DISSERTATION

ATTITUDES OF OLDER ADULTS TOWARD FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S ROLES: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER, RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Submitted by

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY LAURA BURLINGAME-LEE ENTITLED ATTITUDES OF OLDER ADULTS TOWARD FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S ROLES: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER, RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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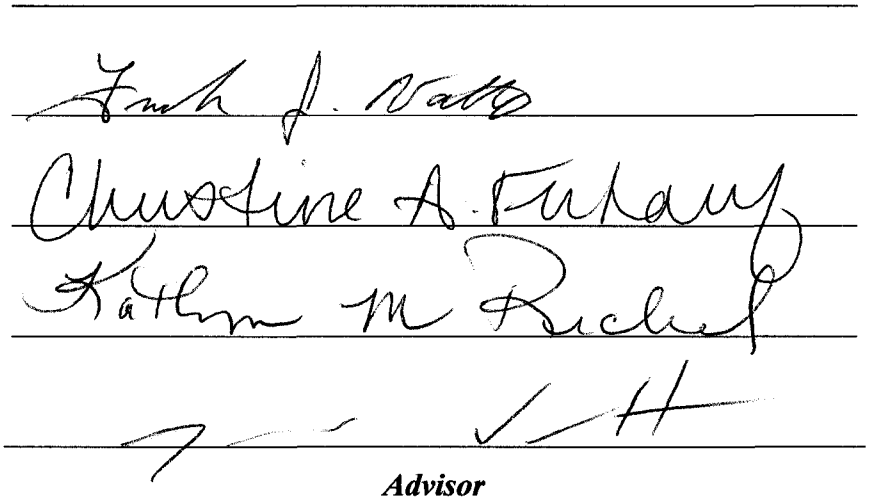

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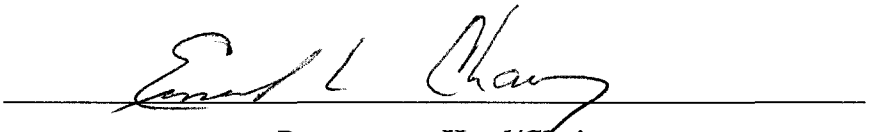

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

ATTITUDES OF OLDER ADULTS TOWARD FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S ROLES: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER, RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Older adults' attitudes toward feminism and women's rights and roles in society were explored using survey techniques in this research. Participants included 274 older adults age 50 and over who were asked to complete questionnaires including a variety of demographic variables (including religious and political affiliations and orientations) and attitudinal measures of feminism and women's rights and roles in society.

Results were largely statistically nonsignificant, likely due in part to a ceiling effect observed on the attitude measures. However, having a liberal or conservative orientation (whether political or religious) seemed to affect views toward feminism and women's place in society. Although all groups scored in a range that indicated acceptance of feminist views, more conservative individuals, regardless of political party or religious group, were less positive toward feminist ideals and nontraditional roles for women.

These results suggested that feminist ideas and attitudes that were previously thought of as "radical" may now simply be an accepted part of U.S. culture. Suggestions for future research include using and/or developing more updated attitudinal measures, in order to both determine what "feminism" means in today's society and to understand the views toward feminism that exist in the general population and in older adults specifically.

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Attitudes of Older Adults Toward Feminism and Women's Roles: The Influence of Gender, Religious Orientation and Political Orientation

In recent years, the question has been asked as to whether or not feminism remains relevant for women and for the general public (Gibbs, 1992; Nelson, 2001; Wallis, 1989). As the United States faces an election year that featured the first modern, serious female candidate for the presidency, the rhetoric surrounding this event indicated that feminism not only continues to be relevant to the lives of women, but that the topics that affected women's rights and roles in society during the second wave feminist movement of the 1970's continue to be salient today. Recent news articles noted that Hillary Clinton, the former presidential candidate, faced criticism about her way of dressing, her femininity, her choice of footwear, her looks, and has been the brunt of sexist jokes (Linn, 2008), issues which her male colleagues never faced. The wives of the current presidential candidates also have faced this sort of subtle sexism (Reddy, 2008) and Reddy noted that the expectations for first wives in the United States are to be supportive, pretty, quiet, and ladylike – all traits associated with the traditional, conservative model of womanhood. It would seem then, that in spite of the "postfeminist" claim that feminism is dead and no longer needed (Faludi, 1991; Hall & Rodriguez, 2003), the sexism and stereotypes that lead to discrimination against and devaluing of women are alive and well.

Although there is a long history of movement toward increasing women's rights and broadening women's public roles in society, women's studies and research on feminism as it is known today is a relatively recent development. Modern feminist

research grew out of the women's liberation movement in the 1970's (Grewal & Kaplan, 2002). Prior to and during the early 1970's, women's studies departments and research involving feminist issues were nearly nonexistent. However, by the end of the twentieth century, feminist scholarship and activism exploded and coincided with vast changes in legal, social, political, and economic arenas. These changes have revolutionized the way Western culture views women, their rights and roles, and the ways women may behave. For example, Grewal and Kaplan (2002) noted that in the 1950's sexual harassment was literally a nonexistent concept; the right for women to work free from sexual pressure, innuendo, and gestures is a recent change that has altered the landscape of the workplace. Even more fundamentally, issues concerning sexual harassment in the workplace would not exist if women were not engaging in paid, public work more frequently than they have in the past; modern attitudes concerning "the family, women's work and mothering, and sexuality would have been almost unthinkable in the 1950's and early 60's" (Grewal & Kaplan, 2002, p. xvii). Attention to sexual harassment, wage equity, and opportunities for women beyond the home front were hallmark issues of the modern women's movement of the 1970's (Crawford & Unger, 2000). Because of the vast cultural changes resulting from the women's movement, researchers have become more interested in examining attitudes toward women, feminism and sexism, and how these attitudes are affected by various demographic, social, and attitudinal variables.

Many researchers have examined the relationships between variables such as religious and political affiliations, gender and attitudes toward feminism, levels and types of sexism, and attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society (e.g., Bers, 1980; Clifton, McGrath, & Wick, 1976; Twenge, 1997). Although many of these earlier studies

shed light on the ways in which people viewed the women's movement and the ideas that resulted from it, research participation was most often conducted with college students, who may not be representative of the population as a whole. However, researchers have shown that age, education, socioeconomic class and other variables affect attitudes toward feminism (Duncan & Agronick, 1995). As a result, knowledge of the women's movement, attitudes toward feminism and the effect of sexism on the general public is somewhat limited. Another difficulty is that many of the studies concerning attitudes toward feminism and women's roles were conducted in 1970's and 1980's.

Although there are researchers who have examined feminism as a research topic recently (Aronson, 2003; Bryant, 2003; Ecklund, 2003; Toller, Suter, & Trautman, 2004; Zucker & Stewart, 2007), the majority of recent studies have focused on sexism rather than attitudes toward feminism and women's roles. Although sexism and feminism as research topics have some factors in common, they are not the same concept (Crawford & Unger, 2000), and the earlier information concerning attitudes toward feminism may not be generalizable and may be somewhat dated because much of the research dates from the late 1970's to mid 1980's. However, this past research has shown that attitudes toward feminism and women's roles in society are surprisingly stable over time.

The purpose of this study was to examine older adults' attitudes toward women's rights and roles, and toward feminism, as related to their political and religious affiliations and orientations. Because sexist attitudes strongly predict attitudes toward feminist topics (Aronson, 2003; Bayer, 1975; Ecklund, 2003; Masser & Abrams, 1999; Zucker & Stewart, 2007), the literature concerning sexism as it relates to feminist ideals and the rights and roles of women was discussed. The following review then focused on

research that has either included or focused on religious and political variables. Thus, this analysis examined the literature surveying attitudes concerning rights and "proper" roles for women in society, and then included attitudes toward feminism in general. It is important to note that there are actually many feminist philosophies, and "feminism" as a concept in the U.S. today largely refers to the specific viewpoint known as "liberal feminism" (Crawford & Unger, 2000). Measurement issues that have arisen over these issues were also reviewed. Finally, as much of the research has been conducted with college students or young adults, the issues and difficulties involved with surveying non-students and older adults were also evaluated, along with the few studies that have examined these attitudes in a non-college or older adult population.

Review of the Literature

Sexism

Although the relationship between sexism and negative attitudes toward feminism may seem intuitive, there are few studies directly linking the two concepts. Rather, researchers have tended to explore the relationship of sexism to attitudes toward women's appropriate rights and roles in society, or the effects of negative stereotyping on a variety of variables (e.g., adjustment or attitudes). Despite the fact that the concepts are linked, there are subtle differences in how they are expressed and measured; sexist beliefs tend to be measured and understood as being based on political and moral beliefs concerning women's place in relationship to men and while attitudes toward feminism or women's roles are based more on beliefs concerning women's rights and roles in the public sphere (Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Masser & Abrams, 1999).

Two studies illustrate the overlap between these concepts. Bayer (1975) studied students who reported sexist attitudes during the early years of the women's movement using data drawn from the American Council on Education's (ACE) annual survey of incoming first-year students. Bayer found that the majority of students fitting his description of "sexist" (those indicating "strong agreement" to the statement, "The activities of married women are best confined to the home and the family") were male, non-white, with delayed entrance to college. They also were more likely to self-identify as politically conservative, and were more likely than non-sexist students to agree with "conservative or authoritarian positions on most social and political issues" (p. 395). Sexist students were also more likely to have been raised in primarily fundamentalist Christian homes, while those who identified as Jewish or who claimed no religious affiliation or background were the least likely to strongly agree with the sexist statement. Bayer also noted that "sexist students [were] more likely than other students to endorse the importance of marriage and family" (p. 395), an indication of how important traditional family values were to this group of students. Bayer concluded, "there is a persistent and pervasive resistance to the women's liberation movement" (p. 396) in spite of the gains made in reducing gender discrimination and increasing equality.

A later study utilizing the 1986-87 American Council on Education (ACE) data (Braungart & Braungart, 1988) compared first-year students' attitudes to those gathered in the 1960's and 1970's. Consistent with research reported earlier (Cowan, Mestlin, & Maske, 1992; Jacobson, 1981), Braungart and Braungart discovered an overall trend toward more politically conservative views in the 1980's. Specifically, fewer students were willing to label themselves as being politically liberal (23% in 1987, down from

44% in 1970). Paradoxically, and in opposition to popular ideas concerning the recent state of the modern women's movement (see, e.g., Faludi, 1991), students were *more* willing to support certain "liberal" issues, including nationalized health care, increased taxes for the wealthy, and legalizing abortion. Students also continued to support increased equality for women, especially in the realms of job equality and taking on roles outside the home. Braungart and Braungart (1988) concluded that first-year students were "not committing themselves to the wider world of society and politics" (p. 56) but were remaining in the middle: "content to be sorting out the options that best suit their personal needs" (p. 56). Rinehart (1988) supported these conclusions, noting that although 31% of the students in her sample identified as politically liberal, 83% of the students endorsed role equality for women and 73% believed that society discriminated against women, indicating that many believed sexism to be a continuing problem.

Although these results may seem contradictory, Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989, 1994; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991) clarified this trend. In several investigations over a period of years, Eagly explored the relationship between favorable attitudes toward women, their rights, and their roles in society. These researchers discovered that people held generally favorable attitudes toward women (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). However, they also discovered that these attitudes were favorable only when women were engaging in traditionally gender-acceptable areas; when women engaged in traditionally masculine activities (such as leadership roles in business or politics or male-dominated jobs) these favorable evaluations declined (Eagly, et al., 1992). They argued "gender roles restrict the options of female leaders and managers in the sense that they 'pay a price' in terms of relatively

negative evaluation if they intrude on traditionally male domains by adopting male-stereotypic leadership styles or occupying male-dominated positions" (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994, p. 27). Thus, although support for equal rights and roles for women continued to grow during the 1980's and 1990's (Smith,1990; Spence & Hahn, 1997), sexism, negative stereotypes and prejudice against women continued to be an issue, and may have affected an individual's willingness to identify with feminist beliefs and ideals.

Attitudes Toward Women's Rights, Women's Roles and Feminism

As with many issues, attitudes toward women's roles and rights in society are often affected by sexism and expressed via political and religious attitudes (see, e.g., Allport, Gillespie, & Young, 1948; Bayer, 1975; Levinson & Huffman, 1955; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992; Nadler & Morrow, 1959). Within this section, the focus will be on the relationship of political and religious variables to attitudes toward women's rights, roles, and feminism in general.

Early research on feminist attitudes explored differences in generational attitudes. Kirkpatrick (1936a) surveyed students at a midwestern university and their parents concerning their attitudes toward feminism. He then developed his survey into one of the first instruments to measure attitudes toward feminism, "The Belief-Pattern Scale for Measuring Attitudes Toward Feminism" (Kirkpatrick, 1936b). Kirkpatrick then had students complete the Belief-Pattern Scale, and sent packets with students for their parents to complete. He found that students who reported being close to both parents had higher feminism scores than did students who reported closeness with one or neither parent. Kirkpatrick hypothesized that "equal intimacy with both parents is associated with a more Feministic and less patriarchal family tradition . . . [which] permits a more

flexible and more personal process of attitude formation" (p. 359). Kirkpatrick's research was important to the current study as it was one of very few studies to gather data concerning attitudes toward feminism and women's roles from middle-aged and older adults. However, Kirkpatrick's results should be interpreted with care. He noted in his methodological explanation that "more pressure was brought to bear and several check-ups were made" (p. 344) to ensure completion of the forms by both students and parents; this pressure may have affected the responses of his participants.

Few investigations were conducted around feminism, attitudes toward women, or sexism during the 1940's and 1950's. However, research in the area of political influences on attitudes toward women began during this era with an investigation into relationships between variables related to political conservatism, such as authoritarianism (Nadler & Morrow, 1959) and has continued with examinations of other related variables, including social dominance (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994). Nadler and Morrow (1959) discussed the relationship of authoritarianism to women's roles; later investigations (e.g., Larsen & Long, 1988) also found that authoritarianism was positively correlated with conservative and traditional attitudes. Nadler and Morrow (1959) theorized that authoritarian attitudes took two forms, which they called "openly subordinating attitudes" and "chivalry" (p. 113); these forms reflected openly negative attitudes toward women and seemingly positive attitudes that functioned to keep women in a subordinate position, respectively. Nadler and Morrow's work foreshadowed Glick and Fiske's work on ambivalent sexism (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001b). In their investigation, Nadler and Morrow (1959)

examined the relationship of these attitudes to negative ethnocentrism and items on the Fascism Scale, which measures "rigid conventionalism, authoritarian aggression toward underdogs and non-conformists, submissiveness to authority, power-mindedness, cynicism, superstition, and stereotyped thinking" (p. 119). Nadler and Morrow found high positive correlations (r = .45 to .73) between ethnocentrism, fascism, and both types of authoritarian attitudes toward women. Their results indicated that traditionally chivalric and subordinating views toward women were highly correlated with at least one variable associated with political conservatism.

It was not until the modern women's movement of the late 1960's and 1970's that researchers again explored feminism specifically. During this time period, researchers tended to focus on individuals' attitudes toward the second-wave women's movement ("women's liberation movement" or "women's lib"as it was then called) and personality correlates that led women and men to sympathize with, become active in or reject feminism (e.g., Tavris, 1971; Tavris, 1973). Many of these studies examined attitudes toward feminism with the earlier mentioned measures or self-generated questionnaires. For example, Tavris (1971) surveyed readers of *Psychology Today* using a questionnaire designed to evaluate readers' "background experiences and beliefs that contribute to a person's support of or opposition to women's liberation" (p. 178). As she noted, "women's liberation" involved a great deal more than simple attitudes toward the movement; attitudes were related to women's work, family roles, and sexism. Tavris found that both women and men with a liberal political orientation were more willing to identify with feminist ideals. However, she also found that even among those who

identified themselves as "radical," "very liberal" or "liberal," women were more accepting of feminism than were men.

Fowler, Fowler and Van de Riet (1973) also examined the link between political affiliations and feminism, and conducted a study in which they surveyed the political attitudes of 50 self-identified feminists and then contrasted these responses with 50 non-feminist peers. They found that there was "marginal significance" for a difference in political party preference between feminists and non-feminists, with feminists being more likely to identify as "Democrat," and non-feminists tending to identify as "Republican." In terms of political attitudes, non-feminists had significantly higher scores for conservatism on a measure of conservatism-radicalism than did feminists. However, their sample size may have affected their results; the small number of participants (N = 100) may or may not be representative of the general population.

In a similar survey of female graduate students in the humanities and social sciences, Stoloff (1973) examined differences between women who identified as "women's libbers" and those who did not. Stoloff explored several variables related to political identification and activity, and found that women who identified with women's liberation had parents who were more politically liberal and "more expressive of their political beliefs and opinions" (p. 331) than were the parents of those who did not identify as being involved in the women's movement. She also found that the women who identified with the women's movement, like their parents, tended to be more politically active and vocal, and identified more often with politically liberal ideals and organizations. In terms of religious factors that affected attitudes toward women's roles, Stoloff's (1973) survey indicated that participants in the women's movement were "of

Jewish or nonformalistically religious Protestant background, and they [were] from homes in which religion was not strongly emphasized" (p. 330). Stoloff noted, however, that her results were affected by the religious composition of her subject groups (namely that most of her participants were raised in families with little or no engagement in religion or religious organizations). In addition, her sample was composed of a group restricted by gender and occupational choice; clearly, this group was not representative of all possible participants. Her results, therefore, may not have reflected those found in the general public.

However, Stoloff's (1973) and Tavris' (1971, 1973) results were supported in part by Goldschmidt, Gergen, Quigley and Gergen (1974) in a similar study of college students in the eastern U.S. Like Kirkpatrick's (1936a) research, Goldschmidt, et al. (1974) also surveyed students regarding their parents' attitudes; they found that not only were feminist students more liberal, but that their parents were more liberal as well. Goldschmidt and her colleagues developed their own scale to measure attitudes towards feminism ("The Women's Liberation Ideology Scale" or WLIS); this scale specifically addressed attitudes toward social issues related to the women's movement. Answered in an agree/disagree format, items included statements such as, "Men and women should be paid equally for equal work," "There are some jobs for which women are emotionally unfit," and "Motherhood is the most fulfilling role for women" (p. 604). Participants also completed an extensive demographic and family history questionnaire, which was later correlated with their responses to the WLIS. Goldschmidt, et al. also compared responses from students at several types of higher education institutions ranging from an elite private liberal arts school to a Catholic women's university. These researchers found

mothers' educational levels, political orientations (liberal, moderate or conservative) and religious affiliations were predictors of whether their daughters identified with feminist ideology and/or were active within the women's movement. Specifically, liberal mothers tended to have daughters that were feminist in their belief orientation and were active in the women's movement. Women who were raised in nonreligious households were also high in feminist ideology and activism; unlike other studies conducted around attitudes toward feminism, Jewish daughters in this survey were *not* likely to identify with or be active in the women's movement. Although not unexpected, Goldschmidt, et al. found that the daughters' political and religious affiliations were strong predictors of feminist identification and activism: The less religious and the more liberal a daughter was, the more likely she was to believe in and be involved in the women's movement.

Dempewolff (1972, 1974) surveyed male and female "feminists" and "non-feminists" in an attempt to elucidate personality correlates of those already identified with feminism. Dempewolff, in her review of the literature describing personality correlates of feminism, noted that the "only consistent findings have been in the area of religion. Catholics and Protestants are more opposed to the women's movement, while atheists, agnostics, Unitarians, and Jews have more favorable attitudes" (1974, p. 671). Because the literature at the time had not clearly identified other correlates of feminist attitudes, Dempewolff attempted to do so. While she did not measure political correlates, she did measure religious affiliation, attempting to replicate previous results. Dempewolff's (1974) results supported previous research; 51% of those supporting feminism were agnostic, atheistic, Unitarian, or Jewish and 85% of those opposing feminism were Protestant or Roman Catholic. It is possible, in examining both

Dempewolff's (1972, 1974) and Goldschmidt et al's (1974) that there may have been a third variable involved, although the possibility was not examined in this research. Although political orientation was examined in one of these studies (1974), liberalism or conservatism in relation to religious beliefs was not; basic liberal or conservative orientation in general life outlook may have been a factor that affected religious and political affiliations and attitudes toward feminism.

Although these studies were conducted over 30 years ago, there is evidence that similar attitudes continued to be held throughout the 1980's and 1990's. Bers (1980) studied community college women to explore the relationship between demographic characteristics and attitudes toward women's roles and rights in society. Her sample included a large percentage (111 out of 209, or 53%) of nontraditionally-aged college women (defined in this study as being over 25 years old.) Bers surveyed her participants about a variety of issues, including women's rights and roles in society, and assessed the degree to which certain demographic variables correlated with these attitudes. Among her demographic variables were self-defined liberalism or conservatism (rated on a five-point Likert-type scale) and political party affiliation. Bers found that self-rated liberalism/ conservatism was related to participants' attitudes towards women's rights and roles, but that this relationship was affected by other variables, such as whether or not participants' mothers worked, whether their fathers held white-collar or blue-collar jobs, and their own life experiences. Bers also examined the effect of religiosity on attitudes toward women and feminism, and found that current levels of religiosity (as measured along a 5-point Likert scale with a question concerning the importance of religion in the respondent's life) were not related to attitudes concerning women's roles in society. She concluded,

"except for participation in the women's movement . . . no respondent characteristic – be it related to childhood, contemporary experience, or demographic classifications – is uniformly related to sex-role attitudes" (p. 504).

However, a survey of Canadian and American college students (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985) contradicted Bers' results; Brinkerhoff and MacKie found that gender was the best predictor of conservative attitudes toward women, and that religiosity (measured in terms of number of religious beliefs and behaviors) also predicted these attitudes. More specifically, the "higher the religiosity, the more conservative one is on matters of gender" (p. 422). According to this study, gender and current religious identification were very strong predictors of conservative gender attitudes. It should be noted, however, that Brinkerhoff and MacKie's sample had a high percentage (33%) of participants from conservative religious schools (Brigham Young University and Alberta Bible College), which may have skewed their results. There were other differences between their samples, as well; Ber's students were less traditional in terms of age, and were from a community college background, while Brinkerhoff and MacKie's students were from four-year colleges, and more traditionally aged.

However, surveying restricted samples can provide further information about how certain groups view feminism and women's rights and roles in society. For example, Renzetti (1987) measured attitudes toward feminism in a group of women students at a religious college (Catholic) and found that support for feminist ideals varied with class standing and experience of discriminatory events (for example, finding out that one's salary was lower than a male co-worker performing the same work). In general, she found that women were supportive of nontraditional roles for women. However, despite

the previous decades' attention to issues of women's identity and voice, most respondents indicated that women should continue to take their husbands' names at marriage. Her respondents also tended to believe that there were jobs and professions that were simply not suitable for women. Renzetti noted that her participants strongly endorsed only two out of five specifically feminist statements: "A woman can live a full and happy life without marrying," and "A woman should not let bearing and rearing children stand in the way of a career if she wants it" (p. 267-268). In spite of moderately supporting feminist values, her respondents were reluctant to label themselves as feminist, a trend which foreshadowed the "I'm not a feminist, but..." phenomenon of the 1990's. Her results indicated that the juniors and seniors in her study were "less traditional and more feminist in their gender role attitudes", and showed "stronger support for the women's movement, than [did] sophomores and freshmen [sic]" (p. 271), in spite of their reluctance to self-identify as "feminist."

Renzetti's results also indicated that experiencing perceived discriminatory events (regardless of academic class level) increased support for feminist ideals. Although her work was somewhat unusual in that she measured women at different stages in their college careers (many researchers measured one group at roughly the same level of education), it should be noted that she did not measure the *same* women's attitudes over time. Thus, her data is cross-sectional and may not necessarily indicate a change in attitudes in college women over time. These women may have been affected by other variables that may have influenced their attitudes toward women, such as exposure to feminist theory in classes, or to environmental events that affected their views. There may also have been a process at work in which a woman's acceptance of nontraditional

roles was affected by the length of time spent in a non-traditional role. Also, her respondents were drawn from a religious university and were overwhelmingly white (90.4%) and Catholic (89.4%), factors that may affect the overall generalizability of the results.

In a study similar to Renzetti's (1987) and Bers' (1980), Etaugh and Spiller (1989) found that political liberalism was "associated only marginally ($p < .08$) with liberal attitudes toward women, and only among older women" (p. 43). In spite of the weaker relationship between political liberalism and liberal attitudes toward women, Etaugh and Spiller found that women in general had more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society than did men, a finding consistent with prior research (Etaugh, 1975; Etaugh & Spandikow, 1981; Loo, 1998; Spence & Helmreich, 1979). In contrast to Bers's study, however, Etaugh and Spiller found that religiosity was a significant predictor of an individual's attitudes toward women and their appropriate roles in society. Specifically, they noted that "less traditional attitudes toward women characterized individuals who (a) had inactive or no church affiliation [and] (b) were not very religious" (p. 274). Etaugh and Spiller went on to note that these (and other) characteristics also tended to separate politically liberal students and adults from those who identified as politically conservative.

Larsen and Long (1988) measured attitudes toward egalitarian sex roles in college students. These researchers asked undergraduates to rate their level of agreement with certain statements concerning women's roles in society (e.g., "The man should be more responsible for the economic support of the family than the woman," and "Almost any woman is better off in her home than in a job or profession" p. 5) these responses were

then compared to the students' responses on a variety of other attitudinal measures of such variables as authoritarianism, divorce, religious orthodoxy, "fascism," and conservatism. Larsen and Long found that students who endorsed more traditional attitudes toward women also tended to hold more authoritarian attitudes, be less accepting of divorce, and identify more often as conservative. They also noted that although "religious doctrine usually emphasizes tolerance, social-psychological research has often found a negative relationship to religious orthodoxy and fanaticism" (p. 8). Larsen and Long found that participants who rated high in authoritarianism, religious orthodoxy and fanaticism showed decreased acceptance of nontraditional sex role attitudes, a result that supported their observation regarding the relationship between religious orthodoxy and conservative attitudes.

These trends continued to be found in the feminist literature of the 1990's. Hutchinson and Schechterman (1990) conducted an examination of attitudes toward feminism in an attempt to measure the impact of the women's movement on college students in the late 1980's. They used the "Attitudes Toward Feminism" scale (or "FEM Scale"; E. R. Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975) to measure attitudes toward feminism, and also looked at correlations between attitudes toward feminism and religiosity. Although the majority of their participants were neutral with regard to whether or not the women's movement had an impact on their lives (42%), a strong minority agreed or strongly agreed that the movement had affected them (40%). They also found that the majority of their participants (87.4%) had more liberal than conservative scores on the FEM (implying support for feminist ideals); however, they noted that those who "attended church most frequently held more conservative attitudes toward women" (p. 85). Finally,

as has been found in other research, Hutchinson and Schechterman found that women were more likely than men to hold profeminist, egalitarian attitudes toward women.

Likewise, Lottes and Kuriloff (1992) conducted a study examining the sex-role attitudes of first-year college students; specifically, they examined the effects of gender, race, religion and political orientation. After observing that not much attention had been given to background factors such as race, religion, and political affiliation, they found that the research literature showed contradictory or inconclusive results for the effect of these background variables on feminist attitudes. With regard to religion, they noted that the literature sometimes indicated that those of Jewish background were more liberal than were those of Catholic or Protestant background (e.g., Bayer, 1975; Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983), but that this view had been contradicted by other researchers (e.g., Goldschmidt, et al., 1974). Henley and Pincus (1978) remarked on the same trend in their literature review, but found in their study that there were no significant differences between the religious groups on attitudes toward feminism or homosexuality. Lottes and Kuriloff (1992) attempted to address these contradictory results and also shed light on the role that political orientation might play in affecting attitudes toward feminism. As has been found in other studies, men held fewer feminist beliefs than did women. Political orientation interacted with gender, though, in regard to feminist beliefs. There were no significant differences between conservative and liberal women on the mean feminism score, but liberal men reported significantly more feminist attitudes than did conservative men. In general, liberal students were more accepting of feminist ideals than were conservative students. In regard to religion, Lottes and Kuriloff (1992) found that Jewish students were more supportive of feminism than

were Protestant students, who were more accepting of feminism than Catholic students. Further examination of interactions showed that liberal Jewish students were the most accepting of feminist attitudes and conservative Protestant students the least accepting.

These researchers conducted a follow-up study investigating the effects of religion and political attitudes on feminist beliefs with the same students as college seniors (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994). Lottes and Kuriloff (1994) looked at religion as one of several variables that possibly affected political, feminist, and homosexual attitudes. As noted above, they found the literature regarding the effect of religion on feminist attitudes to be somewhat contradictory, but their previous research (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992) indicated that religion played a strong role in affecting attitudes toward feminism. This follow-up study indicated that students as seniors were more liberal in orientation and showed more acceptance of feminist ideals than they did as first year students.

Other researchers have found similar results. Mookherjee (1995), as previous researchers discussed, found that college men showed significantly less acceptance of feminist ideals than did college women. Mookherjee noted that identifying as a member of a religious group was a factor in producing higher scores on measures of traditional family ideology and religious fundamentalism; other factors contributing to this more conservative viewpoint were mothers' and fathers' religion. As Mookherjee stated, "[t]hese findings strongly support the importance of socialization influences on such social values as measured on the Open Subordination of Women Scale (feminism)" (p. 865). Thus, although there was an overall trend toward acceptance of more liberal roles for women, being a member of a religious group or holding conservative political views

was positively correlated with holding more traditional views of women's roles and feminism.

In a meta-analysis of attitudes toward women as measured by the Attitudes Toward Women scale (AWS; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973; Spence & Helmreich, 1972), Twenge (1997) found that attitudes toward women in America became increasingly liberal throughout the 1970's, and continued to become so (albeit at a slower pace) during the 1980's. However, this trend did not show a linear increase, as general social attitudes became more conservative during the late 1980's and early 1990's. Twenge also found that women were generally more liberal and feminist in their attitudes than were men, a finding that has been widely replicated across gender studies and time (see e.g., Hutchinson & Schechterman, 1990; Kurdek, 1988; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992; Mookherjee, 1995). Researchers have also found conservatism to be an important predictor of decreased acceptance of feminist views (Wilson, 1973), a phenomena that has been shown to be consistent across time (Bryant, 2003; Mookherjee, 1995). Increased religiousness and right-wing political identification were also found to be related to lower acceptance of feminist values (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994).

More recently, Bryant (2003) examined college students' attitudes toward women's roles; her research used data from surveys administered to first-year college students as well as surveys administered to the same students as seniors. Bryant predicted that political liberalism and having no church affiliation or religious influences would be negatively correlated with endorsing traditional gender roles for women, and that men would be more traditional and conservative in their attitudes than would be women. Bryant found that men were indeed more traditional in their views of women's

roles; 22.4% of men agreed with traditional roles for women compared to 10.4% of women in 2000. She also found evidence supporting her hypothesis that political conservatism would be positively correlated with traditional views of women's roles. She predicted a positive correlation between religious affiliation and traditional gender roles and this hypothesis was only partially supported. Her results indicated that being Muslim predicted traditionalism only among the men; there were no significant effects for religious affiliation in the women. However, her prediction that religious influence would affect traditional role attitudes was supported. Bryant found both women and men with "religious influence" (defined as having friends within a religious organization) tended to express higher levels of traditionalism. She also found that those students from "conservative faith traditions" (e.g., Baptist, Roman Catholic, or "other" Christian religious group) endorsed more traditional views than did those from less conservative faiths. Unlike other studies in which religious affiliation was related to traditional or conservative views on women's roles (Glover, 1997; Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992), this study indicated that religious affiliation was not the key variable associated with traditional gender roles; rather the degree of religious influence provided by a peer group, along with religious orientation (i.e., conservative vs. liberal religious outlook) were the important factors associated with traditional gender roles. This research suggested that examining religious affiliation as well as religious orientation may be important to understanding factors that affect attitudes toward feminism and women's status in society.

Other studies not specifically focused on feminist attitudes revealed evidence supporting the relationship between political conservatism, religious affiliation and/or

orientation and attitudes toward women's rights and roles. Minnigerode (1976) conducted a study in which attitudes toward homosexuality, women, and sexual conservatism were measured along with participants' social desirability score and sex-role identity. Minnigerode noted that "homosexuality and feminism represent departures from, and challenges to, traditional definitions of sex roles" (p. 350) and found that sexual conservatism was related to antifeminist and anti-homosexual attitudes. He also discovered that women generally had more pro-feminist attitudes than men. In a similar investigation, Kurdek (1988) measured attitudes toward homosexuality and traditional attitudes toward men, women, and the equality between men and women. Results indicated men had stronger negative attitudes toward homosexuality and feminism. In general, Kurdek's results suggested that holding traditional, conservative attitudes toward men's and women's equality was a strong predictor of negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Both studies used college students as a population, leaving unanswered the question of whether these results generalized to the overall population. However, both Minnigerode (1976) and Kurdek (1988) concluded that men were less accepting of feminist values than were women. These results have been consistent over time; recent research has continued to show that men have been less accepting of feminist values and views than have been women (Davis & Robinson, 1991; Frieze, et al., 2003) .

Recent research suggested that these results were observed outside of the U.S. as well (Frieze, et al., 2003). Frieze and her colleagues conducted a multi-national study involving university students from the U.S., Croatia and Slovenia. Noting that in the last 30 years gender role attitudes in the U.S. had changed dramatically, she and her team investigated whether or not similar changes had occurred outside of the U.S. In picking

Croatia and Slovenia, they observed that these countries were historically conservative in regard to gender role attitudes. They found in all students that as religiosity increased, agreement with feminist attitudes decreased, particularly among Croatian students. U.S. students indicated agreement with feminist ideas regarding equality between the sexes. Although Slovenian men were less egalitarian than U.S. students and comparable with all Croatian students in their views toward feminism, Slovenian women were generally more egalitarian in their views concerning feminism. The researchers attributed this difference to local sociopolitical events, which may have galvanized Slovenian women to react protectively toward women's rights. In general, they concluded that men of all the studied nationalities were less positive toward feminism than were women, echoing results found in earlier research conducted solely within the United States.

Several other studies have focused on attitudes toward the label "feminist" and have explored personality and demographic correlates related to those who label themselves as feminists. Jacobsen (1979, 1981) discovered that those who use the term "feminist" as opposed to "women's lib" were more likely to endorse views associated with feminism and feel more positively toward the women's movement. Those who preferred "women's lib" were more likely endorse negative attitudes toward feminism. In the second study (Jacobson, 1981), she found few students who were willing to label themselves as feminists (30 out of 356). The sociopolitical context in the U.S. at the time these studies were conducted was changing to a more conservative view, and a "backlash" against overtly feminist goals was beginning (Faludi, 1991). It is likely that, while students were accepting of the gains made by feminism in the previous decade, they may have been hesitant to identify as feminist due to possible social repercussions

from their peers or others. "Women's lib" was also a term used heavily by the news media of the time to describe feminists; it was also used much of the time in a derogatory fashion (Buschman & Lenart, 1996; Crawford & Unger, 2000; Faludi, 1991).

Postfeminism: "I'm not a feminist, but..."

The latter part of the 20th and early part of the 21st centuries have seen a shift in the focus of feminist research. After noting that willingness to identify as feminist was declining at the same time that acceptance of feminist ideas was growing (Wallis, 1989), researchers worked to understand this seeming paradox. Cowan, Mestlin, and Masek (1992) found that adults who had profeminist attitudes were more likely to self-label as feminist and be politically liberal. Women were more likely to use the term "feminist" than were men. Their sample was composed of students in a gender perspectives course, staff members of a battered women's shelter, members of a women's support group and female employees of an answering service; although both men and women were included in the sample, women comprised the majority of the sample (73%). Because the participants were found in settings where gender and equality issues were extremely salient, the results of this survey may not have represented the views of the general public. Cowan and her colleagues suggested future directions for research, including exploration of the relationship between acceptance of feminist tenets and willingness to self-label as feminist; although these were valuable suggestions, replicating Cowan's results with a more representative sample would also help clarify and confirm their results. In spite of these difficulties, Cowan, et al. (1992) noted a tendency during the late 1980's and early 1990's to reject the label "feminist" while simultaneously agreeing with several elements of feminist philosophy; this conclusion has been echoed by other

researchers (Buschman & Lenart, 1996), and foreshadowed what became known as the "postfeminist" movement.

Buschman and Lenart (1996) explored the degree to which undergraduate college students accepted feminist tenets and gains while rejecting the label "feminist." They emphasized that "research which seeks to determine support for feminism must be sensitive to issues surrounding the use of the terms 'feminism' and 'women's movement' " (p. 62) and also cautioned researchers concerning the evolution of attitudes toward labels over time. For example, they wrote that " '[w]omen's liberation' is no longer a common term and so is not appropriate when surveying young women" (p. 63) and had become "a flippant shorthand" used by those with negative attitudes toward feminism; "women's lib" was replaced in the 1990's by the more hostile and negative term "feminazi" (p. 63). Their results indicated few students willing to label themselves as "feminists," but also few students who were willing to label themselves as "anti-feminists." Rather, most students (77%) chose terms that were perceived as still supporting equal rights and roles for women while rejecting the label of "feminist" ("Post-feminist" and "Precarious Feminist" – a position between the post-feminist view and the feminist view). Buschman and Lenart concluded that the label "feminist" carried a negative connotation among young adults. They suggested that support for feminism may be a dynamic concept, and may depend as much on the label given the concept as on the actual attitudes being measured.

More recent research has tended to focus on this "postfeminist" generation, and why these individuals refused to self-identify as feminists, although they indicated agreement with feminist ideals and positions. "Postfeminism," or the idea that the

feminist movement of the 1970's and early 1980's had accomplished its goals and was no longer needed (Faludi, 1991), became an area of intense research in the early part of the 21st century. Researchers, like most people in the U.S., had been bombarded by the popular media with the ideas that feminism was dead, that it was undergoing an identity crisis, or that it had accomplished everything it needed to do, and the rest was up to individual effort(Hall & Rodriguez, 2003). In studying this idea, researchers discovered that more women and men than ever before supported feminist goals and ideals, but that fewer were willing to identify themselves as feminists (Aronson, 2003; Hall & Rodriguez, 2003). Rhodebeck (1996) theorized that a feminist identity was separate and different from endorsing feminist tenets; her research supported this conclusion with both men and women. Once the idea that feminist identity and belief in feminist ideas were different took root, theories about why this phenomenon was occurring ranged from the above-mentioned "postfeminist" lack of need for feminism to the idea that women actually were feminist but were afraid to identify as such out of fear of being labeled with negative stereotypes such as man-hating, lesbian, or aggressive (Hall & Rodriguez, 2003; McCabe, 2005; Williams & Wittig, 1997; Zucker, 2004)

For example, Aronson (2003) found that although teenage girls (9th – 12th grade) agreed with a large number of feminist goals and ideals, they were reluctant to call themselves "feminists;" Aronson tagged this group of young women as "fence sitters" and wrote, "Despite this ambiguity, nearly all the interviewees were supportive of feminist issues" (p. 912). She found that her "fence sitters" did not identify as feminist for several reasons: they felt feminism "went too far," they were afraid of being labeled with negative stereotypes, or they didn't think feminism was relevant to their lives even

though they agreed with its tenets. Although the majority of her participants agreed with the ideas expressed by feminism, most (60%) did not self-identify as being a feminist.

Similarly, Miriam Liss and her colleagues (Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; Liss, Hoffner, & Crawford, 2000; Liss, O'Connor, Morosky, & Crawford, 2001) found in a series of studies that, while college-age women tended to endorse beliefs that were feminist in nature, they again rarely would self-identify as feminists. Liss's work also indicated that when asked to describe a "typical feminist," the students nearly all believed that a "feminist" was more radical, more aggressive and more socialist in orientation than they were (Liss, et al., 2000). Budgeon (2001) theorized that "while these young women were alienated from second wave feminism, their identities were indeed informed by intrinsically feminist ideals" (p. 7). The idea that they might need to hide a feminist identity received some support in a study by Rosell and Hartman (2001). Rosell and Hartman's work indicated that, although college-aged men indicated support for feminist ideas and positions in public, their "private beliefs were inconsistent with their public responses" (Rosell & Hartman, 2001). Thus, young women may believe that identifying with feminism leads to decreased interest from potential partners – and the research suggests they may be right; college students tended to perceive modern feminists as being aggressive, unattractive and politically radical and out of step with mainstream society (Alexander & Ryan, 1997). Alexander and Ryan (1997) found that in addition to being concerned about being able to attract a partner, young college women were concerned that self-identifying as feminist would decrease their chances for achieving traditional goals such as marrying and having a family. Toller, Suter, and Trautman (2004) found that college aged men who identified as "highly masculine" (p. 88) were significantly less

likely to consider themselves feminist, and were less likely to endorse feminist ideals and non-traditional roles for women. Breen and Karpinski (2008) noted that men who did identify as feminist were seen in a more negative light than non-feminist men by both younger men and women, and that men in general had neutral to negative associations with feminism.

Although many of the claims of the "postfeminist movement" have been shown to be false (Hall & Rodriguez, 2003; Rodman Aronson & Buchholz, 2001), there remains a strong avoidance of the term "feminist" in the U.S. Schnittker, Freese and Powell (2003) found that women who came of age during the second-wave feminism years (i.e., women born between 1936 and 1955) were more likely to self-identify as "feminist" than were women in older and younger cohorts. Schnittker and his colleagues suggested that the reluctance to call oneself a feminist in spite of holding feminist beliefs might be related to the increased acceptance among the general culture of what were previously thought of as radical, feminist ideas. Peltola, Milkie and Presser (2004) conducted a similar study, also examining the views of three generations of women. Although both Schnittker's and Peltola's studies used the 1996 General Social Survey data, Peltola's also included data from the 1992 National Election Survey. Peltola's results were similar to Schnittker's; she and her colleagues found that younger "baby busters" (born 1960-1978) who came of age after second wave feminism were less likely to self-identify as feminist than were members of the older cohorts (Peltola, et al., 2004). In spite of their reluctance to identify as feminist, these baby busters (like the women in many previous studies) agreed with feminist tenets. Peltola, et al., theorized that these younger women had not yet experienced systemic sexism and were less likely to see the need for collective action on

behalf of women – a theory that suggested young women accepted the post-feminist idea that collective action was no longer necessary.

Roy, Weibust, and Miller (2007) studied the reluctance of young women to self-identify as feminist by exposing them to positive and negative stereotypes about feminists. Citing previous research which theorized about the effect that negative stereotypes had on women's willingness to self-identify as feminist (e.g., Alexander & Ryan, 1997; Liss, et al., 2001; Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997), Roy and her team constructed paragraphs about feminism, supposedly written by a typical college student. (Students in a control condition were given a paragraph about genetically engineered foods.). Students were asked to read and evaluate their paragraphs, and then were given several measures of feminist attitudes and identification. Their results indicated that women in the control condition and women in the negative stereotyped condition had nearly equal (and low) rates of feminist self-identification; Roy, et al. theorized that "[i]n the climate of our culture, negative stereotypes are so prevalent that further negative priming may not be necessary to keep women from self-identifying as feminists" (Roy, et al., 2007, p. 153). However, they found that exposing women to positive stereotypes regarding feminists doubled the rate at which women were willing to identify as feminists – echoing previous research that suggested that others' views of feminists affected individual willingness to identify as feminist (e.g., Alexander & Ryan, 1997).

In theorizing why exposure to explicit feminist ideas seemed necessary to developing a feminist identity, Reid and Purcell (2004) found that this relationship was mediated by having a sense of "common fate" (p. 766) with other women as well as by the effect of negative stereotypes of feminists. Specifically, they found that, "women who

reported more previous exposure had a greater sense of 'we-ness' or shared fate with other women and were less likely to associate characteristics such as ugly, masculine, frigid, and man-hating with the 'average feminist' " (Reid & Purcell, 2004, p. 766). Further, they found a pattern that they believed might explain the "I'm not a feminist, but..." phenomenon. In this second path, women also experienced recognition of discrimination and sexism in society and experienced the sense of "common fate" with other women, but were affected by negative evaluations of feminists. These women agreed with feminist tenets, but would not identify themselves as feminist. Reid and Purcell wrote, "attitudinally consonant women who believe negative stereotypes about feminists might distance themselves from the group by not identifying as feminist" and that "personal evaluations of the group are critical to the decision to identify with the group" (Reid & Purcell, 2004, p. 767). They concluded that one way to combat the "I'm not a feminist, but..." problem might be to increase young women's exposure to self-identified feminists – "exposure to self-proclaimed feminists may have its greatest impact through the elimination of negative stereotypes about feminists" (p. 768).

Research with Older Adults

Although all of these earlier studies are useful for understanding how attitudes toward women have developed and changed since the early days of the modern women's movement (also known as "second-wave feminism," Crawford & Unger, 2000), they are limited in their generalizability. With few exceptions, these studies are not representative of the American public at large, as they mainly examined attitudes expressed by young, well-educated students; the college environment itself tended to alter students' opinions in a more liberal direction (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994). In examining the wealth of research

over the last few decades, there is a sense that attitudes toward women, women's roles and rights, and feminism have become increasingly liberal. However, this conclusion may be an artifact of having examined attitudes of college students nearly exclusively; even when attempts were made to incorporate their parents' generation, the tendency was to survey the parents through their children's perceptions of them or to put pressure on the parents to comply in order for their child to receive course credit (e.g., Goldschmidt, et al., 1974; Kirkpatrick, 1936a; Kirkpatrick, 1936b); either situation may have led to inaccurate or misleading perceptions of older adults' attitudes. Although research using college students was useful in understanding issues and trends that affected younger individuals, the results remained questionable when generalized to an older adult population. Younger adults live in a world that has changed dramatically from the world in which their parents and grandparents came of age, and generalizing results of surveys gleaned from 18- to 22-year olds simply may not apply to adults who have decades more life experience and social interactions. However, the literature on older adults' attitudes toward social issues other than religion and typical "older adult issues" (e.g., medicare and social security) is scarce at best.

Researchers that have examined middle-aged and older adults in relation to social issues have tended to focus on how activist experiences have affected their personality development (see e.g., Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Jennings, 1987; McAdam, 1989, 1992); when religion is added as a variable, it is usually in relation to sense of well-being and satisfaction with life (e.g., Cox & Hammonds, 1988; Markides, 1983; Markides, Levin, & Ray, 1987) or how it may function as a coping mechanism (Courtenay, Poon, Martin, Clayton, & Johnson, 1992; Holt & Dellmann-Jenkins, 1992; Johnson, 1995). There is a

wealth of research that has examined stereotypes of older adults (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Brubaker & Powers, 1976; Golde & Kogan, 1959; Kogan, 1979; Schmidt & Boland, 1986; Schonfield, 1982), and how those stereotypes may develop and change (Blanchard-Fields, Hertzog, Stein, & Pak, 2001; Butler, 1969; Cool & McCabe, 1985; Hummert, 1999; Tuckman & Lorge, 1952); however, even these studies focused mainly on young adults' stereotypes of older adults.

However, there are a handful of studies that do examine older adults' attitudes toward social issues. The idea that as people age, they become more conservative has been studied in depth; this particular topic has relevance for whether or not adults' attitudes toward feminism change as they grow older. Although the idea that people become more conservative as they age is a common stereotype held of older adults, the literature generally revealed that older adults do not *become* more conservative as they age; rather, their political and social attitudes tended to become set during late adolescence and early adulthood (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; M. M. Braungart, 1984; Krosnick & Alwin, 1989). Krosnick and Alwin (1989) called this solidifying of attitudes the "impressionable years hypothesis." However, research has also shown that older adults generally *are* more conservative than younger adults (Ray, 1985; Truett, 1993); Alwin and Krosnick (1991; Krosnick & Alwin, 1989) attributed this difference to the fact that the older cohorts came of age in more conservative times. Values, morals, and attitudes were different when members of these older cohorts were adolescents and young adults, and their attitudes reflect the environment in which they lived as well as the different socializing experiences they had. As a result, what appeared to be a tendency to

become more conservative as one ages may actually reflect attitudinal stability in the face of a changing environment.

The implications of these conclusions for examining older adults' attitudes toward feminism, women's roles and sexism are enormous. The older adults under consideration in the current study would have been young or middle-aged adults during the late 1960's and 1970's, the height of second-wave feminism. The "younger older adults," who came of age during this period might be expected to show more liberal attitudes toward feminism and women's roles, and decreased levels of sexism, as might the older adult women who came of age during the 1940's when women were recruited into non-traditional jobs to support the economy during the years of WWII. Those older adults who came of age during the period prior to WWII and during the "golden years" after WWII (when women were strongly encouraged to return to their traditional roles as wives and mothers) might be expected to show more conservative attitudes toward feminism and women's roles and increased levels of sexism. However, this comparison highlights one of the dangers of comparing attitudes using cross-sectional data; differences may appear to be the result of attitude changes when in fact they may be attributable to another explanation entirely that might be specific to a historical cohort. Several theorists, such as Stewart and her colleagues (Stewart, 2003; Stewart & Healy, 1989; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998) have emphasized the importance of taking the historical context and the effect of life-changing events on a cohort into consideration when engaging in research using certain age groups. Although longitudinal research (following groups of adults from their late teens or early twenties throughout their life) would be ideal, this type of research or data may be unavailable to many researchers; as a

result many studies tended to use cross-sectional data. In spite of this limitation, if the historical and social context is kept in mind, conclusions concerning attitudinal change may be made.

The few empirical investigations that have examined older adults' attitudes showed mixed results, and did not focus specifically on older adults; rather older adults were included as part of a larger sample of adults in general. Lupfer and Rosenberg (1983) conducted an investigation of the relationship between adults' age and their political orientations; ages ranged from 20 to 79 years. This study measured respondents on seven political variables: political knowledge, activity, and efficacy, isolationism, anti-welfare, free enterprise, and restriction of privacy rights (e.g., legalization of marijuana, homosexual activity, and decreased regulation of pornography). Results indicated that as age increased, political activity, support for free enterprise and support for government regulation of privacy issues also increased. However, the results also suggested that these relationships covaried with church membership; older adults specifically were more likely than younger adults to rely on church friends and acquaintances for political advice and information. Overall, age did not appear to have a direct influence on political orientation as a whole, but did influence both directly and indirectly the sources on whom the respondents relied for information. However, because the data were cross-sectional in nature, a generational cohort analysis was not possible.

In a study of older adults' attitudes toward euthanasia (Himchak, 1997), age was not a significant factor in attitudinal differences. The age groups were divided into those who came of age prior to 1942 (born earlier than 1922), and those who came of age between 1942 and 1962 (born 1922-1942). One potential reason explaining this lack of

difference in attitudes may stem from the historical context; the group who came of age during the WWII years was combined with those who came of age after the war, during more politically conservative times. Any attitudinal difference that existed may have been cancelled out by combining the historical cohorts. In spite of this complication, Himchak did find that religiosity and religious participation was a significant factor; those who participated in religious activities and reported high levels of personal spirituality had stronger negative attitudes toward euthanasia.

Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox (1993) used a similar cohort-environment framework to analyze older adults' attitudes toward abortion. Noting that the cohort who came of age during the 1970's was exposed to both the consciousness-raising effects of the women's movement and the beginnings of the public, organized right-to-life movement, they hypothesized that cohort differences during this era and the years that followed would be difficult to predict due to the mixed social messages this group would have received. Cook, et al. divided their sample (obtained from the General Social Survey from 1987-1991) into eight "coming of age cohorts", based on a study by Sapiro (1980): before/during the Great Depression (1933 or earlier), before/during WWII (1934-1944), before/during the "feminine mystique" years (1945-1960, named for Betty Friedan's (1963) classic treatise on the status of women after WWII), during the sixties (1961-1969), during the "women's lib" years (1970-1979), and during the Reagan-Bush years (1980-present). They found that the youngest cohort, especially when white, was the least likely to support abortion; Cook, et al. suggested that these results likely arose from the fact that this generation was the first to be exposed to the full, organized arguments of the right-to-life movement and that they came of age during the more socially conservative

Reagan-Bush years. This group, they hypothesized, may be more conservative than their elders and less supportive of issues perceived of as "feminist" in nature. However, the authors surmised, they may also take the right to have an abortion for granted and may be less concerned about regulations on abortion because they believe they will never find themselves needing one. The authors did not believe that anti-abortion attitudes necessarily reflected anti-feminist or anti-women positions; an analysis of the same data set concerning women's roles in society revealed that this same group supported more sexual freedom for women and increased rights and roles for women in society when compared to older cohorts (with the exception of the "women's lib' cohort). Similar to other research concerning attitudes toward feminism and women's roles, Cook, et al. discovered that increased religiosity was a factor in this group's attitudes toward abortion. In regard to the older cohorts ("women's lib cohort" and earlier), the authors noted a general trend toward conservatism in relation to attitudes on abortion and a trend toward liberalism in relation to women's roles and rights in society.

There are a few studies that directly relate to older adults' attitudes toward feminism. Sapiro (1980) researched cohorts of adults concerning their attitudes toward feminism. As previously mentioned, she divided her sample into cohorts based on attitudes toward women's roles and rights in society at the time in which her subjects would have come of age (i.e., reached age 21 years). She also conceptualized attitudes toward the women's movement in terms of generational conflict, and wrote,

> [t]he conflict over women's roles can be seen as essentially generational in two senses: first, as a conflict between or among generations socialized to different gender norms because they

> grew up in different eras, and second, as a conflict between biological generations over how the younger generation will structure its life (pp. 261-262).

Sapiro's results indicated that the older generations ("the Pre-Suffrage" group, coming of age prior to 1920) were the most traditional in their attitudes toward equal roles for women, and that the WWII generation (coming of age between 1940 and 1945) tended to see more power inequities between men and women, as did the younger generations ("the Women's Lib Movement" group, coming of age between 1967 and 1976). The older generations (pre-WWII groups) also tended to believe that men were naturally more capable and/or desirous of achievement than were women.

In a similar line of research, Flannelly (2002) surveyed adults between 18 and 89 years old on whether or not they would vote for a female candidate in an election. Although again the focus was not specifically on older adults, information concerning older adults' attitudes was gleaned from the results. Flanelly noted that when presented with a hypothetical situation, voters tended to select male candidates, and found a significant interaction between age and gender. Older men were significantly less likely to vote for a female candidate than were older women. Flannelly did not attempt to explain this interaction, but a reasonable hypothesis might involve factors such as general attitudes toward appropriate roles for women interacting with the historical cohort in which the voter came of age. As the research has shown, women tend to be more accepting of feminist ideals (including more liberal roles for women) across all age groups; this tendency may explain the gender difference found in Flannelly's older participants.

More recent research has examined attitudes toward feminism and women's rights in relation to coming-of-age cohort. As previously discussed, Schnittker, Freese, and Powell (2003) found that women in the coming-of-age cohort that corresponded with the second-wave feminist movement (born between 1936 and 1955) were far more likely than women in the older cohort (born prior to 1936) or women in the younger cohort (born after 1955) to endorse feminist ideals. Echoing Flanelly's (2002) results, Schnittker and his colleagues found that men were less than half as likely to identify as feminist as were women, although they did not find an age by cohort interaction. Schnittker, et al., theorized that women who came of age during the second wave feminism era in comparison to their older counterparts were more willing to identify as feminist in part due to increased exposure to feminist ideas and actions during the critical coming-of-age period. Likewise, they theorized that younger women were less willing to identify as such in part due to the negative stereotypes they encountered during their coming-of-age period, as well as to the fact that "the ideologies associated with feminism have become relatively commonplace and speak to the success of feminism in attaining much broader acceptance of gender equality" (p. 620). This statement implies that much of what feminism represented has become so integrated into the social fabric of everyday life that it is no longer seen as radical or necessarily even feminist in nature.

Peltola, Milkie and Presser (2004) also examined three generations in researching feminist identity. Although their cohort division was slightly different from that used by Schnittker and his colleagues (2003), Peltola's group found similar results in their cohorts. Once background factors such as educational achievement, family income and political orientation were controlled, women in the younger "baby bust" cohort (the so-

called "postfeminist generation") were far less likely to identify as feminist than were women in the "baby boom" (second-wave generation) and "pre-baby boom" (pre-second wave generation) cohorts. Peltola and her colleagues theorized that the younger women were less likely to identify as feminist because of a "cultural stigma" toward feminists (although not necessarily toward feminist ideas and tenets) and because they had not experienced the same levels of sexism and discrimination as did women in the older cohorts. Although the older "pre-Boom" women were more likely to identify as feminist than were those in the youngest cohort, they differed significantly from the "Baby Boom" women in that they endorsed more conservative, traditional gender roles within their families and society than did women in either younger cohort. These results supported the idea that historical context (here, the presence of the Second Wave Feminist movement) affected the attitudes of women as they came of age.

Although the research literature does not have a great deal of information concerning older adults' attitudes toward social issues, and feminism especially, several conclusions may be reached from the studies that do exist. First, older adults tended to be more conservative than younger adults, but this tendency may be explained by the social climate at the time they came of age, rather than by a tendency to become more conservative with aging. Second, across all age groups, women tended to be more accepting of feminist ideals and nontraditional roles and rights for women than were men. Third, as in the earlier surveys of attitudes toward feminism and women's rights and roles, religious and political variables seemed to affect attitudes, no matter what age group was being surveyed.

Measurement Issues

Although attitudes toward feminism and women's rights and roles are related, researchers have attempted to differentiate the concepts and measure them separately (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Modern explorations of attitudes toward feminism and women's roles and rights in society have utilized more recently constructed instruments (as compared to Kirkpatrick's (1936a, 1936b) measures), including the Attitudes Toward Women Scale or AWS (Spence & Hahn, 1997; Spence, et al., 1973; Spence & Helmreich, 1972) and the Feminist Perspectives Scale or FPS (Henley & McCarthy, 1998; Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy, & Sockloskie, 1998; Henley, Spalding, & Kosta, 2000) among others. Although each of these instruments was developed for measuring individuals' attitudes toward feminist ideals and practices, they are not theoretically interchangeable. For example, the AWS was based on the Kirkpatrick's (1936b) research and was originally developed to measure attitudes toward women's rights, responsibilities and roles in society rather than actual attitudes toward women (McHugh & Frieze, 1997; Spence, et al., 1973; Spence & Helmreich, 1972). However, based on its name, some researchers have unwittingly used the instrument as a way of gauging feminist or sexist attitudes toward women rather than toward what women may or may not do in society (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; McHugh & Frieze, 1997). Other commonly used instruments that measure feminist beliefs as opposed to attitudes concerning women's rights and roles include the FEM scale (Smith, et al., 1975), the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Woman's Movement (FWM) Scale (Fassinger, 1994) and the Feminist Perspectives Scale (Henley & McCarthy, 1998; Henley, et al., 1998; Henley, et al., 2000). Fassinger (1994) wrote that the FEM scale may actually

measure attitudes toward believing in feminism rather than attitudes toward feminism itself, "translating into items that tap cognitive attitudes toward women's or gendered roles" (p. 390) making it more similar to the AWS; there is thus controversy over whether or not the FEM scale actually measures attitudes toward feminism or whether it is more accurately a measure of attitudes concerning those who believe in feminism.

Purpose of the Current Study:

Because few researchers studying feminist attitudes and ideals have specifically targeted an older adult population (for exceptions see Peltola, et al., 2004 and Schnittker, et al., 2003), the main purposes of this study were to examine older adults' views on feminism and attitudes toward women and women's roles in society. Feminist research, should especially be concerned with the views of older adults because, as Russell (1987) noted, as a group older women are the fastest growing population segment; however "they have attracted little research or theoretical interest as subjects of women's studies. Middle age, it seems, marks the point at which women cease to be 'relevant' as women and start instead simply to be old" (p. 125). She further observed that gerontologists largely focused on older men because they were perceived to be "worse off in old age than their female counterparts" (p. 125), due to the stresses of retirement and identity reformulation. Women's transitions and attitudes in later life are areas that continue to be open for exploration, and older women's experiences, attitudes, and needs have yet to be fully examined. Researchers have noted that women experience a double standard in aging (Canetto, Kaminski, & Felicio, 1995); not only were they devalued culturally for being women, they were also devalued for being old. Older women were the worst off in terms of socioeconomic status, and were seen as unattractive and useless; they were also

seen as cognitively less able, more passive and more dependent than were older men (Canetto, et al., 1995). Feminists have long seen the diversity in women (encompassing not only age but also race, class, religion, and ethnic identification to name a few variables), and feminist theory "asserts that superceding these differences is the commonality of femaleness which among other things, means relative powerlessness" (Reinharz, 1986, p. 504). This is not to say that paying attention to older men's voices is not important; rather including older men and utilizing gender and age as variables allows researchers to more clearly hear and understand the voices of older women by differentiating their views and perspectives from those of their male counterparts. Thus, surveying older adults not only adds to the body of knowledge concerning older adults, but may also provide a way to empower them, especially older women, through actively showing them that their views and voices matter.

The second purpose of this research was to contribute to the body of research concerning attitudes toward feminism, and women's rights and roles in society. As noted many times in the literature review, the majority of work in this area has been conducted on young adults in a college or university setting. Surveying a group of people not normally associated with the university adds to the understanding of how the population at large perceives feminism, feminist ideals, and attitudes towards women. Social scientists have learned a great deal about what younger people across the generations think about feminism and sexism. However, what older people believe, especially when examined in the context of their historical coming-of-age cohort, is still somewhat of a mystery.

Hypotheses:

Based on the previous review, the following hypotheses were explored:

1. Older adult women in general would show more acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women than men. Women in general have shown more acceptance of feminist ideals and goals than have men (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992, 1994; Mookherjee, 1995; Twenge, 1997), and there were indications that older women would exhibit the same tendencies (Flannelly, 2002) similar to what has been observed in younger cohorts.
2. In terms of religious affiliation, those participants identifying as Jewish, Protestant, or unaffiliated with a major religion would show more acceptance of feminist ideals and more liberal attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society (Bayer, 1975; Dempewolff, 1974; Etaugh, 1975; Etaugh & Spiller, 1989). Those who identified as religiously liberal would show the same pattern.
3. In terms of political orientation, those participants who identified as politically liberal would show more acceptance of feminist ideals and more liberal attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society (Bayer, 1975; Bers, 1980; Goldschmidt, et al., 1974).
4. Older adults who identified as politically conservative and were members of a religious group would show less acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women than older adults who did not identify as politically conservative or as members of religious group.

The literature indicated that religious factors and political factors affected attitudes toward feminism and sexism (Bayer, 1975; Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985; Goldschmidt, et al., 1974) and again, there were indications that this trend would continue to be found in older adults (Cook, et al., 1993).

a. Within the group of older conservative and religious adults, women would continue to show more acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles than would men.

b. In terms of acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women, it was hypothesized that the least accepting group would be politically conservative, religious older men, followed by politically conservative, religious older women. The most accepting group would be politically liberal, less religious women, followed by politically liberal, less religious men. The middle group was expected to be composed of women and men who are either religious or conservative but not both, and it was expected that women would continue to score higher in acceptance of feminist values than would men.

5. Based on Cook, et al. (1993), Sapiro (1980), and Peltola, et al. (2004), male and female participants who came of age during the WWII years (1940-1946) and those who came of age during the second-wave women's movement (1970-1979) would show more acceptance of

feminist values and more liberal attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society than would those from other cohorts.

6. In regard to examining measurement issues, the FEM scale has been accused of measuring attitudes toward those who believe in feminism rather than attitudes toward feminism itself, and the Attitudes toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) scale has been proposed as a replacement (Fassinger, 1994). To investigate whether or not the scales seem to measure the same concept, results of the two scales were correlated with each other and with the AWS, which purported to measure attitudes toward women's rights and roles; it was hypothesized that there would be a significant degree of correlation between the FEM and the FWM, and that the FEM will correlate more highly with the AWS than the FWM correlates with the AWS (Fassinger, 1994).

Method

Participants

Participants (n = 274) were largely white (89.1 %), female (73.0%), and married or widowed (88.5%). Participants were also largely well-educated, with 77.3% having had some post-high school education, and most were within the middle-range economic brackets or higher (72.9% had an income of $50,000 or higher). The mean age of the respondents was 64.2 years old (SD = 10.30, Range = 50 – 87 years; see Table 1 for complete demographic information).

Procedure:

Participants were required to be at or over the age of 50. This age was chosen because the researcher wished to include members of the cohort that came of age (i.e., reached age 21) during the late 1960's and early 1970's when the second wave of feminism was beginning, and because many well-known older adult advocacy groups (e.g., the American Association of Retired Persons or AARP) begin accepting members at age 50. Additionally, several prior research studies (e.g., Peltola, et al., 2004; Schnittker, et al., 2003) used very similar divisions to separate their cohorts.

A power analysis was conducted, based on the most complex statistical procedure anticipated and using a power level of .80, and an alpha level of .05. With an effect size of percentage variance explained (*PV*) = .05 (between small and medium), the study required approximately 330 participants to pick up on a relatively small effect. With a less stringent effect size of .10 (a medium effect), approximately 170 participants were needed. Two hundred seventy-four volunteers participated, allowing for a small to medium effect to be observed.

Volunteers were recruited from a variety of sources. Initially, potential participants were contacted at residential care centers, retirement homes, and assisted living communities in the local area. Participants were also recruited from senior centers within local communities. Participants were not compensated monetarily for their participation. Recruitment flyers were distributed to local retirement homes, assisted living facilities, and senior centers. Questionnaires were distributed to those contacting the research team or personnel at the facility. Although over 40 centers in the local metro area were contacted, the researchers were unable to gain enough participants to meet the power analysis requirements. As a result, the participant pool was broadened by having introductory psychology students who completed the survey give permission to contact an older adult relative over the age of 50. These students were granted research credit in exchange for their participation in the initial survey, and were granted a second research credit after the researchers received a response from their older adult relative.

In order for their responses to be included in the final data set, older adult participants must have been able to understand the questions and respond appropriately (i.e., the returned surveys appeared to have been filled out correctly). Although all interested individuals were welcomed and allowed to participate, only surveys which met these criteria were included in the analyzed data. Responses obtained from those participants contacted in senior centers and assisted living facilities were evaluated by the researchers at the time of administration, while those obtained through the introductory psychology students were evaluated by the research team as they were received. No one was denied the opportunity to participate.

Participants were reassured about the anonymity of their responses and anonymity was assured by affixing no personally identifying information to the response packets. Respondents were initially asked for personal information in the form of a signature on the informed consent sheet, in order to provide debriefing and follow-up for communicating results; this information was kept entirely separate from any responses to the experimental materials. Participants were informed that there was no connection between their responses and the information requested on the consent form. Participants at the senior centers and care facilities received a copy of the consent form when the researchers arrived for the testing session. The consent form was read out loud, and any questions that participants had were answered as fully as possible. This signed consent sheet proved to be one barrier to participation, as many possible participants continued to be worried about their anonymity. As a result, the requirement for signed consent was modified to implied consent after providing an information sheet with the same information as the signed consent sheet. The modified procedure was used with the older adult participants provided by the introductory psychology students and information sheets were included in the packets sent to those participants.

All participants were also told that they could leave or end the study at any time and that their participation was entirely voluntary. The investigator's phone numbers and email addresses were provided to the participants, both in writing on the consent and information sheets and verbally at the time of administration, in the cases of those whose questionnaires were delivered manually (i.e., the participants in the senior centers and care facilities). There was no penalty for ending early or failing to complete the questionnaires.

Measures

Participants received a packet containing the information sheet, a demographic questionnaire and the research measures (Appendix A). The research questionnaires (not including the demographic questionnaire) were counterbalanced to avoid a fatigue or order of response bias.

Demographic Questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire asked for facts related to life information variables (e.g., participant's age, gender, ethnic identification, marital/ partnership status, number of children/grandchildren, highest level of schooling achieved, occupation/former occupation, etc.) as well as religious affiliation and orientation (liberal – conservative), and current political affiliation and orientation (liberal – conservative). Questions concerning partnership status, parental status, occupational and schooling achievement were included for further analysis. The questionnaire also contained excerpts from the Springfield Religiousness Survey (SRS; Koenig, Smiley, & Gonzales, 1988), selected for future analysis relating to religiosity and political attitudes. The full demographic and research questionnaires may be examined in Appendix A.

Attitudes toward Feminism Measures. In order to assess the participants' attitudes toward feminism as an ideology, Smith, et al.'s (1975) Attitudes toward Feminism Scale (FEM) was used. The FEM is a 20-item scale to which participants respond on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." In testing and development, the FEM achieved reliability ratings of .90 for a longer, 27-item scale and .91 for the 20-item, shortened scale (Smith, et al., 1975, Singleton & Christiansen, 1976). In validity and factor-analysis studies, the 20-item shortened scale was found to tap one

factor, named "feminedism" and was found to be strongly correlated with activism and involvement in the women's movement (Smith, et al., 1975). Because some researchers have questioned whether or not the FEM scale measures actual attitudes toward feminism versus "gender role ideologies – that is, the perceived appropriateness of specific social roles and behaviors for women and men in contemporary society" (Fassinger, 1994), the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (FWM), which measures affective attitudes toward the feminist movement (Campbell, et al., 1997) was also administered, and the results of the measures correlated for overlap. The response scales for the FEM and FWM were changed to a 7-point Likert scale to provide consistency with other survey instruments and for ease of response for the participants; reliability statistics were calculated to check the continued reliability of the instrument in the face of these changes. Based on prior research, the FWM and the FEM both appear to be highly reliable, with the FWM achieving reliability coefficients of .89 (Fassinger, 1994) and the FEM achieving .87 (Smith, et al., 1975).

Attitudes Toward Women's Rights and Roles in Society Measure. To measure attitudes toward the effect of feminism on society, participants were asked to respond to the Attitudes toward Women Scale, short form (AWS) (Spence, et al., 1973). The original AWS consisted of 55 items to which participants responded on a 4-point Likert scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972); the measure was later shortened to a 25-item scale (Spence, et al., 1973). Although the original used a 4-point response scale, the authors later recommended using a 5-point scale for a wider range of scores and less skewness (Spence & Hahn, 1997). To keep the responses consistent with the other measures, a 7-

point Likert scale was used in this study; reliability statistics were calculated to check the continued reliability of the instrument in the face of the scale change.

The reliability of the AWS has been established over time. Smith and Bradley (1980) found reliability coefficients of .86 and .90 in separate investigations of the 25-item scale and reliability of .93 for the 55-item scale. In another study, Daugherty and Dambrot (1986) found the 25-item scale to have alpha and split-half reliabilities of .89 and .86, respectively and the 15-item scale to have alpha and split-half reliabilities of .85 and .86, respectively. Both studies performed factor analysis procedures, which confirmed the presence of one factor explaining approximately 25-30% of the total variance. Although the AWS has been charged with being outdated and having ceiling effects with college students (Fassinger, 1994; Larsen & Long, 1988), Spence and Hahn's (1997) work shows that the scale continues to have value in assessing attitudes toward women's roles, especially when used with the more sensitive response scale (see also McHugh & Frieze, 1997).

Results

Normality of the Data and Transformations

All measures were tested for normality and were found to lie within acceptable ranges. The political and religious orientation variables were collapsed from four categories (i.e., more liberal, more conservative, neither liberal nor conservative, and N/A – not religious/political) to three (i.e, more liberal, more conservative, and N/A or neither), due to a restriction of range. The religious affiliation variable was also collapsed from seven categories (Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, Latter-day Saint, Muslim, None, Other) to three categories (Catholic, Protestant, Other) again due to restricted range of responses.

Reliability Coefficients

Cronbach's alpha and split-half reliability coefficients were calculated for the FEM, FWM and AWS. Across all measures, reliability statistics were acceptable: Specific split-half and alpha coefficients for each measure are reported in Table 2.

Correlation Analysis

The *Pearson r* correlation procedure was used to investigate a suspected positive correlation between the FEM scale and the FWM scale. The FEM scale has been accused of measuring attitudes toward the *believers* in feminism and towards societal expectations for women and men, rather than measuring actual feminist values, and the Attitudes toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) scale has been proposed as a replacement (Fassinger, 1994). It was expected that negative correlations would result due to the fact that the scoring procedure for the FWM resulted in higher scores being reflective of feminist/nontraditional beliefs while lower scores in the FEM and AWS

were indicative of feminist/nontraditional beliefs. Results of this analysis suggested that the FWM was significantly and moderately negatively correlated with both the AWS (r (272) = -.43, $p \leq .01$) and to a smaller extent, the FEM (r (272) = -.20, $p \leq .01$). The AWS and the FEM were, as expected, positively correlated in a small to medium effect (r (272) = .26, $p \leq .01$).

Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA)

To analyze the effects of gender, religious orientation and political orientation on respondents' attitudes toward feminism and women's roles in society, an omnibus, multiple analysis of variance test was used to aid in eliminating the possibility of a Type I error (Heausler, 1987; Weinfert, 1995). Because the chance of a Bonferroni inequality increases with the number of individual variables involved in the MANOVA (i.e., the chance of committing a Type I error increases with the addition of every variable), Weinfert suggested that a significant MANOVA not be followed by a series of individual analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures, as has been the common procedure within this body of literature. Instead, both Heausler (1987) and Weinfert (1995) recommended a step-down analysis or discriminant analysis procedure for post-hoc follow-up. Therefore, it was decided that if the effects of the MANOVA procedures were significant, then discriminant analysis procedures would be undertaken. (Step-down analysis was inappropriate for this data set because that analysis relies on data that has an a-priori causal ordering of the variables, something that is not present in this particular investigation.) MANOVA analyses, followed by discriminant analyses and further post-hoc evaluation if appropriate, were run for the following hypotheses:

Main effects for gender. It was hypothesized that older adult women in general would show more acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women. MANOVA analyses were not statistically significant for this hypothesis, indicating that there were no statistically significant differences between older women and older men in terms of their acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women.

Main effects for religious orientation and religious affiliation. The research literature suggested that in terms of religious affiliation, those participants identifying as Jewish, Protestant, or unaffiliated would show more acceptance of feminist ideals and more liberal attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society than would those from more traditionally conservative faith traditions (Bayer, 1975; Dempewolff, 1974; Etaugh, 1975; Etaugh & Spiller, 1989). Those who identified as religiously liberal were expected to show the same pattern. Due to homogeneity of the response pool, participants' religious affiliations were collapsed into the following categories: Protestant, Catholic, and Other. Factorial MANOVA procedures indicated that there was a main effect for Religious Orientation, (Wilks' $\Lambda = .81$, $F = 13.42$, $p = .05$) indicating that Religious Orientation (more liberal, more conservative, or other) was related to acceptance of feminist ideals and attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society. Discriminant analysis used as a follow-up procedure to control for the possibility of a Type I error suggested that, although all the measures significantly contributed to the variance, the FWM contributed the most to the observed variance (Wilks' $\Lambda = .73$, $F = 44.89$, $p = .00$), followed by the AWS (Wilks' $\Lambda = .84$, $F = 24.41$, $p = .00$). Further post hoc tests run as a check for the discriminant analysis procedure (Tukey's HSD, Scheffe, and LSD) suggested that participants who identified as being more religiously conservative had less

positive views toward feminist values and unconventional roles for women in society. Those who identified as more religiously liberal and as neither liberal nor conservative had more acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women in society (Figures 1, 2 and 3, respectively). It should be noted, however, that in spite of the statistically significant difference between the liberal and conservative groups, mean values for all religious orientations fell within the bounds of what is considered "feminist" according to the questionnaires (Table 3). Results were not statistically significant for religious affiliation or for any interaction between religious orientation and religious affiliation.

Main effects for political orientation and political affiliation. As prior research suggested, political views affect respondents' attitudes toward feminism (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1992, 1994; Mookherjee, 1995; Wilson, 1973). It was hypothesized that in terms of political orientation, those participants identifying as politically liberal would show more acceptance of feminist ideals and more nontraditional attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society (Bayer, 1975; Bers, 1980; Goldschmidt, et al., 1974). Factorial MANOVA procedures indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between liberal or conservative political orientations or between members of the various political groups in their attitudes toward feminist values and toward nontraditional rights and roles for women in society on the FEM, which purported to measure beliefs toward feminist tenets. However, a significant difference was found on the AWS (Wilks' $\Lambda = .91$, $F = 4.47, p \leq .00$) and the FWM (Wilks' $\Lambda = .91$, $F = 7.13, p \leq .00$) in relation to participants' political orientation. Following this significant result, discriminant analysis was performed to control for the possibility of Type I error, as

suggested by Weinfert (1995). Discriminant analysis indicated that, although both the FWM and the AWS measures contributed to the variance seen in the MANOVA at a statistically significant level, the FWM contributed the most to the significant result (Wilks' $\Lambda = .76$, $F = 40.77$, $p = .00$); it is possible that the significant result seen in the MANOVA for the AWS is more related to the strong correlation between these two measures. Post-hoc analyses undertaken to check the results of the discriminant analysis (Tukey's HSD, Scheffe, and LSD) indicated that those who identified as having a liberal political orientation, regardless of party affiliation, were more accepting of feminist values and ideals as well as more accepting of nontraditional roles for women in society (Table 4), on all three dependent measures than were those who identified as having a politically conservative orientation or an unclear orientation status (Figures 4 and 5, respectively).

Interaction analysis for gender, political orientation, and religious affiliations orientation. A difference between men and women of differing religious affiliations and political orientations was hypothesized to exist, and it was expected that religiously and politically conservative men would be less accepting of feminism than religiously and politically conservative women. It was also hypothesized that, in terms of acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for women, the least accepting group was expected to be politically conservative, religious older men, followed by politically conservative, religious older women. The most accepting group was expected to be politically liberal, less religious women, followed by politically liberal, less religious men. The middle group would be composed of women and men who are either religious or conservative but not both, and women were expected to continue to score higher in

acceptance of feminism than would men. A factorial MANOVA procedure was implemented to investigate these hypotheses; results revealed no statistically significant differences between men and women, regardless of political orientation and religious affiliation, other than the main effects described above. These statistically nonsignificant results were also observed when analyzed using religious orientation instead of religious affiliation.

Main effects for cohort. Based on Cook, et al. (1993) and Sapiro (1980) and due to societal factors affecting women's roles in society during the times at which participants came of age, it was hypothesized that participants who came of age during the WWII years (1940-1946) and those who came of age during the second-wave women's movement (1970-1979) would show more acceptance of feminist values and more liberal attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society than would those from other cohorts. MANOVA results showed no statistically significant differences between historical cohorts in terms of their attitudes toward feminism or their acceptance of non-traditional roles for women (See Table 5 for means and standard deviations by cohort for each measure).

Discussion

Summary

Prior research among college-age younger adults has long indicated that attitudes toward feminism and women's rights and roles in society have been affected by participants' religious and political values and beliefs. The current study with older adults seemed to indicate that political and religious affiliations have little to no effect on attitudes toward feminist values and toward women's roles in modern society. However, having a liberal or conservative identity, regardless of whether or not that identity is political or religious or both, may affect these attitudes. In terms of examining the relationships between the newer FWM and the older AWS and FEM, these results suggested that the FWM measures concepts similar to those measured in the older instruments, and that all three measures likely showed a ceiling effect in this study.

Implications

In this investigation, two results supported the idea that differences exist between people who identify themselves as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative, in spite of the largely nonsignificant results found in this study. Statistically significant differences were not found when examining group affiliations – the results in this study were consistently nonsignificant across religious and political affiliations. These results might suggest, in regard to acceptance of feminist ideals and nontraditional rights and roles for women, that being a member of any particular religious or political group is not a factor that strongly affects these beliefs. Rather, it is whether or not one identifies as being liberal or conservative, regardless of group membership, which appears to be related to higher acceptance of feminist values and nontraditional roles for

women in society. This result has implications for further research, in that differentiating between group affiliation and attitudinal orientation (e.g., liberal vs. conservative) may be an important variable to investigate. Because these concepts tend to overlap (i.e., people who self-identify as liberal tend to belong to less traditional organizations and people who self-identify as conservative tend to belong to more traditional organizations), differentiating between group affiliation and attitude orientation may be important for future research investigations involving social issues.

It is interesting to note, as well, that the FEM did not contribute heavily to the significant results of the MANOVA. Correlational investigation suggested that the FEM was only slightly correlated with the FWM ($r = -.20, p = .00$) and the AWS ($r = .26, p = .00$), whereas the FWM and AWS showed a much stronger degree of relationship ($r = -.43, p = .00$). In this particular set of findings, the FEM and the AWS appear to be better measures on which to separate those who have more positive attitudes toward nontraditional rights and roles for women from those who hold feminist beliefs. This conclusion did not support Fassinger's (1994) assertion that the FEM may actually measure attitudes toward women's roles in society; rather it actually brought into question the degree of similarity between the FWM and the AWS. These results seemed to indicate that it is the FWM, and not the FEM, that may measure attitudes toward women's rights and roles in society. Further research as to the validity of these findings in older adults as well as the general population would be helpful in knowing whether or not this result is particular to this study, or whether it generalizes to older adults overall – and to the population at large.

Another noteworthy factor in this investigation was that, although statistically significant differences were found between liberals and conservatives on level of acceptance of feminist values, mean scores for both liberal and conservatives and both men and women were clearly indicative of overall acceptance of feminist values and ideals (Tables 3, 4, and 6 respectively). Those who self-identified as conservative simply did not accept these feminist tenets as strongly as did those who identified as liberal; these results also support the "I'm not a feminist, but..." phenomenon in that they clearly show acceptance of feminist tenets and ideals, even in those who would likely not identify themselves as feminists. This seeming acceptance of feminist values in general is supported by recent research, and supports the idea that there may be a ceiling effect in terms of what these measures are actually assessing.

The possibility that these measures were subject to a ceiling effect was discussed by Fassinger (1994) These measures were largely developed in the 1970's (Smith, et al., 1975; Spence, et al., 1973); "Feminism" as a political belief has changed since the 1970's, and what was considered "radical" or non-traditional in the 1970's may simply be common place today (Breen & Karpinski, 2008; Crawford & Unger, 2000; Liss, et al., 2000). Consequently the measures, originally developed to reflect changing values toward women's rights and roles, may instead now reflect values, ideas and roles that are considered a normal part of everyday life and that most US citizens have adopted (Breen & Karpinski, 2008; Fassinger, 1994; Liss, et al., 2000). Fassinger's FWM, although developed in the 1990's when feminist values were more accepted in mainstream society, was highly correlated with the earlier AWS (Fassinger, 1994; Spence, et al., 1973); this strong correlation likely reflected underlying similarities in feminist values and attitudes

towards women's proper roles in society. Although the FWM was developed to measure attitudes different from the FEM (which, given the small to moderate correlation, it appears to do), the relatively strong correlation with the AWS suggests the FWM might measure attitudes toward women's roles in society as well. So, although it is a newer measure, the high degree of correlation with the AWS suggests that the FWM might be as susceptible to the ceiling effect seen on the earlier measures as are the earlier measures themselves.

This potential ceiling effect, however, has implications for the statistically nonsignificant results observed in the cohort analysis and in the gender analysis. Because there were no statistically significant differences seen between any of the cohorts or between men and women, and because all cohorts as well as both men and women showed mean scores within the range of those accepted as "feminist," (Tables 5 and 6) it is possible that the "Impressionable Years Hypothesis" (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Krosnick & Alwin, 1989), where attitudes and values become relatively set at the time an individual comes of age, may not necessarily hold true. It appears that, as other researchers have suggested, feminist values may have been integrated into the social fabric of this culture (see, e.g., Breen & Karpinski, 2008; Schnittker, et al., 2003), and acceptance of such values may provide evidence that value systems in general, and which values in particular are accepted, change over time and are not necessarily fixed at a certain point in an individual's life. As a culture changes, it may be that those who are a part of that culture must change with it, or risk societal consequences, such as being marginalized for their views. Another possibility is that the older adults, the men especially, may not have been comfortable revealing their actual attitudes in spite of

being assured anonymity, much like the college men surveyed in Rosell and Hartman's (2001) research. Because the literature is not clear on whether or not social attitudes become fixed or change over the lifespan (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; M. M. Braungart, 1984; Krosnick & Alwin, 1989), this issue bears further investigation; unfortunately, this study was not able to elucidate further.

Limitations

There were several factors that limit the ability to generalize these results. First, although the sample size was adequate to discern a small to medium effect, a larger sample size would have allowed greater confidence in these results. Second, the sample itself was relatively homogenous in terms of ethnicity, religious affiliation and even age, to some degree. Most participants were Caucasian (89.1%) and came of age in the pre-second wave and second wave feminist cohorts (96.3% came of age between 1946 and 1978; only 3.7% of participants came of age in the World War II years.) This limited pool of participants from the earliest cohort severely limits any interpretation of results involving that group. Because there were no statistically significant effects found for the cohort variable, it is unknown whether or not the "oldest old" have differences in their attitudes toward feminism and women's roles from those of their relatively younger counterparts. Sadly, this limitation may not be able to be addressed, as those who came of age during the World War II years simply may not be available in sufficient numbers for research.

A third limitation involved the restriction of range seen in several of the variables, especially in regard to religious affiliation. This particular variable was collapsed from seven categories to three, and several groups that were opposite in relation to religious

orientation (i.e., liberal or conservative) were included in the same category. For example, the "Protestant" category included more liberal denominations such as the Episcopalians and Lutherans in addition to more conservative groups, such as the Southern Baptists and several evangelical denominations. The "Other" category was problematic for the same reason, including groups as diverse in orientation as Judaism and Latter-day Saints; this category also included non-affiliated and non-religious participants. As a result, any effect that may have been observed was likely masked by the collapsed categories. Although a larger sample would likely help reduce this problem, reaching out across regions, and collaborating with researchers in other areas of the country in order to obtain a more heterogeneous sample would also help. This type of collaboration would not only increase the variability in the participant pool, but would also aid in increasing confidence concerning the generalizability of the results.

Future Directions

One possible avenue for future research to address this ceiling effect might involve investigating newer measures of sexism and agreement with feminist tenets. Because the AWS, FEM, and FWM seemed susceptible to ceiling effects, newer instruments that measure more subtle attitudes toward women, women's roles and feminisms may be able to identify group differences on a more contemporary level. Although public support for feminist ideals seems nearly universal in U.S. culture, some research suggests that private opinions may differ (Rosell & Hartman, 2001), indicating that, while publicly feminist ideals are accepted, privately and covertly sexism continues to be a problem. Although sexism as a concept has been studied separately from attitudes toward feminism, there is overlap in their operational definitions. More recent definitions

emphasize similar behavioral and attitudinal dimensions, such as the definition used by Tougas, Brown, Beaton and Joly (1995) in their concept of neosexism: "a manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings toward women" (p. 843). Glick and Fiske (1996) expand on these dimensions further, proposing that sexism is characterized by both positive and negative affect – in short, ambivalence toward women. Glick and Fiske's work supports the complex conclusions reached by Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989, 1994; Eagly, et al., 1991) concerning attitudes toward women; Glick and Fiske state, "even if the beliefs about women that generate hostile and benevolent sexism are positively related, they have opposing evaluative implications, fulfilling the literal meaning of ambivalence" (1996, p. 494). In short, even if sexist individuals feel positively toward women, the positive feelings arise only when women act within traditional, accepted gender spheres (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001a, 2001b). These definitions seemed to have changed in parallel to a change in how sexism is expressed; "[w]hereas old-fashioned prejudices are characterized by stereotypical conceptions of a particular group and open discrimination, contemporary prejudices are usually expressed in a more subtle manner" (Campbell, et al., 1997, p. 90). Thus, these newer measures such as the Neosexism Inventory (Tougas, et al., 1995) or the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001b) may help in understanding how individuals – older adults included – feel about women, and their rights and roles in society.

There are newer measures of feminist opinion and identity as well. Morgan (1996) developed a scale to measures attitudes toward liberal feminism; while she acknowledges that "feminism" is "not monolithic" (p. 362) and that there are many

feminisms, she also realistically points out that liberal feminism is the most well-known and predominant feminist ideology in the U.S. Her scale showed good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .94$) and validity when validated against known correlates of liberal feminism (e.g., liberal political identity) as well as convergent and divergent validity when compared with other scales. The Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (LFAIS) may then provide a more contemporary measure of feminist attitudes that might combat the ceiling effect seen in the older measures. Combined with instruments that measure subtler forms of sexism, a more complete, accurate picture of modern attitudes toward feminism and women's roles might be gained, that could address both the observed ceiling effect and the possibility that publicly expressed opinions might differ from more subtle, privately held attitudes.

Given that the literature indicated a difference between those who agree with feminist tenets and those willing to identify as feminists, investigating what the public in general thinks feminism actually is might also help researchers further understand the "I'm not a feminist, but..." phenomenon. This new research, which should by definition include older as well as younger adults, might begin as qualitative in nature and include current stereotypes linked to the feminist label as well. Ideally, this research could then lead to a modern, new measure of feminism that reflects both the gains achieved by the feminist movements and the current stereotypes that exist around the label "feminist."

Finally, any future research should include older adults as participants. Not only do these suggestions embody the ideal of generalizability, but also include the voices of a large group that had been previously marginalized by the research community. The older generation of U.S. citizens especially is growing larger by the day, and is a strong

influence culturally, politically, and financially. Ignoring this group of people risks silencing them as well as costing researchers a more complete understanding of the opinions carried by the full age range within the general public. Researchers in this area should also be encouraged to utilize longitudinal as well as cross-sectional data; the "impressionable years hypothesis" (Alwin & Krosnick, 1991; Krosnick & Alwin, 1989) has received mixed support, and the current research has not been able to clarify whether or not attitudes and beliefs form and become set at one point in time or whether continue to be modified over the lifespan.

Potential Clinical Applications

Although largely social in nature, this research has important information for those engaging in clinical practice. First, feminist counseling is concerned with understanding the person within the context of his or her social environment (Whalen, et al., 2004) and sexism is a part of the fabric of everyday life for both men and women. Understanding and listening to the voices of those who would be clients and understanding their viewpoints are critical to successful clinical work. Feminism as a whole is also engaged in the work of emphasizing the voices of those who have been marginalized by society, especially women. While these results certainly have implications for work with women, older adults in general may benefit from a perspective that includes their voices – men's as well as women's. Men are and have been affected by the changes wrought in society by the feminist movements (Kimmel, 1996), and recent research has highlighted that men as well as women are affected negatively by holding nontraditional views toward gender and gender roles (Judge & Livingston, 2008). How a person is treated by others in their social environments affects emotional well being and mental health, and one's attitude

toward those who hold nontraditional views affect social interactions, whether between husband and wife, therapist and client, or partners in relationships of all sorts. From this perspective, understanding what the general public thinks about feminism, feminist values, and appropriate roles for women in society has implications for not just social and intimate relationships, but also for mental health professionals who may see those struggling to adjust to the feminist values that have become embedded in our society.

Conclusion

In conclusion, although the results of this study were largely uncertain regarding older adults attitudes toward feminism, some results advanced understanding of older adults' attitudes and contributed to the body of feminist research. First, there was an observed ceiling effect in results using the AWS, the FEM, and the FWM. Because these measures were largely developed in the 1970's and/or were derived from measures used even earlier (Kirkpatrick, 1936a, 1936b), their continued usefulness as accurate measures of attitudes toward feminism may be limited due to the widespread acceptance and adoption of what were once radical ideas by the general public. Second, the observed relationship between holding liberal attitudes – whether religious or political – and having a more positive view toward feminist ideals and nontraditional roles for women was supported in older adults. This finding supports and extends the findings that have resulted from investigating college-aged students' attitudes. Finally, these results indicated that membership in a particular group may not be as important in determining these attitudes as is a more general liberal versus conservative outlook on life. Future research would do well to continue to study older adults' attitudes toward feminism and women's roles, especially using newer measures and more in-depth questioning regarding liberalism/conservatism as a general life outlook.

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Appendix A

Participant's Packet: Containing

1. Informed Consent Sheet
2. Demographic Data Sheet
3. Survey Measures:
    a. Attitudes Toward Feminism Scale (FEM)
    b. Attitudes toward Feminism and the Women's Movement (FWM) Scale
    c. Attitudes toward Women (AWS) Scale

Informed Consent to Participate
in a Research Project

_____, 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 (bostonli@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.

Code: _____

Demographic Information – Attitudes Survey

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)

7. If you went to college did you join a sorority or fraternity? _____Yes _____No

If yes, were you an active member? _____Yes _____No

8. What was or is your main occupation? _____

Are you retired? _____Yes _____No

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)?

_____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

These questions ask how <u>true</u> you believe each statement to be for 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.

17. My faith involves all of my life.

____Definitely true of me ____Tends to be true of me ____Tends not to be true of me ____Definitely not true of me ____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

21. My faith sometimes restricts my actions.

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

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

_____Definitely true of me _____Tends to be true of me _____Tends not to be true of me _____Definitely not true of me _____Not sure

Thank you for filling out this information.

-- Please continue to the next page –

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

FEM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

8. Whether or not they realize it, most women have been exploited by men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

16. It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.

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

17. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.

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

18. It is all right for women to work, but men will always be the basic breadwinners.

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

19. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.

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

20. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.

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

Please continue with the survey on the next page

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

FWM

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

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

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

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

Please continue with the survey on the next page

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

AWS

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.

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

2. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

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

3. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.

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

4. Telling dirty jokes should be mostly a masculine prerogative.

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

5. Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men.

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

6. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in the household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

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

7. It is insulting to a woman to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

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

8. There should be strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex.

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.

9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

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

10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

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

11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

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

12. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

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

13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

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

14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

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

15. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

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

16. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

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.

17. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiances.

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

18. The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income.

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

19. Women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and housetending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

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

20. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

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

21. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

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

22. On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.

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

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

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.

24. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

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

25. The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control than is given to the modern boy.

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

Thank you for completing the surveys; we appreciate your help.

Table 1.

Demographic Description of Participants.

	Women:	*Men:*
Age: [Mean (SD)]	64.72 (10.23)	62.96 (10.42)
Variable:	*Frequencies:*	*Percentages:*
Sex:		
Male:	74	27.1
Female:	199	72.9
Missing:	0	0.0
Cohort:		
WWII Years:	10	3.7
Baby Boom Years:	127	46.5
Second Wave Years:	130	47.6
Missing:	6	2.2
Ethnicity:		
White, Non-Hispanic	243	89.0
Hispanic/Mexican American	16	5.9
African American	4	1.5
Asian American	2	0.7
Multi-Racial	2	0.7
Other	2	0.7
Missing:	1	0.4
Marital Status:		
Married:	192	70.3
Divorced:	22	8.1
Single:	6	2.2
Widowed:	49	17.9
Engaged/Partnered/Living Together:	4	1.5
Missing:	0	0.0
Education:		
No High School Diploma	3	1.1
High School Diploma	55	20.1
Some College/Assoc. Degree	99	36.3
Four-year College Degree	74	27.1
Graduate/Professional Degree	41	15.0
Missing:	1	0.4

Variable:	*Frequencies:*	*Percentages:*
Income Level, Per Year:		
Up to $10,000:	3	1.1
$10,001 - $25,000:	6	2.2
$25,001 - $50,000:	49	17.9
$50,001 - $75,000:	46	16.8
$75,001 - $100,000:	46	16.8
$100,001 - $150,000:	59	21.6
$150,001 - $200,000:	18	6.6
Over $200,000:	31	11.4
Missing:	15	5.5
Political Affiliation:		
Republican:	127	46.5
Democrat:	100	36.6
Neither/Other:	40	14.7
Missing:	6	2.2
Political Orientation:		
Conservative:	139	50.9
Liberal:	79	28.9
Neither/Other:	48	17.6
Missing:	7	2.6
Religious Affiliation:		
Protestant:	126	46.2
Catholic:	69	25.3
None/Other:	78	28.6
Missing:	0	0.0
Religious Orientation:		
Conservative:	131	48.0
Liberal:	78	38.6
Neither/Other:	61	22.3
Missing:	3	1.1

Note. Because all demographic data other than age is categorical, frequencies and percentages are reported. Age, because it is a continuous variable is reported by mean and standard deviation.

Table 2.

Reliability Coefficients for the FEM, the FWM, and the AWS

Measure:	Mean (SD)	Reliability Coefficients:	
		Split-Half	Cronbach's Alpha
FEM	3.02 (2.21)	.78	.88
FWM	4.45 (1.11)	.72	.87
AWS	2.62 (0.82)	.73	.84

Note. Values for both the FEM and AWS scales were measured on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with values greater than or equal to 4.01 indicating negative attitudes toward feminist ideals and more conservative attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values less than or equal to 3.99 were indicative of more positive attitudes toward feminism and more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values of 4.00 were indicative of neutrality toward feminism and nontraditional roles for women in society. For the FWM scale, values greater than or equal to 4.01 were more indicative of *positive* views toward feminism, and values less than or equal to 3.99 were suggestive of *negative* views toward feminism.

Table 3.

Means and Standard Deviations for Religious Orientation by Religious Group for the FEM, FWM and the AWS.

Measure:	Religious Orientation:	Religious Group:	Mean:	SD:
FEM	More Liberal	Protestant	2.20	0.67
		Catholic	2.56	0.56
		Other	2.14	0.79
		Total	*2.30*	*0.69*
	More Conservative	Protestant	3.30	0.79
		Catholic	4.33	5.92
		Other	3.70	1.28
		Total	*3.62*	*3.00*
	Other	Protestant	2.97	0.69
		Catholic	2.69	0.71
		Other	2.45	0.82
		Total	*2.65*	*0.78*
FWM	More Liberal	Protestant	5.34	0.80
		Catholic	5.13	1.33
		Other	5.33	0.79
		Total	*5.27*	*0.99*
	More Conservative	Protestant	3.78	.0.91
		Catholic	4.51	0.76
		Other	3.83	1.20
		Total	*3.96*	*0.98*
	Other	Protestant	4.48	0.85
		Catholic	4.28	0.77
		Other	4.49	0.93
		Total	*4.44*	*0.87*

Measure:	Religious Orientation:	Religious Group:	Mean:	SD:
AWS	More Liberal	Protestant	2.32	1.14
		Catholic	2.30	0.57
		Other	2.01	0.71
		Total	*2.23*	*0.88*
	More Conservative	Protestant	2.96	0.72
		Catholic	2.78	0.68
		Other	3.16	0.84
		Total	*2.95*	*0.74*
	Other	Protestant	2.75	0.47
		Catholic	2.42	0.44
		Other	2.24	0.72
		Total	*2.42*	*0.63*

Note. Values for both the FEM and AWS scales were measured on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with values greater than or equal to 4.01 indicating negative attitudes toward feminist ideals and more conservative attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values less than or equal to 3.99 were indicative of more positive attitudes toward feminism and more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values of 4.00 were indicative of neutrality toward feminism and nontraditional roles for women in society. For the FWM scale, values greater than or equal to 4.01 were more indicative of *positive* views toward feminism, and values less than or equal to 3.99 were suggestive of *negative* views toward feminism.

Table 4.

Means and Standard Deviations for Political Orientation by Political Group for the FEM, FWM and the AWS.

Measure:	Political Orientation:	Political Group:	Mean:	SD:
FEM	More Liberal	Democrat	2.35	0.80
		Republican	2.41	0.55
		Other	2.54	1.56
		Total	*2.38*	*0.88*
	More Conservative	Democrat	3.03	0.88
		Republican	3.52	3.30
		Other	2.98	0.66
		Total	*3.40*	*2.93*
	Other	Democrat	2.76	0.73
		Republican	2.90	0.66
		Other	2.97	0.79
		Total	*2.89*	*0.72*
FWM	More Liberal	Democrat	5.35	1.08
		Republican	4.96	0.76
		Other	5.08	1.10
		Total	*5.27*	*1.05*
	More Conservative	Democrat	4.64	0.85
		Republican	3.89	1.00
		Other	4.33	1.04
		Total	*4.04*	*1.01*
	Other	Democrat	4.33	0.70
		Republican	4.56	0.83
		Other	4.24	0.79
		Total	*4.33*	*0.76*

Measure:	Religious Orientation:	Religious Group:	Mean:	SD:
AWS	More Liberal	Democrat	2.31	0.99
		Republican	2.17	0.55
		Other	2.16	0.67
		Total	*2.27*	*0.91*
	More Conservative	Democrat	2.84	0.76
		Republican	2.78	0.79
		Other	2.82	0.74
		Total	*2.79*	*0.78*
	Other	Democrat	2.68	0.64
		Republican	2.45	0.41
		Other	2.72	0.75
		Total	*2.65*	*0.66*

Note. Values for both the FEM and AWS scales were measured on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with values greater than or equal to 4.01 indicating negative attitudes toward feminist ideals and more conservative attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values less than or equal to 3.99 were indicative of more positive attitudes toward feminism and more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values of 4.00 were indicative of neutrality toward feminism and nontraditional roles for women in society. For the FWM scale, values greater than or equal to 4.01 were more indicative of *positive* views toward feminism, and values less than or equal to 3.99 were suggestive of *negative* views toward feminism.

Table 5.

Means and Standard Deviations for Cohort for the FEM, FWM and the AWS.

Measure:	Cohort:	Mean:	SD:
FEM	WWII Years (1940-1945)	3.51	1.06
	Baby Boom Years (1946-1963)	3.21	0.94
	Second Wave Feminism(1964-1978)	3.02	3.04
	Total	*3.02*	*2.24*
FWM	WWII Years (1940-1945)	4.38	0.96
	Baby Boom Years (1946-1963)	4.37	0.98
	Second Wave Feminism(1964-1978)	4.56	1.21
	Total	*4.46*	*1.10*
AWS	WWII Years (1940-1945)	3.39	1.63
	Baby Boom Years (1946-1963)	2.83	0.74
	Second Wave Feminism(1964-1978)	2.36	0.72
	Total	*2.62*	*0.83*

Note. Values for both the FEM and AWS scales were measured on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with values greater than or equal to 4.01 indicating negative attitudes toward feminist ideals and more conservative attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values less than or equal to 3.99 were indicative of more positive attitudes toward feminism and more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values of 4.00 were indicative of neutrality toward feminism and nontraditional roles for women in society. For the FWM scale, values greater than or equal to 4.01 were more indicative of *positive* views toward feminism, and values less than or equal to 3.99 were suggestive of *negative* views toward feminism.

Table 6.

Means and Standard Deviations for Gender for the FEM, FWM and the AWS.

Measure:	Sex:	Mean:	SD:
FEM	Female	3.06	2.55
	Male	2.92	0.85
	Total	*3.02*	*2.22*
FWM	Female	4.44	1.13
	Male	4.44	1.06
	Total	*4.44*	*1.11*
AWS	Female	2.62	0.87
	Male	2.62	0.69
	Total	*2.62*	*0.82*

Note. Values for both the FEM and AWS scales were measured on a 1-7 Likert-type scale, with values greater than or equal to 4.01 indicating negative attitudes toward feminist ideals and more conservative attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values less than or equal to 3.99 were indicative of more positive attitudes toward feminism and more liberal attitudes towards women's rights and roles in society. Values of 4.00 were indicative of neutrality toward feminism and nontraditional roles for women in society. For the FWM scale, values greater than or equal to 4.01 were more indicative of *positive* views toward feminism, and values less than or equal to 3.99 were suggestive of *negative* views toward feminism.

Figure Captions

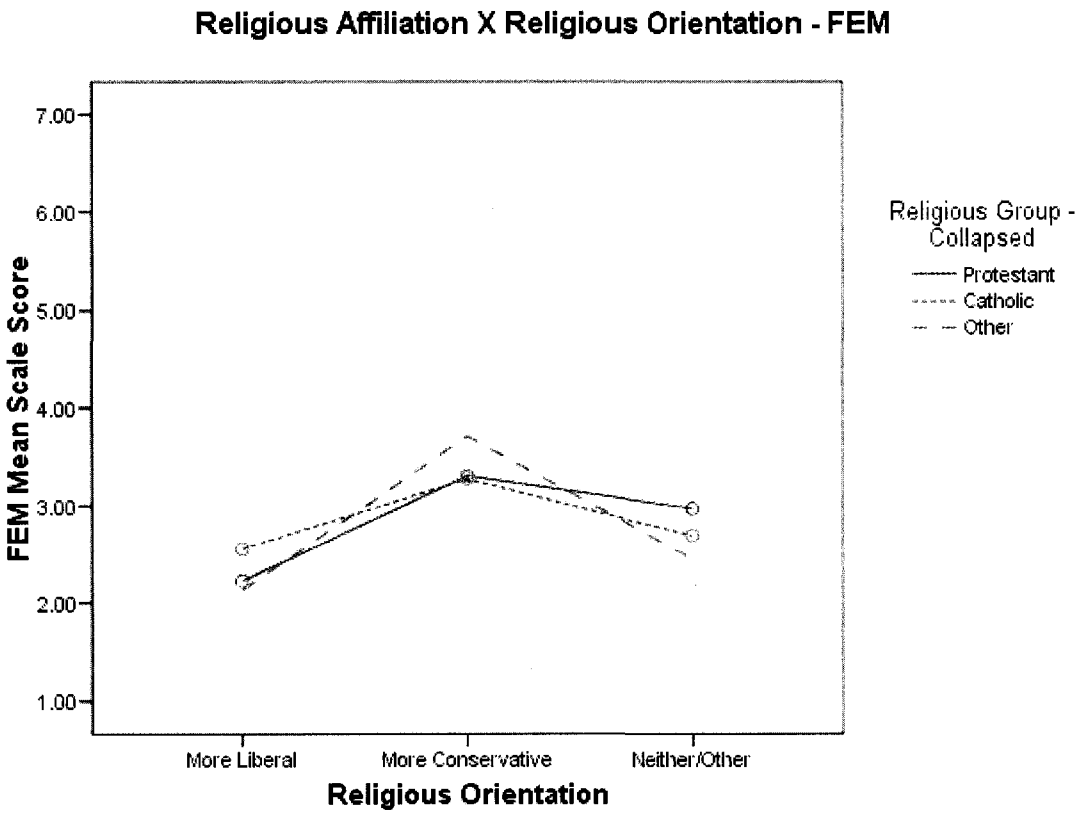
Figure 1. Mean scale scores on the FEM as a function of religious orientation (liberal vs. conservative) and religious group affiliation. Higher scores indicated less support for feminism.

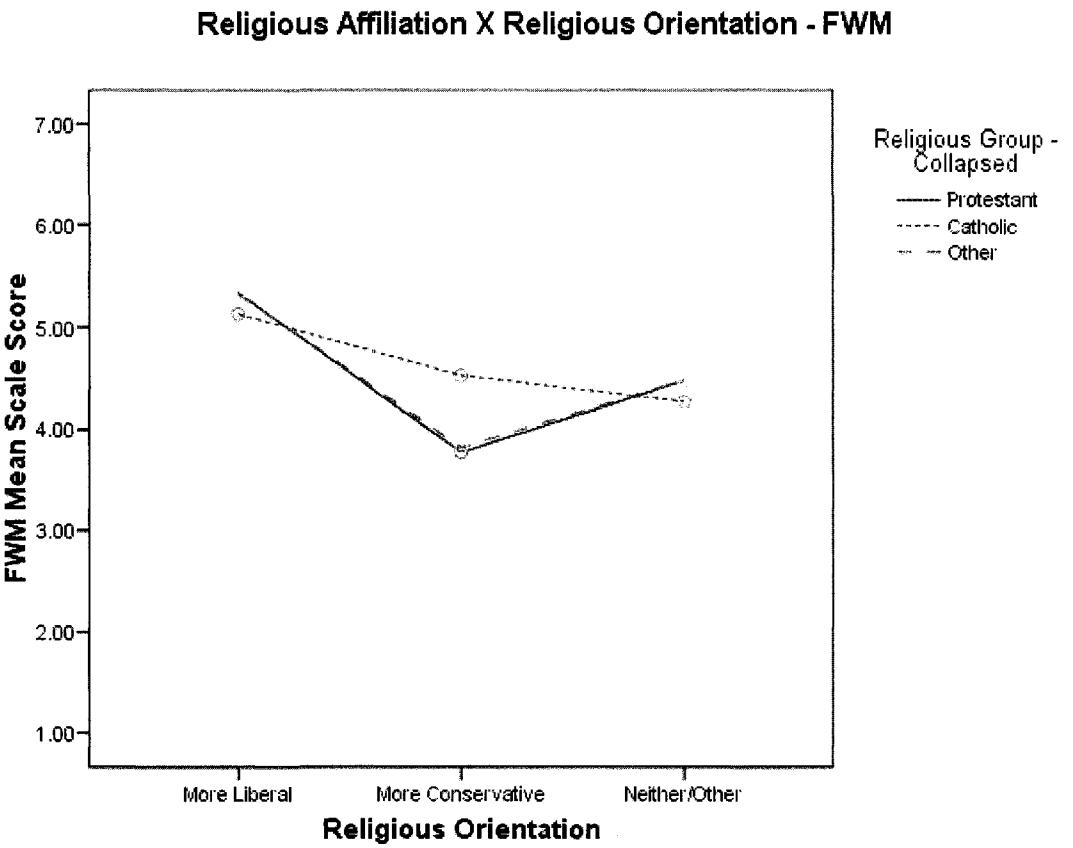
Figure 2. Mean scale scores on the FWM as a function of religious orientation (liberal vs. conservative) and religious group affiliation. Higher scores indicated more support for feminism.

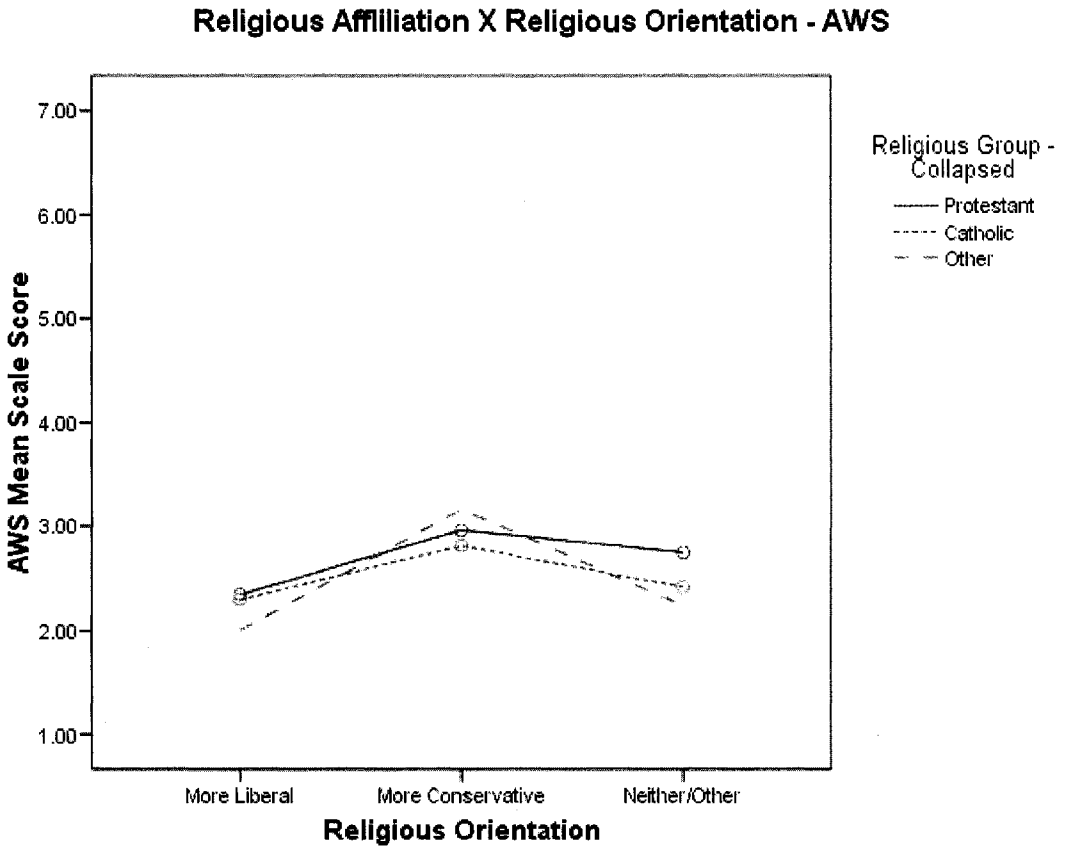
Figure 3. Mean scale scores on the AWS as a function of religious orientation (liberal vs. conservative) and religious group affiliation. Higher scores indicated less support for feminism.

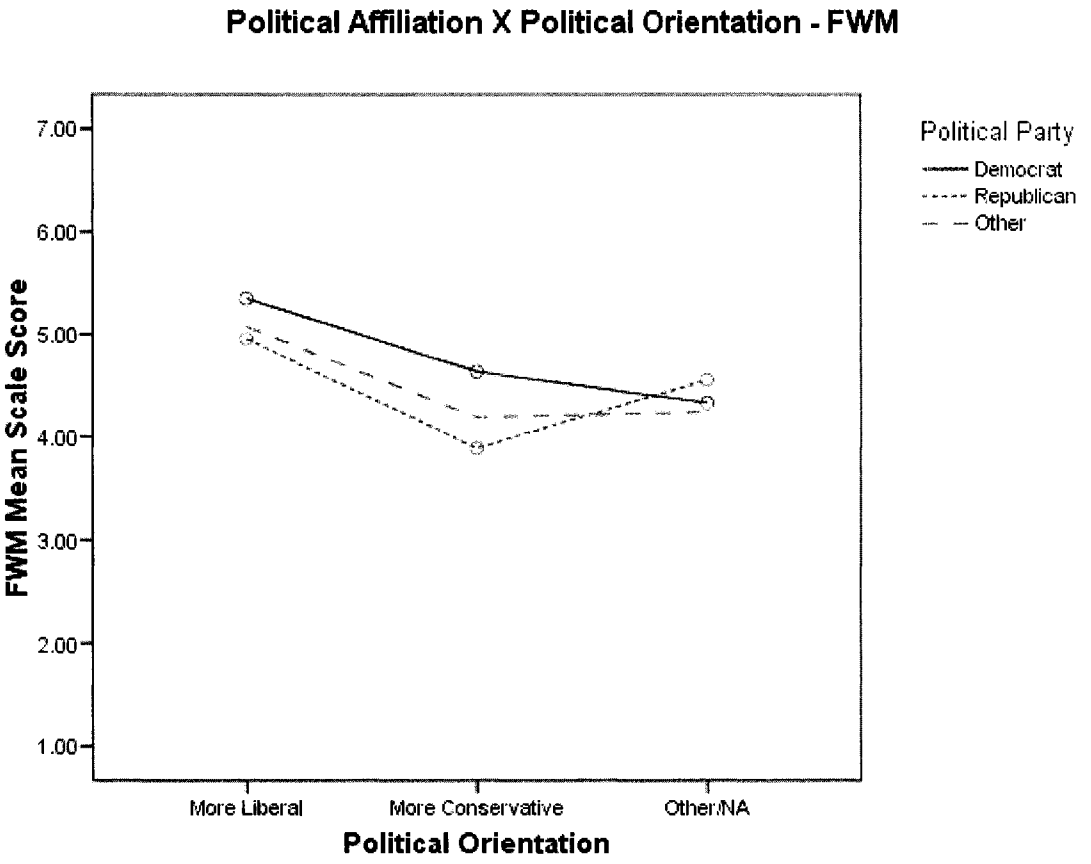
Figure 4. Mean scale scores on the FWM as a function of political orientation (liberal vs. conservative) and political group affiliation. Higher scores indicated more support for feminism.

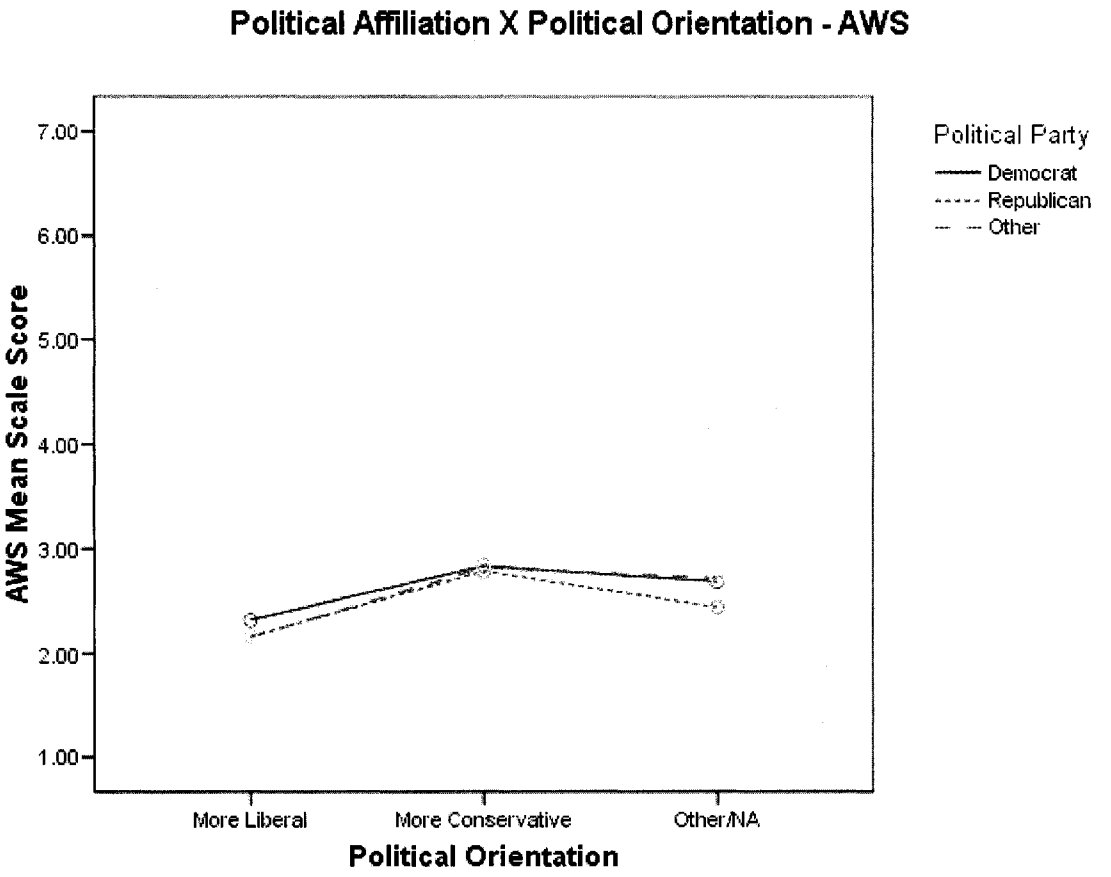
Figure 5. Mean scale scores on the AWS as a function of political orientation (liberal vs. conservative) and political group affiliation. Higher scores indicated less support for feminism.


Religious Affiliation X Religious Orientation - FEM
FEM Mean Scale Score
7.00
6.00
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
More Liberal
More Conservative
Neither/Other
Religious Orientation
Religious Group - Collapsed
Protestant
Catholic
Other


Religious Affiliation X Religious Orientation - FWM
FWM Mean Scale Score
7.00
6.00
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
More Liberal
More Conservative
Neither/Other
Religious Orientation
Religious Group - Collapsed
Protestant
Catholic
Other


Religious Affiliation X Religious Orientation - AWS
AWS Mean Scale Score
7.00
6.00
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
More Liberal
More Conservative
Neither/Other
Religious Orientation
Religious Group - Collapsed
Protestant
Catholic
Other


Political Affiliation X Political Orientation - FWM
FWM Mean Scale Score
7.00
6.00
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
More Liberal
More Conservative
Other/NA
Political Orientation
Political Party
Democrat
Republican
Other


Political Affiliation X Political Orientation - AWS
AWS Mean Scale Score
7.00
6.00
5.00
4.00
3.00
2.00
1.00
More Liberal
More Conservative
Other/NA
Political Orientation
Political Party
Democrat
Republican
Other