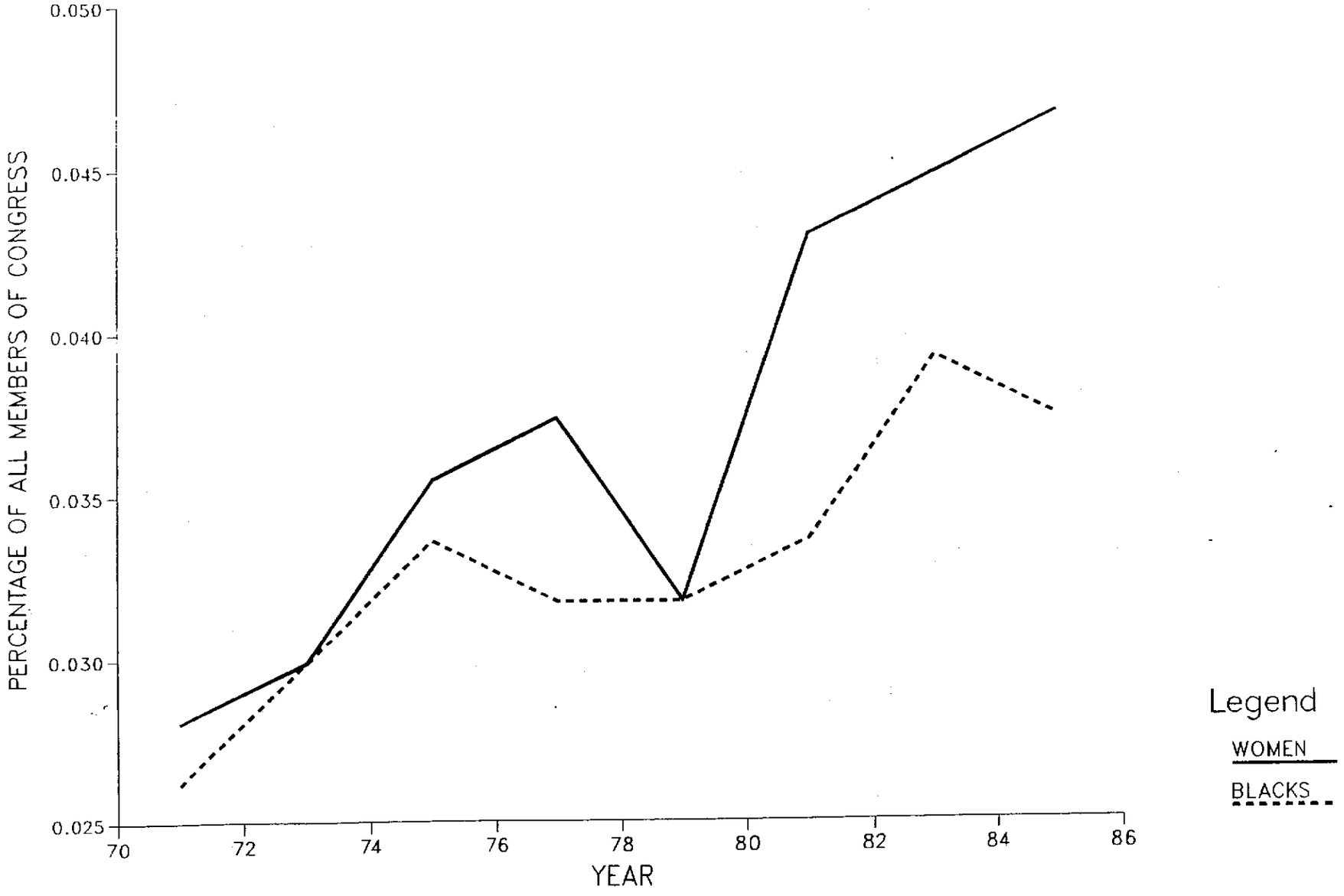
SOURCE: EBONY

FIGURE 5: ALL FEDERAL ELECTED OFFICIALS



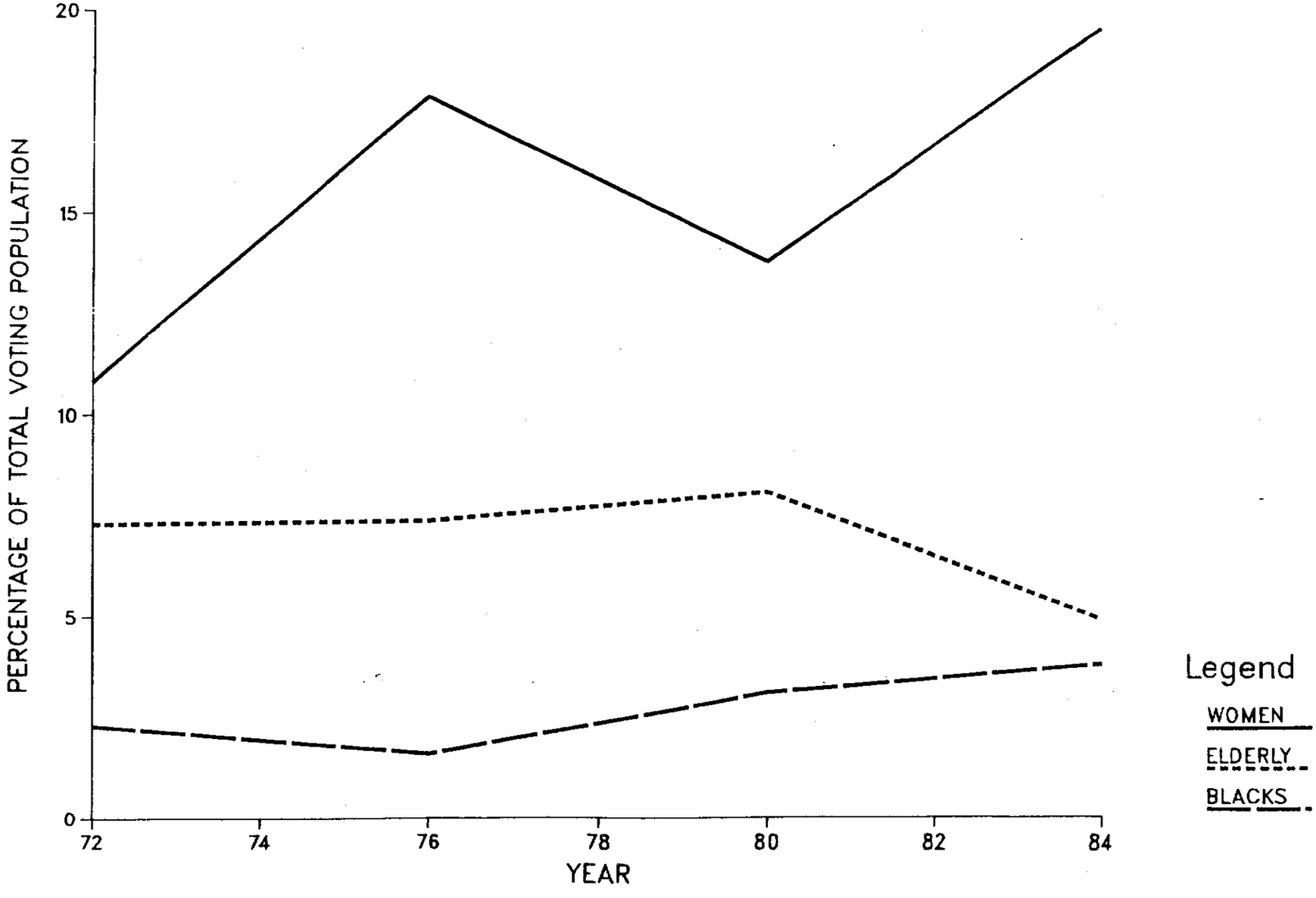
SOURCE: NATIONAL INFORMATION BANK ON WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE;
THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

FIGURE 6: BLACK AND FEMALE FEDERAL ELECTED OFFICIALS



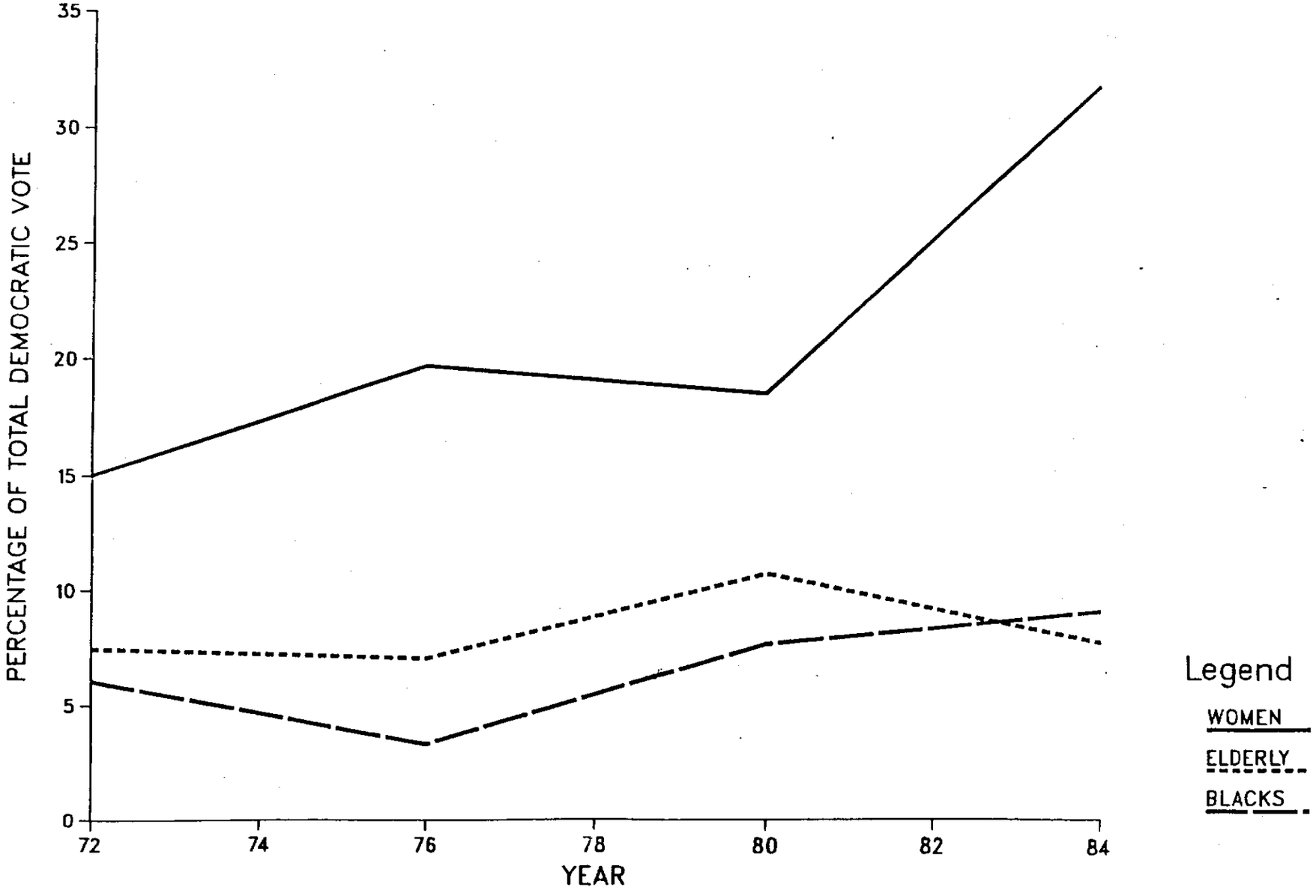
SOURCE: NATIONAL INFORMATION BANK ON WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE;
THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

FIGURE 7: PROPORTION OF VOTING POPULATION WITH HIGH LEVELS OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS



SOURCE: NES

FIGURE 8: PROPORTION OF DEMOCRATIC COALITION WITH HIGH LEVELS OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS



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