

DISSERTATION

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISM IN OLDER AND YOUNGER ADULTS: THE
INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOSITY, POLITICAL ORIENTATION,
GENDER, EDUCATION, AND FAMILY

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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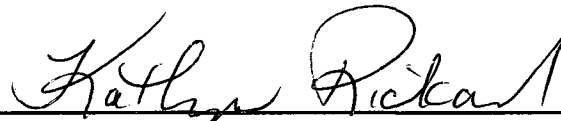
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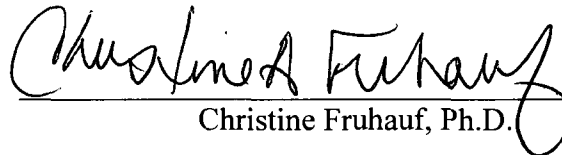
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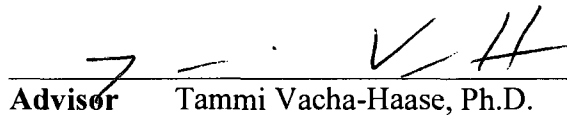
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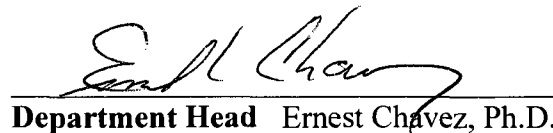
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISM IN OLDER AND YOUNGER ADULTS: THE
INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOSITY, POLITICAL ORIENTATION,
GENDER, EDUCATION, AND FAMILY

The purpose of the present study was to investigate attitudes toward feminism in a population of older and younger adults who were connected to each other through a family relationship (e.g., parent, grandparent). Using a database collected during the spring of 2007 which included 245 Introduction to Psychology students and 245 paired older adult family members, the influence of family, political affiliation, religiosity, education, and gender was explored. Participants completed an attitudes towards feminism scale, a political affiliation scale, a religiosity measure, and a demographic questionnaire. Results indicated that older adults were more conservative than younger adults on the attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, and political orientation measures. In young adults, attitudes towards feminism was predicted by gender and political orientation. In older adults, religiosity and political orientation were the best predictors. Looking at the influence between the generations, it was found that older adults' attitudes and demographic information were not associated with younger adults' attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement when the young adults' variables were controlled. In contrast, young adults' political views were associated

with older adults' attitudes towards feminism when the older adults' variables were controlled. Findings highlight the importance of continuing to explore a bidirectional model of socialization.

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Attitudes Toward Feminism in Older and Younger Adults: The Influence of
Religiosity, Political Orientation, Gender, Education, and Family

Studies investigating attitudes toward feminism have ebbed and flowed in the last few decades, but there has been consistent interest in the women's movement and the factors that contribute to feminist ideology. Research investigating liberal and conservative trends in the United States has noted a steady shift toward egalitarianism and women's rights in the last few decades (Miller & Nakamura, 1997; Smith, 1990). With the advent of additional education, work outside the home, and exposure to divorce, dramatic changes occurred in conceptualizing women's roles (Thornton & Freedman, 1979). Notably, there is a consistent finding that both men and women are endorsing more profeminist views and liberal attitudes toward women as time progresses (Loo & Thorpe, 1998; Mason & Lu, 1988; McCabe, 2005; Spence & Hahn, 1997; Roper & Labeff, 1977; Twenge, 1997).

More specifically, Loo and Thorpe (1998) replicated a study conducted in the mid-1970s that used the well-known Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Their results indicated that in the 20 years that had passed since the original study, attitudes had become more liberal for both men and women. Interestingly, there remained a significant gap between male and female attitudes (with women holding more liberal views), but this gender difference was less in the mid-1990s. Spence and Hahn (1997) found similar results while investigating the differences between the AWS

in a 1972 and 1992 cohort. Likewise, Twenge's (1997) meta-analysis demonstrated that there was a steady increase in AWS scores over time from 1970 to 1995; thus attitudes became more liberal. Although some have suggested there was a backlash against feminism in the mid-1970's, this does not appear to be reflected in any explicit measures of attitudes toward women or social survey data (Mason & Lu, 1998; Twenge, 1997). Overall, it appears from these studies that attitudes toward women are becoming more liberal as time passes, but a gender gap remains.

Why Continue to Study Feminism?

Despite this positive shift in attitudes toward feminism over the years, other research has indicated that gender inequality and gender discrimination persist. According to the 2006 United States Census Bureau, women earned 77 cents for each dollar earned by men. This figure was not statistically different from the wage gap determined during the 2005 Census collection. Worldwide, the United Nations (UN) has asserted that women experience more unemployment and for greater periods of time than men (The World's Women, 2005). According to the UN, women also continue to be involved in fewer occupations and hold lower status positions than men. With less economic and occupational power, women remain a disadvantaged population when compared to men worldwide and in the United States.

Likewise, a range of findings indicate that attitudes toward women and feminism may not be as liberal or as strong as many would desire. For example, a study looking at trends occurring from 1974 to 1997 demonstrated that gender stereotypes are intensifying (Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo, & Leuptow, 2001). Specifically, the study found an increase in the perceived femininity of females, with stereotypes primarily focusing on women's

attributes involved with nurturance and relationships. With the changes occurring in women's roles in the workplace and at home, many would assume that support for the women's movement continues to grow rapidly. In contrast, Huddy, Neely, and Lafay (2000) discovered that "support for the women's movement is persistent but lukewarm" (p. 312). They found that Americans remain unsure about whether an organized movement is still necessary to produce change and the number of people participating in women's rights organizations remains low. Although these findings appear disappointing, others have suggested that there are many types of supporters of social movements, such as activists, engaged observers, and nonparticipants (Stewart, Settles, Winter, 1998). Thus, it remains unknown if active participation is the most effective way to determine the strength of support for the women's movement.

Another interesting finding that has remained consistent over several decades is the hesitancy many women feel to call themselves a feminist. The terminology of women's rights and feminism appears to be loaded with different meanings and insinuations. For example, in 1979, Jacobson asked men and women to rate a variety of labels including "equal rights for women," "feminism," "women's liberation," and "women's lib." Interestingly, participants appeared to have mixed reactions, ranking "equal rights for women" most positively and "women's liberation" most negatively. Women in the study held more positive attitudes than men on all four labels.

A common dissociation is seen between the endorsement of profeminist views but denial of the label feminism. The phrase, "I am not a feminist, but..." is often heard anecdotally. In their same titled article, Buschman and Lenart (1996) found that the term "feminism" was viewed much more negatively than "women's movement." They

suggested that there was a causal relationship between holding feminist attitudes and perceiving and recounting more negative experiences with sexism. As Buschman and Lenart proposed, only those who engender feminist beliefs begin to see gender inequalities; they did not see the pattern operating in reverse. With manipulation, it appears that the tendency to identify as a feminist will change. Specifically, women were twice as likely to call themselves a feminist after reading a paragraph highlighting positive stereotypes about feminism (Roy, Weibust, & Miller, 2007).

These studies demonstrate that a negative perception of the term feminism and a stigma associated with this word endures despite a trend toward liberalism. Even in the midst of a current political climate that includes a woman running for president of the United States, there appears to be great controversy about women's rights, gender stereotypes, and gender equality. Overall, this highlights a complexity inherent in the meaning, understanding, and endorsement of feminist attitudes. This study sought to further explore this complexity in order to understand the current role of feminism, the women's movement, and related factors.

Measuring Attitudes Related to Feminism

Determining which variables are most important in research on attitudes towards feminism is a difficult task. As Reingold and Foust (1998) wrote:

There are almost as many different dependent variables as there are studies of gender-related group consciousness and feminist attitudes. At best, we have a lot to choose from; at worse, we have no clues with which to distinguish more or less useful conceptualizations and measurements of women's group consciousness (p. 27).

Scales investigating different constructs have also been found to be highly correlated with each other. For example, Lotttes and Kuriloff (1994) found that scales measuring liberalism and social conscience, feminism, and male dominance were all intercorrelated. Thus, measures and concepts appear to be difficult to distinguish and are often highly related to each other.

One of the most widely used and researched scales measuring feminism and gender roles is the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972). Recent research suggests that the AWS remains viable, but may suffer from serious methodological concerns. Specifically, given the dramatic changes that have occurred since 1972, several of the questions are outdated and ceiling effects likely hinder the scale's ability to detect the variations in attitudes toward women (Spence & Hahn, 1997; Twenge, 1997). Others have argued that the AWS is not actually measuring attitudes toward women, but attitudes toward women's rights in society (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). The AWS has also been found to be a measure of overt or blatant sexism, something which people are less likely to endorse because of social desirability as society becomes more egalitarian (Swim & Cohen, 1997).

Feminism, for the purposes of this study, was defined as the movement organized around the doctrine that women should have the same economic, social, and political rights as men. For the purpose of this study, variables related to multiple aspects of feminism (e.g., gender roles, feminist consciousness, attitudes toward women) were used to elucidate the concepts of interest in this project. Research investigating these related constructs remains relevant to the variables of interest in this study as they are closely tied to feminism, but the present study focused primarily on attitudes towards feminism

and the women's movement. The measure of feminism was the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) scale (Fassinger, 1994). The FWM provides a brief measure of affective attitudes toward the feminist movement and encapsulates many of the variables mentioned above. Indeed, the development and validation of the FWM was borne out of measurement inadequacy in the field. As Fassinger (1994) wrote,

The literature contains a confusing mixture of attitudinal assessments of women's or gendered roles and social behavior, for which there are a number of valid and reliable measures, and attitudinal assessments of feminist philosophy and politics or the feminist movement per se, for which there appear to be few established measures (p. 390).

Due to the fact that the FWM is included in only a small body of research, the ideas in this study were further outlined using broader feminist concepts (e.g., attitudes towards women, gender consciousness). Because these variables tap into gendered notions of women and their place in society, they help further clarify the present variables of interest.

Factors of Interest

Several variables have been shown to have an impact on attitudes towards feminism. In order to further understanding of what is associated with attitudes towards feminism, six factors of interest were chosen from the literature to investigate their relatedness towards this concept. These variables included: age, religiosity, education, political orientation, gender, and family. A complete overview of the findings related to these variables is outlined next.

Older and Younger Adults Views of Feminism

Studies have investigated differences in attitudes toward feminism as a result of age, cohort, and generation. As these variables are naturally confounded by each other, it is difficult to determine the effects of each on feminist beliefs. Some researchers have attempted to tease apart the influence of each statistically, while others have relied on a more conceptual distinction. Nevertheless, there are clear differences between older and younger adults' views on feminism and important information can be drawn from such findings.

There appears to be a trend toward increased conservatism as people age. In fact, general conservatism (based on 28 social attitude topics) appears to increase rapidly as a person enters into their fifties (Truett, 1992). This study was cross-sectional in design, so the results may be due to cohort effect. Nevertheless, the findings appear to be relatively robust and hold true regardless of gender, initial level of conservatism, or education. Increased age has also been associated with higher levels of conservatism about attitudes toward women in the workplace and abortion, but these findings were qualified by the authors citing other variables that might have impacted these results like religious conservatism (Miller & Nakamura, 1997). Younger women are found to be less willing to endorse conservative traditional feminine gender role stereotypes than older women and score higher on self-ascribed masculine traits (Erdwins, Tyer, & Mellinger, 1983). Thus, older adults appear to be more conservative across many issues when compared to younger adults; this distinction is also found within older and younger women.

Looking at trends of the women's movement, Huddy, Neely, and Lafay (2000) identified a consistent pattern between young adults and older adults. Men and women

between the ages of 18-29 reliably rate the women's movement more positively than older adults of either gender. Similar findings have suggested that younger adults are less conservative in their feminist attitudes. In a study looking specifically at attitudes towards women within a range of ages (20 to 80 years), Nelson (1988) demonstrated that younger adults held more liberal beliefs. A similar pattern has also been found between older and younger members of families. Women tend to be more conservative than their children (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983) and parents in general are less liberal than their children on the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1979). Within three generations of female college students, their mothers, and their maternal grandmothers, students were the most liberal in their attitudes towards women, grandmothers were the least liberal, and mothers scored in between these two groups (Dambrot, Papp, Whitmore, 1984). Overall, results suggest that young adults are most liberal in attitudes towards the women's movement when compared to older adults.

Several studies examining differences between younger and older adults and their attitudes toward feminism have looked through the lens of cohort effects to understand results. Cohorts have been defined in many different ways. Studies have discussed cohorts in terms of waves of feminism (e.g., first-wave, second-wave, third-wave feminism), time of early adulthood and wave of feminism (e.g., pre-Baby Boom, Baby Boom, Baby Bust), and generations of activists (e.g., Civil Rights Generation, Protest Generation, Postwomen's Movement Generation) in order to frame their findings (Duncan & Stewart, 2000; Peltola, Milkie, & Presser, 2004; Schnittker, Freese, & Powell, 2003).

Many have based their investigation of cohort effects on Stewart and Healy's (1989) model linking development to social events. Stewart and Healy proposed that the age when a social event is experienced (i.e., childhood, early adulthood, mature adulthood, later adulthood) changes the impact of the event. For example, an incident that occurs during childhood will likely affect the child's values and expectations but there will be no revision of identity because of this experience. In contrast, if the same incident occurs to someone in late adulthood, Stewart and Healy theorized that some sort of identity transformation might occur, with a revision of life choices.

Several studies have found support for this idea that there is an interaction between stage of development and time of event. Duncan and Agronick (1995) found that social events were particularly meaningful when they coincided with early adulthood versus other life stages. In particular, Zucker and Stewart (2007) discovered that women's movement was internalized differently depending on life stage. Although there were similarities across levels of feminist goal endorsement, generational differences were found in the amount and types of beliefs and expectations about the women's movement. Differences have also been found between cohorts in feminist self-identification (Schnittker et al., 2003), rates of activism (Duncan & Stewart, 2000), and correlates of feminist identity (Peltola et al., 2004). Thus, beliefs and values about feminism appear to be qualitatively and quantitatively different between generations and this might be caused by the intersection between stage of development and experiences.

Gender and Attitudes Toward Feminism

Unfortunately, many studies investigating feminism have only focused on women, making it difficult to determine the influence of gender. At first glance, it may

make sense that many researchers exclusively concentrate on women for their studies investigating feminist variables. In reality though, views on gender equality, beliefs about women's rights, and endorsement of feminist values apply to men in society as well. When men are included in the study design, there is a consistent divide seen between males and females on many dimensions. Females consistently hold more liberal beliefs about attitudes towards women (Luo & Thorpe, 1998; Neslon, 1988), participate more in the women's movement (Huddy et al., 2000), feel more positive about feminist labels (Jacobson, 1979), are more willing to identify as feminist (Cowan, Mestlin, & Masek, 1992; McCabe, 2005), and hold less sexist attitudes (Frieze et al., 2003).

Given that feminism directly supports women, it is intuitive that women are more likely to support profeminist constructs. After all, one could argue that women are looking out for themselves just as men are making sure they do not lose any power in society. In reality, it does not appear that men's values about feminism are remaining stagnant. Although men overall tend to be more conservative than women on several of these feminist variables, research also demonstrates that men are becoming more profeminist over time (Mason & Lu, 1988). Likewise, Luo and Thorpe (1998) found a smaller gender difference on the AWS after twenty years. Thus, men still endorse more conservative views about feminism than women, but this gap appears to be closing, not widening. More research is necessary to determine whether this difference between men and women's attitudes towards feminism is consistent in an older versus younger adult population.

Education and Attitudes Toward Feminism

Generally, increased educational attainment is highly associated with more liberal views. Conservatism is generally associated with lower levels of education (Truett, 1993). For example, when looking at traditionalism in family relationships, researchers found that with higher levels of education, people are less likely to ascribe to traditional family values (Blanchard-Fields, Hertzog, Stein & Pak, 2001; Willits & Funk, 1989).

These authors argued that socialization factors, such as increased exposure to a variety of value system in peers and academics, likely influence beliefs about family values.

Generally, studies exploring feminism and gender role attitudes find that those with higher levels of educational attainment tend to hold more liberal beliefs (McCabe, 2005; Thorton & Freedman, 1979) and have more feminist consciousness (Reingold & Foust, 1998). One caveat though, is that some researchers have found this relationship only when there are extreme differences in the education levels (McCabe, 2005; Schnittker et al., 2003). Specifically, Schnittker, et al. (2003) discovered an effect of education on feminist self-labeling only between the extreme categories of graduate degree holders and those without a high school diploma. Consequently, the effect of education on feminist attitudes may be more apparent when there is a wide range of levels of attainment.

Most studies exploring feminism have focused on college aged participants. Interestingly, several studies have pointed to the conclusion that college participation tends to have a liberalizing effect on individuals in several domains related to gender attitudes. For example, Bryant (2003) discovered that students became less conventional in their gender role attitudes after four years of college. Although women began college with less traditional views, both men's and women's traditionalism changed similarly

throughout the course of their college career. Similarly, women's studies courses in college have also been found to be associated with increased liberalism on feminist variables (Aronson, 2003). Participating in such a class appears to raise consciousness, activist intentions, and gender attitudes (Stake, 2007). Renzetti (1987) found that junior and senior level college women were more liberal than lower-class women in their views on gender roles, gender inequality, and the women's movement. Interestingly, women who had experienced gender discrimination were less traditional, despite level in college.

Attitudes towards gender roles also appear to be influenced by the education of family members. College students from more educated families tended to have more liberal beliefs about sexual behaviors (Weinberg, Lottes, & Gordon, 1997). Similarly, both the educations of mothers and fathers have been found to influence their children's gender-role attitudes (Thornton et al., 1983). Furthermore, the educational attainment of spouses appears to affect attitudes. Specifically, husbands' education has been found to affect wives' attitudes toward gender roles (Thornton et al., 1983; Thornton & Freedman, 1979); women with more educated husbands were more likely to adopt liberal beliefs.

Educational attainment has also been found to play a role in a few generational studies. In their study looking at feminist identification in several different cohorts of women, Peltola et al. (2004) found that high education was a significant predictor of feminist self identity across cohorts. In contrast, an older study by Kirkpatrick (1936) suggested that differences found between generations on attitudes towards feminism disappeared once education was controlled for in the analyses. Thus, Kirkpatrick found that younger generations were no more "feministic" in their attitudes than their parents when education level was held constant. In their follow up study 40 years later, Roper

and Labeff (1977) also found that higher levels of education were associated with more feminist attitudes. It appears that educational attainment is a variable that needs to be explored in studies looking at differences between age groups.

Religion and Attitudes Toward Feminism

Religion and feminism appear to be intertwined in a complex way. As Briggs (1987) wrote, “Feminism threatens the authority of religious institutions in the one area of social life and public policy where they continue to receive a hearing: marriage, family, and issues of sexual morality” (p. 408). Thus, although feminism and religion are inextricably linked, there is a long history of tension between the two ideologies.

Researchers have struggled to conceptualize religion and many return to Allport’s (1950) definition referring to a construct that incorporates internal and external aspects of religious thought and behavior. Glock (1962) purported that there were five universal dimensions within all world religions (Ideological, Intellectual, Ritualistic, Experiential, Consequential). Clayton and Gladden (1974) refuted this claim and instead found that religiosity was not a multidimensional construct. They purported that religiosity can be thought of as one concept, not five separate and distinct components. Hoge (1972) developed a scale to measure “intrinsic religious motivation.” This series of questions investigates religious “motivation, not behavior, cognitive style, or perception” (p.370). Instead of a formal scale, many researchers allow participants to determine what they would define as “religious” and simply ask for a degree of religiosity in terms of “conservative” or “liberal.” This fits in with Clayton and Gladden’s (1974) discussion about Religion (capital R) versus religion (small r). As they wrote,

...most of the attempts to measure dimensions of religiosity have treated the latter as if it were Religion with a capital R (i.e., a recognizable historical Religion with leaders, devotees, rituals, etc.) instead of a religion with a lower-case r, namely (as Yinger [1969] has so provocatively suggested) people's efforts to grapple meaningfully with what they define as the Ultimate (Clayton & Gladden, 1974, 142)

Thus, religiosity appears to be a personally defined construct that can be understood by researchers in a variety of ways.

There is also conflicting evidence about religiosity and age. Peacock and Poloma (1998) found results mostly consistent with traditional theory. This theory posits that the twenties are characterized by a decline in religious activity, followed by a steady increase from age thirty onwards. Peacock and Poloma (1998) found evidence for an increase in religiosity in later years, but also found fluctuations across the life course. In contrast, Seifert (2002) suggested that there is stability in religiosity across adulthood. Seifert was investigating religious gerontology in particular and noted the problems inherent in teasing apart generational, period, and age differences in the study of religiosity.

A wealth of research has suggested that increased religiosity is associated with higher levels of traditionalism on several feminism related variables. Interestingly, a fair amount of cross cultural research has also found this to be the case. For example, Frieze et al., (2003) found that university students in the United States, Slovenia, and Croatia tended to hold more sexist beliefs if they attend religious services frequently. Similarly, Sevim (2006) investigated attitudes toward women's work roles in Turkish university students. Sevim found that higher faith levels were associated with more negative

attitudes toward women's work. Thus, social roles and sexism appear to be associated with religion across several cultures.

These findings correspond with other studies that have suggested that those who define themselves as religious have less egalitarian beliefs about women and their social roles. Increased levels of religiosity have been associated with traditional attitudes toward women (Etaugh, 1975), family values (Blanchard-Fields et al., 2001), activities of married women (Bryant, 2003), gender traditionalism (Read, 2003) and attitudes toward the women's movement (Tavris, 1973). Men who attend religious services frequently are also less likely to have children who identify with feminists (Rhodebeck, 1996). Interestingly, Tavris (1973) found gender differences in the effect of religiosity on attitudes toward women's liberation. Although religion was significantly related for both genders, it was consistently a stronger effect for men. Tavris found that, "Protestant and Catholic men were more likely than other religious groups and atheists to think that WLM [women's liberation movement] members are neurotic or castrating, to say that women are best fulfilled as wives and mothers, to believe that women are not discriminated against" (p. 195). Although these results are over 30 years old, they offer interesting insights into the dynamics of religion, gender, and feminism.

Whereas some researchers have discussed their findings in broad terms of "religion," others have broken down their results within specific denominations. Lottes and Kuriloff (1992) found that religious affiliation significantly affected four gender role measures, traditional attitudes toward female sexuality, justification of male dominance, attitudes toward feminism, and negative attitudes toward homosexuality. They demonstrated that Jewish participants were least traditional on most of the gender role

measures, while Protestant subjects were most traditional. Mean scores for Catholics fell between the other religions on these scales, but was only significant when compared to Jewish participants on one measure (traditional attitudes toward female sexuality).

Lastly, Wilcox and Jelen (1991) found that religious variables were related to feminism among Evangelical Protestant women and not Catholic women. They also distinguished between “public” feminism (i.e., attitudes toward feminism in business and politics) and “private” feminism (i.e., attitudes toward feminism in home and family life). Their findings suggested that Evangelical women have “adjusted to only the ‘public’ face of their feminist attitudes” (p.169). Somewhat in contrast to the results of these studies, Read (2003) investigated gender role attitudes among Christian and Muslim American women and found that sense of religiosity was more important than religious affiliation. Thus, high levels of religiosity were associated with increased gender traditionalism, but this was more important than affiliation as a Muslim or Christian. Consequently, the results are mixed about the appropriateness of a more general investigation into religiosity versus the more specified denominational approach.

Politics and Attitudes Toward Feminism

Similar to the influence of religion on feminism, political orientation tends to be a variable that affects the study of attitudes toward women. Namely, it is consistently found that those with a liberal political orientation are more likely to identify as feminist (McCabe, 2005; Peltola et al., 2004). McCabe (2005) assessed political orientation in two ways – a political views scale ranging from 1 (extremely liberal) to 7 (extremely conservative) and with identification of a political party (i.e., Republican, Independent/other, Democrat). Those who identified themselves as Republican were less

likely than Democrats to call themselves feminists. Peltola et al. (2004) used a similar scale to measure political ideology (i.e., 7-point scale ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative); they did not ask about party affiliation. Similarly, a liberal political orientation was related to feminist self-identity.

Likewise, Rhodebeck (1996) reported that political liberalism among both men and women was related to feminist orientations. She also noted, "Policy issues come and go, but the evidence presented here indicates that identification with the group for whom these ever-changing issues are important is a durable phenomenon that plays a predictable role in shaping policy preferences" (p. 400). Thus, the impact of politics on feminism is less about specific policies and more about group identification. Brooks and Bolzendahl (2004) suggested that it is egalitarian trends in gender role attitudes that have contributed to significant changes in policies of the United States. Namely, Brooks (2000) found that the behavior of voters was influenced by attitudes toward women's rights. Those who held liberal gender beliefs were more likely to vote for Democratic candidates, in contrast to Republican presidential hopefuls.

Some gender differences have been found between the influence of politics on feminism for men and women. Women are found to be more liberally political on "compassion issues" (e.g., helping the poor, education, health) and on "regulation issues" (e.g., protections of citizens, environment) than men (Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986). The authors noted that the influence of the women's movement may have made these issues more salient for women in comparison to men. Pratto (1996) described how the trend for women to vote for Democratic candidates in higher proportions than men can be explained fully by social dominance orientation (SDO). Specifically, Pratto explains that

SDO, or “the degree of preference for one’s own group to dominate other groups” accounts for the gender differences in voting (p. 184). She outlined a path model that demonstrated how “gender ‘predicted’ SDO and SDO predicted policy attitudes, political ideology, and political party, which in turn predicted voting” (p. 188). Gender and politics appear to be intertwined with each other in a powerful way.

Edlund and Pande (2001) argued that marriage and divorce are key factors in the political differences found between genders. They stated that that gender gap between male and female political views has “become significant to the extent that in the last two elections men and women would have chosen different presidents” (p. 3). Edlund and Pande (2001) found that a higher prevalence of divorce and an increased level of women not marrying widened the gender gap in politics. As women gained financial independence and stability, they began to defend their political interests by voting for Democratic candidates. Thus, men and women appear to have different gender-related agendas that likely influence partisan politics.

Political views do appear to be slightly more influential for men versus women when investigating feminist variables. For instance, Reingold and Foust (1998) found a stronger relationship between men’s feminist consciousness and their ideological beliefs and core political values. In contrast, these variables were important when considering women’s consciousness, but women’s life experiences (e.g., marital status, education) were more significant than men’s. Similarly, views about gender inequality were more highly related to political party and political views for men versus women (McCabe, 2005).

Consistent age differences have not been found in political orientations (Lupfer & Rosenberg, 1983) or have been found to vary only slightly between age groups (Pederson, 1976). Instead, increased age has been associated with higher levels of interest in political issues (Lupfer & Rosenberg, 1983) and identification with one of the major two political parties (Pederson, 1976). With respect to differences between generations, Shapiro and Mahajan (1986) speculated that politics have been more important in the past to women, prior to the impact of the women's movement. There also appear to be some gender differences found in older adults. For example, Flannelly (2002) found an interaction between age and gender when investigating voter behaviors in elections. He discovered that older men were less likely to vote for a female candidate when compared to older women. A similar interaction between younger men and women was not described, indicating that gender may be particularly salient in older groups with respect to women and politics.

Family Influence and Attitudes Toward Feminism

Patterns from the 1960s through the 1990s suggest that there has been a trend in families to endorse most dimensions of gender equality (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Several theories have attempted to explain intergenerational transmission of attitudes and beliefs. In fact, combining a developmental perspective with a competing socialization theory has helped researchers to understand values and beliefs across familial generations (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Miller & Glass, 1989). As explained by Miller and Glass (1989), attitudes of parents and children should converge as time progresses in a developmental perspective, while socialization theory posits a divergence. Conflicting evidence about these theories has been found in both of these

studies. With the developmental theory in particular, Miller and Glass (1989) indicated, their results “raise doubts about the utility of applying developmental psychosocial stages to predict and explain attitude similarity across the life course” (p. 996). Evidence for family socialization during childhood remains strong in the transmission of morality (White, 2000; White & Matawie, 2004) and the development of political beliefs (McDevitt, 2005). In general though, the findings appear to paint a more complex picture than just primary family socialization influencing the development of attitudes.

A life course perspective takes into account the intersection between an individual’s own experiences and their location in social history. This can be defined in many ways; Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain (1997) used status attainment (e.g., social class, education) and family socialization processes. They noted that the interaction between the two can be investigated within the framework of life course perspective, “which focuses on trajectories and transitions in roles and relationships and places them in historical and cultural contexts” (p. 283). This theory appears to be particularly useful when the focus of the research is on a construct that involves a complex interplay between unique individual experiences (e.g., different upbringings in gendered environments, educational attainment) and broader societal events (e.g., the women’s movement, presidential elections). Researchers have used this framework to understand their findings related to parent-child dynamics (Moen et al., 1997) and grandparent-grandchild interactions (Kemp, 2007)

Parent influence. A significant amount of research has investigated the role parents play in the development of their children’s attitudes and beliefs. The acquisition of gender information learned during childhood appears to be important in the formation

of gender role attitudes (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004). Overwhelmingly, researchers choose to look at mothers and their children when exploring the impact of family socialization. Mookherjee (1995) found that college students' attitudes toward women were strongly related, among other variables, to their mothers' religion and education. These findings about attitudes toward feminine roles and their relation to mothers' variables were attributed to the impact of family as the primary socializing agent. Using the life course perspective, Moen et al. (1997) examined the transmission of two gender attitudes (gender role ideology and work role identity) from mothers to daughters. In a longitudinal study, they found that mothers in the 1950s holding egalitarian gender attitudes were more likely to have daughters in the late 1980s with similar egalitarian beliefs. The contribution of childhood socialization processes and life experiences in adulthood (e.g., daughter's own status achievement) was highlighted in the development of future attitudes.

A few studies have been conducted to explore the influence of fathers and mothers in childhood socialization. Kirkpatrick (1936) discovered higher correlations between mothers and children on attitudes towards feminism when compared to father-child correlations. This appears to make sense, given that younger adults and women generally have more egalitarian views. Interestingly, households with increased levels of fathers' presence and decision-making power have been associated with greater anti-egalitarianism in children (Sidanius & Pena, 2003). Children from dual-parent headed households held gender beliefs in between father-headed (least egalitarian) and mother-headed (most egalitarian) families. These effects appear to be consistent across both boys and girls. Similar findings have been found with the impact of parent's education on

children's values and aspirations. Highly educated mothers are associated with daughters who endorse less traditional feminine values, while the opposite is found with highly educated fathers (Hitlin, 2006). Thus, parents appear to influence their children's attitudes and beliefs and the effect of mothers and fathers is different.

Lastly, religion has also been shown to be influenced by family socialization in a few older studies. Namely, a determinant of traditional religiosity in adolescents is the perception of high levels of support from parents (Thomas, Gecas, Weigert, & Rooney, 1974). In contrast, adolescents who are socialized in "low support" family systems generally are least committed to traditional religious ideals. With respect to the effect of family socialization on religion and gender attitudes, Thornton et al. (1983) found that gender-role attitudes in 18-year-olds were affected by mother's religious identification. The distinction was found between Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants; Catholic mothers tend to have more egalitarian youth, while those with fundamentalist mothers held more traditional attitudes. Overall, it appears that parents impart important messages to their children, which in turn influence attitude development. This process seems to occur differently for mothers and fathers with their children.

Grandparent influence. Grandparents have also been found to be influential in their relationship with their grandchildren, more so now than in previous years. This can be attributed to the fact that grandparents are healthier and living longer, they have more access to transportation, and negative stereotypes about older adults appear to be changing for the better (Uhlenberg & Kirby, 1998). When asked, grandchildren report that they perceive their grandparents to be influential in their value development (Roberto & Stroes, 1992).

Interestingly, Roberto and Stroes (1992) found that grandmothers are perceived by grandchildren to impact their value development more than grandfathers. Grandmothers had the greatest influence on values such as “family ideals, personal identity, and religious beliefs;” areas defined by the authors as associated with a “women’s realm of knowledge” (p. 237). Grandmothers are also reported to have a stronger relationship with their grandchildren, regardless of gender (Eisenberg, 1988; Roberto & Stroes, 1992). Maternal grandmothers, in particular, appear to be consistently preferred (Eisenberg, 1988; Holladay, Denton, Harding, Lee, Lackovich, & Coleman, 1997). Holladay et al. (1997) expanded these findings by elucidating the factors influencing closeness as shaped by parental mediation of the relationship. They found that “visits along with grandmothers, the absence of criticism of grandmothers, communication indicating the grandmothers were important persons, and less influence on conversations or activities” affected granddaughter’s relationships (p. 23). Thus, parents act as gatekeepers for the amount of influence that a grandparent is able to have on their grandchild.

A few studies have combined three generations in their research on attitudes and values. Miller and Glass (1989) looked at attitude similarity in grandparents, parents, and grandchildren for religious, political, and gender variables. Their findings suggested that attitudes diverged over time in the older parent-child dyad (e.g., grandparents and parents), while attitudes remained stable between the younger dyad (e.g., parents and grandchildren). Miller and Glass (1989) attributed these findings to period effects (e.g., women’s movement) and developmental trajectories (i.e., maybe attitudes begin to diverge in the adult child’s midlife). Sabatier and Lannegrand-Willems (2005)

investigated the transmission of values in French families and found an indirect influence of grandparents on grandchildren. In other words, mothers directly influenced their children, while grandmothers indirectly impacted grandchildren by influencing mothers.

Also looking at three generations, Glass et al. (1986) discovered that when social status was controlled for, grandparents predicted parents' scores on three attitude scales (gender, religion, politics) less well than parents' predicted college-aged children's scores. Looking at the younger dyad in more detail, parents' views on religious and political ideology were more predictive for children than their attitudes reflected on a gender scale. Attitudes about gender were still predictive, but less so than the other variables. In fact, it appeared that gender ideology was "upwardly transmitted" throughout the generations, with parents being influenced by children in both dyads. Glass et al. (1986) found several interesting differences between the dyad generations, but unfortunately, they did not investigate the influence of grandparents on grandchildren. Overall, their results suggest that parental views continue to influence young adult children's attitudes after childhood. More information is necessary to understand the impact of grandparents on children, especially with respect to gender attitudes.

Purpose of the Present Study

Given the wealth of research on feminism, this study served to investigate several variables that have been shown to be influential, and to determine their level of prediction in a current older and younger adult population. Increased knowledge about which variables influence feminism is critical to furthering the understanding of why people hold certain beliefs, especially in a time where many believe that there is no need for a

women's movement. It is also imperative to shed more light on areas of feminism that have limited research, such as family influence and generational differences. This study is unique because it incorporated several variables found to be influential with respect to attitudes towards feminism and looked at them simultaneously in both older and younger adults.

The purpose of this study was to investigate attitudes toward feminism in a related younger and older adult population. Three main areas of interest were explored. The first was to investigate group differences on variables that have been found to be related to attitudes toward feminism in younger adults and older adults. This study incorporated variables of interest from past studies (e.g., religion, gender, education, political affiliation, attitudes toward feminism) and explored their differences between the two populations.

Secondly, this study examined what variables predicted attitudes toward feminism in both a young adult and an older adult population. As religion, gender, political affiliation, and education have been found to be important predictors in the past, it was necessary to determine whether this held true in both young and older adults. This study also sought to explore what variables are most predictive for each age group, something which has never been completed.

Finally, this study investigated the importance of family socialization on feminist attitudes. Research in the past has pointed to the importance of childhood socialization, but has not specifically explored feminist attitudes. This study also included variables related to feminism for both the younger adult and their older adult family member. As

the present study involved some parents and some grandparents, which relatives exerted the most influence on their young relative was examined.

Hypotheses

In this study, five major hypotheses were investigated. The first hypothesis was that older adults would be more conservative on the feminism, religion, and political orientation measures than younger adults; overall, men would be more conservative than women. The second hypothesis was that religiosity, political orientation, and gender would be predictive of attitudes towards feminism in younger adults. Similarly, the third hypothesis was that religiosity, political orientation, gender, and education would be predictive of attitudes towards feminism in older adults. The fourth hypothesis was that within a family dyad, the older adult relatives' attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, political orientation, and their gender would predict above and beyond the young adults' variables in predicting attitudes towards feminism. Lastly, it was hypothesized that as a whole, parents' attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, political orientation, and their education level would be better predictors of the young adults' attitudes towards feminism than grandparents' beliefs.

Method

Participants

This study was part of a larger research project investigating many aspects of feminism in older and younger adults. Out of this larger project, 245 students who participated to earn credits for their Introduction to Psychology course at Colorado State University were selected because they were linked to an older relative. The young adults ranged in age from 18 to 26 (mean = 19.0, SD = 1.3). The ages for the older adult relatives ranged from 50 to 87 (mean = 64.6, SD = 10.5). One hundred and six relatives identified themselves as parents (68 mothers, 38 fathers), and 139 self-identified as grandparents (114 grandmothers, 25 grandfathers). Overall, the sample was 70% female and 30% male. Participants in this study were predominantly White, Non-Hispanic (88%). See Table 1 for more demographic information.

Instruments

A similar, but different, questionnaire packet was used for both the younger and older adults. The packet contained a demographic questionnaire, a religious orientation scale, a political affiliation scale, and the FWM.

Demographic questionnaire. This series of questions was similar for younger and older adults. Questions were asked about gender, age, ethnicity, and education. For the older adults, information about their relationship to the student was added (i.e., mother, father, grandmother, grandfather). Older adults were also given a wider educational span

to choose from (e.g., elementary school to graduate degree); young adults in college chose from a more restricted range (e.g., some college to graduate degree).

Religious orientation. This construct was measured using eight items adapted from the Springfield Religiousness Scale (SRS), assessing the influence and experience of faith for each individual (Koenig, Smiley, & Gonzales, 1988). These items incorporated seven items from Hoge's (1972) Intrinsic Religious Motivation Scale. This scale asks participants to rate their feelings about concepts such as faith, religion, God, and the Divine. Given the nature of the questions, this measure fits most with a "big R" understanding of religiosity (one where there is a "recognizable historical Religion"); though participants were given no information about what "religion" in the measure meant (Clayton & Gladden, 1974). Thus, participants were able to assign their own meaning to the word and concept.

Political affiliation. Participants were asked to define their political beliefs out of three options (i.e., more liberal, more conservative, neither).

Attitudes toward feminism. The Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) scale provided a brief measure of affective attitudes toward the feminist movement (Fassinger, 1994). Participants responded to 10-items on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "not sure/no opinion" to "strongly agree." The scale was designed and validated for a college aged population; further research is needed to assess its validity in older adults. During the design of the study, 10 items were found to discriminate between those endorsing profeminist beliefs and those endorsing antifeminist attitudes. Four items represent unfavorable attitudes toward

feminism and are reverse-scored. Thus, a high score on the FWM represents favorable attitudes toward feminism.

Scores on the FWM have been shown to be reliable and valid (Fassinger, 1994). Fassinger (1994) found the internal consistency of the measure was found to be quite high, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .899 for men, .865 for women, and .890 for the entire sample. All individual item total correlations were above .60. Convergent validity was found with three other scales about feminism, the AWS (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973), the Attitudes Toward Feminism Scale (FEM; Smith et al., 1975), and the Gender Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES-BB; King & King, 1990). Evidence to demonstrate divergent validity was also found, suggesting that the FWM does not measure things such as personal gender role characteristics and dogmatism and is not susceptible to social desirability influences. Thus, there is high construct validity that the FWM is measuring profeminist attitudes and favorability toward the women's movement.

Procedure

College students in Introductory Psychology courses signed up to participate in the study and receive course credit. Questionnaire packets were handed out in groups ranging from 20 to 50 students by members of the research team. Code numbers were used to make each packet of information anonymous and to provide a link to the older adult relative. After completing the packet, students addressed an envelope provided by the researchers and signed their name to a cover letter sent to the older relative. The code number assigned to the young adult packet was also put on the questionnaire to the older adults, ensuring that the information would be linked, but would remain anonymous.

Members of the research team then sent a cover letter, questionnaire packet, and self-addressed and stamped return envelope in the envelope addressed by each student. When the completed packets were received back in the mail, any identifying information (e.g., if participants added their return address to the envelope) was discarded. There was a 73% return rate for the older adult packets.

Results

The present study explored attitudes toward feminism in younger and older adults. Religiosity, political orientation, gender, education, and familial relationship were examined to explore their relationship to attitudes towards feminism. Table 2 provides the overall average responses, standard deviations, and reliability information for each measure used in this study, as well as the summaries for each age group.

Scores on the measures demonstrated high levels of reliability in this sample. Several variables were found to be highly correlated with each other; Table 3 presents the intercorrelations for each variable.

Significant correlations between the two age groups differed. For example, for older adults only, attitudes towards feminism was positively correlated with religiosity. Gender was negatively correlated with attitudes towards feminism in younger adults (i.e., being male was associated with lower attitudes towards feminism) while it was positively correlated with religion in the older population (i.e., being male was associated with a lower level of religiosity). Because educational attainment did not vary greatly in the younger adults, this variable was of primary interest for the older adults. Education was negatively correlated with political orientation and age, thus indicating that a higher level of schooling was associated with more liberal politics and a younger age. Higher education was also significantly correlated with being male.

Transformation

The religiosity scale was recoded, so that the “not sure” option was assigned the value of three instead of five. All measures were tested for normality. The religiosity scale was found to have a negative kurtosis, indicating a relatively flat distribution of scores. A reciprocal transformation was applied to normalize the distribution. Item 3 (“Although I am a religious person, I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs”) in the religiosity scale was found to have a very low Corrected Item-Total Correlation (-0.12), as compared to the other items (average of 0.84). Deleting this item increased the alpha level of the religiosity scale by 0.04. Lastly, participants’ education was recoded, due to a restriction of range, and collapsed into three categories (i.e., middle to high school, some college to associate’s degree, bachelor’s to graduate degree) instead of the original six (i.e., middle school/junior high, high school, some college/no degree, associate’s degree, bachelor’s degree, graduate degree).

Are Older Adults More Conservative than Younger Adults?

Paired *t*-tests were utilized for Hypothesis one to determine whether adults scores on the feminism, religiosity, and political orientation measures significantly differed from the related younger adults scores. Statistical significance was found for all three measures, indicating that older adults tended to be more conservative, when compared to younger adults; thus supporting Hypothesis one.

Attitudes toward feminism and the women’s movement.

Younger adults scores on the FWM ($M = 4.58, SD = 0.86$) were compared to their related older adults scores ($M = 4.33, SD = 0.98$) using a two-tailed paired *t*-test. The comparison was statistically significant ($t(170) = 2.61, p < .05$). Thus, both groups scored

near the “not sure” middle range of the scale, but younger adults endorsed a significantly higher level of feminism. An independent samples *t*-test was used to compare younger adult women’s ($M = 4.80, SD = 0.82$) and older adult women’s ($M = 4.41, SD = 1.00$) attitudes towards feminism. The comparison was statistically significant ($t(335) = 3.87, p < .05$), indicating that younger women endorsed more favorable attitudes towards feminism. With respect to men, the comparison of younger adults ($M = 4.25, SD = 0.85$) to older adults ($M = 4.38, SD = 1.05$) was not significant ($t(144) = -0.85, p > .05$), and the mean values were not in the expected direction.

Within each age group, scores on the FWM were compared between genders. The comparison of young adult women ($M = 4.80, SD = 0.82$) to young adult men ($M = 4.24, SD = 0.85$) was statistically significant ($t(242) = 4.92, p < .05$), indicating that younger women endorsed more favorable attitudes towards feminism than their male peers. In contrast, older adult women ($M = 4.41, SD = 1.00$) were not significantly different from older adult men ($M = 4.38, SD = 1.05; t(240) = 2.10, p > .05$).

Religiosity.

Scores were also compared to investigate levels of religiosity (non-transformed scale scores were used for these analyses). Younger adults scores ($M = 3.32, SD = 1.26$) were compared to older adults scores ($M = 2.19, SD = 1.09$) using a two-tailed paired *t*-test, with an alpha value of 0.05. The comparison was statistically significant ($t(137) = 9.24, p < .05$). A higher score on the religiosity scale indicated a lower level of religiosity endorsement; overall younger adults described themselves as less religious than their older adult relatives. To investigate further, an independent samples *t*-test was used to compare younger adult women’s ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.33$) and older adult women’s ($M =$

2.18, $SD = 1.07$) religiosity. The comparison was statistically significant ($t(338) = 8.33$, $p < .05$), demonstrating that younger women considered themselves to be less religious. With respect to men, the comparison of younger adults ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.33$) to older adults ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.33$) was also significant ($t(145) = 2.31$, $p < .05$) and showed the same pattern as found in younger women. Thus, both younger women and men described themselves as less religious when compared to older adults of both genders.

Within each age group, scores on the religiosity scale were compared between genders. The comparison of young adult women ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.33$) to young adult men ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.33$) was not statistically significant ($t(243) = -0.42$, $p > .05$). In contrast, older adult women ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.07$) were significantly more religious than older adult men ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.33$; ($t(240) = -3.87$, $p < .05$).

Political orientation.

Political orientation was also found to be statistically different between the two age groups. Using a two-tailed paired t -test, with an alpha value of 0.05, younger adults scores ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.03$) were compared to older adults scores ($M = 2.12$, $SD = 0.92$). The comparison was statistically significant ($t(170) = -3.43$, $p < .05$). There were three options for political orientation; selecting a higher number indicated a leaning towards conservative views. Thus, older adults endorsed a significantly higher level of political conservatism. Interestingly, both means fall closest to the middle option on the scale, "neither". An independent samples t -test was used to compare younger adult women's ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 1.05$) and older adult women's ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 0.92$) political orientation. The comparison was statistically significant ($t(335) = -2.80$, $p < .05$), demonstrating that younger women considered themselves to be more liberal politically.

With respect to men, the comparison of younger adults ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 0.95$) to older adults ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 0.93$) was not significant ($t(144) = -0.76$, $p > .05$).

Political orientation scores were also compared between genders within each age group. The comparison of young adult women ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 1.06$) to young adult men ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 0.95$) was not statistically significant ($t(243) = -0.63$, $p > .05$). Similarly, the political orientation of older adult women ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 0.92$) was not significantly different from that of older adult men ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 0.93$; $t(236) = 0.70$, $p > .05$).

What Predicts Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults?

Hierarchical linear regression was used to test whether religiosity and political orientation were predictive of attitudes towards feminism in younger adults above and beyond gender for Hypothesis two. As shown in Table 4, gender and political orientation were the statistically significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis, partially supporting Hypothesis two. Higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with being female and having a more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 17% of the variance; $F(3, 240) = 16.3$, $p < .01$.

What Predicts Attitudes Towards Feminism in Older Adults?

Hierarchical linear regression was used to test whether religiosity and political orientation were predictive of attitudes towards feminism in older adults above and beyond gender and education for Hypothesis three. As shown in Table 5, religiosity and political orientation were the statistically significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis, thus partially supporting Hypothesis three. Higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with lower levels of religiosity

endorsement and having a more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 21% of the variance; $F(4, 223) = 14.6, p < .01$.

Does Adding a Family Member's Variables Add Additional Prediction for Young Adults?

Hierarchical linear regression was used to investigate Hypothesis four. This hypothesis asked whether, within a family dyad, if certain older adult relatives' variables (attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, political orientation, gender, education, relationship) would predict above and beyond the younger adults' variables (religiosity, political orientation, gender) for their attitudes toward feminism. As shown by Table 6, younger adult gender and political orientation were the statistically significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis. Adding the older adult relatives' variables did not increase prediction; Hypothesis four was not supported. The same results as Hypothesis two were found; higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with being female and having a more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 18% of the variance; $F(9, 215) = 5.35, p < .01$.

Are Parents' Variables Better Predictors than Grandparents?

Two hierarchical linear regressions were conducted to investigate Hypothesis five. First, the contribution of parental influence was explored by determining whether parental variables (attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, political orientation, gender, education, relationship, gender) predicted young adult attitudes towards feminism above and beyond their own variables (religiosity, political orientation, gender). As shown by Table 7, younger adult gender and political orientation were the statistically significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis. Adding the parental

variables did not increase prediction – in fact it decreased predictive ability. Thus, this part of hypothesis five was not supported. Again, the same results as Hypothesis two were found; higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with being female and having a more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 24% of the variance; $F(9, 88) = 3.12, p < .01$.

To explore further, an analysis was conducted to investigate whether mothers, in particular, predicted young adult attitudes towards feminism above and beyond their own variables. As shown by Table 8, this was not the case. No variables were found to be significant predictors in the final step. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 25% of the variance; $F(7, 55) = 2.63, p < .05$.

Secondly, to explore whether grandparents' variables contributed to predictive ability above and beyond the young adults' variables, another hierarchical regression was conducted. The same variables were entered into the model; for grandparents these were attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, political orientation, gender, education, relationship and gender. The young adult variables were religiosity, political orientation and gender. As shown by Table 9, younger adult gender and political orientation were the statistically significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis. Adding the grandparents' variables did not increase prediction; this part of hypothesis five was also not supported. As reported earlier, the same results as Hypothesis two were found; higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with being female and having a more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 17% of the variance; $F(8, 118) = 3.01, p < .01$.

Again, to explore further, an analysis was conducted to investigate whether grandmothers, in particular, predicted young adult attitudes towards feminism above and beyond their own variables. As shown by Table 10, this was not the case. Only the young adult's gender was found to be a significant predictor in the final step. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 21% of the variance; $F(7, 95) = 3.70, p < .01$.

Given that an upwards transmission of values from children to older adults has been seen in the past, an exploratory analysis was conducted to determine if young adults' information would add predictive influence to older adults in the present study. First, a hierarchical regression was conducted to investigate whether young adults' variables contributed to the ability to predict parent's attitudes towards feminism above and beyond the older adults' variables. The young adult variables entered into the model were religiosity, political orientation, gender, and attitudes towards feminism. For parents, the variables entered were religiosity, political orientation, gender, and education. As shown by Table 11, parents' religiosity, political orientation, and education were significant predictors. Interestingly, younger adults' political orientation was also a statistically significant predictor of parental attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis. Specifically, higher levels of parental attitudes toward feminism were associated with lower levels of parental religiosity endorsement, a more liberal political orientation, higher education, and having a child with more liberal political orientation. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 56% of the variance; $F(8, 89) = 14.27, p < .01$.

Secondly, a hierarchical regression was conducted to investigate whether young adults' variables contributed to the ability to predict grandparent's attitudes towards feminism above and beyond the older adults' variables. The young adult variables entered into the model were religiosity, political orientation, gender, and attitudes towards feminism. For grandparents, the variables entered were religiosity, political orientation, gender, and education. As shown by Table 12, grandparents' political orientation and younger adults' political orientation were both statistically significant predictors of grandparental attitudes towards feminism in the regression analysis. Specifically, higher levels of grandparental attitudes toward feminism were associated with a more liberal political orientation in both the grandparent and the grandchild. All variables entered in the regression equation accounted for 17% of the variance; $F(8, 118) = 2.92, p < .01$.

Discussion

This study sought to understand the impact of religiosity, political orientation, gender, education, and family on feminism in related older and younger adults. Currently, it appears that the role of feminism and the women's movement is ambiguous, as many young adults do not associate themselves with the term, yet believe in equal rights (Buschman, & Lenart, 1996). Thus, it is imperative to determine what predicts attitudes towards feminism currently in both younger and older adult populations, in order to ultimately work towards furthering our understanding of the contemporary concept and role of feminism. The results of the present study suggest that older adults were more conservative than younger adults on the attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, and political orientation measures. Gender and political orientation were significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism for young adults, while religiosity and political orientation predicted older adults' views. Looking at the influence between the generations, it was found that older adults' attitudes and demographic information was not associated with younger adults' attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement when the young adults' variables were controlled. In contrast, young adults' political views were associated with older adults' attitudes towards feminism when the older adults' variables were controlled.

Conservatism

Consistent with previous research (Huddy et al., 2000; Nelson, 1988; Spence & Helmreich, 1979; Thornton et al., 1983; Truett, 1992), young adults were less conservative on the attitudes towards feminism, religiosity, and political orientation measures than their related older adults. On the attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement scale, young adults endorsed significantly higher levels of feminism than older adults; both populations scored between the "Not Sure/No Opinion" and "Slightly Agree" options of the scale. It appears that, regardless of gender, younger adults are more willing to agree with positive responses about feminism and the women's movement. Given that generations likely internalize the women's movement differently, based on their developmental stage when events occur (Zucker & Stewart, 2007), it makes sense that younger adults might be socialized to align with statements that promote gender equality. Although young adults did not experience the women's movement of the 1960's like the older adults, they have grown up in a country that is likely more accepting of women's rights than ever before. In contrast, older adults who probably experienced varying degrees of the women's movement (i.e., active participation to generally unaware), might attribute less positive feelings towards feminism and the women's movement. For example, older adults might believe that the women's movement was too radical, or that the movement lost its influence and power.

Similar to the results found by Thornton et al., (1983) and Dambrot et al., (1984), young adult women were also significantly more liberal in their attitudes towards feminism than older adult women. No such generational gap was found between younger and older adult men. Interestingly, a gender gap was only found between younger adult

men and younger adult women; younger women in this study endorsed significantly more positive views towards feminism and the women's movement. This fits with the literature that finds men consistently endorse less liberal beliefs about attitudes towards women than females (Luo & Thorpe, 1998; Nelson, 1988); yet it was only found in younger men in this study. It may be that because younger women are so much more liberal than any other group, the gender difference is only found in this young cohort and between women. Given that women in the younger generation have more opportunity (e.g., education, occupational prospects) than ever before, it is likely that this is why they are more liberal than any other group they were compared to in the study. Studies that have not teased apart age, might miss the generational differences found between older and younger populations and between women specifically.

Despite the conflicting evidence found about the stability of religiosity across age (Peacock & Poloma, 1998; Seifert, 2002), young adults' and older adults' views in the present study suggest that older adults are more religious than young adults. Scores indicated that both generations are religious, but that young adults are significantly less so. More specifically, young adults scored closest to the "Tends not to be true of me" option on the scale, while older adults placed themselves on the "Tends to be true of me" item. Breaking the age groups down further between genders, both males and females in the young adult group were significantly less religious than both genders in the older adult group. Interestingly, a gender difference between levels of religiosity was only found in the older adult cohort. Specifically, older adult women endorsed a significantly higher level of religiosity than older adult men. This is consistent with past research that finds older men to be "irreligious" compared to women; and more specifically that

masculine values can deter one from pursuing religious endeavors (Thompson & Remmes, 2002).

Although previous findings have not found reliable age differences between political orientations (Lupfer & Rosenberg, 1983), the findings of the present study suggest that older adults were significantly more conservative politically. The means of both groups were very close to each other and fell closest to the “Neither” option, demonstrating that overall, older adults are different, but not radically dissimilar, in their level of conservative endorsement. Younger adult women were also more politically liberal than older adult women. No differences in political orientation were seen between men and women in the younger and older adult cohorts.

It is interesting to note that across the three measures (feminism, religiosity, political orientation), only the difference between younger adult women and older adult women was consistently significant. This difference was found between the two generations of men only on the religiosity scale. Younger adult women and older adult women differed on all three measures, while the three other comparison groups (i.e., young adult women and men, young adult men and older adult men, and older adult men and women) only differed on one measure (see Figure 1).

As demonstrated by Figure 1, it is clear that young adult women are much different from older adult women, especially when compared to the generational differences between men. Given that society has likely changed more for women than men in the last few decades, these results make sense. Specifically, expectations for men (e.g., beliefs about type of occupation, power, role in society) have likely not changed as drastically as they have for women. With the advent of the women’s movement, women

became freer to believe and act upon a wider spectrum of beliefs. Thus, the movement that younger women could make on measures such as feminism, religiosity, and political orientation is likely greater than what could occur for men. This might be reflected by the large difference seen between females and the smaller difference seen between males. Also, there has been a rapid increase in women's educational attainment. In 1950, 36% of women 25 years and older had a high school degree or higher; in 2000, this number jumped to 81% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Research shows that education is generally liberalizing (Bryant, 2003; McCabe, 2005; Thornton & Freedman, 1979); thus as women have attained higher levels of schooling, there is likely more differences that will be visible between the generations of women. Similarly, women also participated more in the workforce. In 1950 40% of women (aged 16 and up) worked; this number jumped to 60% in 1998 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000). This difference in labor participation is another example of the changes that have occurred for younger generations of women that have likely produced liberalizing effects.

Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults

Results of this study suggest that gender and political orientation were significant predictors of attitudes towards feminism in younger adults. Thus, higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were associated with being female and having a more liberal political orientation. These results are consistent with past literature that has found women to hold more liberal beliefs about attitudes towards women than men (Luo & Thorpe, 1998; Nelson, 1988). Likewise, McCabe (2005) and Peltola et al. (2004) found that feminist identification was associated with a more liberal political orientation. These

findings are consistent with this study; endorsing more of a liberal political view predicted favorable attitudes towards feminism.

Unlike Tavis (1973) who found that increased levels of religiosity were associated with less favorable attitudes towards the women's movement, the results of this study suggested no predictive relationship when gender and political orientation were controlled. For young adults, the level of religiosity endorsed did not appear to influence attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement. Tavis' study occurred over 30 years ago, which likely impacted the difference in results. Also, Tavis' study used a sample of adults of many different ages; thus it might be something specific to college aged students that negates religiosity's predictive abilities. Given that young adults in this study were significantly less religious than the older adults, it appears that religiosity is not a guiding force when it comes to attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement. It also may be that the young adult population might have endorsed stronger views about "spirituality" rather than "religion". Future studies should investigate spirituality and its effect on feminism.

Attitudes Towards Feminism in Older Adults

Similar to younger adults, endorsing a more liberal political orientation predicted more positive attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement in the older adult population. In contrast to the younger cohort, higher levels of attitudes toward feminism were also associated with lower levels of religiosity endorsement. This finding about religiosity is consistent with past research that has found that those who consider themselves to be highly religious have less egalitarian views on feminism and women's social roles (Blanchard-Fields et al., 2001; Bryant, 2003; Etaugh, 1975; Read, 2003;

Tavris, 1973). It is interesting to note that religiosity was only found to predict attitudes toward feminism in older adults. It might be that this construct is more salient for an older population, or that it is more closely linked to other social views such as gender and women's roles.

Education was not a significant predictor for older adults. This is likely because there was not a wide range of education held by the older adults in this study. Most participants fell within the bachelor's degree range. Fewer than one percent endorsed less than a high school degree, while only 14.7% reported that they held a graduate degree. Given that past research (McCabe, 2005; Schnittker et al., 2003) has found a relationship only between extreme differences in educational levels (e.g., no high school diploma versus graduate degree), it makes sense that no significant relationship was found in this study.

Unlike the younger adults, gender was not a significant predictor of attitudes towards feminism when education, religiosity, and political orientation were controlled. Given the lack of gender differences between older adult men and older adult women on each of the individual measures, it makes sense that gender did not contribute any predictive ability towards attitudes towards feminism. A difference between men and women was only found with respect to the religiosity measure, indicating that older adults were very similar on most of their attitudes and beliefs in this study.

Family Influence

Previous research has indicated that both parents and grandparents exert influence on children and grandchildren. Results from this study did not support the hypotheses that the ability to predict young adults' attitudes towards feminism would be enhanced by

incorporating the family attitudes and beliefs. Across all three analyses (looking at variables of all older adults, parents in particular, and grandparents specifically) no significant predictive influence was seen. Instead, the younger adult variables (i.e., gender and political orientation) continued to be the strongest indicators of whether one would endorse positive views towards feminism and the women's movement. It could be that by controlling for both the younger and older adult variables contributed to a lack of findings

Considering that mothers and grandmothers have been found to be particularly influential on their children and grandchildren (Eisenberg, 1988; Mookherjee, 1995; Roberto & Stoes, 1992), more analyses were conducted to delve further into the question of family influence. Interestingly, neither mothers' nor grandmothers' information contributed any predictive value to the model, demonstrating that even when narrowed to its most influential level, adding this information did not increase the ability to predict above and beyond the young adult's information.

It might be that family does not impact young adults' attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement. It might also be that the nature of college life offers an insular environment in which students begin to question and adopt new views from those in their family upbringing. A vast amount of research has been conducted on the liberalizing effect of college courses and women's studies classes in particular (Aronson, 2003; Bryant, 2003; Stake, 2007). Using the life course perspective as a model to understand this dynamic, perhaps it is this intersection between unique individual experiences (e.g., college experiences, gender, peers) and broader societal events (e.g., political climate, women in the news) that contributes to the lack of family influence

seen. As such, perhaps when an individual's experiences draw more from family (such as in high school, or if the student is living at home while attending college) than from college, a different type of influence (which is more salient) occurs.

Are Younger Adults' Views Associated with Older Adults' Views?

Most developmental theories assume a one-direction model of child socialization from parent to child. A small body of literature highlights the importance of considering family influence from a bidirectional point of view. Kuczynski, Marshall, and Schell (1997) outlined a bidirectional model that suggested that children are active agents who have a considerable amount of power to influence their parents' internalization of attitudes and values. More specifically, Glass et al. (1986) found "upward transmission" of gender ideology from children to parents. Likewise, similar findings on child influence have been discovered with attitudes towards cohabitation (Axinn & Thorton, 1993), religion, and technology (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

In the present study, adding older adults' information did not help predict younger adults' attitudes towards feminism. In fact, contrary to expectations, the reverse was found. Specifically, higher levels of parental attitudes toward feminism were predicted by parental attitudes (i.e., lower levels of religiosity endorsement, more liberal political orientation, higher education) and having a child with more liberal political orientation. A similar finding was also found for grandparents. Higher levels of grandparental attitudes toward feminism were associated with a more liberal political orientation in both the grandparent and the grandchild.

It appears that the presence of a politically liberal young adult in the family contributes to more positive attitudes towards feminism in older adults. Because this is a

cross-sectional study, it cannot be determined whether the young adults influence the older adults' attitudes; but this does suggest that politically liberal young adults are associated with more liberal attitudes in parents and grandparents. It may be that young adults' variables contributed above and beyond the older adults' variables in an "upward" direction in this study because of the interaction between the feminism and political orientation variables.

From a life course perspective, perhaps older adults' unique experiences (such as having a politically liberal child) might be intersecting in a powerful way with current social events (such as having a woman campaign seriously for president). Pinquart and Silbereisen (2004) discussed how transmission of values is affected by the salience of topics and the motivation to discuss issues. Data collection occurred beginning in February of 2007; a time when presidential campaigning was become more relevant. Although there is no way to tell with the design of the current study, perhaps politics and women's issues have been more prominent of late and have created more family discussions. Given that several politically radical notions have been explored in the United States recently (i.e., the possibility of a woman or African American president), this might have led to discussions in families where more liberal young adults talked about their views to their parents and grandparents. Consequently, politics and feminism might have become more salient and older adults might have internalized some of the attitudes of their young adult relative.

Society has become steadily more liberal on several issues as time has passed. In this study, young adults were born at a time that was probably much more liberal than the time period in which their parents or grandparents were born. Thus, there is much more

room for older adults to move in a liberal direction (and be influenced by their younger relatives) than there is for younger adults to be influenced by older adults. In other words, there might be less difference between younger adults' attitudes towards feminism and "societies" attitudes towards feminism, which would have allowed for less predictive ability to be seen from older relatives. This might have contributed to the lack of findings found for older adults' influence on younger adults.

Limitations

Several limitations of this study should be noted. Because of the cross-sectional design, it is impossible to determine whether familial attitudes and beliefs influenced others; rather this methodology allows for important predictors to be examined without causal implications. Also, more information about the family relationship would have contributed to a greater understanding of the findings. For example, the closeness felt between the younger and older adults was unknown, as was the amount of time they spent together, and the discussions they had. Knowing this information would have contributed to the understanding of what contributes to family influence. The surveys also did not ask why young adults chose to send the surveys to a particular family member; there might be something about those who were picked and returned the surveys that is different (e.g., reliability, salience of relationship to student). Likewise, there might be something that is different about a group of college students who choose to complete a study about feminism. They may have stronger views towards the subject than the general student population.

Lastly, the current measure of attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement may not have captured the complexities of feminism and what it means to

support or not support the women's movement. Some participants might not have known what was meant by the "women's movement" in the questions; whether that meant the women's movement in the sixties, the current movement, or a combination of the two.

Future Research

This study provided a snapshot of what is associated with younger and older adults' attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement. Future research should use a longitudinal design to determine whether family members are influencing each other over time. Variables investigating the quality and quantity of time, such as closeness, time spent together, and topics of discussion, should be measured to further elucidate the concept of influence. Given that older adult variables did not add predictive value to younger adults' views towards feminism and the women's movement, it would be interesting to see if the same thing occurs for children. Because a college environment provides a place away from family, the contribution of familial values might be less. It would be interesting to see if family variables are stronger predictors for middle school and high school-aged young adults.

As noted previously, the variable of religiosity should be expanded upon in future studies to include a spirituality component. Younger adults may resonate more with this concept, which might lead to more information given about how faith might be impacting attitudes towards feminism. It would also be interesting to see how older adults would understand the concept of spirituality and its effects on feminism.

Given that education was so restricted in range in this study, future research should attempt to use participants with a broader range of educational attainment. More extreme differences might allow for the association between education and attitudes

towards feminism that have been found in previous research. Similarly, this study should be replicated with a sample containing greater ethnic diversity. Given the tension between ethnic majority and minority groups during the women's movement of the sixties and seventies, a range of ethnicities various views on the current experience of the movement and attitudes toward women. Lastly, a qualitative component in future research about feminism would allow for participants to speak to what the concept means to them in their current lives. This would allow for the idea of feminism and the women's movement to be continually re-defined to fit into a contemporary understanding.

Summary

Overall, results demonstrate that younger adults are more liberal than older adults in their political orientation, religiosity, and attitudes towards women. Young women, in particular, are significantly more liberal on all the measures when compared to older women, suggesting that significant differences are present between these generations of women. Lastly, older adults' attitudes towards feminism and the women's movement are associated with younger adults' political views. Bi-directional models of feminist socialization should be further investigated.

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Appendix A

**Older Adult Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Colorado State University**

**TITLE OF RESEARCH: Attitudes toward women and women's roles in society:
The influence of gender, religious affiliation and political identification**

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: TAMMI VACHA-HAASE, PH.D.

CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: LAURA BURLINGAME-LEE, M.S.

In case of questions, concerns or comments, please contact:

Laura Burlingame-Lee, M.S. at 970-669-6267 (bostonlj@lamar.colostate.edu)

Tammi Vacha-Haase, Ph.D. at 491-5729 (tvh@lamar.colostate.edu).

If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact:
Janell Meldrem, Human Research Administrator, at 970-491-1655.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH? The purpose of this study is to learn more about opinions concerning women's status in society. We are interested in updating the research on college students and adding to the information from an older adult (50 years of age or more) perspective. We are also interested in continuing research about views on feminism. We want to know if religion, politics, age, and gender influence opinions toward women.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO? There are two parts to this study. In the first part, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire about your attitudes on topics such as religion, politics, and feminism. If you decide to participate in the second part of the study, you will be asked to provide the name and address of a family member over the age of 50. You will write an assigned code number on a survey packet to be sent to your family member. A copy of a letter explaining the study, a questionnaire, and a return-addressed envelope will be sent to the person to whom you address the envelope for mailing. If that person agrees to participate, he/she will complete and return the questionnaire. When a questionnaire with your code number is received, you will be credited with an additional research credit.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY I SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH? There are no medical or physical requirements for this study. In order to participate, you and your family member must be able to understand the questions and how they respond to those questions.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS? There are no known risks associated with this procedure. **It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.** The questionnaire is a self-report of common feelings, thoughts and behaviors, are anonymous and voluntary, and may be terminated at any time.

WILL I BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH? There are no individual benefits to you that will be gained from taking part in this project. You will gain one (1) research credit for filling out your own questionnaire, and one (1) additional research credit when the completed questionnaire is received from your family member. Through this study you can get a maximum of two (2) research credits.

CONFIDENTIALITY: You will be assigned an anonymous numeric code that will be kept separately from any identifying information, except for the master list which will be maintained in a secured location until after the completion of the Fall semester, when it will be shredded. No names will be used for either you or your family member; only a code number is used to match your questionnaire with your family member's. You can be assured that any information gathered during this study will be kept confidential within legal limits. Findings will be reported in group form and no identifying information of research participants will be included in any resulting publications, presentations, or other professional communication of study findings.

LIABILITY: Colorado Governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed with 180 days of the injury.

PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in this study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Justification for Waiving a Signed Informed Consent Sheet:

This study uses a questionnaire. The questions asked pose minimal risk. The main possible risk is being embarrassed if potentially controversial views were linked with your specific answers. By waiving the signed informed consent sheet, there is no way to link any identifying information with the answers you or your family members provided. You and your family members should know that your participation at all times is voluntary, and you may discontinue their participation at any time.

Than you for your help and participation!

Appendix B

**Older Adult Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Colorado State University**

_____, a current student in the course Introduction to Psychology, has identified you as someone they would like to invite to participate in a research project at Colorado State University. The student has identified you as a family member and has given permission for you to receive this packet and to participate in this research. If you agree to participate, you will complete the enclosed questionnaire, which is almost identical to the one he/she completed. You are under no obligation to participate, but if you do, the student will receive one additional research credit for Introductory Psychology (PY 100).

Please look through the questionnaire and decide if you are willing to complete it. It takes most people about 20 to 30 minutes to complete. Please note there is a code number on your questionnaire—this will be used to match your student's questionnaire and assist in giving the student credit for your participation. Your questionnaire and the student's questionnaire can be matched, but both of your questionnaires are anonymous as no names or identifying information is included.

Below, you will find more information about this study. If you decide to participate, complete the questionnaire, being sure to answer all of the questions, and return it in the addressed envelope. By returning the questionnaire, you are acknowledging your consent to participate in this research. Please return the questionnaire as soon as possible so the student may be credited in a timely manner. If you have chosen to participate, I am sure that the student appreciates your involvement, as do we! If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone (970) 491-5729 or by e-mail (tvh@lamar.colostate.edu.) Once again, thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Tammi Vacha-Haase, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology

**TITLE OF RESEARCH: Attitudes toward women and women's roles in society:
The influence of gender, religious affiliation and political identification**

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: TAMMI VACHA-HAASE, PH.D.

CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: LAURA BURLINGAME-LEE, M.S.

In case of questions, concerns or comments, please contact:

Laura Burlingame-Lee, M.S. at 970-669-6267 (bostonlj@lamar.colostate.edu)

Tammi Vacha-Haase, Ph.D. at 491-5729 (tvh@lamar.colostate.edu).

If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact:

Janell Meldrem, Human Research Administrator, at 970-491-1655.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS RESEARCH? The purpose of this study is to learn more about opinions concerning women's status in society. We are interested in updating the research on college students and adding to the information from an older adult (50 years of age or more) perspective. We are also interested in continuing research about views on feminism. We want to know if religion, politics, age, and gender influence opinions toward women and their roles in society.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO? You are being asked to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. It asks questions about your attitudes on topics such as religion, politics, and feminism. If you decide to participate in this project, please return the completed questionnaire in the addressed envelope.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY I SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH? There are no medical or physical requirements for this study. In order to participate, you must be able to understand the questions.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS? There are no known risks associated with this procedure. **It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.** The questionnaire is a self-report of common feelings, thoughts and behaviors, are anonymous and voluntary, and may be terminated at any time.

WILL I BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS RESEARCH? There are no individual benefits to you that will be gained from taking part in this project. However, the student will receive one (1) additional research credit for your completed questionnaire.

CONFIDENTIALITY: The student was assigned an anonymous numeric code that will be kept separately from any identifying information, except for the master list which will be maintained in a secured location until after the completion of the Fall semester, when it will be shredded. No names will be used for either you or the student; only a code number is used to match your questionnaire with your student's. You can be assured that any information gathered during this study will be kept confidential within legal limits. Findings will be reported for the group and no identifying information of research participants will be included in any resulting publications, presentations, or other professional communication of study findings.

LIABILITY: Colorado Governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed with 180 days of the injury.

PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in this study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Justification for Waiving a Signed Informed Consent Sheet:

This study uses a questionnaire. The questions asked pose minimal risk. The main possible risk is being embarrassed if potentially controversial views were linked with your specific answers. By waiving the signed informed consent sheet, there is no way to link any identifying information with the answers you or your family members provided.

You and your family members should know that your participation at all times is voluntary, and you may discontinue their participation at any time.

Appendix C

Young Adult Demographic Information – Attitudes Survey
Please answer ALL items, even if you think they do not apply to you.

1. Are you: Male Female

2. How old are you? years old

3. What is your ethnicity?

White/Non-Hispanic Hispanic/Mexican American
 Asian American Native American
 African American Multi-Racial
 Other

4. Are you:

Married Single, Not Dating
 Living Together Single, Dating
 Engaged to be Married Partnered
 Divorced Widowed

5. Do you have children? Yes No

If yes, check all that apply: Boys Girls

6. What is your highest level of schooling?

Trade School or Community College (Associate's Degree)
 Some College (less than four years or no degree)
 College Degree (Bachelor's or 4-year degree)
 Graduate Degree (Master's Degree, Ph.D., M.D., Psy.D. or other professional degree requiring graduate education)

Have you joined a sorority or fraternity? Yes No

If yes, were/are you an active member? Yes No

7. What was or is your parents' main occupation? _____

Are either of them retired? Yes No

If yes, which parent is retired? Mother Father Both

8. What was or is your main occupation? _____

What was/is your spouse's/partner's occupation (if applicable)? _____

9. What was the highest salary level your parents attained (together or separately)?

Under \$10,000 per year \$10,000 to \$25,000 per year

\$25,001 to \$50,000 per year \$50,001 to \$75,000 per year

\$75,001 to \$100,000 per year \$100,001 to \$150,000 per year

\$150,001 to \$200,000 per year Over \$200,000 per year

10. Do you consider yourself to be a religious person? Yes No

11. Where would you rate yourself on this scale?

Very Religious	Somewhat Religious	Average level of Religiousness	Somewhat Less Religious	Not at all Religious
1	2	3	4	5
				6
				7

12. What is your current religious membership?

None; I don't belong to or attend any religious organization

Jewish

Protestant – Which denomination or sect? _____

Catholic

Latter-day Saint

Muslim

Other – Which group? _____

13. Do you consider your religious beliefs to be:

More liberal More conservative Neither N/A, not religious

14. What is your political party preference?

_____ Democrat _____ Republican _____ Other – Which group? _____

15. Do you consider your political beliefs to be:

_____ More liberal _____ More conservative _____ Neither _____ N/A, not political

16. Where would you rate yourself on this scale, in terms of your general outlook on life?

Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Middle-of-the Road	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D

Older Adult Demographic Information

Please answer ALL items, even if you think they do not apply to you.

What is your relationship to the student for whom you are filling out this survey?

Mother Father Grandmother Grandfather Step-_____ (please fill in)
 Aunt Uncle Other _____ (please fill in)

1. Are you: Male Female

2. How old are you? years old

3. What is your ethnicity?

White/Non-Hispanic Hispanic/Mexican American
 Asian American Native American
 African American Multi-Racial
 Other

4. Are you:

Married Single, Not Dating
 Living Together Single, Dating
 Engaged to be Married Partnered
 Divorced Widowed

5. Do you have children? Yes No

If yes, check all that apply: Boys Girls

Do you have grandchildren? Yes No

If yes, check all that apply: Boys Girls

6. What is your highest level of schooling?

Elementary/Primary (Grades 1-5)

- Middle/Jr.High (Grades 6-8)
- High School (Grades 9-12)
- Trade School or Community College (Associate's Degree)
- Some College (less than four years or no degree)
- College Degree (Bachelor's or 4-year degree)
- Graduate Degree (Master's Degree, Ph.D., M.D., Psy.D. or other professional degree requiring graduate education)

If you went to college did you join a sorority or fraternity? Yes No

If yes, were you an active member? Yes No

7. What was or is your main occupation? _____

Are you retired? Yes No

8. What was/is your spouse's or partner's occupation (if applicable)? _____

Is your spouse or partner retired? Yes No

9. What was the highest salary level you and/or your spouse/partner attained (together or separately)?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$10,000 per year | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 to \$25,000 per year |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,001 to \$50,000 per year | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,001 to \$75,000 per year |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,001 to \$100,000 per year | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,001 to \$150,000 per year |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,001 to \$200,000 per year | <input type="checkbox"/> Over \$200,000 per year |

10. Do you consider yourself to be a religious person? Yes No

11. Where would you rate yourself on this scale?

Very Religious	Somewhat Religious	Average level of Religiousness	Somewhat Less Religious	Not at all Religious
1	2	3	4	5
				6
				7

12. What is your current religious membership?

- None; I don't belong to or attend any religious organization
- Jewish

____ Protestant – Which denomination or sect? _____
____ Catholic
____ Latter-day Saint
____ Muslim
____ Other – Which group? _____

13. Do you consider your religious beliefs to be:

____ More liberal ____ More conservative ____ Neither ____ N/A, not religious

14. What is your political party preference?

____ Democrat ____ Republican ____ Other – Which group? _____

15. Do you consider your political beliefs to be:

____ More liberal ____ More conservative ____ Neither ____ N/A, not political

16. Where would you rate yourself on this scale, in terms of your general outlook on life?

Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Middle-of-the Road	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix E

Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women’s Movement (FWM) scale (Fassinger, 1994).

Please circle the number that best expresses your opinion on the sentence above the scale.

1. The leaders of the women’s movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. There are better ways for women to fight for equality than through the women’s movement.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. More people would favor the women’s movement if they knew more about it.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. The women’s movement has positively influenced relationships between men and women.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. The women’s movement is too radical and extreme in its views.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. The women’s movement has made important gains in equal rights and political power for women.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please circle the number that best expresses your opinion on the sentence above the scale.

7. Feminists are too visionary for a practical world.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Feminist principles should be adopted everywhere.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Feminists are a menace to this nation and the world.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. I am overjoyed that women's liberation is finally happening in this country.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure/ No opinion	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix F

Adapted from the Springfield Religiousness Scale (SRS; Koenig, Smiley, & Gonzales, 1988).

These questions ask how true you believe each statement to be about you. Please check the phrase that best describes your feelings about each item. Please answer these, even if you do not consider religion to be part of your life.

1. My faith involves all of my life.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

2. In my life I experience the presence of the Divine or God.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

3. Although I am a religious person, I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

4. Nothing is as important to me as serving my God as best as I know how.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

5. My faith sometimes restricts my actions.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

6. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

7. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

8. My religious faith is the most important influence in my life.

___ Definitely ___ Tends to be ___ Tends not to ___ Definitely not ___ Not
true of me true of me be true of me true of me sure

Table 1*Demographic Information for Younger and Older Adults*

	Education	Ethnicity	Gender	Age <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Political Orientation <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Young Adults	98% Some College – No Degree 0.4% Associate/ Trade School 1.6% Bachelor's Degree	87.3% White, Non- Hispanic 6.1% Hispanic/ Mexican American 2.0% Multi-Racial 1.6% Asian American 1.2% Native American 1.2% African American 0.4% Other	65.7% Female 34.3% Male	19.0 (1.3)	40.8% More Liberal 37.6% More Conservative 15.1% Neither Liberal nor Conservative
Older Adults	22% Middle to High School 35.1% Some College to Associate's Degree 42.4% Bachelor's to Graduate Degree	88% White, Non- Hispanic 5.7% Hispanic/ Mexican American 1.4% Multi-Racial 1.2% Asian American 1.2% Native American 1.2% African American 0.4% Other	74.3% Female 25.7% Male	64.6 (10.5)	26.5% More Liberal 53.9% More Conservative 13.9% Neither Liberal nor Conservative

Table 2*Summary of Average Response, Standard Deviation and Reliability of Measures**Summary for Younger and Older Adults*

Scale (Range)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Reliability (α)
Feminism (1-7)	4.51	0.95	0.87
Religiosity (1-5)	2.82	1.34	0.94

Summary for Young Adults

Scale (Range)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Reliability (α)
Feminism (1-7)	4.61	0.87	0.87
Religiosity (1-5)	3.30	1.32	0.96

Summary for Older Adults

Scale (Range)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Reliability (α)
Feminism (1-7)	4.41	1.00	0.88
Religiosity (1-5)	2.35	1.17	0.94

Table 3*Intercorrelations for each Variable*

Overall Intercorrelations

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. FWM	--					
2. Pol.	-0.35**	--				
3. Relig.	0.19**	-0.30**	--			
4. Age	-0.11*	0.13**	-0.35**	--		
5. Gender	-0.14**	-0.01	0.15**	-0.10*	--	
6. Educ.	0.07	-0.06	-0.18	0.30**	0.09*	--

Intercorrelations for Young Adults

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. FWM	--					
2. Pol.	-0.29**	--				
3. Relig.	0.09	-0.27**	--			
4. Age	0.88	0.61	0.06	--		
5. Gender	-0.30**	0.04	0.03	0.11	--	
6. Educ.	-0.07	0.00	0.01	0.36**	-0.00	--

Intercorrelations for Older Adults

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. FWM	--					
2. Pol.	-0.41**	--				
3. Relig.	0.25**	-0.29**	--			
4. Age	-0.04	0.11	-0.08	--		
5. Gender	-0.01	-0.05	0.24**	-0.07	--	
6. Educ.	0.18**	-0.19**	0.12	-0.30**	0.21**	--

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4*Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults*

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	Gender	-0.29	-4.97**
2	Religiosity	-0.04	-0.58
	Political Orientation	-0.27	-4.41**

Note. ($N = 244$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.09$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.08 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.17$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 5*Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Older Adults*

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	Gender	-0.09	-1.42
	Education	0.10	1.62
2	Religiosity	-0.20	-3.00**
	Political Orientation	-0.32	-4.86**

Note. ($N = 240$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.03$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.18 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.21$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults (YA), Including Older Adult (OA) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	YA Gender	-0.30	-4.56**
	YA Religiosity	-0.05	-0.68
	YA Political Orient.	-0.28	-3.97**
2	OA Gender	0.01	0.16
	OA Religiosity	0.02	0.25
	OA Political Orient.	-0.06	-0.85
	OA Education	0.01	0.13
	OA Relationship	-0.01	-0.07
	OA Feminism	-0.04	-0.54

Note. ($N = 225$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.18$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.00 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.18$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults (YA), Including Parental (P) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	YA Gender	-0.30	-2.94**
	YA Religiosity	0.06	0.55
	YA Political Orient.	-0.36	-2.84**
2	P Gender	0.48	1.04
	P Religiosity	-0.02	-0.18
	P Political Orient.	-0.12	-1.02
	P Education	0.00	-0.01
	P Relationship	-0.44	-0.96
	P Feminism	-0.08	-0.60

Note. ($N = 98$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.22$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.02 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.24$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults (YA), Including Mother's (M) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	YA Gender	-0.25	-1.83
	YA Religiosity	0.07	0.44
	YA Political Orient.	-0.22	-1.30
2	M Religiosity	-0.11	-0.71
	M Political Orient.	-0.10	-0.68
	M Education	-0.05	-0.38
	M Feminism	0.10	0.60

Note. ($N = 63$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.22$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.03 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.25$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults (YA), Including Grandparents' (GP) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	YA Gender	-0.28	-3.14**
	YA Religiosity	-0.14	-1.27
	YA Political Orient.	-0.22	-2.42**
2	GP Gender	-0.02	-0.28
	GP Religiosity	-0.01	-0.14
	GP Political Orient.	0.02	0.23
	GP Education	0.02	0.25
	GP Relationship	-0.03	-0.28
	GP Feminism	-0.04	-0.39

Note. ($N = 127$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.17$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.00 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.17$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 10

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Younger Adults (YA), Including Grandmother's (GM) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	YA Gender	-0.37	-3.94**
	YA Religiosity	0.15	-1.55
	YA Political Orient.	-0.14	-1.45
2	GM Religiosity	-0.02	-0.17
	GM Political Orient.	0.12	1.12
	GM Education	0.00	-0.00
	GM Feminism	0.03	0.28

Note. ($N = 103$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.20$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.01 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.21$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 11

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Parents (P), Including Younger Adults' (YA) Variables

Step	Variables	B	T
1	P Gender	-0.07	-0.95
	P Religiosity	-0.26	-3.04**
	P Political Orient.	-0.19	-2.32*
	P Education	0.15	2.06*
2	YA Gender	-0.05	-0.57
	YA Religiosity	-0.01	-0.18
	YA Political Orient.	-0.46	-5.31**
	YA Feminism	-0.05	-0.57

Note. ($N = 103$). B and t are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.41$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.16 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.56$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 12

Hierarchical Regression Prediction of Attitudes Towards Feminism in Grandparents (GP), Including Younger Adults' (YA) Variables

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>T</i>
1	GP Gender	-0.01	-0.05
	GP Religiosity	-0.01	-0.08
	GP Political Orient.	-0.29	-3.08**
	GP Education	0.06	0.68
2	YA Gender	-0.04	-0.39
	YA Religiosity	-0.04	-0.43
	YA Political Orient.	-0.23	-2.53**
	YA Feminism	-0.04	-0.39

Note. ($N = 103$). *B* and *t* are shown from the last step with all variables entered. $R^2 = 0.11$ for Step 1; R^2 change = 0.06 for Step 2. Total $R^2 = 0.17$ at the last step. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Differences between the feminism, religiosity, and political orientation measures in older and younger adult men and women. (The arrow indicates increasing liberalism.)

Figure 1

