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Women's Social Identities and Attitudes

A Thesis

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Introduction

The present study examines the relationship between the social identities of young women and their political beliefs. A particular focus is the question of whether or not participants identify as "feminist," and the relationship of that self-ascribed identity to their attitudes toward women, evaluated in terms of their agreement with various political ideologies and feminist frameworks.

The study of attitudes toward women has gained increased prominence in psychological research since the 1972 publication of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) (Spence, J.T. & Helmreich, R.L, 1972). The AWS and other similar scales are described as measuring participants' attitudes toward women. Several of them are described as measures of feminism, such as Smith, Ferree and Miller's FEM Scale (1975). Both the AWS and the FEM Scale determine participants' attitudes with a list of statements, each of which receives a response on an agree/disagree scale. The scoring in both cases results in a single number, which falls along a continuum described by the authors as running from least feminist (least positive attitudes toward women) to most feminist (most positive attitudes toward women). Several researchers have also examined the correlation between these attitude scores and a variety of other measures, finding that high scores are associated with

behaviors such as participation in women's liberation organizations and non-traditional (non-sexist) dating behavior, and with self-esteem (Deaux, 1993).

The author shares with other contemporary feminist researchers the concern that the AWS and similar scales may have some limitations for current use (Henley, 1990). The first problem is that the content of the items may be somewhat out-of-date. As culturally dominant attitudes toward women change, an item that differentiated participants with different attitudes twenty years ago might today simply elicit the same response from all participants, thus not serving as a useful tool for comparison. Mean scores on the AWS have generally shifted upward in the years since its publication (Helmreich, et al, 1982). It is likely that most respondents today, whether or not they consider themselves feminists, would answer in the "feminist" direction on items such as: *The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men* (AWS), and *Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility* (FEM)¹. This is particularly true of items which deal with issues of vocational and educational equity, which recent studies have

¹ Nonetheless, it would be inaccurate to assert that forms of sexism common twenty-five years ago have been eliminated; many of the items are likely equally relevant today. Some items may even have gone out of contention during the 1970's, and come back in during the recent anti-feminist backlash (Faludi, 1992). One example of such a question is: *Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers* (AWS).

found to have particularly high general support. As measured by responses to items on the *AWS* (Helmreich, et al, 1982), participants' views are more varied with regard to topics of marriage and interpersonal affairs. The *AWS* and *FEM* scales also contain little or no reference to topics which have high salience in current discussions about feminism, such as reproductive rights.

For measuring participants' agreement with feminist attitudes, the above-mentioned scales have an additional limitation. They rest on an assumption that there is only one feminism, to which participants adhere in varying degrees. The particular philosophy reflected in the items on these scales is one associated with a class-privileged, white-dominated liberal feminism (Henley, 1990), and sometimes cultural feminism. They do not allow for qualitative differences between a variety of feminist frameworks.

These limitations are some of the motivating factors behind Nancy Henley's construction (1989) of a new *Feminist Perspectives Scale (FPS)* which measures feminist attitudes in a format which accounts for multiple feminist frameworks. For these reasons, Henley's *FPS* was chosen as the attitude measure in the present study. The *Feminist Perspectives Scale* is a measure of feminist attitudes which departs dramatically from the methods used by previous feminist attitude measures. Rather than eliciting only one overall number as a measure of a participant's feminism, the *FPS* can

yield seven different measures for each participant. The FPS measures attitudes toward women in terms of six possible ideologies (conservatism, womanism, and socialist, liberal, radical and cultural feminism), and also gives a combined feminism score, which is the sum of the five feminist subscales. In the present study, seven items were added to the FPS to elicit participant's views on topics not covered in the existing items. The topics added are: bisexuality, anti-feminist backlash, gender differences in science, and anti-discrimination laws. The four anti-discrimination items sought participants' agreement with the statement that there ought to be laws prohibiting discrimination based on race, gender, religion, and sexual orientation.

In addition to measuring feminist attitudes, the present study seeks to examine the relationship between such attitudes and self-reported identity. Participants are given the *Identity Ranking Scale* (an identity measure constructed by the author), which lists forty-five possible identity terms and asks participants to indicate which ones they identify with. Participants are also asked to rank their chosen identities in three different ways: frequency of use, importance, and positive feeling about them. This model is consistent with other research which has found that the impact of a social identity on a person's self-schema is not all or nothing, but rather, depends in part on the "centrality" of that identity (Gurin and Markus, 1989). Most existing research on identity centrality uses only one

ranking, despite the fact that Tajfel (1978) suggests that identity centrality (or *salience*) is made up of three things - clarity of the member's awareness of membership, extent of positive feeling associated with membership, and level of emotional investment in being a member. The *Identity Ranking Scale* does distinguish between three different types of identity salience, frequency, importance, and positivity. These rankings may then be used individually to study the correlation between political attitudes and these forms of identity salience.

Previous researchers have examined the relationship of self-identification to social attitudes, generally finding that what people call themselves does have a relationship to their self-reported beliefs (Condor, 1983). For example, women who self-identify as feminists do score higher on average on the AWS than women who do not self-identify as feminists. Nonetheless, in several of the studies involving the various attitude toward women scales, researchers have found that a significant minority of their women respondents espouse pro-women or feminist beliefs, while declining to self-identify as feminists. Several authors have pointed out this apparent contradiction between ideologies and identities. Unger and Crawford summarize the results of various survey results from 1985 as follows.

The majority of college women agree with what they believe are the major goals of feminism. For example, 95% support "equal pay for equal work"; 84% believe that women should have access to birth control regardless of their age or marital status, and that there should be a national parental leave

policy for both parents. Only 9% believe that sexism no longer exists in our society. Yet, when it comes to labeling themselves feminists, young women frequently decline. In a sample of over 500 women, only 16% said that they definitely were feminists (1992, p.6).

This apparent contradiction has been explained in several different ways, including possible flaws in the scale, or self-hatred and denial in the respondent (Addelston, 1991). It has also been suggested that women may espouse feminism with regard to issues that are considered "public" or "economic," but reject the label due to fear of implications and repercussions in the private realm of interpersonal relationships. Unger and Crawford suggest that "College women's reluctance to call themselves feminists may stem from their belief that men view feminists as angry, bitter women who hate men (1992)." Another author, writing about women who are politically active in groups in which "feminism ... is not considered a legitimate framework for political analysis" pointed out that women may "honestly *or strategically* disassociate themselves from feminism" (Sharoni, 1995, p.12). This view suggests that women may, at times, be avoiding taking on the label *feminist* due to fears of how others will react, rather than out of a personal feeling of rejection of the label.

The present study uses a number of identity measures in order to examine the relationship between self-reported identity and social attitudes, in this case, attitudes toward feminism, and explores the differences between those

who do and those who do not self-identify as feminists, as well as the importance of other social identities. The participants are young women, primarily students in scientific fields, mostly from MIT. It is hypothesized that these women, due to their experiences in fields in which women have not traditionally been included, are likely to hold views favorable toward women's rights and opportunities, but might not necessarily identify as "feminist" as a result. If this is true, it would provide an opportunity to examine what factors might differentiate those who do and do not self-identify as feminist, especially if their beliefs in equal opportunity for women do not differ.

Hypotheses:

It is hypothesized that people who self-identify as feminists will score differently on the *Feminist Perspectives Scale* from those who do not self-identify as feminists, and specifically, that those with a feminist identity will score higher on the combined feminism score and the radical feminism subscale, and lower on the conservatism subscale. It is also hypothesized that the *FPS*, by including a variety of feminist frameworks, will help account for the apparent contradiction found among those who disclaim a feminist identity while still claiming support for "equal rights." It is believed that those who do not call themselves feminist will be found to nonetheless agree with "Liberal Feminism," and that the Liberal Feminism

subscale will receive overall high agreement, and thus, not serve to differentiate participants from each other.

Liberal feminism is the feminist framework most represented in the more commonly used *Attitude Toward Women Scale*.

With regard to the anti-discrimination items that have been added to this survey, it is hypothesized that participants will generally score strongly in the direction of agreement with these items, since notions of a "level playing field" are popular these days among many people regardless of their other political views. It is assumed that in general people's responses to these four items will co-vary, as studies have found that discriminatory attitudes toward different "out groups" tend to be strongly positively correlated with each other (Bierly, 1985). It is expected that sexual orientation non-discrimination laws may receive somewhat less support than the other three.²

It is expected that those who identify as activist, liberal, feminist and radical will have higher levels of agreement with the non-discrimination items than people who do not choose those labels.

It is also hypothesized that participants who self-identify as "feminist" will be more likely to self-identify as "activists" than those who do not identify as feminist.

It is hypothesized that the three methods of ranking

² This may be particularly true in light of recent successful ballot initiatives to eliminate sexual orientation non-discrimination laws, and the frequent public assertions that sexual orientation should not be treated in the same way as other protected categories.

identities (frequency, importance, positivity of identity) will each correlate positively with the *FPS* feminism score for identities such as feminist, activist, liberal, and radical. However, it is expected that participants will not rank identities in the same order for frequency as for importance. It is believed that this method, which allows for various types of identity salience, as suggested by Tajfel (1978), will allow for greater insight into the specifics of identity salience and its correlation with political beliefs.

Background on Measures of Attitudes Toward Women.

Social psychologists have utilized attitude measures in many forms and contexts in an effort to examine people's attitudes toward particular topics as well as the relationship of those attitudes to a variety of other variables. Many such scales have assessed beliefs about social and political values and beliefs, often ranking people along a scale from liberal to conservative. More specific measures have sought to examine people's attitudes toward one particular political or social issue. Among these measures are several which assess participants' degree of adherence to feminist beliefs.

Attitudes toward women have been measured by social psychologists in a systematic questionnaire format since at least 1936, when Clifford Kirkpatrick published *The Construction of a Belief-Patterned Scale for Measuring Attitudes Toward Feminism*. Such scales have taken a variety of names, primarily calling themselves measures of attitudes toward either "women" or "feminism," though one scale was titled "The Inventory of Feminine Values" (Steinmann, 1968).

In all cases, the scales seem to be measuring the degree to which a participant believes in "women's rights," primarily revolving around adherence to "equal access" doctrine, and the rejection of traditional restrictions on women's choices. "Attitudes Toward Women" is used to mean the same thing as "feminist attitudes" by most of these researchers. For example, the AWS and FEM scales

(Appendices C and D), do not seem to be measuring different things. These scales provide participants with a number of statements, to which subjects respond by marking a number on an agree-disagree scale (usually a four, five or seven point scale). Scores are derived by summing, sometimes after converting some items, so that they always score higher in the "pro-women" direction. These scales therefore yield a single number, which is generally interpreted as being a measure of a participant's "feminism," and these numbers are frequently used to rank participants, or to compare the means of groups found to differ in other ways.

Kirkpatrick's (1936) questionnaire is called *A Belief-Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes Toward Feminism* (henceforth, the FA measure), and, unlike later instruments, does not use an agree-disagree scale of responses. The FA measure lists eighty statements of which forty represent feminist views and forty represent anti-feminist views. Participants are asked to check all statements with which they agree, and are instructed to double-check statements with which they strongly agree. Statements with which they disagree are to be left blank. Kirkpatrick's analysis found that although whether or not a subject agreed with a statement had high reliability, the use of one check or two checks had low reliability (assessed by administering the measure to the same participants one week later). As a result, no distinction between one check and two checks was used in the scoring. The FA measure scores are the

mathematical sum of all of the statements with which participants agreed, with feminist statements taken as positive and anti-feminist statements taken as negative. The resulting scores can range from -40 to +40.

In order to assess the "real world" relevance of this measure, Kirkpatrick administered the scale to a group of members of the National League of Women Voters and a group of (male) Lutheran pastors. The two groups scored significantly differently on the FA measure, with Women Voters having a mean of 21.55 and Lutheran Pastors having a mean of 0.71. Although the pastors mean score cannot be said to be significantly different from the neutral score of zero, it is interesting to note that even that group did *not* score in the anti-feminist direction overall. The FA measure was administered to other groups of participants as well, and none of the groups scored, on average, in the anti-feminist direction, though group differences were consistently in the predicted direction -- male college students had a mean FA score of 6.1 and female college students had a mean FA score of 16.8. It is possible that the absence of anti-feminist scores is due to the contents of the FA measure. The measure contains numerous items regarding women's economic and legal rights, and very few items concerning more controversial topics such as sexuality. Many of the topics that might currently be considered important measures of feminist attitudes are entirely absent from this 1936 measure, such as birth

control, homosexuality, abortion, and even the possibility that a woman might not marry. Had such topics, which may have been unthinkable to many at the time, been included in Kirkpatrick's scale, it is likely that many of the participants would have scored in the anti-feminist direction.

Kirkpatrick (1936) asserted the importance of distinguishing between attitudes toward feminism and attitudes toward individual feminists. This distinction was re-asserted by Smith, Ferree and Miller (1975). These scales focus on "acceptance of feminist beliefs rather than attitudes toward avowed feminists" (Smith, Ferree & Miller, 1975). Much of the recent anti-feminist backlash documented by Susan Faludi (1992) includes both components, a rejection of feminist philosophy and a demonization of individual feminists. However, it is certainly possible to find one belief without the other. The measures described and utilized in this thesis do not encompass the question of participants' feelings toward feminist individuals.

Additionally, this study does not include measures of what are called in the literature gender identity or gender role (e.g. Bem, 1981). Those scales, which measure self-perception and individual behavior, may relate to feminist attitudes, but are not, themselves, measures of feminist attitudes. The various attitude toward women and attitude toward feminism scales may be characterized as measures of gender *ideology*. As such, they can be used to determine

participants' opinions regarding appropriate gender roles, power dynamics, and political structures. Scales such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory (1981) measure gender role and gender identity of the participants, not their opinions. The scoring of the BSRI is used to divide participants into the gender-role categories of masculine, feminine, androgynous, and undifferentiated. The BSRI does not measure political beliefs or gender ideology, but rather, self-concept. Nonetheless, Mizrahi and Henley (1991) report that individuals who score as androgynous on the BSRI have the highest composite feminism scores on the Feminist Perspectives Scale (FPS). There remains disagreement regarding the relationship between gender-role and attitudes toward women.³ The present study makes no attempt to examine the gender role or gender identity of the participants.

The various scales, such as the FEM and the AWS, have been systematically assessed for reliability and external validity - at least initially. For example, the FEM scale reports an internal reliability measure (test-retest) of .91, and the AWS has been externally validated through its correlation with activism in the women's movement (Spence and Helmreich, 1972).

These scales have been used in many situations to

³ For example, Orlofsky, Aslin and Ginsburg (1977) report no differences on AWS scores among feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated subjects as grouped by the BSRI, while Frable (1989) does report finding such differences, using a slightly different measure of gender ideology.

assess their correlation with other factors. Smith, Feree and Miller report a significant negative correlation of the *FEM* scale with the *Just World Scale*, implying that there is a connection between believing that the world is not a fair place and espousing feminist beliefs (1975).

The most commonly-used scale (Beere, 1990) is the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, published by Spence and Helmreich in 1972 in the long version, with a shorter version published in 1973 (Spence, Helmreich and Stapp). This fifteen-item scale uses a four-point response scale, which allows for mild or strong agreement or disagreement, but does not provide participants the option of giving a neutral response. Beere (1990) catalogues scales relating to issues of women and gender, and refers to one group of scales as "Attitudes Toward Gender Role Issues." That category, which includes the AWS and FEM scales, lists 57 different measures of such attitudes, indicating the prevalence of efforts to measure attitudes toward women and feminism.

New scales are published often, and changes in the contents of the measures are often needed to keep up with changes in society. The Feminist Perspectives Scale (FPS) published in 1989 (Henley, 1989) differs from the previous scales by incorporating several different political frameworks in its items. The FPS is used in the present study, and is described in greater detail in the *Method* section.

Method

Participant Recruitment:

Participants were recruited through posted advertisements of the survey on the MIT campus, as well as through solicitation of volunteers from other campuses through electronic mail. An announcement that volunteers were being sought to complete a "social attitudes" survey was sent out to a variety of electronic mailing lists with high female readership (the announcement was sent only to anonymous distribution lists, not to individuals). Announcements were also made in several classrooms at MIT that women participants were being sought for this survey. Everyone who responded was handed or mailed a survey to complete. Participants at MIT were given a survey, to complete at their leisure, and not in the presence of the researcher, along with an interdepartmental mail envelope to return the completed survey. Volunteers who responded by electronic mail were mailed a paper copy of the survey, and returned it, by US mail.

A total of approximately 100 surveys were distributed, all to women (or people who report themselves to be women). This recruitment procedure was not intended to produce a random sample of women, but rather, focuses intentionally on MIT students and other women in computer and science fields (thus eliciting a participant pool of women who have generally departed from the roles traditionally expected of women). A total of sixty-seven completed surveys were

returned.

Contents of the Survey:

Participants were given a two-part written survey which they completed anonymously. The first part of the survey was the *Identity Ranking Scale (IRS - women's version)*, an identity measure constructed by the author (Appendix A). The *IRS* lists forty-five (45) descriptive terms, and participants were asked to indicate which of the terms they would use to describe themselves, and later, to rank those terms in a variety of ways. Five blank lines were provided at the end of the list of terms for participants to add words that they wished to use as self-description that were absent.

In some studies involving identity, participants are asked to list words that they would use to describe themselves (Brown and Williams, 1984), while in others participants are asked to check words that they would use to describe themselves from among a given list of words, and then to rank the chosen words in order of importance (Gurin and Townsend, 1986). The *IRS* was constructed for this study based on the latter, more restricted, model. Skevington and Baker (1989, p11) have reported that the open-ended method often left participants confused about what was required of them, and left experimenters dissatisfied with the difficult-to-analyze results.

Some of the words used in the *Identity Ranking Scale* were preselected by the author for the purpose of eliciting

specific information. In particular, participants' use of the identity "feminist" along with various political identities (conservative, radical, liberal), was to be examined. Many of the additional terms selected were determined through the use of a pilot study, conducted by the author in August 1994.

The purpose of this pilot study was to ensure that the words that participants were highly likely to select would be present already on the survey, reducing the necessity of writing in words, and increasing the comparability across participants. Twenty women responded to a request to simply list terms describing themselves. Participants in the pilot study were encouraged to spend approximately five minutes on this task, and to list whatever words immediately came to mind. The population from which the pilot study was drawn was similar to the population from which participants in the survey were drawn in that both included women who were primarily students in scientific fields. The participants in the pilot study were all recruited via electronic mail, whereas the participants in the survey were recruited through a wider variety of methods.

Some words were used in the survey specifically because they were included by many of the participants in the pilot study, particularly *nerd*, *sister* and *intelligent*. In other situations, participants' responses to the pilot study influenced the author's decision regarding the particular form to use for items that were already intended to be

included. Because several respondents in the pilot study referred to themselves as "Black" but none as "African-American," the prior term was selected for inclusion in the final survey. Similarly, "Asian" was used but "Asian-American" was not. The words "dyke" and "lesbian" were both used by some of the respondents. The author chose to use the latter term since this survey was intended for wide distribution. The term "dyke" tends to be seen as appropriate only within certain communities in which it has been reclaimed, and might be perceived as insulting to some participants. The resulting list of identity terms may be found in Appendix A. The version of the IRS used in this study was designed for use only with female participants. Thus, the *IRS - Women's Version* lists terms such as mother and daughter but not father or son.

In the resulting survey, participants were given a list of forty-five identity words, and asked to check those which they use to describe themselves. Five blank lines were provided for additional terms to be added by participants. Participants were then asked to rank the terms in three different ways. The instructions for each ranking were printed on a new page, and instructions were given to complete each section before going on to the next one. Therefore, participants performed each ranking task without the knowledge of what the subsequent ranking task would be. Participants were first asked to rank the labels that they had checked in order of "frequency" of use, the instructions

read;

First, you are going to rank the items under the "f" column, which stands for frequency. In this column, please rank all of the items that you checked, in order of how frequently you think of yourself as a _____. Of the items you checked, find the one which you think of yourself as most often, and write a "1" next to it in the "f" column. Then find the term which you think of yourself as second most often, and write a "2" next to it in the "f" column. If there are items that are tied for the same frequency, then give them both the same number, and then move on to the next number.

Similar instructions were given to rank the terms in order of "importance" of the identity. For both of these rankings, participants were encouraged to think of the position of each identity term relative to the others - though instructions did state that ties were acceptable. Finally, they were also asked to indicate, on a five-point scale, how positively or negatively they felt about each identity. For the positive-negative scale, answers were not a true "ranking" - the response for any one term would not necessarily affect those on any of the others.

The second part of the survey was Nancy Henley's (1990) *Feminist Perspectives Scale (FPS)*. The *FPS* (Appendix B) has been tested repeatedly, and its resulting feminism measure has an internal consistency (α) of .91 and a test-retest reliability (r) of .91 (Henley, Meng & McCarthy, 1991). Henley's format for the survey and answer sheets were slightly modified for this study. Rather than using separate answer sheets, the author re-typed the survey, providing a seven-point agree-disagree scale under each

item, and participants were asked to circle the number corresponding to their answer (Appendix B). In addition, seven items were added to this survey that were not in Henley's original FPS, in order to elicit responses to topics not encompassed in the survey.

Four of the added items asked for participant's belief regarding anti-discrimination laws. The first one read, "There should be laws banning discrimination based on race." Similarly-worded items were added regarding discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, and religion. The three additional items were inserted to address issues which the author believes to be of contemporary importance to young women, especially those in scientific fields. One of them was included because the FPS did not contain any references to bisexuality, and reads, "In a perfect world, most people would probably be bisexual." Another item was added to specifically target the population of science students who were expected to be participants in the survey, and reads, "Men are generally better at science than women are." The final item that was added was intended to represent more contemporary anti-feminist attitudes. Although traditional anti-feminism, encompassed in the "Conservatism" items, does persist today to some degree, much of contemporary anti-feminism is distinctly different from historic misogyny. As Susan Faludi has eloquently documented, (1992) the backlash against feminism is widespread, and is expressed most often by targeting

feminism or feminists themselves as wrong-headed, overzealous or "hysterical," as opposed to more traditional expressions of women's inherent inferiority. The "backlash" item reads, "Feminists these days are going too far, and should realize that most sexism has been eliminated." These added items were used to collect additional information; they were omitted from the *Feminist Perspectives* scoring system, which remains consistent with Henley's method.

The survey took approximately one-half hour for participants to complete. Each returned survey was assigned a code number, and all responses to each item were entered into a Quattro Pro spreadsheet, which was used to compute participants' scores for each of the seven Henley subscales.

The seven scores consist of five different types of feminist attitudes (liberal, radical, socialist, cultural, and womanist), one overall feminism score, which is the sum of the previous five, and one score for conservatism. The following are items from the *FPS*, giving an example of the type of item associated with each subscale.

Conservatism: Given the way that men are, women have a responsibility not to arouse them by their dress and actions.

Radical Feminism: Using "man" to mean both men and women is one of the many ways that sexist language destroys women's existence.

Womanism: Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than white women have.

Liberal Feminism: Women should try to influence legislation in order to gain the right to make their own decisions and choices.

Cultural Feminism: Men should follow women's lead in religious matters, because women have a higher regard for love and peace than men do.

Socialist Feminism: Romantic love supports capitalism by influencing women to place men's emotional and economic needs first.

Each of the six subscale scores consists of the sum of the responses to ten (10) items. The items are answered using a seven-point scale, with "1" being "strongly disagree" and "7" being "strongly agree". The number "4" is a neutral response. Thus, for each scale, a score of greater than 40 (4x10) represents, on average, a positive agreement with that framework, with the possible score range being 10-70. A subject with a score of 50 on "radical feminism" may be said to be, in general, in agreement with radical feminism. The scoring for each framework is independent of the scoring for all the other frameworks, so it is methodologically possible for a subject to score, for example, high on both liberalism and conservatism.

The overall feminism score is the sum of the five feminist frameworks, yielding a score in a range from 50-350, with 200 being the middle. Scores over 200 would indicate a general leaning toward feminism, or at least the types of feminism encompassed in this study.

Results

The *Feminist Perspectives Scale* (FPS)

Although all participants had been told that they may skip items which they felt uncomfortable answering, very few participants did so. Only two participants omitted more than two items⁴. These two items were removed from the statistical analysis. Several participants omitted one or two items in the attitude survey (the *FPS*). For the purpose of statistical analysis, the missing values were replaced with the value 4, corresponding to a neutral response on the agree-disagree scale. The combined feminism scores (which are the sum of the five feminist subscales), are nearly normally distributed, around a mean of 229.7, as depicted in the following histogram.

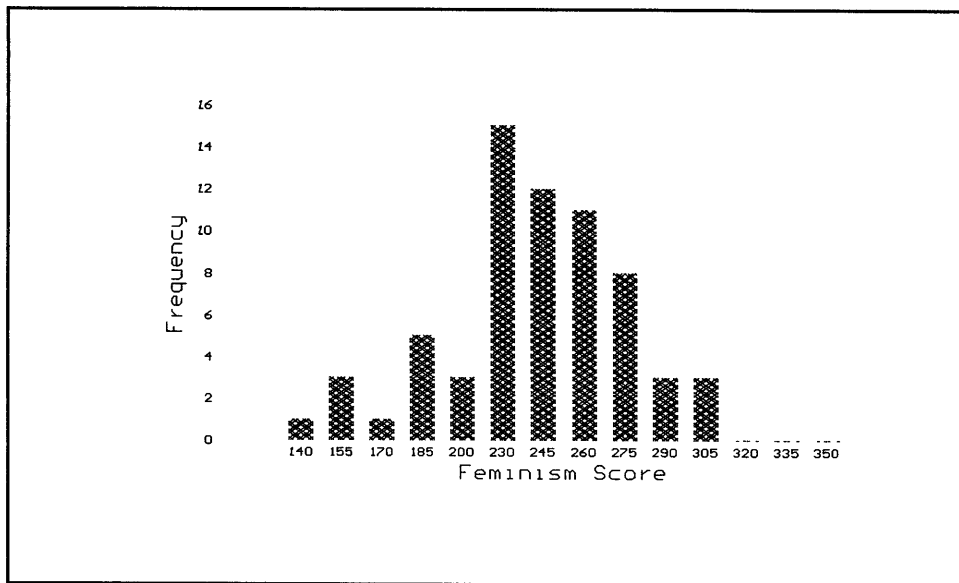


Figure 1 Distribution of Combined Feminism scores from FPS (N=65).

⁴ Those two participants omitted numerous items, leaving almost half of the *Feminist Perspectives Scale* blank.

The participants' mean scores for each of the subscales in the Feminist Perspectives Scale are as follows (N=65);

Subscale	Mean	Standard Dev.
Conservatism	17.3	6.8
Radical Feminism	44.8	12.4
Womanism	50.6	9.6
Liberal Feminism	57.9	7.2
Cultural Feminism	37.3	8.5
Socialist Feminism	39.0	10.6
Combined - Feminism	229.7	38.3

For conservatism as well as cultural and socialist feminism, the participants, on average, scored in the direction of disagreement, below the neutral score of forty (though they disagreed far more strongly with conservatism). For the remaining subscales, participants scored, on average, in the direction of agreement. An additional measure of dispersion was calculated by dividing the standard deviation for each scale by the mean for that scale. This method demonstrates that the liberal subscale has the least variability, and the conservatism subscale has the most variability, with radical feminism having the most variability among the feminist subscales. This would indicate that the participants generally agreed with one another regarding the liberal feminism items, but were more varied in their beliefs regarding both the conservative and the radical feminism items.

The following table is a Pearson Correlation Matrix for scores on Henley Attitude survey which compares the correlations among each pairing of subscores. "Feminism" refers to the combined *FPS* feminism score.

	Cons	Cult	Lib	Rad	Soc	Wom	Feminism
Cons	1						
Cult	.000	1					
Lib	-.54	.30	1				
Rad	-.27	.59	.44	1			
Soc	-.13	.58	.33	.73	1		
Wom	-.30	.45	.47	.62	.57	1	
Feminism	-.30	.74	.60	.89	.85	.80	1

The strongest correlation with the overall feminism score is the radical feminism subscore, with liberal feminism having the weakest of the positive correlations, and conservatism having the lowest absolute correlation with the overall feminism measure. The correlations among the *FPS* subscales in the present study replicate a previous, larger survey (Henley, Meng & McCarthy, 1990)⁵, which found the overall feminism score's correlations with liberal feminism to be .56, with radical feminism to be .91, and with conservatism to be -.31. The same correlation coefficients in the present study are, respectively, .60, .89 and -.30. These findings indicate a high consistency of participants' patterns of political beliefs. This may

⁵ It is interesting to note that Henley's participants were half men, and contained a large number of non-students - making them somewhat different from the sample in this study.

indicate that different participant groups which hold differing overall feminism scores can still hold the same understanding about the relationship between, for example, feminism and conservatism.

The additional items which were added to the *FPS* by the author for this study were not incorporated into the general scoring method used to obtain the above results. However, the scores for those seven items are reported in the table below. The first four items ask whether there should be laws banning various types of discrimination. The next three items ask whether men are better at science than women, whether most people would be bisexual in an ideal world, and whether feminists are "going too far." These items were also presented on a 1-7 agree-disagree scale, in which 7 indicates strong agreement with the statement and 1 indicates strong disagreement.

Item:	Average	Standard Dev.
Religious Discrimination	6.4	1.3
Sexual Orientation Disc.	6.5	1.2
Gender Discrimination	6.6	1
Race Discrimination	6.7	.9
Science	2.1	1.6
Bisexuality	3.75	2.27
Feminists going too far	1.89	1.28

A composite "Discrimination" score was calculated, summing the responses to the four anti-discrimination law items. The resulting combined score can range from a low of

4, which would indicate strong disagreement with all anti-discrimination laws, to a high of 28, which would indicate strong agreement with all anti-discrimination laws, 16 would be the neutral score. The mean of this combined discrimination score is 26.2 with a standard deviation of 3.66. Overall, participants expressed moderate to strong agreement with anti-discrimination laws. The high mean and small standard deviation describe the unanimity of this agreement. No method of dividing the participants elicited a significant mean difference in the discrimination score. Self-identified conservatives did score lower ($X=23$) than those who did not self-identify as conservative ($x=26.6$), but this difference is not statistically significant, and even self-proclaimed conservatives scored well above the neutral score of 16. These findings suggest that for these participants, a "level playing field" in the form of legal protections against discrimination are not contested terrain, and are supported by people of a variety of political affiliations.

The discrimination items and the item stating, "Men are generally better at science than women are," correlate negatively with each other, with a correlation coefficient of $-.45$. The relationship among these two items and the scores from the *Feminist Perspectives Scale* are not very strong, but the directions are worth note. Among the *FPS* subscales, not only liberal feminism, which generally supports legal efforts toward equal access, but also

socialist feminism, were the strongest predictors of the discrimination score, both having correlation coefficients of .3. The strongest predictors of the science item are conservatism and liberal feminism, with correlation coefficients of .31 and $-.4$ respectively, suggesting that conservative ideology is compatible with a belief in male superiority in science, while a liberal ideology is incompatible with that belief. Nonetheless, participants' self-identifications as liberal, radical, scientist, engineer and nerd all failed to be statistically significant predictors of participants' responses to the science question, although feminist-identified participants did indicate significantly more agreement than non-feminist-identified participants ($p=.03$). This suggests that whether or not a woman considers herself a feminist has more impact on her views regarding the relative competence of women in science than whether or not she considers herself a scientist!

Identity Ranking Scale Results:

Participants were given a list of 45 possible identity terms to check, to indicate whether or not they would use these terms to refer to themselves. The responses to this section of the survey can be used to determine some demographic data for the participants. The categories were in no way exclusive, yielding some responses which would not be found in traditional ("check one") demographic methods. For example, fourteen percent of the participants checked

"Asian," twenty-two percent checked "Bicultural," five percent checked "Black," eight percent checked "Indian," six percent checked "Latina," and seventy-seven percent checked "White." Several participants checked more than one of the above labels. The table below indicates the number of respondents (N=65) who identified with each of the listed terms. Participants were asked to check all words which they would use to describe themselves.

words/labels	Number	words/labels	Number
Activist	27	Latina	4
Artist	24	Lesbian	13
Asexual	3	Liberal	49
Asian	9	Mother	11
Athlete	22	Nerd	32
Attractive	49	Pagan	9
Bicultural	14	Poor	18
Bisexual	16	Radical	22
Black	3	Rich	12
Christian	13	Scientist	27
Conservative	7	Sexy	35
Daughter	64	Short	29
Disabled	2	Single	46
Employee	49	Sister	50
Engineer	15	Sorority Member	6
Fat	24	Student	50
Feminine	39	Tall	15
Feminist	48	Teacher	24
Girlfriend	41	Thin	19
Heterosexual	40	White	50
Indian	5	Wife	10
Intelligent	62	Writer	26
Jewish	8		

The data were analyzed to determine whether self-identification as a feminist predicted feminist attitudes as measured by the *FPS* scale. Responses on the identity section included a column to check all terms which a participant felt applied to them; this analysis divided participants into those who checked feminist and those who did not check feminist. A t-test was performed to determine whether these two groups differed significantly on their feminism score means, and a significant difference was found. Those who did check feminist, (N=48) had a mean feminism score of 239.6, while those who did not check feminist, (N=17) had a mean feminism score of 201.6 ($t = -4.028$, $p < .001$).

T-tests performed on the difference between feminist-identified participants and non-feminist-identified participants were performed for each of the subscales as well. Self-declared "feminists" were found to score significantly higher than "nonfeminists" on liberal feminism ($t = -4.008$, $p = .001$), socialist feminism ($t = -3.057$, $p = .004$), womanism ($t = -2.906$, $p = .007$), and radical feminism ($t = -4.007$, $p < .001$). Feminist-identified participants were also found to score significantly lower on conservatism, with a mean score of 14.7, than non-feminist-identified participants, with a mean score of 24.7 ($t = 5.679$, $p < .001$). Interestingly, both groups scored noticeably in the non-conservative direction (i.e. below a score of 40). There was no significant difference between the two groups on

their scores on the cultural feminism subscale, on which feminist-identified participants had a mean of 38 and non-feminist-identified participants had a mean of 35.4 -- indicating that both groups scored slightly in the direction of disagreement with cultural feminism. The following graph depicts the scores of feminist-identified and non-feminist-identified participants on each of the *FPS* subscales.

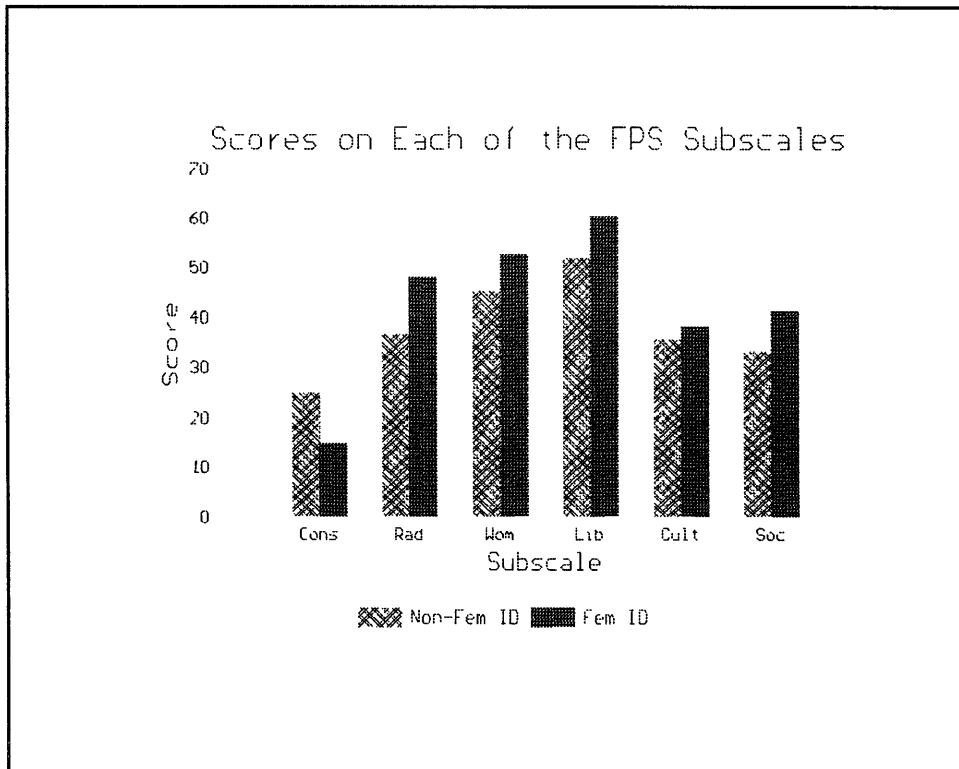


Figure 2 Mean scores on each of the FPS subscales of participants who did self-identify as "feminist" and those who did not.

Findings show that this self-reported identity measure is significantly related to attitudes. For example, participants who checked "radical" scored significantly higher on the radical feminism scale ($X=53.23$) than those who did not ($X=40.5$) check "radical" ($p<.001$). Participants

who checked "liberal" scored significantly higher ($X=59.3$) on the liberal feminism subscale than participants who did not ($X=53.8$) check "liberal" ($p=.025$). Those who checked "conservative" scored significantly ($p=.005$) higher on the conservatism subscale ($X=24.8$) than those who did not check "conservative" ($X=16$), although both groups scored, on average, in the direction of disagreement with conservatism. These differences support the validity of the survey, by indicating that the terminology that people use to describe themselves does appear to match up quite well with the categorization used in the scoring of the *Feminist Perspectives Scale*.

The identity responses can be used to look at the differences between feminist-identified participants and non-feminist-identified participants with regard to other elements of their self-reported identities.

The proportion of self-identified "feminists" who checked each of the identity labels was compared to the proportion of "non-feminists" who checked each of the identity labels. Although the proportion of those who did not check "feminist" who checked "scientist" was higher (.53) than the proportion of those who did check "feminist" who checked "scientist" (.38), whether a participant checked scientist did not significantly predict their scores on any of the *Feminist Perspective Scale* measures. Ten of the labels had a difference of at least 25% between "feminists" and "non-feminists". The following table depicts the

proportions for these ten labels.

Label	Feminists Who Are:	Non-feminists who are:
Activist	52%	12%
Bisexual	31%	6%
Conservative	2%	35%
Girlfriend ⁶	72%	35%
Heterosexual	52%	88%
Lesbian	27%	0%
Liberal	87%	41%
Nerd	58%	24%
Radical	46%	0%
Sexy	60%	35%

There was no significant difference by race on any of the FPS scores. Those who self-identified as "mothers" did score significantly differently from those who did not identify as "mothers". Mothers scored significantly higher than non-mothers on the combined feminism score ($p=.04$), on cultural feminism ($p=.04$) and on liberal feminism ($p=.037$). It is likely that mothers were older than non-mothers, and that age, rather than maternal status, may have turned out to be the best predictor of these scores. Unfortunately, most participants did not provide their date of birth (which was an optional demographic on the completion form), so it is not possible to ascertain the impact of age on these

⁶ "Girlfriend" is problematic because it was interpreted in different ways. Comments that participants wrote on the back of their surveys indicate that at least some of the participants thought of the word "girlfriend" as slang for lesbian, rather than as simply meaning being in a partnered relationship.

differences.

In addition to checking which identity terms applied to them, participants ranked the checked identities in three different ways: frequency, importance, and positivity. Numerous participants left boxes blank in the ranking section. Some filled out the "importance" section and not the "frequency" section, and vice-versa. Others gave rankings to only the top five identities, and left the remainder unranked. Several participants simply gave a rank of "1" to all of the checked items. As a result, it is not possible to make statistically supportable claims regarding the various rankings, or their correlation with other scores. The graph below depicts the relationship between the frequency ranking and the importance ranking for feminist identity, using only those participants who responded in full to this item.

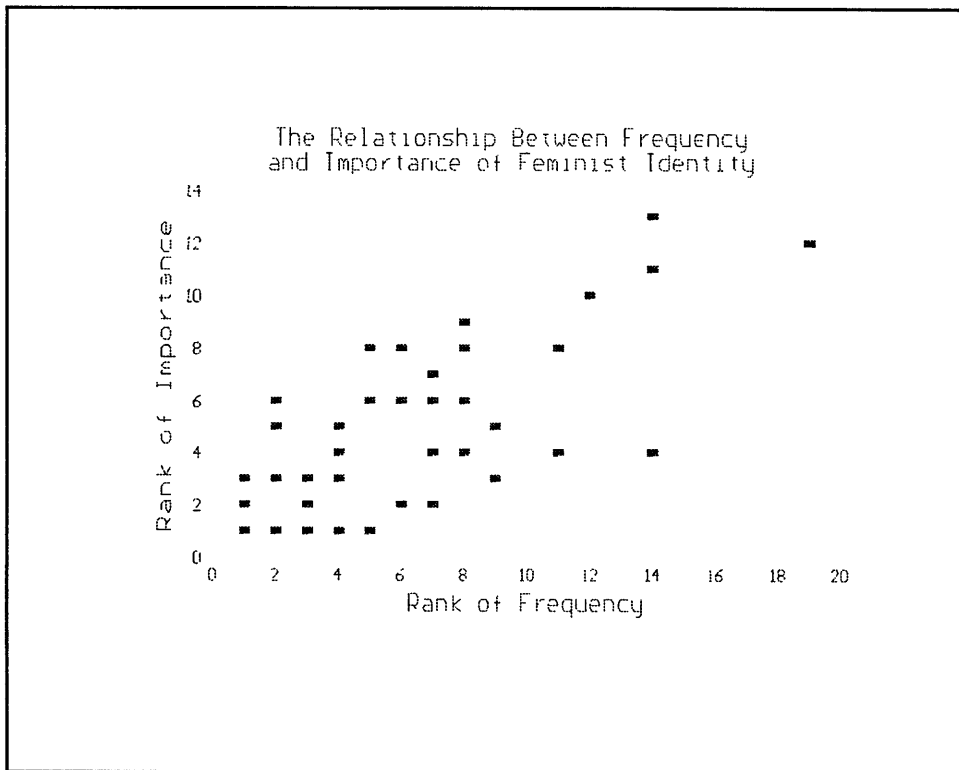


Figure 3 An X-Y Graph depicting the relationship between the "frequency" ranking and the "importance" ranking for feminist identity.

This graph indicates that there is an overall correspondence between the two rankings: participants who ranked feminism high on importance tended to also rank it high on frequency. It is also worth noting that, despite the general trend, the two rankings are not identical. Although participants did have the "frequency" column in view adjacent to the "importance" column while performing the ranking task, they did not simply copy over the same numbers. This suggests that participants may conceptualize the importance of an identity as distinct from the frequency with which they think of that identity.

Discussion

The Different Feminist Perspectives:

If one were to ask two different self-declared feminists to define feminism, one would be likely to receive at least three answers. Some commonly used definitions are:

I myself have never been able to find out precisely what feminism is: I only know that people call me a feminist whenever I express sentiments that differentiate me from a doormat (Rebecca West, 1913).

Feminism. n. A doctrine or movement that advocates equal rights for women (Collins English Dictionary).

Feminism is the radical notion that women are people (origin unknown).

The meaning of feminism is neither universal nor static, and existing measures of feminist attitudes must necessarily enter the political fray, since they assert that one particular list of statements is the appropriate representation of feminist beliefs.

Many of the disagreements regarding what 'real' feminism is are dealt with in the FPS by identifying a range of differing feminist perspectives, acknowledging that they vary from each other, but accepting all of them as legitimate forms of feminism. The five categories of feminism encompassed in the FPS are consistent with distinctions which have been made in feminist theory for several years (Jaggar and Rothenberg, 1984), although there is not total agreement on the meaning of the subsets themselves either. The feminist frameworks encompassed in the FPS are womanism and liberal, cultural, socialist and

radical feminism, and conservatism is included as an ideology which is oppositional to feminism.

Womanism, also referred to as "woman of color feminism" is an approach which argues that race cannot be ignored in discussions of gender justice. Adherents of womanist ideology have often challenged other, primarily white, feminists for espousing a form of feminism which speaks only to the needs of white (upper-middle class) women. The term womanism gained popularity after being defined by Alice Walker as;

Womanist. 1. From womanish. (Opp. of "girlish," i.e., frivolous, irresponsible, not serious). A black feminist or feminist of color. From the black folk expression of mothers to female children, "You acting womanish," i.e., like a woman. Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or willful behavior. Wanting to know more and in greater depth that is considered "good" for one. Interested in grown-up doings. Acting grown up. Being grown up. Interchangeable with another black folk expression: "You trying to be grown." Responsible. In charge. Serious.

2. Also: A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically, for health. Traditionally universalist...

3. Loves music. Loves dance. Loves the moon. Loves the spirit. Loves love and food and roundness. Loves struggle. Loves the Folk. Loves herself. Regardless.

4. Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender (Walker, 1967. p.xi).

Cultural feminism responds to misogynist assertions that women are inherently different from men, and inferior,

by seeking to value the traits that are considered "women's traits." Henley, Meng and McCarthy (1990, a) described cultural feminism, in part, as those who "believe sexual equality would be gained in a society in which both men and women adopt the more feminine qualities." Cultural feminism asserts that women should be praised for their higher degree of nurturance and peacefulness, arguing that women's inherent differences from men are, in many ways, preferable. Although biological determinism is not a necessary element of cultural feminism, the two are commonly associated, with some cultural feminists arguing that women are more connected to nature and care-taking by virtue of their wombs or other biological traits.

Liberal feminism is the feminist philosophy most often depicted positively in the media, and is characterized by a legalistic equal rights approach. Liberal feminism argues that men and women should be treated equally in economic, legal, and political terms.

Henley, Meng and McCarthy (1990, a) describe radical feminism, in part, as based in the notion that misogyny is at the root of oppression, and thus warrants the most effort. It includes the belief that "women are oppressed by men at least as much in the personal sphere as in the political." It differs from liberal feminism in that it does not see the political/legal/economic realm as separable from the so-called private sphere or as necessarily the most important. During the 1970's and early 1980's, radical-

feminism was associated primarily with the notion of "the personal is political" (although other feminist frameworks also encompassed this slogan, to some degree). It has also been associated with a focus on interpersonal relationships as an arena for change, and with the anti-pornography movement. Currently, radical feminism is probably the feminist framework with the most contended definition. In recent years, many young women have been using the phrase radical feminism to mean simply a feminism that is radical in its approach, rather than referring to a specific platform or specific views regarding issues around sexuality. Many people currently use "radical" in the sense of being loud, adamant, and directed at changing society at the root, in contrast with enacting legislative "reform."

Socialist feminism is an approach which places economic analysis at the center of an understanding of gender oppression. It posits that current unequal gender relations exist largely due to systems of distribution of labor and wealth. Socialist feminism generally argues that ending misogyny requires restructuring economic systems.

Possible Flaws in the Current Study:

The 65 women who participated in this study were overwhelmingly students, and overwhelmingly are involved in science and engineering fields. These facts are not themselves a flaw, since this group of young women in non-traditional fields represent an important and growing subset

of women. Although the proportion of women in many of the scientific fields is still quite low, numbers have been increasing dramatically over the past twenty-five years. The following table gives the proportion of degree recipients who were female in various fields in 1971 and 1990.

Proportion of S.B.'s to Women	1971	1990
Computer & Information Sciences	13.6%	30.1%
Engineering	0.8%	13.8%
Life Sciences	29.1%	50.7%
Mathematics	38.0%	46.5%
Physical Sciences	13.8%	31.2%

(Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1993 p.184)

The present study may be seen as extrapolateable not to all young women, but possibly to the important and growing group of young women whose views and experiences have been influenced by being members of fields and professions which have been traditionally closed to women. As such, this may provide insight into the growing issue of women who are in their personal lives breaking from traditional restrictions on women's lives, while still espousing a range of political views.

A more problematic trait of the group of participants is the over-representation of self-declared feminists. Although it is difficult to decide what an appropriate baseline would be from which to determine what the representative proportion of "feminists" would be, it seems clear that forty-eight out of sixty-five respondents (74%)

is high, especially since other large surveys of college women that have reported that only 16% of participants identified as feminists (Unger & Crawford, 1992). There are several reasons for the possible over-representation of feminists. Surveys were handed out in several classrooms at MIT, one of which was a women's studies class.

Additionally, it is believed that those who do consider themselves feminists may have been more likely to complete and return the survey. The survey was distributed only to women, and was titled, "Women's Identity/Attitude Survey." Since the focus on women was made salient in this way, it is likely that those with feminist views were inclined to fill out the survey because they are interested in topics related to "women." Additionally, it is possible that some of the participants may be people who do not feel strongly pro-feminist or strongly anti-feminist, and are comfortable either identifying as feminist or not, depending on the context. If so, the salience of the fact that this was a survey related to "women's issues" may have inclined those participants to identify as feminists, which they might not have done if presented with a survey on a less priming topic.

The version of the *Identity Ranking Scale* that was used in this study was designed for use solely with female participants. A more gender-neutral *IRS* would either remove words such as *mother* and *daughter* from the listing, or add the male equivalents. The structure of the *IRS* may have

further exacerbated the priming of participants to the salience of "women's issues" and feminism.

The *Identity Ranking Scale* did not contain the word "woman." Although all of the participants were women, it would be useful for future research to be able to determine whether the ranking of woman (in terms of frequency, importance and positivity) correlates with responses to the *Feminist Perspectives Scale*.

It is also possible that responses to the *Feminist Perspectives Scale* were influenced by the demand characteristics of the study. Participants were aware that they were filling out a survey on "women's issues" and would be likely to assume that the researcher holds "feminist" views. Participants may have been unwilling to express certain opinions on the *FPS* whenever they feared that those opinions might seem "unfeminist."

Identity Rankings:

Many participants did not entirely complete the ranking section of the Identity Ranking Scale, or completed it in an unusual and difficult-to-interpret way, such giving all identities the rank of "1." It is believed that further research on the relationship among the various facets of identity salience would be useful, and provide insight into the meaning of social identity. Particularly, it is possible that the frequency with which one thinks of a particular identity may be determined more by external forces, such as its importance to the surrounding culture or

subculture. Importance of an identity may be more related to internal belief systems, and how positively one thinks of one's particular identities may be unrelated to the frequency with which they come up. Unfortunately, the responses in the present survey can not definitively answer these questions. It is likely that participants found the task of ranking their identities difficult, and possibly offensive.

The added items:

Seven items were added to the Feminist Perspectives Scale for this study, which were not included in the general scoring of the FPS results. Four of these items stated that "There should be laws banning discrimination on the basis of ..." religion, sexual orientation, gender, and race. Participants generally indicated an overwhelming agreement with these items, with mean responses all over six out of a possible seven. The standard deviations were all 1.3 or lower, indicating that the high level of agreement was fairly unanimous among the participants, with a ceiling effect reducing the dispersion. The mean standard deviation for the items is 1.47, suggesting that the discrimination items do demonstrate less dispersion than most. This finding is consistent with the high mean score and minimal variance of scores on the Liberal Feminism subscale of the *FPS*. Support of non-discrimination laws fits well within the overall liberal framework, which is premised on the importance of a "level playing field," and is generally

characterized by support for legislative solutions to inequity. Participants did not differ significantly in their agreement with the anti-discrimination items on the basis of feminist identity, nor on the basis of other political identities (conservative, liberal, radical) suggesting that support for such laws is not predicated on feminism, but rather, is based in a broader liberal/equal opportunity philosophy. The mean responses to the four anti-discrimination items did differ slightly; although the four items were identically worded, participants did not give identical answers to all four. Laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of religion received the least agreement, with a mean of 6.4 (STD=1.3), followed by sexual orientation with a mean of 6.5 (STD=1.2), gender with a mean of 6.6 (STD=1), and race with a mean of 6.7 (STD=0.9). Although the differences among these responses are not large, they are noteworthy in that they do not fall in the hypothesized order. One interpretation of these results could be that the traits are organized from least to most "essential" or "immutable" in popular conceptions. If true, this would be consistent with the assertions of many leading gay rights organizations that public assertions of the immutability of a trait may lead to greater public support for anti-discrimination statutes. This remains an open question, as the data reported here are not sufficient to strongly support this "degrees of essentialism" interpretation. The fact that anti-discrimination on the

basis of religion received the least support might suggest that participants do not currently believe that religious groups are in danger, or in need of protection. Racial anti-discrimination laws received not only the highest agreement, but also the least variability. The very low standard deviation associated with scores on this item suggest a high degree of unanimity regarding the importance of such laws, which might be due to participants' awareness of the existence of racial discrimination, or their unwillingness to self-disclose lack of support for such laws.

One of the added items proved to be the most controversial in the survey, as indicated by having the highest standard deviation. The item read, "In a perfect world, most people would probably be bisexual." The mean response was 3.75, slightly in the direction of disagreement, but the standard deviation was 2.27, indicating that this mean neutral response is not an accurate depiction of most participant's feelings. In fact, the response was bimodal, with most participants falling at one extreme or the other, as depicted in the following graph.

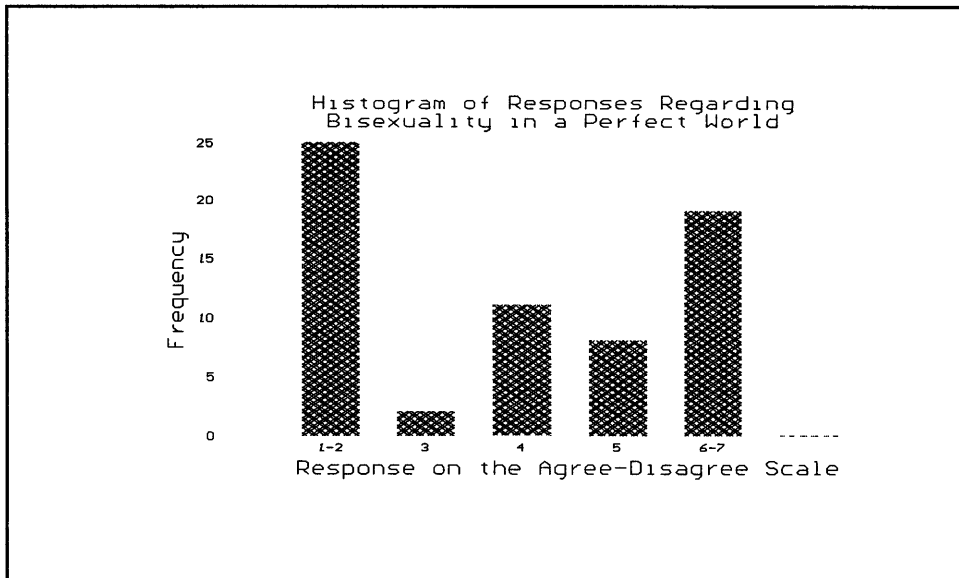


Figure 4: Histogram of responses to question #55, on a seven-point scale. 1 represents strong disagreement, 7 represents strong agreement.

Just as Kirkpatrick's (1936) measure of Feminist Attitudes did not include many statements regarding issues that would be highly controversial at the time – even to avowed feminists, so too Henley's contemporary *Feminist Perspectives Scale* does not include many items which would require feminist-identified participants to apply a gender-equity analysis to certain taboo topics. In 1936, it was apparently not even worth asking whether respondents could envision women's liberation including the possibility of choosing not to marry. In 1995 it is clear that choosing not to marry is an acceptable option in many circles, and is an option that many feminists espouse (Faludi, 1992). Nonetheless, the challenging of mandatory gender roles does not seem relevant to the realm of sexual desire for many self-declared feminists. Although most feminist

philosophies assert that people ought to consider gender irrelevant in most interactions, it is still expected by many feminists to be highly salient in the erotic realm.

In general, participants in many surveys have been found to support challenging of traditional gender roles more strongly with regard to political, economic and educational issues than with regard to interpersonal or "marital" issues (Helmreich, et al, 1982). Thus, it is not surprising that many people would consider erotic preferences to be an inappropriate realm for feminist analysis and change, and that the appropriateness of feminist inquiry into the erotic has been a topic of ongoing debate among feminists (Echols, 1989). Despite many claims that feminism and politics should stay out of "the bedroom," feminist identity did influence participants' responses to the item regarding bisexuality. Feminist-identified participants scored significantly higher on this item ($X=4$) than non-feminist identified participants ($X=2.76$), although the higher score still falls on the neutral mean of four, and not actually in the direction of agreement.

Another added item read, "Men are generally better at science than women are." The mean response was a low 2.1 (STD 1.6), strongly in the direction of disagreement, though this was far from the lowest response. This particular group of participants, of whom a large proportion are themselves in science and engineering fields, clearly reject the notion that they, or women in general, are less

scientifically competent than men are. In fact, the small number of participants who did respond to this item with numbers higher than four (in the direction of agreement) often felt it necessary to add comments on their surveys, explaining their answers. Several participants wrote comments such as, "Currently, most men are more successful in science than most women are, so I agree with the statement, but this would not be true if women had equal access and encouragement in science education." Women who identified as feminist did disagree significantly more strongly ($X=1.8$) with this item than women who did not identify as feminists ($X=2.8$, $p=.03$). Nonetheless, every group of participants did score in the direction of disagreement. Interestingly, whether or not a particular participant identified as a scientist was not significantly related to their response to this item – scientists were not especially more likely to reject the notion of male superiority in the sciences. This finding suggests that a particular woman's feminism and perspective on issues of gender equity may have more impact on her view of gender differences than her own experiences in a particular field – a woman can be a successful scientist without needing to strongly reject a belief in female scientific inferiority. Interestingly, women who identified as feminist were less likely to identify as scientists than those who did not identify as feminist. This suggests that among these young women, their own place in the world of science is something

about which they have little doubt, regardless of their political beliefs, and which perhaps does not influence their political beliefs. It is possible that for many of these women that frequent experiences of being the only woman in a scientific setting has taught them to be good tokens, rather than sparked them to feelings of collectivity with other women. The experience of being the one woman who made it may increase one's feelings that anyone who tries hard enough can make it, and decrease allegiance to feminism.

The final item that was added to the survey was designed to elicit responses in line with a philosophy not otherwise represented in the FPS -- anti-feminist backlash. This attitude is different from conservatism, which generally argues that women should not be granted the same opportunities as men. The backlash philosophy is characterized by the assertion that feminism is unnecessary because women already have the same opportunities as men. It is generally also accompanied by the assumption that feminists are trying to control, dominate, and psychologically castrate men. Unlike traditional sexism, which dismisses women as weak and incompetent, backlash attitudes demonize women as overzealous, power-hungry, and omnipotent. This form of misogyny is highly prevalent these days, and especially among younger people, is probably more prevalent than traditional conservative misogyny. The item designed to elicit this philosophy reads, "Feminists these

days are going too far, and should realize that most sexism has been eliminated." Participants' mean response to this item was very low, 1.89 (STD 1.28), lower than the mean response to the science item, indicating a very strong disagreement with this backlash attitude. Feminist-identified participants did disagree with the backlash item significantly more strongly ($X=1.4$) than non-feminist identified participants ($X=3.35$).

A 1989 study which asked college women to describe what feminists were like elicited overwhelming positive responses, despite the fact that the majority of respondents did not themselves identify as feminists. More than 75% of the responses overall were positive, with participants describing feminists primarily as "individuals who favor equal treatment of women" and as "strong, caring, independent, open-minded, capable and fair" (Buhl, 1989), although such attitudes did not result in respondents necessarily self-identifying as feminist. It is not known whether such responses would be the same today, although the general disagreement with the backlash question might suggest that these participants would agree with generally positive descriptions of feminists - even if they did not choose that identity for themselves.

Questions About Design of the FPS Attitude Measure:

The FPS uses a seven-point scale for participants' responses on the disagree-agree scale, which allows for

greater differentiation than the AWS (four-point scale) and the FEM (five-point scale). Since the AWS is the most commonly used scale, it is worth noting that the response method is different from the FPS in that it does not allow for a neutral response to the items. Respondents to the FPS may respond with mild or strong agreement or disagreement, whereas respondents to the FPS may respond with seven gradations of agreement, with 4 representing a neutral response. Since the FPS and the AWS differ from each other substantially in other ways, comparison among responses on the two scales cannot be used to determine the impact of requiring respondents to express an opinion on each item. It would be interesting to examine how responses would differ on the same questionnaire when participants are, and are not, given the option of a neutral response. In the present study, responses were not evenly distributed about the middle. In fact, the most prevalent responses were the two extremes. This might suggest that people generally feel clear agreement or disagreement with the items in the survey, and that the finer gradations are not as important. The following graph depicts the incidence of each of the seven possible responses, with all items and all participants aggregated.

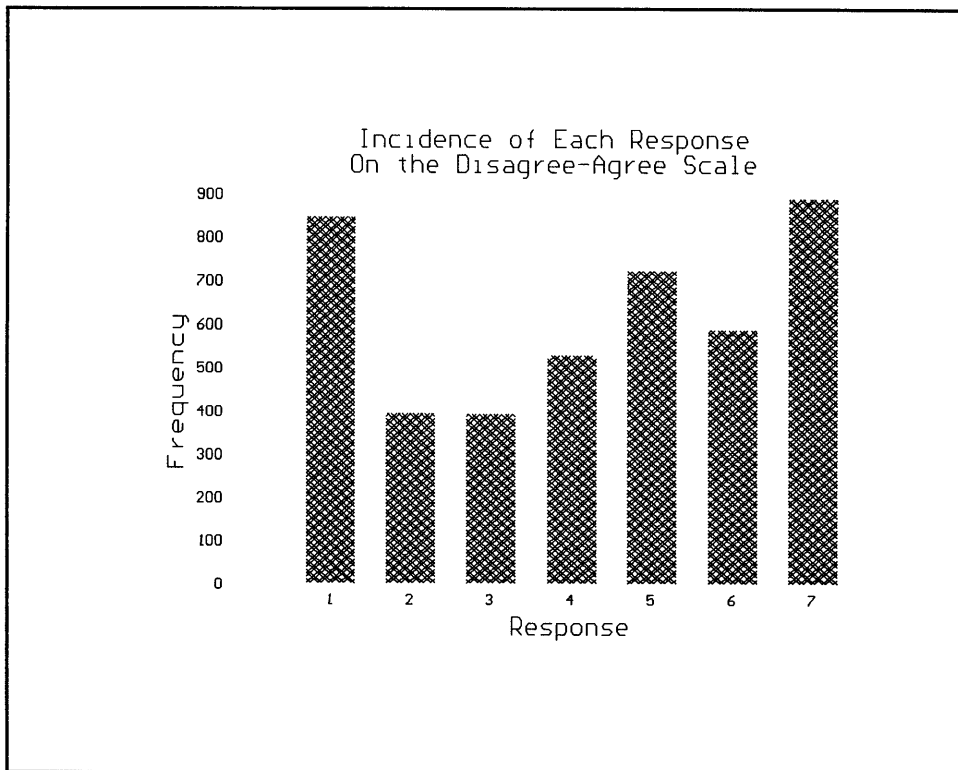


Figure 5 Histogram of incidence of responses to the FPS on the seven point disagree-agree scale (1 = strong disagreement, 7 = strong agreement).

Sixteen percent of the total responses were the neutral response of 4. Many of the items on the FPS are fairly complex, and may be describing topics with which participants are unfamiliar. It is likely that many of the neutral responses indicate an inability to assert an opinion on topics with which participants felt unfamiliar. As a result, it is possible that if given a scale with no possible neutral response option, some participants would have difficulty giving an opinion on several of the items, it is possible that such items would be frequently left blank. Nonetheless, the low incidence of neutral responses, and the overall skew toward extreme responses suggest that

for most items most participants have quite clear opinions, and a narrower scale would have had little impact on most responses. This is consistent with Kirkpatrick's finding (1936) that whether or not a participant agrees with a certain statement is highly consistent, but the degree of agreement is not consistent, and participants may not really distinguish among the various levels of agreement.

The content of several of the items may also be problematic. Participants wrote comments in the margins of the survey suggesting that they found certain questions annoying or unanswerable. One item which attracted much wrath reads "Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first." Many participants wrote, "no, empower people of all races as well, *at the same time*." They felt frustrated that a disagreement would mean that they did not think empowering people of color was important, but that agreement required giving a hierarchy to fighting oppression. Additionally, several items contained compound statements, such that participants stated that they felt they were being forced to agree to two things if they wanted to agree to one. For example, the item, "The way to eliminate prostitution is to make women economically equal to men" was interpreted by many as requiring agreement not only to a particular view of the likely impact of economic changes, but also to a specific opinion of prostitution. Participants who agreed with the socialist analysis of the economic statement but

did not wish to endorse the opinion that prostitution ought to be eliminated were uncomfortable responding to this item. This type of confound, which seems to require agreement to a statement about both *what* ought to be done and also *how* it ought to be done was found in several questions, and was seen as problematic by many participants.

What Is Cultural Feminism These Days Anyway?

The results of this study show that participants' self-declared identity does significantly predict their responses to social attitude measures in many cases. Participants who self-identified as feminist scored significantly higher on the FPS measures of feminist attitudes than those who did not. The only feminist subscale on which these two groups did not differ is the "cultural feminism" subscale, with both groups having a low mean score, below the "neutral" score of 40. In fact, almost no method of dividing up the participants in terms of their self-identity (e.g. based on whether participants checked lesbian, scientist, student, etc.) significantly predicted participants' score on the cultural feminism subscale, largely because almost every group scored low. Perhaps there is no difference because participants are "flooring" on this measure. This could indicate an overall rejection of the cultural feminist framework - with its strong leanings toward biological determinism - among this population, which consists primarily of young women in science and engineering fields.

The general rejection of cultural feminism is not restricted to young people or to "nerds," as the data in this study indicate; others have recently been publicly challenging cultural feminism as well. Carol Tavris's popular feminist examination of psychology and medicine, *The Mismeasure of Woman* (1992), also calls for a move away from the deterministic notions of cultural feminism. Tavris refers to cultural feminists as those who believe that, "there are fundamental [sex] differences, but women's ways are better" (1992, p 59). Tavris expresses concern with the implications of this sort of thinking, arguing;

My concern is with a growing tendency to turn the tables from us-them thinking (with women as the problem) to them-us thinking (with men as the problem). Framing the question in terms of polarities, regardless of which pole is the valued one, immediately sets up false choices for women and men. It continues to divide the world into men and women as if these categories were unified opposites. It obscures the fact that the opposing qualities associated with masculinity and femininity are caricatures to begin with. It perpetuates ... the misguided belief that there is something special and different about woman's nature, an attitude that historically has served to keep women in their place (1992, p60).

The findings in the present study of high average disagreement with cultural feminism is also supported by Henley, Meng and McCarthy's (1990) findings. They also report low mean scores on the cultural feminism subscale, and when reporting scores for participants grouped by race and sex, all groups scored below 40, in the general direction of disagreement (though she reports that "Anglo Males" had the lowest mean Cultural Feminism score among the

race X sex groups). Henley, Meng and McCarthy (1990) also asked participants to select the political label that they use to describe themselves. The possible labels were, radical, liberal, moderate, conservative, and extreme right. Among these five groups, the only group to score, on average, in the direction of agreement with cultural feminism was the Extreme Right group, with a mean Cultural Feminism score of 43.7, suggesting that agreement with "Cultural Feminism" may not be related to general agreement with notions of equal rights for women. These findings may call into question the assumption that the ideologies encompassed under the "cultural feminism" items may even be appropriately termed "feminism." In this case, the items listed may perhaps be better described as gender-determinism, an ideology which has been historically mobilized both to women's advantage (such as in women's suffrage arguments) and to women's disadvantage, when used to suggest women's inherent intellectual inferiority.

There was, however, one identity grouping which did significantly predict cultural feminism scores - that of "mother." Those who self-identified as mothers were significantly more likely to agree with cultural feminism than those who did not identify as mothers, and mothers did score slightly in the direction of general agreement with cultural feminism ($X=42$, $p=.04$). It is possible that those women who have children are more likely to support the idea of innate gender differences because that is their preferred

interpretation for their own children's gendered behavior. It is also possible that age would be a better predictor of agreement with cultural feminism, and that the difference based on identity as a "mother" is a side-effect of the fact that mothers were older than non-mothers. Unfortunately, information regarding the various groups' mean ages is not available. Studies using the *Attitudes Toward Women Scale* have found that scores do correlate negatively significantly with age, such that the younger the participant, the more pro-woman their attitudes. The same study also found that among paired mothers and daughters the daughters consistently scored higher (more "pro-women") on the *AWS* than the mothers (Dambrot, et al, 1984). No information is currently available from previous studies on the correlation of age with scores on the *FPS*. However, the findings in the present study differ from the findings using the *AWS*. Those who self-identified as mothers scored higher on the combined feminism measure and on the liberal feminism subscore than those who did not identify as mothers, but did not score significantly above non-mothers on radical feminism. This suggests that these mothers are not less feminist than the non-mothers in the present study, but do espouse different feminist frameworks than non-mothers.

"I'm not a feminist but...."

Women who did not self-declare a feminist identity scored below the neutral score on all but one feminist subscale of the Henley scale - indicating that their self-

identity did predict an attitude score consistent with an overall disagreement with feminist philosophies. However, these respondents scored with a rather high mean of 51 (well above the neutral score of 40) on liberal feminism, indicating a strong leaning toward agreement with attitudes of liberal feminism. This may explain the anomaly of women who declare "I'm not a feminist but...." and then recount a list of presumably feminist ideals they agree with. Such proclamations have been seen by many (Griffin, 1989, Addelston, 1991) as contradictions or evidence of internalized anti-feminist hatred. Why would someone insist that they were not a feminist if they agreed with feminist philosophy? It may be that they agree with some feminist philosophies (especially liberal feminism) but not others. This question is especially difficult to answer when studies try to examine this "contradiction" using the scales such as the AWS and the FEM Scale, which focus on liberal feminism. In fact, several articles have referred to scores on the AWS as ranging from "the most conservative attitudes to the most liberal attitudes" (Dambrot, et al, 1984 and Furnham, 1985) suggesting that the AWS and/or its interpreters equate pro-woman attitudes with liberalism more broadly.

By breaking down "feminism" into several different frameworks, this contradiction is more easily explained. There are many components of feminism, and people who agree with one, but not other, components of feminism could easily disclaim a feminist identity while still asserting agreement

with one component -- in this case, liberal feminism.

Future directions for research:

The Feminist Perspectives Scale provides numerous items on a wide range of topics. It has been suggested by various studies that pro-feminist views may vary with regard to domain of the question, for example, that people are more willing to support feminist views regarding issues they perceive as "public" than they are regarding issues they view as "private" (Addelston, 1991). This distinction has also been supported by findings that responses to items on the AWS which refer to economic freedom show the least cross-cultural differences and items which refer to marriage and the family show the widest cross-cultural differences (Furnham and Karani, 1985). The current scoring method for the *FPS* takes into account different feminist frameworks, but not different realms of inquiry. As a brief exploratory measure, the author computed the mean response for several items regarding "family" issues and then for several items regarding "economic and legal" issues. Participants did show more agreement (more pro-feminist beliefs) with the economic and legal items ($X=5.3$, $STD=.7$) than with the family items ($X=4.3$, $STD=1$). Further research into the clustering of responses with regard to domain is suggested. It is also suggested that responses be examined to see if they cluster with regard to attitudes about the erotic. For example, one may oppose sex work for economic liberation reasons (socialist feminism) and one may oppose it because

it is seen as an affront to women's bodily integrity (cultural feminism), and those two responses would be counted under different "frameworks." But the responses may co-occur as part of a cluster of general attitudes about sex.

In a more dramatic departure from the methods of the present study, it is suggested that a more ideal measure of feminist approaches would need to include a more qualitative approach. Most, if not all, of the studies that have been used to evaluate feminist attitudes have measured the outcome of people's beliefs rather than the process by which those views and opinions are derived. This method derives from theoretical assumptions about what it means to measure "attitudes" as well as from the impracticality of assessing the process by which a person came to hold a particular belief. When seeking to determine, for example, how common certain views are, it is entirely appropriate to measure only the end point - what the participant thinks about a certain issue. Unfortunately, this method can not shed as much light on the question of the causes of feminist identity, or even the incidence of feminist philosophies. In other words, a questionnaire which asks participants whether they believe women should be encouraged to seek political office, or whether abortion should be legal, does not tell us why or whether the participant identifies as a feminist, nor do we know why they hold the views that they do hold. For people seeking to use psychological tools to

inform an understanding of feminist politics and identity, it is necessary to ask another question - why? The *Feminist Perspectives Scale* uses items which combine opinions with the origin of those opinions, but the two are not clearly separated, resulting in a tool which cannot be used entirely to test this proposed method. Items such as "Legislation is the best means to ensure a woman's choice of whether or not to have an abortion" confound these two issues. It is not clear whether disagreement to this item would indicate a lack of support for legislative methods, or an opposition to the legality of abortion. It is suggested that issues of opinion on an issue, reason for holding that opinion, and beliefs regarding what should therefore be done about it, be taken as separate questions. The reason a participant holds an opinion, and not the opinion they hold, should be the best measure of their adherence to feminist frameworks.

Kohlberg's studies of moral reasoning (1963) made this important distinction between what someone would do and their reasoning about why they would do it. Simply by knowing whether someone would, for example, rob a store to attain a needed medicine would not tell us much about someone. By inquiring into the line of argument which the participant follows to arrive at their conclusion, we can learn much more. An analogous method might be better able to account for feminist philosophies, measuring not only the views that participants espouse, but also the path by which they reach such views. Knowing that someone believes that

abortion should be legal should not be taken as evidence of their feminism, or lack thereof. If, for example, the participant were to answer that the reason why they support legal abortion is, for example, "because there are too many people on the planet already" then perhaps the view would not be taken as evidence of their support of feminist philosophies. Which is not to say that feminists necessarily do or do not believe that there are "too many people on the planet" - the point is simply that people may arrive at a number of opinions with or without being influenced by factors that might reasonably be called "feminist." This is also not to say that such a respondent is necessarily not an adherent of feminist views, they certainly might be, but given such a response to the origin of their views on abortion, their views on abortion provide no evidence one way or the other about their feelings about feminism.

The ideal measure of agreement with feminist philosophies would be a measure of "feminist reasoning." Participants would be presented with a scenario in which to solve a problem, or a contemporary debate on which to take a stance (such as RU486, affirmative action, women flying combat missions, etc). After indicating their opinion, they would be asked to give narrative answers explaining how and why they came to that conclusion. Answers which described their reasoning as choosing the option which would foster gender equity, or endorsing a stance because it would

"benefit women" could be seen as examples of "feminist reasoning" - independent of the content of the opinion.

This method would also be able to distinguish among the different feminist frameworks. A response which discussed women's economic exploitation could be interpreted as supporting socialist feminism, and so on. Methodologically, this kind of approach disrupts the notion that there is "one true feminism" as measured by people's opinions. A tool which measured feminist reasoning would still, of course, have to take a stance on which kinds of reasoning "count" as feminist, but it would not require a stance on specific issues. Measuring feminist reasoning in this way may be more able to encompass the diversity of pro-woman views, because it would not pre-define the views that are necessarily pro-woman, and would allow participants to demonstrate how various viewpoints may be espoused for pro-woman reasons.

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Appendix A
The Identity Ranking Scale (IRS - Women's Version)

Code Number: _____

Social Identity/Attitude Survey

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this survey. This survey is completely voluntary and anonymous, please do not write your name anywhere on the following pages. Unlike an exam, please do not read through the survey before beginning. Complete each section before going on to the next one, and please do not go back to previous questions. You are free to discontinue at any time, or to not answer any question that you feel uncomfortable with.

Please, feel free to write comments on the back of your survey, if you feel that circling a number will not be sufficient to explain your response. When doing so, be sure to indicate which question number you are referring to.

This first section is the identity part of the survey. Please be sure to complete it before going on to the next section.

Instructions:

For the following words/labels, please put a check mark next to all of the words that you would ever use to refer to yourself. The check marks should go in the first column, next to the relevant word. Please ignore the other columns for now. In the blank rows at the end of this table, feel free to add other terms that you use to define yourself, that are absent here.

✓	words/labels	f	i	p
	Activist			
	Artist			
	Asexual			
	Asian			
	Athlete			
	Attractive			
	Bicultural			
	Bisexual			
	Black			
	Christian			
	Conservative			
	Daughter			
	Disabled			
	Employee			
	Engineer			
	Fat			
	Feminine			
	Feminist			
	Girlfriend			
	Heterosexual			
	Indian			
	Intelligent			
	Jewish			
	Latina			
	Lesbian			
	Liberal			
	Mother			
	Nerd			
✓	words/labels	f	i	p

	Pagan			
	Poor			
	Radical			
	Rich			
	Scientist			
	Sexy			
	Short			
	Single			
	Sister			
	Sorority Member			
	Student			
	Tall			
	Teacher			
	Thin			
	White			
	Wife			
	Writer			

Now that you have finished checking at the words that apply to you, I am going to ask you to rank them in several ways. When you are using each instruction sheet, feel free to separate it from the survey if you want to, so that you can consult the instructions while looking at the label chart.

First, you are going to rank the items under the "f" column, which stands for frequency. In this column, please rank all of the items that you checked, in order of how frequently you think of yourself as a _____. Of the items you checked, find the one which you think of yourself as most often, and write a "1" next to it in the "f" column. Then find the term which you think of yourself as second most often, and write a "2" next to it in the "f" column. If there are items that are tied for the same frequency, then give them both the same number, and then move on to the next number.

Please complete this task before going on to the next one.

The next task is to rank the words in order of importance. Try to think about the words you checked in order of how important it is to you to be _____. Find the word/label that is most important to you, and write a "1" next to it in the "i" column, then find the word/label that is second most important to you, and put a "2" next to it in the "i" column, and so on. If there are items that are tied for the same importance, then give them the same number, and then move on to the next number.

Please complete this task before going on to the next one.

The third task is to indicate how positive you feel about being a _____. This time, I am *not* asking you to rank the labels. Next to each of the labels that you checked, you are going to write a number from 1 to 5 in the "p" column, that will indicate how positive or negative you feel about being a _____. Please use the following system to write your numbers:

1	2	3	4	5
Very Negative	Somewhat Negative	neutral	Somewhat Positive	Very Positive

For example, if you feel "somewhat positive" about being a student, then in the "p" column in the "student" row you would write the number "4". Please go through each of the words that you checked, and mark each of them with a number from 1 to 5, to indicate how positive or negative you feel about it.

Thank you very much. Please finish this task before proceeding with the next part.

Appendix B - Feminist Perspectives Scale (FPS)

Measurement of Social Attitudes⁸ Instructions

Thanks for volunteering to take part in this study. You may find many statements in our survey that you disagree with; or you may find many that you do agree with. We have tried to write them from various points of view so that everyone will find at least some statements they agree with. Please don't worry about how many statements you do or don't agree with, but just answer as truthfully as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, just what you believe.

Note that some statements express complex ideas. You should respond to all of the statement, not just part of it. Also, since you have a range of responses, you can express partial as well as full agreement or disagreement with an item.

About the wording of the statements: We use the terms "women of color" and "people of color" to include various racial or ethnic groups in our society, such as African-American, Asian-American, Hispanic-American, etc.

A few of the statements ask your opinions about sensitive issues, such as religion, abortion, or homosexuality. Some use terms you may not use, such as "pro-life," "pro-choice," or "gay." Others may make arguments you don't understand, even though you understand the words. Again, we are trying to represent different points of view. Please respond to the statement as you understand the terms used.

This attitude survey is completely voluntary and anonymous. You are free to discontinue at any time, or to not answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with. Please do not write your name anywhere on this survey.

What you are to do: Respond to each of the statements on the following pages by circling your response on the survey itself, according to the directions inside. Feel free to add comments on the back of the page if you feel that your answer requires a longer explanation. If you do so, be sure to indicate which question number you are referring to.

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⁸ Notice. This scale is to be used for research purposes only and not for personnel screening. The scale is copyright 1989 Nancy M. Henley, and permission is given for its use, or use of any part of it, without charge only for non-personnel uses. Anyone with knowledge of its use for personnel screening is urged to contact N.M. Henley, Psychology Department, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1563, giving date, user, and any other pertinent information known. This notice must appear on all copies of the scale reproduced. This version of the scale has been slightly modified by R.D. Kaplan, MIT. 1994.

This survey consists of Agree/Disagree items.

For each of the following statements, please indicate your disagreement or agreement with them by circling the number corresponding to your answer, underneath each question, according to the following scale:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

For example, for the statement:

"All young people should be taught to cook, clean, and care for children," if you decide that you Moderately Disagree, then you would circle the number 2.

Please: Don't change a response after going on to other items. Don't look back to see how you answered on a previous item. Be sure to respond to all items.

1. Given the way that men are, women have a responsibility not to arouse them by their dress and actions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Pornography exploits female sexuality and degrades all women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. In education and legislation to stop rape, ethnicity and race must be treated sensitively to ensure that women of color are protected equally.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Women should not be direct participants in government because they are too emotional.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. There should be laws banning discrimination based on race.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Whether one chooses a traditional or alternative family form should be a matter of personal choice.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. People should define their marriage and family roles in ways that make them feel most comfortable.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. The government is responsible for making sure that all women receive an equal chance at education and employment.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Prostitution grows out of the male culture of violence and male values of social control.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Capitalism and sexism are primarily responsible for the increased divorce rate and general breakdown of families.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Replacing the word "God" with "Goddess" will remind people that the Deity is not male.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

13. Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than white women have.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. A man's first responsibility is to obtain economic success, while his wife should care for the family's needs.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. There should be laws banning discrimination based on gender.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Men should follow women's lead in religious matters, because women have a higher regard for love and peace than men do.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. Using "man" to mean both men and women is one of the many ways that sexist language destroys women's existence.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Sex role stereotypes are only one symptom of the larger system of patriarchal power, which is the true source of women's subordination.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. Homosexuals need to be rehabilitated into normal (heterosexual) members of society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. The workplace is organized around men's physical, economic and sexual oppression of women.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. Men's control over women forces women to be the primary caretakers of children.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. Making women economically dependent on men is capitalism's subtle way of encouraging heterosexual relationships.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. Women of color are oppressed by white standards of beauty.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. The availability of adequate child care is central to a woman's right to work outside the home.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

25. There should be laws banning discrimination based on sexual orientation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26. The breakdown of the traditional family structure is responsible for the evils in our society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

27. Homosexuality is not a moral issue, but rather a question of liberty and freedom of expression.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

28. A socialist restructuring of business and institutions is necessary for women and people of color to assume equal leadership with white men.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

29. Being put on a pedestal, which white women have protested, is a luxury that women of color have not had.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

30. Social change for sexual equality will best come about by acting through federal, state, and local government.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

31. Putting women in positions of political power would bring about new systems of government that promote peace.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

32. Men use abortion laws and reproductive technology to control women's lives.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

33. Traditional notions of romantic love should be replaced with ideas based on feminine values of kindness and concern for all people.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

34. Romantic love supports capitalism by influencing women to place men's emotional and economic needs first.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

35. There should be laws banning discrimination based on religion.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

36. By not using sexist and violent language, we can encourage peaceful social change.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

37. Legislation is the best means to ensure a woman's choice of whether or not to have an abortion.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

38. Men prevent women from becoming political leaders through their control of economic and political institutions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

39. Beauty is feeling one's womanhood through peace, caring and non-violence.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

40. It is a man's right and duty to maintain order in his family by whatever means necessary.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

41. Women's experience in life's realities of cleaning, feeding people, caring for babies, etc., makes their vision of reality clearer than men's.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

42. The world is a more attractive place because women pay attention to their appearance and smiles.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

43. The way to eliminate prostitution is to make women economically equal to men.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

44. Anti-gay and racist prejudice act together to make it more difficult for gay and lesbian people of color to maintain relationships.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

45. Men are generally better at science than women are.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

46. Capitalism hinders a poor woman's chance to obtain adequate prenatal medical care or an abortion.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

47. Women should try to influence legislation in order to gain the right to make their own decisions and choices.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

48. In rape programs and workshops, not enough attention has been given to the needs of women of color.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

49. Rape is best stopped by replacing the current male-oriented culture of violence with an alternative culture based on more gentle, womanly qualities.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

50. It is the capitalist system which forces women to be responsible for child care.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

51. Marriage is a perfect example of men's physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

52. Women should not be assertive like men because men are the natural leaders on earth.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

53. Romantic love brainwashes women and forms the basis for their subordination.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

54. Discrimination in the workplace is worse for women of color than for all men and white women.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

55. In a perfect world, most people would probably be bisexual.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

56. Bringing more women into male-dominated professions would make the professions less cut-throat and competitive.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

57. Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

58. Women should have the freedom to sell their sexual services.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

59. Using "he" for "he or she" is convenient and harmless to men and women.
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Undecided	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

60. All religion is like a drug to people, and is used to pacify women and other oppressed groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

61. Rape is ultimately a powerful tool that keeps women in their place, subservient to and terrorized by men.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

62. Capitalism forces most women to wear feminine clothes to keep a job.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

63. The tradition of Afro-American women who are strong family leaders has strengthened the Afro-American community as a whole.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

64. The personalities and behaviors of "women" and "men" in our society have developed to fit the needs of advanced capitalism.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

65. Feminists these days are going too far, and should realize that most sexism has been eliminated.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

66. Heterosexuality is the only natural sexual preference.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

67. Men need to be liberated from oppressive sex role stereotypes as much as women do.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Demographics and Completion Information

If you are filling this survey out in a survey room or with a group, please return it to the survey box in the room. Otherwise, please mail it back. If you are sending it from within MIT, you can send it by interdepartmental mail. Please send the survey to:

Social Attitude Survey
c/o E10-044A
MIT
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA
02139

Please fill out the following for statistical purposes:

Are you currently a student? _____

Undergrad? _____ Grad Student? _____

Year _____ Major _____

School or Employer _____

If you are interested in being in a possible follow-up study, please write you date of birth here.

Date of Birth: _____

Then, detach the following page, and mail it separately (this procedure is used to ensure anonymity of the survey itself). Also use the next page if you are interested in receiving a copy of the results of this survey.

Social Attitude Survey - Follow-up

I wish to be contacted regarding the follow-up study for the social attitude survey.

I wish to receive a copy of the results of this survey.

Name:

Address:

Phone Number:

Email:

Date of birth:

Please detach this page from the rest of the survey, and mail it to:
Social Attitude Follow-up Study. c/o E10-044A, MIT. Cambridge, MA.
02139.

Appendix C

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale - Short Version (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1973).

The statements below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.
2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.
3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.
4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.
5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.
7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.
8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

Appendix D

Items in the 20-item FEM Scale (Smith, Ferree, and Miller, 1975).

In the administering of the FEM Scale, participants are presented with a five-point agree-disagree scale, and asked to indicate the number corresponding to their response for each question.

1. Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.

2. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.

3. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.

4. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.

5. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.

6. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices than involve great responsibility.

7. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.

8. Whether or not they realized [sic] it, most women are exploited by men.

9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.

10. A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a day care center is a bad mother.

11. A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.

12. It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.

13. The "clinging vine" wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.

14. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.

15. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.

17. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.
18. It is all right for women to work, but men will always be the basic breadwinners.
19. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.
20. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.