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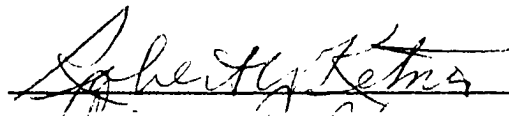

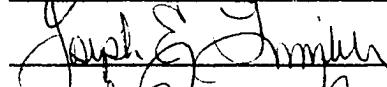
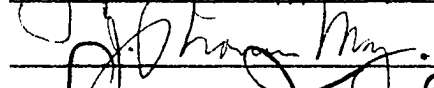
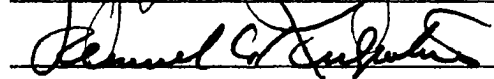
SUPPORT FOR THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS  
MOVEMENT AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY  
CAROLYN STOUT MORGAN  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
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SUPPORT FOR THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS  
MOVEMENT AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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SUPPORT FOR THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS  
MOVEMENT AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF THE GOALS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Introduction

Since the 1960s women have been increasingly calling for economic, social, educational, and political changes that would result in a redefinition of their role. These demands, while not voiced by all women, came during a time of escalated inter-group conflict in which the seeds of such movements as student rights, civil rights, pacifism, and environmental crusades were being sown. Events centering around a change in women's status and role have come to be called the women's liberation movement, or "women's lib." It is hoped by many in the movement that if demands for change are met, a healthier society will ensue. As Dubos states in Mirage of Health, the real measure of health is the "ability of the individual to function in a manner acceptable to himself and to the groups of which he is a part."<sup>1</sup> An

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<sup>1</sup>New York: Anchor Books, 1959, p. 214.

alteration in the old patterns that define women's role would allow more alternatives and would lift some of the restrictions that have in the past kept women from developing to their fullest potential. One objective of this study is to determine the level of support among Oklahoma college students for certain proposals that would result in a role change for women.

The current situation cannot be described as a well-organized social movement; no one knows how widespread support is for change, and there is much fragmentation among those groups who support change. A series of events focusing on societal change can be classified as a social movement only when it meets the following criteria:

- 1) deliberate collective endeavor to promote change occurs;
- 2) a degree of organization, ranging from an informal level to a highly institutionalized level exists, and
- 3) conscious ideological commitment to the goals of the movement is found.<sup>2</sup>

At present there are a number of events that suggest considerable controversy surrounds the goals or proposals for change set out by the women's movement, and efforts are being made to assess attitudes toward specific changes since an indispensable part of the movement's success is ideological

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<sup>2</sup>This definition was modified from Paul Wilkinson, Social Movements (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), and Joseph R. Gusfield, "The Study of Social Movements," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968, XIV, 445-452.

commitment to its goals. For example abortion, an important plank of the movement, is and has been a controversial issue; public day care centers have been made a subject of political controversy since the Nixon administration has taken a stand against the recommendation that they be made more widely available; policies that would enhance women's economic opportunities and compensate for past economic discrimination are being hotly debated; and educational system reforms to encourage females to enter areas traditionally seen as only suitable for males are not accepted by all.

Aside from these legal, social, economic and educational issues of the women's movement are those of a more personal nature, such as responsibility for housekeeping chores, child care and child rearing, and alternatives to the present form of marriage.

These examples of controversy which surround some of the things the women's movement is committed to suggest that social scientists will be interested in the views of the public at large as well as selected groups for some time to come.<sup>3</sup> To no small degree, it might be speculated that the

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<sup>3</sup>The entire issue of a recent American Journal of Sociology is devoted to articles on women; see Joan Huber, ed., "Changing Women in a Changing Society," American Journal of Sociology, LXXVIII (January, 1973), (21 articles) 763-1054. Other recent articles dealing with the status and role of women include Catherine Arnott and Vern Bengston, "Only A Homemaker: Distributive Justice and Role Choice Among Married Women," Sociology and Social Research, LIV (July, 1970), 495-507; Larry D. Barnett, "Women's Attitudes Toward Family Life and U.S. Population Growth," Pacific

fate of the women's movement will be substantially affected by those who will occupy the future leadership roles in our society; namely today's college students. Strong support for the goals of the movement from this group would suggest the movement has the potential for increasing strength to bring about change, while a lack of commitment to the goals might suggest a resultant loss of momentum and perspective.

Thus, one of the purposes of this study will be to examine the attitudes of a select student college population with respect to certain of the goals of the women's rights movement. The issues, or goals, that have been chosen for study are ones that seem most prevalent in movement literature. They are the establishment of public day care facilities; abortion on demand by women; equal responsibility by man and woman for housekeeping and for child rearing and child care; an end to sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system so that women are no longer counseled into feminine careers; an end to the institution of marriage in its present form; child rearing without regard for traditional sex role stereotypes; and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination.

Some of these goals are subscribed to by almost all women in the movement. These are public day care centers,

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Sociological Review, XII (Fall, 1969), 95-100; Alan Rappaport, David Payne and Anne Steinmann, "Perceptual Differences Between Married and Single College Women for the Concept of Self, Ideal Woman, and Man's Ideal Woman," Journal of Marriage and the Family, XXXII (August, 1970), 441-442.

abortion on demand (seen as part of the larger issue of control of women over their bodies), an end to sex differentiated tracking in the school system, and a sharing of household tasks and child rearing. Others, such as preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotions, child rearing without regard for sex-role stereotypes, and an end to marriage in its present form are supported by only the more radical women in the movement.<sup>4</sup>

While it is recognized that no sweeping generalizations can be made from a limited survey of college students, the findings of this study may nonetheless be suggestive of patterns of thought which might prevail among college students in a substantial part of the nation's system of higher education.

Prior to the 1972 election, it was rather commonly assumed that the students were out of step with the attitudes of the larger American public; the election of Richard M. Nixon and the considerable support he received from college youth seems to dispel the idea that students are a completely isolated, unique group.

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<sup>4</sup>Articles dealing with goals of the women's liberation movement include Shulamith Firestone, "On American Feminism," in Woman in Sexist Society, ed. by Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 665-686; Kathy McAfee and Myrna Wood, "Bread and Roses," in Female Liberation: History and Current Politics, ed. by Roberta Salper (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 153-168; Marlene Dixon, "Why Women's Liberation--2?" ibid., pp. 184-199; and Kate Ellis, "Politics of Day Care," ibid., pp. 219-227.

It is the purpose of this study, then, to assess the degree of support among college students for certain goals of the women's liberation movement and to determine the social and attitudinal correlates of this support.

As a way of better understanding the evolution of the goals, or proposals for change in the status and role of women, an examination of the feminist movement of the 1800s is helpful. It will be seen that some of the changes called for today are similar to those desired by feminists of an earlier century.

#### The Nineteenth Century Feminist Movement<sup>5</sup>

The women's liberation movement of today bears some resemblance to the feminist movement of the nineteenth century. Both movements came about during a period characterized by unrest and an emphasis on civil rights and other reforms; middle-class women have been the backbone of both movements; and a division between liberal and conservative factions concerning objectives and goals have occurred in both.

More important, some of the issues of today's movement were likewise issues of the earlier movement, particularly

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<sup>5</sup>Most of the following history of the feminist movement comes from Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1959); and William L. O'Neill, The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969).

those dealing with the resolution of women's work role and her maternal/domestic role. An examination of the earlier movement shows how the failure to resolve this basic conflict has resulted in a rebirth of the movement in the 1960s.

The earlier feminist movement began during a time of ferment in American society, a time of generalized reform spirit. Orthodox religion was being challenged and reforms were being suggested in education, prisons and morals. The most important issue was anti-slavery, and feminists were incensed with the injustice of this institution. Many believed women's votes were essential to bring about these reforms.

The 1830s and 1840s saw a burst of activity in many reform areas, and a small nucleus of supporters of both abolition and women's rights grouped around Elizabeth Cady, Lucy Stone, William L. Garrison and Henry Stanton. At this time, however, only a minority of the total population was involved in what was later called American feminism.

Popularization of the movement began with the calling of women's rights conventions; the first at Seneca Falls in 1848 and later ones in other parts of the country. Attempts were made to bring about change by the adoption of resolutions declaring independence of women and by the calling for women suffrage. Until 1860, however, the feminist movement was largely provincial, a matter of scattered groups addressing themselves to local questions. The Civil War was an

organizing factor and women's participation in the war convinced them even more they were entitled to vote. When the Constitutional amendments guaranteeing the political and civil rights of ex-slaves did not also repeal sex discrimination, there was a heightened sense of deprivation of justice. Soon a division occurred among women surrounding the question of tactics for the continuation of the struggle. Woman suffrage had progressed from being something outside the realm of possibility to being merely unlikely. For the more moderate this was sufficient gain to keep them satisfied; for the radicals it wasn't enough. When the split among women occurred it was over the issue of striking immediately for enfranchisement as well as over the relationship between woman suffrage and other liberal causes.

This split resulted in the formation of the National Woman Suffrage Association in New York and the American Woman Suffrage Association in Boston. Julie Ward Howe and Lucy Stone were the leaders of the more conventional American Woman Suffrage Association. They decided against getting involved in matters of sex role change or other social issues and preferred instead to work exclusively for women's legal and political rights.

The more radical National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, began publishing a weekly journal in 1868 called The Revolution. This publication endorsed a host of controversial causes,



one of them the reform of marriage and a new definition of sexuality. The reasoning behind the call for reform of marriage was that even if the formal barriers to women's full emancipation--votelessness, educational and occupational discriminations--were to be removed, the real stumbling blocks of domestic, institutional and social customs that kept women in the home would still remain. As stated in one of the issues:

Woman's chief discontent is not with her political, but with her social, and particularly her marital bondage. The solemn and profound question of marriage . . . is of more vital consequence to woman's welfare, reaches down to a deeper depth in woman's heart, and more thoroughly constitutes the core of the woman's movement, than any such superficial and fragmentary question as woman's suffrage.<sup>6</sup>

Only two ways could be seen to reconcile domestic and public aspirations: 1) enact government programs that would guarantee that children of working mothers would be well cared for, offer paid maternity leaves, and in every way possible give women equal employment opportunities with men; or 2) alter the institution of marriage itself.

The welfare state was not a real possibility in nineteenth century America; therefore speculation was centered on the means by which marriage could be altered. Alternatives such as the Oneida community where marriage was done away with, the Mormon system of polygamy, and the Shaker's abstinence practice were available, but these were largely

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<sup>6</sup>Cited in O'Neill, The Woman Movement, p. 27.

unacceptable to the public as this was a time of extreme obsession with bourgeois family life.

The Stanton-Anthony group dealt with the problem in two ways: they criticized the existing marital and domestic customs, and they became involved with a group of free love advocates. By arguing for liberalized divorce laws, Mrs. Stanton put her reputation in jeopardy, as divorce was seen as the chief threat to the institution of marriage; and by associating themselves with those who advocated free love, the Stanton-Anthony group was smeared and ridiculed.

In an attempt to rehabilitate itself, the National Woman Suffrage Association began to focus on the comparatively safe issues that it had formerly scorned and by 1890 differences between the two groups had ceased to be meaningful. The two groups then reunited, forming a group called the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

This marked the end of an era. Up until that time a broadly liberal view of social progress existed; if given the vote women would use it to advance certain desirable causes. When the two groups reunited they adopted policies of compromise and expedience, focusing only on comparatively safe legal and political problems. Eventually the broadly liberal view of social progress diminished, as did its leaders, to be replaced by a more narrow approach. Until merger, a small but important group of suffragists were prepared to think deeply about the position of women and were open to the

possibility that the entire domestic system would have to be restructured. At merger the possibility that feminism would be able to generate a body of theory adequate to its needs was destroyed. This decision not to deal with marriage and sexuality but to fight instead for the vote retarded the movement for decades, and is given by some as an explanation for the renewal in the 1960s of demands for liberation.

When it became clear to the women in the movement that Congress would not help them in their battle to get the vote, they decided to make the states their target since states could establish their own voting requirements. By 1900 three Western states granted suffrage on the state level; in 1910 the state of Washington voted for woman suffrage, and in 1911 California narrowly approved it. While this encouraged women, it was becoming evident that to win the ballot on a state-by-state basis would take too long and cost too much. Attention was then turned to the federal amendment campaign.

Finally, in January 1918, President Wilson called for woman suffrage and the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Constitution enfranchising women. Fourteen months later it was ratified by the thirty-sixth state legislature and became law. However, enfranchisement did not mark the beginning of women's real emancipation but the end, although this was not evident at first.

Spirits were high among the feminists in the early 1920s. Prohibition and woman suffrage had been secured,

child labor was on the verge of extinction, minimum wage legislation had been passed, and the League of Nations seemed to promise peace. A favorable climate existed for variety in occupations, and more female students were entering college. In 1920, when the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor was established, the economy included about eight and one-half million female workers.<sup>7</sup>

It soon became apparent, however, that there would be no sweeping social reforms and that the gains already made were vulnerable. Reforms of every type experienced a stormy time in the 1920s. Within a few years prohibition was demonstrated to be unenforceable (although Repeal didn't occur until 1933); the Supreme Court pronounced the national child labor law to be unconstitutional in 1922, and later struck down a minimum wage bill. The National Consumers League was destroyed by the collapse of Progressivism, and the National Women's Trade Union League suffered from an abortive venture in international cooperation.

There developed during this time a dispute over the wisdom of protective legislation, which was virtually the only benefits working women had obtained from feminism. Feminists from the Woman's Party felt that protective laws handicapped women in the competition for jobs, but almost all other social feminists favored the legislation. This

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<sup>7</sup>President's Commission on the Status of Women, American Women (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 23.

struggle divided organized women who were forced to choose between their interests as women and their interests as reformers. Most chose the latter, and in the process the feminist movement was destroyed.

A movement that started out as revisionary with a strain of revolutionary change in basic male-female relationships ended on a conservative note. The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment allowing women to vote marked the end of the movement and it was found that women's vote made little difference as they voted much as men, except on a handful of issues concerning personal morality.

One explanation of the collapse of feminism contains the following elements:

For nearly a hundred years the advancement of women has been a salient feature of Anglo-American life. Votes for women was the most dramatic accomplishment of this movement but . . . it really constituted the last significant demand that organized women were able to make. . . . Once gained, there was nothing to take the vote's place as a rallying point. . . . Much had changed in the last several generations, but the old conflict between home and work had not. Women could be mothers, and they could be workers. They could not, however, perform with equal facility in both categories at once. Things might have been different if society had lightened their burden with extensive nursery facilities, paid maternity leaves, and the like . . . it did not. If marriage had been redefined so as to give husbands and wives equal responsibilities women might not have found it more difficult to balance the demands of home and work than men did. This also failed to happen. By the 1920s it was becoming evident that their emancipation had been largely negative. The formal barriers to equal opportunity were down, yet the social changes which would enable them to take advantage of this fact had not been made. Thus, like racial

minorities, they were free in theory but not in practice.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly part of the failure can be attributed to an unwillingness to re-examine traditional ideas about marriage, maternity, and male-female relationships.

#### The Years Since 1920

An analysis of events occurring since the collapse of feminism reveal certain changes in the lives of American women. Legislation passed during the Roosevelt administration affirmed the right to organize, and industrial unionism brought collective agreements into industries hiring many women; the social security system instituted in 1935 assured many women workers of support for old age and periods of unemployment; the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 placed a floor under wages and established forty-hour work weeks for those whose products moved in interstate commerce.<sup>9</sup>

The 1940s and entry into World War II saw a period of employment opportunities for women. Under the Lanhan Act, day care centers took care of youngsters of mothers working in the war industries. Many women were able to move out of domestic service into other occupations. Women working as household help formed 18 per cent of women workers in 1940; by 1950 this percentage had dropped to eight.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>O'Neill, The Woman Movement, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup>President's Commission on the Status of Women, American Women, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

The decade of the 1950s saw a return to the home and child rearing. The average age at marriage declined, the average size of families went up, and the suburban migration began in earnest. Betty Friedan referred to this era as the "Feminine Mystique," a time in which women traded hard won gains of freedom and equality for the pallid existence of neurotic housewifery.<sup>11</sup> However, during the 1950s there was a revival of some scientific interest in the position of women. In 1951 an article appeared entitled "What Has Happened to the Feminist Movement?"<sup>12</sup> and a few years later an article appeared in Social Forces focusing attention on women as a minority group. It was pointed out that, much as Negroes, women are subject to discrimination (e.g., in jobs), there is a significant degree of "social distance" between them and the superior group (men), and women who are attempting to enter the traditional domain of the superior group, marginal women, encounter the problems and resistance typical of those designed to thwart a minority group member who is threatening the traditions of his society.<sup>13</sup>

Nineteen hundred sixty three is the year marked by some as the rebirth of the women's struggle. That year the

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<sup>11</sup>Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1963).

<sup>12</sup>Arnold Freen and Eleanor Melnick, "What Has Happened to the Feminist Movement?" in Studies in Leadership, ed. by Alvin W. Gouldner (New York: Harper, 1950), pp. 277-302.

<sup>13</sup>Helen Hacker, "Women as a Minority Group," Social Forces (1951), 60-69.

public was alerted to the needs and problems of women through the publication of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and by the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women. The Feminine Mystique soon became a best seller, and the conclusion of the Commission on the Status of Women that "the capacities of many women are clearly not being developed to their full potential"<sup>14</sup> brought about renewed interest in the question of the "proper" role of women. Issues which had been submerged since the 1880s began to reappear and proposals for change began to surface in underground literature. The reasons for the rebirth of the women's movement will be discussed in the next section.

#### Reasons for Renewed Interest in the Movement

A major shortcoming of nineteenth-century feminism was the lack of recognition by all but a few radicals that personal as well as political oppression had to be fought. In essence, what nineteenth century feminism left undone twentieth century feminists are working to resolve.

The logical question is "why did women wait forty years to again become interested in liberation?" As mentioned earlier, there are certain similarities between the beginnings of both movements. Both the 1830s and the 1960s were periods of social unrest and interest in reform. Civil rights was an issue in both periods, with women having their

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<sup>14</sup>President's Commission on the Status of Women, American Women, p. 3.



first interest in the civil rights movement only to later discover they needed to fight for their own cause. Middle-class women, by and large, constituted the early membership for both movements. These similarities aren't sufficient, however, to explain the resurgence of interest at this particular time in history.

Two social developments help to explain the rebirth of interest. First of all was a growing recognition by females that they were more occupationally disadvantaged than they had been twenty five years earlier and that rather than moving equally into all sectors of the occupational structure, they were still in low-paying service, clerical and semi-skilled categories. There was also the realization that the motherhood role couldn't last a lifetime as the average age of women at the birth of their last child was 26.9 years, leaving some thirty years of life with children grown and only housework and bridge parties left.

Issues that had been left unresolved by earlier feminists began cropping up and sexual mores and sex roles were called into question. Alternatives to marriage were again being considered; this time with more success as divorce was now a fact of life and diverse living arrangements for men and women more common.

One of the leaders in the women's movement, sociologist Marlene Dixon, sees three factors as crucial to the resurgence of the movement: male supremacy, marriage, and the

structure of wage labor. A male supremacy which asserts the biological and social inferiority of women is seen as a form of racism. Women are depicted as "dependent, incapable of rational thinking, childlike, martyred in the role of mother, and mystical as a sexual partner."<sup>15</sup> Marriage, the chief vehicle by which this supremacy is perpetuated, further exploits women both socially and economically as the housewife provides unpaid essential labor and services. The work done by the housewife is not considered "real" as it is outside the money economy. The married woman who also works outside the home is doubly exploited as she assumes two full-time jobs for the price of one. Although women's oppression is rooted in the institution of marriage, in Dixon's opinion, the most commonly recognized exploitation of women is in the work place. Women are the "last hired, the lowest paid, the least often promoted, and the first fired."<sup>16</sup>

In his analysis of the movement, Etzioni cites the most important force effecting it as improvement in and acceptance of birth control techniques, thereby increasing women's opportunity to more sexual freedom and to limit the number of her children. Another force is the automation of household services, which frees women to invest time in other pursuits, and the automation of work, which opens jobs for more women by reducing the role of muscle power. Finally,

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<sup>15</sup>Dixon, "Why Women's Liberation--2?" p. 187.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

there are the effects of the spread of college education and the heightening of political awareness. These are seen as aids to the movement, not results, and represent the forces of historical change.<sup>17</sup>

Firestone feels the "Myth of Emancipation" which defused the frustrations of women for fifty years finally wore itself out in the late 1960s, thereby accelerating the movement. She believes feminism is the inevitable response to the development of a technology capable of freeing women from their sexual, reproductive roles. Also playing a part in the resurgence of feminism was the recognition by the female civil rights workers of the sixties of the analogy of their own situation to that of the blacks. This, coupled with the general spirit of dissent of that decade, led to the establishment of a women's liberation movement proper.<sup>18</sup>

#### Divisions Within the Movement

Some cite the rebirth of activism in the women's movement as the halting of the television crowning of Miss America in September, 1968. Although treated by the press since that time as a unified phenomenon, the movement is not unidimensional. There is no cohesive set of goals, strategies, and philosophies; there are schisms, ideological debates, and

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<sup>17</sup>Amitai Etzioni, "The Women's Movement--Tokens vs. Objectives," Saturday Review, May 20, 1972, pp. 31-35.

<sup>18</sup>Firestone, "On American Feminism."

suspicion of charismatic leaders and professionals who have earned their credentials under the established system.

Certainly the movement is fragmented. At the Second Congress to Unite Women held in New York in May, 1970, 600 women represented scores of the shifting new groups with names like Bread and Roses, The Feminists, The Media Women, Redstockings, OWL (Older Women's Liberation), SALT (Sisters All Learning Together), and WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell).

One author summarizes the present state of the movement in the following way: "Though it has been widely publicized, the New Feminism still actively involves only a minute fraction of the female population. It's much more fragmented than the black revolution, its scope of ideology is divisive; public opinion does not support it; and it has no appeal for thousands of middle-class women who are content with their present condition."<sup>19</sup>

In a highly general sense, the movement could be split into two broad factions: the reformists (represented by groups such as NOW) who basically accept the existing society but who want legal, social and economic equality with men, and the revolutionaries (represented by groups such as Redstockings and WITCH) who want a complete restructuring of society as well as basic male-female relationships.

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<sup>19</sup>Mary Lou Thompson, "Forecast for Feminism," in Voices of the New Feminism, ed. by Mary Lou Thompson (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 205.

Firestone sees the political spectrum of early feminism recreated, since 1968, into three major camps:<sup>20</sup>

1. Conservative Feminists. This camp most resembles the suffragist movement of the turn of the century in its stress of equality with men. Although there are many organizations within this framework, the National Organization of Women, begun in 1965 by Betty Friedan, best exemplifies this position. NOW tends to concentrate on the winning of single-issue political gains. Sometimes called the NAACP of the women's movement, NOW has attracted a wide membership, mostly working women, which are controlled by a traditional bureaucratic structure. NOW is seen as conservative because it endorses marriage, believes in cooperating with men, and does not believe in political revolution. A recent statement by Betty Friedan illustrates NOW's position, "Let U.S. Representative Bella Abzug introduce a bill for lesbian mothers. Let Ms. magazine do a special issue about lesbians. But let us concentrate on men and women working together for full partnership in society. . . . Stage one of the movement was breaking through the barriers of sex discrimination. Now men and women must work together. We need a meaningful dialogue to achieve our goals."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Firestone, "On American Feminism," pp. 679-686.

<sup>21</sup>"Working Together Goal, Feminist Says," Oklahoma City Times, March 26, 1973, p. 16.

2. **Politicos.** Contemporary politicos see feminism as only tangent to radical politics instead of central, directly radical in itself. Within this category are still smaller segments which are classified as a) Ladies' Auxiliaries of the Left, groups which agitate against male chauvinism within the organization; b) Middle-of-the-Road politicos, who work separately from male organizations but who imitate their tactics; and c) The Feminist Politicos, described as "conservative feminism with leftist overtones."<sup>22</sup>

3. **Radical Feminism.** This camp sees feminist issues not only as women's first priority but as central to any larger revolutionary analysis. It relates the structure of the economic class system to its origin in the sexual class system, the model for all other exploitative systems.

Because Firestone herself has a radical perspective, she tends to see a finer differentiation on the radical end of the continuum. All other groups are lumped in the "conservative" category.

In a more scholarly analysis of current feminist groups, Tavris lists four categories:

1. **Career-specific.** These groups are not really committed to the movement but are being challenged from within, generally by the younger women.

2. **Legal reform organizations.** These are structured, impersonal, specific-action groups that work for legal reform.

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<sup>22</sup>Firestone, "On American Feminism," p. 682.

3. Discussion groups. These are unstructured, personal, introspective groups. Some meet for discussion only; others are action groups.

4. Radical feminist organizations. These groups call for a radical change in society.<sup>23</sup>

Obviously these groups work for change in different areas. Of the proposals chosen for study here, the one that would most interest the career-specific group would probably be an end to sex-differentiated counseling in the educational system; the legal reform organizations might concern themselves with abortion reform, the discussion groups would probably be most interested in equality in personal relationships, housekeeping and child care, while the radical feminists would probably be looking for viable alternatives to the present form of marriage.

While there are many diverse groups with different approaches to what is defined as major problems, there is common agreement across all groups. All movement women feel that as a group they are at a disadvantage in today's society and that the problems that arise from this are social in nature and origin. Whatever political style modern feminists choose, the essential point of agreement is this: a woman faces unique obstacles in realizing her full human worth,

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<sup>23</sup>Carole Anne Tavris, "The Unliberated Liberals: Attitudes Toward The Issues of Women's Liberation," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971), pp. 4-8.

and these obstacles are rooted in the society around her. The consequences of this oppression are first, structural and material discrimination, with its economic, social, legal, and cultural forms; and second, the subjective and psychological participation of women in their own abuse.<sup>24</sup>

#### Reactions of Men and Women to Women's Liberation Movement

As stated earlier, movement women probably constitute only a small minority of American women. In a 1970 Gallup Poll, based on a sample of 778 women, 65 percent indicated that women get as good a break as men, 40 percent had no desire to hold down a job; and 46 percent believed that women have an easier life than men.<sup>25</sup> Obviously these women would not be very sympathetic to the movement. What is the symbolic importance of the women's liberation movement? What are some possible male reactions to proposed changes?

While there has not been much empirical research dealing with these questions, one study attempts to enumerate some social psychological reasons for a negative reaction to the movement.<sup>26</sup> It's pointed out that strong reaction to the movement might be expected since it brings into question

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<sup>24</sup>Anita Lynn Micossi, "Conversion to Women's Lib," TransAction, VIII (November/December, 1970), 83.

<sup>25</sup>American Institute of Public Opinion, Princeton, New Jersey, Report No. 63, September, 1970.

<sup>26</sup>Tavris, "The Unliberated Liberals," pp. 12-28.



one of the most fundamental problems, that of what it means to be a man or a woman.

One reason why women might be threatened by attempts to change the present structure is that childbearing is viewed as a low-status occupation and not as a full-time job by many in the movement. For a woman whose identity comes from being a "good mother" this is viewed as a threat to her whole being. Obviously if she has chosen that role, or if it has been cast upon her, she has to denounce the liberation movement in order to maintain internal consistency. "Women's liberation" represents all that many women do not feel psychologically prepared to do: be independent, not need men, and achieve on one's own merits. This is particularly hard on the older woman. As occurs in most social movements, organizations to counter the effects of the liberation movement have grown up. Some of these are MOM (Men Our Masters), Pussycats, and Fascinating Womanhood. That there are more female than male counter groups may be the result of a greater perceived threat on the part of the females. (There is only one male group: SEAM, Society for the Emancipation of the American Male).

Women who base their self esteem on looks and favorable attention from males would be threatened by the possibility of the loss of male flattery. For many women the affirmation of success as a woman is the ability to arouse a man. That female attractiveness is an important part of our culture is

verified by even a casual glance at the advertising world, where slogans such as "Don't let your eyes speak your age!" and "Did you panic when you looked into the mirror this morning and noticed that those laugh lines are turning into crow's feet?" have turned cosmetics advertising into a multi-million dollar industry. While for a man, wrinkles are not necessarily sexually undesirable, a woman's ability to attain status in other than physical ways is severely limited by our culture. For young women whose verification of femininity comes from male flattery, an effort to end this would be seen as disastrous.

Even career women might be threatened, particularly the "rare" woman who has made it to the top through hard work and who does not want younger women to have it any easier than they. This woman does not want competition any more than the many men who fear it.

Probably the most obvious threat of the movement to men is the overt threat to power and privilege, both economic and interpersonal. There would be more competition for jobs if women were felt to be as "qualified" as men, and loss would occur in other areas: political and domestic power, status and dominance. Preferential hiring of women would understandably be a threat.

On a more unconscious level, the women's liberation movement could be seen by some as an attack on masculinity. While biology is sufficient affirmation of femininity, this is

not true for men. Men must achieve masculinity. Women's liberation seeks to eliminate the specific activities that define masculinity, without offering an alternative. For many males it is extremely important to keep these distinctions. For these men, the rearing of children without the traditional sex-role stereotypes would not be very appealing.

There may also be an unconscious fear that the demands of liberated women may be "insatiable." There is some evidence to suggest that while the "pill" may have liberated the female to a more satisfying sexual experience, the opposite may have occurred for the male, who suddenly finds his sexual partner too demanding. Now that contraceptive techniques such as the pill and IUD are invisible to the male, the woman is not only in a position deliberately to refuse her husband a child without his knowing, she is also in a position to produce a child that he may not want and to blame the event on "contraceptive failure." Also there is the threat to self identity and paternity that comes when movement women speak of the myth of vaginal orgasm, making men feel unnecessary for female sexual pleasure, and sperm banks, which again reduces the importance of a specific male.

In her analysis of the reasons for negative reactions to the movement, Epstein compares the situation of middle-class housewives with that of other groups who have been denied full access to the opportunities of the society. Although disadvantaged, they are protected from the full

consequences of their position. This protection, referred to as secondary gains, keeps many women committed to the status quo. Some of the secondary gains include rank achieved through the husband's success; public attention if her husband is successful; leisure time to pursue interest in the arts or social activities; freedom from pursuing a vocation; freedom to devote time to personal adornment; and income that bears no direct connection to her efforts, ability, or output.<sup>27</sup>

The above analysis gives reasons, conscious and unconscious, for both sexes to feel threatened by the prospect of changes such as those proposed by the women's liberation movement. However, some males and females are more threatened than others. What specific factors in an individual's background might contribute to this? What social psychological variables are related to acceptance or rejection of the goals of the movement? This is the major research question and will be considered in Chapter III. At this time, however, a summary of the results of other studies dealing with correlates of support for the women's liberation movement and its goals will be discussed.

#### Correlates of Support

Only a few large-scale studies have been done concerning public attitudes toward the role of women and the

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<sup>27</sup>Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Woman's Place (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 129-132.

objectives of the women's movement. One of these involved the readership of Psychology Today, 20,000 of whom completed a 109-item questionnaire concerning attitudes toward sex roles which was included in the February, 1972, issue. These results were later published in the magazine<sup>28</sup> and a refinement of this sample formed the basis of a Ph.D. dissertation by senior editor Carol Tavris.

Because there were significant differences between women who belonged to women's groups (professional associations, NOW, a women's liberation "consciousness raising" or discussion group, or a politically radical women's liberation group) and those who didn't, respondents were placed into three categories for some of the analysis: men, women, and group women.

Many of the questionnaire items dealt with attitudes toward changes in women's family and work role, "sexism," strategies for change, and the women's liberation movement itself.

In almost every instance of support for the issues of women's liberation, the men lagged behind group women in support. The nongroup women sometimes fell closer to group members in attitudes and other times were more conservative than the men. Tavris tapped responses to eight proposals of the women's liberation movement (basically the same as those

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<sup>28</sup> Carol Tavris, "Woman and Man," Psychology Today, V (March, 1972), 57-64; 82-85.

selected for this current study, with the exception of the inclusion of approval for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the exclusion of a call for an end to sex differentiated tracking at school) and found that over 50 percent of the men and nongroup women strongly approved of abortion on demand, equality in child rearing, and public day care facilities. Between one-third and one-half of the respondents strongly approved of passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, child rearing without sex-role stereotyping, and equality in housekeeping. However, most drew the line at an end to marriage in its present form (only 23 percent of the men and 15 percent of nongroup women strongly approved) and preferential treatment for women in hiring (only 4 percent of both men and nongroup women strongly approved).

As would be expected, group women contributed a higher percentage to the strongly approve category for each of these issues, with only two proposals receiving less than 50 percent in the strongly approve category: an end to marriage in its present form (28 percent) and preferential treatment in hiring (only 8 percent).

Political preference was found to be the strongest predictor of support for the proposals or goals of the women's liberation movement (beta = .41 for men and .32 for women). As would be expected, conservatives were least supportive of change while those with liberal political preferences were the most supportive, although radical men were

less likely than radical women to identify with the goals of the movement.

Religious preference was next in importance in explaining support of the proposals for change (beta = .19 for men and .23 for women). Protestant and Catholic men were far more likely than men of other religious beliefs to oppose changes in the status quo--such as an end to marriage or an end to raising children in sex-stereotyped ways. They were also least supportive of day-care centers. Among women, Protestants and Catholics also were more traditional on these issues, but not as traditional as their men. Male and female atheists were most supportive.

The third most important predictor variable was the stereotype index, which was composed of eight personality characteristics. Respondents were to indicate if each trait characterized men or women (or no difference) and whether the trait was biologically or culturally determined. It was found that the individuals who attributed many traits to biological origin were more likely to oppose changes in women's role, and that respondents who were most supportive of change were those who think all differences in men and women are culturally determined (beta = .19 for men and .17 for women on the stereotype index).

Marital status had some effect on support for the goals of the women's liberation movement (beta = .09 for males and .10 for females). In descending order the groups

most likely to support a change were divorced and single men, divorced and single women, married women and married men. Divorced persons of either sex overwhelmingly favored day care centers and were most likely to favor an end to marriage. However, divorced men were not as enthusiastic as divorced women about equality in housekeeping and in caring for their children.

The other variable that was important, for females, in predicting support was occupation (beta = .14 for females). In fact, one of Tavris' conclusions is that potentially the most active support for the women's liberation will come from employed women who are married to traditional men. These are the women who are trying to combine housework, career, and children with little support from their husbands.

By way of summary, Tavris describes the male supporter of the women's liberation movement and its goals as a radical, nonreligious person who believes sex differences are cultural. He is likely to be divorced or cohabiting. If he is married, his wife works and is a professional. He shares equally in housework and considers his wife's career and happiness as important as his.

The woman supporter is likewise a role deviant, is politically radical, nonreligious, and sees sex differences as cultural. She is more likely to be married or cohabiting. A second group of women supporters are the "not content" workers with traditional marriages. Their motive is frustration.



Tavris designed another questionnaire to be included in the April, 1972, issue of Redbook magazine.<sup>29</sup> Much to the amazement of Tavris and her assistant, 120,000 women returned the questionnaire, an unprecedented response. Certainly this represents a strong interest, pro or con, in the issues of the movement, a change from the situation of only eight years ago when Carl Degler commented that "women shun like a disease any feminist ideology."<sup>30</sup>

Although this questionnaire did not deal with the specific proposals of the women's liberation movement, it asked a number of questions about women's place in society and their feelings about children, marriage, discrimination, sex, pregnancy, and childbirth.

As with the Psychology Today survey, the sample could not be considered as representative since it involved the voluntary returning of the questionnaire by a select readership. However, the 120,000 responses do represent the thinking of a wide spectrum of young women. A demographic breakdown indicates that 56 percent of the respondents are under 30 years of age, 75 percent are married for the first time,

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<sup>29</sup> "How Do You Feel About Being a Woman?" Redbook Magazine (April, 1972), pp. 71-78. The results were published in the January, 1973, issue of Redbook, entitled "What 120,000 Young Women Can Tell You About Sex, Motherhood, Menstruation, Housework--And Men," Carol Tavris and Toby Jayaratne, pp. 67-69; 127-129.

<sup>30</sup> Carl N. Degler, "The Changing Place of Women in America," Daedalus, XCIII (Spring, 1964), 663.

56 percent are Protestants, and almost 50 percent see themselves as moderate in their political beliefs. Forty-five percent work, either full time or part time.

The overwhelming majority of these rather conventional women believe that women are second-class citizens. For example, 75 percent agree that the communications media degrade women by portraying them as sex objects or mindless dolls; 90 percent are aware that women earn less than men for doing the same work; 94 percent disagree with the argument that women deserve less pay than men because women are less reliable workers; and almost 50 percent agree that women are as exploited as much as minority groups are.

Almost 50 percent of the women reported that their awareness of discrimination was a direct result of the women's movement. In fact, two women out of three favored the women's liberation movement. Among single women this proportion increased to eight out of ten, and among divorcees it increased to seven out of ten.

Discrimination was the key factor determining a respondent's support of the women's liberation movement--whether it was unfair treatment in hiring, salaries, admissions to college, or intellectual disparagement.

In Tavris' opinion, it is significant that it was discrimination, not sexual or marital unhappiness or dislike of children and husband, that was the important factor in women's support of the movement. Since women are more likely to

develop feelings of being treated unfairly by virtue of their sex as they leave the traditional realm of the home and since greater numbers of women are entering the world of work, there will probably be a continuing strengthening commitment to the goals of the women's movement.

The other large scale study of attitudes toward women's rights was done by Louis Harris and Associates in late 1971. The sample consisted of a nationwide cross-section of 3,022 women with 998 men as a control group. A sharp reversal in attitudes was found, as only one year earlier women had opposed "efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society" by 42 to 40 percent. In 1971 women had moved to approving these efforts by 48 to 36 percent.

Sympathy for efforts of women's liberation groups was related to marital status. Sixty-two percent of single women and 58 percent of those divorced and separated were sympathetic, but 51 percent of the married women and widows were not. Sympathy for the liberation groups themselves was greater among men than women. Women rejected such groups by 49 percent to 39 percent while men split 42 percent to 42 percent. The prevailing view among women on their status and efforts to change it was best summed up by the 51 to 34 percent majority that felt "women are right to be unhappy with their roles in American society, but wrong in the way they are protesting."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"Women Vote Revolt Seen," The Journal's Washington Post Service, Oklahoma Journal, March 24, 1972, pp. 1-2.

These studies indicate that the public is aware of the demands of the women's movement and that support may be more widespread than had been thought. A major question, then, is "Will support for political and social change continue, or will it be countered from those (both men and women) who feel that the proposals for change are inappropriate?"

Certainly it is not inevitable that this will be a movement with a lasting impact, since even among those who are supposed to benefit there is resistance. An example of this resistance is the testimony in the recent hearings on women's rights held by the Thirty-Third Oklahoma Legislative Council Committee. At one of these hearings approximately fifty women testified against the proposed constitutional equal rights amendment. One woman described the amendment movement as "butterflies in a crosswind,"<sup>32</sup> and another woman stated, "I am a woman and I do not want to be equal to men. I would not be here if man had not given his rib for my creation."<sup>33</sup> Still another said, "Men and women are equal but different by God's design, and our laws are based on these differences."<sup>34</sup>

Other examples of resistance to the movement are books and articles written by women attacking the movement, the

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<sup>32</sup>"Lib Amendment Draws Fire," Oklahoma Journal, October 10, 1973, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

most recent of which is The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation.<sup>35</sup>

That the success of the movement is not as clear cut as other movements for rights of the "oppressed" is evident when one considers the likelihood of blacks, Puerto Ricans, or Mexican Americans testifying that they don't want to be equal to the dominant group.

The future of the movement depends heavily upon the values and attitudes of those who will increasingly bear the burden of carrying it on. Among that group are college students. Although not representative of all youth, college students will have a more proportional influence on future directions of our society.

On the one hand, we might expect college females, because of their many years of education, to be more interested in changing women's status than their noncollege counterparts. On the other hand, college females have probably not yet met with a lot of discrimination and, particularly the unmarried ones, are probably aiming for marriage and children. For these females the marriage-family role has been mythologized, and they would have to reject the more extreme positions or goals associated with the movement.

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<sup>35</sup> Midge Decter, The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation (New York: Coward, McCann & Georhegan, 1972). See also Helen Lawrenson, "The Feminine Mistake," Esquire, January, 1971, pp. 82-85.

College male attitudes may be more consistent with their overall orientation, without the ambiguity that females experience.<sup>36</sup> Therefore it might be expected that if their attitudes cluster around a whole set of values we call "liberal" they would tend to also be liberal in their views of the liberation movement; if they are more conservative, their views toward the movement might reflect this. Tavris found males tend to be more liberal on liberation issues that do not strike close to home. Since a lot of college males are not married, they may be more willing to accept certain ideologies of the movement, especially those that do not directly affect them.

Since it is argued that student attitudes are crucial to any prediction of the future impact of the movement, this study will attempt to examine certain dimensions of those attitudes. The objective will be two-fold; first, to examine those variables which are likely to predict support or rejection of the goals of the women's liberation movement, and second to shed additional light on the future of the movement. If we find rather substantial support on the part of both sexes for the various proposals, then we might expect the movement to continue to gain momentum. If, on the other hand, a high degree of support is not found we might conclude

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<sup>36</sup>Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, LII (November, 1946), 184-189.

that, at least for the students tested, support will be withheld.

As can be seen from the discussion in this chapter, the women's liberation movement is not a unified phenomenon but is multi-dimensional. As with all social movements it is composed of two segments--the directed, those organized groups calling for change, and the undirected, the men and women who support some change in the prevailing norms surrounding male-female behavior but who aren't organized in any way. Women's liberation is a much broader phenomenon than the women's liberation movement. Some people might oppose the women's liberation movement because they associate it with bra-burning radicals, yet they may, at the same time, approve of the goals of the women's liberation movement, such as abortion on demand and public day care centers. Others might support the movement (as they might support other human rights movements) yet not approve of the proposed changes for themselves.

This study will confine itself to indicators of support for the goals, or proposals for change in women's status, proposed by the loosely organized phenomenon called "women's liberation," not to support for the movement itself. Nowhere in the questionnaire distributed to college students is women's liberation referred to. This was in an attempt to elicit responses of support or nonsupport of the issues of the

movement rather than responses to feelings about the movement itself.

The chapter which immediately follows will describe the setting of the study, explain the particular methods involved in examining student attitudes, and discuss the statistical tools to be employed. Chapter III, the analysis of the data, will contain a profile of the respondents, a series of contingency tables that reflect the bivariate relationship between a single independent variable and the dependent variable, and the results of a multivariate analysis which assesses the effects of a series of independent variables on the dependent variable, support for the goals of the women's liberation movement.

A summary of the findings of this research and their implications will be presented in Chapter IV.



## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN OF RESEARCH

The lack of a clear definition of the appropriate role for women is not the result of governmental and legal restrictions so much as it is the result of attitudes--those of society in general and those of women themselves. If significant changes in the role and status of women are to take place, a basic change in attitudes and expectations must occur.

The objective of this research is to explore, by questionnaire, the degree of support among college students for certain proposals that would redefine women's traditional role and to determine the social and attitudinal correlates of this support.

The research project will be carried on at three state institutions of higher learning in Oklahoma: East Central State College at Ada, Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, and the University of Oklahoma, Norman. East Central is the most rural of the three institutions, located eighty-seven miles southeast of the nearest urban center, Oklahoma City. The student body, approximately 3500 in size, is composed

mainly of students from a radius of eighty miles. Oklahoma State University is also located outside a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, but the student body is more diversified and from a much wider geographic area than students at East Central. Undergraduate enrollment is about 17,000. The University of Oklahoma is located in one of the state's three Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and is probably the most heterogeneous in character (it has the largest percentage of out-of-state enrollment of any state school). Undergraduate enrollment is 16,998.<sup>1</sup>

That Oklahoma students are not extremely liberal is pointed out by an analysis of the way they voted in the November, 1972, election. The Oklahoma City Times segregated precincts with total or heavy student vote in the eight four-year colleges and universities and found that student voters gave President Nixon a two-to-one vote edge and selected Representative Ed Edmondson, the Democrat, as their senatorial choice by only a scant margin over the former Republican governor, Dewey Bartlett, who campaigned as a hard-line conservative in the Barry Goldwater tradition of the Republican Party.

Six precincts in Norman, all OU-oriented, gave Nixon 2600 votes to 2448 for McGovern, and the big OU precinct balloted 709 for Nixon to 641 for McGovern. Edmondson was the choice in these precincts, 2951 to 2076. Oklahoma State

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<sup>1</sup>These figures are for the 1971-72 academic year.

University was even more decidedly for Nixon, favoring him 5530 to 2076 for McGovern, and Bartlett won 4149 to 3379. In the precincts in Ada that were East Central related, Nixon received 925 votes to McGovern's 276 and Bartlett won by a margin of 60 votes (650 to 590).<sup>2</sup>

For this study students to be questioned will be selected from three academic areas at each institution: introductory courses in botany, business, and sociology. The sample will consist of approximately 100 East Central students, 200 Oklahoma State University students, and 200 University of Oklahoma students.

The three academic fields were selected to provide a wider range of attitudes although they obviously cannot be considered as representative of the entire student population at each school. The lack of adequate funding makes it impossible to select a true probability sample; therefore no generalizations can be made about college students at these schools or elsewhere, and findings will be more suggestive than conclusive. Even though the data will be subjected to computer analysis, the scope of the project demands an N of a manageable size.

The data will be gathered by self-administered questionnaire, using Likert-type items, in which the subject is asked to choose one alternative (from strongly agree to

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<sup>2</sup>"Young Voters Upset Liberal Myth," Oklahoma City Times, November 15, 1972, pp. 1-2.

strongly disagree) for each statement. Limitations to this method of attitude measurement are recognized.<sup>3</sup> A single score to represent a person's attitude, while convenient for statistical manipulation, does not reflect the respondent's range of tolerance of acceptance or rejection of items.<sup>4</sup> In this case, however, it is felt that the Likert approach to question construction is satisfactory, since a similar kind of study using this technique has recently been done at the University of Michigan.<sup>5</sup> It is hoped that some of the results of this study can be compared with those derived from the Michigan study. Part of the questionnaire used in this study

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<sup>3</sup>One of the problems connected with survey research is that heavy reliance is placed on the respondent's report as the basis for his attitudes, opinions and beliefs. Not only may people be reluctant to report openly their attitudes, they may be unable to do so. Also there is a question of how much relationship there is between attitudes and overt action. Nonetheless, a number of studies do confirm that whatever people say they believe is strongly related to what they actually do. See, for example, Melvin F. De Fleur and Frank R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Saliency of Attitudes," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 667-73, and Lawrence S. Linn, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behavior: A Study of Racial Discrimination," Social Forces, XLIII (March, 1965), 353-64. A general consideration of attitude-behavior discrepancies is Jack W. Brehm, "A Dissonance Analysis of Attitude-Discrepant Behavior," in Attitude Organization and Change: An Analysis of Consistency Among Attitude Components, ed. by Milton J. Rosenberg, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 164-197.

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion on this see Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 357.

<sup>5</sup>The preliminary report of findings are reported in Tavris, "Woman and Man."

follows very closely the one constructed by Carol Tavris. Other parts come from various scale items found in two volumes published by the Institute for Social Research at Ann Arbor, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes and Measures of Political Attitudes. A copy of the questionnaire, with marginals, can be found in Appendix A.

Questions dealing with support for or opposition to the goals of women's rights, the major focus of the study, include feelings toward public day care facilities, abortion on demand, equal responsibility in housekeeping and child care, reform of marriage, sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system, child rearing outside of traditional sex role stereotypes, and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotions.

Included as background items are certain demographic characteristics such as university attended, major, college year, sex, race, religious preference, party identification, political ideology, marital status, father's education, mother's occupation, urban or rural background and belief as to which sex is better off. Four scales are also used: a conservatism scale on social issues, a dogmatism scale, a personal efficacy scale, and a religious orthodoxy scale.

The conservatism scale is one first developed by Herbert McClosky and later shortened to five items by Matthews and Prothro. This scale attempts to measure the strength of general (not political) conservative belief in

individuals and groups. The twelve agree-disagree items of the first form of the scale were selected from an initial pool of forty-three items drawn from the works of conservative writers such as Edmund Burke. In the original use of the scale, those scoring as strongly conservative held more extremely conventional social attitudes, were more responsive to naturalistic symbols, and placed greater emphasis upon duty, conformity, and discipline than those who scored low. The measure does not adequately predict party affiliation; however, in a cross-national sample by Campbell, et al., the scale did discriminate between Republican and Democratic party elites and did a good job of discriminating between members of the public who had changed party identification from Democrat to Republican or vice versa.<sup>6</sup> The Conservatism Scale items are questionnaire items numbers 41, 42, 47, 48 and 52.

The scale used to measure dogmatism is a shortened version of the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale as designed and used by Schulze. While the original D scale had forty items, the shortened scale uses ten of these items which best meet the criteria of unidimensionality, item consistency, and reproducibility.<sup>7</sup> Questionnaire items numbers 45, 46, 49, 50,

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<sup>6</sup>"Conservatism Scale" (McClosky 1958), in Measures of Political Attitudes, John P. Robinson, Harold G. Rusk, and Kendra B. Head (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, July, 1969), pp. 96-98.

<sup>7</sup>"Short Dogmatism Scale" (Schulze 1962), in Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes, ed. by John P. Robinson

51, 55, 56, 57, 61, and 62 are the Schulze D. Scale.

Questions dealing with personal efficacy, defined here as a feeling of mastery over self and the environment, come from the Campbell, et al., study of The American Voter.<sup>8</sup>

In Campbell's words, "The person lacking such a sense of mastery may either be tense and anxious about the course of his personal life, or may be resigned in a fatalistic way to a succession of events with which he does not feel that he can cope adequately."<sup>9</sup> These scale items are questionnaire items numbers 43, 44, 53, 54, 58, 59 and 60.

The Religious Orthodoxy Scale, a six-item Likert type instrument developed by Putney and Middleton, includes questions dealing with belief in a physical hell, the devil, life after death, a divine plan, the importance of the saving of souls, and the benefit of prayer (questionnaire items 17 through 22).<sup>10</sup>

It is intended that these various scale items be used as single indicators, that is, a person's score on each of these four scales will be used as a separate independent

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and Phillip R. Shaver (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, July, 1969), pp. 356-358.

<sup>8</sup>"Personal Competence" (Campbell, et al., 1960), ibid., pp. 102-104.

<sup>9</sup>Angus Campbell, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller and Donald Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960), p. 517.

<sup>10</sup>Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," Social Forces, XXXIX (March, 1961), 285-90.

variable, along with demographic characteristics, in a subsequent multivariate analysis to help explain variation in attitudes toward women.

Initial explanatory analysis will be done on the basis of contingency tables in which the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable of support for goals of the women's liberation movement will be examined. The statistics to be employed for this analysis will be chi-square and gamma. The chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) test of significance for association between two independent samples is one of the most widely used statistical tests in social science research. It is particularly useful in analyzing hypothesized relationships when data is presented in contingency or manifold tables and is based on the deviations of the observed cell frequencies from those expected on the assumption of chance. The higher the value of chi-square (when the number of rows and columns in the table remain constant), the less likely the observations being reported have occurred merely by chance. However, it cannot be used as a standard correlation measure because its upper limit varies directly with the number of observations (N), so that successive instances of chi-square cannot be compared directly.<sup>11</sup> Chi-square does not indicate direction of relationship; therefore when possible gamma will be computed.

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<sup>11</sup>Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 104-105.



Gamma is an ordinal measure for grouped data and can be used to correlate two ordinal scales. As long as both variables can be ranked, this measure can be used to give correlations which are somewhat analogous to product-moment correlations.<sup>12</sup>

Gamma measures the predictability of order on one variable from order on another. In this sense, it belongs in the category of statistics employing a relative reduction in error technique. The numerical value of  $\gamma$  indicates the percentage of guessing errors eliminated by using knowledge of a second variable to predict order while the sign represents the association as negative or positive. Gamma is "margin-free" and ranges from -1.0 to +1.0.<sup>13</sup>

Responses to the various attitudinal scales as well as to the questions dealing with support of the goals of women's liberation will be subjected to Guttman scaling to obtain single scale scores to use in a multivariate analysis.

The basic idea behind Guttman scaling is that for any single attitude pattern which varies in intensity, it should be possible to establish an ordered series of statements ranging from the weakest to the strongest expression of the attitude. Agreement with the strongest statement in such a

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<sup>12</sup>Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), p. 415.

<sup>13</sup>John H. Mueller, Karl Schuessler and Herbert Costner, Statistical Reasoning in Sociology (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970), pp. 279-290.

series should imply agreement with all the weaker statements; agreement with any statement should imply agreement with any others of less intensity. In a perfect social distance scale, for example, prejudice items may be arranged according to the degree of intimacy of contact with the minority group. A white person willing to marry a black will obviously be willing to live on the same street as one. In the case of a perfect Guttman scale it could be said that a person endorsing four items will have endorsed exactly the same items as a person with a score of three, plus one more. If the scale is only partially ordered, it would be possible to say that A is in some respects more prejudiced than B but in other respects less so since the two individuals have endorsed different sets of items. In the perfect Guttman scale, items have a cumulative property which justifies the assumption of an ordinal scale; seldom if ever is a perfect Guttman scale attained in practice, though, as there are always certain persons whose response patterns deviate from the ideal. A small number of errors in the scale has to be tolerated; how many is somewhat arbitrary.<sup>14</sup>

Adequate validation of a Guttman scale includes a test for unidimensionality, the usual measure of which is called the coefficient of reproducibility (CR). This coefficient is a measure of the relative degree with which the obtained multivariate distribution corresponds to the

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<sup>14</sup>Blalock, Social Statistics, pp. 23-24.

expected multivariate distribution of a perfect scale and is obtained by counting the number of responses which would have been predicted wrongly for each person on the basis of his scale score, dividing these errors by the total number of responses and subtracting the resulting fraction from one. An acceptable approximation to a perfect scale has been arbitrarily set at 90 percent reproducibility.<sup>15</sup>

Other requirements are that there should be no items on the scale to which responses are unanimous, as this would make that item meaningless; that within the 10 percent tolerance of error the errors should not be concentrated on one item as in this instance it is probably not measuring the attitude the scale is meant to measure; and finally, the larger the number of items in a scaled set of questions, the more satisfactory the resulting scale.<sup>16</sup>

Since the major interest in this study is the simultaneous consideration of several predictor variables (independent variables) and their relationship to the dependent variable (support for the movement goals), some form of multivariate analysis is called for. Therefore, following the Guttman scaling of the attitudinal items and the derivation of scale scores, the data will be subjected to multiple

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<sup>15</sup>Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., Measurement and Prediction (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp. 77-78.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-80.

classification analysis (MCA), a technique which can relate a number of predictor variables to the dependent variable at a zero-order level.<sup>17</sup> Unlike other multivariate methods, MCA can handle predictors with no better than nominal measurement and interrelationships of any form among predictors or between the predictor and the dependent variable. Though the predictors may be nominal level or higher, the dependent variable must be an interval scale without extreme skewness.

In addition to the eta (the correlation ratio which indicates the ability of the predictor to explain variation in the dependent variable) and the beta (the measure of the ability of the predictor to explain variation in the dependent variable after adjusting for the effects of all other predictors) statistics, a multiple correlation coefficient is obtained from the program. This coefficient indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable explained by all predictors together.

In MCA predictors are always treated as sets of classes or categories, so it does not matter whether a particular set represents a nominal scale, ordinal scale, or an interval scale. Since the categories of a nominal scale can be placed in any order, we cannot speak of the direction or sign of the relation with the dependent variable. When

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<sup>17</sup>Frank Andrews, James Morgan, John Sonquist, Multiple Classification Analysis (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, 1969).

appropriate, the direction of the relationship will be evident through the sign of the gamma coefficient in the contingency table.

### Concepts and Definitions

Woman's role is defined as the behavior appropriate (by societal definitions) to the position a woman occupies; or in some instances it refers to the actual pattern of behavior associated with a particular social position.

Women's status refers to the position a woman occupies in a group (in terms of power, prestige, and esteem) or the position all women occupy in relation to other groups.

The term attitude is used when attempts are made to measure a positive or negative evaluation, emotional feelings, and a potential for action with respect to a social object.

The term opinion is used when attempts are made to gauge feelings toward social objects in which very little, or no, potential for action exists.

### Hypotheses

This research has as a major objective an exploration of attitudes, opinions, and background characteristics likely to predict support of a basic change in the role and status of American women. More specifically, support of eight proposals that would bring about such change will be studied.

While it is felt that inclusion of certain background characteristics will be useful, it is anticipated that the

attitudinal variables will show the strongest relationship with the dependent variables; background characteristics of this sample of college students are not heterogeneous enough to give the whole range of effects.

Of the background variables it is expected that political party identification, political ideology (a cross between a background characteristic and an attitudinal item), and religious preference will be the most important in explaining variation in support of the movement goals. Since much of the current women's movement had its birth from the civil rights agitation and some of the proposals involve changes in the political system, it is expected that political preference and ideology will be strongly related to support of the goals and that those who see themselves as liberal will be more supportive than those who see themselves as conservative. Since institutionalized religion is many times seen as a conserving influence, especially on issues related to home and family, it is expected that those with a religious preference, especially of a fundamentalist orientation, will be less supportive of the goals or proposals for change.

Scores on the dogmatism, personal competence, conservatism, and religious orthodoxy scales are expected to relate to support of the goals of the liberation movement in the following way:

- (1) the more dogmatic, the less supportive of the goals of the movement;

- (2) the higher the feeling of personal competence, the more supportive of the goals;
- (3) the higher the level of conservatism, the less supportive of the goals;
- (4) the more religiously orthodox, the less supportive of the goals.

The multivariate equation reflecting the various independent and the dependent variable will be developed more fully in Chapter III. Multiple Classification Analysis will indicate the extent to which all the independent variables contribute to explaining variation in the various dependent variables and will show the relative contribution of each independent variable or set of variables.

## CHAPTER III

### CORRELATES OF SUPPORT FOR THE GOALS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The ultimate objective of this research is to find the background and social psychological variables most likely to predict support for or rejection of the goals of the women's liberation movement. This chapter reports the results of the analysis of data gathered on 493 Oklahoma college students.

The questionnaire used in this study was distributed to students at the University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma State University, and East Central State College during the last two weeks in April, 1972.<sup>1</sup> All sampling was done in daytime classes. The students were asked for their assistance but were told that the answering of the questions was a voluntary action. In all but a few instances the students cooperated.

From the 530 questionnaires that were returned, 493 were usable. One hundred ninety five OU students, 201 OSU

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<sup>1</sup>A pretest was given to fifty East Central State College students in March, 1972.



students and 97 East Central students are included in the sample. A profile of the respondents follows:

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Category	Number	Percent
SEX		
Male	272	55.2
Female	221	44.8
CLASSIFICATION		
Freshman	232	47.1
Sophomore	153	31.0
Junior	73	14.8
Senior	30	6.1
Graduate	5	1.0
MAJOR		
Social Science	60	12.2
Natural Science/Engineering	92	18.7
Business	157	31.8
Humanities/Arts	40	8.1
Education/Home Economics/Health Services	98	19.9
Agriculture	12	2.4
Undeclared	34	6.9
RACE		
Caucasian	469	95.1
American Indian	19	3.9
Negro	5	1.0
PARTY IDENTIFICATION		
Democrat	208	42.2
Republican	187	37.9
Independent	70	14.2
American (Wallace)	14	2.8
Other	14	2.8
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (Self Defined)		
Moderate	179	36.4
Somewhat Liberal	165	33.5
Somewhat Conservative	88	17.9
Very Liberal	41	8.3
Radical (left)	12	2.4
Very Conservative	8	1.4

Category	Number	Percent
<b>RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE</b>		
Protestant "Modernist" (Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal)	182	37.4
Protestant "Fundamentalist" (Baptist, Church of Christ, Assembly of God)	185	38.1
Catholic	48	9.9
Jewish	1	0.2
None/Atheist/Agnostic	50	10.3
Other (Nondenominational, Christian Science Unitarian, Humanist, Dutch Reformed, Moslem)	18	3.7
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>		
Single	422	85.8
Married	66	13.4
Divorced/Separated	3	0.6
<b>LEVEL OF FATHER'S EDUCATION</b>		
High School	134	27.2
College Graduate	117	23.8
Some College	103	20.9
Grade School	59	12.0
Master's Degree	48	9.8
M.D., Ph.D., LL.B.	31	6.3
<b>FATHER'S OCCUPATION</b>		
Professional with M.D., Ph.D., LL.B., etc.	33	6.8
School Teacher, Social Worker, Counselor, or Other		
Professional	93	19.1
Rancher, Farmer	32	6.6
Manager, Proprietor, Administrator, Businessman	198	40.7
Secretary, Clerical, Sales	18	3.7
Technician, Craftsman	57	11.7
Semi-skilled Unskilled	56	11.5
<b>MOTHER'S OCCUPATION</b>		
Professional with M.D., Ph.D., LL.B., etc.	3	0.6
Nurse, Schoolteacher, or Other		
Professional	103	20.9
Manager, Administrator, Proprietor	35	7.1
Secretary, Clerical, Sales	110	22.4
Technician	5	1.0
Housewife	236	48.0

Category	Number	Percent
WHERE RAISED		
In a Small City (5,000 - 50,000)	165	33.5
In a Large City (50,000+)	165	33.5
On a Farm	84	17.1
In a Town (5,000 or less)	78	15.9

The sample, then, is mainly composed of people with the following characteristics: single marital status, overwhelmingly caucasian, largely Protestant, freshman or sophomores, self-identified political ideology of moderate to somewhat liberal. Forty-five percent are females, 55 percent are males. The largest percentage come from homes where the father is a manager, administrator, proprietor or businessman, and in almost 50 percent of the cases the mother is a housewife only. A third of the sample comes from a farm or small town, another third from a small city (up to 50,000), and the other third from a city of 50,000 or more. We will now turn to an examination of the relationship between these characteristics and support for the goals of the movement.

#### Predictor Variables and the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable, support for the goals of the women's liberation movement, is composed of eight items which include most of the issues found in movement literature: public day care facilities, abortion on demand, equal responsibility by man and woman for housekeeping, child rearing and child care; an end to sex differentiated tracking in the educational system; an end to the institution of marriage in

its present form; child rearing without regard for traditional sex-role stereotypes; and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discriminations.

The respondents were asked to indicate strong, moderate or slight approval or disapproval for these eight questions. Table 1 reflects the degree of support for each of these issues for the total sample and separately by sex. As expected, several of the goal items receive rather strong support from both male and female students. Perhaps the most surprising is the sizeable show of approval by men and women for equal responsibility for child rearing and child care. In fact, this question elicited the largest percentage of "strong approvals" from all respondents--40.9 percent. One might have anticipated that females would like this idea but that males might not be that enthusiastic over the possibility of the extra time and burden of child raising in addition to the demands of job and career. Three-fourths of the male respondents expressed some form of approval for this arrangement. Similar results might not be nearly as likely among older, working males who have children and know of the extra demands that can come from child care. The day care issue received the greatest support from both groups (85.9 percent) when all three support categories are combined. However, only 27.8 percent expressed strong approval for this question compared with a figure of 40.6 percent strongly

approving of abortion on demand, the question with the second largest "strongly approve" category.

As Table 1 indicates, less support exists for preferential job treatment for women than for any other goal (18.1 percent). Although most Americans give at least lip service to the ideal of equality, very few seem to favor the idea of preferential treatment whether it be applied to women, blacks, or whatever group. Somehow preferential treatment seems to suggest reverse discrimination to many or makes people think of the old adage that "two wrongs don't make a right." Males expressed more strong disapproval on this issue (52.0 percent) than females (41.8 percent).

As expected, very few favor abolishing marriage in its present form, although females are somewhat more adamant than males. In fact, this question received the largest percentage of strong disapprovals from both groups than any other (56.0 percent) with women somewhat more likely to register strong disapproval than males (62.3 percent to 50.9 percent).

Four of the eight goals, then, received considerable support (public day care facilities, equal responsibility for child rearing and child care, abortion on demand, and an end to sex differentiated counseling); two goals received moderate support (equal responsibility for housekeeping and child rearing without sex-role stereotypes); and two received low support (an end to marriage in its present form and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion).

TABLE 1  
 PERCENTAGE SUPPORTING<sup>a</sup> WOMEN'S GOALS FOR ALL CASES AND BY SEX

Goal Support Questions	Total Sample	Male	Female
Public day care facilities	85.9%	81.3%	91.8%
Equal responsibility for child rearing and child care	80.8	77.4	84.6
Abortion on demand by a woman	77.9	81.3	73.8
An end to sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system	73.0	68.1	79.2
Equal responsibility for housekeeping	50.4	46.5	55.2
Child rearing without regard for tradi- tional sex-role stereotypes	38.7	36.5	40.2
An end to the institution of marriage in its present form	19.8	23.6	14.9
Preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination	18.1	16.2	19.5
	(N = 493)	(N = 272)	(N = 221)

<sup>a</sup>approval consists of those expressing strong, moderate, or slight approval

The eight items comprising the dependent variable of support for women's goals were subjected to a Guttman scale analysis with the resulting coefficient of reproducibility of .90.<sup>2</sup> For contingency table analysis, the dependent variable was collapsed into three categories--high, medium, and low support as follows: those respondents who selected none, one, or two pro-goal items (with a response of strongly approve, moderately approve, or slightly approve) were put in a low support category; those who gave either three, four, or five favorable responses were placed in a medium support group; and those who responded with either six, seven, or eight favorable answers were placed in a high support category. According to this arrangement, the three categories contain the following number:

High	n = 162	(32.9%)
Medium	n = 243	(49.3%)
Low	n = 88	(17.8%)

As can be seen from the above breakdown, virtually half of the sample falls into the middle category of support. The implications of this will be discussed later.

The major independent, or predictor, variables are the Dogmatism Scale, Personal Efficacy Scale, Conservatism Scale, and the Religious Orthodoxy Scale. Other independent

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<sup>2</sup>The order of items from the weakest to the strongest statement is questionnaire items number 70, 68, 69, 65, 67, 64, 66, 63.

variables include background characteristics of university attended, major, college year, sex, race, political party identification, political ideology, marital status, father's education, mother's occupation, where raised, religious identification, and belief as to which sex is better off.

#### Background Characteristics and Support for the Goals of Women's Liberation

It is expected that persons with certain background characteristics will be more supportive than others of the goals of the movement. This section will consider the effects of several key demographic variables on support of movement goals. These variables are university attended, major, sex, college year, race, political party identification, political ideology (self defined), religious preference, marital status, father's education, mother's occupation, size of community where raised, and belief of which sex is better off.

The first background variable, university attended, is expected to reflect a significant difference in support. Although the size of the student population at these schools prohibited the drawing of a representative sample, it was felt that comparisons among the three schools would be interesting. The size of each school and general characteristics of the three institutions where the sampling was carried out was discussed in an earlier chapter. The two universities, the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University,



draw the majority of their students from the upper third of graduating high school classes who attend college within the state. East Central, one of the state's four-year colleges, draws the majority of its students from the middle third of nearby high school graduating classes. The University of Oklahoma is thought by many to be very liberal; in fact, great care is taken not to further offend the legislators who already feel matters are out of hand on a campus where drugs are used, the ROTC is demonstrated against, and the gay liberation organization wants to be recognized.

Oklahoma State University is generally recognized as more conservative than Oklahoma University, and the president has prided himself on the lack of demonstrations on his campus. Being the state's land grant college (it changed its name from Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1956), its emphasis has been more on technical areas.

The campus at East Central State College appears more like those of the 1950's; few females wear jeans and very few male students have long hair or facial hair. One of the most popular organizations on campus is the Baptist Student Union.<sup>3</sup>

From the above description of the schools, it would be expected that the University of Oklahoma students would be most supportive of goals, East Central State College

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<sup>3</sup>These observations are based on two years' teaching experience at East Central State College.

students least supportive, and Oklahoma State University in the middle.

That this is the case can be seen in Table 2, where 37 percent of the OU, 35 percent of the OSU, and only 21 percent of the East Central students fall into the high goal support category. As would be expected, East Central contributes the highest percentage to the low goal support category (27 percent). The differences in response by university are significant at the .05 level; that is, only five times out of a hundred would a difference this large have occurred by chance.

TABLE 2

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY UNIVERSITY ATTENDED

Level of Goal Support	University		
	OU	OSU	ECSC
High	36.9%	34.8%	20.6%
Medium	46.2	50.7	52.6
Low	16.9	14.4	26.8
Total	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
(N)	(195)	(201)	(97)

$$x^2 = 12.10 \quad df = 4 \quad p < .05$$

An interesting pattern develops when we analyze goal support based on the student's major. It was decided to group the various majors into the following six categories:

psychology, sociology, political science, history, geography, and anthropology are included in the Social Science category; zoology, biology, wildlife ecology, chemistry, engineering, pre-med and pre-vet are included in the Natural Science/Engineering category; general business, accounting, management, finance, business education, marketing, and the two-year stenographic course are included in the Business category; English, languages, speech, radio, TV and film, music, art, and religion are included in the Humanities/Arts category; education (elementary, secondary, special, and physical), home education, fashion merchandising, housing and interior design, nutrition, physical therapy, dental hygiene, and nursing are included in the Education/Health Services category; and animal science, agriculture, agricultural economics, and forestry are included in the Agriculture category.

As can be seen in Table 3, the highest support for women's goals comes from those majoring in the humanities/arts category (48 percent); the next highest category is the social sciences (42 percent). Interesting, but not too surprising, is the zero contribution of agriculture majors in the high support for goals category. It might be expected that social science and humanities/arts majors would be the most sympathetic with the movement, as these students are more aware of social problems and might tend to favor societal change. The fact that education/health majors have a low percentage in the high support category is interesting

TABLE 3

## A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY COLLEGE MAJOR

Level of Goal Support	College Major						
	Soc Sci	Nat Sci/ Engr	Bus	Hum/ Arts	Educ/ Health	Agri	Undec
High	41.7%	33.7%	33.8%	57.5%	23.5%	0.0%	32.4%
Medium	45.0	47.8	53.5	30.0	56.1	75.0	35.3
Low	<u>13.3</u>	<u>18.5</u>	<u>12.7</u>	<u>22.5</u>	<u>20.4</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>32.4</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(60)	(92)	(157)	(40)	(98)	(12)	(34)

$$x^2 = 26.59 \quad df = 12 \quad p < .01$$

and somewhat discouraging, as many people feel that the school is the institution which can best re-educate males and females out of stereotyped images of appropriate behavior. Response differences by major is significant at the .01 level, indicating that differences of this magnitude would be expected by chance only one time out of a hundred.

Differences in support by sex are almost nil; a result which on the face of it seems surprising. One explanation might be that college students, especially Freshmen and Sophomores, are treated pretty much alike and have been in prior school experiences. Females have not had much chance to experience job or intellectual discrimination, a factor Tavris found to be significantly related to support for the movement; they also cannot afford to be too "radical" in their views, since some of the goals of the movement are not compatible with the dating-romance-marriage complex. Almost 50 percent of both males and females fall into the "medium" goal support category (meaning they support three, four, or five of the goals). The only difference in response by sex is that not as many females as males fall in the low support category, a difference of 3 percent.

As might be expected, the higher the classification (college year), the higher the support for goals (significant at the .05 level). However, care must be taken in this interpretation since the sample is composed of a disproportionate number of underclassmen (78 percent to 22 percent).

It is expected that this trend would be the same if there were more upper classmen. As Table 5 indicates, the gamma is .21 for this relationship between classification and support for goals, indicating that we can reduce the error 21 percent in predicting support for goals based on the student's classification.

TABLE 4  
A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT  
FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY SEX

Level of Goal Support	Sex	
	Male	Female
High	32.0%	33.9%
Medium	48.9	49.8
Low	<u>19.1</u>	<u>16.3</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(272)	(221)

$$\chi^2 = .71 \quad df = 2 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = -.06$$

Although support for goals does not differ significantly by race, there are some differences in response, as shown in Table 6. While almost 50 percent of both whites and nonwhites fall in the middle category of support, 46 percent of the nonwhites compared with 32 percent of the whites show a high support for the goals. It might be noted

TABLE 5

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY COLLEGE YEAR

Level of Goal Support	College Year				
	Graduate	Senior	Junior	Sophomore	Freshman
High	60.0%	50.0%	46.6%	33.3%	25.4%
Medium	20.0	30.0	38.4	50.3	55.2
Low	<u>20.0</u>	<u>20.0</u>	<u>15.1</u>	<u>16.3</u>	<u>19.4</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(5)	(30)	(73)	(153)	(232)

$$\chi^2 = 19.37 \quad df = 8 \quad p < .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = .21$$

that the gamma for this relationship is .35, one of the highest obtained for any of the variables in the study.

TABLE 6  
A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT  
FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY RACE

Level of Goal Support	Race	
	White	Nonwhite
High	32.2%	45.8%
Medium	49.3	50.0
Low	<u>18.6</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(469)	(24)

$$\chi^2 = 3.94 \quad df = 2 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = .35$$

Significant differences in support are found based on the respondent's political party identification and political ideology (self defined). This is not too surprising since much of the current movement is born out of civil rights agitation and many of the proposals involve substantial re-organization of the political system. Table 7 reflects support for the goals in descending order: Independent, 54 percent in the high support category; Other, 50 percent; Democrat, 31 percent; Republican, 27 percent; and American, 7 percent. These differences are significant at the .01 level.



TABLE 7  
 A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS  
 BY POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Level of Goal Support	Party Identification				
	Democrat	Republican	Independent	American	Other
High	31.3%	27.3%	54.3%	7.1%	50.0%
Medium	51.9	53.5	32.9	57.1	28.6
Low	<u>16.8</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>35.7</u>	<u>21.4</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(208)	(187)	(70)	(14)	(14)

$\chi^2 = 25.89$      $df = 8$      $p < .01$

Those who see themselves as radical in their political ideology are significant at the .001 level. This is compatible with the findings of Gruzen who reports correlations of .60 between her Women's Liberation Scale and Christie's New Left Scale, concluding that "individuals who hold more radical political views also have commensurate liberated views toward women's role in society."<sup>4</sup>

Religious preference was felt to be an important variable, as religious training is important in sex-role socialization; probably the more "fundamental" the religious organization the more likely it is to oppose changes in the status quo and to believe the mother's place is in the home. In the current battle over the equal rights amendment, those in opposition often quote the Bible to support their views that women should serve men.<sup>5</sup> Also related to these fundamentalist arguments are those based on right-wing political ideology. For purposes of analysis in this study, religious preference is grouped into the following categories: Protestant Modernist, Protestant Fundamentalist, Catholic, Other, and None/Agnostic/Atheist. As expected, 66 percent of the none/agnostic/atheist category show a high level of support, compared with 23 percent of the Protestant

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<sup>4</sup>Joan Gruzen, "The Relationship of Attitudes Toward Women's Liberation to Political Orientation and Sexual Sophistication" (paper presented at the American Psychological Association, 1970).

<sup>5</sup>"Rights Proposal Loses; 'Contrary' to Bible," Harrisburg (Pa) Evening News, February 9, 1973, p. 5.

TABLE 8

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS  
BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (SELF IDENTIFIED)

Level of Goal Support	Political Ideology					
	Radical (left)	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
High	66.7%	63.4%	38.8%	24.0%	22.7%	0.0%
Medium	8.3	24.4	48.5	60.3	46.6	42.9
Low	<u>25.0</u>	<u>12.2</u>	<u>12.7</u>	<u>15.6</u>	<u>30.7</u>	<u>57.1</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(12)	(41)	(165)	(179)	(88)	(7)

$\chi^2 = 58.98$      $df = 10$      $p < .001$

gamma = .34

TABLE 9

## A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Level of Goal Support	Religious Preference				
	Prot. "Modern"	Prot. "Fund"	Catholic	None/ Agn/Ath	Other
High	33.0%	23.2%	29.2%	66.0%	38.1%
Medium	52.2	53.5	47.9	24.0	52.4
Low	<u>14.8</u>	<u>23.2</u>	<u>22.9</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>9.5</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(182)	(185)	(48)	(50)	(21)

$$\chi^2 = 37.08 \quad df = 8 \quad p < .001$$

Fundamentalists. These differences are significant at the .001 level.

The largest percentage of the sample (86 percent) is single, with 13 percent married and 1 percent divorced or separated; therefore marital status was collapsed into two categories: single and other. For this college sample, the married/divorced category showed the most support for goals, 49 percent compared with 30 percent. This is not compatible with the Tavris finding that in descending order the groups most supportive are divorced and single men and women, married women and married men. However, the low N in the "other" category presents a problem in interpretation. Also, campus marriages are probably somewhat unique, although they might change as the partners leave the campus and the wife quits her job (or graduates) and begins her family, and the husband assumes his work role. It is possible that campus marriages are more equalitarian, especially if the wife supports the family, and that the partners are in a better position to both understand and support the proposals to change women's status and role.

In order to obtain additional information, responses in relation to sex were analyzed (30 females and 39 males were in the married/divorced category) and it was found that married women contributed more to the high goal support category (59 percent) than married men (46 percent). Only 3 percent of the married women compared with 18 percent of

married men were in the low support category. For singles the relationship remained substantially the same after controlling for sex. Thus, for the campus population, support for goals by marital status comes in the following order: married/divorced women, married/divorced men, single women and single men.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 10

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR  
WOMEN'S GOALS BY MARITAL STATUS

Level of Goal Support	Marital Status	
	Single	Other
High	30.1%	49.3%
Medium	51.2	39.1
Low	<u>18.7</u>	<u>11.6</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(422)	(69)

$$\chi^2 = 10.09 \quad df = 2 \quad p < .01$$

$$\text{gamma} = -.33$$

It was felt that certain indications of socio-economic background or class would have some effect on support for goals; that those whose fathers had a high level of education or those whose mothers were professionals would be more supportive. However, as Tables 11 and 12 indicate, these variables made little difference in levels of support. This

<sup>6</sup>Before filtering for sex, the gamma for this table was -.33; after filtering, the gamma for males was -.23 and for females, -.47.

TABLE 11

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

Level of Goal Support	Grade School	High School	Some College	College Grad	Post Grad
High	30.5%	34.3%	30.1%	32.5%	36.7%
Medium	45.8	50.0	51.5	47.9	50.6
Low	<u>23.7</u>	<u>15.7</u>	<u>18.4</u>	<u>19.7</u>	<u>12.7</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(59)	(134)	(103)	(117)	(79)

$$x^2 = 4.07 \quad df = 8 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = .04$$

is consistent with Tavris' findings that parental variables have little effect on support of the movement.

TABLE 12

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR  
WOMEN'S GOALS BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

Level of Goal Support	Mother's Occupation		
	Professional	Sec/Cler/Mgr	Housewife
High	33.0%	38.7%	28.8%
Medium	53.8	44.0	50.8
Low	<u>13.2</u>	<u>17.3</u>	<u>20.3</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(106)	(150)	(236)

$$\chi^2 = 6.24 \quad df = 4 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = .11$$

Also having little effect on level of support is the size of the community where the respondent was raised. Although there was some difference in support from those raised in a farm or small town (26 percent) compared with those raised in a small or large city (36 percent), it was not large enough to be significant at the .05 level. Size of community has no doubt become less important as the ability of mass media to penetrate even the most remote rural area has increased, although "rural values" still hold some sway as indicated by the lessened support from those from a farm or small town background.



TABLE 13

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS  
BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY WHERE RAISED

Level of Goal Support	Size of Community		
	Large City	Small City	Farm/Town
High	36.4%	36.4%	25.9%
Medium	46.1	47.9	53.7
Low	<u>17.6</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>20.4</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(165)	(165)	(162)

$$x^2 = 5.64 \quad df = 4 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = .11$$

As a way of determining the respondent's perception of discrimination, the question was asked as to which sex is better off. Responses were put in three categories: men are better off; complementary advantages exist for each; and women are better off. As would be expected, the highest support for goals comes from those who feel that men are better off. Table 14 indicates that differences among responses are significant at the .01 level.

The background variables, then, showing the strongest relationship to support for the goals of the women's liberation movement are self-defined political ideology, religious preference, political party identification, marital status,

and perception of which sex is better off. We will now turn to some social-psychological variables in order to see what relationships exist between these variables and goal support.

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS  
BY PERCEPTION OF WHICH SEX IS BETTER OFF

Level of Goal Support	Sex Better Off		
	Men	Complementary	Women
High	41.7%	29.8%	34.2%
Medium	45.2	52.8	28.9
Low	<u>13.0</u>	<u>17.4</u>	<u>36.8</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(115)	(339)	(38)

$$\chi^2 = 17.36 \quad df = 4 \quad p < .01$$

Social Psychological Variables and Support  
For the Goals of Women's Liberation

In an attempt to determine if any relationship exists between feelings of dogmatism, personal competence, religious orthodoxy and conservatism, four scales were incorporated into the questionnaire. These scales were subjected to a Guttman scale analysis with the following coefficients of reproducibility: The Schulze Dogmatism Scale, CR = .80; Campbell Personal Efficacy Scale, CR = .87; McClosky's Conservatism Scale, CR = .89; and Putney-Middleton Religious

Orthodoxy Scale, CR = .92. The Schulze Dogmatism Scale is the only one that does not come close to the arbitrarily set CR of .90 for scale items. Although it is not as high as Guttman recommends, the CR is as high as is possible using a ten-item subset of the D-Scale. Schulze attributes the low CR to the intrusion of variables such as anxiety, rigidity, authoritarianism, self-rejection and paranoia. This scale is not unidimensional, however neither is the original D-Scale.

Relationships between response to the Dogmatism Scale and support of goals can be seen in Table 15. The ten-item Dogmatism Scale was collapsed into six categories to better accommodate MCA which works best with a flat rather than a normal distribution. Responses range on a continuum from those indicating a low degree to those indicating a high degree.

Despite the fact that the Dogmatism Scale is probably measuring other variables (anxiety, rigidity, authoritarianism, etc.) it might be expected that a high score, meaning the person is more dogmatic, would be related to a low level of support for goals. The assumption is that people who have such traits cling to conventional values and would not likely subscribe to a change in sexual roles.

Table 15 shows that although differences were not great enough to be significant at the .05 level they are in the expected direction. Of those who indicate a high degree of dogmatism, only 23 percent have a high level of support

TABLE 15

## A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY DOGMATISM SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Dogmatism Scale <sup>a</sup>					
	High . . .			. . . Low		
High	23.1%	32.1%	29.0%	36.7%	41.0%	45.0%
Medium	53.7	50.0	52.3	51.9	44.3	36.7
Low	<u>23.1</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>18.7</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>18.3</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(108)	(78)	(107)	(79)	(61)	(60)

$$\chi^2 = 14.80 \quad df = 10 \quad p > .05$$

$$\text{gamma} = -.17$$

<sup>a</sup>The ten-item dogmatism scale was collapsed into six categories, representing a continuum from high to low dogmatism.

for goals; conversely 45 percent of those exhibiting a low degree of dogmatism are supportive.

The Campbell Personal Competence Scale was chosen as an independent variable because it was felt that those who feel a high degree of control over their environment might not be threatened by changes of the type proposed, and therefore more supportive. On the other hand, however, it might be that those (particularly females who feel a low degree of mastery over their environment) might also be supportive as one way of improving their control. As indicated in Table 16, differences in response by Personal Competence are not significant at the .05 level and the results of this relationship are hard to interpret. Those with the lowest score on the Personal Competence Scale do not contribute as much support as those with the highest score. However, the highest support comes from a category close to the low end of the scale. When the table is analyzed by sex to gain a clearer picture of these relationships, a definite U shape curve appears for females indicating that those at both ends of the Personal Competence Scale support the movement goals. In fact, in the lowest category of personal competence there is zero percentage in the low goal support category. (See Tables 17 and 18.)

The male breakdown reveals that of those in the two lowest personal competence categories, close to 50 percent are also in the low goal support category. The conclusion

TABLE 16

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY PERSONAL COMPETENCE SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Personal Competence					
	High . . .					. . . Low
High	36.2%	36.0%	31.0%	29.7%	41.7%	28.6%
Medium	44.9	46.4	54.2	51.4	25.0	47.6
Low	<u>18.8</u>	<u>17.6</u>	<u>14.8</u>	<u>18.9</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>23.8</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(69)	(125)	(155)	(111)	(12)	(21)

$\chi^2 = 7.22$      $df = 10$      $p > .05$

gamma = .06

TABLE 17

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF FEMALE SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS  
BY PERSONAL COMPETENCE SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Personal Competence (Females)					
	High . . .					. . . Low
High	52.6%	29.6%	33.3%	29.8%	50.0%	40.0%
Medium	42.1	53.7	49.3	49.1	33.3	60.0
Low	<u>5.3</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>17.3</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(19)	(54)	(75)	(57)	(6)	(10)

$\chi^2 = 7.94$      $df = 10$      $p > .05$

gamma = .06

TABLE 18

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF MALE SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S  
GOALS BY PERSONAL COMPETENCE SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Personal Competence (Males)					
	High . . .		. . . Low			
High	30.0%	40.8%	28.8%	29.6%	33.3%	18.2%
Medium	46.0	40.8	58.8	53.7	16.7	36.4
Low	<u>24.0</u>	<u>18.3</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>45.5</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(50)	(71)	(80)	(54)	(6)	(11)

$\chi^2 = 16.95$      $df = 10$      $p > .05$

gamma = .06



seems to be that females who have feelings of low personal competence are supportive of the proposals of women's liberation (perhaps hoping to gain more control over their environment), while males with low competency feelings want little, if any, change (probably fearing a reduction in the control they have).

In addition to the background variable of religious identification, some further measure of religious ideology was needed, as knowing a respondent's system of belief tells us more than his denominational preference tells us. The Putney-Middleton Religious Orthodoxy Scale was picked as the best instrument to get at this rather complex phenomenon. Religious orthodoxy proves to be one of the most important indicators of support, as almost 75 percent of those in the low orthodoxy category indicate high support for the goals of the movement (only 3 percent have low support). On the other hand, the highest religious orthodoxy category reflects only 22 percent in the high level of goal support category. Differences in support of goals based on degree of religious orthodoxy are significant at the .001 level and the gamma is  $-.32$ , which represents a 32 percent reduction in error over guessing about support for goals without knowing the religious orthodoxy of the individual. As might be expected, a further breakdown of the data by sex indicates that religious orthodoxy is more influential for females than for males. The gamma for males is  $-.28$ ; for females,  $-.40$ .

TABLE 19

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS BY RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Religious Orthodoxy						
	High . . .						. . . Low
High	22.1%	15.8%	22.2%	55.3%	45.1%	46.7%	74.3%
Medium	57.3	63.2	51.1	40.4	41.2	31.1	22.9
Low	<u>20.7</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>26.7</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>2.9</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(213)	(57)	(45)	(47)	(51)	(45)	(35)

$$\chi^2 = 72.47 \quad df = 12 \quad p < .001$$

$$\text{gamma} = -.32$$

It was expected that a high degree of general conservative belief (as reflected by the McClosky Conservatism Scale) would be associated with a low level of support for goals, since such values as respect for the status quo and conformity are emphasized in the scale. That this is the case can be seen in Table 20, where only 23 percent of those with high conservatism scores are supportive compared to 39 percent of those with low conservatism scores. The five-item Conservatism Scale was collapsed to three response categories so they would have approximately equal N's; thereby facilitating the MCA program.

TABLE 20

A COMPARISON OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR  
WOMEN'S GOALS BY CONSERVATISM SCALE

Level of Goal Support	Conservatism Scale		
	High . . .		. . . Low
High	23.3%	32.6%	38.7%
Medium	52.0	49.5	47.6
Low	<u>24.7</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>13.7</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
(N)	(150)	(95)	(248)

$$\chi^2 = 13.39 \quad df = 4 \quad p < .01$$

$$\text{gamma} = -.24$$

### Multiple Classification Analysis

One of the central concerns of this study is the identification of the variables that best relate to support of the goals of the women's liberation movement. Our first interest is the overall contribution of the seventeen independent variables in explaining variation in the dependent variable of support of the goals of the women's liberation movement. For purposes of MCA the dependent variable has not been collapsed but remains as an eight-point Guttman scale item.

Table 21 indicates the eta and beta coefficients as well as the multiple correlation coefficient (R) and the coefficient of multiple determination ( $R^2$ ). Eta coefficients and beta coefficients indicate the magnitude of the relationships for zero-order and standardized partial correlations, respectively. While R and  $R^2$  are not the exact equivalent of the same two measures using Pearson product moment correlations, they serve the same purpose; namely R indicates the degree of association between all independent variables and the dependent variable, and  $R^2$  indicates the amount of variation in the dependent variable that can be accounted for by the operation of all independent variables.

For all seventeen variables, R equals .43 and  $R^2$  equals .18. Obviously a  $R^2$  of this magnitude leaves a considerable amount of variance unexplained. When the effects of the individual independent variables are examined, it

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDE  
 SCALES TO SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S GOALS RESULTING FROM  
 MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS  
 (ALL CASES)

Independent Variable	Eta <sup>a</sup>	Beta <sup>b</sup>	F Value <sup>c</sup>
University	.12	.06	1.13
College Major	.16	.08	.69
College Year	.16	.07	.79
Sex	.06	.10	5.91**
Race	.08	.05	1.20
Marital Status	.14	.09	2.43**
Father's Education	.08	.09	1.19
Mother's Occupation	.14	.11	3.25**
Where Raised	.08	.05	.64
Religious Preference	.26	.16	3.94**
Party Identification	.17	.07	.69
Political Ideology	.29	.22	5.81**
Whic Sex Better Off	.13	.09	2.62**
Dogmatism Scale	.14	.12	1.63
Personal Competence Scale	.08	.10	1.26
Conservatism Scale	.16	.06	1.00
Religious Orthodoxy Scale	.35	.21	4.43**
(N = 481)	R = .43		
	R <sup>2</sup> = .18		

<sup>a</sup>Eta represents the ability of each predictor to explain variation in the dependent variable, in and of itself.

<sup>b</sup>Beta indicates the ability of the predictor to explain variance after adjusting for the effects of all other predictors.

<sup>c</sup>F values of 1.67 and 2.04 are significant at the .05 (\*) and .01 (\*\*) level respectively.

will be noted that the background characteristics contribute surprisingly little to the overall explanation. In all likelihood this is the result of the rather high degree of homogeneity in those characteristics which among a more diverse population would be expected to relate rather highly to a variety of social and political attitudes. For example, education and occupation are background characteristics which are often quite strongly related to respondent attitudes. When dealing with a largely middle-class college student population these powerful predictor variables are not available in the sense that they would be with a more variegated population.

For her sample of 1400 Psychology Today readers, Tavris reports a multiple R of .618 for men and .596 for women on the women's liberation family index (comparable to the goals scale in this study). Although her sample was non-college, it was somewhat homogeneous, consisting of people who are "younger, better-educated, of higher income, and more liberal in political and religious attitudes than the general American public."<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless it can be seen that her multiple R is somewhat higher than the multiple R of .46 (men) and .53 (women) reported for the overall group in this study (see Table 22).

The beta scores in Table 21 reveal that of the ten background variables, political ideology is the best

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<sup>7</sup>Tavris, "Woman & Man," p. 57.

predictor of goal support, followed by religious preference, mother's occupation, sex, marital status, and belief as to which sex is better off. Of the attitudinal measures, the religious orthodoxy scale is the best predictor. None of the other independent variables are statistically significant when all other variables are controlled,<sup>8</sup> although the

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<sup>8</sup>Since the MCA program does not compute F scores, the F test to determine if a single predictor will explain a significant portion of the variance of the dependent variable when other predictors are held constant was calculated as follows:

$$F_i = \frac{D_i / (c_i - 1)}{Z / (N - C + P - 1)}$$

where  $D_i$  = adjusted deviation sum of squares for predictor;

$c_i$  = categories in predictor  $i$ ;

$Z$  = residual sum of squares (all predictors);

$C$  = total number of categories across all predictors;

$P$  = number of predictors.

This formula comes from Andrews, Morgan, and Sonquist, Multiple Classification Analysis, p. 100. An examination of Tables 21 and 22 reveals certain peculiarities with respect to the size of some beta coefficients and the level of significance of the F values. Ordinarily it would be assumed that beta values above a certain magnitude would be significant and those below that level, non-significant. Such is not the case here, however. The above cited publication on MCA does not discuss this possibility so that no exact reason for this strange occurrence can be offered. Nevertheless, one observation can be made concerning the calculation of the F values. The adjusted deviation sum of squares ( $D_i$ ) for the predictors do vary rather consistently with the size of the beta coefficient--the larger the beta coefficient the larger the  $D$ . The difficulty arises when this figure is divided by the number of categories in the predictor

dogmatism scale comes very close to being significant at the .05 level.

When the MCA is performed for each sex separately as shown in Table 22 several differences appear although the general pattern remains largely the same. Political ideology, religious preference and religious orthodoxy remain as important predictors for both groups; the major difference lies in the increased influence of personal competence for females with a beta coefficient of .30 compared to a beta of .10 when both groups are combined. In fact, the personal competence scale is the second most important predictor for females, only slightly lower than the religious orthodoxy scale. Other changes for females include the following: college major with a beta of .22, marital status with a beta of .18, and "sex better off" with a beta of .23 show a considerable increase over the respective betas for all cases. It seems probable that these partial relationships are increased because fewer females are found in the agriculture and business majors, nonsingle females are apparently more sympathetic to women's rights, and females in general seem more sensitive than males

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( $c_i - 1$ ). In essence, the size of the F value is rather strongly affected by the number of categories in the predictor. In particular, it appears that those predictor variables that have a larger number of categories may not produce an F level as large as some other predictors with a smaller number of categories even though the former predictor may have a larger beta coefficient. Thus, for purposes of interpretation once a level of significance has been achieved, it would be preferable to use the magnitude of the beta coefficient to determine the importance of the variable.



TABLE 22

RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDE SCALES TO SUPPORT FOR  
WOMEN'S GOALS RESULTING FROM MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS BY SEX

Independent Variable	Male (n = 265)			Female (n = 216)		
	Eta	Beta	F Value <sup>a</sup>	Eta	Beta	F Value <sup>a</sup>
University	.15	.09	1.38	.20	.10	1.36
College Major	.17	.13	.93	.25	.22	2.39**
College Year	.19	.18	2.63**	.21	.11	.85
Race	.13	.10	3.30**	.01	.03	.23
Marital Status	.06	.03	.33	.23	.18	4.78**
Father's Education	.12	.08	.55	.11	.13	1.32
Mother's Occupation	.17	.12	2.49**	.10	.05	.40
Where Raised	.18	.15	3.77**	.06	.03	.17
Religious Preference	.30	.21	3.82**	.26	.20	2.90**
Party Identification	.24	.08	1.62	.16	.15	1.73*
Political Ideology	.34	.22	3.34**	.26	.25	3.60**
Which Sex Better Off	.18	.11	2.11*	.24	.23	7.52**
Dogmatism Scale	.14	.13	1.09	.23	.15	1.29
Personal Competence Scale	.17	.14	1.34	.21	.30	5.24**
Conservatism Scale	.20	.04	.36	.11	.07	.75
Religious Orthodoxy Scale	.37	.20	2.22**	.38	.31	6.28**
	R = .46			R = .53		
	R <sup>2</sup> = .21			R <sup>2</sup> = .28		

<sup>a</sup>F values of 1.69 and 2.09 are significant at the .05(\*) and .01(\*\*) level respectively.

to the relatively more dominant position of men in our society.

For the males, the eta and beta coefficients remain about the same as for the group as a whole, with the exception of increased betas for college year and race. Of some interest is the fact that only for males is mother's occupation a statistically important variable. Since any work that receives economic remuneration is generally seen as better than being "just a housewife," it may be that men with working mothers respect this economic activity and would be more supportive of a role change. Females with working mothers may have seen this as a disadvantage as they might have had more household chores to do or fewer things done for them by virtue of their mothers not having time.

When the data are analyzed separately by sex, the size of  $R$  and  $R^2$  is increased for both groups, particularly the females where the  $R$  reaches .53 as compared with .43 for the whole group.

#### Summary

Seventeen independent variables are used in this study in an attempt to explain variation in the dependent variable of support for the goals of the women's liberation movement. The dependent variable is composed of eight proposals that would permit women to move out of the traditional role of homemaker. When subjected to a Guttman scale analysis these proposals yield a coefficient of reproducibility of .90.

The goal, or proposal, which received the most support from the 493 Oklahoma college students is public day-care facilities, with 86 percent of the sample expressing either strong, moderate, or slight approval. Roughly three-fourths of the sample expressed approval of equal responsibility for child rearing and child care, abortion on demand, and an end to sex differentiated tracking in the educational system; the sample split about fifty-fifty on equal responsibility for housekeeping. The two proposals which clearly are not supported by the students are an end to the institution of marriage in its present form (only 20 percent approved of this) and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination (18 percent expressed some form of approval).

In the early part of this chapter contingency tables are displayed that reflect the bivariate relationship between a single independent and the dependent variable. Using chi square, ten of the seventeen variables are found to be statistically significant: they are university attended, college year, college major, political party identification, marital status, belief of which sex is better off, the conservatism scale, political ideology (self defined), religious preference, and the religious orthodoxy scale. Where appropriate--when both variables can be ranked--gamma is given for these relationships.

Upon subsequent multivariate analysis, using Multiple Classification Analysis, on all cases and with a division between male and female responses, it is revealed that some of these bivariate relationships are spurious or very weak. The reason for this is that a bivariate comparison can provide only a zero order correlation and there is no way of assessing the possibility that another or other variables are related to both, thereby perhaps "causing" the observed correlation. When a multivariate analysis is undertaken it becomes possible to determine the separate effects of the particular variables included in the equation by the use of some type of partial correlation technique. Such partialling has as its essential purpose the determination of how much explanation can be provided by the effects of a single variable while controlling or taking into account the impact of a third or additional variables. Therefore, it is entirely possible that a zero-order correlation coefficient found for a particular bivariate relationship may be substantially affected (diminished or increased) when partialling techniques are employed. In this analysis, the beta coefficient represents the results of the particular technique employed by Multiple Classification Analysis. In effect, the beta coefficient indicates how much change in the dependent variable is produced by a standardized change in one of the independent variables when the others are controlled. The beta coefficients between certain independent variables and

the dependent variable may be quite different than the zero-order coefficient (measured by gamma in this study) shown in the bivariate tables. In such instances it is appropriate to state that the zero-order relationship is spurious, that is, not the result of the apparent relationship but due to the operation of some variable(s) not included in the bivariate analysis.<sup>9</sup> Two of the variables, university attended and the conservatism scale, which are significant using chi square are revealed to have no independent relationship to the dependent variable when all cases are considered using Multiple Classification Analysis or when the breakdown by sex is analyzed.

As Table 21 indicates, with the use of Multiple Classification Analysis on all cases<sup>10</sup> only sex, marital status, mother's occupation, religious preference, political ideology, belief as to which sex is better off, and the religious orthodoxy scale are significant at the .01 level. Table 22 shows that certain variables that were not significant when all cases were analyzed are significant when separate betas are given for males and females. These are, for males, college year, race, and where raised; for females they are college major, party identification, and personal competence scale.

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<sup>9</sup>See the chapter on "Multiple and Partial Correlation," in Blalock, Social Statistics, pp. 429-472.

<sup>10</sup>Because missing data cannot be handled in the MCA program, twelve cases were dropped for this analysis leaving 481 respondents.

The implications of these findings for the overall support for the ideological goals of the women's liberation movement will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

Although the women's liberation movement is a relatively new one, most Americans have at least a vague idea of its demands and aims. The objective of this study has been to examine the ideological commitment to goals of this movement on the part of college students and to find demographic and social psychological correlates of this support. Support for the movement is herein defined as support for eight of the proposals for change that would move women out of their traditional role. These goals are public day-care facilities, abortion on demand by a woman, equal responsibility by man and woman for housekeeping, equal responsibility by man and woman for child rearing and child care, an end to sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system, an end to the institution of marriage in its present form, child rearing without regard for traditional sex-role stereotypes, and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination.

Of the eight movement goals chosen for study, some involve political, economic, and legal change; others are

more personal in nature and deal with interpersonal relationships between the sexes. It is felt by some that the proposals for change in the interpersonal realm (the sharing of household tasks, child care, child rearing, and a modification or end to marriage in its present form) are with us today because these issues were not resolved in the nineteenth century feminist movement. When women chose to fight for the vote instead of to resolve the maternal/domestic/occupational conflict, certain issues went underground not to emerge until the decade of the 1960's when the "feminine mystique" was exposed. Other proposals for change (such as day-care facilities, and an end to sex-differentiated counseling) are the result of the automation of household services, freeing women to invest more time in other pursuits, the automation of work, opening more jobs to women, and the spread of college education and the heightening of political awareness. The demand for preferential treatment in hiring and promotions no doubt comes from the realization that the median wage for women, as compared with that of men, has been declining in recent years.

College students were chosen as the population for study because it was felt that in part the future of the movement lies with this group. Since the movement at this time is essentially a middle-class phenomenon, the attitudes of these young, mostly middle-class students toward female role change are important to know. In addition to being the



future leaders of society, this generation of students has been touted as interested in transforming America into a society concerned with conserving resources, human and physical, and in the liberation of human beings to lead a more fulfilled existence. However, certain indications are that college students are more like the larger population than had previously been thought. With the end of the draft, the winddown of the Vietnam involvement, and scarcity of job opportunities came a quietening of campus protestations, and the large youth vote given Nixon dispelled the myth of campus liberality. Certainly we can't automatically assume that students will embrace the goals of the movement.

Four hundred ninety-three college students from three Oklahoma institutions of higher learning completed a seventy-item questionnaire in April, 1972, and their responses form the basis of this study. The sample is composed mainly of people with the following characteristics: single marital status, overwhelmingly caucasian, largely Protestant, freshmen or sophomores, with a self-identified political ideology of moderate to somewhat liberal. Forty-five percent of the sample are females, fifty-five percent are males.

Responses to the eight goals comprising the dependent variable were subjected to Guttman scale analysis with a resulting coefficient of reproducibility of .90. In Guttman scaling, items reflect varying degrees of intensity. Guttman scaling allows the researcher to predict a respondent's

response pattern from the total scale score; thereby this technique insures that variation in scores reflect variation in intensity of commitment to the goals of women's liberation.

For purposes of assessing the simple relationship between support for these goals and certain background and social-psychological variables, the dependent variable was collapsed into the three categories of high, medium, and low support. The respondent who approved of none, one, or two goal items was put in the low support category; those approving of three, four, or five goals were placed in the medium support category; and those approving of six, seven, or eight goals fell in the high support category.

In accordance with the basic properties of the Guttman scale, it is possible for us to determine which goals are likely to be accepted by those persons falling in these three categories of support. The goals most likely to receive support from those in the low category (17.8 percent) are public day-care facilities and equal responsibility for child rearing and child care. Respondents falling in the medium category of support (49.3 percent) would probably approve of the above-mentioned goals plus one, two, or three of the following: abortion on demand by a woman, an end to sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system, and equal responsibility for housekeeping. The 32.9 percent who make up the high support category would probably accept all of the foregoing goals plus one, two or all of the goals of child

rearing without regard for traditional sex role stereotypes, an end to the institution of marriage in its present form, and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination. The proposal most readily embraced by all is public day-care facilities; the least accepted proposal is preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotions to make up for past discrimination.

It seems, then, that a great deal of support exists for change that is somewhat removed from the immediate concerns of college students. The majority of this sample is single (86 percent) and are not concerned on a day-to-day basis with day-care facilities, child rearing and child care, or housekeeping chores. They have not had a chance to evaluate the wisdom of their college major (some have not yet even declared one), but the idea of a sexless approach to academic counseling is no doubt appealing. Another issue that could be of immediate concern is abortion on demand, and it is not surprising that this proposal received the second largest percentage of "strongly approve" responses (41 percent).

When it comes to the question of changing long established basic sex roles and the abolition of marriage in its present form, there is considerable backing away. No doubt to many students, the idea of raising children outside the framework of what is appropriate for male or female behavior is threatening to their own present identities of maleness

or femaleness. The idea of changing the institution of marriage when preparation to enter it has gone on for some time (from early dating to promise and engagement rings) is probably abhorrent to many, especially to females. The proposal to end marriage in its present form received the largest percentage of strong disapprovals from both groups.

The item that received the least support of all is preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion. Exactly why this evokes so much disapproval (82 percent either slightly, moderately, or strongly disapprove) is not easy to explain. As mentioned earlier, there is an almost schizophrenic approach to the American ideal of "equality." On the one hand we feel everyone should have an equal chance, but when attempts are made to compensate for past inequities we feel it somewhat "unfair." Of course, if an individual feels no inequality exists he will not be interested in changing the status quo.

As a way of finding what background and social-psychological variables would best predict support for the goals of the movement, Multiple Classification Analysis, a form of multivariate analysis, was performed. With all cases taken together, political ideology is found to be the best predictor of support (beta = .22), followed by the religious orthodoxy scale (beta = .21) and religious preference (beta = .16). Analysis based on response differences by sex reveals that important variables for predicting female support

are religious orthodoxy (beta = .31), the personal competence scale (beta = .30), political ideology (beta = .25), perception of which sex is better off (beta = .23) and college major (beta = .22). For males the predictor variables are somewhat different and include political ideology (beta = .22), the religious orthodoxy scale (beta = .20), college year (beta = .18), and size of community where raised (beta = .15).

One of the advantages of Multiple Classification Analysis lies in the fact that it will permit the use of nominal level data for independent variables; however, since the categories of a nominal scale can be placed in any order, one cannot speak of direction or sign of the relation with the dependent variable. Therefore, in order to show certain relationships, bivariate contingency tables are displayed in Chapter III. Chi-square shows association between these variables and, when appropriate, gamma indicates the direction of the relationship. For example, these bivariate tables show that: the more liberal (or radical) the higher the level of goal support (gamma = .34); the lower the level of religious orthodoxy, the higher the level of goal support (gamma = -.32); and the absence of religious preference the greater the support for goals (no gamma exists for this relationship as religious preferences are not ordinal data).

Dogmatism and conservatism, two of the major independent variables, failed to show a significant relationship to support for goals when Multiple Classification Analysis was

employed; however, the relationship was in the expected direction as indicated by the bivariate tables showing these associations.

Although the multivariate analysis leaves a good deal of variation in support of goals unexplained, support is not random and certain patterns can be ascertained. The best indicator of support is not sex, as some might assume, but a radical or liberal political ideology. Next in importance is the lack of a religious orthodoxy, which proved a better indicator than religious preference since many variations in orthodoxy can be found within the same denomination. However, religious preference is also a good predictor, with the least support coming from protestant fundamentalists and the most support from agnostics, atheists or non-religious people. One of the most interesting variables relating to female support of the goals was the personal competence scale; females who indicated they felt a great deal of personal competence were supportive of the goals as were those at the other end of the continuum who felt a low degree of competence. It seems that those who feel competent want changes that would allow them to achieve even more mastery over their environment, and those with little or no such feelings are supportive of goals in hopes that this will change the system enough to enable them to exercise more control over their environment. Females who fall in between these two positions are not as supportive of the goals. It might be speculated that the

means by which women seek change differ based on how competent they feel; women with high personal competence might prefer to work individually to effect change in their lives while women with low personal competence might be attracted to organizations which seek legal change or even radical restructuring of the system.

In summary, the following demographic characteristics are more likely to describe supporters of the movement: a radical or liberal political perspective, agnostic, atheist, or no religious preference, the belief that men are better off, married marital status, a humanities, arts, social science, or business major (for females), advanced college year (for males) and a small or large city background (for males). The best social-psychological predictors of support are little or no religious orthodoxy and, for females, either high or low personal competence.

As acknowledged previously, the results from this study must be interpreted with caution since the sample has been limited to college students from three institutions located in a conservative southwestern state. Nevertheless, this sample of students is similar to the larger sample of Psychology Today readers studied by Tavris in that the major indicators of support found in that study were political preference and religious preference (the scale for religious orthodoxy was not used). Other important predictor variables were marital status and occupation (for females). As pointed

out earlier, most of the students in the present study are single, yet greater support for goals is found among the married. While occupation is not yet a relevant variable, there is reason to believe that as these students leave academia the reality of economic discrimination will become a meaningful influence for those females who desire a career. On the other hand, the females who move to suburbia and achieve status from the success of their husbands may be quite content with their lives and desire little change. At present, however, characteristics of college student supporters of change are essentially the same as those of a larger, somewhat older population who support female role change. Not only are the correlates of support very similar in the two studies but the percentage order of acceptance of the goals are the same (with the exception of one dissimilar goal) for the categories of men and non-group women in the Tavris study and college men and women. While we cannot generalize from this student population to all students we can at least surmise that the correlates of support found here will continue to exist as these students graduate and assume their various places in society. Certainly it would be safe to advise movement people who are looking for recruits on campuses to seek out organizations that support liberal or radical political change, groups with a non-religious base, married students, females in the humanities, arts, social sciences or business, and male upperclassmen.



The Future of the Movement

Without ideological support for its goals, a social movement cannot continue to exist in a meaningful way. One of the purposes of this study has been to examine the degree of commitment to the goals of the women's liberation movement among a select group of college students.

With the exception of the more drastic proposals for change (doing away with the present form of marriage, raising children without regard for accepted male-female behavior, and preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion) a great deal of support is found for the goals of the movement.

An interesting aspect of this support is the congruency of male-female responses. The percentage order of acceptance for the specific goals is the same for both sexes--indicating a great deal of compatibility at this moment in time. No doubt this facilitates friendships and love relationships, as these are the males and females who are dating and who will eventually marry. The critical question is this, however: "Will these attitudes remain congruent or will marriage, child bearing, and the realization that women are discriminated against economically have a radicalizing effect on the females?" In the study of 120,000 women who answered the Redbook questionnaire, Tavris found that discrimination was the key factor in determining a respondent's support of the women's liberation movement. Discrimination was defined as

unfair treatment in hiring, salaries, admission to college, or intellectual disparagement. Most underclasswomen have not yet met with a great deal of this kind of discrimination. When they do, it might make a difference in their support of certain goals. The study of the Psychology Today readership indicated occupation was an important variable for females in explaining support for the movement goals.

As these college females leave their present environment and enter the economic world, only to discover that they are as segregated by occupation as they were thirty years ago and their earnings are only 60 percent those of men, preferential treatment in hiring and promotion may seem only just to them. As they try to balance the demands of family and occupation they may seek alternatives to the present form of marriage; at the least they may demand more sharing of household tasks and child care and child rearing.

It also seems likely that as these students marry and begin to raise a family the reality of what is involved in household tasks, child care and child rearing may make the males less interested in equal task sharing. Tavis found divorced men to be less enthusiastic than divorced women about equality in housekeeping and in caring for their children. However, it is encouraging from the standpoint of potential change that there is at this time the degree of ideological commitment to the goals on the part of both males and females.

In the future, of course, males may become less supportive of certain of these proposals for change and females, by virtue of certain experiences, may become more committed to change. If the political climate remains somewhat liberal and the decline of religious orthodoxy and institutionalized religion continues, it seems safe to predict further change in women's status.

It seems appropriate in concluding to note that one feature of the women's movement sharply distinguishes it from any other move for social change. Unlike the black movement, the youth movement, the "gay liberation" movement and others, the potential base for women's liberation is a majority group. If women of different economic, ethnic, and age groups come together in agreement that certain changes in their traditional status and role are called for, and if they are joined by their men, it may mean the transformation of American society into a more humane, just society for all.

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APPENDIX

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA MEDICAL CENTER

This study is part of an important multi-college research project connected with the University of Oklahoma. We are interested in learning what students think and feel about a number of social and political issues. THIS IS NOT A TEST and there are no right or wrong answers. All we want is your personal opinion. Do not sign your name to this questionnaire. We are not interested in knowing who you are, only what your views are.

For the most part you can simply circle the appropriate number of your answer choice or place the number in the space to the left of the question. In a few instances, simply fill in the blank. Please complete all the items in the questionnaire since an incomplete questionnaire cannot be used. YOUR ASSISTANCE IS GREATLY APPRECIATED. Thank you.

1. Name of your college or university

OU	39.6
OSU	40.8
ECSC	19.7

2. Major

Social Science	12.2
Natural Science/Engineering	18.7
Business	31.8
Humanities/Arts	8.1
Education/Home Economics/ Health Services	19.9
Agriculture	2.4
Undeclared	6.9

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. Sex      1. Male, 55.2      2. Female, 44.8

_____	4.	Year in college	
	1.	Freshman	47.1
	2.	Sophomore	31.0
	3.	Junior	14.8
	4.	Senior	6.1
	5.	Graduate	1.0
_____	5.	Racial identification	
	1.	American Indian	3.9
	2.	Caucasian (White)	95.1
	3.	Negro (Black)	1.0
_____	6.	Party preference	
	1.	American (Wallace)	2.8
	2.	Democrat	42.2
	3.	Republican	37.9
	4.	Independent	14.2
	5.	Other	2.8
_____	7.	How would you describe your political views?	
	1.	Radical (left)	2.4
	2.	Very liberal	8.3
	3.	Somewhat liberal	33.5
	4.	Moderate	36.4
	5.	Somewhat conservative	17.9
	6.	Very conservative (right)	1.4
_____	8.*	Religious preference:	
	1.	Protestant "modernist"	37.4
	2.	Protestant "fundamentalist"	38.1
	3.	Catholic	9.9
	4.	Jewish	0.2
	5.	None/Atheist/Agnostic	10.3
	6.	Other	3.7
_____	9.	Marital Status:	
	1.	Single	85.8
	2.	Married	13.4
	3.	Divorced/Separated	0.6
_____	10.	What level of education did your father complete?	
	1.	Grade school	12.0
	2.	High school	27.2
	3.	Some college	20.9
	4.	College graduate	23.8
	5.	Master's Degree	9.8
	6.	M.D., Ph.D., LL.B., etc.	6.3

---

\*Several religious preferences were combined into each category.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. What is (was) your father's occupation?
- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. Professional with M.D., Ph.D., LL.B.   | 12.0 |
| 2. School teacher, social worker, counselor, other professional (e.g., clergyman, engineer) | 19.1 |
| 3. Manager, administrator, proprietor, businessman  | 40.7 |
| 4. Secretary, clerical, sales   | 3.7  |
| 5. Technician, craftsman  | 11.7 |
| 6. Unskilled or semiskilled worker  | 11.5 |
| 7. Rancher or farmer  | 6.6  |
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. What is (was) your mother's occupation?
- |  |      |
|--|------|
| 1. Professional with M.D., Ph.D., LL.B.  | 0.6  |
| 2. Nurse, school teacher, social worker, counselor, other professional (e.g., clergyman, artist) | 20.9 |
| 3. Manager, administrator, proprietor, businessman   | 7.1  |
| 4. Secretary, clerical, sales  | 22.4 |
| 5. Technician, craftsman   | 1.0  |
| 6. Housewife   | 48.0 |
| 7. Other   | 0.0  |
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Where did you spend most of your childhood?
- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. On a farm                            | 17.1 |
| 2. In a town (5,000 or less population) | 15.9 |
| 3. In a small city (5,000 - 50,000)     | 33.5 |
| 4. In a large city (50,000 and over)    | 33.5 |
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. In your opinion, which sex is better off in this society?
- |  |      |
|--|------|
| 1. Men are very much better off because they have freedom, status, and power.                                  | 3.9  |
| 2. Men are much better off.  | 4.1  |
| 3. Men are somewhat better off.  | 15.4 |
| 4. There are complementary advantages and disadvantages of each sex.   | 68.9 |
| 5. Women are somewhat better off.  | 4.9  |
| 6. Women are much better off.  | 0.8  |
| 7. Women are very much better off because they have protection, leisure and freedom from pressures to achieve. | 2.0  |
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. How do you think women can best overcome discrimination?
- |  |      |
|--|------|
| 1. By working with men in organized groups.                          | 51.2 |
| 2. By working in exclusively female groups.                          | 2.2  |
| 3. By working individually to prove their abilities and educate men. | 31.4 |

4. Only through the revolutionary overthrow of the present system. 2.7
5. There is no discrimination. 12.2
- 
16. How can women best achieve full self-development?
1. By joining women's groups that will develop their consciousness as women. 5.1
2. By getting the best education and training possible. 67.7
3. By taking jobs that utilize their uniquely feminine skills and qualities. 13.5
4. By being good wives and mothers. 13.7

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In each instance the answers to the following questions are as follows: (Circle the number of the response that best expresses your opinion.)

STRONGLY AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	SLIGHTLY AGREE	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6

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17. I believe that there is a physical Hell where men are punished after death for the sins of their lives.
- |      |      |      |     |     |      |
|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|
| 1    | 2    | 3    | 4   | 5   | 6    |
| 30.8 | 13.2 | 11.6 | 5.3 | 9.7 | 29.4 |
18. I believe there is a supernatural being, the Devil, who continually tries to lead men into sin.
- |      |      |      |     |      |      |
|------|------|------|-----|------|------|
| 1    | 2    | 3    | 4   | 5    | 6    |
| 35.7 | 12.0 | 11.8 | 6.7 | 10.5 | 23.3 |
19. To me the most important work of the church is the saving of souls.
- |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    |
| 21.2 | 20.2 | 16.9 | 12.6 | 12.8 | 16.3 |
20. I believe that there is a life after death.
- |      |      |      |     |     |     |
|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| 1    | 2    | 3    | 4   | 5   | 6   |
| 63.8 | 13.4 | 11.4 | 2.6 | 3.0 | 5.7 |
21. I believe there is a Divine plan and purpose for every living person and thing.
- |      |      |      |     |     |      |
|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|
| 1    | 2    | 3    | 4   | 5   | 6    |
| 42.9 | 19.9 | 13.4 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 11.2 |
22. The only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological.
- |     |      |      |      |      |      |
|-----|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1   | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    |
| 8.1 | 11.4 | 12.8 | 11.2 | 15.9 | 40.7 |

	STRONGLY AGREE 1	MODERATELY AGREE 2	SLIGHTLY AGREE 3	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 4	MODERATELY DISAGREE 5	STRONGLY DISAGREE 6
23. The communications media (for example, television and the press) degrade women by portraying them as sex objects or mindless dolls.	1 8.2	2 18.6	3 23.9	4 15.9	5 19.2	6 14.3
24. Many qualified women can't get good jobs; men with the same skills have less trouble.	1 17.7	2 34.2	3 32.0	4 6.5	5 5.7	6 3.9
25. Raising a child provides many rewards, but cannot keep most women satisfied as a full-time job.	1 11.2	2 29.3	3 22.2	4 17.1	5 12.2	6 7.9
26. U.S. society exploits women as much as it exploits blacks and members of other minorities.	1 3.9	2 8.6	3 13.6	4 20.4	5 29.3	6 24.2
27. Children of working mothers tend to be <u>less</u> well-adjusted than children of unemployed mothers.	1 11.2	2 17.7	3 21.1	4 16.3	5 17.5	6 16.3
28. Most women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life.	1 10.3	2 18.7	3 22.3	4 24.9	5 17.4	6 6.3
29. Women are usually less reliable on the job than men because they tend to be absent more and quit more often.	1 4.7	2 8.5	3 19.7	4 22.8	5 20.7	6 23.6
30. Men are as likely to take an interest in a woman's mind as in her body.	1 16.0	2 28.2	3 20.3	4 14.4	5 13.4	6 7.7
31. The special courtesies extended to women are demeaning because they keep women feeling helpless and in their place.	1 3.4	2 5.9	3 11.0	4 22.3	5 23.7	6 33.7

Some people believe that personality differences between the sexes are biological in origin; others think that they are learned (cultural); others say that there are no differences at all. For each of the following traits, circle whether you think it is more characteristic of men or of women, or if there is no difference.

	Male trait, biolog- ical	Male trait, cul- tural	No differ- ence	Female trait, cul- tural	Female trait, biolog- ical
32. Aggressiveness	1 27.5	2 49.6	3 20.3	4 2.0	5 0.6
33. Emotionality	1 0.4	2 1.0	3 13.3	4 52.7	5 32.7
34. Independence	1 6.6	2 51.4	3 40.0	4 1.6	5 0.4
35. Objectivity/ rationality	1 5.9	2 27.8	3 55.0	4 8.6	5 2.7
36. Nurturing capacity	1 0.6	2 1.0	3 22.3	4 24.7	5 51.3
37. Intelligence (abstract or math reasoning)	1 8.2	2 17.4	3 71.6	4 1.8	5 1.0
38. Inclined to monogamy	1 2.5	2 9.5	3 55.1	4 30.7	5 2.3
39. Ambitiousness	1 3.3	2 41.5	3 52.6	4 2.0	5 0.6
40. Empathy/ intuition	1 0.6	2 2.2	3 48.3	4 29.9	5 19.0

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Circle the number of the response that best fits your position on the following questions.

STRONGLY AGREE 1	MODERATELY AGREE 2	SLIGHTLY AGREE 3	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE 4	MODERATELY DISAGREE 5	STRONGLY DISAGREE 6
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41. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.

1	2	3	4	5	6
3.2	6.3	14.4	25.6	28.2	22.3

42. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.

1	2	3	4	5	6
2.0	3.9	9.7	21.1	31.4	31.8

43. I would rather decide things when they come up than always try to plan ahead.

1	2	3	4	5	6
2.2	9.5	16.0	18.1	27.4	26.8

44. I have always felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I wanted it to.

1	2	3	4	5	6
11.6	28.6	20.1	19.5	13.8	6.5

45. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lovely place.

1	2	3	4	5	6
21.1	34.1	16.4	12.8	9.9	5.7

46. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.

1	2	3	4	5	6
26.2	33.3	23.9	8.1	4.7	3.9

47. If something grows up after a long time, there will always be much wisdom to it.

1	2	3	4	5	6
3.2	9.9	21.9	23.5	21.9	19.5

48. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.

1	2	3	4	5	6
2.4	10.8	15.6	24.5	24.7	21.9

	STRONGLY AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	SLIGHTLY AGREE	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
	1	2	3	4	5	6
49. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.	1 6.3	2 14.4	3 20.7	4 27.4	5 18.7	6 12.6
50. In the history of mankind there has probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.	1 7.7	2 14.6	3 11.4	4 20.3	5 23.1	6 22.9
51. Most people just don't know what's good for them.	1 6.5	2 15.2	3 26.2	4 23.5	5 18.1	6 10.5
52. A man doesn't really have much wisdom until he is well along in years.	1 2.6	2 9.8	3 12.2	4 22.8	5 26.9	6 25.7
53. I seem to be the kind of person that has more bad luck than good luck.	1 1.2	2 5.5	3 12.4	4 30.1	5 27.0	6 23.8
54. I never have any trouble making up my mind about important decisions.	1 4.7	2 11.4	3 8.1	4 31.8	5 23.0	6 21.0
55. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.	1 6.7	2 10.6	3 19.2	4 27.3	5 24.9	6 11.2
56. The worst crime a person can commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.	1 4.7	2 14.4	3 17.6	4 21.5	5 18.9	6 22.9
57. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what is going on is to rely upon leaders or experts who can be trusted.	1 1.8	2 12.8	3 20.3	4 17.0	5 25.2	6 22.9
58. I have always felt that I have more will power than most people have.	1 8.6	2 20.2	3 24.4	4 25.3	5 14.3	6 7.3



STRONGLY AGREE	MODERATELY AGREE	SLIGHTLY AGREE	SLIGHTLY DISAGREE	MODERATELY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6
59. I nearly always feel pretty sure of myself even when people disagree with me.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
8.6	28.3	27.5	24.6	8.8	2.2
60. I have often had the feeling that it's no use to try to get anywhere in this life.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
2.4	3.4	11.4	12.4	27.4	43.0
61. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
7.7	18.3	22.6	18.1	19.1	14.2
62. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, I sometimes have the ambition to become a great person like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
16.2	20.1	22.3	15.0	13.2	13.2

How do you feel about the following?

STRONGLY APPROVE	MODERATELY APPROVE	SLIGHTLY APPROVE	SLIGHTLY DISAPPROVE	MODERATELY DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
1	2	3	4	5	6
63. Public day-care facilities.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
27.8	36.8	21.3	3.7	6.7	3.7
64. Abortion on demand by a woman.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
40.6	24.5	12.8	7.3	7.5	7.3
65. Equal responsibility by man and woman for housekeeping.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
10.2	15.4	24.8	16.5	17.1	16.1
66. Equal responsibility by man and woman for child rearing and child care.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
40.9	23.6	16.3	8.7	6.5	4.1

STRONGLY APPROVE	MODERATELY APPROVE	SLIGHTLY APPROVE	SLIGHTLY DISAPPROVE	MODERATELY DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
1	2	3	4	5	6

67. An end to sex-differentiated tracking in the educational system, e.g., so that women no longer are counseled into feminine careers.

1	2	3	4	5	6
23.3	25.8	23.9	15.4	6.1	5.5

68. An end to the institution of marriage in its present form.

1	2	3	4	5	6
6.9	4.5	8.4	6.9	17.3	56.0

69. Child rearing without regard for traditional sex-role stereotypes.

1	2	3	4	5	6
9.6	11.2	17.9	18.1	20.3	23.0

70. Preferential treatment for women in hiring and promotion to make up for past discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5	6
2.2	5.1	10.8	15.1	19.3	47.5