

SOCIAL ACTIVITY AMONG SOCIOLOGY ALUMNI

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APPROVAL SHEET

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To my Grandmother, my guardian since childhood,
for her immeasurable and ongoing efforts in my personal
development, and most importantly, happiness in life.

To my twin sister, Debbie, for her empathy and
moral support that span the years, and now, the miles.

Their love and encouragement are intangible,
and yet, undeniably part of this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the results of an empirical analysis of avocational pursuits among a selected aggregate of college graduates. Specifically, the research examines the premise that students of sociology are more likely than others to be involved in formal voluntary associations outside of their occupational pursuits. The data were collected as a part of a survey of alumni of the College of William and Mary. Those selected for the study had majored in sociology as undergraduates and completed the program requirements during the period of time between 1968 and 1988.

The formal avocational activities of these alumni were compared to those reported by college-educated respondents to the 1988 National Opinion Research Center General Social Survey. The data support the conclusion that sociology alumni are more likely to be involved in formal voluntary activities than are college-educated generally. Those who evaluated sociology as important to personal development were even more likely than other sociology alumni to be involved in such activities.

Statistical associations between the response categories bore out the "instrumental-expressive" dichotomy proposed by Rose (1954) and Gordon and Babchuk (1959): the distinction between participation in avocations oriented primarily to satisfactions of members deriving from group activity itself, and participation in avocations oriented to accomplishing some task external to the group experience per se. This distinction justified the exclusion of the former type of association, primary group leisure pursuits, from further analysis and led to the examination of "instrumental" and "moral" orientations to social involvement.

Females were found to be as equally involved in avocations that are comprised of "instrumental" purposes, thereby exemplifying the high level of educational and occupational achievement of the alumni sample. However, a higher proportion of the female sample with children participates in educational and religious associations. The decision for high SES females in the alumni sample to start a family manifests itself in the traditional responsibility for moral attachment to the community.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY AMONG SOCIOLOGY ALUMNI

INTRODUCTION

In 1887 Nietzsche observed that "we knowers are unknown to ourselves" (quoted in Golffing, 1956:149). The task of the sociologist is the study of social life: and thus, sociological inquiry seeks to further our understanding of the individual in relation to his larger society. Does this increased knowledge of social structures and processes have an effect upon sociology alumni? Are scholars of sociology prompted by their study of the discipline to become more socially involved? This thesis focuses upon the relationship between education in undergraduate sociology and avocational involvement in social influence groups.

The empirical analysis of this relationship encompasses two primary objectives: (1) identification of the correlates of formal avocational involvement; and (2) classification of the general categories of these pursuits. The research uses data from two surveys: (1) a 1988 alumni survey conducted by the sociology department at The College of William and Mary in Virginia; and (2) the 1988 General Social Survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC).

The William and Mary sample represents those students who virtually all graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts during the years 1968 through 1988. The NORC sample is

nationally representative and provides data on voluntary membership of the college-educated in formal associations. Although the research question of the two surveys is worded differently, similar avocational activities are common to both. This allows avocational categories of the sociology alumni to be directly compared to affiliation rates of the 1988 NORC college-educated sample.

Foremost, it is posited that awareness of social structures and processes has a significant influence upon social involvement. C. Wright Mills (1959:5) theorized that "the sociological imagination" provokes individuals to transform "the indifference of publics into involvement with public issues." Sociology alumni are expected to have had greater exposure than others to such sociological imagination. Therefore, I hypothesize that sociology alumni will be more involved in social influence groups than others with comparable education.

Furthermore, this inductive research project seeks to identify a set of correlates that influences the social activity of an aggregate of sociology alumni. The methodology employed will attempt to ascertain the importance of selected independent variables derived from the survey questionnaire upon the avocational response categories of the sociology alumni. Multiple linear regression analysis will be utilized for this task.

This exploratory approach begins with a selected review of the voluntary participation literature to provide the frame of reference for analysis of self-recorded avocational pursuits. More specifically, an "instrumental-expressive" typology is extrapolated as a guide to identifying the potential bases of social activity. This dichotomy makes a distinction between activities that are largely extensions of personal interest and those which seek to influence some defined segment of the social order.¹

The research design delineated above incorporates an inductive typology that combines both broad and narrow categories of social participation. The advantage of this participation-based typology is that it allows for inferences about how individual and social background factors contribute to general modes of voluntary activity (Hougland, 1979:90).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

The following review of literature provides a theoretical basis for the exploratory analysis of avocational pursuits of sociology alumni. This review is divided into four parts: (1) the argument that education is positively associated with high levels of social activity through increased structural opportunities; (2) the empirical search for correlates of general types of social activity; (3) theoretical expansion of expressive, instrumental, and moral orientations to voluntary participation; and (4) the assertion that increased understanding of social structures and processes results in the propensity to become involved in social influence groups.

The correlation between social class and number of voluntary associational memberships is one of the most widely replicated findings in social science (McPherson, 1981A:332). Additionally, variables such as gender, marital status, and nuclear family size have also been found to directly affect the amount of individual participation, though with somewhat less consistency than SES (Edwards and White, 1980:60). However, the following section will emphasize prominent findings that depict the pronounced influence that education has upon extent of involvement in voluntary associations.

Education and Social activity

Meister's "progress report" (1979:8) on the "diverse" participation literature confirmed that "the level of instruction is among the independent variables that are almost always strongly correlated with the data." The following section will briefly elaborate upon Meister's hypothesis that "the higher the level of information or instruction, the higher the degree of social participation" (1979:8). The assertion that formal education facilitates structural opportunities for social involvement frames the ensuing discussion.

A tremendous gap exists between the sociological "theory" of the nature of voluntary associations, which are largely classificatory schemes drawn from the concepts of other disciplines (Smith and Freedman, 1972:2), and actual research conducted on the subject of voluntary participation. Research methods that employ broad-based surveys of affiliation rates often remain atheoretical in their use of everyday language to form organizational categories (Smith and Freedman, 1972:9).

Hausknecht's (1962) analysis of 1955 NORC survey data (N= 2,000) revealed that the level of educational attainment has considerable influence on social participation. The 1955 NORC data showed that 17% of the least educated (some elementary school) respondents were members of associations, while 43% of high school graduates and a majority (61%) of the college graduates were members.

Hyman and Wright's (1971) reanalysis of NORC data covering the years from 1955 to 1962 confirmed that membership is related directly to SES conditions as measured by a variety of indicators. The authors noticed a striking contrast between the respondent's current status and his prior status of the family of origin. Hyman and Wright report that:

Individuals from different socioeconomic milieux show the same level of voluntary association membership so long as they themselves are of comparable status. But those who had the same origins nevertheless vary dramatically as if they themselves are at different levels in the social structure (1971:199).

Hyman and Wright speculated that "it may well be that joining and maintaining membership in associations is a special type of behavior dependent less on internalization and inner directives and more on objective circumstances" (1971:201).

Babchuk and Booth's (1969) longitudinal data analysis offers an overview of the dynamics of involvement in general categories of social activity. The authors collected their data from a representative sample of Nebraska residents (N=1500) in 1961 and repeated the process with a one-third random sample taken from the original panel in 1965. Babchuk and Booth asked panel members if they belonged to either church-related, job-related, recreational, fraternal-service, or civic-political groups. The respondent was considered to be affiliated only if he could state the purpose of the organi-

zation as well as his length and level of involvement.

Although not a national sample, Babchuk and Booth did claim that their results were applicable to the general population since rural and urban residents did not differ substantially by type of membership. Babchuk and Booth qualified in a footnote, that in regard to social class, a disproportionate number of respondents who had been members of six or more groups (14%) were either college graduates or had some college training (1969:35).

McPherson and Lockwood (1980) subjected Babchuk and Booth's longitudinal data to multivariate analysis in order to control simultaneously for background factors. The results of time one and time two as the dependent variable in a series of regression analyses produced beta coefficients that reaffirmed the education variable as the most important predictor of voluntary participation (McPherson and Lockwood, 1980:78).

McPherson (1981:721) constructed a mathematical model at the macro-level which treats individuals as if they were randomly flowing in and out of voluntary organizations within estimable probabilities of adding and dropping memberships. Utilizing the Babchuk and Booth 1969 longitudinal data, McPherson treated education as series of six dummy variables. McPherson (1981:718) found that over a lifetime a person with a high school education or more is nearly twice as likely to participate in associations as a person with a low level of education.

McPherson (1981:718) suggests the possibility that a high status person has more opportunities to join organizations; and thereby seeks out such organizations differentially. McPherson's analyses of the Babchuk and Booth longitudinal data imply that the formal education attainment variable is an impetus to establishing multiple memberships in voluntary associations. Smith (1980:512-520) cited empirical evidence that socio-culturally preferred (e.g. selective) patterns of avocational pursuits are related to SES variables to support his general activity model.

Smith's review of the voluntary participation research identified a number of discretionary activities consistently associated with high levels of formal education. These discretionary activities include participation in: both conventional and unconventional political organizations, informal religious groups, the mass media, community boards and committees, and sports and outdoor recreation; also associated was more secular giving and disaster helping behavior (1980:513).

Multidimensionality of Social Activity

Smith was able to discern a general pattern between education and types of social activity from an inventory of empirical generalizations on voluntary participation. However, Edwards and White's "methodological exercise" (1980:60-61) questions the efficacy of identifying separate correlates to

predict general modes of social participation. The correlates selected as independent variables included: education of respondent, age of respondent, gender, marital status, nuclear family size, education of head of household, occupation of head of household, years in neighborhood, health, income, and community size.

The authors conducted a census quota sample of adult women (N=174) and men (N =233) of Virginia residents, mostly white and Protestant. Although the sample size is relatively small, the 96% return rate was remarkably successful. Formal social participation was measured by: scores on a modified Chapin scale (1955) that coded the level of involvement in voluntary associations; church-related affiliation; and recent voting activity in major elections. Informal social participation was indicated as the number of best friends named and the frequency of contact with neighbors and children who no longer lived at home.

Edwards and White reported modest Pearson zero-order correlations (all less than .30). Each of the 11 indicators was significantly related to only one type of activity (1980: 65). The simultaneous introduction of the 11 independent variables in the regression analyses accounted for less than 5% of the overall variance in the types of social participation. The finding that the most often utilized correlates explain only a minimal amount of variance led Edwards and White (1980:69) to conclude that "a wide range of factors,

operating together, probably do influence the extent to which individuals engage in social activities."

Williams and Ortega (1986:35) contested the centrality of the assumption that social and demographic predictors of affiliation have equal relevance for all types of voluntary associations. The authors note that Edwards and White (1980) investigated whether the same correlates of membership in voluntary associations are also related to other types of social activity. Williams and Ortega set out to delineate more clearly the predictors of diverse categories of voluntary association (1986:36).

Williams and Ortega utilized data from a representative national sample of 3,075 adult Americans compiled by Response Analysis in 1973. Respondents were asked if they belonged to the five categories introduced by Babchuk and Booth. Both the independent and interactive effects of 9 predictor variables were analyzed using a linear probability estimation technique similar to regression analysis. The variables selected for analysis included: education, race, gender, age, marital status, whether the respondent is head of household, number of children under 18 years of age residing at home, size of the respondent's community, and region of residence.

Williams and Ortega (1989:38) pointed out that the variable education, along with race, proved to be a unidimensional correlate of associational membership. The seven remaining variables appeared to be organizationally-

specific determinants. The finding that the coefficients tended to be more than two standard errors from each other strongly suggests that joining is multidimensional in nature (1989:41). Williams and Ortega note that even education, which has consistent positive effects on belonging, does not operate in precisely the same way for each association type (1989:42).

Avocational Typology

The social participation literature is replete with studies that demonstrate that voluntary involvement in associations exhibits nonrandom patterns. The following literature citations will establish the heuristic value of an "instrumental-expressive" distinction among social activities. A proposed moral orientation to social activity is then extracted from an existing classificatory scheme.

Rose (1954:50-71) placed importance upon the analysis of social activity that is "directed outward" or focused to achieve some condition or change in a defined segment of the social order. Rose contrasted "social influence" types of association with "expressive" groups that satisfy personal interests held by their members (1954:52). Rose identified several types of "expressive" associations that he excluded from any systematic consideration (1954:52): recreational, sports, social and hobby clubs, and scientific societies. This research project will follow the precedent set by Rose in the exclusion of "expressive" participation from both theoretical

and empirical analysis of social influence activity.

Gordon and Babchuk (1959) extended Rose's dichotomy into a functional typology of "instrumental," "expressive," and mixed "instrumental-expressive" groups. Gordon and Babchuk (1959:25) propose that the objectives of social influence organizations are "instrumental" or designed to maintain or create some normative condition. Gordon and Babchuk insist that "although an instrumental organization might meet the expressive needs of its members, its principal requirement is that it focus on activity and goals that are outside the organization itself" (1959:26).

Jacoby and Babchuk (1963) assert that members of voluntary groups display a high consensus regarding the objectives of organizations of which they are members. They characterized instrumental sets of interests as "oriented to people, achievements, and events" while expressive interaction is "person directed" (1963:469). Furthermore, these objectives are important in attracting members to join and participate.

Jacoby (1965) found the conception of instrumental and expressive orientations to associational membership to be useful in predicting members' activities. Jacoby (1966) further suggests that the instrumental-expressive dichotomy is a valid framework for the analysis of the recruitment process. Smith (1972:56) elaborates that the instrumental-expressive distinction among voluntary organizations "corresponds to the 'impersonal versus person' orientation of the member, or a

'pleasure-only versus influence-by-association' orientation of the members."

Palisi and Jacobson (1977) imply that although SES level is associated with voluntary participation, the orientation of the type of social activity is the critical factor to consider. Palisi and Jacobson synthesized the instrumental-expressive dimension with four "value functions" of their central activity composed by Warriner and Prather (1959:138-140). Please refer to Appendix A on page 56. The authors surveyed a random sample from each class level at a California State College and analyzed data only from those students (N=289) who belonged to at least one formal voluntary association (FVA).

Palisi and Jacobson concluded that "dominant status" students are more highly involved than "subordinate status" students in both instrumental "productive for self" (group members) and "productive for others" (community) noncampus FVA's (1977:86). Palisi and Jacobson state that this finding is consistent with studies that show that higher status people belong to more instrumental FVA's than do lower status people. However, Palisi and Jacobson found a contrast among the students themselves: "dominant statuses" were more likely to be members of and participate highly in "productive for self" FVA's than in "productive for others" instrumental FVA's.

Houglund's participation-based typology (1979), derived through principle axis factor analysis, resulted in a

distinction between "social-business" and "service-policy" orientations of active members of voluntary groups. Hougland surveyed a representative sample of North Carolina residents (N=3,115) in 1973. The questionnaire asked respondents to indicate whether they were (1) not a member, (2) a member in name only, or (3) an active member for these 10 types of organizations: veterans, farms, fraternal and social, business, service and civic, political, professional, agency or board, labor unions, and churches.

Most of the variance in the factor analysis of the active members was accounted for in the wider variety of "social-business" types of organizations that emphasize business, professional, and social concerns (1979:87). A "service-policy" characterization received direct support from the fact that political and church organizations had high loading factors. Hougland does note that agency or board, and service and civic organizations were common types to both factor categories (1979:86).

The literature cited above delineates the heuristic value of an instrumental-expressive distinction among organizational objectives of voluntary groups. The citations further establish the utility of regarding such classification as orientations or potential bases of discretionary activity. However, Hougland's study shows that the complexity of the nature of active social participation may be understated with the instrumental-expressive dichotomy. Therefore, this

research project proposes that social involvement comprises both instrumental and morally expressive orientations that are directed at influencing a defined segment of the social order.

This instrumental-moral distinction concerning the social influence activity of sociology alumni will be measured by their participation in avocational associations characterized by their predominant instrumental or moral orientations. Appendix B on page 57 extracts four categories of Smith's dimensions of voluntary organizational goals (1973:117).² Instrumental avocational groups are oriented toward objective goal production or accomplishment. Moral avocational groups consider larger societal needs and are hypothesized to include altruistic/service and/or ideological orientations.

Sociological Imagination

This thesis proposes that the knowledge acquired during the completion of an undergraduate degree in sociology will influence the level of alumni social involvement. C. Wright Mills (1959) asserts that those who possess the "sociological imagination" will increase their understanding of the impact that historical and cultural developments have upon individuals. Mills believes that this will lead the scholar of sociology to "focus the personal uneasiness of individuals upon explicit troubles" (1959:5). Thus, sociology alumni should have a greater than usual propensity to become involved in social influence groups.

Meister (1979:8) associates the correlation between education and social participation as evidence of a "mature life" (e.g. discerned lines of thought and action) acquired through instruction. Meister's postulate that "instruction sensitizes the individual to social change, enables him to see it better" addresses the ability to better understand social structures and processes through scholastic achievement. Therefore, the social activity of sociology alumni should reflect this increased awareness of instrumental opportunities and sensitivity to moral issues in the selection of their avocational pursuits.

In summary, although no direct data exist to inform this proposition, the literature reviewed suggest four guiding research assumptions.

1. Education has proven to be a key correlate of voluntary affiliation throughout the development of multivariate methodological procedures.
2. Education has a predictable effect upon individual discretionary social participation.
3. Education is empirically correlated with selective participation in expressive and instrumental types of formal voluntary associations.
4. Education is theoretically associated with sensitivity to instrumental purposes and moral perspectives.

The preceding literature review establishes a basis for empirical investigation of the hypothesis:

1. Social participation among sociology alumni involves expressive, instrumental, and moral orientations.
2. The higher the level of sociological education, the higher the level of instrumental and moral social participation.
3. Sociology alumni who report an interest in people as the reason for choosing a sociology major are more likely than others to be involved in instrumental and moral avocations.
4. Sociology alumni who report that the study of sociology is important to their personal and career development are more likely than others to be involved in instrumental and moral avocations.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis presents an empirical analysis of the "categorical social identities" (Warriner, 1981:180) embedded in the William and Mary 1988 survey data in order to illustrate the divergence among sociology alumni in their avocational pursuits. As previously stated, these primary data were collected in the Spring of 1989 by the Department of Sociology from a mailed questionnaire administered to alumni who graduated during the years between 1968 and 1988.

The year 1968 was chosen as the logical starting date because it was the academic year in which the Sociology Department separated from the Anthropology Department. Thus, the potential population of the survey includes all the sociology alumni of the College through the summer of 1988.

The alumni survey was conducted as part of the Department's assessment program directed by the Council of Higher Education. The Virginia General Assembly accepted the Council's recommendations in 1986 to "establish assessment programs to measure student achievement." The Virginia Plan for Higher Education mandates assessment of general education and the major. Suggested methods of potential data collection in the guidelines included alumni follow-up studies.

The William and Mary alumni association and Office of the Registrar provided the most accurate records available of those who graduated from the Sociology Department during the twenty-year time span. The collection of correct addresses for the most recent graduates proved to be the most difficult problem for the implementation of the survey. The potential survey population was 679; or approximately 90% of William and Mary 1968-88 alumni who were sociology majors.

Out of a sample frame consisting of 525 possible returns, responses were received from 287 individuals. This figure represents a 42% response rate from the gross survey population. The response rate of 55% from the net survey size is more than adequate for analysis and reporting the results of survey data (Babbie, 1990:182). However, the reader should note that a slight gender bias is present in the data. The gender ratio in the sample was 60% female and 40% male against actual population proportions of 58% female and 42% male.

The overall structure of the questionnaire is conducive to empirical generalizations about the social relationships and organizational activity of a specific social category. This inductive approach makes use of the survey design's overlooked ability to capture emerging social patterns of aggregates (Denzin, 1989:146). Table 1 on the following page provides a summary of the coding of all the independent variables formulated for the analysis of avocational pursuits of sociology alumni.

TABLE 1
Operationalization of Independent Variables

| Variables | Definitions |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| COHORTS | Total years since graduation: 1968-70 (1) 1971-75 (2) 1976-80 (3) 1981-88 (4) |
| MRSTATUS | Marital status: Not married (0) Married (1) |
| CHILD | Number of Children: (0-3 or more) |
| GEND | Gender: Male (1) Female (2) |
| EDUC | Level of Educational Attainment: no graduate training (0) Coursework (1) Graduate degree, MA (2) Highest degree, PHD (3) |
| TOTJOBS | Total Number of Jobs since graduation: (0-8) |
| CURPRES | Most recent prestige ranked occupation: (0-99) Hodge, Siegle and Rossi's (1965) NORC Occupational Prestige Rating System |
| MAJORED | Reasons for majoring in sociology: Interest in people, save the world (1) all others (0) |
| SOCDEG | Postgraduate education in social work or sociology: None (0) Coursework, MA, or PHD (1) |
| SOCAREER | Importance of Sociology for career development: Unimportant (1) Moderately important (2) Very important (3) |
| SOCBERS | Importance of sociology for personal development: Unimportant (1) Moderately important (2) Very important (3) |

Alumni respondents were asked to complete the following question as part of the survey.

We would like you now to describe your major avocational and other personal interests and activities (such as voluntary associations, political action groups, social clubs, hobbies, and other leisure pursuits.) It would be helpful in this regard if you could indicate how important these kinds of activities are to you and how much time you spend on them.

One significant advantage of this open-ended question in accumulating reliable information is that the respondent is allowed to articulate relevant activities and designate the level of importance. Therefore, the research question itself has not limited the range of potential categories nor dictated the priority of any desired response.

The responses to the previously stated question were coded into the following categories: religious organizations; educational organizations; social club; political organizations; public interest group; sports; involvement with family and friends; philanthropic, non-religious or education; business, civic organizations; fine arts, music, and entertainment; hobbies; and coaching.

The two latter response categories were excluded from the study for logical reasons. Coaching is excluded because the category may be too closely tied to occupation for the purpose of confidently measuring avocational pursuits. Hobbies is also deleted because it does not conform to the conception of social activity as "person-directed" (not individualistic).

Avocational Indices

The literature reviewed previously supports the validity of an instrumental-expressive dichotomy; one that explicates divergences in voluntary associational membership. This thesis presumes that the impetus to become socially involved, whether acquired prior to or originating from the sociological background, will be translated into discernible instrumental-moral objectives.

Table 2 presents the Pearson correlation coefficients that were obtained in order to determine the strength of the statistical associations between the avocations. The category of Sports was the only avocation that failed to be significantly correlated with any other avocation at the .05 level, although 33.7% of the sample was involved in this activity.

Fine arts, music, and entertainment, a composite category of expressive types, portrayed a highly idiosyncratic pattern with the other groups and appeared to reveal sporadic social participation. This preliminary finding is consistent with the analytic distinction of Rose (1954) between expressive avocational behavior and social influence activity that is "directed outward" or represents commitment to objectives beyond interests held in common by participants.

Involvement with family and friends exhibited only weak linear associations with more formal organizational participation. It is possible that many alumni did not regard such involvement as avocational. Because of such potential

TABLE 2
Correlations Among Types of Avocations

| | RELG | EDUC | CLUB | POLT | PUBL | SPRT | FMFR | PHIL | BUSN | ARTS |
|------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| RELG | --- | .12** | .06 | -.03 | -.03 | .00 | .12** | .11** | .02 | .01 |
| EDUC | | --- | .11* | .19** | .08 | -.06 | .08 | .20** | .20** | .12** |
| CLUB | | | --- | .11* | .04 | -.04* | .05 | .06 | .18** | -.03* |
| POLT | | | | --- | .31** | -.04 | -.06 | .08 | .25** | .05 |
| PUBL | | | | | --- | -.07 | -.13** | .17** | .24** | .02 |
| SPRT | | | | | | --- | .04 | .04 | .01 | -.06 |
| FMFR | | | | | | | --- | -.01 | -.06 | -.00 |
| PHIL | | | | | | | | --- | .15** | .11* |
| BUSN | | | | | | | | | --- | .14** |
| ARTS | | | | | | | | | | --- |

**=significance level (P) <.05

*=significance level (P) <.10

Definitions of Abbreviated Variables:

Relg=religious organizations

Educ=educational organizations

Club=social club

Polt=political organizations

Publ=public interest groups

Sprt=sports

Fmfr=Involvement with family and friends

Phil=philanthropic, non religious, or education

Busn=business, civic organizations

Arts=Fine arts, music, and entertainment

confusion, this form of involvement was deleted from the analysis. The reader should note that the exclusion of these five categories that measure informal modes of social participation clarifies the analysis through its focus on formal participation.

Furthermore, the exclusion of informal, expressive avocations supports the typology of Gordon and Babchuk (1959) which distinguishes between activities oriented toward the immediate satisfactions of the members and those oriented to accomplishing some task external to the group. The excluded categories represent leisure activities that are ends in themselves as opposed to instrumental organizations that are means to a valued goal (Lundberg, 1934:126).

Further scrutiny of the correlations revealed a notable instrumental-moral distinction among the formal avocations. Political organizations and public interest groups yielded the highest instrumental correlation ($r=.31$). Social clubs, which ordinarily have limited expressive objectives, reaffirmed the social influence nature of alumni activity by exhibiting sufficient statistical association with instrumental avocations. Educational organizations and business or civic groups that expedite community endeavors displayed the most consistency in association with the other avocations.

The avocations were subsequently segregated into two dependent indices. The instrumental index is composed of political, public interest, and business or civic organi-

zations, and social clubs. Although the survey question was formulated to measure avocational pursuits, instrumental associations have traditionally been viewed as indirect extensions of occupational interests (Lundberg, 1934:127).

The moral index includes religious, educational, and philanthropic avocations that collectively express social-emotional sentiments or concerns. One index comprised of all the avocations provides a general assessment of the social influence activity of the alumni sample. Percentages of the sociology alumni by type of avocational activity are presented in Table 3 on the following page.

Other sections of the survey concern the alumni's history since graduation and departmental evaluations of the undergraduate program. Variables pertaining to my four propositions as well as individual status and nuclear family life cycle indicators were derived from the array of closed and opened-ended questions. The employment of the NORC occupational prestige scale and the combined measure of all postgraduate fields of study are the only exceptions to the minimal amount of manipulation of the original response categories.

Sociology Background Variables

This thesis introduces independent variables that are unique to a population exposed to sociological perspectives in order to reflect the "sociological imagination" in the course of alumni experiences. Assessment of the contribution of the

TABLE 3
Frequency Distribution by Type of Social Activity

| | Percent of Sample | (N) |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----|
| INSTRUMENTAL | | |
| Political | 13.8 | 282 |
| Public Int. | 25.4 | 284 |
| Business, Civic | 15.9 | 283 |
| Social Club | 17.8 | 283 |
| MORAL | | |
| Religious | 31.8 | 283 |
| Education | 23.7 | 284 |
| Philanthropic | 20.1 | 284 |

sociology background to personal and career development was measured as either very or moderately important/unimportant. The minimal negative response pertaining to the importance of both personal and career development justified the collapse of "very" and "moderately unimportant" responses into a single category that was coded as '1'. Subsequently, a positive response of "moderately important" was coded as '2' and "very important" coded as '3'.

Twenty-nine percent or 84 alumni assessed their sociology background as very important for personal development. Forty-one percent or 119 alumni found it moderately important to their personal development. Thirty-one percent or 89 alumni evaluated sociological instruction as very important to their career development. Forty-six percent or 130 alumni found it moderately important for career development. Thus, the variables "personal development" and "career development" are anticipated to be noteworthy components in the analysis of sociology alumni.

A large number of alumni expressed two explicit altruistic motivations for choosing to enter the sociology concentration: 30.4% or 87 alumni expressed an interest in people; 5.2% or 15 alumni desired to help save the world. The variable "reason for major" was recoded as a dummy variable denoted numerically as '1' to represent those 102 alumni as a measure of altruistic inclination. All other elicited responses for matriculation of the sociology program were

coded as '0'.

Those who completed coursework or a postgraduate degree in either sociology or social work were separated into the dummy variable "sociology degree" denoted numerically as '1'. Approximately one-quarter (25.4%) of the sample is in this category. Alumni who did not pursue higher education in social work or sociology were designated with a '0'.

Life Cycle Variables

Marital status was recoded to record only the categories of married (68.5% or 196) coded with a '1' and not married (32.5% or 89) coded as '0'. The not married category includes alumni who are widowed, separated, divorced, or never married. Seventy-one percent or 69 of the men are married and 67% or 128 of the women are married.

The original coding for number of children which allowed for all possible numeric responses produced this range: 42.3% alumni had no children; 18.5% had one child; 28% had 2 children; and only 11.1% of the alumni had a total of three or more children. The latter category is now represented by one code. Thus, the coding for number of children designates: one child '1', two children '2', or three or more children '3'.

The variable age is incorporated into the survey through the response to the number of years since graduation. The alumni are categorized into four cohort groupings consisting of approximately a quarter of the sample. The breakdown for

the coding categories is as follows: '1' represents alumni who graduated during the years 1968 through 1970 (N=74); '2' represents alumni who graduated during the years 1971-75 (N=67); '3' represents alumni who graduated during the years 1976-80 (N=69); and '4' represents alumni who graduated during the years 1981 through 1988 (N=77).

Status Variables

The coding of gender numerically designated 1 as male and 2 as female; 2 alumni did not answer the question. To simplify the measurement of educational level, all post-graduate subject areas were combined into one generalized variable identifying the level of educational attainment. No graduate training is coded as '0' while some coursework is designated as '1'. Achievement of graduate degrees at the Master and Doctorate levels is coded as '2' and '3' respectively. Almost half of the alumni sample (47.7%) has completed a higher degree in some discipline.

Responses to the total number of jobs since graduation originally ranged from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 13. In order to equalize the distribution those with a total of over 8 jobs since graduation have been compressed into one category for a maximum of eight categories. The mean number of jobs since graduation is 3.4; correspondingly, the mode and median are both 3.

The NORC Occupational Prestige rating system (1965) provided a more valid classification system to code the occupations present in the data. Mark Bunster, Bonnie Reenstra, and I replaced the existing codes and added the corresponding prestige scores to each response. Additional codes were created to represent those individuals who are graduate students, homemakers, management trainees, and self-employed. These categories were not assigned prestige ranks.

The most recent prestige ranked occupation score for each respondent was obtained in order to measure current prestige level. The 9 alumni that have not sought employment since graduation are counted as missing cases. The prestige scores for the sample ranged from minimum of 17 to a maximum of 78 with a mean prestige score was 56. The mode is 50 and the median 51 for this sample size of 287 alumni.

Regression procedure

Pearson zero-order correlation coefficients (r) which measure the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables are further employed in the bivariate interpretation of the instrumental-moral indices. In order to ascertain the unique effect of the independent variables upon involvement in the avocations, multiple linear regression analyses were performed utilizing the indices as dependent variables.

The SPSSx regression analysis employed both stepwise and enter procedures (Norusis, 1988) in order to elicit a social participation model. Independent variables were introduced into the regression equation one at a time producing variables which met the imposed .05 inclusion threshold. Subsequently, all independent variables were entered simultaneously to obtain information on the stability of the significant Beta coefficients from the stepwise procedure.

All standardized Betas (Beta) for each independent variable are presented in the proceeding findings section. The betas are slope coefficients (B) standardized to a mean of zero and a deviation of 1 in order to maintain constant units of comparison. In other words, beta coefficients reflect the amount of change expected in the dependent variable for one standardized unit change in the independent variable when all other independent variables are statistically controlled.

The tables displaying the regression of the set of independent variables on each index will record the beta-weight value for all independent variables. However, the discussion in the text will pertain to the beta-coefficients only between those independent variables that warrant interpretation by meeting the .05 criterion level.

One column will indicate the observed significance level for the null hypothesis that the value of a coefficient is zero in the population. The square of the correlation coefficient (R^2) in the regression procedure shows what

proportion of the total variability in the dependent index which can be accounted for by the independent variable. The multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) reported in the tables indicates the proportion of the variance in the dependent index that is explained by all the independent variables combined.

FINDINGS

Social Activity Rates

The extent of alumni involvement in avocational associations must be evaluated. There are 79 respondents or 28% of the alumni who were not involved in any of the social influence avocations. However, a majority (52.7%) of the sample is involved in one or two avocations: 86 respondents or 30.6 % of the alumni participate in one; 62 respondents or 22.1% of the alumni participate in two. Table 4 displays that a total of 54 respondents or 19.2% of the alumni participate in three or more associations.

Although the alumni sample has multiple memberships in social influence avocations, the number of them is small. However, the research question solicited "major" avocational interests; therefore, the response categories represent only active participation. This explicates the fact that with a range of 7 the mean score for all avocations is a relatively low 1.47 and the standard deviation is 1.40.

Frequency distributions of the indices found in Table 5 indicate that slightly more of the alumni are involved in moral avocations than instrumental ones. Fourteen percent of the alumni are involved in two moral avocations while only

TABLE 4

Frequency Distribution of All Avocation Index

| # OF AVOCATIONS | Percent of Sample |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 0 | 28.1 |
| 1 | 30.6 |
| 2 | 22.1 |
| 3 | 11.0 |
| 4 | 5.0 |
| 5 | 1.4 |
| 6 | .7 |
| 7 | 1.1 |
| | (N=287) |

TABLE 5

Frequency Distribution of Instrumental and Moral Indices

| INSTRUMENTAL AVOCATIONS: | Percent of sample |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 0 | 52.5 |
| 1 | 32.3 |
| 2 | 8.2 |
| 3 | 5.0 |
| 4 | 2.1 |
| | <u>100.0</u> |
| | (N=282) |

MORAL
AVOCATIONS:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 0 | 47.3 |
| 1 | 34.5 |
| 2 | 14.2 |
| 3 | 3.9 |
| | <u>100.0</u> |
| | (N=281) |

8.2% of the alumni are involved in two instrumental avocations: almost twice the participation rate.

Yet, when the response categories of involvement in two and three avocations are combined the difference between moral (18%) and instrumental (12.9%) participation rate subsides to only 5%. Overall, Instrumental Avocations with a maximum of 4 have a mean of .72 and a standard deviation of .96. Moral Avocations with a maximum of 3 have a mean of .75 and a standard deviation of .84.

NORC Comparison

The frequencies of the William and Mary Alumni self-recorded involvement in avocations are compared in Table 6 with membership in similar organizational categories of those 1988 NORC General Social Survey (GSS) respondents who have completed an undergraduate degree (N =218).

The NORC survey participants were told "Now we would like to know something about the groups or organizations to which individuals belong." The interviewer asked the respondent "Could you tell me whether or not you are a member of each type?" and read a list of various organizations (Davis, 1988: 342-446). The reader should note that the NORC format is a conservative measure of participation that only taps different types of memberships. Although the categories are composite types are similar to how the alumni response categories were coded, the NORC data reveal only membership rates while the

TABLE 6
Frequency Comparison between Types of Selected
NORC Memberships and Alumni Avocations

| | Alumni Percent | NORC Percent |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Religious | 31.8 | 36.6 |
| Education | 23.6 | 11.6 |
| Political | 13.8 | 4.6 |
| Public Int. | 25.4 | 10.6 |
| | (N=218) | (N=287) |

alumni responses constitute active or substantial involvement.

The ratio for each voluntary organization type seems to confirm the proposition that sociology alumni are more socially involved than the college-educated generally. Participation in religious groups as a single measure of religiosity was the only category that revealed a similar participation rate between the alumni and NORC samples. Alumni participate in educational associations at nearly twice the rate of NORC respondents. They are also significantly involved in public interest avocations approximately 2.5 times the NORC rate of joining. Most significant is that participation in political organizations by the alumni is roughly triple than political affiliation of the general population with undergraduate degrees randomly sampled in the NORC survey.

Social Influence Patterning

The "sociological imagination" is a measure not associated with previously existing altruistic motivation. Those alumni who evidenced an "interest in people" or "desire to save the world" as their reason for choosing to concentrate in the discipline do not have a tendency to continue their education in sociology or social work. This explains why they display no association with evaluation of their sociological education as important to their personal or career development.

Pearson correlations among the 11 independent variables

and the indices exhibit an intriguing avocational patterning of sociology alumni. Table 7 on the following page depicts only the statistically significant associations (i.e. $P < .10$). The avocational activity of sociology alumni appears to contain a propensity to be socially involved for personal reasons. The importance of sociology instruction at the undergraduate level to personal development is associated with social influence activity ($.15$, $P = .02$). However, continued training in sociology or social work and importance of sociology for career development reveal similar insignificant correlations with social influence activity. Furthermore, the level of educational attainment and evaluated importance of sociology for personal development were the only independent variables that approached statistical significance in relation to the instrumental avocations.

Additional evidence that this index does reflect a definite moral dimension is that the number of jobs held since graduation has an expected modest negative relationship to the moral avocations ($r = -.11$, $P = .01$). It may be quite possible that familial and other moral obligations compete with career advancement. Those alumni who are married ($r = .16$, $P = .01$) and female ($r = .12$, $P = .07$) and have several children ($r = .24$, $P = .01$) are most likely to be involved in moral avocations. The correlation coefficient between the two indices ($.22$ $P = .01$) that shows them to be only modestly interrelated is suggestive of an instrumental-moral dichotomy.

TABLE 7
Pearson Correlations for Variables and Indices

| | Instrumental | | Moral | | All | |
|------------|--------------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|
| | r | P | r | P | r | P |
| SOCDEGREE | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| EDUCATION | .10 | .09 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| MRSTATUS | -- | -- | .16 | .01 | -- | -- |
| CHILDREN | -- | -- | .24 | .01 | .15 | .01 |
| GENDER | -- | -- | .12 | .07 | .10 | .08 |
| COHORTS | -- | -- | -.10 | .10 | -.12 | .05 |
| PRESTIGE | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| TOTAL JOBS | -- | -- | -.11 | .05 | -- | -- |
| SOCAREER | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| SOCPERSON | .10 | .09 | .12 | .05 | .15 | .02 |
| MAJORED | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

Regression Analysis

The regression of the 11 independent variables on the instrumental index indicates that none of these variables met the designated .05 criterion level of the stepwise procedure. The amount of variance explained in the instrumental index by all 11 alumni variables is a minimal 4.2%.

The regression of the 11 independent variables on the moral index produced three variables that in combination account for 10% of the variance out of the total 11% variance in alumni participation in moral avocations explained by the procedure. The most influential variable that prompts moral involvement is number of children ($\beta=.23$) that represents 6% of the variance. Gender differences account for 2.4% of the variance in moral avocations ($\beta=.17$). The evaluation of sociology as important to personal development contributes 1.7% to the explanation of variance in moral participation ($\beta=.14$).

These three significant variables account for 7.6% of the variance in participation in all the avocations out of the total 8.9% variance in overall social influence activity explained by the 11 independent variables. The number of children is once more the most influential variable ($\beta=.15$) accounting for 2.6% of the overall variance in social influence activity. The importance of sociology to personal development ($\beta=.17$) contributes 2.4% to the explanation of social participation. Gender differences ($\beta=.16$) account

TABLE 8

Regression of Independent Variables on Moral Index

| <u>Independent Variables</u> | <u>Dependent Moral Index</u> | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| | Beta | Sig T |
| CHILDREN | .23 | .00 |
| GENDER | .17 | .01 |
| SOCPERSON | .14 | .04 |
| PRESTIGE | -.07 | .31 |
| MAJORED | -.02 | .76 |
| TOTAL JOBS | -.10 | .11 |
| SOCDEGREE | -.01 | .81 |
| MRSTATUS | .05 | .44 |
| SOCAREER | -.00 | .98 |
| EDUCATION | --- | .99 |
| COHORTS | -.05 | .56 |

R Square=.11

Definition of Abbreviated Variables:

Socperson=importance of sociology for personal development

Majored=reasons for majoring in sociology

Socdegree=postgraduate education in sociology or social work

Mrstatus=marital status

Socareer=importance of sociology for career development

TABLE 9

Regression of Independent Variables on All Avocation Index

| <u>Independent Variables</u> | <u>Dependent All Avocation Index</u> | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| | Beta | Sig T |
| CHILDREN | .15 | .05 |
| SOCPERSON | .17 | .01 |
| GENDER | .16 | .01 |
| PRESTIGE | -.06 | .39 |
| MAJORED | -.05 | .44 |
| TOTAL JOBS | -.05 | .41 |
| SOCDEGREE | .01 | .89 |
| MRSTATUS | -.01 | .87 |
| SOCAREER | --- | .99 |
| EDUCATION | .04 | .56 |
| COHORTS | -.10 | .18 |

R square=.09

Definition of Abbreviated Variables:

Socperson=importance of sociology for personal development

Majored=reasons for majoring in sociology

Socdegree=postgraduate education in sociology or social work

Mrstatus=marital status

Socareer=importance of sociology for career development

for 2.6% of the variance.

The positive beta of gender in the regression procedure called for an explanation of gender differences in social influence activity. Overall, women are somewhat more likely to be involved in the avocations than men. Yet, among men and women, there is a slight difference in participation rates in instrumental avocations and a more noticeable difference in regard to the amount of moral involvement.

A comparison of the female and male samples depicted on Table 10 explicates the apparent gender difference in alumni social participation: although women are equally represented in the instrumental avocations as men, a disproportionate amount of women participate in the moral avocations.

Although women are as likely to be significantly involved in public interest and business or civic groups as men, a somewhat higher percentage of women participate in political organizations. The increased likelihood of instrumental participation of women in this decade may challenge the assertion by McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1982:900) that there is clear pattern of women being segregated into structurally peripheral organizations. McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1982:890) insist that although women may exhibit the same mean memberships rates, the rates by type of affiliation largely constitute "weak ties" in domestic organizations for them.

However, there is a 10% difference in the involvement of women and men in religious and educational avocations: 35% of

the women are affiliated with religious congregations in contrast to only 25% of the men; 27% of women are involved in educational organizations opposed to 18% of the men. This pattern is similar to gender differences recapitulated from research three decades old (Smith, 1975:125): women belong to more religious, educational, welfare, and service-organizations such as hospitals, than men.

TABLE 10

Frequency Comparison of All Avocations by Gender

| INSTRUMENTAL AVOCATIONS | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|-----|------------------|-----|
| | Percent of Men | (N) | Percent of Women | (N) |
| Political | 10.5 | 95 | 15.0 | 187 |
| Public Interest | 25.0 | 96 | 25.5 | 188 |
| Business, Civic | 15.6 | 96 | 16.0 | 187 |
| Social Club | 13.7 | 95 | 20.2 | 188 |
| MORAL AVOCATIONS | | | | |
| Religious | 25.3 | 95 | 35.1 | 188 |
| Educational | 17.9 | 95 | 27.0 | 189 |
| Philanthropic | 18.8 | 96 | 20.9 | 187 |

DISCUSSION

This research analyzed a selected, homogeneous subset of a highly educated population known to exhibit high levels of voluntary affiliation. Investigation of the hypotheses have allowed for specificity in regard to concentration in the discipline and sub-divisions among the levels of post-baccalaureate degree attainment. The research design has combined measures of personal evaluation specific to a population of sociology alumni with social background and social role factors in an attempt to explain how broad determinants of voluntary activity may be related in various contexts (Smith, 1972:201).

The initial section of the discussion of key findings will delineate the potential bases of social involvement of sociology alumni derived from the avocational response categories. The discussion will then proceed to focus upon the positive contribution of the sociology background and corresponding negligible influence of status and motivation upon social influence activity. Subsequently, the pronounced divergence in social participation that can be attributed to differential gender and life-cycle opportunity structures will be reviewed.

Avocational Typology

The research question itself recorded participation in "major" avocational pursuits ensuring that our measure of social influence activity reflected more than mere membership. Therefore, the initial response categories themselves listed on page 21 reveal the potential types of social involvement of sociology alumni. The categories of sports, fine arts or entertainment, and involvement with family and friends did not exhibit any consistent statistical association to the more formal avocations. These avocations embody the three criteria of ideal types of expressive activity illustrated by the Gordon and Babchuk typology (1959) according to Jacoby (1966:76-77): they provide immediate gratification, are focused inward, and represent ends in themselves.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that the relationships among the members in expressive activities represent the characteristics of the primary group (Jacoby, 1966:81). Thus, correlations among the avocations bore out the generalization that expressive/consummatory voluntary activities tend to occur increasingly in informal rather than formally organized contexts (Smith, 1972:214). The avocational pursuits were then classified into a typology (found in Appendix C) by their predominant expressive, instrumental, or moral objectives.

This research project followed a precedent set by Rose in 1954 in the exclusion of expressive avocations comprised of primary group leisure pursuits from the analysis of social

influence activity. Thus, the instrumental-moral dichotomy depicts the social involvement of the alumni sample as externally oriented toward community and societal concerns.

The fact that these sociology alumni, in contrast to other "dominant status students," were more involved in morally expressive than instrumental avocations attests to the "productive for others" rather than "productive for self" central purpose of their discretionary activity (Palisi and Jacobson, 1977). Thus, the FVA's selected for analysis in this study are more than theoretical "frames of sociability" (Meister, 1979:6): they are social influence groups comprised of both instrumental and morally expressive purposes.

This premise receives support from Hougland's participation-based typology (1979) derived from active membership in associations, that characterized explicit "social-business" and "service-policy" modes of involvement. The composite altruistic/service/ideological orientation elicited among the major avocational pursuits of sociology alumni confirms Hougland's inference (1979:85) that analysis of voluntary activity reveals the efforts of individuals to find moral satisfaction in their discretionary time.

Sociological Imagination

An overwhelming majority, 71.9% of the alumni, were involved in one or more of the avocations. Participation rates of the alumni sample in comparison to 1988 NORC data of the

college-educated in similar organizational categories revealed that sociology graduates are more socially involved than their counterparts in other disciplines. The only exception was the near equal rate of religious affiliation, further denoting its significance as the single measure of religiosity ascertained in the participation literature (Knoke and Thomson, 1977:62).

Foremost, sociology alumni belong to a social category that exhibits a high level of SES. The SES variables are universally accepted as producing significantly higher rates of social participation (Smith and Freedman, 1972:154). SES most prominently influences social involvement, explaining the highest proportion of variance in both formal and informal types of social activity (Edwards and White, 1977:129). The negative association of current prestige level ($\beta = -.06$) to all the avocations in the regression procedure underscores the fact that the high level of SES of the alumni population is in itself predictive of their social participation.

Although a higher proportion of the sociology alumni participate in formal associations than the NORC college-educated sample, the hypothesized relationship between sociological instruction and social influence activity is not a linear one. Further post-baccalaureate degree achievement in the discipline does not produce incrementally higher levels of social involvement. Therefore, it appears that exposure to sociological perspectives during the completion of a bachelor of arts degree substantially influences the extent of social

involvement. Postgraduate education in sociology or social work may be important to career objectives, but apparently they are not related to avocational pursuits.

The proposition that the evaluation of the sociological background as important to personal development is a predictor of social influence participation proved accurate in the regression procedure ($\beta=.17$). However, the importance of sociology to career development was not confirmed. Thus, sociological instruction at the undergraduate level is sufficient to instill alumni with the propensity to become socially involved for their own *personal gratification beyond desired occupational success*.

The lack of association of the variable "majored" ($\beta=-.05$) to all the avocations confirms that social participation is not primarily a product of personal motivation or values, even though members identify with organizational objectives of voluntary associations (Jacoby and Babchuck, 1969:470). This finding derived from an aggregate of sociology alumni also reaffirms the existence of expressive and instrumental orientations to voluntary participation at the collective level (Jacoby: 1965, 1966).

This negligible influence of an expressed "interest in people" and "desire to save the world" upon general types of social activity is consistent with the study of altruistic behavior within limited, situation-specific contexts (Wispe, 1987). It is also consistent with sociological research: the

correlates of volunteering clearly show participation in volunteer activities, formal or informal, reflects highly multiple causation and that altruism as a personality trait is only one minor factor out of a great many as a determinant of volunteerism (Smith, 1981:27).

Gender and Life-Cycle Opportunities

The objective of this inductive inquiry at the aggregate level of analysis was to identify factors which channel the avocational activity of the "categorical social identities" (Warriner, 1981) embedded in the alumni survey data. Although marital status does not affect social activity directly, the direction of association lends support to the moral index as reflecting both dynamics and demands of the family life-cycle.

The number of children ($\beta=.16$) proved to be the most significant predictor of social influence activity, prompting moral involvement ($\beta=.26$). This finding is congruent with Knoke and Thomson's conclusion (1977:55) from 1974 NORC data that the presence of children, regardless of marital status of the parent, results in the highest mean number of organization types. Knoke and Thomson theorize (1977:62) that the data might favor the compensation hypothesis of Smith's general activity syndrome (1980): Smith's hypothesis implies that individuals seeking to sustain a certain level of social involvement will seek memberships in types of organizations congruent with newly acquired roles.

The significance of gender ($\beta=.16$) in the social participation model revealed that the most pronounced instrumental-moral divergence occurred with respect to gender differences. Although women were as likely to participate in instrumental avocations as men, they also retain their primary involvement in moral obligations. This is congruent with Ortega and William's interpretation (1986:43) that gender is a "multidimensional" variable: gender differences may stem from different opportunities to participate in certain types of groups.

Edward et al. (1984) summarizes that traditional gender-role theory posits the differentiation of male-female roles along an instrumental-expressive axis that originates from the family unit (proposed by Parsons and Bales in 1955) and is replicated within the larger community. The authors concluded from the data of two NORC surveys (1978, $N=1,532$ and 1980, $N=1,468$) that women employed in high status positions do not differ significantly from men either in the number of different affiliations they hold or in the types of formal or informal organizations they chose to join (1984:15).

This finding supports results from the alumni sample that female social involvement is beyond that which is peripheral (i.e. structural linkages that constitute only "weak ties" to the larger social order). Traditional gender role assumptions need to be qualified. Alumnae respondents show the tendency to have stable memberships in formal voluntary associations and

take on the moral role incumbency of child-rearing despite differential occupational participation.

CONCLUSION

This thesis suggests that the "sociological imagination" (Mills, 1959:5) acquired during the completion of the Bachelor of Arts degree in the discipline has a pronounced effect upon the scholars of sociology. The alumni sample was found to be more involved in educational, public interest, and political associations than the NORC college-educated sample. Furthermore, the evaluation of the instruction received from the sociology department as important to personal development proved to be predictive of social involvement.

Additionally, the findings reported in this study have established that sociology graduates incorporate a sensitivity to social issues into their personal lives. They appear to be selectively involved in externally-oriented social influence groups; and their avocational pursuits translate into discernible instrumental-moral objectives that contribute to the interpretation of gender differences in participation rates.

The "function" of the degree to which a voluntary association influences the larger society has been considered a key "tentative hypothesis" (Amis and Stern, 1974:97) in the social participation literature. The avocational categories derived from alumni responses indicate that meaningful realms

of social activity for the individual extend from ephemeral, social-emotional group interaction to high levels of involvement in formal organizations.

Thus, social participation is multidimensional: members identify with organizational objectives (Jacoby and Babchuk, 1963) and engage in activities that contain expressive, instrumental, and moral orientations. Further research might aim toward more participation-based typologies of voluntary organizations (Houglund, 1979) to expand our theoretical knowledge of these bases of social participation.

This inductive inquiry of sociology alumni supports the hypothesis that knowledge of social processes results in sensitivity in the selection of avocational pursuits. An instrumental-moral dichotomy was found to have considerable heuristic value in the conception of social influence activity as largely "directed outward" (Rose, 1959).

The instrumental-moral distinction in formal social involvement also explicates gender differences in this high SES sample that reflects the "forefront of social change among upper-strata American men and women" (Edwards et al, 1984:18). The increased participation of women relative to men in instrumental avocations reinforce their social mobility or solidify that which is already attained. Moreover, females in the alumni sample bear the dual burden of the traditional responsibility for child-rearing and moral attachment of the family to the community.

APPENDIX A

Palisi and Jacobson's Synthesis of Two Theoretical Typologies

A SYNTHESIS OF THE INSTRUMENTAL-EXPRESSIVE AND
THE ASSUMED VALUE FUNCTION TYPOLOGIES

INSTRUMENTAL*

EXPRESSIVE*

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Productive*** for self (membership) | Productive*** for others | Pleasure** in Performance | Sociability** | Ideological** |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|

* These categories are two of the three from Gordon and Babchuk's Instrumental-Expressive Typology.

** The category is from Warriner and Prather's Assumed Value Function Typology.

*** This category is a distinction within Warriner's "production" type.

Warriner and Prather's four types of value functions (1959):

- (1) pleasure in performance--activities providing pleasure in the actor's performance of them such as dance clubs, chess clubs and hobby clubs;
- (2) sociability--activities that bring people together for the main purpose of being social such as social circles, brotherhood societies and birthday clubs;
- (3) ideological symbolism--activities evoking or reaffirming a valued belief system such as some lodges, churches, and groups like the Daughters of the American Revolution;
- (4) production--activities directed toward producing some goods, a service, or a change in some material or social objects such as the League of Women Voters, the N.A.A.C.P. or the March of Dimes.

APPENDIX B

Instrumental-Moral Synthesis of Four Categories
of Smith's Voluntary Organizational Goal DimensionINSTRUMENTAL VS. EXPRESSIVE OBJECTIVES

Degree of Instrumental vs. Expressive Goal Orientation:

Social influence, objective goal accomplishment, production of some goals or services, changing some persons, groups, or objectives vs. enjoyment, satisfaction in sociability and/or performance of the group's activities per se.

Type of Expressive Group:

Sociability group (emphasis on enjoyment of mutual fellowship, with group activities very informal and/or mainly a vehicle for communion/interpersonal relationships among the members)

Recreational/Hobby groups (emphasis on pleasure in performance of some game, sport, hobby, etc.)

Entertainment/Spectatorship groups (emphasis on enjoyment through mutual exposure to some event, program, activity, mass media presentations, etc.)

COMPOSITE MORAL OBJECTIVES

Degree of Altruism/Service Orientation:

Primarily dedicated to helping others (especially the disadvantaged) or society in general (public interest groups) vs. primarily concerned with private interests, self interests or self help of some social category of persons (stratum private interest group) vs. primarily concerned with private (especially economic) and self-interests or self help of particular individuals not forming a recognized social status category (individual private interest group).

Degree of Ideological Orientation:

Highly ideological, special value- and belief-affirming groups (including religious, political, health and other ideologies) vs. relatively nonideological groups that generally accept most values and beliefs of their community and society.

APPENDIX C

Typology of the Potential Level of
Social Involvement of Sociology Alumni

Expressive Types of Avocations - Excluded Response Categories

Recreational/Hobby:

- (1) Hobbies *
- (2) Coaching **
- (3) Sports

Sociability:

- (4) Involvement with Family and Friends

Entertainment/Spectatorship:

- (5) Fine Arts, Music, and Entertainment

Instrumental Types of Avocations

- (1) Political
- (2) Public Interest
- (3) Business, Civic
- (4) Social Clubs

Orientation:

Objective
Goal
Production

Moral Types of Avocations

- (1) Religious
- (2) Educational
- (3) Philanthropic

Orientation:

Ideological
Service
Altruistic

* Excluded as not sufficient social interaction

** Excluded as too closely tied to occupational activity

APPENDIX D

Sociology Assessment Code Book Section
on Avocational PursuitsVARIABLES

AVRLG, Religious organizations

1=yes

2=no

AVEDORG, Educational Organizations

1=yes

2=no

AVCLUB, Social Club

1=yes

2=no

AVPOL, Political Organizations

1=yes

2=no

AVPUBINT, Public Interest groups

1=yes

2=no

AVSPORT, Sports

1=yes

2=no

AVFAF, Involvement with Family and Friends

1=yes

2=no

AVPHIL, Philanthropic, non religious, or
education

1=yes

2=no

AVBUS, Business, civic organizations

1=yes
2=no

AVARTS, Fine arts, music, performing arts

1=yes
2=no

AVHOBBY, Hobbies

01=running or jogging
02=reading or writing
03=swimming
04=boating, motor and sail
05=hunting, game, or skeet
06=fishing, angler, or sport
07=knitting or sewing
08=woodworking or crafts
09=collector of items
10=racquetball
11=tennis
12=golf
13=hiking, spelunking
14=rafting
15=camping
16=computer games
17=no hobbies listed
18=games and puzzles
19=dancing
20=wine tasting
21=gardening
22=travel
23=cards
24=aerobics
25=flying
26=restoration (house, cars)
27=horseback riding
28=photography
29=raises cats, dogs

AVCCH, Coaching

1=soccer
2=football
3=baseball, teeball
4=basketball
5=softball
6=swimming
7=cheerleading
8=other
9=no coaching activities listed

AVOCTOT, Total number of avocational activities

00=list AV Activities Not Codable

01 to 98=corresponding to Number of codable AV activities

99=no response or blank

AVOCTIME, Hours/week spent on avocational activities

00=blank

01=no time for activities; none

02=one to five hours/week

03=six to ten hours/week

04=eleven to fifteen hours/week

05=more than sixteen hours/week

06=important but no time listed

APPENDIX E

Sociology Assessment Code Book Section
on Majored Variable

MAJORED, reasons for majoring in sociology

00=no answer
01=faculty
02=interest in people, groups
03=course content
04=career possibilities
05=liberal arts
06=intro course
07="save the world"
08=easy major, easier major
09=family member encouraged
10=friends encouraged
11=related to many social sciences
12=other

NOTES

1. The original thrust of this thesis sought to distinguish avocations that were largely extensions of personal interest from avocations that involved altruistic endeavors as a measure of "pro-social" activity. Pearson correlations between selected independent variables and the "personal" and "pro-social" indices did not support this pattern. However, a comparison of beta coefficients generated by multiple linear regression analysis prompted the author to reconsider the instrumental-expressive typology present in the voluntary participation literature.

2. Smith credits the extensive listing of dimensions and types of voluntary organizations/NGO's in this article to discussion at a "Workshop on the Older Volunteer" convened by the American Association of Retired Persons. This thesis draws from several studies conducted by researchers within The Association of Voluntary Action Scholars that Smith pioneered in the June of 1971. The Association was formed after a Seminar Session on "Voluntary Action Theory and Research: Steps Toward Synthesis" was held at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association in Washington, D.C.

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