

AN ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS: SUB-SECTION AND CITY-WIDE

Edward W. Hanten and Mark A. Reyer

In recent years the role of citizen participation has received increasing attention from the planner, public administrator and academician because of the growing demand for citizen involvement in the set of policy issues at the local level. This growing demand for citizen participation in most areas was largely an outgrowth of the "maximum feasible participation" mandate of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964; a concept that grew out of the perception by social scientists and administrators that the lack of citizen involvement in the planning and delivery of social services seemed to decrease the effectiveness of certain government programs. Today citizen involvement is mandated for most federal grant-to-local government programs to assure, in the eyes of the legislators at least, that the programs effectively represent the needs of the constituencies involved. Given these requirements, there is a need to assess the levels and intensity of participation by the various demographic groups.

There are many reasons advanced as to why citizen involvement is essential. From the sociological perspective, according to Robert Nisbet and Maurice Stein, the distinguishing characteristic of American society has been the erosion of all those institutions such as the family, job, church and especially the community through which individuals can relate to one another, form alliances, and take political initiatives[1]. This, according to William Kornhauser, leaves the individual in a state of apathy and discontent and readily available for elite manipulation or mobilization[2]. In effect, group identification, the bulwark of liberty, may well be lost as a result of this erosion process. This sociological view is similar to that held by an increasing number of political theorists who are concerned with the effects of non-participation on the individual. It is reasoned that a person taking part in the affairs of his society should gain in knowledge and understanding and develop a deeper sense of social responsibility, and, in the process, will broaden his perspectives beyond the narrow confines of his private life. This is consistent with classical democratic thought in which the emphasis on citizen participation is based upon the premise that such involvement is an essential means to the full development of individuals' capabilities.

Regardless of the philosophical perspective of the proponents or detractors of citizen participation in community affairs, the fact is that increasing numbers of citizens are becoming involved. This participation may be for purely social reasons, or economic enhancement or political involvement in issues touching the lives of the actors. Indications are that citizen participation will intensify at all levels; thus it is important to understand more fully the magnitude of this involvement.

In the process of planning for the physical environment, the actual choices made by an individual are seen as being largely dependent upon the relative value or utility of alternatives which in form are largely conditioned by the individual's value system and perceived image of the environment. As Kenneth Boulding points out, people do not apprehend the nature of reality directly but rather through a highly learned interpretive process[3]. The individual's cognitive impressions of the various parts of his environment are derived through a series of messages filtered through a complex of images. Thus it is clear each person will react to his or her environment indirectly through the medium of his personally apprehended milieu[4]. This uniqueness of perception by each individual of the environment in which he lives has significant ramifications from the planning policy perspective. The planner, when developing future goals and directions for a community, works with a set of values, not necessarily based upon factual information, to establish the ideal future environment. The question, of course, is whose values, since they are so highly personalized. The implications of value statement take on prime importance, for eventually the value has to be transformed into a goal statement which will probably result in some reordering of the environment. The inherent danger is apparent, does the goal really reflect the value of the group or only a selected few? The issue, then, seems clear when we consider citizen

of capital intensive services. Further, the possibility of separating labor intensive and capital intensive functions within services should be examined. In police protection, for example, patrol functions might be decentralized, while planning, communications and training functions might be centralized. Such alternatives may help maximize the benefits of both centralization and decentralization in service systems, and may offer viable solutions to problems of economy and efficiency in local governments.

NOTES

1. J.R. Kimberly, "Organizational Size and the Structuralist Perspective: A Review, Critique, and Proposal," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21 (December 1976):524.
2. J.W. Tukey, *Exploratory Data Analysis*, Lexington, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1977, Ch. 3.
3. E.R. Tufte, *Data Analysis for Politics and Policy*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974, p. 108.
4. R.P. Appelbaum, "City Size and Urban Life: A Preliminary Inquiry into Some Consequences of Growth in American Cities," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 12 (December, 1976):143.
5. The data presented in the 1972 *County and City Data Book* indicate some variation (especially with respect to welfare and education) in the mix of services provided in cities of 25,000 or more from state to state; however, there is little variation within states. Surveys conducted by the International City Management Association confirm that from 92 percent to 96 percent of the responding cities of 25,000 or more provide such services as fire protection and parks and recreation (P.J. Verhoven and R.A. Lancaster, "Municipal Recreation and Park Service Programs: 1975," *Urban Data Service Reports*, 7 (October, 1975), Washington, D.C.: ICMA and G.E. Wetherington, L.S. Frankel, H.E. Diezel and J.D. Russell, "Personnel Practices in Municipal Fire Service: 1976," *Urban Data Service Reports*, 9 (February 1977), Washington, D.C.: ICMA. Thus, using state as a proxy for variations in mix of services seems justifiable on the basis of available information.
6. R.L. Bish and V. Ostrum, *Understanding Urban Governments: Metropolitan Reform Reconsidered*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1973, p. 78.
7. W.A. Rosenbaum and T.A. Henderson, "Explaining the Attitude of Community Influentials Toward Government Consolidation: A Reappraisal of Four Hypotheses," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 9 (December 1973):258-259.
8. Ostrum, E., "On Righteousness, Evidence, and Reform," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 10 (June 1975):464-486.
9. R.L. Bish and R. Warren, "Scale and Monopoly Problems in Urban Government Services," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 8 (September 1972):97-122.

participation. Does the output actually reflect the broadest possible view of society, or is it the conveniently interpreted view of a few knowledgeable or influential people? Thus, while the input of citizen participation may be desirable from political and social perspectives, the output could represent only the values of a selected few involved individuals and could be highly biased.

Whether we can assume a citizens group is more knowledgeable about the environment and the wishes of the people inhabiting it than non-participants and can, therefore, make wiser decisions about the future, is subject to question. While most of us would probably opt for citizen involvement rather than the elitist approach which focuses upon the apathy of the individual, there is always a risk involved. Thus it becomes imperative that we have a better knowledge of who is participating and at what level that participation occurs.

This paper reports the preliminary findings of a study of levels of voluntary association involvement in Akron, Ohio, a medium size, older industrial city with a population of 275,425 in 1970. Akron, like most older urban areas in the Northeastern United States, has registered a steady population decline over the past seven years. The 1977 population estimates indicate the city had slightly more than 250,000 inhabitants.

This study grew out of a need to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the local and city-wide participation levels in a city and to apply a graphic process which will provide the planners and policy makers with a visual perspective of the magnitude of types of participation for the city as a whole and for the various sub-sections. Thus the study focuses on factors which are considered to be associated with participation city-wide and in the various sub-units.

To date, citizen participation research has, for the most part, been directed towards a better understanding of the socio-economic and life cycle factors affecting levels of participation. Little research effort has been directed toward an in-depth assessment of the comprehensive pattern of citizen involvement within a given political unit. This research focusing on citizen participation city-wide and within various sub-sections of the city should contribute another dimension to our understanding of the voluntary citizen participation process. This is a particularly pertinent issue of concern, for while general levels of voluntary participation for various age, sex, and work groups are thought to be understood, the overall levels of participation are not as clearly discernible.

People develop voluntary associations for a variety of reasons. In some instances the participation is self-serving and in other cases it may reflect a personal desire to participate in the building of a better environment. Thus, a single overall assessment of voluntary association has little meaning unless one is aware of the nature and motivation of that involvement. A single measure of total voluntary association activity may thus be misleading. Alan Booth, following Talcott Parsons[5], classified voluntary associations according to their instrumental or expressive objectives. Instrumental participation included those groups organized to cope with the external environment and require more aggressive than accommodative behavior on the part of members. In this group he included professional, trade and commercial associations, veterans organizations and political involvements. Expressive participation, on the other hand, includes groups whose objectives are socialization and personality integration. This would include the recreational, religious, educational and health and welfare groups[6]. Booth's classification provided a logical approach to analyzing the types of voluntary associations and is followed in this study with one exception. Given the increasing emphasis on citizen involvement in most aspects of the planning and administrative process, civic-political involvement is designated as a separate category. The rationale for this specific identification is there are several categories of civic-political involvement, some of which may be classified as pressured rather than purely voluntary association. As John Hutcheson and Frank Steggert point out, there are several categories of citizen groups in this category: (1) citizen groups mandated by federal statute; (2) citizen groups initiated by city government to be advisory to various governing bodies; and (3) voluntary, self-initiated groups that have government change as their target[7]. It was reasoned this grouping of voluntary activity might provide a better perspective of purely voluntary as opposed to strongly influenced or initiated activities.

Method

The data for this research were gathered from a cross-sectional sample of households proportional to the demographic structure and spatial distribution of both the black and white

populations. Census tracts were used as the sub-section areas. Interviews were carried out during the months of December, January and February and were conducted by trained volunteer interviewers. The yield interviews consisted of 1,315 usable responses, of which 1,023 were by white and 292 by black respondents. Only household heads or spouses 20 years of age or older were interviewed.

Only active voluntary associations over the 12 month period previous to the interview were considered and were classed according to type: instrumental, expressive and civic-political. The control variables were categorized for analytical purposes by age groups, family income, educational attainment, family type and work category[8]. In addition, participation was grouped according to physical area of focus into two categories: sub-section or local and city-wide. A comparative analysis of male and female involvement and black and white participatory levels was also incorporated in the study.

A multiple classification analysis similar to that used by Cutler in his analysis of age differences in voluntary association memberships was also developed[9]. The procedure analyzes the relationship between an independent and dependent variable such as income and community-wide involvement and yields standardized means and deviations, chi-square and t values and ASE for each statistic. A participation index based upon the gross mean for each variable was also constructed.

Findings

Most of the studies carried out to date tend to agree that voluntary associations tend to increase among both men and women in the more affluent neighborhoods and groups and that active participation tends to decrease with age (Axelrod, Mather, Cutler, Riessman, Taietz and Larson, Bell and Force, Nie, Wright and Hyman). The findings of this study are consistent with the findings of these previous studies with certain significant exceptions which are detailed in the following discussion.

Participation rates tend to vary widely among age and income groups, family and work types, educational levels and particularly between the home owner and the renter (Table 1). Membership involvement tends to be low for respondents below 25 years of age and then consistently increases with age. Cutler's finding that involvement progressively decreases after age 54 does not hold in this study[10]. The other factors which would appear to deter participation are income, family type, particularly the families headed by a female or a single male, educational level, work type, specifically the laborer, and home ownership. This general overview of participation provides some information on citizen involvement, but the assumption of a simple and direct relationship between the aforementioned factors and voluntary association levels must be avoided because further analysis will indicate the existence of a very complex set of interrelationships.

The physical area of focus of citizen involvement varies by demographic characteristic. At the sub-section level, affiliation is lowest in the 20-25 year age category, increasing with age and culminating in the highest proportion of involvement in the over 64 year age group. This trend is reasonable for the younger individuals have not become established at the sub-section level and the older persons are shifting their voluntary activity closer to home. This is evidenced by the city-wide data which clearly indicates the young and old are not heavily involved in city-wide voluntary functions while those persons in their active middle years tend to be involved in issues and organizations that are community-wide in orientation (Table 2).

When analyzed by racial group (Figure 1A), the black respondents are significantly more involved in voluntary activities than whites at all age levels. This involvement for both groups increases until age 64, after which it begins to taper off. This refocusing of involvement is, to a degree, related to decreasing mobility and altered life styles. An analysis by physical area of focus (Figure 1B) points up several variations in the patterns of involvement. Except for the over 64 age group, the white respondent is slightly more involved in city-wide associations than is the black. The significant feature for both black and white respondents is the participation rate increases with age at the sub-section level. In contrast, involvement city-wide increases until age 64, at which point it drops off sharply. This should not be interpreted to mean the older age groups are

TABLE 1
PROPORTION OF VARIOUS GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN VOLUNTARY
ASSOCIATIONS BY TOTAL POPULATION

	<u>PERCENT</u> <u>PARTICIPATING</u>	<u>PERCENT</u> <u>NOT PARTICIPATING</u>
<u>AGE GROUPS</u> N = 1315 ($\chi^2 = 105.048$ df = 28 p < .001)		
20-25	57.4	42.6
26-34	85.1	14.9
35-49	85.3	14.7
50-64	88.5	11.5
Over 64	87.3	12.7
<u>INCOME GROUPS</u> N = 1301 ($\chi^2 = 255.744$ df = 28 p < .001)		
Less than \$6,000	73.3	26.7
\$6,000-\$12,000	73.7	26.3
\$12,000-\$18,000	91.7	8.3
\$18,000-\$24,000	98.5	1.5
Over \$24,000	97.7	2.3
<u>FAMILY TYPE</u> N = 1315 ($\chi^2 = 103.957$ df = 28 p < .001)		
Married with Children	88.6	11.4
Married without Children	83.9	16.1
Female with Children	71.8	28.2
Single Female	86.4	13.6
Single Male	70.1	29.9
<u>WORK TYPE</u> N = 1172 ($\chi^2 = 198.309$ df = 35 p < .001)		
Laborer	60.1	39.9
Manager & Administrative	95.0	5.0
Service & Clerical	81.8	18.2
Professional & Technical	98.2	1.8
Operative & Craftsmen	88.8	11.2
Retired	91.6	8.4
<u>HOME OWNERSHIP</u> N = 1307 ($\chi^2 = 258.959$ df = 7 p < .001)		
Owner	97.1	2.9
Renter	74.7	25.3
<u>YEARS OF EDUCATION</u> N = 1315 ($\chi^2 = 226.137$ df = 28 p < .001)		
8 Years or Less=	78.4	21.6
9-11	69.8	30.2
12	81.0	19.0
13-15	89.4	10.6
16 or More	98.1	1.9

FIGURE 1

MEAN INDEXED ACTIVE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION RATE BY AGE FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

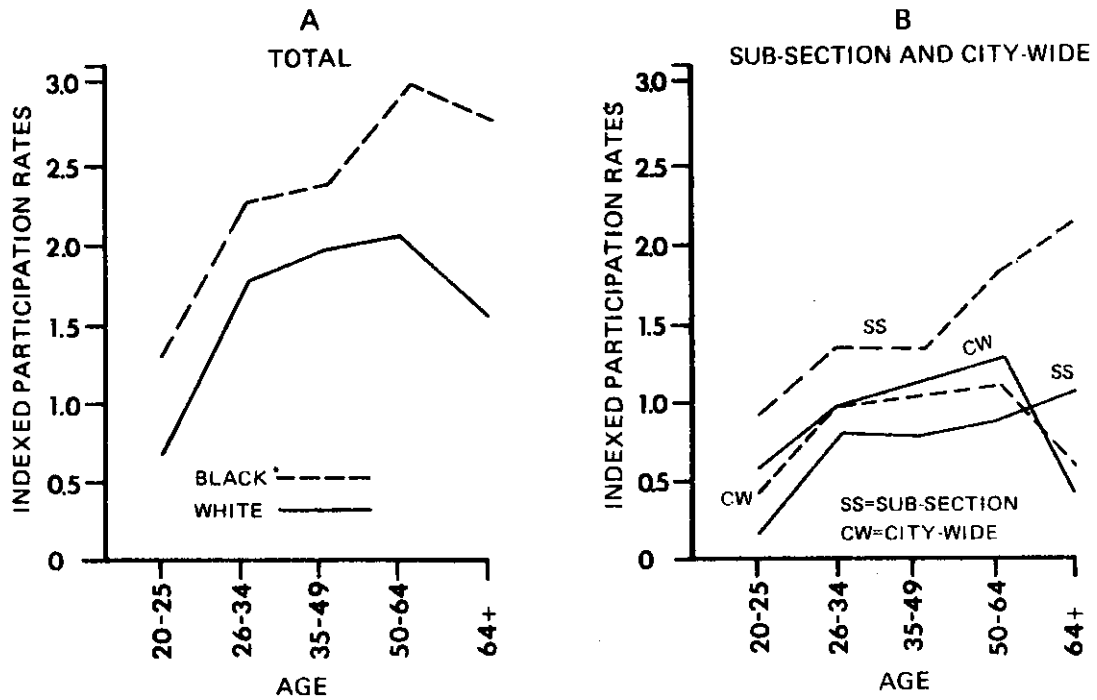


TABLE 2

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION BY AGE GROUPS

<u>AGE GROUPS</u>	<u>SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION INDEX</u>	<u>CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION INDEX</u>	<u>TOTAL COMMUNITY AFFILIATION</u>
20-25	.35	.56	.91
26-34	.91	.99	1.90
35-49	.89	1.13	2.02
50-64	1.07	1.25	2.32
Over 64	1.41	.43	1.84
χ^2	111.140	116.922	105.048
df	20	20	28
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = 1315

TABLE 3

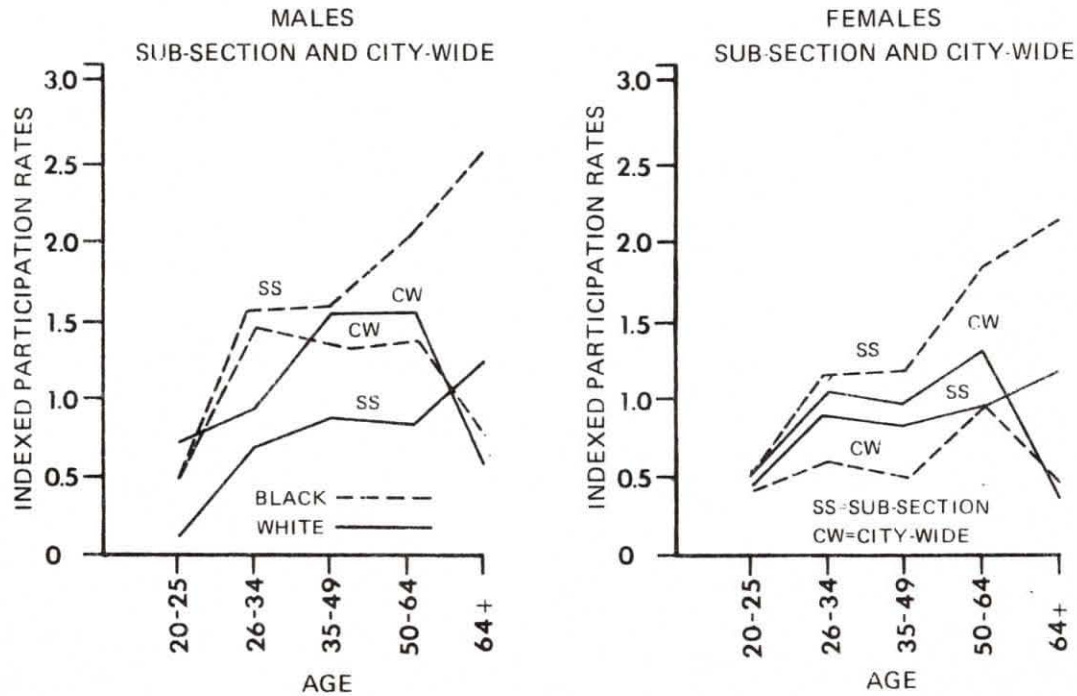
INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY AGE
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

AGE	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION		CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION		TOTAL AFFILIATION	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
20-25	.19	.89	.59	.47	.78	1.36
26-34	.78	1.36	1.00	.95	1.78	2.31
35-49	.78	1.37	1.15	1.08	1.93	2.45
50-64	.83	1.83	1.27	1.15	2.10	2.98
Oyer 64	1.18	2.22	.38	.58	1.56	2.80
χ^2	92.148	56.690	101.211	33.842	93.262	72.072
df	16	20	20	20	28	28
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .05	p < .001	p < .001

N = White 1023, Black 292

FIGURE 2

MEAN INDEXED ACTIVE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION RATE BY
AGE AND SEX FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS



decreasing their involvement in voluntary activities, rather it signals a shift of their activities from the city-wide arena to the local level. These findings do not support Babchuck and Booth's assertion that the old remain unaffiliated[11]. This variation is possibly due to approach. Babchuck and Booth examined participation over a given time period, while this study is cross-sectional, examining participation at a given point in time. Also the variation could be due to slightly different age groupings, but changed social patterns of the elderly since 1969 probably is a significant factor.

An evaluation of black and white male and female voluntary association participation rates provides several interesting comparisons (Table 4, Figure 2). In the case of white participants the rate of involvement at the sub-section level is about equal by age group. However, the male is significantly more involved city-wide. The black male, on the other hand, is significantly more involved in voluntary associations at both the sub-section level and city-wide except in the 20-25 year age bracket. The black male is far more heavily involved at the local level than his white counterpart and with the exception of the 35-64 age group is also more involved city-wide (Figure 2). The same pattern holds when comparing black and white female participation except in the over 64 age group where a slightly higher proportion of black females are involved city-wide. Overall, the findings of this study on black and white involvement are not consistent with the 1958 study by Wright and Hyman which found white respondents proportionally greater involved in voluntary association[12]. This difference may be explained in part by the fact their study was national in scope, as opposed to a single city. Also, over the nineteen years since the Wright-Hyman study appeared, significant social, economic and demographic shifts have impacted upon the black population resulting in significant changes in life style expectations.

Income and Levels of Participation

There is a significant relationship between income and voluntary association. At the sub-section level, participation is proportionately higher for low income groups and decreases as income increases (Table 5). Just the reverse trend applies for community-wide involvement. This pattern applies generally for all groups, black and white, and male and female; only the degree of involvement varies. The significant comparison again is that a higher proportion of black respondents in all income categories are significantly more involved than white respondents in voluntary associations both local and city-wide (Table 6). This, again, is in variance with Wright and Hyman's findings.

A comparison of male and female participation rates by income group shows some variation. White males participate more than females except in the \$12,000-\$18,000 group where females are significantly more involved in voluntary associations, particularly city-wide (Figure 3). In contrast, black males participate more than females in all but the below \$6,000 group. Income-wise, black males are also more heavily involved than white males, both local and city-wide, for all categories. Black females, on the other hand, are more heavily involved than white females at the local level but noticeably less involved city-wide (Table 7). This is consistent with the studies by Babchuck and Booth, Cutler and Scott, but is counter to the findings of Mather and Komarovsky.

Education and Voluntary Associations

Educational level and sub-section voluntary association are not significantly correlated. Respondents with the lowest educational attainment participate proportionately greater than other groups at the sub-section level. This reflects to a degree the relationship between income and education. The less educated tend to be found in the lower income groups; thus their involvement at the sub-section level is largely dictated by economics. Correspondingly, city-wide participation and education are positively correlated (0.532). Respondents with 13 or more years of school have a significantly higher affiliation rate in voluntary associations than those with lesser educational levels (Table 8).

The black male is more involved at every educational level, both sub-section and city-wide than the white male. This pattern also applies when comparing black female participation with white female participation at the sub-section level, but the reverse is true city-wide where the white female is more involved (Table 9). The least educated, as a group (8 years or less), participate proportionately greater in voluntary associations than all other educational groups

TABLE 4

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY AGE AND SEX
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

AGE GROUP	SUB-SECTION PARTICIPATION				CITY-WIDE PARTICIPATION			
	WHITE		BLACK		WHITE		BLACK	
	M ¹	F ¹	M ²	F ³	M ¹	F ¹	M ⁴	F ⁵
20-25	.03	.37	.38	.40	.74	.46	.38	.45
26-34	.71	.86	1.58	1.17	.98	1.03	1.44	.64
35-49	.84	.72	1.59	1.20	1.55	.96	1.35	.56
50-64	.81	.85	2.03	1.69	1.58	1.27	1.36	1.00
Over 64	1.25	1.17	2.60	2.19	.45	.36	.73	.48

1 = p < .001 3 = p < .001 5 = p < .10
2 = p < .01 4 = p < .05

N = White Males 472, White Females 551, Black Males 129, Black Females 163

TABLE 5

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION
BY INCOME GROUPS

<u>INCOME</u>	<u>SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION</u>	<u>CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION</u>	<u>TOTAL COMMUNITY AFFILIATION</u>
\$6,000 or Less	1.16	.28	1.44
\$6,000-\$12,000	.96	.53	1.49
\$12,000-\$18,000	1.00	1.25	2.25
\$18,000-\$24,000	.88	1.75	2.63
Over \$24,000	.61	2.39	3.00
χ^2	48.601	664.082	255.744
df	20	20	20
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = 1301

TABLE 6

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY INCOME
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

INCOME	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION		CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION		TOTAL AFFILIATION	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
\$6,000 or Less	.93	1.67	.44	.38	1.37	2.05
\$6,000-\$12,000	.76	1.57	.48	.66	1.24	2.23
\$12,000-\$18,000	.84	1.67	1.23	1.38	2.07	3.05
\$18,000-\$24,000	.78	1.34	1.70	2.00	2.48	3.34
Over \$24,000	.53	1.38	2.33	3.00	2.86	4.38
χ^2	32.556	20.074	518.333	195.255	264.698	75.820
df	16	20	20	20	28	28
	p <.01	p <.50	p <.001	p <.001	p <.001	p <.001

N = White 1011, Black 290

FIGURE 3

MEAN INDEXED ACTIVE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION RATE BY INCOME
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

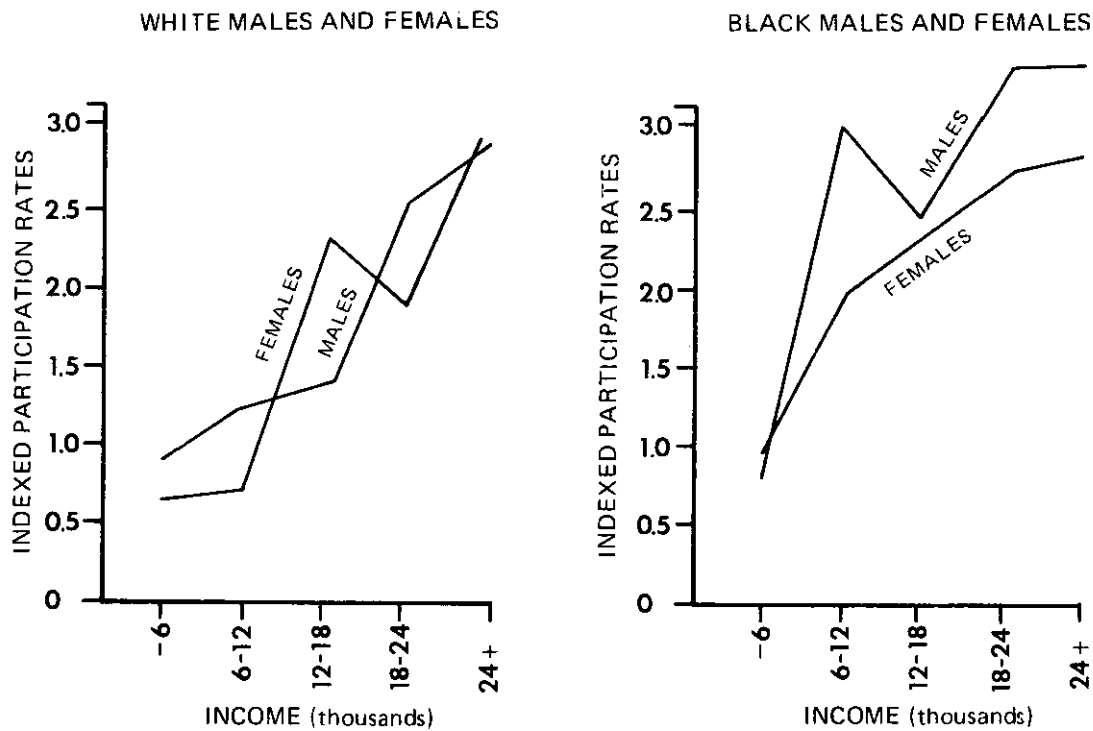


TABLE 7
INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY INCOME GROUPS AND SEX
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

INCOME	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION				CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION			
	WHITE		BLACK		WHITE		BLACK	
	M ¹	F ²	M ²	F ³	M ⁴	F ⁴	M ⁴	F ⁴
\$6,000 or Less	.90	.95	1.55	1.72	.03	.20	.52	.31
\$6,000-\$12,000	.80	.74	2.57	1.44	.46	.50	.84	.54
\$12,000-\$18,000	.77	.91	2.00	1.38	1.05	1.39	1.50	1.15
\$18,000-\$24,000	.80	.74	1.56	.67	1.74	1.64	2.22	1.58
Over \$24,000	.53	.52	1.50	.62	2.28	2.47	3.16	1.00

1 = p < .05 3 = p < .01
2 = p < .30 4 = p < .001

N = White Males, 470, White Females, 539, Black Males, 129, Black Females, 163

TABLE 8
INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

<u>YEARS OF EDUCATION</u>	<u>SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION</u>	<u>CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION</u>	<u>TOTAL AFFILIATION</u>
8 Years or Less	1.73	.39	2.12
9-11	.98	.33	1.31
12	1.03	.76	1.79
13-15	.80	1.13	1.93
16 or More	.90	1.91	2.81
χ^2	50.977	489.946	266.137
df	20	20	28
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = 1315

except for the highest educated, but this involvement of the less educated is almost exclusively male, weighted heavily by black males, and occurs at the sub-section level. This does not completely agree with Reissman's findings that higher class status determined by either income or education will result in greater participation in voluntary associations [13]. In the case of the most highly educated group, involvement is oriented city-wide irregardless of sex or race.

Family Type, Work Category and Home Ownership

Viewing voluntary association by family type, married couples, as a group, are more actively involved at all levels while couples with children are significantly more involved at the local level. One person households tend to have a low participation rate (Tables 10 and 11).

When grouped by work type, the respondents classified as laborers have the lowest participation rate with: (1) managers and administrators, (2) professional and technical, and (3) operative and craftsmen groups having the highest. Managers and administrators and professional and technical respondents are most involved in voluntary associations, and their involvement is primarily at the city-wide level. Operative and craftsmen also have a high level of involvement, but their participation is about equally divided between sub-section and city-wide. Retired respondents are predominantly involved at the sub-section level (Tables 12 and 13).

Home owners and renters exhibit significantly different rates of voluntary association affiliation. The home owner is about twice as involved as the renter at both the sub-section and city-wide levels (Table 14). The black owner and renter has significantly higher rates of participation than his white counterpart (Table 14).

Type of Voluntary Association Involvement

The type of involvement respondents reported was also examined. The participation was grouped into one of three categories: instrumental, expressive and civic-political. As indicated previously, instrumental and civic-political are more aggressive types of involvement, while expressive is primarily social enhancement. As one might expect, the major proportion of all voluntary association is expressive, but the degree of involvement varies with groups (Table 16). While expressive involvement of white and black respondents is about equal, whites have significantly greater instrumental participation than blacks and are more heavily involved in civic-political activities. A similar pattern exists between male and female involvement. Male participation is oriented towards instrumental and expressive, while females tend toward expressive and civic-political associations. Black females are the most involved in expressive associations and also have the highest participation rate in civic-political, but have a very low rate of participation in instrumental associations. White males, on the other hand, have the lowest expressive rate but the highest rate of instrumental involvement.

This provides a fairly good perspective on where people choose to invest their time. The white male opts for a greater investment in activities associated with his business and professional life. Such activity is apparently not as essential or important to the black male who places significant emphasis on expressive and, to a lesser degree, on civic-political activities. Both black and white females choose to invest their time primarily in expressive activities but are also willing to invest significant time to civic-political activities.

The types of participation gives us a bit more insight into what participation means in terms of community organization and the political process. Obviously, it reflects what a growing number of authors have alluded to, namely the inexplicable increase of voluntary participation by women, particularly the often referred to housewife. It reflects the implication that much of this involvement is in civic-political activity and the growing emergence of women as a political force. It may indeed substantiate what Constantine and Craik suggest, that women have become the workhorses in the political issues [14]. This apparently applies to both the black and white female. They are apparently willing to forego some of the social enhancement involvement for civic-related activities. The male role in the civic-political realm may well be decreasing as indicated by their low level of involvement. A similar pattern exists for the over 64 age group. In addition to continuing to be involved, they appear to be becoming more involved in the civic-political activities.

TABLE 9
INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION				CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION			
	WHITE		BLACK		WHITE		BLACK	
	M ¹	F ²	M ³	F ⁴	M ⁴	F ⁴	M ⁴	F ⁴
8 Years or Less	.69	.25	2.55	2.21	.15	NS	.73	.42
9-11	.60	.84	1.26	1.64	.51	.27	.46	.45
12	.87	.82	1.77	1.43	.75	.69	1.21	.65
13-15	.69	.84	1.40	.71	1.19	1.06	1.20	1.00
16 or More	.74	.84	1.77	.65	1.92	1.80	2.42	1.59

1 = p < .20 3 = p < .10
2 = p < .80 4 = p < .001

N = White Males 472 - White Females 551, Black Males 129 - Black Females 163

TABLE 10
INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION
BY FAMILY TYPE

FAMILY TYPE	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION	CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION	TOTAL AFFILIATION
Married with Children	1.26	1.05	2.31
Married without Children	.79	1.14	1.93
Female with Children	.94	.37	1.31
Single Female	.86	.89	1.75
Single Male	.44	.88	1.32
X ²	162.490	73.604	103.957
df	20	20	28
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N=1315

TABLE 11

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY FAMILY TYPE
FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

FAMILY TYPE	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION		CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION		TOTAL AFFILIATION	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Married with Children	1.08	1.82	1.05	1.06	2.13	2.88
Married without Children	.63	1.61	1.12	1.17	1.75	5.66
Female with Children	.66	1.54	.38	.50	1.04	2.04
Single Female	.75	1.41	.92	1.24	1.67	2.65
Single Male	.27	.75	.86	.97	1.13	1.72
χ^2	126.711	76.703	51.376	41.952	100.429	57.701
df	16	20	20	20	28	28
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .01	p < .001	p < .01

N = White 1023, Black 292

TABLE 12

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION
BY WORK CATEGORY

<u>WORK CATEGORY</u>	<u>SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION</u>	<u>CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION</u>	<u>TOTAL AFFILIATION</u>
Laborer	.92	.32	1.24
Manager & Administrator	.89	1.60	2.49
Service, Sales & Clerical	.89	.79	1.68
Professional & Technical	.79	1.84	2.63
Operative & Craftsmen	1.26	1.17	2.43
Retired	1.60	.41	2.01
χ^2	104.221	422.925	198.309
df	25	25	35
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = 1192

TABLE 13

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION BY WORK CATEGORY
AND SEX FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

WORK CATEGORY	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION				CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION			
	WHITE		BLACK		WHITE		BLACK	
	M ¹	F ²	M ³	F ²	M ²	F ²	M ²	F ²
Laborer	.67	.60	1.75	NS	.44	.19	.58	NS
Manager & Administrator	.66	.97	1.83	.91	1.54	1.49	2.39	1.27
Service, Sales & Clerical	.68	.66	1.82	1.41	.93	.78	1.04	.64
Professional & Technical	.77	.60	1.71	.77	1.91	1.73	2.14	1.38
Operative & Craftsmen	.96	1.28	1.76	NS	.88	1.34	1.35	NS
Retired	1.40	1.26	3.10	2.00	.30	.34	.70	.48

1 = p < .01 3 = p < .30

2 = p < .001

N = White Males 443 - White Females 482, Black Males 113 - Black Females 134

TABLE 14

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AFFILIATION
BY HOME OWNERSHIP

OWNERSHIP	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION	CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION	TOTAL AFFILIATION
Owner	1.30	1.41	2.71
Renter	.74	.70	1.44
χ^2	164.239	173.684	284.959
df	5	5	7
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = 1309

TABLE 15

INDEXED LEVELS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION
BY HOME OWNERSHIP FOR BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS

OWNERSHIP	SUB-SECTION AFFILIATION		CITY-WIDE AFFILIATION		TOTAL AFFILIATION	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Owner	1.14	1.92	1.39	1.47	2.56	3.39
Renter	.54	1.38	.62	.67	1.16	2.05
χ^2	173.497	21.359	119.012	67.990	255.333	70.018
df	4	5	5	5	7	7
	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001

N = White Owner 575, White Renter 441, Black Owner 113, Renter 178

TABLE 16

TYPE OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION INVOLVEMENT OF VARIOUS GROUPS

RESPONDENTS	INSTRUMENTAL (PERCENT)	EXPRESSIVE (PERCENT)	CIVIC-POLITICAL (PERCENT)	LINE TOTAL (PERCENT)
Total	18.2	60.1	21.7	100
White	20.2	62.6	17.2	100
Black	13.4	65.1	21.5	100
Male	24.1	58.5	17.4	100
Female	13.4	61.4	25.2	100
Black Male	14.6	64.5	20.9	100
Black Female	5.7	67.5	26.8	100
White Male	29.2	55.3	15.6	100
White Female	16.5	59.0	24.5	100

The instrumental (professional, etc.) types of involvement appear to be predominantly a function of the white respondent, particularly the white male.

Conclusions

It is relatively easy to analyze voluntary association using dependent and independent variables and draw what may seem clear and direct relationships. While data present a discernible association, the causality is far from clear. Certain variables tend to vary together, thus producing a compounded effect. As a result, any conclusions must be viewed with caution. From the findings of this study there is evidence that income, education and age have important influence upon the voluntary participation rates of males, females and black and white respondents. This research is an attempt to relate these impacts at the sub-sectional and city-wide levels. A brief review of the findings follows.

1. Age has a significant impact on voluntary associations. The level of participation drops off very little with advanced age, but there is a dramatic shift in the physical area of focus of participation. The shift is from city-wide to the sub-section with a greater emphasis on expressive types of participation.

2. White males are more involved than females in voluntary association, but their level of participation is primarily city-wide. They are more involved in instrumental activities such as trade associations and professional organizations than females.

3. The black respondents are proportionately more heavily involved than white respondents in voluntary activities at almost every level. Their involvement is more heavily oriented toward the expressive and civic-political activities. This increased voluntary participation of blacks may well reflect new social norms in which the black population is assuming new roles and explains in part perhaps why previous studies do not agree with this finding.

4. Economic status and educational attainment are significant determinants in the city-wide voluntary association participation rate. The more affluent and better educated black and white respondents will probably participate more actively in organizations with city-wide orientations.

5. Black and elderly and female respondents are significantly involved in expressive functions largely at the sub-section level. This could lead to the observation that while participation for these groups is high, they are involved at a level where impact on community change is relatively ineffective.

6. There are indications females are increasing their role in civic activities as are blacks in general.

7. The young male, and particularly the single male, tends to avoid participation in voluntary associations. They apparently allocate the largest proportion of their time to cultural involvement where they, along with single females, exhibit the highest involvement in community cultural activities. These groups apparently are more interested in observing rather than actively participating.

NOTES

1. Maurice R. Stein (ed.), *Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society*, The Free Press, 1960, p. 31.

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6. Alan Booth, "Sex and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 1972, 37 (April):188.

7. John D. Hucheson, Jr. and Frank X Steggert, *Organizing Citizen Participation in Urban Areas*, Center for Research in Social Change, Emory University, Atlanta, pp. 11-17.

8. Respondents were divided into five age groups: 20-25, 26-34, 35-49, 50-64 and over 64. Family income was also divided into five categories: less than \$6,000, \$6,000-\$12,000, \$12,000-\$18,000, \$18,000-\$24,000 and over \$24,000. Educational attainment was categorized into the following five groupings: 8 years or less, 9-11 years, 12 years, 13-15 years and 16 or more years.

9. Stephen J. Cutler, "Age Differences in Voluntary Association Memberships," *Social Forces*, 55, 1, 1976:43-58.

10. Cutler, *ibid.*, p. 44.

11. Nicholas Babchuck and Alan Booth, "Voluntary Association Membership: A Longitudinal Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 34 (February) 1969:36.

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Edited by:
Peter R. Gluck
Urban Studies Program
University of Michigan, Flint
and
Edward W. Hanten
Center for Urban Studies
The University of Akron

Project Coordinator:
Judith A. Sherman

Prepared By:
The Center for Urban Studies
The University of Akron
Akron, Ohio 44325
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