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THE PARADOX OF FEMINIST IDENTIFICATION:  
ROLE-IDENTITY AND THE RELUCTANCE TO ASSUME  
A FEMINIST IDENTITY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for  
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate  
School of The Ohio State University

By

Stephanie Spears, B.S., M.A.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Ohio State University

1995

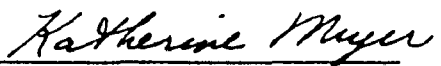
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**To The Memory of My Mother**

**Gracebelle Day Spears**

**1914 - 1989**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
VITA.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF EXHIBITS.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
THE TWENTY-SOMETHING GENERATION AND FEMINISM.....	2
CONNECTION BETWEEN THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH AND FEMINISM.....	7
A HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY.....	12
"IOWA" AND "CHICAGO" SCHOOLS OF SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM.....	13
METHODOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SCHOOLS....	15
THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH.....	17
THE TWO ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHIES.....	21
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HIERARCHIES.....	23
THE ROLE-IDENTITY ASSUMPTIONS GUIDING RESEARCH.....	25
FEMINISM AND THE SEARCH FOR FEMINIST IDENTITY.....	27
THE DEBATE OVER GENDER.....	29
COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY AND FEMINIST IDENTITY.....	30
II. METHODS.....	34
THE SAMPLE.....	35
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS.....	37
THE QUESTIONNAIRE.....	44
THE TWENTY STATEMENTS TEST.....	45
METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS OF THE TST.....	47
THE TST AS A "JUMPING-OFF" POINT.....	48
THE TST AND GENDERED SELF-REFERENCES.....	49



ANALYSIS ISSUES OF THE TST.....	50
McPARTLAND'S TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM.....	53
MACKIE'S TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM.....	54
TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM USED IN THIS PROJECT.....	56
TST SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES.....	57
THE JACKSON ROLE-IDENTITY TECHNIQUE.....	61
ROLE-IDENTITIES USED IN THIS PROJECT.....	64
THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-IDENTITY.....	65
THE POLITICAL ROLE-IDENTITY.....	67
THE GENDER ROLE-IDENTITY.....	67
JACKSON TECHNIQUE HYPOTHESES.....	69
ATTITUDE QUESTIONS ABOUT FEMINISTS, FEMINISM, AND THE FUTURE.....	70
ATTITUDES ABOUT FEMINISTS.....	71
ATTITUDES ABOUT THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.....	76
ATTITUDES ABOUT FUTURE ENDEAVORS.....	78
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION.....	79
THE TST AND THE ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHY.....	81
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS.....	82
 III. RESEARCH GROUP BOUNDARIES.....	 84
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE.....	86
QUESTION SELECTION FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE.....	92
EVALUATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE.....	97
SUMMARY OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE.....	102
FEMINIST MEASURE.....	102
SELECTION OF THE FEMINIST BOUNDARY.....	108
SUMMARY OF ADDITIVE MEASURES.....	114
RESEARCH GROUPS DEFINED.....	116
 IV. RESULTS OF THE TST.....	 118
FINDINGS.....	119
CONCRETE SELF-REFERENCES.....	120
WOMEN'S USE OF MODIFIERS.....	122
GENDERED SELF-REFERENCES.....	125
TRADITIONAL SELF-REFERENCES.....	129
TRADITIONAL AND NEUTRAL STATEMENTS COMPARED.....	132
NON-TRADITIONAL SELF-REFERENCES.....	135
MALE SELF-REFERENCES.....	136
SELF REVEALING STATEMENTS.....	139
FAMILIAL AND SOCIETAL SELF-REFERENCES.....	142
MIXED RESULTS OF THE FAMILIAL/SOCIETAL STATEMENTS	143
THE MENTION OF BIOLOGICAL SEX.....	145

COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS RESEARCH.....	147
COMPOSITE GROUP RESPONSES.....	149
CONCLUSIONS OF THE TST RESULTS.....	156
V. ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHY RESULTS.....	158
THE WOMEN'S GROUPS.....	160
WOMEN'S GROUP 1: NEGATIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.....	161
WOMEN'S GROUP 2: NEGATIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS/POSITIVE TOWARD THE MOVEMENT.....	167
WOMEN'S GROUP 3: POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS/POSITIVE TOWARD THE MOVEMENT.....	170
WOMEN'S GROUP 4: POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS AND THE MOVEMENT/SELF IDENTIFIED FEMINISTS.....	172
COMPARISONS OF WOMEN'S GROUPS.....	174
GROUP 1 AND GROUP 4.....	174
GROUP 2 AND GROUP 4.....	180
GROUP 3 AND GROUP 4.....	183
NON-FEMINIST GROUPS COMPARED.....	185
GROUP 1 AND GROUP 2.....	185
GROUP 1 AND GROUP 3.....	187
GROUP 2 AND GROUP 3.....	187
CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE WOMEN'S COMPARISONS.....	190
CLUSTERING OF IMPORTANT IDENTITIES.....	194
THE MEN'S RESEARCH GROUPS.....	196
COMPARISON OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S GROUPS.....	200
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	201
SUBTLE DIFFERENCES FOUND WITH THE TST.....	202
THE JACKSON TECHNIQUE.....	204
ROLE-IDENTITY CLUSTERS IMPORTANT IN THE WOMEN'S GROUPS.....	205
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-IDENTITY.....	206
DIFFERENCES IN RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	208
SIMILARITIES IN RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	208
THE RELIGIOUS AND ROMANTIC ROLE-IDENTITIES.....	209
THE POLITICAL AND GENDER ROLE-IDENTITIES.....	210
THE LESBIAN ISSUE.....	212
BACKGROUND FEATURES.....	214
THE "MAGIC MOMENT" AND OTHER PATHWAYS TO FEMINIST IDENTIFICATION.....	214
THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH.....	217
FUTURE RESEARCH.....	218

APPENDIX .....	221
A. RESEARCH INSTRUMENT.....	222
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	228

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE.....	41
2. QUESTIONS DEALING WITH THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.....	87
3. CORRELATION MATRIX OF MOVEMENT VARIABLES.....	91
4. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ADDITIVE MEASURE.....	97
5. MEANS AND RANGES FOR MOVEMENT ADDITIVE MEASURE.....	101
6. QUESTIONS DEALING WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISTS.....	104
7. CORRELATION MATRIX OF FEMINIST VARIABLES.....	107
8. ADDITIVE MEASURE FOR FEMINISTS.....	107
9. CROSSTABLES OF FEMINIST MEASURE WITH FEMINIST ID.....	110
10. MEANS AND RANGES FOR FEMINIST ADDITIVE MEASURE.....	113
11. MEANS AND RANGES FOR ADDITIVE MEASURES BY RESEARCH GROUPS.....	115
12. THE NUMBER OF CONSENSUAL CONCRETE STATEMENTS BY RESPONDENTS BY SEX.....	124
13. GENDERED NATURE OF SELF-REFERENCES.....	128
14. MENTION OF BIOLOGICAL SEX BY RESPONDENT.....	147
15. WOMEN - GROUP 1 - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES FOR RANKING AND COMPARISONS OF RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	164
16. WOMEN - GROUP 2 - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES FOR RANKING AND COMPARISONS OF RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	169
17. WOMEN - GROUP 3 - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES FOR RANKING AND COMPARISONS OF RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	171

18. WOMEN - GROUP 4 - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES FOR RANKING AND COMPARISONS OF RANKINGS AND RATINGS.....	173
19. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 1 AND 4.....	178
20. KEY IDENTITY COMPARISONS OF RANK AND RATINGS GROUPS 1 AND 4.....	179
21. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 2 AND 4.....	182
22. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 3 AND 4.....	184
23. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 1 AND 2.....	186
24. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 3 AND 1.....	187
25. T-TEST COMPARISON OF GROUPS 3 AND 2.....	189
26. RANKINGS AND RATINGS OF MEN'S GROUPS.....	198

## LIST OF EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT	PAGE
I. WOMAN GROUP 2 - TRADITIONAL (MOV. 22/FEM. 10).....	129
II. WOMAN GROUP 2 - TRADITIONAL (MOV. 23/FEM. 11).....	130
III. WOMAN GROUP 2 - TRADITIONAL (MOV. 22/FEM. 11).....	131
IV. WOMAN GROUP 2 - TRADITIONAL (MOV. 31/FEM. 9).....	132
V. WOMAN GROUP 1 - TRADITIONAL (MOV. 16/FEM. 7).....	133
VI. WOMAN GROUP 1 - NON-TRADITIONAL (MOV.16/FEM. 9).....	134
VII. WOMAN GROUP 4 - WEAK TRADITIONAL (MOV.24/FEM. 12).....	135
VIII. WOMAN GROUP 2 - NON-TRADITIONAL (MOV.24/FEM. 11).....	136
IX. MALE GROUP 3 (MOV. 22/FEM.13).....	137
X. MALE GROUP 1 (MOV.12/FEM 5).....	137
XI. MALE GROUP 2 (MOV.22/FEM.7).....	137
XII. MALE GROUP 4 (MOV. 27/FEM.14).....	139
XIII. REVEALING SELF-REFERENCE - WOMAN.....	140
XIV. REVEALING SELF-REFERENCE -MAN.....	141
XV. COMPOSITE - GROUP 1 WOMEN.....	152
XVI. COMPOSITE - GROUP 2 WOMEN.....	152
XVII. COMPOSITE - GROUP 3 WOMEN.....	153
XVIII. COMPOSITE - GROUP 4 WOMEN.....	153
XIX. COMPOSITE - GROUP 1 MEN.....	154

XX. COMPOSITE - GROUP 2 MEN.....	154
XXI. COMPOSITE - GROUP 3 MEN.....	155
XXII. COMPOSITE - GROUP 4 MEN.....	155

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. ROLE-IDENTITY CLUSTERS OF WOMEN'S GROUPS.....	193
2. ROLE-IDENTITY CLUSTERS OF MEN'S GROUPS.....	199



## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

From the "second wave" resurgence of the women's movement in the late 1960's, debates concerning the merits of feminism have regularly attended its growth and progress. Magazine cover stories, tabloid television segments and academic publications variously proclaim the success of the feminist revolution, the demise of the movement, a postfeminist resurrection and a counterrevolutionary backlash (Buechler 1990; Faludi 1992; Sommers 1994). In a less polemical vein, public opinion polls have in the same period set about measuring support for and understanding of feminist issues as well as the willingness of women and men to personally identify as feminist.

Throughout this period, feminist issues such as equal pay for equal work, reproductive rights and expanded child care options have garnered support from the majority of the people polled, while most of those same respondents show a reluctance to personally identify as feminist, or with feminists.<sup>1</sup> The public's mixed perceptions and

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<sup>1</sup> A TIME/CNN poll reported in the Dec. 4, 1989(Pp. 80-89) issue that 82% of respondents said that the women's movement "is improving the lives of women," but only 33% considered

acceptance of the feminist movement and its followers is not uncommon for any social movement, but the continued open debate during this period is of interest (Klandermans 1992). This debate signals the visible social presence of a movement and the saliency of that movement in the social milieu (Giddens 1991). It is the paradoxical dimension of individual and collective responses to feminism which provide the genesis for this dissertation. More specifically, this dissertation will explore support for and opposition to feminism through an examination of the identity structures of contemporary college-age women and men, the first generation to come of age in a social world that has always included feminism.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE TWENTY-SOMETHING GENERATION AND FEMINISM

In the scholarship that addresses the identification of twenty-something generation women with feminism the issues ultimately are connected to the future (or lack thereof) of the women's movement. The media refers to the years following the defeat of the ERA as the post-feminist era, the implication being that the nature of feminism changed at this point (Schneider

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themselves feminist. A TIME/CNN poll from the March 9, 1992 (p. 54) issue reported that 57% of the women polled said there is a need for a strong women's movement, but 63% said they do not consider themselves to be feminist.

<sup>2</sup> Both feminists and anti-feminists have used the views of college-age women and men to substantiate a variety of claims about the future of feminism. The choice of this group as the focus for this project is addressed more directly in the methods chapter.

1988:10-15). Anti-feminists interpret this to mean that feminism is dead or at a minimum out of touch with the needs of young women today (Sommers 1994). Stacey contends that the use of the post-feminist label is a subtle way the media has disguised sexism; she revised the meaning of the label of post-feminism to represent a time of depoliticization when women actively adjust their personal understanding of feminism to fit their own circumstances (1987:8-10). This represents not the death but rather the diffusion of feminism (Buechler 1990). It is not surprising that the theorizing done by feminists holds out hope that despite their lower level of identification, contemporary young women may someday identify as feminists.

Ferree and Hess (1985:181-185) explain lower levels of identification among young women with the suggestion that their maturation in a world that has always had an active women's movement struggling for improvement in the conditions of women's lives leads them to take feminism for granted. Younger women are merely reaping the benefits of the accomplishments of older feminists. Steinem (1983:211-218) assumes that young women are unaware of the depth of sexist oppression in society because of an enriched opportunity structure won through years of struggle. In her view, once young women become more active in the labor force and are confronted with sexism and discrimination they may then be motivated to become active in the women's movement. All that is needed is some crystallizing experience to

push them into action. As evidenced by the success of the pro-choice movement in mobilizing college-age women for the April 1989 Washington march for abortion rights (Ryan 1992:144-154), young women may simply need a set of salient issues around which to mobilize. Questions can reasonably be raised as to whether mobilization around one set of issues translates into identification with feminism in a broader sense. Are these young women poised to respond with action against sexism once they are confronted with it as Steinem and others predict? Of course this assumes that there is no sexism outside the adult world. Such commonsense explanations may offer some insight into the process of feminist identification, but they are insufficient to account for recent shifts.

Other scholars, while not totally rejecting the "magic moment" theory, offer explanations from a generational approach. From this perspective the lull in young women's activism is merely a generational shifting of issues which is a natural process during the career of a social movement; the next generation takes up the mantel once the issues are crystallized for their age cohort (Schneider 1988:12-17). While this view expands on the first approach, it ignores the fact that many women who are presently in the workforce are in jobs where they are relatively disadvantaged compared with the men they work with; instead of becoming politicized these women respond by processing their position and work identity differently from men (Phelan 1994). It

appears likely that for some young women, no matter how much they confront sexism in their daily lives they will not be motivated to become politically active but will choose to structure their understanding of events in other ways. This perspective raises questions as to whether something about the way women construct both feminism and their own self definitions mitigates or impedes personal identification as feminist.

Bolotin (1982:116) interviewed several college-age women and concluded that while most of them supported fair labor practices, concerns over lesbianism were at the center of their rejection of a feminist identity. The women indicated that to be identified as a feminist would inhibit their dating opportunities and threaten their relationships with their families. As Freeman (1975:135), Ryan (1992:44) and Ransdell (1995: 641-653) point out, the lesbian issue has been an element of contention in the modern women's movement, both from within the movement and from the outside. Others concur that the fear of being labeled lesbian is a factor not only in young women's resistance to being labeled feminist, but in the resistance of women of all ages (Mansbridge 1986:130-131; Buechler 1990:66; Faludi 1992; and Sommers 1994:265).

It is easy to attribute this purported lesbian backlash to a form of homophobia, although there are more indications which point to a fear of social isolation as the determining factor. For example, in the interviews conducted by Bolotin (1982) several of

the women indicated that men were important in their lives and the connection between feminism and lesbianism made them uncomfortable. However, the majority of the women talked about a fear of isolation if they labeled themselves as feminist. This isolation was not really connected to a sexually explicit label, but was rather a form of intellectual isolation because of perceived differences in the way feminists define the world: perceptual differences separating feminists from mainstream culture.

Research by Gleb (1986) on feminism in Britain adds credibility to this argument by connecting the political isolation associated with feminism to the fact that the ideology of feminism is outside the predominately male and ideologically traditional political structure of Britain. Research by Whittier (1991) also confirms that the perceptions of non-feminist women concerning the isolating effects of feminist identification are true. For the women in her research, however, the isolation was not viewed as a negative consequence of feminist identity, but as one of the boundaries of their lesbian community (1991: 101-106).

There has been a great deal of speculation about the reluctance of young women to identify themselves as feminists. One point of agreement among those who have explored this phenomenon is that it is related to how young women define themselves. Research from 1982 (Bolotin) to 1995 (Whittier) documents an understanding among women that to take on a feminist identity will alter the nature of their self definition, which

will in turn change their relationship to society. Women who do identify as feminist would call this transformation or changed relationship with society the realization that the personal is political. Giddens would say this realization is not a unique feature of feminism, but a component of any social movement today (1991:9).

#### CONNECTION BETWEEN THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH AND FEMINISM

As others have pointed out, there is an implicit connection between an individual's social identities and their participation in social movements (Olson 1965; Ferree and Miller 1985). Much of the work that has looked at the issue of young women's reluctance to identify as feminist has focused more on how feminists are defined than on how young women define the importance of their crucial social roles. In this research then I will attempt to bring the personal and the political together through a closer examination of the personal. One implication of this approach is the possible discovery of the boundaries that keep young women and men from identifying as feminist. More specifically, the boundaries established by specific role identities and the strength of commitment to those role identities held by young men and women will be carefully examined in this research.

The major social psychological assumption guiding this research is the premise that people develop opinions and attitudes about issues in the social world based on their understanding of the

relationship between their personal lives and the larger social structure (Kuhn and McPartland 1954; Kuhn 1960; Hill 1981; Seeman 1981), referred to by Mills as the "sociological imagination" (1959). In the view of McCall and Simmons an individual's role-identity structure is the mechanism that provides the foundation for how that person organizes the meanings they hold about the social world (1978:p. 67), the entity which mediates the relationship between the individual and society. The goal of this research then is exploration of the relationship between individual response to feminist issues and rejection or acceptance of feminist identity through use of an instrument which relates individual role-identities with attitudes toward feminism.

Some of the specific questions to be addressed in this research include: How do young women and men perceive the Feminist Movement and the relevance of feminism in their lives? What are the perceptions of feminism which draw men and women to a feminist ideology? Which perceptions of feminism are associated with rejection of a feminist identity? Which aspects of young adults' sense of self are related to the rejection of or attraction to the Feminist Movement and a feminist identity? This research is the first to systematically explore the relationship between role identity structures and perceptions of feminism. By pairing social psychological approaches to the self with the social movement literature, this study will add to both sub-fields and is poised to



answer questions which are inadequately addressed from either perspective alone.

Methodologically this research will be a multifaceted exploration of feminism and feminist identity, examining the institutional as well as the individual materiality of the issues. The role-identity approach (McCall and Simmons 1978) has been chosen as the theoretical foundation for this research, given the implicit connection of this theory to the feminist movement. For example, "the problem with no name" immortalized by Betty Friedan (1963), widely recognized by many as a catalytic image in the history of the modern Feminist Movement, can be interpreted through the role-identity approach as an issue of role strain or stress in fulfilling the demands of the female role. Friedan described the plight of middle class college educated women in the 1960's in terms of a diffuse frustration at the limited range of identities they were allowed to publicly display. The wife and mother with the successful husband was perceived as "having it all" and was expected to be happy, but many women in this situation were not fulfilled by their limited options (Rowland 1984). For many it was this dissatisfaction with the status quo, Friedan's "problem with no name," that brought them to feminism and the issues associated with the Feminist Movement once they became connected to other women with similar feelings (Rowland 1984; Mansbridge 1986; Randell 1987; Faludi 1992; Debold et al. 1993).

The role-identity approach also can be the means through which younger, more radical women developed a feminist consciousness later in the 1960's in consciousness raising groups: women meeting together to explore common issues of concern in a politicized context (Freeman 1975:118). Within the purview of the role-identity approach, "consciousness raising" can be interpreted as a process which enables women to act out identities that they previously were unable to enact for a myriad of reasons. In role identity terms, consciousness raising leads to the redefinition of personal experience and shifts in identity salience hierarchies (McCall and Simmons 1978:246-247).

Recent research in the area of social movements points to "identity-oriented paradigms" (Cohen 1985; and Gamson 1992) as a means of examining particular social movements (Pizzorno 1978; Boggs 1986; Melucci 1985; Offe 1985; Touraine 1985; and Klandermans and Tarrow 1988). This "new social movement" approach, as it is often called, focuses on "why" movements arise, in contrast to the resource mobilization approach which explores "how" movements arise (Kriesi 1989). The new approach is based on an assumption that more recent social movements, among them the feminist movement, are qualitatively different from older movements in how the concerns of the movement are articulated. With more contemporary movements issues are centered around individual cultural interests as opposed to the broad structural and

economic concerns which dominated older movements such as the labor movement (Kriesi 1989; and Giddens 1991).

Whittier (1991) used the concept of collective identity to demonstrate how a lesbian feminist group shared a collective identity of feminism which resulted in political action by the group. As with other work in the area of collective identity, the concept is somewhat different from the role-identity concept, but the two are more similar than other ways of approaching social movement activity. For example in the Whittier research the factors she cited as central to the collective identity of the group - modes of dress, appropriate political activity and personal relationships - were also central to the women's self definitions (1991:124-149). What this further demonstrates is the appropriateness of an identity approach to the study of issues associated with the feminist movement. Other than the research by Whittier and later work she did with Taylor (Taylor and Whittier 1992), there has not been any empirical examination of the feminist movement through some type of identity approach.

What we begin with then, is the grounding of the contemporary feminist movement in Giddens' concept of "life politics:"

Life politics concerns political issues which flow from processes of self-actualization in post-traditional contexts, where globalising influences intrude deeply into the reflexive project of the self, and conversely where processes of self-realisation influence global strategies (1991;214)."

It is the assumption of this research then that the best way to explore the issues connected to the Feminist Movement is through research which attempts to connect the personal and the political. As McCall and Simmons point out "...the most important variable intervening between the antecedent events of the social world and consequent actions of the individual" is the "self;" the "self" is also the cornerstone to the role-identity approach (1978:8).

In the following sections the relevant aspects of the role-identity approach will be summarized along with a brief history of the concept of identity. This will be followed by a discussion of relevant information from previous research on the Feminist Movement. Once the foundation for this research is presented the methodological concerns will be described.

#### A HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

The birth of the concept of identity can be traced to its use as a technical term by Erikson in the late 1930's (Weiger et al.1986:7). Erikson developed various derivatives of the concept of identity by combining it with traditional Freudian labels. While the concept was not completely elaborated, it was clear that the function of "identity" for Erikson was to bring out the social and historical influences on the individual psyche. For example, "ego identity" was defined as not only representing an individual process (the "ego"); it also was meant to characterize the sociohistorical setting of that individual, which is the "identity" component (Erikson 1956). The similarity between

Erikson's use of identity and Mills' (1959) notion of the "sociological imagination,"<sup>3</sup> demonstrates how social thought during this period wrestled with the intersection of the individual and society.

Weigert et al. (1986) points out that the effects of World War II on American culture may have been the driving force behind the rise of the concept of identity as people struggled to bring meaning to post-war society (1986:2). During this period, social scientists attempted to interpret how people were motivated to accept strong national loyalties over personal concerns and how these national loyalties led people into behavior that was sometimes heroic and at other times horrific. What was apparent to scholars at the time was that prior ways of defining human behavior did not provide a model for interpreting recent historic events.

#### "IOWA" AND "CHICAGO" SCHOOLS OF SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Within the field of sociology two avenues of thought developed in connection to the concept of identity. The two schools of thought have come to be known as the "Chicago school" of symbolic interactionism, led by Blumer and the "Iowa school" of symbolic interactionism led by Kuhn. While the two schools differed methodologically they were both struggling to develop a language

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<sup>3</sup> C. Wright Mills defines the nature of the sociological imagination as follows: "For that imagination is the capacity to shift from one perspective to another - from the political to the psychological; from examination of a single family to comparative assessment of the national budgets of the world." C. Wright Mills 1959:7.

and a theory to explain what was to them the obvious relationship between the mind, self, and society.

When the concept of identity was first presented it was not defined beyond lay understandings of the term (Weigert et al. 1986:11). For example, Nelson Foote (1951) titled a work he co-authored Identity and Interpersonal Competence, but the term was never clearly operationalized (Weigert et al. 1986:10).

The concept of identity was used continuously during the 1960's in works by a number of scholars (such as Stein et al. 1960; Goffman 1963; Ruitenbeck 1964; Shinn 1964; and Berger 1966) examining a variety of issues (Weigert et al. 1986), none of whom operationalized it. The explanation offered by Weigert for the failure of the sociologists using the concept to clearly define identity is the taken-for-granted or commonsense nature of the concept (1986:17). The taken-for-granted nature of identity that was employed by these scholars was: "...labels, names, and categories through which persons address each other and themselves" (1986: 53). This commonsense understanding of identity differs from the "self," the companion term that was often used interchangeably with identity during this period. Adding to the theoretical confusion was the differing conceptualization of the self by the Chicago and Iowa schools (Meltzer et al. 1975).

The Iowa school viewed the self as emerging as the result of the individual's choosing to take certain roles, modes of behavior, and meanings about their social world as the outcome of socialization into

a particular society or social group or a "role-taking/playing" process (Turner 1962; Meltzer et al. 1975). The Chicago school viewed the self as a role-making process: the creative construction of the self by the individual (Meltzer et al. 1975). Identity on the other hand is perceived as the outward manifestation of an individual's "role-taking" process for the Iowa school (Weigert et al. 1986). A clearer picture of the development of identity can best be addressed through the methodological approaches of both schools.

While both the "Chicago" and the "Iowa" schools were struggling theoretically with defining the concept of identity, they utilized differing methodological approaches. It is this difference in the method of inquiry that leads to the choice of the role-identity approach as the appropriate foundation for this research.

#### METHODOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SCHOOLS

Methodologically the Chicago school was guided by, and in some ways limited by, Blumer's almost dogmatic insistence on the rejection of the scientific approach to the study of the "self" and ultimately the exploration of "identity" (Stryker 1980:89-99). His processual view of the "self" made it difficult for anyone other than the individual experiencing the process to interpret the meanings of occurring events. As a result of this view, the Chicago school was bound methodologically to the idiosyncratic interpretations and perceptions of a given social actor in a social situation: Blumer's "sympathetic introspection" (Meltzer et al. 1975). This humanistic methodology of

"sympathetic introspection" created a relationship for the researcher to the topic which would predispose the researcher into slowly moving methodologically beyond the theoretical "square one" of trying to understand the nature of the social actors' "role making" process. Conversely the "Iowa school" headed by Kuhn was structurally oriented and positivistic in approach, and, as a result, progressed quickly into a more scientific examination of identity (Weigert et al.1986:18).

Kuhn's examination and contribution to what has come to be known as "identity" was labeled "self-theory(Stryker 1981:11)." The Twenty Statements Test (TST) was developed by Kuhn and is recognized as one of the first major techniques employed to explore this new concept (Weigert et al. 1986). For Kuhn, the presumptive foundation of the TST is that individuals will represent their understanding of their self through their responses to the question "Who Am I?" In this instrument, the question is placed at the top of a sheet of paper with twenty blank lines below, with instructions to the respondent to write their answers to the question on the lines.<sup>4</sup> The TST is an unstructured questionnaire which allows the respondent to define the relevant information to their own understanding of self at a moment in time (McPartland et al. 1961; and Jackson 1981). The TST can historically be placed between the Chicago school's reluctance to empirically measure the components of identity and more modern

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<sup>4</sup> A more complete description and discussion of the TST can be found in the Methods section of this paper.



systematic techniques. Because of this position it has been criticized for either being overly positivistic by Processual Symbolic Interactionists and unstructured and overly interpretive by Structural Symbolic Interactionists. Even though the TST has not proven to be an exhaustive measure of either the self or individual identity, it has been demonstrated to yield important self-concepts as well as the motives and vocabularies of salient roles of respondents (McPartland et al. 1961; McCall and Simmons 1978; and Zurcher 1983). The fact that the TST continues to be used demonstrates that the efforts of Kuhn and later Kuhn and McPartland (1954) had a profound impact on the development of theories dealing with the self and identity.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH

With the publication of McCall and Simmons' Identities and Interactions in 1966, the efforts of the earlier scholars in the area of self and identity were brought together (Weigert et al. 1986). It should be pointed out that while Stryker was developing similar terminology in his elaboration of the self structure (1966), the McCall and Simmons role-identities approach was more detailed and to the point (Nuttbock and Freudiger 1991). Role-identity is defined as "...the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as

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<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed presentation of the history of identity see Weigert 1986.

an occupant of a particular social position" (McCall and Simmons 1978: 65).

By combining the ideas of Kuhn, Goffman and Blumer with elements of symbolic interactionism, exchange theory and the dramaturgical perspective, McCall and Simmons developed a model for studying human interactions (Weigert et al.1986:xvi). They perceive all human interaction as occurring within boundaries which create constraints that may impede, but not totally prevent interaction. Some of these constraints affect all individuals the same and these are viewed as intrinsic limitations. For example, everyone born after November 1963 will never be able to have an interaction with President John Kennedy. Those constraints that are not in some way governed by natural forces are perceived by the authors as affecting various individuals differently. Constraints which fall within this category are classified as impeding interaction by construction of social, cultural and personal boundaries. For example, intelligence is said to be a form of personal boundary and it certainly will influence the nature of the interactions an individual might have. Most of the socially constructed boundaries presented by the authors are as straightforward as the intelligence example and have a commonsense reality that makes it easy to understand how it can limit interaction.

The point about boundaries that is germane to this research is that the goals of social movements that are attempting to change the nature of society, such as the feminist movement, focus their attention on this element of social interaction. For example, McCall

and Simmons see the boundaries of interaction as defining the "perceived opportunities at hand" (1986:37); a basic goal of all social movements is to change the opportunity structure for the members of the movement. The boundary issues are also implicitly connected to the choices made in the demographic items on the questionnaire used in this research project which will be addressed in the methods chapter (such as sex, age, race, income, college rank, racial group, currently in a relationship, etc.).

Perhaps the only adjustment needed in dealing with the boundary component of the model is to move some of the intrinsic constraints to the socially constructed constraint category because of recent technological and social innovations. This is nothing more than a conceptual problem that really does not impact the substantive understanding of the approach. Raising this as an issue is something like asking McCall and Simmons to be "politically correct" in the 1990's while writing in the 1960's (which of course is the one boundary they spoke about - time). I will, however, focus on this issue to show how the role-identity approach has an inherent flexibility which makes it possible to adjust the nature of the concepts without influencing the nature of the model.

For example, McCall and Simmons saw geographic distance as a possible intrinsic impediment to interaction. With the advent of the "information superhighway," however, individuals are finding it possible to have what they perceive as intimate interactions over thousands of miles. Clearly, even geographic distance needs to be

carefully evaluated in the 1990's as a constraint on social interaction. McCall and Simmons also saw biological sex and beauty as natural constraints on interaction. Much of the struggle of the feminist movement is over this type of "access to interaction" issue and it is thus necessary to raise concerns about this assumption. McCall and Simmons themselves, however, point out at the end of the boundary presentation that the nature of their stated assumptions about the boundaries they discussed in the chapter "are not absolute or impenetrable " (1966:36). Implicit in this statement is that their use of the term boundary was not to be viewed as some type of brick wall, but merely a hologram of a brick wall; only if you perceive it as a real wall can it then be a real wall in its consequences. While their presentation might be judged as somewhat sexist, it merely reflects the time period in which it was written and the characteristic nature of understandings of social boundaries. Therefore it is easily adaptable to considerations of feminist identity.

The heart of the McCall and Simmons approach is the concept of role-identity and its position in the interaction elaboration. As with Erikson's "ego identity," the concept of "role-identities" also represents a structural and individual entity, but the interpretation of the McCall and Simmons concept is specifically defined. In their discussion of the emergence of role identities the authors state that role-identities emerge "in the early history of the child" because of two factors. The first factor is the structural component which is the child being ascribed certain social roles (such as sex, family role,

religious role, class, etc.) by their parents and other individuals in their social world (1966:205). Implied in this association is the notion of the child then taking on the various roles to some degree. The second influencing factor is that the child develops certain role competencies of their own (or skills in acting out various social roles) and incorporates those roles into their own role repertoires which are associated with various role-identities.

#### THE TWO ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHIES

Role identities which are defined as providing the structure of possible action, or role performances, by individuals are placed within two different hierarchies (1966:85). The first is the prominence hierarchy, which is seen as "relatively" enduring and symbolizing the "ideal self" (that which the individual would aspire to be). The role-identities themselves are thought to be ranked by importance within the hierarchy, and this ranking is said to represent the "person's own thinking about himself" (1966:84). Those role identities which make up the prominence hierarchy serve the function of defining important role-identities for the individual, which can then in turn influence possible role performances.

The second hierarchy is the salience hierarchy which is also composed of various role-identities. This hierarchy is thought of as the situational self or "the subset of role-identities an individual (he) will enact in a given situation" (1966:84). The situational self is perceived as fluid, with the importance of identities shifting

periodically. There are more role-identities within the salience hierarchy than within the prominence hierarchy and they are not only ranked by importance, but are also thought to be clustered by various associations (such as similar skills ). All of the role-identities within each hierarchy or even within the various role-identity clusters are not necessarily compatible. They may in fact be conflicting role-identities that compete for enactment. Perhaps a concrete example of this abstract notion of the two hierarchies would illustrate how they operate together.

For example, let's say a given social actor thinks of herself as a great golfer. The idealized version of this identity would have a high priority in that individual's prominence hierarchy. She would see herself as being able to do any golf shot that the situation called for. She would seek out opportunities to enact this role, such as playing in tournaments, talking about golf at work, etc. When she does choose to enact this role-identity her focus should shift to her salience hierarchy or her situational self. For example, if her idealized version of her golf identity is on target and she is able to perform the social role in that idealized manner that day there is really no difference in how the identity is perceived in the two hierarchies. In this instance the two representations of the role-identity are similar, but it is not always the case. If however, there is a significant difference that day in the performance capability of the situational self and the perceived capability of the idealized self the golfer will be in trouble. She will be attempting shots she is not able to make. Her view of her golf identity will be forced to undergo significant changes. She may even threaten to give-up golf all together in an attempt to protect her view of herself. If she is able to adjust her situational self 's view of the her golfer identity, however, she may be able to begin to enjoy that role-identity again. Hitting shots more within her skill level that day and thus reducing any avoidable mistakes in their golf game. The question may be: Is the individual then forced to change her idealized view of her golf identity? Not necessarily. If she is able to rationalize

her lack of skill that day in a manner that will not damage her idealized identity, (e.g. she is tired or something similar) her idealized self will remain intact.

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HIERARCHIES

What this example is designed to illustrate is the connection between the two hierarchies and the fluidity of the salience hierarchy (or the situational self). The golfer in the example was able to make rational choices in her performance capability and thus she was able to continue to enjoy that very important role identity. The individual's conceptions of the same role-identity in the two hierarchies are connected in that they have a reflexive relationship, but the role-identity in the salience hierarchy is less stable than that same role-identity in the prominence hierarchy. The relationship is reflexive in that the enacting of the role through the situational self allows the individual to evaluate the nature of the idealized role-identity and in turn the idealized role-identity will represent the range of possible role-performances for the situational self. The major illustrative reason for the two hierarchies is to not only represent the internal conversation of the self, but also to illustrate the possibility of an ongoing stable sense of self, that does not fluctuate by each performance.

McCall and Simmons point out that the idealized version does not necessarily reflect a realistic view of the role-identity and it is also important to not always think of the idealized version as an

inflated representation of the situational role identity. It may in fact be a mirror image of the situational role identity or a less capable representation of that the role identity. There is only one more element to be added to the role-identity for this discussion and that is further elaboration of how the individual evaluates their role performance.

Let us once again go back to the golfer having a bad day:

Implicit with each role-identity is an audience or some way to evaluate each role performance. The audience has both an internal nature and external nature. For our golfer the internal audience is the reflexive relationship between the two hierarchies evaluating the success of a given role performance. The external audience is composed of those individuals who give our golfer role support. When our golfer seeks out evaluation of her performance she may do so by saying she did not play well today because she felt tired before she began. If her audience perceives that her actual performance on that day is not as good as she usually plays they may give support by saying: "That explains why you didn't play like you can." But, on the other hand, if the audience perceives that this is the way our golfer usually plays they will give a response that in some way contravenes their role-identity.

The example illustrates the nature of how role-identities are supported from both an internal and external audience. McCall and Simmons point out that the more support any particular role-identity receives will increase the likelihood of that particular role-identity being enacted (1966:57). The audience also serves as a social anchor for the role-identity and becomes a part of that role-identity or of the other role-identities in that particular cluster. The implicit



assumption in this relationship is that if the other role-identities from the same cluster are enacted the social actor might be performing that role-identity with a particular audience in mind. So even if that audience is not present during a given interaction they still may a part of the role performance. The connection of this assumption to this research project will be explained more directly in the summary of this section.

#### ROLE IDENTITY ASSUMPTIONS GUIDING THE RESEARCH

This very brief sketch of the role-identity approach is intended to set the theoretical foundation for the major assumptions of this research project. To summarize those assumptions and to connect them more directly to this research, each assumption will be presented followed by a discussion of the importance of that assumption to this research project.

**Assumption 1a:** The self-concept or the "...conceptual bridge linking the individual to the larger social structure" (Callero 1985:203) is composed of individual role-identities (Nuttbrock and Freudiger 1991).

This research begins with the assumption that individuals possess a number of role-identities connected to various social roles. These role-identities "...give the very meaning to our daily routine, for they largely determine our interpretations of the situations, events, and other people we encounter" (McCall and Simmons 1978:67). One goal

of this research will be to explore the relationship between specific role-identities and feminism.

**Assumption 1b:** Role-identities are organized in hierarchies of importance.

Building on the assumption that individuals have numerous role identities, it is also assumed that some of those role-identities are more salient to the individual and thus exert a greater influence on their interpretations of the social world. In this research it is assumed that not only the nature of role-identities, but also the intensity of commitment to the various role-identities influences the individual's attitudes toward feminism.

**Assumption 1c:** Role-identities are not independent of each other, but are organized in a complex network of relationships with various clusters of role-identities which are more directly interrelated (McCall and Simmons 1966: 73).

There will not be an attempt in this research to measure an exhaustive list of role-identities. By utilizing previous research on feminism to create a short list of role-identities, it is assumed that at the very least the research will be able to tap into the role-identity clusters which are salient to feminism.

**Assumption 2: All human interaction occurs within boundaries which create constraints that may impede, but not totally prevent interaction (McCall and Simmons 1978:37).**

Boundaries are crucial to this research. If boundaries can be thought of as constraining interaction then the nature of the boundaries separating individuals from feminism becomes one of the major concerns of this research. For example, religious identification may constrain associations, along with the age or sex of the respondent. It should be possible to explore the majority of the boundary constraints, both intrinsic and socially constructed in nature, that have been identified in other research on feminism.<sup>6</sup>

The above assumptions have not only guided the construction of the instrument to be presented in the methods chapter; they also influenced the choice of materials selected from the vast research that has been done in the area of feminism. In the next section a brief summary of the information gathered from materials dealing with feminism and feminist identity will be presented.

## FEMINISM AND THE SEARCH FOR FEMINIST IDENTITY

The roots of the second wave of the feminist movement that became more visible in the mid-1960's can be traced to many sources (Freeman 1975; Castro 1990). Some scholars say that the second

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<sup>6</sup> The nature of the research approach and the use of the boundary component is addressed in the methods section.

wave was merely a reemergence of the first wave as the result of new political opportunities (Rupp and Taylor 1987; and Taylor 1989). Others say that the societal strain which led to the second wave began when women were removed from the labor force in the late 1940's (Castro 1990). The movement that developed had multiple goals associated with differing organizational forms, and these facts alone make it difficult to interpret the feminist movement that appeared on the social horizon in the early 1970's (Buechler 1990).

In academic treatments of feminism scholars have successfully explored the nuances of this complex social movement (Heilbrun 1983; Sapiro 1984; Marshall 1985; Mansbridge 1986; Marshall and Orum 1986; Meyer and Menaghan 1986; Rupp and Taylor 1987; Randall 1987; Schneider 1988; Hirsch and Keller 1990; Buechler 1990; Whittier 1991; and Taylor and Whittier 1992). Beyond academe few seem to be familiar with the issues discussed. In sources from outside the academy, however, works dealing with feminism have been very popular (Ebeling 1990; Faludi 1991; Kamen 1991; Sommers 1994; and Steinem 1994). What all of these treatments of feminism have in common is that the underlying source of strain associated with the issues is the position of women in society and the opportunity structure connected to that position. There is a schism between those who support feminism and those who oppose feminism when it comes to addressing the "why" of this social positioning of women. The debate between these two groups can best be articulated as debate over the essence of gender (Smiley 1993).

## THE DEBATE OVER GENDER

For example, on one issue connected to the ERA the two sides had interesting positions on the equal pay for equal work question. Those opposed to the ERA would often say that they had nothing against equal pay for equal work, but in their view women did not do work of equal value (Schlafly 1977; Hewlett 1986; and Mansbridge 1986). Feminists would point out that it is the devaluation of women's work that has created a sexual double standard of how labor is rewarded which is the root cause of income inequality (Eichler 1980; and Rose 1986). While these two positions sound similar the differences are vast, because the disparate conceptions are created by each group's understanding of the nature of the reality of gender (Fleming 1986). Those holding the position that women's work is seldom as valuable as that of men base this belief on essentialist views of male superiority. They are willing to recognize that certain "super women" may in some situations be equal to men, but, by and large men as a group men are superior to women (Schlafly 1977; Hewlett 1986). Feminists, in contrast, most often hold that society has socially constructed positions for women that are less valued and considered to be less important and this explains women's lower status (Eichler 1980).

For the purpose of this research it does not matter which group is correct. What is important is that the gender dimension or component of the controversy surrounding feminism has remained a

central theme of the debate over the last two decades (Eichler 1980; Cott 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; and Sommers 1994). The centrality of gender for this dissertation is that all of the previous research associated with exploring the nature of a feminist identity has included a gender component. While other feminist issues and the ideology of feminism are important topics, they will serve only as the foundation for the framing of several questions on the instrument used in this research. Before moving on to the discussion of previous research into the nature of a feminist identity it is necessary to establish a definition of feminism and feminist.

There is really no single view of what feminism is, largely because there are so many different kinds feminists. Perhaps a reasonably generic definition comes from Margaret L. Andersen (1993). For Andersen, feminism is both a way of thinking and acting where women's status is attributed to socially constructed realities and where women's interests are placed at the center (1993:6-8). A feminist then is a female or male who holds these views, who may or may not be willing to act on them. With these definitions established I will proceed to the discussion of previous research into the nature of a feminist identity.

#### COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY AND FEMINIST IDENTITY

Most of the work on feminist identity comes from the research and literature connected to counseling psychology (Enns 1993). Models were developed within the specific area of feminist therapy

to aid clinicians in the treatment of women (Downing and Roush 1985; and Enns 1993). Psychologists who consider themselves to be feminist therapists experienced difficulty treating clients with the traditional approaches of psychotherapy when these women experienced confusion over gender identity. The instruments that were developed were designed to place the respondents on some type of scale measuring the degree of commitment to or identification with feminism (Bargad and Hyde 1991). The techniques consist of a series of questions in a Likert format assessing the attitudes of the respondent toward feminism. Used in this manner a feminist identity is a psychological condition which once identified can then be treated. Sociologically the techniques are of interest as an indication that there is something that can be recognized out there called a feminist identity. Another interesting fact about the components of these instruments is that those questions which seemed to be the strongest predictors of allegiance to feminism are political in nature, such as commitment to activism (Downing and Roush 1985; and Bargad and Hyde 1991).

All of these instruments relied on research by Bem (1974) for the inclusion of gender in the construction of questions. This is not surprising since the Bem work has been the most powerful influence on how gender is viewed since the research was first introduced in 1974 (Eichler 1980). Bem's research developed three continuums representing masculinity, femininity, and androgyny. Individuals respond to a series of personality characteristics and are asked to

indicate which ones represent them. The respondent is then placed on one of the three scales (Bem 1974). This very simple technique has not only been successful in reifying gender, but has also reified the gendered nature of the words used in the technique (Eichler 1980). For example, to call someone aggressive is to imply masculinity and in the same sense to imply that someone is soft-spoken is to call someone feminine. Another problem with the Bem research brought out by Eichler is the conservative bias in the construction of the scales as a result of the way the judges were asked to list how they thought others felt about masculinity and femininity, and not how they themselves felt about masculinity and femininity.<sup>7</sup>

The Bem research and the Eichler criticism of the research is being used as a guide in this project. As with other research in the area of gender, this inquiry will use the gendered nature of words to analyze one technique in the questionnaire. Taking Eichler's criticisms into account, this research uses a neutral approach to interpret self references that could be judged as cross-gendered. For example, should a woman give a self reference that is masculine in nature the response will be judged androgynous and not masculine. The reasoning for this decision will be addressed later in the methods discussion.

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<sup>7</sup> Eichler stated that when the judges were asked about their own feelings they rejected the guidelines of cultural norms for their own behavior because they were too conservative ( 1980:p.64).



Even though there have been several theoretical articles addressing the feminist movement and women's identification with the movement, there has not been any empirical exploration of the issues. This body of work as well as the research into the structural factors that seem to influence an association with feminism have been used in the construction of the questionnaire which will be discussed in the next section.

## CHAPTER II METHODS

As previously stated, this research begins with the assumption that individuals meaningfully construct their social worlds and develop opinions and attitudes about those worlds based on how they define themselves (Kuhn and McPartland 1954:113). From this assumption we can specifically surmise that the opinions people hold about feminism should in some way be related to their self definitions. In this project it is further assumed that a good indication of how individuals define themselves can be found in how they structure various role-identities. This research examines the possible relationship between the role-identity structures of college students and their attitudes about feminism.

To explore this relationship the study builds on previous research in the area of identity. Earlier investigations established that individuals are capable of articulating their ranking of and relative commitment to several role-identities (Jackson 1981; Callero 1985; Curry and Weaner 1987; Curry and Parr 1988). As Callero points out the next step is to explore "...how all role-identities function together as a single structural

unit" (1985: 214). It would be impossible to devise an instrument that would tap into all of an individual's role-identities, but it is possible for a researcher to construct a short list of role-identities that are salient in relationship to a given social phenomenon (Jackson 1981:139). By examining the structure of the role-identities of individuals who have been grouped by their attitudes toward feminism, we will be able to explore the possibility of differing social anchorages within and between the groups (Kuhn and McPartland 1954:120). These differing social anchorages would be represented by variations in the ranking and ratings of the list of role-identities presented to the respondents. In this section the sample and the method of collecting data will be discussed.

#### THE SAMPLE

College students were chosen as the focus of this study for two reasons. First, college women and men have been the focal point of a great deal of media speculation regarding the future of the feminist movement (Faludi 1991: 75-81; Kamen 1991: 52-53; and Sommers 1994: 90-93). Both sides of the debate over whether feminism is alive or dead have concluded that college students' opinions about the feminist movement support their point of view. The second reason for choosing college students is that their paradoxical position toward feminism poses an interesting research question. Opinion polls and research studies document a

tendency for collegiate women and men to embrace feminist positions and yet reject adoption of a feminist identity (TIME/CNN 1992; Bolotin 1982; Gleb 1986).

The majority of the students (225/86.5%) selected for final analysis in this project were gathered at a large public institution from classroom settings that would be classified as general education requirement classes or survey classes populated by students who are diverse in age, class rank and college major.<sup>8</sup> Another 15 (5.8%) students from the same institution came from women's studies classes. The 20 (7.7%) remaining students came from classes taught by feminists at three small liberal arts institutions. The respondents represent several areas of academic endeavor. The largest category of students (73 or 28% of the sample) reported their major as either undecided or undeclared, and pre-professional.<sup>9</sup>

Every attempt was made to gather respondents with varying attitudes toward the women's movement and feminists, but there was no attempt to select respondents on any of the components of

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<sup>8</sup>A total of 292 students completed the instrument and 32 were rejected. Twenty-five were rejected for being over the age of 24 and the remaining students were rejected because they did not complete all portions of the instrument.

<sup>9</sup> The reporting of the respondents' college major was somewhat problematic, in that there was no consistent method of reporting. Some respondents listed their major while other respondents listed their college, and still others listed future academic pursuits (e.g. premed or prelaw). As a result this information is reported in a more generic fashion and will not figure in the analysis. See table 1 for the academic area breakdown.

the role-identity structures (such as women who are political activists). Sampling for this project was purposive sampling with the intent of categorizing the respondents into one of four groups based on their attitudes toward the women's movement and feminists. Placement into one of the four groups was based on the respondent's scores on two additive measures constructed from responses to a series of questions about the women's movement and feminists, and to the responses to two additional questions: one asking if the respondent is a feminist; and the other asking if the issues associated with the women's movement are important to the respondent. The groups are as follows:

**Group 1:** Those who have negative attitudes about both the women's movement and feminists.

**Group 2:** Those who have positive opinions of the women's movement, but a negative view toward feminists.

**Group 3:** Those who have positive opinions about the women's movement and feminists- but who do not personally identify as feminist.

**Group 4:** Those who have positive opinions about the women's movement and feminists, and identify as feminist.

### Sample Characteristics

There were two hundred sixty students who were selected as the sample for this research. The characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1. Of the students in the sample one

hundred sixty-nine or sixty-five percent of the sample were women. Sixty-two or thirty-six percent of the women self identified as feminist, while one hundred seven or sixty-three percent self identified as non-feminist. Men represented thirty-five percent of the sample. Of the ninety-one male respondents, thirteen self identified as feminist (14% of all men in the sample) and seventy-eight (or 35% of all men in the sample) self identified as non-feminist.

The respondents ranged in age from eighteen to twenty-four with the mean age being 20.7. The mean age of the women (mean 20.8) in the sample was slightly higher than the mean age of men (20.5). The mean ages of the non-feminist women (20.5) and men (20.3) in the sample were similar to each other, but somewhat lower than the mean ages of the feminist women (21.3) and men (21.5) who were also similar to each other.

College freshman represented twenty-seven percent (N=69) of the sample, while twenty-six percent (N=68) of the respondents were college seniors. The largest group represented in the sample were college juniors comprising thirty percent (N=77) while college sophomores represented eighteen percent (n=46). As was also the case with age, the mean college rank for women (2.6 or between the sophomore and junior ranks) was slightly higher than that of men (2.4 years). The ranks for feminist and non-feminist women and men also mirrored the age distribution, with the exception being that the feminist men mean college rank (3.2) is slightly

higher than the mean college rank for feminist women (3.0). As is evident in Table 1 feminists were more likely to be juniors and above. For example seventy-three percent (N=45) of the feminist women and seventy-seven percent (N=10) of the feminist men in the sample were juniors and seniors. Conversely non-feminist men were more likely to be sophomores or freshmen (N=58). Non-feminist women were split evenly, however, between the upper and lower halves of the college ranks with forty-seven percent (N=50) sophomores or lower, and fifty-three percent (N=57) juniors or above.

The sample is predominately white (77%) with non-whites making up twenty-three percent of the sample. The family income of the respondents is high with seventy-nine percent (N=204) of the sample at \$30,000 or above; of that group the modal category was \$55,000 and above.

The majority of the students in the sample (179 or 69%) indicated that their mother worked outside the home when they were growing up. For example, eighty-one percent (N=50) of the women who identified as feminist grew up in homes with working mothers, compared to fifty-nine percent of the women who labeled themselves as non-feminist. There are also similar relationships among the men with seventy-one percent of the non-feminist men indicating their mothers worked, while eighty-five percent of the feminist men said their mother's worked outside the home.

Feminist women were the only group with a majority reporting that they had taken a women's studies class. There are also more republicans (79 or 30%) than democrats (45 or 17%) in the sample, but the majority of the respondents do not identify with any political party (136 or 52%). The voting behavior of the respondents is equally diverse with similar percentages in the "vote in all elections" (82 or 32%) and "never" (86 or 33%) voting categories. Feminist men and women had the highest percentage in the upper voting category (46% and 37% respectively voting in all elections).

The majority of both feminist (69%) and non-feminist (59%) women indicated that they were in relationships. In contrast, the majority of the feminist (54%) and non-feminist (53%) men reported that they were not in a relationship.



TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

SEX			
WOMEN		169 ( 65%)	
NON-FEMINIST		107 (63%)	
FEMINIST		62 (36%)	
MEN		91 ( 35%)	
NON-FEMINIST		78 ( 85%)	
FEMINIST		13 ( 14%)	

AGE	(N)	(N)	(N)	(N)
18	(44) (16.9%)	WOMEN (25) ( 9.6%) MEN (19) ( 7.3%)	NON-FEMINIST (20) (7.6%) NON-FEMINIST (19) (6.9%)	FEMINIST (5) (1.9%) FEMINIST (0) (0.0%)
19	(43) (16.5%)	WOMEN (25) ( 9.6%) MEN (18) ( 6.9%)	NON-FEMINIST (19) (7.3%) NON-FEMINIST (16) (6.1%)	FEMINIST (6) (2.3%) FEMINIST (2) (0.7%)
20	(38) (14.6%)	WOMEN (24) ( 9.2%) MEN (14) ( 5.3%)	NON-FEMINIST (17) (6.5%) NON-FEMINIST (12) (4.6%)	FEMINIST (7) (2.6%) FEMINIST (2) (0.7%)
21	(38) (14.6%)	WOMEN (31) (11.9%) MEN ( 7) ( 2.6%)	NON-FEMINIST (17) (6.5%) NON-FEMINIST ( 4) (1.5%)	FEMINIST (14) (5.3%) FEMINIST ( 3) (1.1%)
22	(47) (18.1%)	WOMEN (32) (12.3%) MEN (15) ( 5.7%)	NON-FEMINIST (16) (6.1%) NON-FEMINIST (14) (5.3%)	FEMINIST (16) (6.1%) FEMINIST ( 1) (0.3%)
23	(31) (11.9%)	WOMEN (19) ( 7.3%) MEN (12) ( 4.6%)	NON-FEMINIST (11) (4.2%) NON-FEMINIST ( 9) (3.4%)	FEMINIST (8) (3.0%) FEMINIST (3) (1.1%)
24	(19) ( 7.3%)	WOMEN (13) ( 5.0%) MEN ( 6) ( 2.3%)	NON-FEMINIST ( 7) (2.6%) NON-FEMINIST ( 4) (1.5%)	FEMINIST (6) (2.3%) FEMINIST (2) (0.7%)

MEAN AGE	WOMEN'S MEAN AGE	MEN'S MEAN AGE	WOMEN NON-FEM MEAN AGE	WOMEN FEM MEAN AGE
20.7	20.8	20.5	20.5	21.3
			MEN'S NON-FEM MEAN AGE	MEN FEM MEAN AGE
			20.3	21.5

COLLEGE RANK				
FRESHMAN (1)	- 69 (26.5%)	WOMEN - 38 (14.6%) MEN - 31 (11.9%)	NON-FEMINIST - 31 (11.9%) NON-FEMINIST - 31 (11.9%)	FEMINIST - 7 (2.6%) FEMINIST - 0 (0.0%)
SOPHMORE (2)	- 46 (17.7%)	WOMEN - 29 (11.1%) MEN - 17 ( 6.5%)	NON-FEMINIST - 19 (7.3%) NON-FEMINIST - 14 (5.3%)	FEMINIST - 10 (3.8%) FEMINIST - 3 (1.1%)
JUNIOR (3)	- 77 (29.6%)	WOMEN - 56 (21.5%) MEN - 21 ( 8.0%)	NON-FEMINIST - 35 (13.4%) NON-FEMINIST - 17 (6.5%)	FEMINIST - 21 (8.0%) FEMINIST - 4 (1.5%)
SENIOR (4)	- 68 (26.2%)	WOMEN - 46 (17.6%) MEN - 22 ( 8.4%)	NON-FEMINIST - 22 (8.4%) NON-FEMINIST - 16 (6.1%)	FEMINIST - 24 (9.2%) FEMINIST - 6 (2.3%)

MEAN COLLEGE RANK	WOMEN'S MEAN	NON-FEM WOMEN'S MEAN	FEMINIST WOMEN MEAN
2.6	2.6	2.5	3
	MEN'S MEAN	NON-FEM MEN'S MEAN	FEMINIST MEN MEAN
	2.4	2.2	3.2

(Table 1. cont.)

COLLEGE ACADEMIC UNIT

COLLEGE UNIT	N/(% OF SAMPLE)	NON-FEM WOMEN	FEMINIST WOMEN	NON-FEM MEN	FEMINIST MEN
BUSINESS	32 (12%)	15	5	12	
ENGINEERING	11 ( 4%)	5	0	6	
PHYSICAL SCIENCES	42 (16%)	15	10	13	4
SOCIAL SCIENCES	29 (11%)	13	8	6	2
ARTS	20 ( 8%)	7	6	7	
HUMANITIES	25 (10%)	11	6	6	2
EDUCATION	28 (11%)	11	13	3	1
PRE-PROFESSIONAL	44 (17%)	19	8	13	4
UNDECIDED	29 (11%)	11	6	12	0

MOTHER WORKED OUTSIDE THE HOME

YES	179	FEMINIST	WOMEN	50	MEN	11
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	63	MEN	55
NO	81	FEMINIST	WOMEN	12	MEN	2
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	44	MEN	23

TAKEN A WOMEN'S STUDIES CLASS

YES	72 (28%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	37	MEN	5
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	26	MEN	5
NO	188 (72%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	25	MEN	8
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	81	MEN	73

RACIAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION

ASIAN	8 ( 3%)
BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN	17 ( 7%)
WHITE	201(77%)
LATINO/HISPANIC	15 ( 6%)
NATIVE AMERICAN	4 ( 1.5%)
KOREAN AMERICAN	5 (1.9%)
MIXED (SELF LABELED)	8 ( 3%)
OTHER (NOT NAMED)	2 ( .7%)

(Table 1. cont.)

POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION

REPUBLICAN	79(30%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	8	MEN	1
		NON-FEM	WOMEN	37	MEN	33
DEMOCRAT	45(17%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	18	MEN	6
		NON-FEM	WOMEN	16	MEN	5
NO PARTY	136(52%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	36	MEN	6
		NON-FEM	WOMEN	54	MEN	40

VOTING PATTERN

IN ALL						
ELECTIONS	82(32%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	23	MEN	6
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	29	MEN	24
ONLY						
GENERAL	31(12%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	9	MEN	1
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	12	MEN	9
ONLY						
PRESIDENTAL	61(23%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	12	MEN	4
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	29	MEN	16
NEVER	86(33%)	FEMINIST	WOMEN	18	MEN	2
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	37	MEN	29

IN RELATIONSHIP

YES	149	FEMINIST	WOMEN	43	MEN	6
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	63	MEN	37
NO	111	FEMINIST	WOMEN	19	MEN	7
		NON-FEMINIST	WOMEN	44	MEN	41

FAMILY INCOME

UNDER	\$ 9,000	18	( 6.9%)
\$ 9,000	\$14,999	10	( 3.8%)
\$15,000	\$19,999	7	( 2.6%)
\$20,000	\$24,999	10	( 3.8%)
\$25,000	\$29,999	10	( 3.8%)
\$30,000	\$34,999	16	( 6.0%)
\$35,000	\$39,999	11	( 4.2%)
\$40,000	\$44,999	28	( 10.7%)
\$45,000	\$49,999	25	( 9.6%)
\$50,000	\$54,999	19	( 7.3%)
\$55,000	AND UP	106	( 40.7%)

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The instrument used in this research is composed of four parts: 1) Kuhn's Twenty Statements Test for measuring the self (1954: 2) a modified version of Jackson's Social Identities Questionnaire (1981: 3) a set of questions assessing respondents' attitudes toward issues associated with the Feminist Movement and feminists; and 4) respondents' demographic information. Each part of the instrument should yield important data singularly and in combination with the other sections of the questionnaire.

The Twenty Statements Test and the modified version of the Jackson's Social Identities hierarchy will be the two techniques used to explore the identity structures of respondents. Information from the third part of the questionnaire will be used to establish the respondents' group position. Demographic information collected from the fourth part of the instrument will be used to establish the within-group/between- group characteristics of the respondents. Several other items collected in the fourth section will be checked for significance within and between groups. In the following pages each part of the instrument will be discussed in some detail along with indications of how that portion of the instrument will be used in this project. The final section discusses how all aspects of the questionnaire will be used together.

## The Twenty Statements Test

Section one of the instrument used in this research is a technique that has been employed in Social Psychology for forty years. A decision was made to use this technique as the opening for the questionnaire for two reasons. First, the TST has been demonstrated to be useful as a "jumping-off" point for instruments that examine the nature of self-identities (McCall and Simmons 1978; Mackie 1983; and Hall 1987). Furthermore, the utility of the TST has also been illustrated in the exploration of gender self-references (Kuhn and McPartland 1954; Mulford and Salisbury 1964; and Mackie 1983). The following discussion of the Twenty Statements Test addresses the major points of criticism and presents the rationale for the way the technique will be used in this research.

The Twenty Statements Test (TST) was developed by Manford Kuhn (1954) as a way to measure the self. The TST is a relatively straightforward way to tap into an individual's conception of their objective self. Kuhn based this technique on the understanding that individuals are capable of not only defining their "self," but are also able to communicate an image of their "self" as an object (1954:124). In the instrument, respondents are asked to write twenty answers to the question "Who am I?" The

entire TST instrument is typically presented on a single sheet of paper with the following instruction listed at the top (Kuhn 1954:69):

There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who Am I?" in the blanks. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order they occur to you. Don't worry about the logic or importance. Go along fairly fast, for time is limited.

In this research the TST is presented in the same way as it was by Kuhn. The decision to use the same opening statement was made based on the belief that the original instructions provided an excellent foundation to get the respondents thinking about their self-identities. For example, by asking the respondents to "Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else," they will begin the "inner forum" process of "self" awareness (Mead 1934). In other words, it is hoped that in trying to answer the question "Who Am I?" the respondent will begin to articulate their view of themselves as an object. The nature of the instructions may also reduce anxiety and increase the likelihood of self disclosure for the subject to think of revealing these personal thoughts only to themselves.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS OF THE TST

Much of the concern over the TST instrument is rooted in the difficulties presented by the unstructured nature of the procedure. Because of this feature it is difficult to assess the validity of the test beyond an intuitive sense or face validity. Clearly, if the researcher is able to glean some type of understanding from the responses, the validity is dependent on the acceptance of that interpretation by the reader of the research. This problem is obviously compounded, along with the reliability of the measure, when you attempt to compare across respondents and across time. Since respondents may say similar but not identical things about themselves (McPartland et al. 1961), the use of the TST as an empirical research tool is limited. The Kuhn and McPartland technique has been criticized on this basis (Wylie 1961; McPhail 1968; McPhail and Tucker 1972; and Jackson 1981). However, if the measure is not used as the exclusive role-identity indicator, these methodological criticisms are not a problem (McCall and Simmons 1978). It is also important to point out that McPartland (1961) and Kuhn realized the TST covered only those self-conceptions that the respondents were aware of at any point in time. The researchers were also aware of the possibility of the existence of other aspects of self that were not listed by the respondents on the TST. The failure to include some self-references, either through a lack of conscious awareness of them or because of attempts at concealment is not problematic since the

TST is only expected to elicit self-references which deal with conscious controlled behavior (McPartland et al. 1961). So at best, the criticism of the TST's failure as an exhaustive measure of the self is an over-broad interpretation of the intended purpose of the technique: it ignores the importance of the findings which are yielded.

The recognized qualitative strength of enabling the respondents to construct the nature of their own self references has always been a plus for the TST. While recognizing the appropriateness of the criticism of the TST as a comprehensive measure of role-identity, McCall and Simmons (1978: 256) point out that even those who have been critical of the measure also concede that it is useful in exposing some of the important identities of individuals. In this research it is those often revealed self references that are of interest, especially the gender self references (Mulford and Salisbury 1964; and Mackie 1983).

#### THE TST AS A "JUMPING-OFF" POINT

As in other research that has employed the Twenty Statements Test, in this project the first reason to use the TST, as mentioned above, will be as a "jumping-off" point for both the respondent and the researcher (McCall and Simmons 1978; and Hall 1986). The TST will serve as a "jumping-off" point for the



respondent by way of setting the frame<sup>10</sup> and helping them to focus on how they think about themselves as an object. This also sets the foundation for the respondents to rank precise identity categories in the second part of the questionnaire.

The TST self references provide the researcher with an initial picture of the respondent's sense of self. As McCall and Simmons point out, while it is in no way a comprehensive view of the respondent's self-concept, it does reveal several of the subject's more salient identities (1978: 258). Of interest in this research are the gendered self-references.

#### THE TST AND GENDERED SELF-REFERENCES

The use of the TST as a qualitative gender indicator was evident from early uses of the technique (Kuhn 1960). For example, Kuhn and McPartland found that gender differences in the nature of self references were more evident in what they classified as the "dating and courtship years," or during the high school and college period. It was even discovered that males were more likely to state the importance of gender in their responses than females. The TST has also exposed females' tendency to make kin references, a finding supported by Mulford and Salisbury when they found that family roles were more important to females than to males when they used the TST in 1964. Further

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<sup>10</sup>Frame, or understanding the context of social action, is taken from Goffman's Frame Analysis (1974) .

documentation of the TST as an invaluable tool to examine gender issues was demonstrated in Mackie's research into the nature of self references in 1983. As in the previous research Mackie also found gender to be a salient category for both male and female respondents (1983:348).

#### ANALYSIS ISSUES OF THE TST

As with any measure that is able to survive in a field for forty years there has been some debate on how to interpret the respondents' self references (McPhail 1968; McPhail and Tucker 1972; Jackson 1981). Using content analysis as a means of interpreting the findings, Kuhn focused on possible patterns of responses on the TST instrument (1960). Kuhn identified response patterns which he labeled "consensual" vs. "subconsensual" self references. By consensual statements Kuhn meant those statements "...which refer to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are matters of common knowledge." Subconsensual references are those "...which refer to groups, classes, attributes, traits, or any other matters which would require interpretation by the respondent to be precise or to place him relative to other people" (1954:69).<sup>11</sup> They concluded from their observations that respondents would likely exhaust the

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<sup>11</sup> Examples of consensual and subconsensual statements presented by Kuhn and McPartland are: "student," "girl," "husband," "Baptist," "daughter"(consensual); "happy," "bored," "pretty good student," "good wife" (subconsensual) (1954).

consensual statements first. Kuhn and McPartland also found that respondents would typically make a series of consensual references followed by a subconsensual statement, and that this pattern would often be repeated. They referred to this pattern of consensual statements as "runs." Respondents would usually make two identifiable runs in the twenty statements. Along with evidence of runs they also concluded that the first responses given were the most salient self references, which they along with Gordon(1968) were able to confirm through questioning the respondents. The respondents indeed substantiated the research finding that their earlier self references were more salient (Kuhn 1961; and Mackie 1983). Given the differing values placed on the two types of references, it then becomes a point of concern as to how the distinction is made in determining the category of the response.

As stated above, Kuhn and McPartland perceived that consensual statements would have a feature of universality about them. Consensual references would be common knowledge to both the respondent and the researcher. However, in the analysis it was the researcher's understanding that became more important (Tucker 1966; McPhail 1968). For example, statements such as; "I am a woman," "I am a daughter," "I am a husband," would be non-controversial. But a respondent and researcher might have disparate views of references like: "I am a nerd," "I am a geek," or "I am troubled." Kuhn and McPartland might simply dismiss these

references because they would lack a universality, at least in the mind of the researcher. Because of the process of ignoring certain types of responses it could be possible to lose important self references in the analysis. While the universality of the references is important at the level of analysis, it is clearly just that: a means of including or excluding references made by the respondents. As with the Kuhn and McPartland research this project will also include references for analysis that have some type of universal understanding, but some of the other types of classification systems used to analyze the TST will also be employed to examine the data.

The TST has not been limited to the analysis schema presented above; Kuhn (1960), McPartland (1961), and others (Franklin and Kohout 1971; McPhail 1968, 1972; Driver 1978; and Mackie 1983) have come up with additional classification systems. Kuhn chose to break responses into five categories to examine the nature of the self-references of the student respondents in his study. The five broad categories covered responses that could be considered very concrete to references of a more philosophical nature. At the very concrete level Kuhn used the category of social groups and classifications which included reference to age, sex, educational level, kin relations, race, religious membership, and other group memberships. Clearly, references that would fit into this category were easily identified and represent how individuals are anchored in society. While the more abstract categories

developed by Kuhn (e.g. ideological beliefs) might provoke more discussion over interpretation and inclusion in the analysis, this classification system does show the flexibility of the TST technique.

#### McPARTLAND'S TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

McPartland (1961) also developed a way to classify references from the TST technique. Again, as with the Kuhn system, the categories varied along a continuum from concrete to abstract social references. At the concrete level, references that identify the respondent as a physical entity would be classified in the first group (e.g. physical description, age, name, etc.). As with Kuhn's more concrete category, this is a straightforward grouping of references. McPartland's second category places the respondent within social institutions by identifying their various roles and statuses (e.g. daughter, wife, uncle, etc.). The third group addresses the respondents' references that deal with feelings and behavior (e.g. being tired, dependable, happy, etc.). The final category is utilized to code responses that are esoteric and idiosyncratic, often too difficult to classify (e.g. "I am a peach"). The McPartland system again shows the versatility of the TST and does an excellent job of breaking the self references given by the respondents into useful categories. For example, McPartland's first three groups provide an excellent way to explore the McCall and Simmons (1978) concept of role-identity.

Role-identity for McCall and Simmons is "...defined as the character and the role that an individual devises for himself as an occupant of a particular social position" (1978: 65). If we think of the "character" element of the definition as the individual's notion of himself as a physical entity, then we have McPartland's first group. The second TST group would coincide with the individual's view of their "particular social positions." Within the conception of the individual as an "occupant of a social position," we would have McPartland's third group dealing with feelings and behavior, or the individual's imaginative view of how he fulfills his role identities. McPartland's fourth category can also be identified as what McCall and Simmons (1978:68) refer to as the idiosyncratic aspect of role-identity or the individual's own elaboration of their roles, which do not have any conventional understanding. For the purpose of this research the McPartland approach to analyzing the TST responses will be one of the ways the data will be handled. This will be discussed at the end of this section.

#### MACKIE'S TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

Another classification system used in organizing data gathered from research utilizing the TST technique is also germane to this research, and that is the categorizing scheme developed by Mackie (1983). When she employed the TST to estimate self-imagery differences between males and females, she classified responses by the frequency and order of mention of sex

(gender)<sup>12</sup> and other related references. By simply calculating the means of the number of statements made by females and males that fit into her classification system, Mackie was able to assess the similarities in the nature of the self-imagery references of males and females in her study. The specific category labels used by Mackie were references of sex, marital status, parental status, nuclear family statements, and work inside and outside the home. The categories used by Mackie are all within the sphere of women's salient identity roles. This research again demonstrates the usefulness of the TST to examine issues dealing with gender.

While all of these classification systems are in some way unique they show the general flexibility of this technique in exploring different questions that deal with the nature of self-identity. In this research project the TST will be assessed independently of the other parts of the questionnaire by combining the classification system of McPartland with an expanded understanding of Mackie's categories. While relying on Kuhn's basic assumption that what should be examined are those references which have some universality of understanding and his sense that the order of mention is also critical, self references will first be placed in one of the McPartland groups and then be examined in relationship to gender references.

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<sup>12</sup> In the Mackie study she labeled the respondents' self references of their biological sex as gender references. In order to avoid any confusion the word sex has been substituted for Mackie's use of the word gender where appropriate.

## TST CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM USED IN THIS PROJECT

In this project the self references will be divided into two broad categories based on the four constructed by McPartland. The two broad categories deal with the clarity of the substantive understanding of the self reference. McPartland's (1961:114) first two categories ( A: self as a physical entity; B: self as involved in structured interpersonal relations) are qualitatively more concrete than the last two categories and this distinction provides the basis for the first aspect of the analysis of the TST in this project. What will be measured in this research is the number of consensual concrete statements versus the consensual and subconsensual abstract self references by the respondents.<sup>13</sup> Once divided into these two groups the nature of the concrete consensual statements will be examined. By comparing the similarities and differences between the female and male self references along this dimension, the research will explore the self referencing language styles without regard for the more idiosyncratic abstract self references.

Gender self references are conceptualized to include responses which could be categorized similarly to the classification system used by Mackie. Along with Mackie's categories of sex, marital status, nuclear family statements, and work inside and

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<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that consensual statements will be classified somewhat differently than Kuhn's system. This will be discussed in more detail in the TST results chapter.



outside the home, this research will also include references that have a gender flavor: specifically, those statements that fall within traditionally stereotypical gender roles (Yorburg 1974; Bem 1975; Spence and Helmreich, 1978; Ashmore et al. 1986; Katz, 1986; Eagly and Mladinic, 1989; Padavic 1991; Bailey et al. 1992; and Wolf 1992). Some of the references that would fall within this domain would be things such as: "I am aggressive," "I am sensitive to the needs of others," "I am ambitious," and other such culturally gendered labels.

#### TST SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

The TST will be the first element of the questionnaire used in this research. Because of the usefulness of this technique in the disclosure of gender self references and the fact that it has served as a good beginning point for other identity research, it should be a worthwhile addition to the instrument. The data collected from this portion of the questionnaire will be analyzed in the following way: the self references will first be categorized according to a variation of the scheme developed by McPartland (1961). McPartland's four thematic groups are as follows: Group 1) references to self as a physical entity; Group 2) self references to various societal roles and statuses ; Group 3) affective and behavioral self references; Group 4) abstract and ambiguous idiosyncratic self references. As stated above the first two McPartland groups will be combined to form one group of concrete

reference. Once the references have been identified along the concrete/abstract dimensions, they will then be assessed along a traditional/non-traditional gender continuum, with responses being classified as either traditional masculine or feminine, non-traditional masculine or feminine (these responses can also be thought of as androgynous - which will be discussed in the analysis section), or gender neutral (Bem 1974; Helmrich et al. 1979; Ashmore et al. 1986; Burke 1989; and Lopata 1994). The first two hypotheses address concrete statements made by respondents and the gendered nature of those statements.

#### *Hypothesis 1 - TST Female-Male Comparisons*

*It is hypothesized that females and males will have a similar number of concrete self references.*

The number of concrete self references was chosen because these are the most straightforward and clear ways individuals represent themselves. The concrete statements will be those that are the most revealing about the social connections and the social roles of the respondents and will be the easiest to compare across sex and the various research groupings. According to Henley et. al. (1984), males and females should not differ substantially in the number or nature of their self references and those differences that do occur should not really affect the meaning or the interpretation of the references.

## *Hypothesis 2 - TST Female-Male Comparisons*

*It is hypothesized that the overall nature of the gendered self references of females and males will be similar.*

While early comparisons of the self references made by males and females using the TST technique did yield some sex differences, more recent studies have found the two groups to be more similar than different (Mackie 1983). This finding is consistent with research into the nature of gender roles which has identified a tendency for males and females to be similar, or for the differences that are found to lack statistical significance (Yorburg 1974; Ruble et al. 1975; Stockard and Johnson 1979; Lueptow 1980; Olds and Shaver 1980; Zuckerman 1980; Secord 1982; Mackie 1983; and Lopata 1994).

By examining the respondents' self references it will be possible to explore the nature of the similarities and differences between males and females. The TST has demonstrated in the past that the test provides the opportunity to examine the gendered nature of the self references given by both men and women. If the responses of males and females are similar what is the nature of the similarity? Are there areas of the social that are more likely to yield similar references, and in the same sense are there areas that are more likely to elicit dissimilar responses? For example, are males as likely as females to place a self reference about their position within the family (e.g. daughter, wife, mother, etc.) in the

same order of mention and in the same frequency of mention? Previous research would lead us to believe that this is unlikely (Mackie 1983) and this is the basis for the third hypothesis connected with the TST.

### *Hypothesis 3 - TST Female-Male Comparisons*

*It is hypothesized that the self references of females and males will be dissimilar in areas that deal with traditional relationships between the sexes, namely within the sphere of the family (e.g. marital status and other kin relationships).*

It can also be assumed that there might be spheres of similarities for self references. The areas dealing with occupations and achievement associated with work are likely to be areas that might lead to similar self references on the part of males and females (Spence et al. 1975; Lueptow 1980; Secord 1982; and Lopata 1994). It is this research that serves as the basis for the fourth hypothesis.

### *Hypothesis 4 - TST Female-Male Comparisons*

*It is hypothesized that the self references of females and males will be similar in respect to social connections outside the family (e.g. school, work, and recreational activities, etc.).*

A final hypothesis for the TST is based on one of the most asked questions dealing with biological sex. Is the salience of biology greater for males or females? Will males more frequently

mention their biological sex than females? Spence and Helmreich (1978), for example, state that "one of the cores of women's and men's self-concept is the degree to which they believe they measure up, or believe it important to measure up, to their abstract conception of what it is to be a proper woman or man." This would lead to the assumption that biological sex role identification would be equally important for males and females (Burke 1989). The foundation for the final hypothesis is the more recent Burke research.

#### *Hypothesis 5 - TST Female-Male Comparisons*

*It is hypothesized that females and males will mention their biological sex at the same or similar rate.*

#### THE JACKSON ROLE-IDENTITIES TECHNIQUE

The second part of the questionnaire, which is the nucleus of this research, is a list of eight role-identities. The respondents are asked to rank the importance of these role-identities in their life with the understanding that the order represents the order in which they would be willing to give up the role-identities.<sup>14</sup> This technique is a modified version of Jackson's identity hierarchy (1981:140) and is designed to represent not only Stryker's notion of identity salience, but also the McCall and Simmons theoretical concept of role-identity hierarchy (1978: 74-84).

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<sup>14</sup> A complete version can be found in Appendix A.

As stated earlier, the role-identity approach assumes that individuals have various role-identities or social identities that are of varying levels of importance (1978:80). The salience of a particular role-identity in this technique is not only represented by the rank of that identity (from 1 to 8 with 1 being the most important), but also by a second rating system. Once the respondents have ranked all eight role-identities they are then asked to rate the subjective importance of the identities on a "...scale of 0 ('of no importance to me) through 50 ('moderately important') to 100 ('as important as I can imagine')." By combining the ranking and rating of the role-identities, the Jackson method gives us a rich sense of role-identity salience (1981:140). By allowing ties in the rating of the various role-identities the approach accommodates Stryker and Serpe's (1982:208; and Serpe 1987:45-46) assertion that possible role performances, as represented by the role-identities in the hierarchy, should be independent of each other. Respondents may give two role-identities the same numerical rating and from this it can be assumed that one role-identity may be ranked higher but would not necessarily be considered a preferred performance choice. It should not be overlooked, however that if the respondent was forced to give up one of the role-identities they would give up the one with the less valued ranking. From this we can assume that when the role-identities were ranked the

respondent had a stronger commitment to the higher ranked role-identity.

In her initial use of the identity hierarchy, Jackson constructed the remainder of the instrument to test the validity of the ranking and rating approach. Seven role identity categories were followed by several questions which formed a commitment index for the hierarchy of role-identities (Jackson 1981:140)<sup>15</sup>. In Jackson's two studies the commitment index did confirm the validity of the notion that individuals could rank the salience and rate the commitment of various role-identities (1981:145). In other studies the ranking and rating method has also proven to be a useful way to tap into the McCall and Simmons theoretical concept of identity hierarchies (Callero 1985; Hall 1987; Curry and Weaner 1987; and Park-Curry 1988). The only difficulty with Jackson's approach appears when the research focuses on a single role-identity that must compete with those culturally preferred role-identities for ranking and rating. For example, Curry and Weaner (1987) focused on the sport identity of varsity athletes. No matter how important that identity appeared to be (e.g., time spent in performance of the sport identity etc.) the ranking and rating of the sport identity could not surpass the hierarchy

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<sup>15</sup> In study one Jackson assessed the validity of the highest and lowest role-identities. In study two Jackson assessed the validity of several of the specific role-identities with techniques designed by other researchers to measure commitment to those various social identities.

positions of family, peer, academic, and romantic identities (1987:285-286).

This will not be an issue in this research, however, because the goal is not to determine the importance of a single role-identity, but instead to assess the relative positioning of all the role-identities. More specifically, in this research it is assumed that the nature of an individual's identification with feminism will be reflected in the differing definitions of self as represented by the differing structures of the respondents' role-identity hierarchies (Callero 1985: 203).

#### ROLE-IDENTITIES USED IN THIS PROJECT

The social identities included in this research are (1) peer: labels which describe relationships you have with people your own age; (2) kinship: labels that describe your relationship to family members; (3) religious: labels that describe your religious or spiritual orientation; (4) academic: labels that describe the academic side of being a student; (5) romantic: labels which describe close, affectionate relationships in which you are romantically involved; (6) occupation: labels which describe your future career plans; (7) gender: labels which would indicate your belief that certain behavior is more suitable for one sex than the other; and (8) political: labels which describe your political activity and /or political party loyalty. Several research projects have used the first five categories in their explorations of college students'



role-identity hierarchies (Jackson 1981; Curry and Weaner 1987; Hall 1987; and Park-Curry 1988). College student respondents have not had any difficulty in ranking and rating the various role-identities (i.e., peer, kinship, religious, academic and romantic) in previous studies using the Jackson approach. It can be assumed, given the stability in the ranking and rating of the five role-identities in previous research, that the five represent core role-identities that anchor the respondents to society. These five role-identities will be included in this study to see if differing levels of identification with feminism will be connected to a different ordering in the hierarchy structures of the respondents within and between the various groups. It is also necessary to include the five role-identities to measure the relative placement of the three new role-identities with respect to these five.

#### THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-IDENTITY

The first new role-identity to be added is occupation, or labels which describe the respondent's future career plans. The foundation for this category and the definition is based on the concept of the "credential society" (Collins 1979). The credential society concept recognizes that the increased importance of a college degree is not related to an increase in the knowledge requirements as measured by precise college coursework for particular occupational positions, but simply an increase in the requirement for a degree or credential to enter various jobs

(Collins 1985: 68-76). The college degree is then viewed as representing a "means" to an "end" and not merely an "end" in and of itself.

If these assumptions about college degrees are true, it may also be true that college students do not simply view themselves as students, but also as future occupants of various workforce positions. If this is the case, their self definitions will reflect this and thus the structure of their salience hierarchies will also reflect it by the relative ranking and rating of this particular identity category. The identity category "occupation" is perceived as relevant to this research for two reasons. First, many feminists have theorized that career aspirations are connected to attitudes about feminism (Zuckerman 1983: 639). For example, Steinem believes that young women will become more identified with feminism once they are in the workforce and experience what she perceives as a sexist environment (1983:112). If women do undergo a workforce transformation, their self definitions would conceivably include a strong occupational identification, and it is also conceivable that these occupational identities may begin in college while preparing for future work roles. The second reason for including a future occupational identification in the list is related to the process of socialization. It has long been established that the process of socialization is a continuous process from birth to death (Berger 1963: 395). From early childhood on children are socialized into incipient adult roles (McCall and Simmons 1978:258;

and Elkin and Handel 1989: 74-78) and if those roles have included an occupational role it is likely that role will be a part of the self definitions of the college student respondents.

#### THE POLITICAL ROLE-IDENTITY

The next new role-identity included in this project is a political category which is defined as labels which describe your political activity and/or political party loyalty.<sup>16</sup> The inclusion of this identity category is based on the fact that feminism at almost any level of identification is political (Rinehart 1986; and Archer 1992). Again looking to Steinem for direction, in her contact with college students she is often surprised by their lack of awareness that feminist issues are political (1983: 217). The political category was included then because it seems reasonable that the salience of a political identity may be important in the assessment of the within/between group role-identity hierarchies of the college students (Rinehart 1986).

#### THE GENDER ROLE-IDENTITY

The final new category is gender, defined for the purpose of this study as labels indicating a belief that certain behaviors are more suitable for one sex than the other. Gender was included as

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<sup>16</sup> This definition of political identification includes both the traditional interpretation of party identification and the issue of political activity.

an identity because of evidence that differences in attitudes toward gender are associated with differences in attitudes toward feminism (Bell and Schwede 1985:6-15; Marshall and Orum 1986; DeLucia 1987; Rinehart 1988; and Rickard 1989:213-217). This view of gender taps into essentialist interpretations of the nature of gender roles, and is designed to tap into the respondents' commitment to the idea that gendered behavior is biologically determined (Rickard 1989, 216). The inclusion of the gender category as a social identity defined and determined by biology should not be judged as a rejection of the possibility that gender roles may be socially constructed. The definition was designed to make the distinction between the two views on the origin of gender clear and thus make the category more straightforward. By choosing the less inclusive definition of gender the category is meant to measure the degree to which an individual believes that a given role performance is influenced by biological sex. This measure of gender identity is then perceived as providing the requisite imaginative view of self associated with any role-identity (McCall and Simmons 1978: 67-69) which will interpret and bring meaning to the social world of the individual within an essentialist framework. The ranking and rating of that role-identity is interpreted as the power of that role-identity to "...provide plans of action for the self as performer, evaluative standards for the self as audience, and phenomenal qualities for the self as character" (1978:84). The foundation for defining gender in

biological terms is based on research which has pointed to essentialist models for the origins of gendered behavior as a central theme of the debate over feminism (West and Zimmerman 1987; Owen and Dennis 1988; and Smiley 1993).

#### HYPOTHESES OF THE JACKSON TECHNIQUE:

*Hypothesis 6: There will be a different ranking of the various role-identities between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 7: There will be a different rating of the various role-identities between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 8: There will be a similarity in the ranking of the various role-identities within the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 9: There will be a similarity in the rating of the various role-identities within the different groups.*

As previously stated, it is assumed that the nature of an individual's identification with feminism will be reflected in the differing definitions of self as represented by the differing structures of the respondents' role-identity hierarchies (Callero 1985:203). The difference in the hierarchies may be in both the ranking and rating of the various role-identities or only in one of the classifications. If there are differences in either or both of the classifying systems they will represent a connection between how the respondents define feminism and how they define themselves.

Previous research in the area of feminism seems to indicate that along with the role-identities utilized in this research (e.g.

political, occupational, and gender), variations may be found in the religious (Tedin et al. 1977; Meyer and Menaghan 1986; and Morgan 1987) and romantic (Rickard 1989; Stake and Gerner 1987) role-identities between the different groups. Studies addressing religion assessed the influence of religious identification on attitudes toward the ERA, concluding that there was an association between the two. Research that explored romantic issues examined the influence of dating on attitudes about feminism. From previous research there are four additional hypotheses which are more specific in nature.

*Hypothesis 10: There will be a different ranking of the religious identity between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 11: There will be a different rating of the religious identity between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 12: There will be a different ranking of the romantic identity between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 13: There will be a different rating of the romantic identity between the different groups.*

#### ATTITUDE QUESTIONS ABOUT FEMINISTS, FEMINISM, AND THE FUTURE

The third section of the questionnaire is a series of questions designed to assess the respondents' attitudes about feminism, feminists, and the respondent's own future plans. The questions that specifically deal with feminism and feminists will be used to place the respondents in the four categories mentioned earlier.<sup>17</sup> Each question can be answered on a scale ranging from strongly

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<sup>17</sup> See pages 2-3.

agree to strongly disagree without an undecided category. The forced response approach was deemed necessary to help with the placement of respondents into the groups.<sup>18</sup>

#### ATTITUDES ABOUT FEMINISTS

There are eleven questions that deal with perceptions of feminists. Ten of the questions address attitudes toward feminists, and one question asked the respondent's own feminist identification. Two of the questions tap into the generalized notion that the reluctance to identify as feminist is based on a fear of being labeled as a lesbian (Bolotin 1982; Whittier 1992). The first of these two questions asks if "most feminists are lesbians." The second question expands on this premise, giving the respondent a second chance to identify feminists as lesbians by asking if "some feminists are lesbians." In the construction of this question it was deliberately decided to avoid the Bem coding mistake by not asking the respondent how they thought most people felt about feminists being lesbians.<sup>19</sup> These questions will be coded from one through four with "strongly disagree" coded as four. The combined

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<sup>18</sup> In early tests of the instrument if the students did not either agree or disagree to some extent with the question, or if the question was not of interest to them they would simply not answer the question. Because of this fact it was decided that if the respondents were uncomfortable with a question they would simply not answer, and a forced response approach would be more suited to the research design.

<sup>19</sup> As mentioned earlier in Eichler's (1980:64-65) criticism of Bem, the judges were asked to give responses of what they thought most people felt about gendered behavior.

score of these two questions will vary from two to eight. A score of two would indicate that the respondent felt there was a strong association between being a feminist and being a lesbian.

Another question connected to the lesbian issue is the question asking if "most feminists are anti-men." In discussions from the 1970's until the present the issue of feminists being anti-male has implicitly been connected to the issue of feminists being lesbians (Bolotin 1982; Ransdell 1995; and Sommers 1994). This question will be coded like the first two questions with strongly disagree being coded as four. A fourth question asks if feminists are pro-women. This question will be used to more clearly define the perceptions of respondents in connection to the anti-men statement which is the more frequently referenced impression about feminists (Faludi 1992; Sommers 1994). It will be coded with strongly agree as four and strongly disagree as one. These two questions should help explore whether college students see feminists in a more positive or negative light, with "pro-women" being viewed as a positive statement about feminists.

The next series of questions deal with the perception of feminists as violating gender prescriptions. The first asks if "feminists seem to do everything they can to look unfeminine." This is slightly connected to the lesbian issue, but addresses the issue more in terms of gender conformity rather than sexuality (Del Boca and Ashmore 1986: 312). For example, Harter (1990:362-364) contends that young people judge the physical



appearance of an identity as crucial to the overall consistency of that identity. Thus if a respondent sees feminists as appearing "unfeminine" it would be viewed as a negative impression of a feminist, not simply as someone breaking gender norms. If the respondent sees feminists as "doing something to look unfeminine" it can also be assumed that the respondent has a perception of femininity that influences their interpretation of their own activities, not just that of feminists (Padavic 1991:287-290). This question will be coded with four being assigned to "strongly disagree" responses which will be viewed as a positive statement about feminists.

The next two questions which focus on gender issues deal with the interpretation of feminist behavior as either aggressive or assertive. A feminist being perceived as aggressive would be negative and a feminist being perceived as assertive is positive. The exact wording of the two questions are as follows: "feminists appear to be more assertive than other women;" and "feminists appear to be more aggressive than other women." These questions will be coded in opposite directions so either a "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree" on both questions will cancel out the opposing response. The rationale for this is to make the distinction between the more positive public perception of assertiveness over the more negative perception of aggressiveness (Steinem 1983:149-160). Assertiveness is seen as standing up for your beliefs, while

aggressiveness is viewed as pushing your beliefs on others (Bolotin 1982: 30-31).

The statement "the only problem with feminists is that they go too far with their views," is a companion question to these two questions and will be handled differently. This question was designed to expand understanding of those respondents who do not identify as feminist, but have a positive impression of both feminism and feminists (Faludi 1992: xiv-xv). One would also expect this question to be associated with a low political identification, since it does seem to indicate a low threshold for political confrontation. Bargad and Hyde have also found that this attitude is quite common among individuals who have not had a broad exposure to a variety of feminist issues (1991:194-195).

Respondents are asked directly if they have ever met a feminist they liked. Again this question is designed to tap into attitudes toward feminists. It will be coded with strongly disagree being viewed as positive toward feminists and strongly agree as negative. This question is included to make the distinction between those who are very negative toward feminists and others who are only somewhat negative. Individuals who have a very negative view of feminists may not perceive that they have ever liked a feminist (Bell and Schwede 1985); anything other than a "strongly agree" response will be judged as positive toward feminists.

The question "feminists seem to be the only people trying to improve the lives of women" is included to assess the respondent's attitudes about feminists as activists. There is some evidence that feminists are generally recognized as the leading edge of the movement to improve the lives of women (*TIME/CNN* 1989). A response of "strongly agree" will be viewed as a positive statement about feminists and will be coded four, with "strongly disagree" being assigned a one.

Assessment of a positive attitude toward feminists will be determined by the score of the respondents on the following eight questions:

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. MOST FEMINISTS ARE ANTI-MEN   | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 2. I HAVE NEVER MET A FEMINIST<br>I TRULY LIKED                                    | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 3. FEMINISTS SEEM TO DO EVERYTHING<br>THEY CAN TO LOOK UNFEMININE                  | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 4. FEMINISTS SEEM TO BE THE ONLY<br>PEOPLE TRYING TO IMPROVE THE<br>LIVES OF WOMEN | (SD=1),(D=2),(A=3),(SA=4) |
| 5. MOST FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS   | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 6. SOME FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS   | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 7. FEMINISTS APPEAR TO BE MORE<br>AGGRESSIVE THAN OTHER WOMEN                      | (SA=1),(A=2),(D=3),(SD=4) |
| 8. FEMINISTS ARE MORE ASSERTIVE<br>THAN OTHER WOMEN                                | (SD=1),(D=2),(A=3),(SA=4) |

If all eight questions are used the scores will vary from eight to thirty-two with higher scores being viewed as supportive of feminists. The questions chosen for this additive measure will be

discussed in the measure section of the dissertation, along with the rationale for the inclusion of the questions.

The final question about feminists asks the respondent to identify or not identify as a feminist. This question will be used separately to locate those individuals who identify as feminist.

#### ATTITUDES ABOUT THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The next series of questions deal with the women's movement and have been modeled after the questions typically asked in the *TIME/CNN* polls (TIME 1989). A decision was made to use the *TIME/CNN* questions as a model because of the power those polls have had in defining the research questions for the American public. Whenever the issue of the reluctance of women to identify as feminist is discussed, either in academic (Schneider 1986) or popular publications (Faludi 1992: x; Sommers 1994: 18) the *TIME/CNN* polls are used to describe the parameters of the issue.<sup>20</sup>

The questions tap into the respondents' understanding of the issues associated with the movement, and the overall approval of

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<sup>20</sup> A decision was made to use the *TIME/CNN* polls over the American National Elections Studies data for two reasons. First the questions are very similar with the ANES data in that they are more extensive. This research will not be comparing attitudes about feminism across groups and as a result does not depend on previous data about attitudes. The second reason is that it is likely that the respondents may be familiar with the wording of the *TIME/CNN* polls and this could aid in the ease of response.

the movement by the respondents. The questions chosen for this additive measure will be discussed in the measures section of the dissertation, along with the rationale for the inclusion of the questions. It is important to point out that the questions are designed for an analytic rather than a theoretical function and should not be thought of as exhaustive of the issues associated with the women's movement. They are intended to tap into the issues that have been posited as reasons for young adults not personally identifying as feminist. For example, the first question dealing with the respondents' attitudes toward the importance of the issues associated with the women's movement is the question that is the foundation for much of the debate over the unwillingness for young adults, but especially young women identifying as feminist. It is assumed that if the issues of the movement are important to an individual, not identifying as a feminist is evidence of a negative view of feminists. As with this question, all of the questions in this list have been associated with the apparent unwillingness of college students to identify with feminism and will be addressed in more detail in the measures section of this dissertation. The list of questions includes the following:

1. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN ISSUES THAT ARE NOT IMPORTANT TO ME
3. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS PRO-FAMILY
4. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ENCOURAGING WOMEN TO HAVE CAREERS

5. SEXISM IS NOT AN IMPORTANT ISSUE
6. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IMPROVED THE LIVES OF WOMEN
7. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS HELPED WOMEN BECOME MORE INDEPENDENT
8. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN CHILD CARE AND DAYCARE
9. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS SUPPORTIVE OF WOMEN WHO CHOOSE TO BE HOUSEWIVES.
10. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ANTI-MEN.

The first nine questions are all coded one through four with four being the most positive toward the feminist movement. Question ten will also be compared to the similar question about feminists being anti-men to determine if respondents think that both the movement and feminists are anti-men (Bolotin 1982; Gelb 1984; and Sommers 1994).

#### ATTITUDES ABOUT FUTURE ENDEAVORS

The remaining questions in this section includes four that deal with college students' attitudes about the possibility of having both a career and a family (Stacey and Thorne 1985; Schneider 1988), and one question dealing with political activism. The four questions dealing with future plans will be used to assess the occupational and kinship identities revealed in the second part of the instrument. For example, if the respondents rank and rate their occupational identities high this should also be reflected in high responses on these questions.

The political activity question is designed to reveal interest in the highest degree of political activism, interest in running for political office. This question will be used to augment the political identity category in the second part of the questionnaire. If, for example, a respondent has a rating on their political identity of one hundred, it would be interesting to know if this indicates the level of activism associated with running for political office. There is research that indicates sex differences in how political identity is conceptualized by men and women (Schneider 1988: 4-5; Kelly and Burgess 1989; Pierce 1989). The inclusion of this question is a way of exploring the issue through individual indications of political interest.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

The final section of the questionnaire includes demographic information to be used to describe the characteristics of the sample and to explore the effects of a series of factors suggested by previous research. While all of the demographic questions will be checked for association with all of the role-identity indicators, the questions mentioned below will be checked against specific role-identities. For example, as mentioned earlier religious identification seems to affect attitudes about the Equal Rights Amendment, a readily identifiable feminist issue (Tedin et al. 1977; Meyer and Menaghan 1986; and Morgan 1987). In the demographic section the respondents are asked about their

current religious or spiritual affiliation. This question will be used in two ways. First, those respondents who indicate a strong religious identity in the second section of the questionnaire will then be checked for any commonalties associated with specific religious affiliations. The second use of this question will be to check for any correlations between religious affiliation and the various attitude questions about feminism and feminists in the third part of the questionnaire. Apparent correlations will be compared to any possible correlation between those same issues and the more general religious identity category from the identity hierarchy section of the questionnaire.

The demographic question dealing with dating will be used in a fashion similar to the religious question. As with religious identification, dating behavior has been associated with differing levels of identification with feminism (Rickard 1989). Responses to this question will then be compared to both attitudes toward feminism from the third section and the more general romantic identity category in the second section.

The questions on voting and political party identification will be handled similarly, with a comparison of attitudes and political identification. College major and rank will be compared in a like fashion with educational identity. The only variation on this procedure is connected to the questions dealing with mother's work and enrollment in a women's studies class. Research on working mothers indicates a generalized effect on the attitudes of



their children toward feminism. Having a mother who works outside the home for pay has a liberalizing influence on children's openness to the view that women are capable and should be treated equally (Hoffman 1977:652-655; and Bell and Schwede 1985:14-15). The reason for including this question is a more general interest in exploring the possible connection of responses to the identity structures of the respondents.

Taking a women's studies class also seem to have an impact on attitudes, although there are conflicting findings on the nature of the impact. In the Zuckerman study, younger student's post-test attitudes seemed to be more traditional (Zuckerman1983: 640), while the later Bargad and Hyde research documented a liberalizing effect resulting from women's studies classes (Bargad and Hyde 1991:193-199). This question was included to explore the relationship of this issue to the entire structure of the identity hierarchies.

#### THE TST AND THE ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHY

The TST and the role-identity hierarchy portions of the instrument will be used together for two functions. First, the TST should provide a degree of validity for the role-identity hierarchy as has been demonstrated in previous research (Hall 1987). There is such a strong connection between the two techniques that the use of both almost seems superfluous. The second reason for using the two techniques together is related to the strengths of both. As

stated earlier, the TST is unstructured permitting rich elaboration of respondents' self representations. On the other hand, the more structured role-identity hierarchy allows the researcher to explore the possible relationships between a given list of role-identities. By using the two together it will be possible to have the words of the respondents to reference the structures of role-identities designed by the researcher. For example, if the political identity of a respondent is ranked and rated at the top of the salience hierarchy it would be expected that some mention of politics should appear in the TST. If that is the case, then the researcher will have the respondents own words to confirm and validate the salience of that given role-identity. This appears to be a good mix of the qualitative and quantitative elements of both techniques.

#### SUMMARY OF METHODS

As stated earlier, this research begins with the assumption that individuals meaningfully construct their social worlds, and develop opinions and attitudes about those worlds based on how they define themselves (Kuhn and McPartland 1954). The method employed to explore the relationship between these constructions includes two techniques to measure the self and a series of questions designed to probe the respondents' positions on a number of issues associated with feminism. Through the development of two additive measures along with the respondents' own self disclosure of feminist identification I

divided the respondents into groups of a known entity and then examined any variations in the self definitions of the respondents. The instrument and this research project is not designed to explore the causes of either self definitions or attitudes toward feminism. The goal of this research is to explore the possible association between role-identity hierarchies and attitudes towards feminism. In the next section the additive measures along with other variables used to define the groups for comparison will be discussed.

### CHAPTER III RESEARCH GROUP BOUNDARIES

As stated earlier, the goal of this research is to explore the relationship between college students' attitudes toward feminism in part through their ranking and rating of several role-identities. It is hypothesized that variations in attitudes toward feminism will be associated with variations in the ranking and rating of the role-identities. The main focus of this study is delineation of the phenomenon of college students' lack of willingness to personally identify as feminist, while at the same time continuing to hold positive views of feminism. It is therefore necessary to divide the respondents into groups associated with their views on the women's movement before any comparisons of the role-identity structure can be made. It should be pointed out, however, that this project does not attempt to identify any issue that could be viewed as causing college students to reject a feminist identification. The research goal is not to develop a feminist identity scale, but instead to focus on the differing identity structures of the respondents in these four analytic groups. The four analytic groups are as follows: Group 1) Those who have negative attitudes toward both the women's movement and feminists; Group 2)

Those who have positive opinions of the women's movement, but a negative view toward feminists; Group 3) Those who have positive opinions about the women's movement and feminists - but do not personally identify as feminist; and Group 4) Those who have positive opinions about the women's movement and feminists, and identify as feminist.

Implicitly, these four groups represent three different dimensions. One dimension will be satisfied by a single variable and the other two dimensions will be established with additive measures. The process of the construction of the additive measures is based on the women's data only.<sup>21</sup> In the following discussion, the decisions which are made to establish the boundaries for the four groups will be discussed.

The first dimension the groups represent is the respondent's identification as either a feminist or non-feminist. Dividing the college students into one of these two categories was accomplished by asking respondents if they are a feminist. While answers may range from strongly disagree to strongly agree, this item was utilized as a dichotomous entity. This variable will also be used in the more complete form to examine the questions used in the additive measures.

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<sup>21</sup>Women's data are used, because in previous research (Park-Curry 1988) using the Jackson role-identity index there has been a demonstrated difference between the responses of women and men. The second and most important reason for using only the women's data is that it is perceived that the issues central to this research are more salient to women and the men's data have been removed to acquire a clearer picture of the group boundaries.

## WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE

The first additive measure or summated scale constructed for this research is connected to the second dimension of the analytic groups which is whether the respondent has a negative or positive view of the women's movement. There were nine questions on the research instrument designed to address this dimension. The questions were chosen to explore those issues that have been proposed as connected to college-age women's rejection of a feminist identity (Bolotin 1982; Faludi 1992; and Sommers 1994). As stated earlier, the questions used in this measure are not designed to be an exhaustive representation of the issues associated with the women's movement. They are only an analytic tool to divide non-feminists into two groups: those who have a positive attitude toward the movement and those who have a negative attitude toward the movement.

The first step in the construction of this measure is to examine the means and standard deviations of the instrument questions exploring the respondents' attitudes toward the women's movement. Table 2. presents the means and standard deviations of the questions, while also breaking them down by the respondent's feminist identification.

TABLE 2. - QUESTIONS DEALING WITH THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

QUESTION - (CODING SCHEME)	ALL WOMEN (N=169)	STRONG NON- FEMINIST (N=44)	NON- FEMINIST (N=63)	FEMINIST (N=48)	STRONG FEMINIST (N=14)
1. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS SUPPORTIVE OF WOMEN WHO CHOOSE TO BE HOUSEWIVES. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 2.5 SD .7	MEAN 2.0 SD .7	MEAN 2.4 SD .6	MEAN 2.8 SD .6	MEAN 3.1 SD .6
2. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN CHILD CARE/DAYCARE. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 2.9 SD .6	MEAN 2.6 SD .7	MEAN 2.8 SD .5	MEAN 3.0 SD .5	MEAN 3.4 SD .5
3. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IMPROVED THE LIVES OF WOMEN. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.1 SD .6	MEAN 2.9 SD .6	MEAN 2.9 SD .5	MEAN 3.3 SD .5	MEAN 3.6 SD .5
4. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS HELPED WOMEN BECOME MORE INDEPENDENT. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.2 SD .5	MEAN 3.0 SD .6	MEAN 3.0 SD .4	MEAN 3.4 SD .5	MEAN 3.6 SD .5
5. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS PRO-FAMILY. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 2.6 SD .7	MEAN 2.3 SD .7	MEAN 2.5 SD .6	MEAN 3.0 SD .6	MEAN 3.2 SD .9
6. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ENCOURAGING WOMEN TO HAVE CAREERS. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.3 SD .6	MEAN 3.4 SD .5	MEAN 3.2 SD .5	MEAN 3.3 SD .5	MEAN 3.6 SD .9
7. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ANTI-MEN. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.1 SD .7	MEAN 2.6 SD .8	MEAN 2.9 SD .6	MEAN 3.4 SD .5	MEAN 3.9 SD .4
8. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN ISSUES THAT ARE NOT IMPORTANT TO ME. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.2 SD .7	MEAN 2.8 SD .8	MEAN 3.1 SD .5	MEAN 3.5 SD .5	MEAN 3.8 SD .4
9. SEXISM IS NOT AN IMPORTANT ISSUE. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.4 SD .7	MEAN 3.2 SD .9	MEAN 3.1 SD .7	MEAN 3.8 SD .4	MEAN 3.9 SD .3

In Table 2 it is apparent that the responses to many of the questions differs by the respondents' feminist identification. This indicates that the reality being measured by the questions is sensitive to the feminist identification of the respondents. Questions that are of greatest interest are the ones where the mean responses by feminists are three or above, representing a positive view, and the mean responses by non-feminists below three, representing a more negative view. These questions are important, because if the goal is to construct a summated scale that represents a positive view of the movement it is crucial to find questions where some respondents, and in this case those respondents who personally identify as feminists, have given a positive response. Four questions fall in this category (questions: 2,3,5,& 7). Among these four questions only question number five demonstrates any notable difference between feminists and non-feminists. For that question the non-feminist mean of 2.5 represents a response halfway between a mildly positive or a mildly negative response, so even this question does not show any strong difference between the two classifications. This same question, however, does not elicit a very positive response from feminists with a mean of 3.0 which represents mild agreement. This makes the 2.5 mean of the non-feminist even less remarkable.

Of the remaining three questions, in those where only feminists and strong feminists are clearly positive, question



number seven, the item dealing with the movement being anti-male, represents the greatest variation. Strong feminists have a mean response of 3.9, which represents a strong disagreement with the movement being anti-male. In contrast, strong non-feminists have a mean response of 2.6 which could be viewed as being in slight agreement with the notion that the women's movement is anti-male. While there is a seeming variation in the responses of feminists and non-feminists on the questions dealing with the women's movement, with some items showing slightly more variation, there does not appear to be any one question or a sub-set of questions that stand out as clearly defining the two groups.

It is also important to point out that the means for three of the questions (questions; 4, 6, & 9) indicated that regardless of feminist identification there is agreement on a positive perception of the movement. For example in question number six, which deals with the "women's movement encouraging women to have careers", feminists and non-feminists agree that the movement encourages women to have careers. This question would appear to be useless in helping to make the distinction between those who are positive or negative toward the movement and it is likely that this question is independent of the respondent's feminist identification. For example, strong non-feminists have a mean of 3.4 which is clearly in agreement with this notion, while feminists have a mean of 3.3 which is slightly less in agreement than the

view of the strong non-feminists. The major problem with this question, which is also inherent in the reality represented by several of the other questions, is that a positive response to the question may or may not represent a positive view of the movement. This flaw will be discussed at the close of this section along with the rationale which views this flaw as non-problematic for this research.

Table 3 presents the correlation matrix of those questions being considered for the women's movement summated scale along with the feminist identification variable. The weakness of the question dealing with the movement encouraging women to have careers (item # 9 in Table 2; item #10 on Table 3) is further demonstrated in this Table . It is apparent that not only is the variable not associated with differing levels of feminist identification, but it is also not associated with the other variables conceptualized as part of the additive measure. It is clear that this item would not add to the measure and would more than likely detract from the scale.

The two questions that appear to be the strongest variables in the scales are also theoretically the most sound. Variable number three, the question dealing with the perception that the women's movement is anti-men, has the highest association with feminist identification. Question number nine (in Table 3), the question asking the respondents if the issues associated with the women's movement are important to them, has a slightly lower

association with the feminist identification variable, but has a stronger association with most of the other variables.

TABLE 3. Correlation matrix of movement variables - women

VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. FEMINIST ID	1.00									
2. SUPPORTS HOUSEWIVES	.47**	1.00								
3. ANTI-MEN	.53**	.41**	1.00							
4. SUPPORTS DAYCARE	.38**	.44**	.44**	1.00						
5. WOMEN'S INDEPENDENCE	.37**	.22**	.36**	.33**	1.00					
6. IMPROVED WOMEN'S LIVES	.37**	.27**	.39**	.33**	.78**	1.00				
7. PRO FAMILY	.43**	.40**	.40**	.37**	.19*	.21**	1.00			
8. SEXISM IMPORTANT	.36**	.11	.29**	.22**	.39**	.40**	.27**	1.00		
9. ISSUES IMPORTANT	.49**	.47**	.41**	.35**	.47**	.47**	.36**	.27**	1.00	
10. WOMEN'S CAREERS	.01	-.08	-.00	.05	.15*	.09	-.05	.09	.12	1.00

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

## QUESTION SELECTION FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE

The inherent integrity of these two questions is connected to their interpretability. Understanding the responses to these two questions is relatively straightforward which makes their inclusion in the measure even more important. The "movement being anti-men" question, for example, is one of the major controversies connected to the movement. While it is possible that some of the respondents may feel that the movement is anti-men and that this is a positive feature of the movement, it is somewhat unlikely. It can therefore be assumed that if the respondent views the movement as not being anti-men that this a positive attitude about the movement. <sup>22</sup>

The second strong question, which asks respondents if the issues of the movement are important to them is the single most important variable in this set of questions. This question is important because it aids in the process of interpreting the other questions and it is theoretically the most sound question for the purpose of defining the boundaries between the research groups. If, for instance, the respondent holds the attitude that the issues of the movement are personally important, then it is possible to assume that their positive responses to the other questions are

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<sup>22</sup> Further evidence for interpreting this as a positive attitude toward the movement is that viewing the movement as not being hostile to men is also in opposition to a very popular attitude held by anti-feminists: namely, that the women's movement is decidedly anti-male (Sommers 1994:37).

indeed representative of a positive attitude toward the movement. In the same respect, if a respondent holds the view that the issues associated with the movement are not personally important then it may also be assumed that their positive attitudes toward various issues associated with the movement may not represent an overall positive attitude toward the movement.

As mentioned earlier, several of the questions associated with the movement have a presumptive reality connected to the various responses. As was noted above a perceived positive response to one of the questions may not necessarily represent a personal view of the movement that is positive. The problematic nature of the questions was known prior to the project, but the questions were chosen because they have been used in the past to define the paradox which is the focus of this research. For instance, in the December 4, 1989 issue of TIME the question was asked: "Why then do so few (*women*)- 33%- identify themselves as 'feminist' (1989:82)?" Based on the following results from the same questions used in this study:

- a) "77 % of the women polled think the women's movement has made life better for women."
- b) "94% of the women polled said the movement has helped women become independent"
- c) "82% of the women polled said it has improved the lives of American women" (TIME)

It is obvious that TIME presumed in posing their question, that a positive response to the poll questions is somehow

connected to a lack of identification as feminist. This is based on an apparent belief that all of the questions tap into the same universe. From these seemingly inconsistent responses TIME posed an even bigger question: namely, what does all of this say about the women's movement in general? The tenor of the article was such that the question about few women identifying as feminist implied that there must be some problem with the women's movement. TIME did not add to these questions by asking the respondents if they felt the issues associated with the movement were personally important. They instead asked whether the "issues of the movement accurately reflect the views of most women"(1989:85). In the TIME/CNN poll, 53% of the women said that the issues of the movement reflect the views of most women. The lower percentage on this question was interpreted to represent at least part of the answer as to why women don't personally identify as feminist: namely because the views of the movement are out of touch with the concerns of most women. This is the same flaw that was apparent in the classic Bem research when the judges were asked what they thought other people felt about gender roles and not how they felt about gender roles (Eichler 1980:62-64). In her discussion of the Bem research Eichler states that "there is some evidence that respondents tend to assign more conservative attitudes to other people than they themselves hold"(1980: 64). So in the TIME/CNN poll as with the Bem research all the researchers were able to gather was the respondents'

perception of what others thought. We cannot be sure if the issues of the movement are important to the women in the TIME/CNN poll. They may see themselves as holding an opinion of the women's movement that is aligned not with an overwhelming majority of the women being polled (the 82% that think the women's movement has improved the lives of women), but with some smaller sub-set of women. It is therefore not clear if the difference in the percentages of the various are connected. Perhaps some of the women in the poll hold the attitude that many women in society think the issues of the movement are not important to them, but they view the movement issues as important. In order to correct this lack of connection between the questions, the respondents in this project were asked if the issues of the movement are important to them. While it would have been more desirable to assess not only whether the respondents thought the movement addresses certain issues, but also to follow up those questions with more others asking whether this was an appropriate issue for the movement to address. This type of questioning would have made the instrument twice as long which was perceived as too great an increase in the time burden for the respondents. The function of the questions is merely to serve as a tool to establish the boundaries between the research groups.

The rationale for using potentially flawed questions is simple. As stated earlier the genesis for this research was to probe the paradox associated with feminism that has been presented in

the media and academic publications. If this project was to explore the issues associated with the paradox it was necessary to use questions that have been presented in the press as central to the debate. The use of questions that are somewhat vague in the reality they are defining was not viewed as problematic as long as there would be some means to improve the interpretability of those questions. As presented above, the decision was made to ask the respondents if they view the issues associated with the movement as personally important as a means of improving question interpretability. These questions are also viewed as non-problematic because they will not be the only treatment used to separate the research groups.

To return again to the process of item selection for the additive measure, the last step is to decide on the questions. As stated earlier there were nine questions associated with the movement on the instrument and it appears as if eight of the nine would be appropriate for inclusion in the measure. As Table 4 demonstrates (and the correlation matrix hinted at) the eight items do not represent a statistically strong measure, but the eight items did hold together reasonably well.<sup>23</sup> A decision was made to keep all eight of the items. The next step is then to assess if the

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<sup>23</sup> An eight item measure with a Cronbach's alpha of .82 is not remarkable because you would expect to get an alpha of .8 with the eight items.



eight items are able to provide the means by which the movement boundary can be established.

TABLE 4. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ADDITIVE MEASURE  
QUESTION ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOMEN'S  
MOVEMENT

	MEAN	SD	ALPHA
			.82
1. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS SUPPORTIVE OF WOMEN WHO CHOOSE TO BE HOUSEWIVES. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	2.5	.72	
2. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN CHILD CARE/DAYCARE. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	2.9	.59	
3. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IMPROVED THE LIVES OF WOMEN. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	3.1	.56	
4. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS HELPED WOMEN BECOME MORE INDEPENDENT. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	3.2	.53	
5. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS PRO-FAMILY. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	2.6	.70	
6. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ANTI-MEN. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	3.1	.75	
7. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN ISSUES THAT ARE NOT IMPORTANT TO ME. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	3.2	.67	
8. SEXISM IS NOT AN IMPORTANT ISSUE. (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 4) (STRONGLY AGREE = 1)	3.4	.73	

## EVALUATION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE

Table 5 presents the means and range for summed scores for feminist and non-feminist women on eight questions included in the movement measure. Section A of Table 5 present the summed scores of all of the feminist and non-feminist women in the sample. From the differences between the means it is clear that feminists and non-feminists vary on this measure. For the purpose of this research the range of the scores in section A of the Table are of the most interest. It appears as if someone could score as low as twenty-two on the summative measure and still identify as a feminist. Section B of the Table adds to that information by showing that the mean for non-feminist women who view the issues of the movement as important is slightly higher than the mean for all non-feminist women in the sample regardless of their view of the importance of the issues associated with the movement. Another interesting point that was not included in the table is that only two non-feminist women with a score of twenty-two or above were excluded when the control was imposed to select those women who view the issues of the movement as important (section B of Table 5). This fact indicates two points that are important for the construction of this measure. First, from the fact that so few women are removed with a score of twenty-two or above when only those women who view the issues associated with the women's movement as important are selected from the sample, it can be assumed that such a score is connected

to a positive view of the movement (15 non-feminist women were removed with scores of 21 or below). This assumption can be made because if this score was a function of something other than a positive view of the movement, one would expect more women to drop from the group when this control was imposed. Secondly, the removal of the two women demonstrates how important the personal relevancy of the movement issues variable is in the process of interpreting all of the questions associated with the women's movement.

If the goal of this measure is to define the boundary score that a respondent must have to have a positive view of the women's movement the obvious score is twenty-two. Since twenty-two is a positive enough score for a respondent to personally identify as a feminist, and one would think you would hold a positive view of a movement you identified with, it can be assumed that this score does not adversely influence an overall positive view of the movement. This score represents responses to the questions in the measure that are not all positive toward the movement. The minimum score for all positive responses would be twenty-four, so the twenty-two that is accepted is not a totally positive view of the movement. A score that is not totally positive was chosen because the questions in this measure do not exhaust all possible questions about the movement; even among feminists in the sample there really is not any clear view of all of the issues that are important to the movement. So by choosing this level as

the boundary for the measure it is reasonable to assume that most of the women with a positive view of the movement on a majority of the questions are included, and moreover, that women with similar views to those identifying as feminist were not excluded.

TABLE 5 - MEANS AND RANGES FOR MOVEMENT ADDITIVE MEASURE

## SECTION A. ALL WOMEN IN THE SAMPLE

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=62)	26.7	2.0	32	22
NON-FEMINIST (N=107)	22.2	3.1	31	13

## SECTION B. WOMEN WHO VIEW THE ISSUES OF MOVEMENT AS PERSONALLY IMPORTANT

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=62)	26.7	2.0	32	22
NON-FEMINIST (N=90)	22.9	2.5	31	16

## SECTION C. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE MOVEMENT MEASURE OF 22 OR ABOVE

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=62)	26.7	2.0	32	22
NON-FEMINIST (N=67)	23.9	1.9	31	22

## SECTION D. CROSSTABLES OF MOVEMENT MEASURE WITH FEMINIST ID

CATEGORY/ SCORE	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
FEMINIST (N=62)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	9
NON-FEMINIST (N=107)	1	1	2	3	1	0	9	5	16	13	23	17	6

CATEGORY/ SCORE	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
FEMINIST (N=62)	14	8	13	5	3	1	1
NON-FEMINIST (N=107)	2	5	1	0	0	2	0

## SUMMARY OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT MEASURE

To summarize the additive measure constructed to differentiate those respondents who have a positive view of the movement versus those who have a negative view, of the movement, the following decisions were made. Of the nine questions on the instrument designed to explore the respondents' views of the movement, eight were chosen for inclusion in the measure. Of those eight, only two had a correlation of about .5 with the feminist identification variable with the other six ranging from .37 to .47. Questions that have been central in defining the issues relevant to the media's focus on why women who have a seemingly positive view of the movement do not personally identify as feminist have been included in the summative scale. Along with the construction of the measure another variable was selected to help delineate the boundaries of the research groups.

## FEMINIST MEASURE

The second measure constructed for this project is intended to differentiate between those respondents who have a positive view of feminists and those respondents who have a negative view of feminists. Table 6 presents the means and standard deviations of the questions designed to examine the respondents' attitudes toward feminists.

Again as with the first measure, questions that appear to distinguish between feminists and non-feminists with feminists

having the more positive or higher mean are of the most interest. Upon first inspection it is fairly obvious that question number five will be rejected immediately. There is virtual agreement on this question and there is no real variation between the groups as evidenced by the means and standard deviations. Questions seven and nine are also likely candidates for rejection given the lack of variation between the categories. There is however more variation within category than with question five, but, at this point it is likely the questions will not be included in the measure. Two questions will probably be rejected because only strong feminists have a slightly positive mean on those questions (# 6 strong feminist's mean of 2.7; and # 8 strong feminist's mean of 2.5) with very little difference between feminists and non-feminists. Of the remaining four questions, it appears reasonable to assume that these items could be included in the summated scale designed to identify the boundary demarcating a positive versus negative view of feminists.

TABLE 6. QUESTIONS DEALING WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISTS

QUESTION - (CODING SCHEME)	ALL WOMEN (N=169)	STRONG NON- FEMINIST (N=44)	NON- FEMINIST (N=63)	FEMINIST (N=48)	STRONG FEMINIST (N=14)
1. MOST FEMINISTS ARE ANTI-MEN. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 2.9 SD .7	MEAN 2.4 SD .6	MEAN 2.8 SD .6	MEAN 3.4 SD .6	MEAN 3.9 SD .4
2. I HAVE NEVER MET A FEMINIST I TRULY LIKED. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 3.1 SD .7	MEAN 2.7 SD .7	MEAN 3.0 SD .5	MEAN 3.4 SD .5	MEAN 3.9 SD .3
3. FEMINISTS SEEM TO DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO LOOK UNFEMININE. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 3.0 SD .7	MEAN 2.8 SD .7	MEAN 2.9 SD .6	MEAN 3.3 SD .5	MEAN 3.8 SD .4
4. MOST FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 3.2 SD .6	MEAN 3.0 SD .7	MEAN 3.0 SD .6	MEAN 3.5 SD .5	MEAN 3.9 SD .4
5. SOME FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 2.0 SD .5	MEAN 2.0 SD .4	MEAN 2.0 SD .5	MEAN 2.1 SD .4	MEAN 1.9 SD .6
6. FEMINISTS APPEAR TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE THAN OTHER WOMEN. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	MEAN 2.2 SD .7	MEAN 1.9 SD .7	MEAN 2.2 SD .6	MEAN 2.4 SD .7	MEAN 2.7 SD .9
7. MOST FEMINISTS ARE PRO-WOMEN. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 3.2 SD .7	MEAN 3.3 SD .7	MEAN 3.1 SD .6	MEAN 3.1 SD .8	MEAN 3.6 SD .6
8. FEMINISTS SEEM TO BE THE ONLY PEOPLE TRYING TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF WOMEN. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 2.1 SD .6	MEAN 1.9 SD .6	MEAN 2.0 SD .5	MEAN 2.1 SD .6	MEAN 2.5 SD .8
9. FEMINISTS ARE MORE ASSERTIVE THAN OTHER WOMEN. (STRONGLY AGREE = 4) (STRONGLY DISAGREE = 1)	MEAN 2.7 SD .8	MEAN 2.9 SD .8	MEAN 2.6 SD .7	MEAN 2.7 SD .7	MEAN 2.6 SD 1.0



Through an examination of Table 7, it appears as though the first four questions on Table 6 are the strongest items for the measure identifying the boundary separating a positive versus negative view of feminists. An interesting aspect of these four questions is that they are the issues most often referenced in the literature as possible views of feminists that have led to the rejection of a feminist identity by the majority of women (Boltin 1982; Whittier 1991:104-113; Faludi 1992; and Sommers 1994:37). Table 7 also confirms the weakness of the other five variables. For example, the problematic nature of variable number 6, the question asking the respondents if some feminists are lesbians, is evident when the association of that variable is examined with questions where there was a virtual positive agreement between feminists and non-feminists about the nature of feminists. With two of those variables the sign is reversed indicating that the relationship is the opposite of what would be expected if feminists also held the most positive view on these questions. Variable number 7, the question asking respondents if feminists are more aggressive than other women, has a similar relationship with those same two variables. This variable is more difficult to reject because of the stronger, yet still rather weak associations with those items that have been accepted for the measure. What is obvious about variables six and seven is that they do not tap into a reality that is consistent with the reality being measured by the other variables. This could mean that they

are coded wrong, but more likely this is an indication that these two questions are really not measuring an issue that is important to defining the boundaries for the research groups in this project.

Table 8 presents four items chosen for the summated rating scale constructed to define the boundary between respondents who have a positive view of feminists versus those who have a negative view of feminists. The Cronbach's alpha of .80 for the four items indicates that the items hold together well.<sup>24</sup> The next step is then to decide the summated score that will divide the respondents and provide the boundary that will indicate respondents who have a positive view and those who have a negative view of feminists.

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<sup>24</sup> To assure that the rejection of the variable asking respondents if feminists are more aggressive than other was a valid rejection a reliability test was done with the inclusion of that item. The Cronbach's alpha of those five items was .77, so it is clear that variable number seven does not add to the measure.

TABLE 7 CORRELATION MATRIX OF FEMINIST VARIABLE - WOMEN

VARIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. FEMINIST ID	1.00									
2. FEMINIST ANTI-MEN	.61**	1.00								
3. MET FEM THEY LIKED	.57**	.61**	1.00							
4. FEMINIST UNFEMININE	.44**	.50**	.50**	1.00						
5. MOST FEM LESBIANS	.39**	.46**	.38**	.50**	1.00					
6. SOME FEM LESBIANS	.08	.18*	.10	.08	.50**	1.00				
7. FEM. MORE AGGRESSIVE	.32**	.32**	.28**	.37**	.26**	.38**	1.00			
8. FEMINIST PRO-WOMEN	.02	-.04	-.03	.02	-.01	-.23**	-.16*	1.00		
9. FEM. ONLY PEOPLE WORKING	.22*	.17	.19*	.18*	.13	.04	.16*	.01	1.00	
10. FEM. MORE ASSERTIVE	-.11	-.09	-.16*	-.16	-.15	-.30**	-.49**	.13	.09	1.00

\* p &lt; .05

\*\* p &lt; .01

TABLE 8 ADDITIVE MEASURE FOR FEMINIST QUESTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEMINISTS

	MEAN	SD	ALPHA
			.80
1. MOST FEMINISTS ARE ANTI-MEN. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	2.9	.74	
2. I HAVE NEVER MET A FEMINIST I TRULY LIKED. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	3.1	.65	
3. FEMINISTS SEEM TO DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO LOOK UNFEMININE. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	3.0	.65	
4. MOST FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS. (STRONGLY DISAGREE =4) (STRONGLY AGREE =1)	3.2	.63	

## SELECTION OF THE FEMINIST BOUNDARY

In the selection of the boundary the first concern was to pick a point that would clearly delineate the difference between a positive and negative point of view. From Table 6 it was clear that feminists and strong feminists had a very positive response to the four questions included in the measure (avg. mean on all four questions: feminists = 3.4; strong feminists = 3.9). Taking this fact into consideration it seems logical that the relevant score should be at least twelve, which would be the minimum score a respondent would have if they answered all of the questions with a positive response. Of course, a respondent could conceivably attain a score of twelve with a very positive response on two questions and a slightly negative response on the other two questions, so it will also be important to examine the data for the implications of this decision. As with the first measure addressing attitudes toward the movement, one of the items in the attitudes toward feminist measure, namely the variable asking whether the respondent has ever met a feminist they like, implicitly must be answered in a positive manner for the other responses to also be interpreted as positive. To establish the impact of this variable on the data it was added as a second control (data are presented in Section C of Table 9 ). Section B of Table 9 presents the data for the feminist measure for respondents who view the issues of the

movement as important<sup>25</sup> and section C of that same table presents the data for those women who also have met a feminist they liked. What is important in comparing these two sections of the table is how many women drop out and at what points the drop-outs occur. When the first control is imposed (the data in section B Table 9), the variable asking if the issues of the movement are important, seventeen women are removed; of those women ten are below the score of twelve and seven are above that same score. From this we can conclude that the control imposed during the process of the construction of the first measure may also be useful in this measure. The fact that no feminist women are removed when this control is imposed is further evidence of this. We may also conclude that twelve is an important score, because none of the seventeen women who dropped out of the data had a score above twelve. When the second control is imposed, the variable asking the respondents if they have ever met a feminist they liked, another seventeen women are selected out and all of these women have a score below twelve. It then appears that a score of twelve would be a good boundary point for determining women who have either a positive or negative view of feminists. An examination of the means also confirms this conclusion (Table 10).

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<sup>25</sup> This control variable was imposed on the data as a result of the process of construction of the first measure - see discussion above for more details.

TABLE 9 - CROSSTABLES OF FEMINIST MEASURE WITH FEMINIST IDENTIFICATION

SECTION A. CROSSTABLES OF FEMINIST MEASURE WITH FEMINIST ID

CATEGORY/ SCORE	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
FEMINIST (N=62)	0	0	0	0	5	11	11	8	9	18
NON-FEMINIST (N=107)	1	2	11	19	23	33	5	10	1	2

SECTION B. CROSSTABLES OF FEMINIST MEASURE WITH FEMINIST ID  
- AND WHO VIEW THE ISSUES OF THE MOVEMENT AS IMPORTANT

CATEGORY/ SCORE	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
FEMINIST (N=62)	0	0	0	0	5	11	11	8	9	18
NON-FEMINIST (N=90)	0	0	7	16	21	28	5	10	1	2

SECTION C. CROSSTABLES OF FEMINIST MEASURE WITH FEMINIST ID  
- AND WHO VIEW THE ISSUES OF THE MOVEMENT AS IMPORTANT  
- AND WHO HAVE MET A FEMINIST THEY HAVE LIKED

CATEGORY/ SCORE	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
FEMINIST (N=62)	0	0	0	0	5	11	11	8	9	18
NON-FEMINIST (N=73)	0	0	4	6	17	28	5	10	1	2

For example, in section A of Table 10 it is clear that feminists (mean = 14.0) have a higher mean for the measure than do non-feminists (mean = 11.3). There are both feminists and non-feminists who have the maximum score on all four items with feminists having more at that level. An examination of section A of Table 9 reveals the fact that the difference in the two means is strongly influenced by the reality that the modal score for feminists is the maximum score for the measure (score of 16 /N = 18). While the difference between the two group means is statistically significant,<sup>26</sup> the important issue for the purpose of this research is whether that difference should influence confidence in the measure to establish the boundaries between women who have a positive view of feminists versus those women who have a negative view of feminists. If the goal was to identify women who have a view of feminists similar to the view held by feminists themselves then the difference in the means would be important. The purpose of the measure is, however, to differentiate the nature of the view of feminists held by women who do not identify as feminist, with the tacit understanding that if an individual personally identifies as a feminist they already have a positive view. The data in section D of Table 10 indeed confirms that choosing the score point of twelve effectively makes

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<sup>26</sup> This fact was confirmed by a T-test of the two group means listed in section C of table 9 (t=6.39/.000).

the distinction between those who have a positive view of feminists versus those who have a negative view of feminists.



TABLE 10 - MEANS AND RANGES FOR FEMINIST ADDITIVE MEASURE

## SECTION A. ALL WOMEN IN THE SAMPLE

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=62)	14.0	1.7	16	11
NON-FEMINIST (N=107)	11.3	1.7	16	7

## SECTION B. WOMEN WHO VIEW THE ISSUES OF THE MOVEMENT AS PERSONALLY IMPORTANT

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=62)	14.0	1.7	16	11
NON-FEMINIST (N=90)	11.6	1.6	16	9

## SECTION C. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE FEMINIST MEASURE OF 12 OR ABOVE

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
FEMINIST (N=57)	14.2	1.6	16	12
NON-FEMINIST (N=46)	12.8	1.1	16	12

## SECTION D. NON-FEMINIST/ 1. NEGATIVE VIEW OF FEMINIST/2. POSITIVE VIEW OF FEMINIST

CATEGORY	MEAN	SD	t	sig
1. NON-FEMINIST (N=56) WITH SCORE 11 AND BELOW	10.1	.959	-13.00	.000
2. NON-FEMINIST (N=46) WITH SCORE 12 AND ABOVE	12.8	1.1		

## SUMMARY OF THE ADDITIVE MEASURES

In the discussion above, two measures were constructed to be used to define the boundaries between the research groups. Again it should be pointed out that these measures should not be thought of as scales, but merely as analytic tools to differentiate the key boundaries. While there is no claim of the scale quality, there is confidence that these measures adequately define the groups. As Table 11 illustrates, the means for the measures vary within and between groups in a manner that would be representative of the perceived reality of the groups. For example, Group Four, the group composed of feminists, has the highest means for both measures. Contrasted with this is Group One which has the lowest means for each measure. The measure means on the movement for Groups Two and Three are similar, with the noticeable difference between the two groups in the means on the feminist measure.

TABLE 11 - MEANS AND RANGES FOR ADDITIVE MEASURES BY RESEARCH GROUPS

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SECTION A. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE FEMINIST MEASURE OF 12 OR ABOVE

GROUP 1. (N=27)	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
MOVEMENT MEASURE	18.7	2.5	21	13
FEMINIST MEASURE	9.6	1.1	11	7

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SECTION A. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE FEMINIST MEASURE OF 12 OR ABOVE

GROUP 2. (N=28)	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
MOVEMENT MEASURE	23.6	1.9	31	22
FEMINIST MEASURE	10.5	.6	11	9

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SECTION A. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE FEMINIST MEASURE OF 12 OR ABOVE

GROUP 3. (N=39)	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
MOVEMENT MEASURE	24.1	1.9	31	22
FEMINIST MEASURE	12.8	1.1	16	12

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SECTION A. WOMEN WITH A SCORE ON THE FEMINIST MEASURE OF 12 OR ABOVE

GROUP 4. (N=57)	MEAN	SD	HIGH SCORE	LOW SCORE
MOVEMENT MEASURE	26.9	1.9	32	22
FEMINIST MEASURE	14.2	1.5	16	12

## RESEARCH GROUPS DEFINED

With the group boundaries clearly defined it will now be possible to proceed to a discussion of the results. As presented earlier the goal will be to explore the role-identity structures of the respondents and to look for any variations that might occur between groups. With the construction of the measures and the discussion above, the groups and group boundaries are as follows:

Group 1 : Respondents who have

- a negative view of the movement  
(i.e. - a score of twenty-one or below on the movement measure)
- and
- a negative view of feminists  
(i.e. - a score of eleven or below on the feminist measure)

Group 2 : Respondents who have

- a positive view of the movement  
(i.e. - a score of twenty-two or above on the movement measure and a personal belief that the issues of the movement are important)
- and
- a negative view of feminists  
(i.e. -a score of eleven or below on the feminist measure)

Group 3 : Respondents who have

- a positive view of the movement  
(i.e. - a score of twenty-two or above on the movement measure and a personal belief that the issues of the movement are important)
- and
- a positive view of feminists  
(i.e. - a score of twelve or above on the feminist measure)

Group 4 : Respondents who have

- a positive view of the movement  
(i.e. - a score of twenty-two or above on the movement measure and a personal belief that the issues of the movement are important)
- and
- a positive view of feminists  
(i.e. - a score of twelve or above on the feminist measure)
- and
- who personally identify as a feminist

## CHAPTER IV RESULTS OF THE TST

The results of the data analysis for the TST technique will be presented in this chapter. In this project the TST was used as a "jumping off" point for both the respondent and the researcher. In the research design the TST was viewed as a way to focus the respondents' thinking in such a way as to give them the chance to examine how they define themselves. They were given the opportunity to say anything they wished about who they are. It was clear in watching the college student respondents struggle through the first page of the instrument (the TST section), answering the seemingly simple question "Who am I?", that the self reflexive process is difficult for most. , Watching this process unfold as the researcher, I was able to develop an appreciation for how hard the majority of the students were willing to work on the instrument. In reading their self references it became clear that the TST worked as a means of introducing the respondents to the research and the researcher to the respondents. Their voices come alive in the words they use to convey who they are and this adds a qualitative richness to the findings of the study. The purpose of

this chapter is to introduce the respondents, to bring their voices alive and make the discussion of the more structured technique in the next chapter more meaningful.

## FINDINGS

As was stated earlier, the TST was developed by Manford Kuhn (1954) as a way to measure the self. The TST technique is a straightforward instrument wherein the respondents are asked to answer the question "Who am I?" Typically the TST is presented on a single sheet of paper with twenty blank lines on which the respondents write their answers to the question. Several hypotheses were discussed in the methods chapter of this dissertation and the findings associated with those hypotheses will be presented below. These hypotheses were posed as a means of exploring an issue that is central to the research question: namely, whether or not there is something different in feminists' sense of self that separates them from other women and men.

Questions raised in connection to the TST are designed to explore differences in gender that are evident in the lexical styles of the respondents. A resulting assumption is that any differences or similarities may be an indication of an analogous relationship with regard to the respondents' sense of self. A further assumption is that any differences or similarities in style may be an indication of a similar relationship associated with the respondent's transmittable sense of self. To that end the analysis associated

with each hypothesis will be discussed at two levels. First the differences between men and women will be explored to identify any sex differences associated with the respondents' self references. The data will then be compared and contrasted between and within the various research groups. After the discussion of these findings typical self-references for each of the research groups will be presented.

#### CONCRETE SELF-REFERENCES

*Hypothesis 1 - It is hypothesized that females and males will have a similar number of concrete self references.*

Concrete self references are defined as responses that are of a consensual nature with meanings that are readily understandable. Unlike previous research using the TST there are no assumptions in this study about the implications of any type of reference; that is to say consensual concrete statements have no importance other than the fact that their meaning is clear. What is being compared between women and men in this research are similarities or differences in the number of easily interpreted statements. This first step was intended to organize the data into meaningful categories to facilitate an examination of the respondents' easily understood and transmittable sense of self connected to identifiable social relationships, a key factor in understanding the nature of the respondents' identity (Stryker and Serpe 1982:206).



Kuhn and McPartland defined consensual statements as those "...which refer to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are matters of common knowledge" (1954:115). In contrast to consensual statements, subconsensual statements do not have a precise understanding. In Kuhn and McPartland's examples of both types of statements, the importance of one of their examples for subconsensual statements was overlooked by this researcher. The authors mentioned that "good wife" would be a subconsensual statement.<sup>27</sup> The use of the word "good" in front of the word "wife," which by itself would be a consensual statement, then made both words together subconsensual. Before the data were analyzed it seemed reasonable to label such a statement as subconsensual; after all, it would be difficult to interpret what the respondent meant by "good". However, during the process of data analysis it became evident that women were more likely than men to use a modifier or add some type of emphasis to many of their self references, thus rendering those statements subconsensual. As Section A of Table 12 indicates, this type of interpretation had a major impact on the data analysis with forty percent of the women compared to

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<sup>27</sup> The fact that Kuhn and McPartland used the statement "good wife" as an example of a subconsensual statement might lead some to conclude that they encountered early on the phenomenon of women modifying consensual statements.

fifty-two percent of men having ten or more concrete consensual statements.

#### WOMEN'S USE OF MODIFIERS

It is therefore important to consider whether the use of modifiers substantially influences the nature of the statements or whether this is an example of a situation where some trivial distinction is being made that really does not influence the meaning of the reference (Henley et al. 1984). After all, the use of "wife" may also be open to interpretation. For example, a respondent may view this as a label signifying a state of mind as well as familial positioning and we would need to know the state of the respondent's relationship to judge the meaning of the reference. It then seems reasonable to re-evaluate what was being interpreted as a consensual statement to see if those consensual statements with modifiers were really subconsensual statements or statements whose meaning is understood by the respondent alone. It became clear that while the precise meaning of the statement was somewhat vague with the modifier, the meaning of the association was still clear.

The data were then re-examined using a more liberal definition of consensual statements. The new definition also included references that had a consensual element with some modification by the respondent, which rendered the references subconsensual by the Kuhn and McPartland standard (e.g. good daughter). As Section B of Table 12 indicates, the number of

women in the top category did go up, but so did the number of men. With the new classification system men and women have similar percentages in the top two categories, which would indicate some similarity between them (83% of the women and 82% of the men had more than 5 consensual concrete statements). This may indicate a change in the last twenty years from an era which led Lakoff to lament that women have been trained to express themselves in a way that lacks linguistic clarity (Lakoff 1975:5-7). As a result of this type of learning, women's identities have become submerged beneath vague idiosyncratic expressions of self that can then be trivialized because of a lack of understanding. The TST provides a means of exploring this issue further through the nature of the concrete statements, not just the frequency of those statements.

**TABLE 12 - THE NUMBER OF CONSENSUAL CONCRETE STATEMENTS  
BY RESPONDENTS BY SEX**

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**SECTION A - with the original Kuhn and McPartland definition of consensual**

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number of concrete consensual statements	women's reponses	men's responsess
10 or OVER	68 (40.2%)	47 (51.6%)
9- 5	61 (36.1%)	28 (30.8%)
UNDER 5	40 (23.7%)	16 (17.6%)

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**SECTION B - with new definition of consensual statements**

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number of concrete consensual statements	women's reponses	men's responsess
10 or OVER	73 (43.2%)	50 (54.9%)
9- 5	67 (39.6%)	27 (29.7%)
UNDER 5	29 (17.2%)	14 (15.4%)

For the women, self references associated with familial relationships were statements that had been judged subconsensual in this research through use of the Kuhn and McPartland scheme now re-framed as consensual (e. g. "good sister," "loyal daughter," "loving wife," or "terrific mom"). Men on the other hand typically would modify self references associated with identities outside the family (e.g. "good athlete," "hard worker," or "good musician"). Of course this reveals more about men's and women's self references than just the numbers of different types of statements.

Typically the frequency and the order of mention are used to explore the saliency of statuses (Kuhn and McPartland 1954; Mackie 1983:345). Operationalizing saliency in this fashion has been proven to be valid (Gordon 1968:123), but the nature of the references also says something about the importance of various self references. The fact that females and males modify or elaborate different types of social positions gives us an indication of the differing importance of those positions for women and men (Whorf 1956). From this we can conclude two facts: first, that women and men define themselves with similar clarity, but men seem to have a greater number of concrete consensual statements and women tend to describe themselves in more unique ways, with the meaning of many of their references known only to them; we may also conclude that they differently value statuses associated with different spheres, which is demonstrated by the nature of the references that men and women are likely to modify in some way. This will be discussed in more detail in the following discussion of hypotheses three and four.

#### GENDERED SELF-REFERENCES

*Hypothesis 2 - It is hypothesized that the overall nature of the gendered self references of females and males will be similar.*

The second hypothesis is based on the work of Henley et al. (1984) who contend that many of the conclusions about the

differing verbal styles of women and men is merely folk wisdom and not fact. They also conclude that the differences that appear are really based on the assumption that men's and women's speech patterns are valued differently and thus are interpreted to be of a different nature. The premise of this exploration is that is there is something about the self-references of the respondents that would identify them as either male or female. For example, will women reveal more personal information and use adjectives that are more typically associated with women's speech (Lakoff 1975; Sattel 1983)? This classification system attempts to identify obvious sex differences in respondents' linguistic usages and their traditional social relationships.<sup>28</sup> Each respondent is rated as to the overall nature of their complete list of self-references. To be classified in either the non-traditional or traditional categories a respondent had to have the majority of their statements in that category. If the statements did not represent some type of majority then the statements were judged to be neutral.<sup>29</sup>

The data are presented in Table 13. The difference between men and women (Section A) in the traditional category is of greatest interest (women N=59 or 34.9% and men N=12 or 13.2%). By dividing the respondents into research groups this category is

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<sup>28</sup> The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1973:156) is used as the foundation for the selection of gendered references.

<sup>29</sup> The quantification of the TST self references is done as a means of organizing the data and to that end the lines between the categories are not perceived as important boundaries.

further highlighted by the fact that the majority of the women in Group 2 (Table 13 Section B) account for thirty-six percent of all women who gave traditional self references. Another interesting finding is that the men's Group 2 also had the highest percentage of men giving traditional references (Table 13 Section C). It is important that all of the groups except the women's Group 2 had the majority of their respondents in the neutral category. Perhaps that is a signal that the old notion of prescriptive gendered self imagery is losing popularity as scholars have been predicting (Stockard and Johnson 1979; Hill 1981; Secord 1982; Mackie 1983:344; Ashmore and Del Boca 1986; Messner 1987:208; and Owen and Dennis 1988).

TABLE 13 - GENDERED NATURE OF SELF-REFERENCES

## SECTION A - ALL WOMEN AND MEN IN SAMPLE

CATEGORY	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=260)	WOMEN (N=169)	MEN (N=91)
NEUTRAL	176 (67.7%)	105 (62.1%)	71 (78.0%)
NON-TRADITIONAL	13 ( 5.0%)	5 ( 3.0%)	8 ( 8.8%)
TRADITIONAL	71 (27.3%)	59 (34.9%)	12 (13.2%)

## SECTION B - WOMEN BY RESEARCH GROUP

CATEGORY	GROUP 1 (N=27)	GROUP 2 (N=28)	GROUP 3 (N=39)	GROUP 4 (N=57)
NEUTRAL	16 (59.3%)	7 (25.0%)	28 (71.8%)	38 (66.6%)
NON-TRADITIONAL	1 ( 3.7%)	0	0	3 ( 5.3%)
TRADITIONAL	10 (37.0%)	21 (75.0%)	11 (28.2%)	16 (28.1%)

## SECTION C - MEN BY RESEARCH GROUP

CATEGORY	GROUP 1 (N=28)	GROUP 2 (N=12)	GROUP 3 (N=19)	GROUP 4 (N=12)
NEUTRAL	22 (78.6%)	7 (58.3%)	14 (73.7%)	8 ( 66.6%)
NON-TRADITIONAL	2 ( 7.1%)	0	3 (15.8%)	3 ( 25.0%)
TRADITIONAL	4 (14.3%)	5 (41.7%)	2 (10.5%)	1 ( 8.3%)



## TRADITIONAL SELF-REFERENCES

The nature of the self references is best illustrated with examples of the types of references that respondents gave. For example, Exhibit I below contains statements given by one of the women in Group 2 whose overall self imagery was classified as traditional. While she does not specifically mention family relationships other than through inclusion of "family oriented," the use of such statements as; "compassionate," "understanding," "patient," "sweet," "loving," "caring," and "gentle" clearly tip the scales towards the traditional category.

### EXHIBIT I \*woman Group 2 -TRADITIONAL/mov. 22 /fem. 10

very easy to get along with  
compassionate  
understanding  
patient  
sweet  
easy going  
responsible  
name \_\_\_\_\_  
college  
hometown

studious  
careful  
family oriented  
friends important  
loving  
caring  
gentle

\* this respondent left 3 lines blank.

In contrast to the woman in the first example, the woman in Exhibit II is so family oriented that she even mentions deceased relatives. Other factors that influenced the traditional rating of this respondent were her references relating to appearance, which has been identified as a greater concern for women than men (Lakoff 1975). This woman clearly sees herself as a social object, which of course is one of the goals for the TST technique in this project.

## EXHIBIT II woman Group 2 -TRADITIONAL/ mov. 23 /fem. 11

female	mother is deceased
_____ years old	no pets
freshman in college	two nieces
attend _____ University	from_____
brown hair	very social
hazel eyes	like kids
youngest in family	like to go shopping
one brother	favorite color red
majoring in_____	grandparents deceased
happy	like college better than high school

Exhibit III is another woman from Group 2 whose responses were also classified as traditional. As with the other women there were references about family relations, but the overall passive voice of the statements places this respondent in the traditional category. For example, instead of saying she is smart she is merely "reasonably smart". A number of her statements are also "other" oriented, which is thought to be a traditional focus for women (Eagly and Mladinic 1989:547).

## EXHIBIT III \*woman Group 2 - TRADITIONAL/mov. 22/fem. 11

understanding	willing to learn new things
caring	not a quitter
reasonably smart	female
concerned for others' well-being	girlfriend/lover
well-dressed	daughter
easy going	sister
laid back	
musically inclined	
cultured	
good listener	

\* this respondent left four lines blank

In contrast to the first two women from Group 2 who had traditional self references, Exhibit IV presents the statements of

another traditional woman from Group 2 who had some very interesting variations. As with the other women she also had numerous familial self references, but she expresses a more assertive voice. For example, she is not only a "caregiver to young children," she is a "child care advocate." Her family is important, but she is a "member" of that family. She clearly defines her position in the larger society as a "loyal law-abiding citizen," "citizen of the U.S.," and as "a registered voter" which takes her outside the family sphere. But her personal self references about future traditional family roles places her firmly in the traditional category. Her phraseology in her description of her future family roles (e.g. "a person who wants to be a wife," and "a person who wants to be a mom"), raises questions as to whether she feels she must give up her personhood to be a wife or mother. Her final statement is also interesting and consistent with other research dealing with college students, namely that they want a family and a job (Bolotin 1982; and Schneider 1988:13-15). In her case job is mentioned in a generic sense, rather than via a specific occupational identity.

## EXHIBIT IV woman Group 2 - TRADITIONAL/mov. 31/fem. 9

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college student	a member of my family
daughter	a citizen of the U.S.
girlfriend	a person who wants to be a wife
aunt	a person who wants to be a mom
friend	a republican
a caregiver to young children	a registered voter
a student about to graduate	an animal lover
a female	a child care advocate
a good student	a member of _____
a loyal law abiding citizen	a person in need of a job

## TRADITIONAL AND NEUTRAL STATEMENTS COMPARED

The next two examples (Exhibits V and VI) are women from Group 1 whose self references were classified as traditional (Exhibit V) and as neutral to non-traditional (Exhibit VI). In Exhibit V every statement other than the last two could be a model for the quintessential traditional woman. We know for example that she is a "very sensitive nice person" who is "emotional," crying at most movies, and that she is a "hopeless romantic who enjoys walks and holding hands." She also is so family centered that she outlines her family structure for us (she has a mother and father and two older brothers). Two statements, however, jumped off the page dealing with her romantic life and how she defines her happiness through others' feelings about her: this woman has a "broken heart," having had it "all until he threw me away." Even this woman who appears so deeply rooted in the traditional position of women in society is hoping to go to graduate

school and has a self awareness that she needs "to move on" from her current romantic crisis.

EXHIBIT V woman Group 1-TRADITIONAL/mov. 16/fem. 7

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an animal lover	kind, caring, trustworthy, & honest
a person who likes to feel needed and loved	youngest of 3 children
a senior at _____	a person w/ a broken heart
a mother and father's only daughter	a person who had it all until he threw me away
a hopeless romantic	very sensitive
a person who cries at most movies	goofy and crazy sometimes
a very emotional person	a person who has great friends that care about me
a _____year old	a person wondering if I'll get into grad school
a nice person	a person who has to move on
a person who likes to laugh	
a person who enjoys walks and holding hands	

In contrast to the first woman from Group 1 (Exhibit V above) Exhibit VI is very different. She has both traditional family references (daughter in the third position indicating importance), and the traditional feminine passive voice with a classic tag line in her statement "pretty, I guess" (Lakoff 1975:8-19). But, she also uses a lexical style stronger than Exhibit V. For example, she is not just a shopper, she is "a total consumer" and a "proud owner of 75 CD's." Her dialogue with the researcher is almost challenging. After going through three statements which on the surface would be considered traditionally feminine (e.g. "watch too many soaps!;" "proud owner of 75 CD's;" and "a total consumer"), the respondent lists "unimpressed," clearly a strong punctuation for those three statements. What she is "unimpressed" with is unclear;

one is left wondering about her meaning. The respondent finishes with an appropriate statement for a "total chick," informing us that she needs a beer. Again there is a certain power and strength in the non-traditional closing.

EXHIBIT VI woman Group 1-NON-TRADITIONAL/mov.16/fem. 9

a student	a democrat
a friend	watch too many soaps !
a daughter	proud owner of 75 CD's
a person that doesn't know about who I am	a total consumer
a psycho sometimes	unimpressed
an adult sometimes	pretty, I guess
lucky to be alive	a total chick
am sleepy	in school and will be forever
a writer	a _____ fan
an atheist	I need a beer

Exhibit VII is a good illustration of a woman, in this case a feminist, struggling with a changing definition of self. From the first self reference a weak voice can be heard. It is important to remember that she is answering the question "Who am I?" In light of that, her first statement, often viewed as one of the most important (Kuhn and McPartland 1954:115), informs the researcher that she is "not quite sure about very much." Most of her statements deal with some type of change (e.g. "less shy than I used to be, like to learn, trying to be open-minded, and in a new stage in my life") and the change is perhaps hinted at in the self reference of "learning to be independent." Since we know that this

woman is a feminist, one wonders if her changing self imagery is related perhaps to a newly realized feminist identity.

EXHIBIT VII woman Group 4- WEAK TRADITIONAL/  
mov. 24/fem.12

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not quite sure about very much	_____ college student
fairly athletic	thoughtful
energetic	helpful
have a hard time making decisions	in a new stage of my life
less shy than I used to be	living away from my family for the first time
confused about a lot of things	learning to be independent
like to learn	not as thin as I want to be
trying to be open-minded	emotional
a procrastinator	in love
_____ (religious group)	not doing as well in school as I'd like

#### NON-TRADITIONAL SELF-REFERENCES

Exhibit VIII provides us with an example of a woman who has a powerful self image. This woman from Group 2 is consistently strong throughout her references. Even her traditional references are interestingly placed. For example, she only mentions family relations (e.g. sister and daughter) after she first establishes her own identity (e.g. female, college student, member of a generational cohort and her college major). Powerful references are used for every facet of her life. We know, for example, that she is not just a leader, but "a dominant leader" among her peers. She is also a "fast paced individual who is employed" and she has "many friends." This is an excellent example of a well anchored individual who plans to make a difference in the world. This woman's self references were judged to be non-traditional or somewhat neutral. Without the gendered references (e.g. female,

sister, and daughter) it would be difficult to attribute these references to either a man or woman.

EXHIBIT VIII woman Group 2 -NON-TRADITIONAL  
/mov. 24/fem. 11

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I am female	an athletic person
a college student	a person who doesn't take defeat
a member of generation X	a person who hated high school
a _____ major	a person who is employed
a sister	a person w/many friends
a daughter	a poor student
a self supported individual	a person who gets preoccupied
a dominant leader among my peers	a person who loves my family
a hard worker	somebody who lives alone
a fast paced individual	a individual who will make a difference

#### MALE SELF-REFERENCES

The next four exhibits are intended to illustrate several of the features of the male respondents' self references. Exhibits IX through XI (Groups 1 through 3) are similar to each other, relatively neutral in reference to gender, and typical of the statements of men in those groups. Most of the men in the three groups were willing to list self references that would be thought of as traditionally feminine; examples from the three exhibits are presented to illustrate that fact. For example, the man in Exhibit IX states that he is "caring" and "sensitive," along with "vigorous" and "strong." The self imagery of "caring" also appears in Exhibit X along with the acknowledgement that he is "in love."

Exhibit XI gives the self references of a man who not only states that he "likes children" but who judges himself to be "good with them." This man is also similar to the other two in that he



mentions athletics, a clear confirmation of his masculine identity (Messner 1987). He likes to play basketball and "enjoy football." There is nothing that really stands out in the comparison of these three respondents, but when we contrast them to Exhibit XII there are some noticeable distinctions.

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EXHIBIT IX male Group 3/mov. 22/fem. 13

young	understanding
vigorous	good citizen
intelligent	clean
strong	mechanical
stubborn	realistic
impatient	goal-setting
caring	athletic
sensitive	sometimes selfish
curious	a motivator
critical	humorous

---

EXHIBIT X male Group 1/mov. 12/fem. 5

smart	honest
funny	a _____ fan
intellectual	a good son
caring	a hard worker
understanding	an optimist
in love	a ditto-head
politically incorrect	creative
athletic	entertaining
a procrastinator	loyal
a republican	one of God's children

---

EXHIBIT XI male Group 2/mov. 22/fem. 7

country boy	thin
religious	like children (good w/them)
moral	family oriented
happy	impatient
tall	not easily upset
quick to pick up on things	have low stress
mechanically inclined	talented
fun to be around	like to play basketball
good-humored	enjoy football
strong	love pizza

Exhibit XII represents the statements of a man from Group 4, the male group of feminists. The first obvious difference between these statements and the previous three male respondents' statements is the elaborate nature of the references. While many of the men in the previously described groups used language that would be considered feminine by Bem standards (e.g. caring, understanding, sensitive, etc.) it was still possible to identify some traditionally masculine statements (e.g. athletic). Respondent XII, however, did not make any self statements that appear to be exclusively masculine by Bem standards. Perhaps the only reference that comes remotely close is the statement about being confident, although the way this is expressed is of interest. Instead of simply listing confidence, he labels it an important characteristic and then says that he "always" seems to have this quality. It is as if he is saying that it is the only male characteristic that he always seems to have. Of the thirteen men who identified as feminist this was the most non-traditional respondent. Eleven of the others did not have strong masculine overtones such as references to traditional male behavior (Gleser et al.1959). As a group the feminist men were qualitatively different in their self references and were clearly distinguishable from the other three groups of men.

**EXHIBIT XII** male Group 4 mov.27/fem 14

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<p>a responsible person to my family  a _____ student  a decent person  a good and helpful friend  a considerate person  a community involved person  a social person  treat people the way I think they want to be treated  a family oriented person</p>	<p>people's opinions are important to me  not supportive of the death penalty  make as many friends as possible  don't expect anything back from people I help  I don't take revenge  confidence is the most important characteristic that I always seem to have  learn as much as possible  taking care of my health is important  finding a good career is my goal</p>
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### SELF REVEALING STATEMENTS

The final area to be discussed in relation to this hypothesis is whether females or males would be more self revealing. There were really no differences between men and women in regard to self revelations. All respondents were refreshingly candid irregardless of sex. Topics such as lost love and struggles with weight were shared by both women and men with little difference in lexical choice. For example, both men and women reported working on their weight, and also talked about trying to get into better shape. Two men and three women said they were dealing with eating disorders and several women and men mentioned other addictive behaviors (e.g. drinking, drugs, etc.). Overall then as a group, the college students in this sample were willing to disclose a great deal of personal information and much of the pain associated with "coming of age." The two exhibits below are included to illustrate how dramatic some of the self references

were in the TST. In Exhibit XIII the respondent appears to be debating or discussing suicide, or at the very least working through a crisis of self identity. She starts out with "confused" and ends with "ready." The repetition of "lonely" and "hurting" is clearly symbolic of someone in pain.

**EXHIBIT XIII** revealing self-references -woman  
Group 4 /mov. 26/fem 16

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confused	overwhelmed
hurting	selfish
lonely	selfless
loved	lonely
confident	lonely
loving	hurting
caring	hurting
giving	excited
not confident	anxious
sad	ready

Suicide or some other crisis of self definition also may be the topic of Exhibit XIV, and this is included to demonstrate that men as well as women were willing to be very self revealing. What is interesting is that the man in Exhibit XIV is more direct about his thoughts than the woman in Exhibit XIII. For example, in the woman's TST the totality of her self references may represent the crisis whereas the man comes right out and states that he is "self destructive." This is consistent with the conclusions from the first TST hypothesis: namely that men tend to make more concrete self references.

**EXHIBIT XIV** revealing self-references -man  
Group 1 /mov. 19/fem. 7

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boring self-destructive non-motivated athletic smart intelligent shy self-conscious non-materialistic hateful	stressed rushed lazy lethargic critical unambitious uncaring of future passive loving unloved
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To summarize hypothesis two, the overall gendered nature of the self references of men and women are similar. This is consistent with the assumptions of Henley et al. (1983) and others (Stockard and Johnson 1979; Secord 1982; Mackie 1983:344; Ashmore and Del boca 1986; and Owen and Dennis 1988) who predict that language differences between women and men are disappearing. It is important to note that the differences are not only represented by women adopting a more traditionally masculine style, but also by men adopting a more traditionally feminine style. Of the research groups only the women's Group 2 and the men's Group 4 distinguished themselves from the others, with the former being more traditional and the latter appearing more non-traditional.

## FAMILIAL AND SOCIETAL SELF-REFERENCES

*HYPOTHESIS 3 It is hypothesized that the self references of females and males will be dissimilar in areas that deal with traditional relationships between the sexes, namely within the sphere of the family (e.g. marital status and other kin relationships).*

*HYPOTHESIS 4 It is hypothesized that the self references of males and females will be similar in respect to social connections outside the family (e.g. school, work, and recreational activities, etc.).*

These two hypotheses will be discussed together because of the implicit connection between the two. Since Parsons asserted the functionality of male/instrumental and female/expressive roles in the 1950's these have been viewed as flip sides of the same coin, with women being assigned to the family sphere and men operating in the larger society. Along with these role assignments it was also assumed that identities of both sexes specifically connected to their respective domains (i.e. women may view motherhood as their master status). With the TST these two domains would be demonstrated by the respondents mentioning specific self imagery connected to one of the two spheres. As Henley et al. (1983) point out, any change in how the two worlds are represented has been thought of as evidenced by women seeing themselves in a new way and adopting male patterns of speaking.

Hypotheses three and four address this prediction. For example, the differences in the self statements associated with the family, or *Hypothesis 3* implies that the importance of family identities for men will not increase. On the other hand, *Hypothesis 4* which projects similarities in the self references outside the family suggests that there is a new importance of identities in that sphere for women. As stated above in the discussion of *Hypothesis 1*, women and men typically modify concrete references associated with the two domains differently (i.e. with women modifying family references and men public references); at some level we could conclude that this is an indication of the differing importance of these two spheres for women and men. It is important to note that the majority of men and women made self references connected to both worlds, so the difference in lexical styles is the only major difference.

#### MIXED RESULTS OF FAMILIAL/SOCIETAL STATEMENTS

It therefore seems that *Hypothesis 3* is confirmed because women were as likely as the men in the sample to mention athletics, work, and recreational activities. The different areas of modification may demonstrate that men and women have more elaborate role identities constructed in connection to the different spheres, but they both still have social connections within each sphere. It is also important to point out that this may only represent the fact that men and women have been differently

socialized in connection to the language needed to elaborate various role identities (Lakoff 1975:3-8). As stated before, it is clear that the modifications that take place really do not make a difference in the meaning of the various social positions. It is still clear that the respondents have some attachment to the social relationship mentioned. There was one noticeable difference in traditional family relationships and that was how children were mentioned.

The women and men in the sample made references to intimate adult associates that can be thought of as connected to familial role identities (i.e. dating and marital status) in similar amounts. Differences did appear in self statements connected to children. Men would mention that they "liked kids" or were "good with kids." On the other hand, women tended to mention children in relationship to their own identity (i.e. "I want to be a mom"). So while the self references of men and women in the sample are more similar in the mention of family than predicted, when the issue of children is addressed the traditional differences are evident. For the men in the sample then relationships and family are important, but they are not as directly connected to children as for the women in the sample.

As with the previous hypotheses when the issues associated with Hypotheses 3 & 4 were examined in connection to the research groups similarities appeared. This will be illustrated with the exhibits at the end of the chapter which are the composites of



typical self references for the groups. In regard to the two hypotheses the above-mentioned similarities and differences between groups by sex are evident. The differences that appeared will be discussed in the final chapter of the dissertation.<sup>30</sup>

#### MENTION OF BIOLOGICAL SEX

*Hypothesis 5 - It is hypothesized that females and males will mention their biological sex at the same or at similar rates.*

Of the previous research (Kuhn 1960; Mulford and Salisbury 1966; and Mackie 1983) that looked at the rate by which females and males mention their biological sex, the Kuhn work of 1960 parallels this project in that he also explored the issue with college undergraduates. In his research he found that eighty-eight percent of the females and seventy-one percent of the males mentioned their biological sex. This frequency of mention was attributed to the saliency of biological sex identification during the peak courtship years. While this explanation sounds a bit dated it may contain a partial truth.

As Table 14 illustrates, the rates of mention in this study were lower than that found by Kuhn, but the relationship between

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<sup>30</sup> The data were re-examined in connection with the findings associated with the Jackson Role-Identities hierarchies; those results will be discussed in connection to the Jackson data.

men and women persisted with women having a slightly higher percentage (56.8% for women and 47.3% for men) of mention. When the data are further examined by sex and by research group two things stand out. First, with the men there is some difference between the results of Group 3 and the other three groups. Group 3 is the only group of men where the majority did not mention their biological sex. Again, Group 3 includes men who are positive toward the movement, positive toward feminists, who do not personally identify as feminist, and who view the issues associated with the movement as important. There could be some argument that this difference is due to a high level of security with sex identity among this group of men, but this cannot be determined with the current data.

The other interesting findings associated with the mention of biological sex by the respondents is that the women's Group 4 had the lowest percentage of mention (52%). Again, as with the men's Group 3 this could be connected to the respondents' level of security with their sex identity. Unlike the men, however, the majority of women in Group 4 mentioned their biological sex.

TABLE 14 - MENTION OF BIOLOGICAL SEX BY RESPONDENT

## SECTION A - THE ENTIRE SAMPLE WITHOUT RESEARCH TREATMENTS

MENTION OF SEX	NUMBER & % OF SAMPLE	NUMBER & % OF WOMEN	NUMBER & % OF MEN
YES IN 3RD THRU 20TH POSITION	69 (26.6%)	49 (29.0%)	20 (22.0%)
YES IN 1ST OR 2ND POSITION	70 (26.9%)	47 (27.8%)	23 (25.3%)
TOTAL YES	139 (53.5%)	96 (56.8%)	43 (47.3%)
NO	121 (46.5%)	73 (43.2%)	48 (52.7%)

## SECTION B - WOMEN BY RESEARCH GROUPS

MENTION OF SEX	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 1	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 2	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 3	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 4
YES IN 3RD THRU 20TH POSITION	7 (25.9%)	11 (39.2%)	14 (35.9%)	14 (24.6 %)
YES IN 1ST OR 2ND POSITION	9 (33.3%)	7 (25.0%)	10 (25.6%)	16 (28.1%)
TOTAL YES	16 (59.3%)	18 (64.3%)	24 (61.5%)	30 (52.6%)
NO	11 (40.7%)	10 (35.7%)	15 (38.5%)	27 (47.4%)

## SECTION C - MEN BY RESEARCH GROUPS

MENTION OF SEX	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 1	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 2	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 3	NUMBER & % OF GROUP 4
YES IN 3RD THRU 20TH POSITION	5 (17.9%)	2 (16.7%)	6 (31.6%)	3 (25.0%)
YES IN 1ST OR 2ND POSITION	10 (35.7%)	4 (33.3%)	1 (5.3%)	5 (41.7%)
TOTAL YES	15 (53.6%)	6 (50.0%)	7 (36.8%)	8 (66.6%)
NO	13 (46.4%)	6 (50.0%)	12 (63.2%)	4 (33.3%)

## COMPARISON TO PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Because the Kuhn research did not look at feminist identification there can be no real comparison of the data at the level of research groupings, but a comparison can be made by looking at the findings associated with the entire sample by sex.

Is there something that could account for the decrease in the saliency of biological sex in the thirty years that have passed since Kuhn's research? By comparing the results of this project with the results and explanations of early TST projects an interesting notion appears.

In previous research (Kuhn 1960; Mulford and Salisbury 1966; and Mackie 1983) that explored this question, all three studies produced varying results with different explanations. In Kuhn's work examining the self references of undergraduates he found a relatively high percentage of mention of biological sex ( i.e. 88% women and 71% men). His interpretation for this finding was that this is the peak courtship period for college students and therefore a time of high biological sex salience. The Mulford and Salisbury and Mackie works which looked at adults in a broader age span (18 to something over 45) than those examined by Kuhn have found very different results from Kuhn's and from each other. Neither work found anything close to the percentages for males and females reported by Kuhn. In the 1964 research by Mulford and Salisbury, twenty-five percent of the males and ten percent of the females mentioned their biological sex (1964:41). They offer no explanation for these findings since the goal of their research was to explore different categories that can be examined by using the TST. In Mackie's (1983) work done almost twenty years later with the stated goal of exploring gender issues, thirty-four percent of the women and thirty-five percent of the men

mentioned biological sex (1983:346). Her analysis of these findings not only addressed the results she got, but also the results of Mulford and Salisbury. Mackie's explanation for the similarity between the responses of the men and women in her sample and their difference in comparison to the Mulford and Salisbury findings is that the women's movement has made biological sex more salient (1983:346). In other words, the saliency increased because of awareness of sex as an important personal characteristic. If this issue is sensitive to the rhetoric associated with the women's movement as Mackie suggests, then the difference between Kuhn's findings and the results of this research could be that the women's movement has made biological sex less important for both men and women. In other words, in this "peak courtship period" men and women are now focusing on something other than the biological sex of perspective partners which would no doubt lead to some difference in the boundaries of gendered behavior. Further research would be needed to more definitively explore this issue.

#### COMPOSITE GROUP RESPONSES

One goal of using the TST in this research was to provide a means for the respondents to state in their own words information relevant to transmittable role-identities. This was done to provide a measure of qualitative richness in the project that would have been missing had the Jackson Role-Identity Hierarchy been the

only avenue of assessing respondents' sense of self. Since it would have been impractical to present all of the self references for every respondent in the study, a composite TST was constructed for each research group.<sup>31</sup>

The composite TST's were constructed by choosing respondents who had scores at three different levels on the two summated measures used to define the boundaries for the research groups. Respondents were chosen from the bottom, middle, and top on each measure. Once selected, the self references of the respondents were placed in one large TST exhibit in roughly the same position as they appeared on the original TST sheet. Any statements that are presented on a single line represent either issues that are related or statements that appear on the TST of a single respondent. What is of interest in these exhibits (XV through XII) is the diversity within groups and the similarities between groups.

The words of the respondents are presented with spelling corrections when possible and the inclusion of unconventional terms by the respondents when they may influence the meaning. These terms are included to show that when it comes to certain issues these respondents may not have the language to present their own self awareness of the issues. For example in Exhibit XX the word "unsensitive" appears. The use of this word may

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<sup>31</sup> As stated in the measures chapter women and men are analyzed separately.

illustrate that the respondent is aware that they may not be sensitive, but the spelling may also represent the respondent's belief that they are not totally insensitive. The respondent has therefore created a word that signifies the lack of something, sensitivity, rather than the presence of something else - insensitivity. Then again it may simply represent the respondent's inability to spell. Whatever the reason for these unconventional words they have been included and not corrected because they may or may not represent issues of interest.

**Group 1 - Women who have a negative view of the women's movement and of feminists.**

**EXHIBIT XV Group 1 women**

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a woman, member of sorority, a girl	Christian, agnostic, Jewish
caring	lover
imaginative	lover of math
blonde hair, brown hair, black hair	lover of short stories
blue eyes, brown eyes, hazel eyes	good listener
creative	a voter
volunteer	leader, follower
a daughter, sister, aunt	alive
mother, mom	frustrated, tired, bored
helpful	family person
tall person, petite person, overweight	want lots of kids and happy marriage
trustworthy, reliable, optimistic	great with kids
important	spoiled, selfish, healthy, sick
generous, honest, loyal	good citizen
African American, white, Asian American	interested in others
independent	talkative
need a job, want a good job	outgoing, shy
athletic, love football	careful, reckless

**Group 2- Women who have a positive view of the women's movement who also view the issues associated with the women's movement as important, but have a negative view toward feminists.**

**EXHIBIT XVI Group 2 women**

---

female, woman, girl	good with kids
student	total chick
daughter, sister, aunt, mother	scared of the afterlife
family oriented	I want to be with my boyfriend forever
emotional, joyous, vivacious, happy	want to be married
open-minded	totally heterosexual
life loving	want to have kids
intelligent, smart, sort of smart	polite, organized
Christian, religious	nice
helpful	truthful, honest, good hearted
follower, leader	shy, silly
partner, lover, friend	short, tall, overweight, size 9 1/2 shoe
giver	strong
homesick, romantic	short but sweet
responsible	good looking
love to shop	hard working efficient
faithful, caring, eager	softball player, cheerleader
affectionate, procrastinator	well-dressed, loving



**Group 3 - Women who have a positive view of the women's movement and feminists, and who also view the issues associated with the women movement as important.**

**EXHIBIT XVII group 3 women**

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woman, girl, female	optimist
daughter, sister, granddaughter	girlfriend
important	pasta lover
value family, family oriented	athletic
friendly, honest, trustworthy	blue eyed and blonde haired woman
loving, caring, hopeful, joyous	seeking the perfect mate
plan to be successful	love fun, outgoing
Christian, religious, blessed, nice, unique	going to be a defense lawyer
hardworking, procrastinator	on the deans list, smart, intelligent
determined, confident	serious
humorous	someone who likes to have fun
republican	concerned, respectful
roommate	independent, insensitive
average weight, overweight	fighter, survivor
down to earth, sometimes silly	good at aerobics, beer drinker
a career person	an actress, a waitress, a scientist
brown hair, dark skin, medium frame	peace keeper, kind person

**Group 4 - Women who have a positive view of the women's movement and feminists, who also view the issues associated with the women's movement as important and personally identify as a feminist.**

**EXHIBIT XVIII Group 4 women**

---

woman, girl, womyn	sexy, ambitious, one who will forgive
daughter, sister, niece, wife, mom	student, lover, poet
feminist	liberal, aware
opened minded	organized person
self reliant, sensitive, nice person	shopper, problem solver
confused, self conscious, sad, emotional	talker, listener
strong in my beliefs, brave, strong willed	God fearing, practitioner of abstinence
helper	pro-life, confused about religion, Christian
outgoing, too nice	a person who tells people what she thinks
caring, helpful, wants to please people	procrastinator, perfectionist
survivor, someone with integrity	jealous, lovable, thrifty
selfish, caretaker, provider, worker	future attorney, a person with a temper
unusual, open, warm, motivated	pre-career stage
wanna be a mother and wife	someone who worries about image
important person	individual, provider for my family
activist, lover of dogs	blonde, blue eyes
understanding, romantic	average looking
problem solver, leader	has pretty hair

**Group 1 - Men who have a negative view of the women's movement  
and of feminists.**

**EXHIBIT XIX Group 1 men**

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I am a male, a man	student
an adult	married
son, brother,	perfectionist, organized
smart, intellectual	procrastinator
family oriented	republican
creative	loosing weight, on a diet, skinny
hard worker, ditto-head, good student	politically incorrect
non-dependent, independent, attached	getting to know myself more
proud that I support myself	like to read
American, fairly wealthy	entertaining, talkative, outgoing
goal oriented, ambitious	love kids, good with kids
want to be successful	honest, athletic
an individual	skinny, friendly, funny, loved
compassionate, sympathetic, gentle	fun loving, beer drinker, non-drinker
sensitive,	non-smoker, lite smoker, womanizer
caring, giving, like loving, love sports	good looking, good sport
good personality, good boyfriend	good hygiene, green eyes, brown hair

**Group 2- Men who have a positive view of the women's movement  
and also view the issues associated with the women's  
movement as important, but have a negative view  
toward feminists.**

**EXHIBIT XX Group 2 men**

---

male, a man	intelligent, unsensitive
son, brother, uncle, best friend, cousin,	worker
nephew	simple
college student, a person	someone who listens
nice, gentleman	someone who cares, honest
motivated	great athletic
lover, ex boyfriend, boyfriend, good musician,	scared, angry, frustrated, stressed
religious	excited, confused
drinker	teacher
ski instructor	Boy Scout
fraternity brother	smoker
willful, loud, mental, quiet	kind, un-pleasable, helpful
patient, caring, conscious	good looking, stud, sophisticated
reliable, responsible	powerful, strong willed, strong
a kid	indiscreet, loser, winner

**Group 3 - Men who have a positive view of the women's movement and feminists, and also view the issues associated with the women movement as important.**

**EXHIBIT XXI Group 3 men**

---

son, brother, friend	muscular, athletic, out of shape
my sister's brother	getting old
male, an adult, a man, man species	resourceful, fairly focused, positive
student	social, on edge, crazy
strong but weak, sensitive, aggressive	amusing, funny, personable
caring, loving, thoughtful, volunteer	talkative, easy to talk to, outgoing
curious, confident, easy-going	hostile, nervous
stubborn	money oriented
smart, fast, bored, tired, shallow	dark complexioned, skinny, tall
heterosexual	philosophical
republican, fraternity man	friendly, party animal
unpredictable, reliable, honest	music lover, musician
persistent, calm, defensive	sports fan, sports participant
Christian, mildly religious,	a person angry with self failings
lacking in religion	5'9', brown eyes,
intellectual, respect Black culture	red-brown hair(when dry)
non-smoker	perfectionist, procrastinator
engaged, boyfriend	nintendo master, trekie, cool guy

**Group 4 - Men who have a positive view of the women's movement and feminists, who also view the issues associated with the women movement as important and personally identify as a feminist.**

**EXHIBIT XXII Group 4 men**

---

male, man, guy, human, person	out of shape, short, overweight, tall
son, brother, grandson, uncle	lover of women, lover of sex
humanitarian	gay
student	sports fan, athletic
individual, intellectual, smart	funny
friendly, helper, patient	lover of animals
leader, follower, listener, talker	Christian, agnostic
healthy, day dreamer	confused about the afterlife
lover, romantic, partner	intolerant of other who are intolerant
careful, caring, emotional, helpful	aids buddy
nice, non-aggressive, angry	warrior, soldier, stoic
affectionate yet formal, empathetic	stressed easily
creative, committed, activist, liberal	dreaming, lazy at times
independent	crazy, picky, strange person
constructive, risk taker, goal seeker	reasonably handsome, stylish
not a follower, adventurer	blond, feminist
timid, hopeful, forgiving, gentle	cigarette smoker, lonely, broke

## CONCLUSION OF TST RESULTS

The major goal of the TST was to provide a "jumping off point" for the research by way of introducing the respondents to the project. It served well in this capacity as is evident by the richness of the self-references presented above and the candid nature of those same responses. In this project, as in the past, exploring the gendered self statements served to illustrate the nature of these issues as they relate to the respondents sense of self.

Highlighted in the above presentation were the similarities and differences in the transmittable representations of self of women and men in the various research groups. These self references are important because they represent cues of identity that others use to make judgements about how we can expect people to behave in our ongoing society (Stryker and Serpe 1982:202). What is evident from the variety of responses within research groups is the multiplicity of issues that are associated with differing views on the women's movement and feminists. For example, feminists in the 1970's worked tirelessly on language; one sure litmus test of whether you were talking to a feminist was to measure a woman's response if you called her a "girl." Many feminists in this sample however, referred to themselves as "girl."

What has become clear through the examination of the self references is that the differences that appear are subtle differences that may not be discernible with brief contact. The self

references between groups were so similar that it is also clear that there is no single language style that would make it possible to differentiate feminists from non-feminists, or a women from men. In the next chapter the subtle differences between the role-identities introduced above will be explored using a modified version of the Jackson Role-Identity hierarchy.

## CHAPTER V ROLE-IDENTITY HIERARCHY RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the role-identity hierarchy portion of the instrument. As was discussed earlier, the Jackson (1981) technique is a list of role-identities which respondents are asked to rank in order of their importance to them. Once respondents rank the order in which they would be willing to give up the eight role-identities they then rate the importance of each identity on a scale of zero to one hundred. In this project a modified version of the Jackson technique was used with the following role-identities included: 1) Kinship; 2) Peer; 3) Romantic; 4) Academic; 5) Occupation; 6) Religious; 7) Gender; and 8) Political. The analysis of the respondents' rankings and ratings of the various role-identities which compose the hierarchy will be presented in this chapter to explore the issue of support for and opposition to feminist identification.

The goal of this research was exploration of the nature of the identification of college students with the women's movement and feminists through examination of their role-identity structures. Respondents were placed into research groups and the similarities and differences between the groups were examined to better

understand factors influencing identification and non-identification. There were many similarities in the hierarchies between the groups, but the position of the occupational role-identity for the feminists (Group 4) was the major difference that set that group apart. Not only did feminists rate and rank that role-identity higher than the other groups, they also ranked that identity above six of their other identities. For all of the groups there was a positive relationship between the position of the occupational role-identity and the group's view of feminism, with the group with the most negative view of the women's movement and feminists having the lowest hierarchy placement of the occupational role-identity. The high positioning of the occupational identity for feminists indicates the centrality of that role-identity for how the feminists define their sense of self (Callero 1985:214).

The fact that feminists rank and rate this identity second only to the kinship identity may indicate that the feminists of this sample make many daily role-performance choices based on the saliency of their future occupation (Stryker 1980: 84). Because of the strength of this identity for feminists as represented by its placement relative to the other identities, the subtle variations in the ranking and rating of the different role-identities between the groups become more important (Turner 1978; Callero 1985: 214). With each drop in the ranking of the occupational role-identity other identities separate it from the more prominent position found in the feminists' hierarchy. The implications of this finding

will be discussed later in this chapter and then in more detail in the conclusion, but first the within-group role hierarchies will be defined through a discussion of the rankings and ratings of the various role-identities for each group. The first part of the chapter fleshes out the nature of the hierarchies for each of the women's groups, followed by between-group comparisons of the various role-identities. After the discussion of the women's groups there will be a brief discussion of the men's group findings.

#### THE WOMEN'S GROUPS

The group boundaries are as follows: Group 1) respondents who have a negative view of the women's movement and a negative view of feminists; Group 2) respondents who have a positive view of the women's movement but a negative view of feminists; Group 3) respondents who have a positive view of the women's movement and a positive view of feminists; and Group 4) respondents who have a positive view of the women's movement and feminists, who also personally identify as feminist. The presentation of the within-group characteristics are needed to establish the validity of the between-group comparison. If it can be established that there is a measure of consensus within groups regarding the ranking and rating of items, then theoretically as well as statistically the between-group comparisons have meaning. What is of note is the similarity in the nature of the first three groups with only subtle variations in particular role-identities; at



first blush the groups look much the same. However, with the importance of the occupational role-identity in distinguishing the feminists from the non-feminists, the subtle variations take on greater meaning. So with the establishment of each identity the position of the occupational identity is shifted. Once the within-group characteristics have been presented the between-group comparisons will be discussed.

#### WOMEN'S GROUP 1: NEGATIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The first step in evaluating each group is to explore the viability of the various role-identities for inclusion in that groups' role-identity hierarchy. To establish each of the role-identities as part of the role-identity model for that group there must be some evidence that the respondents view them as important components of their individual hierarchies. This is easily demonstrated by variations in rank and rating.<sup>32</sup> It is important to point out that evidence of variations in ratings are the most important in the inclusion process, because that component represents the level of commitment to the assorted role-identities independent of any other role-identity in the respondent's own salience hierarchy. It is therefore assumed that even if there is

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<sup>32</sup> The variation in rank that is implied in the statement is an upward variation in the model. Therefore, if a role-identity is placed in the eighth position by the majority of the respondents, other indicators will be examined to establish the appropriateness of the role-identity in the group's hierarchy.

little variation in the ranking of a particular role-identity indicating the importance of that role-identity relative to the others in the model, the fluctuations in the rating still demonstrate a level of commitment to the role-identity. As evidenced by the data presented in Table 15 Section A, for Group 1 women the political role-identity is questionable for inclusion with twenty (74%) ranking it their lowest role-identity and eight (29.5%) of those rating their political role-identity as zero (median=15). From this we can assume that for Group 1 as a whole the political role-identity has no real meaning in relation to the other role-identities in the model and in their overall salience hierarchy.

There also appears to be a lack of consensus as to the importance of the religious role-identity in relation to the other role-identities in the model for the women of Group 1. As Table 15 Section A illustrates, the seventh and the first ranks contain the majority (55%) of the respondents. This bimodal distribution demonstrates a diverse level of commitment to this particular role-identity. A further demonstration of this diversity is represented by the separation of the two ranks with one nearly at the bottom (7th rank) and the other at the highest position (1st rank). While the range of rankings is disparate, the variations in the ratings may give some indication as to the overall group tendency. For the women of Group 1 the mean rating of the religious role-identity is sixty-one and the median is seventy-five, indicating that as a group there is a relatively strong commitment

to the religious role-identity. However it is also important to note that for many of the women in Group 1 the religious role-identity is relatively unimportant.

With all of the other role-identities there appears to be some evidence that the respondents have some level of commitment to them; as a group there is some consensus as to the importance of the particular role-identities in the overall role-identity hierarchy. For example, it is very clear that the majority of the respondents in Group 1 (86%) value the kinship role-identity and rank it either first (56%) or second (30%). As the closeness between their means indicates, the peer (mean=83.5) and romantic (mean=83.2) role-identities are similarly attractive for the women of Group 1. The strength of the fourth and fifth rankings for the academic role-identity also shows consensus as does the strength of the sixth and seventh rankings for the occupational role-identity. While the unimodal distribution of the gender role-identity does not clearly show any central tendency for that identity, the median of sixty, which is consistent with the mean of fifty-seven, places it somewhere in the sixth rank. Another factor that is also clear from the data on Table 15 is the similarity between the commitment to and saliency for the occupational and gender role-identities for the women of Group 1.

**TABLE 15. WOMEN'S GROUP 1 -  
NEGATIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS AND TOWARD THE MOVEMENT/(N=27)**

**SECTION A - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES OF RANKING**

IDENTITY	LOWEST							HIGHEST		SD
	8TH	7TH	6TH	5TH	4TH	3RD	2ND	1ST	MEAN	
KINSHIP										
MEAN (N/%)	00.00	00.00	48.00 (1/4%)	90.00 (1/4%)	70.00 (2/7%)	00.00	98.00 (8/30%)	98.93 (15/56%)	94.30	13.57
PEER										
MEAN (N/%)	00.00	75.00 (1/4%)	50.00 (3/11%)	65.00 (2/7%)	79.67 (3/11%)	88.88 (8/30%)	93.75 (8/30%)	100.00 (2/7%)	83.52	18.51
ROMANTIC										
MEAN (N/%)	00.00	55.50 (2/7%)	25.00 (1/4%)	58.33 (3/11%)	82.50 (2/7%)	94.22 (9/33%)	90.29 (7/26%)	97.00 (3/11%)	83.22	20.90
ACADEMIC										
MEAN (N/%)	25.00 (1/4%)	00.00	27.50 (2/7%)	73.75 (8/30%)	75.00 (9/33%)	83.75 (4/15%)	95.67 (3/11%)	00.00	72.85	21.40
RELIGIOUS										
MEAN (N/%)	00.00 (1/4%)	25.00 (9/33%)	67.50 (2/7%)	65.00 (3/11%)	77.00 (3/11%)	77.50 (2/7%)	100.00 (1/4%)	99.17 (6/22%)	60.59**	35.64
OCCUPATION										
MEAN (N/%)	5.00 (1/4%)	45.71 (7/26%)	54.45 (11/41%)	81.67 (3/11%)	83.33 (3/11%)	82.50 (2/7%)	00.00	00.00	58.67	26.10
GENDER										
MEAN (N/%)	28.75 (4/15%)	28.00 (5/19%)	65.00 (5/19%)	64.00 (5/19%)	78.00 (5/19%)	75.00 (1/4%)	75.00 (1/4%)	99.00 (1/4%)	57.00***	27.30
POLITICAL										
MEAN (N/%)	16.00* (20/74%)	28.33 (3/11%)	50.00 (2/7%)	50.00 (2/7%)	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	22.41	28.33

\* 8 (30%) WOMEN RATED POLITICAL ZERO  
 \*\* MEDIAN OF RELIGIOUS ROLE-IDENTITY IS 75.0  
 \*\*\* MEDIAN OF GENDER ROLE-IDENTITY IS 60.0

**SECTION B - COMPARISON OF SALIENCE RANKS AND RATINGS**

**COMPARISON OF SALIENCE RANKS AND RATINGS OF NON-FEMINIST (GROUP 1)**

ROLE-IDENTITY	MEAN RANKING	SD RANK	MEAN RATING	SD RATE	CORR. RANKING/RATING	SIG.
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	94.30 (1)	13.6	.61	.000
(2) ROMANTIC	3.22	1.7	83.22 (3)	20.9	.62	.000
(3) PEER	3.30	1.6	83.52 (2)	18.5	.73	.000
(4) ACADEMIC	4.22	1.3	72.85 (4)	21.4	.61	.000
(5) RELIGIOUS	4.60	2.5	60.59 (5)	35.6	.69	.000
(6) GENDER	5.48	1.9	57.00 (7)	27.3	.91	.000
(7) OCCUPATION	5.78	1.3	58.67 (6)	26.1	.75	.000
(8) POLITICAL	7.52	.9	22.41 (8)	20.7	.54	.000

Section B of Table 15 presents the correlations between the ranking and rating of each of the eight identities. As the data illustrate, the ranking and rating for all of the identities are correlated. What is of greatest interest, however, is the positioning of the various role-identities in relationship to the other identities. For example, the kinship identity is both ranked and rated number one. Previous research demonstrates that this is a typical position for kinship identity (Jackson 1981; Callero 1985; and Curry 1987). The weakness of the political role-identity is also apparent from Section B of Table 15. Not only is it ranked and rated at the bottom, but both the ranking and rating are extremely low. Academic and religious identities (respectively fourth and fifth) represent the only other stable identities as their relative positioning is maintained in the middle of the hierarchy. The remaining four identities flipped the positions established by their mean rating.

As was stated above, the rating represents commitment and the ranking represents the salience of an identity along with the order in which respondents said they would be willing to give up the various role identities. These switches then represent a closeness in the relative position of those identities in the hierarchy. What is interesting is the particular identities that flipped. For the women of Group 1, the romantic and peer and the gender and occupation identities are clearly competing identities in the hierarchies. If we view the salience of a particular identity

as central to the selection of any given role performance (indicated through rank) then these competing identities are important (Serpe 1987: 44-45). It is of course not difficult to comprehend the pull between the romantic and peer identities. However the relationship that is of most interest in this research is the gender/occupational identity trade-off given the prominence of both these issues in debates over feminism.

Gender role-identity was defined for the purposes of this research as an essentialist, determinist identity: or the notion that an individual's biology should determine certain behavior. If we view identities as motivational forces the positioning of this identity is especially interesting (Stryker and Serpe 1983: 59). The relationship of gender identity to the occupational identity may give a clear indication of the possible constraints on occupational choices; after all at a very basic level identities are perceived as providing constraints which influence possible choices for any collection of identities (Serpe 1987: 46).

Women's Group 1, negative toward both the women's movement and feminists is a decidedly apolitical group that has strong indications of powerful role-identities as measured by the commitment ratings. More specifically the kinship, peer, and romantic identities solidly occupy the top three positions in the identity hierarchy of Group 1 members.

## WOMEN'S GROUP 2: NEGATIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS/POSITIVE TOWARD THE MOVEMENT

As with Group 1, the political role-identity for Group 2 members appears to be the only identity that may be in question for inclusion in the group's identity hierarchy (Section A of Table 16). Unlike Group 1, only three women in Group 2 rated this identity as zero. So while it appears to be ranked low (7.5) the rating (33.7) represents some level of commitment to a political identity. The religious role-identity of Group 2 also has a similar lack of consensus as it did in Group 1. As Section A of Table 16 illustrates, the mean of the religious identity is pulled up by the extremely high ratings of women who ranked religion at the third level or above. Generally there is a consensus as to the rankings and ratings of the majority of the role identities for the women of Group 2.

A further illustration of the overall group consensus toward the role-identities is apparent in Section B of Table 16 which presents the correlation of the identity rankings and ratings. Two of the identities clearly occupy different positions in the ranking and rating order. What this represents is a closeness in the saliency and commitment of the religious and occupational identities for the women of Group 2.

As was the case with the Women's Group 1, Group 2 is apolitical. Their identity hierarchy is dominated by four identities: 1) kinship; 2) romantic; 3) peer; and 4) academic. The remaining

three identities (religious, occupation, and gender) are grouped together, but with much lower levels of commitment. The separation of these sets of role-identities is illustrated by the twelve point drop in commitment from the mean for the academic identity (72.9) to the mean for the religious identity (60.6).



**TABLE 16 - WOMEN'S - GROUP 2**  
 NEG TOWARD FEMINISTS BUT POSITIVE TOWARD THE MOVEMENT/ (N=28)

SECTION A - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES OF RANKING										
IDENTITY	RANKING								MEAN	SD
	LOWEST 8TH	7TH	6TH	5TH	4TH	3RD	2ND	HIGHEST 1ST		
KINSHIP										
MEAN	00.00	00.00	00.00	75.00	75.00	100.00	95.50	99.29	95.36	9.02
(N/%)				(1/3.5%)	(2/7%)	(1/3.5%)	(10/36%)	(14/50%)		
ROMANTIC										
MEAN	00.00	25.00	71.25	67.50	90.00	90.83	89.75	96.76	83.36	18.97
(N/%)		(1/3.5%)	(4/14%)	(4/14%)	(3/11%)	(6/21%)	(4/14%)	(6/21%)		
ACADEMIC										
MEAN	00.00	00.00	75.00	66.43	83.44	87.50	90.00	100.00	81.64	16.46
(N/%)			(1/3.5%)	(7/25%)	(9/32%)	(6/21%)	(3/11%)	(2/7%)		
PEER										
MEAN	00.00	30.00	65.00	72.00	73.80	75.00	97.86	95.00	79.07	19.53
(N/%)		(1/3.5%)	(2/7%)	(5/18%)	(5/18%)	(6/21%)	(7/25%)	(2/7%)		
RELIGIOUS										
MEAN	36.25	44.00	61.25	70.00	73.50	90.00	100.00	100.00	67.75	26.76
(N/%)	(4/14%)	(5/18%)	(4/14%)	(4/14%)	(2/7%)	(4/14%)	(1/3.5%)	(1/3.5%)		
OCCUPATION										
MEAN	00.00	46.67	61.67	70.00	58.00	85.00	77.50	00.00	65.63	20.04
(N/%)		(3/11%)	(9/32%)	(5/18%)	(5/18%)	(4/14%)	(2/7%)			
GENDER										
MEAN	34.00	54.09	47.86	75.00	75.00	00.00	100.00	00.00	53.57	20.72
(N/%)	(5/18%)	(11/39%)	(7/25%)	(2/7%)	(2/7%)		(1/3.5%)			
POLITICAL										
MEAN	27.45*	45.00	25.00	00.00	00.00	95.00	00.00	00.00	33.71	21.75
(N/%)	(20/71%)	(6/21%)	(1/3.5%)			(1/3.5%)				

\* 3 (11%) WOMEN RATED POLITICAL ZERO

\*\* RELIGIOUS MEDIAN = 71

\*\*\* OCCUPATION MEDIAN =75

### SECTION B - COMPARISON OF SALIENCE RANKS AND RATINGS

ROLE-IDENTITY	MEAN RANKING	SD RANK	MEAN RATING	SD RATE	CORR. RANKING/RATING	SIG.
(1) KINSHIP	1.79	1.1	95.36 (1)	9.0	.55	.000
(2) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.9	83.36 (2)	19.0	.72	.000
(3) PEER	3.50	1.6	79.07 (4)	19.5	.72	.000
(4) ACADEMIC	3.68	1.3	81.64 (3)	16.5	.63	.000
(5) OCCUPATION	4.86	1.5	65.36 (6)	20.0	.55	.000
(6) RELIGIOUS	4.89	2.4	67.75 (5)	26.8	.86	.000
(7) GENDER	6.39	1.4	53.57 (7)	20.7	.54	.000
(8) POLITICAL	7.53	1.0	33.71 (8)	21.8	.53	.000

### WOMEN'S GROUP 3: POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS/POSITIVE TOWARD THE MOVEMENT

The women of Group 3 are also apolitical as Section A of Table 17 illustrates. The kinship identity (mean= 92) dominates the identity hierarchy, but the mean ratings of the next three identities are very close to each other. With a mean of eighty-three the academic role identity is in the second rating position. This is understandable with a sample made up of college students. The next two identities represent two other identities that would typically dominate the college culture, namely peer (mean=82) and romantic identities (mean=78). The final three identities (religious, gender, and political) are grouped at the bottom of the hierarchy.

As Section B of Table 17 illustrates there are four clear sets of identities. The kinship identity is at the top with a mean ranking of 1.9. The peer (mean rank=3.1), romantic (mean rank=3.4), and academic (mean rank=3.5) are grouped together as a second set of identities. Occupation (mean rank=5.1), religious (mean rank=5.5), and gender (mean rank=5.8) make up a third set of identities with all being grouped at the fifth level. Political identity (mean rank=7.7) is at the bottom of the hierarchy. The women's Group 3 has the strongest breaks between the various sets of identities, clearly indicating a similar level of commitment and saliency within the assorted sets.

**TABLE 17 - WOMEN'S - GROUP 3**  
**POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS & THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT/ (N=39)**

**SECTION A - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES OF RANKING**

IDENTITY	LOWEST			HIGHEST					MEAN	SD
	8TH	7TH	6TH	5TH	4TH	3RD	2ND	1ST		
KINSHIP										
MEAN	00.00	00.00	50.00	70.00	80.00	75.00	97.50	97.29	91.84	14.32
(N/%)			(2/5%)	(1/3%)	(3/8%)	(1/3%)	(8/21%)	(24/62%)		
ACADEMIC										
MEAN	00.00	50.00	40.00	79.17	77.86	92.78	91.67	100.00	82.69	18.56
(N/%)		(1/3%)	(3/8%)	(6/15%)	(7/18%)	(9/23%)	(12/31%)	(1/3%)		
PEER										
MEAN	00.00	00.00	60.00	65.00	77.00	81.67	92.22	97.40	81.85	17.00
(N/%)			(2/5%)	(6/15%)	(5/13%)	(12/31%)	(9/23%)	(5/13%)		
ROMANTIC										
MEAN	00.00	25.00	50.00	71.67	69.17	86.67	88.75	94.17	77.82	18.98
(N/%)		(1/3%)	(1/3%)	(6/15%)	(12/31%)	(9/23%)	(4/10%)	(6/15%)		
OCCUPATION										
MEAN	00.00	45.00	63.85	64.17	78.80	76.67	91.67	80.00	65.49	19.66
(N/%)		(8/21%)	(13/33%)	(6/15%)	(5/13%)	(3/8%)	(3/8%)	(1/3%)		
RELIGIOUS										
MEAN	18.00	43.33	63.00	61.67	71.00	83.33	100.00	100.00	57.92	27.92
(N/%)	(5/13%)	(9/23%)	(8/21%)	(6/15%)	(5/13%)	(3/8%)	(1/3%)	(2/5%)		
GENDER										
MEAN	28.75	39.58	46.25	64.11	65.00	90.00	100.00	00.00	52.49	25.27
(N/%)	(4/10%)	(12/31%)	(8/21%)	(9/23%)	(2/5%)	(2/5%)	(2/5%)			
POLITICAL										
MEAN	18.03*	28.75	50.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	21.05	18.64
(N/%)	(30/77%)	(8/21%)	(1/3%)							

\* 10 (26%) WOMEN RATED POLITICAL ZERO

**SECTION B - COMPARISON OF SALIENCE RANKS AND RATINGS**

ROLE-IDENTITY	MEAN RANKING	SD RANK	MEAN RATING	SD RATE	CORR. RANKING/RATING	SIG.
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	92.31 (1)	13.8	.63	.000
(2) PEER	3.10	1.4	81.85 (3)	17.0	.68	.000
(3) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.5	77.82 (4)	19.0	.63	.000
(4) ACADEMIC	3.46	1.5	82.69 (2)	18.6	.64	.000
(5) OCCUPATION	5.13	1.7	65.49 (5)	19.7	.65	.000
(6) RELIGIOUS	5.49	1.9	57.92 (6)	27.6	.75	.000
(7) GENDER	5.82	1.6	52.49 (7)	25.3	.68	.000
(8) POLITICAL	7.74	0.5	21.05 (8)	18.6	.30	.034

#### WOMEN'S GROUP 4: POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS AND THE MOVEMENT/ SELF IDENTIFIED FEMINISTS

The first thing that is evident upon examination of Section A of Table 18 is the variation in the political identity from its treatment by the other groups. While ten women rated their political identity zero (18%), the majority of the women in the group demonstrated some level of commitment to a political identity. Group 4 also had the kinship identity in the highest position. As with the previous groups the ranking of the identity shows some measure of consensus, but there is a great deal of diversity throughout the ranks for all of the identities. This may be a function of the size of this group.

Section B of Table 18 shows the strength of the kinship identity evidenced by its mean ranking (1.9) and rating (92), clearly separating it from the other identities. The next cluster of three identities includes two that were present in a similar position in the other groups and a new addition to the second set of identities. In contrast to the other groups occupation occupies the next position in the salience hierarchy of the feminists (mean rank 3.3) followed by peer (mean rank 3.4) and romantic (mean rank 3.5). These three identities are a strong cluster and they are clearly separated from the next identity, academic. With a mean ranking of 5.1 it is in closer proximity to the next identity, religious (mean ranking 5.8), than with the previous four. Completing the hierarchy are gender and political identities.

**TABLE 18 - WOMEN'S - GROUP 4**  
 - THE FEMINISTS, POSITIVE TOWARD FEMINISTS & THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT  
 / (N=57)

**SECTION A - MEAN RATING AND FREQUENCIES OF RANKING**

IDENTITY	LOWEST 8TH	7TH	6TH	5TH	4TH	3RD	2ND	HIGHEST 1ST	MEAN	SD
KINSHIP										
MEAN (N/%)	25.00 (1/2%)	00.00	00.00	82.50 (2/3%)	69.33 (6/11%)	87.50 (2/3%)	91.67 (12/21%)	98.12 (34/60%)	91.53	14.77
OCCUPATION										
MEAN (N/%)	25.00 (1/2%)	50.00 (1/2%)	51.67 (3/5%)	66.25 (4/7%)	71.54 (13/23%)	85.00 (16/28%)	89.69 (16/28%)	100.00 (3/5%)	79.30	18.46
ROMANTIC										
MEAN (N/%)	25.00 (1/2%)	31.25 (4/7%)	65.63 (8/14%)	68.75 (4/7%)	75.00 (4/7%)	82.67 (15/26%)	96.50 (12/21%)	96.67 (12/21%)	79.26	22.18
PEER										
MEAN (N/%)	25.00 (2/3%)	25.00 (2/3%)	46.25 (4/7%)	72.17 (6/11%)	75.00 (7/12%)	85.60 (15/26%)	87.33 (15/26%)	97.50 (6/11%)	77.58	23.65
ACADEMIC										
MEAN (N/%)	00.00 (2/3%)	50.00 (7/12%)	58.07 (14/25%)	63.46 (13/23%)	77.43 (14/25%)	87.60 (5/9%)	75.00 (1/2%)	90.00 (1/2%)	64.47	19.97
RELIGIOUS										
MEAN (N/%)	15.83 (12/21%)	27.50 (10/18%)	56.00 (10/18%)	68.46 (13/23%)	70.56 (9/16%)	100.00 (1/2%)	00.00	89.50 (2/3%)	49.63	27.98
GENDER										
MEAN (N/%)	15.83 (12/21%)	26.81 (16/28%)	46.36 (11/19%)	68.75 (12/21%)	82.67 (3/5%)	75.00 (1/2%)	80.00 (1/2%)	100.00 (1/2%)	43.11	28.04
POLITICAL										
MEAN (N/%)	16.76 * (25/44%)	38.65 (17/30%)	40.00 (7/12%)	41.67 (3/5%)	75.00 (1/2%)	79.50 (2/3%)	100.00 (1/2%)	90.00 (1/2%)	33.42	23.90

\* 10 (18%)WOMEN RATED POLITICAL ZERO

**SECTION B - COMPARISON OF SALIENCE RANKS AND RATINGS**

ROLE-IDENTITY	MEAN RANKING	SD RANK	MEAN RATING	SD RATE	CORR. RANKING/ RATING	SIG.
(1) KINSHIP	1.86	1.4	91.53 (1)	14.8	.71	.000
(2) OCCUPATION	3.30	1.5	79.30 (2)	18.5	.68	.000
(3) PEER	3.39	1.8	77.58 (4)	23.7	.69	.000
(4) ROMANTIC	3.47	2.0	79.26 (3)	22.2	.79	.000
(5) ACADEMIC	5.05	1.5	64.47 (5)	20.0	.76	.000
(6) RELIGIOUS	5.83	1.7	49.63 (6)	28.0	.83	.000
(7) GENDER	6.18	1.6	43.11 (7)	28.1	.84	.000
(8) POLITICAL	6.83	1.6	33.42 (8)	23.9	.70	.000

## COMPARISONS OF THE WOMEN'S GROUPS

In the following section the mean rankings and ratings of the research groups will be presented. Again the differences and similarities that appear are perceived as differences in the saliency and commitment to the various role-identities. These differences provide identity boundaries that can be thought of as possible constraints on various role performance alternatives (Serpe 1987, p: 44). The constraints therefore lead to the possibility of different choices in any given situation. For example, in identity terms what might influence an individual to accept a job promotion that may take them away from friends and family? If the salience of the person's occupational identity is relatively similar to the other two identities, then the likelihood of their taking the promotion is high. Of key importance in the research groups are the relationship similarities and differences of the various role-identities.

### GROUP 1 AND GROUP 4

The first two groups to be compared will be the most negative non-feminist group (Group 1) and the feminist group (Group 4). The attitudes about the women's movement and feminists held by the women of Group 1 explains much of why they do not identify as feminists. An examination of the identity structures of these two groups should provide the greatest

contrast if the assumption about the relationship between identity structure and attitudes toward feminism are true. Along with the fact that the placement of the occupational role-identity is the most different between these two groups, the variations in the other identities also illustrate how differently the women of these two groups define their sense of self.

As Table 19 illustrates, there are clear similarities and differences between the two groups. The differences that appear between the ranking of the religious identity are misleading given the bimodal distribution of the religious ranking of Group 1 (see Table 15). The differences disappear in the religious ratings indicating that the position of this identity in the two groups' identity structures are similar for some and dissimilar for others in Group 1. From this we can conclude that for a portion of the women of Group 1, there is a difference in both the ranking and rating of the religious role-identity relative to the ranking and rating of that same identity in the feminist group.

The similarities between the rankings and ratings of the kinship, romantic and peer identities are interesting, with the only difference being the order of the rankings and ratings of the latter two. For the women in Group 4 occupational identity clusters with the romantic and peer identities, and it is viewed as more salient than the latter two identities. For the women of Group 1 the occupational identity does not come close to matching the saliency or the strength of the commitment they have toward their

romantic or peer identities. In the same respect the ranking and rating of Group 1's occupational identity has two intervening identities that clearly separate that identity from the other two at the top. From this we can conclude that the occupational identities of the two groups are different not only by the saliency and strength of commitment, but also relative to the position of other important role-identities. The difference between the two groups in terms of the saliency of the occupational identity is best illustrated by Table 20. The seventh, sixth, and fifth ranks comprise seventy-eight percent of the respondents of Group 1, while the fourth, third and second ranks contain seventy-nine percent of the women in Group 4. This clearly shows how differently the occupational identity is situated in the hierarchies of the two groups.

The similarity between groups in the placement of academic identity is also apparent in Table 20. The difference in the saliency of this identity between the two groups (see Table 19) is a function of the clustering of the occupational identity in Group 4 with the other three identities at the top. As Table 20 illustrates, the ratings of the academic identity between groups is similar, with the major difference being the respondents who rank the academic identity below the sixth rank.

Another between-group comparison of interest concerns gender identity. The comparison best begins at the sixth rank, where the commitment mean scores are the most different (see



Table 20). The sixth to eighth ranks comprise sixty-eight percent of Group 4 and so lower scores show a significantly lower commitment for the majority of the group. On the other hand, sixty-nine percent of Group 1 fall at the sixth rank or above. As a result, the saliency of the gender identity for Group 4 is clearly a function of its position relative to the identities the respondents were given to rank and the .07 significance level for the relationship between the means is low enough to assume that the rankings are probably not the same between the two groups (see Table 19) .

The final between-group identity comparison of interest is political identity. As Table 19 illustrates, with the .04 significance level for that identity, along with the differences between the groups as shown in Table 20, it is apparent that each group values the political identity differently. That the self-identified feminists of Group 4 have a stronger commitment to a political identity is unsurprising.

**TABLE 19** COMPARISON OF NEGATIVE NON-FEMINIST AND FEMINIST -  
WOMEN- GROUP 1 AND GROUP 4

VARIABLE	NON-FEMINIST (N=27) GROUP 1		FEMINIST (N=57)		GROUP 4		Sig.
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	t		
<b>SALIENESS RANKINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	(1) KINSHIP	1.86	1.4	-0.02	.981
(2) ROMANTIC	3.22	1.7	(4) ROMANTIC	3.47	2.0	-0.57	.568
(3) PEER	3.30	1.6	(3) PEER	3.38	1.8	-0.22	.826
(4) ACADEMIC	4.22	1.3	(5) ACADEMIC	5.05	1.5	-2.50	.014
(5) RELIGIOUS	4.60	2.5	(6) RELIGIOUS	5.83	1.7	-2.66	.009
(6) GENDER	5.48	1.9	(7) GENDER	6.18	1.6	-1.79	.077
(7) OCCUPATION	5.78	1.3	(2) OCCUPATION	3.30	1.5	7.54	.000
(8) POLITICAL	7.52	.9	(8) POLITICAL	6.83	1.6	2.08	.041
<b>SALIENESS RATINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	94.30	13.6	(1) KINSHIP	91.53	14.8	0.82	.413
(2) PEER	83.52	18.5	(4) PEER	77.58	23.7	1.15	.254
(3) ROMANTIC	83.22	20.9	(3) ROMANTIC	79.26	22.2	0.78	.439
(4) ACADEMIC	72.85	21.4	(5) ACADEMIC	64.47	20.0	1.75	.083
(5) RELIGIOUS	60.59	35.6	(6) RELIGIOUS	49.63	28.0	1.53	.129
(6) OCCUPATION	58.67	26.1	(2) OCCUPATION	79.30	18.5	-4.17	.000
(7) GENDER	57.00	27.3	(7) GENDER	43.11	28.1	2.14	.035
(8) POLITICAL	22.41	20.7	(8) POLITICAL	33.42	23.9	-2.06	.043

**TABLE 20 KEY IDENTITY COMPARISONS BY RANK AND RATING  
GROUP 1 WITH GROUP 4**

	LOWEST 8TH	7TH	6TH	5TH	4TH	3RD	2ND	HIGHEST 1ST	MEAN	SD
<b>OCCUPATION</b>										
<b>GROUP 1</b>										
MEAN	5.00	45.71	54.45	81.67	83.33	82.50	00.00	00.00	58.67	26.10
(N/%)	(1/4%)	(7/26%)	(11/41%)	(3/11%)	(3/11%)	(2/7%)				
<b>GROUP 4</b>										
MEAN	25.00	50.00	51.67	66.25	71.54	85.00	89.69	100.00	79.30	18.46
(N/%)	(1/2%)	(1/2%)	(3/5%)	(4/7%)	(13/23%)	(16/28%)	(16/28%)	(3/5%)		
<b>ACADEMIC</b>										
<b>GROUP 1</b>										
MEAN	25.00	00.00	27.50	73.75	75.00	83.75	95.67	00.00	72.85	21.40
(N/%)	(1/4%)		(2/7%)	(8/30%)	(9/33%)	(4/15%)	(3/11%)			
<b>GROUP 4</b>										
MEAN	00.00	50.00	58.07	63.46	77.43	87.60	75.00	90.00	64.47	19.97
(N/%)	(2/3%)	(7/12%)	(14/25%)	(13/23%)	(14/25%)	(5/9%)	(1/2%)	(1/2%)		
<b>GENDER</b>										
<b>GROUP 1</b>										
MEAN	28.75	28.00	65.00	64.00	78.00	75.00	75.00	99.00	57.00	27.30
(N/%)	(4/15%)	(5/19%)	(5/19%)	(5/19%)	(5/19%)	(1/4%)	(1/4%)	(1/4%)		
<b>GROUP 4</b>										
MEAN	15.83	26.81	46.36	68.75	82.67	75.00	80.00	100.00	43.11	28.04
(N/%)	(12/21%)	(16/28%)	(11/19%)	(12/21%)	(3/5%)	(1/2%)	(1/2%)	(1/2%)		
<b>POLITICAL</b>										
<b>GROUP 1</b>										
MEAN	16.00	28.33	50.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	22.41	28.33
(N/%)	(20/74%)	(3/11%)	(2/7%)	(2/7%)						
<b>GROUP 4</b>										
MEAN	16.76	38.65	40.00	41.67	75.00	79.50	100.00	90.00	33.42	23.90
(N/%)	(25/44%)	(17/30%)	(7/12%)	(3/5%)	(1/2%)	(2/3%)	(1/2%)	(1/2%)		

## GROUP 2 AND GROUP 4

The second set of groups to be compared will be non-feminists who are positive toward the movement but negative toward feminists (Group 2) and the feminist group (Group 4). While there are significant differences between the rankings and ratings of the occupational role-identity what is most striking about the data in Table 21 are the number of rankings and ratings that are similar between the two groups. Both the salience rankings and commitment ratings for kinship, romantic and peer are very much the same between the two groups. While the romantic and peer identities flip positions between the two groups, the closeness of the salience rankings is interesting. The gender identity ranking for both groups is very similar, but it is clear that Group 2 has a slightly stronger commitment to an essentialist gender identity. With political identity the opposite is true. Group 4 has a slightly higher ranking, but both groups had similar levels of commitment to that identity.

The remaining three identities provide interesting contrasts between the groups. For example, the religious rankings are separated by one position, but commitment to the identity is significantly different between the two groups. More interestingly, Group 1 has a higher commitment to religion than they do to their future occupation identity. In contrast to this Group 4 ranks and rates occupation as second in their hierarchy.

The final two identities, academic and occupation, are interesting in relation to each other and relative to the other identities in each group. As was mentioned earlier, occupation is ranked and rated second by the feminist group along with being clustered closely with the romantic and peer identities. For Group 2 occupation is ranked slightly higher than the religious identity, but it is rated lower: much lower than the feminist ranking and rating of occupation.

As was the case with Group 1 there appears to be a closeness in Group 2's salience and commitment toward their occupation and religious identities. However, it is important to point out that both of the rankings and ratings for these identities are relatively low in comparison to other identities. On the other hand, the feminist group ranked and rated occupation very high. The most interesting comparison about the occupation identity is the relationship this identity has to the academic identity, and their different position in each group. The academic identity in Group 2 has relatively the same rank and rating as the occupation identity holds in Group 4, along with the opposite being true (see table 21). What this means relative to the other identities in the respective hierarchies is that the academic identity clusters at the top of Group 2's hierarchy with kinship, romantic, and peer, whereas occupation clusters at the top of Group 2's hierarchy with the same three identities.

**TABLE 21** COMPARISON OF NON-FEMINIST AND FEMINIST - WOMEN  
- GROUP 2 AND GROUP 4

VARIABLE	NON-FEMINIST (N=28) GROUP 2		FEMINIST (N=57)		GROUP 4		Sig.
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	t		
<b>SALIENCE RANKINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.79	1.1	(1) KINSHIP	1.86	1.4	-0.24	.808
(2) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.9	(4) ROMANTIC	3.47	2.0	-0.18	.857
(3) PEER	3.50	1.6	(3) PEER	3.38	1.8	0.29	.775
(4) ACADEMIC	3.68	1.3	(5) ACADEMIC	5.05	1.5	-4.25	.000
(5) OCCUPATION	4.86	1.5	(2) OCCUPATION	3.30	1.5	4.60	.000
(6) RELIGIOUS	4.89	2.4	(6) RELIGIOUS	5.83	1.7	-2.07	.041
(7) GENDER	6.39	1.4	(7) GENDER	6.18	1.6	0.62	.534
(8) POLITICAL	7.54	1.0	(8) POLITICAL	6.83	1.6	2.13	.036
<b>COMMITMENT RATINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	95.36	9.0	(1) KINSHIP	91.53	14.8	1.26	.211
(2) ROMANTIC	83.36	19.0	(3) ROMANTIC	79.26	22.2	0.84	.405
(3) ACADEMIC	81.64	16.5	(5) ACADEMIC	64.47	20.0	3.94	.000
(4) PEER	79.07	19.5	(4) PEER	77.58	23.7	0.29	.773
(5) RELIGIOUS	67.75	26.8	(6) RELIGIOUS	49.63	28.0	2.85	.006
(6) OCCUPATION	65.36	20.0	(2) OCCUPATION	79.30	18.5	-3.18	.002
(7) GENDER	53.57	20.7	(7) GENDER	43.11	28.1	1.75	.083
(8) POLITICAL	33.71	21.8	(8) POLITICAL	33.42	23.9	0.05	.956

### Group 3 and Group 4

The final group to be compared with the feminist group is Group 3: women who view the issues of the movement as important, have a positive view of feminists, and a positive view of the women's movement. There are many similarities in the mean rankings and ratings of this group to the feminist group as there have been in the previous group comparisons. For example, as Table 22 illustrates, five of the role-identities have virtually the same ranking and ratings between the groups. As with the previous group the women of Group Three are well anchored with a strong commitment to four role-identities. Again the strong saliency of the occupational identity for the feminist group is matched by this non-feminist strong saliency and even stronger commitment to their academic identity. The similarities between the ranking and rating of Group 3's academic identity and Group 4's occupational identity is even stronger than it was with the previous group (see Table 21). Conversely, the academic and occupational identity relationship is also strong between these two groups.

The final role-identity that is of interest is the political identity. The contrast between the two groups on this identity is predictable. As was discussed in the previous group descriptions, the feminist group was the only group that was not judged to be apolitical. As Table 22 illustrates, both the ranking and rating of the political identity are higher in the feminist group.

**TABLE 22 COMPARISON OF NON-FEMINIST AND FEMINIST - WOMEN  
- GROUP 3 AND GROUP 4**

<u>NON-FEMINIST (N=39) GROUP 3</u>		<u>FEMINIST (N=57)</u>		<u>GROUP 4</u>		Sig.	
VARIABLE	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	t		
<u>SALIENCE RANKINGS</u>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	(1) KINSHIP	1.86	1.4	-0.05	.964
(2) PEER	3.10	1.4	(3) PEER	3.39	1.8	-0.83	.410
(3) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.5	(4) ROMANTIC	3.47	2.0	-0.24	.811
(4) ACADEMIC	3.46	1.5	(5) ACADEMIC	5.05	1.5	-5.24	.000
(5) OCCUPATION	5.13	1.7	(2) OCCUPATION	3.30	1.5	5.70	.000
(6) RELIGIOUS	5.49	1.9	(6) RELIGIOUS	5.83	1.7	-0.91	.367
(7) GENDER	5.82	1.6	(7) GENDER	6.18	1.6	-1.09	.278
(8) POLITICAL	7.74	0.5	(8) POLITICAL	6.83	1.6	3.46	.001
<u>COMMITMENT RATINGS</u>							
(1) KINSHIP	92.31	13.8	(1) KINSHIP	91.53	14.8	0.26	.794
(2) ACADEMIC	82.69	18.6	(5) ACADEMIC	64.47	20.0	4.52	.000
(3) PEER	81.85	17.0	(4) PEER	77.58	23.7	0.97	.336
(4) ROMANTIC	77.82	19.0	(3) ROMANTIC	79.26	22.2	-0.33	.741
(5) OCCUPATION	65.48	19.7	(2) OCCUPATION	79.30	18.5	-3.51	.001
(6) RELIGIOUS	57.92	27.6	(6) RELIGIOUS	49.63	28.0	1.43	.155
(7) GENDER	52.49	25.3	(7) GENDER	43.11	28.1	1.67	.097
(8) POLITICAL	21.05	18.6	(8) POLITICAL	33.42	23.9	-2.72	.008



## NON-FEMINIST GROUPS COMPARED

### GROUP 1 AND GROUP 2

In comparing Groups One and Two, it is clear that the boundary they have in common is that both groups have a negative view of feminists. While they share this attitude in common Group 2 is different from Group 1 in that Group 2 members have a positive view of the women's movement. As Table 23 illustrates the low saliency of the very negative group's (Group 1) occupational identity is the major difference between the two groups. It is important to point out that the differences in the ranking of gender identity appear to be a function of Group 1's low ranking of occupation, since both groups have relatively the same commitment to that identity. As a result of Group 1's low ranking of occupation that group's gender ranking is driven up slightly which accounts for the difference between the two means. The only other difference between the two groups is the slightly higher commitment to the political identity among the women of Group 2. Other than those two exceptions the groups appear to be relatively the same in relation to the other six identities.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Although the small group size may result in relationships that are significant appearing to be relatively the same in the T-Test statistics, the means and standard deviations confirm the similarities of the two groups.

**TABLE 23 COMPARISON OF NON-FEMINIST WOMEN  
- GROUP 1 AND GROUP 2**

VARIABLE	NON-FEMINIST (N=27) GROUP 1		FEMINIST (N=28)		GROUP 2		Sig.
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	t		
<b>SALIENCE RANKINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	(1) KINSHIP	1.79	1.1	0.20	.841
(2) ROMANTIC	3.22	1.7	(2) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.9	-0.36	.723
(3) PEER	3.30	1.6	(3) PEER	3.50	1.6	-0.47	.638
(4) ACADEMIC	4.22	1.3	(4) ACADEMIC	3.68	1.3	1.54	.129
(5) RELIGIOUS	4.60	2.5	(6) RELIGIOUS	4.89	2.4	-0.46	.647
(6) GENDER	5.48	1.9	(7) GENDER	6.39	1.4	-2.07	.043
(7) OCCUPATION	5.78	1.3	(5) OCCUPATION	4.86	1.5	2.46	.017
(8) POLITICAL	7.52	.9	(8) POLITICAL	7.53	1.0	-0.06	.949
<b>COMMITMENT RATINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	94.30	13.6	(1) KINSHIP	95.36	9.0	-0.34	.733
(2) PEER	83.52	18.5	(4) PEER	79.07	19.5	0.87	.390
(3) ROMANTIC	83.22	20.9	(2) ROMANTIC	83.36	19.0	-0.03	.980
(4) ACADEMIC	72.85	21.4	(3) ACADEMIC	81.64	16.5	-1.71	.093
(5) RELIGIOUS	60.59	35.6	(5) RELIGIOUS	67.75	26.8	-0.84	.402
(6) OCCUPATION	58.67	26.1	(6) OCCUPATION	65.36	20.0	-1.07	.290
(7) GENDER	57.00	27.3	(7) GENDER	53.57	20.7	0.53	.601
(8) POLITICAL	22.41	20.7	(8) POLITICAL	33.71	21.8	-1.97	.054

### GROUP 1 AND GROUP 3

As table 24 illustrates, the low ranking of occupation in Group 1 is not a great departure from the occupation identity ranking of Group 3, with both groups ranking this identity toward the bottom of their hierarchies. While the rankings are similar, there does appear to be a slightly greater commitment to the occupational identity among the women of Group 3. The identity that appears to be most important, however, is the academic role-identity. In comparing the two groups it is clear that the saliency of the academic identity is ranked much higher for the Group 3 women. Not only do the women of Group 3 rank academic higher, kinship is the only identity with a higher commitment rating. On the other hand Group 1 has both peer and romantic ranked and rated higher than their academic identity.

### GROUP 2 AND GROUP 3

In the final comparison of the non-feminist groups what stands out in Table 25 are the similarities between Group 2 and Group 3. The minor differences in the ranking order of the peer identity is only a slight departure. What is remarkable is that not only are the mean values very similar in the groups, but so are the levels of variation associated with each identity. The trivial variation in the commitment level to the political identity by Group 2 is really not a major issue since the majority of the women in both groups are essentially apolitical (see Tables 16

&17). However the strength of the religious role-identity for Group 2 may be the only real difference between the groups. Not only does the religious role-identity have a higher ranking in Group 2; it also has a stronger rating.

TABLE 24 COMPARISON OF NON-FEMINIST WOMEN  
- GROUP 3 AND GROUP 1

NON-FEMINIST (N=39) GROUP 3			NON-FEMINIST (N=27)			GROUP 1	
VARIABLE	MEAN	SD		MEAN	SD	t	Sig.
<u>SALIENCE RANKINGS</u>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	-0.02	.987
(2) PEER	3.10	1.4	(3) PEER	3.30	1.6	0.52	.607
(3) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.5	(2) ROMANTIC	3.22	1.7	0.42	.679
(4) ACADEMIC	3.46	1.5	(4) ACADEMIC	4.22	1.3	-2.15	.036
(5) OCCUPATION	5.13	1.7	(7) OCCUPATION	5.78	1.3	-1.71	.092
(6) RELIGIOUS	5.49	1.9	(5) RELIGIOUS	4.59	2.5	1.66	.102
(7) GENDER	5.82	1.6	(6) GENDER	5.48	1.9	0.81	.426
(8) POLITICAL	7.74	0.5	(8) POLITICAL	7.52	.9	1.27	.209
<u>COMMITMENT RATINGS</u>							
(1) KINSHIP	92.31	13.8	(1) KINSHIP	94.30	13.6	-0.58	.564
(2) ACADEMIC	82.69	18.6	(4) ACADEMIC	72.85	21.4	1.99	.051
(3) PEER	81.85	17.0	(2) PEER	83.52	18.5	-0.38	.706
(4) ROMANTIC	77.82	19.0	(3) ROMANTIC	83.22	20.9	-1.09	.279
(5) OCCUPATION	65.48	19.7	(6) OCCUPATION	58.67	26.1	1.21	.230
(6) RELIGIOUS	57.92	27.6	(5) RELIGIOUS	60.59	35.6	-0.34	.733
(7) GENDER	52.49	25.3	(7) GENDER	57.00	27.3	-0.69	.493
(8) POLITICAL	21.05	18.6	(8) POLITICAL	22.41	20.7	-0.28	.782

TABLE 25 COMPARISON OF NON-FEMINIST - WOMEN  
- GROUP 3 AND GROUP 2

NON-FEMINIST (N=39) GROUP 3			NON-FEMINIST (N=28)			GROUP 2	
VARIABLE	MEAN	SD		MEAN	SD	t	Sig.
<b>SALIENCE RANKINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	1.85	1.4	(1) KINSHIP	1.79	1.1	0.19	.850
(2) PEER	3.10	1.4	(3) PEER	3.50	1.6	-1.08	.283
(3) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.5	(2) ROMANTIC	3.39	1.9	0.02	.984
(4) ACADEMIC	3.46	1.5	(4) ACADEMIC	3.68	1.3	-0.63	.531
(5) OCCUPATION	5.13	1.7	(5) OCCUPATION	4.86	1.5	0.69	.493
(6) RELIGIOUS	5.49	1.9	(6) RELIGIOUS	4.89	2.4	1.14	.259
(7) GENDER	5.82	1.6	(7) GENDER	6.39	1.4	-1.54	.129
(8) POLITICAL	7.74	0.5	(8) POLITICAL	7.54	1.0	0.98	.332
<b>COMMITMENT RATINGS</b>							
(1) KINSHIP	92.31	13.8	(1) KINSHIP	95.36	9.0	-1.02	.311
(2) ACADEMIC	82.69	18.6	(2) ACADEMIC	81.64	16.5	0.24	.812
(3) PEER	81.85	17.0	(4) PEER	79.07	19.5	0.62	.538
(4) ROMANTIC	77.82	19.0	(3) ROMANTIC	83.36	19.0	-1.18	.243
(5) OCCUPATION	65.48	19.7	(6) OCCUPATION	65.36	20.0	0.03	.979
(6) RELIGIOUS	57.92	27.6	(5) RELIGIOUS	67.75	26.8	-1.46	.150
(7) GENDER	52.49	25.3	(7) GENDER	53.57	20.7	-0.19	.853
(8) POLITICAL	21.05	18.6	(8) POLITICAL	33.71	21.8	-2.56	.013

## CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE WOMEN'S COMPARISONS

As the above discussion shows there are many similarities and some strong differences in the identity hierarchies of the research groups. The most powerful difference in the hierarchy of the feminist group separating it from the others is the saliency and strong commitment to occupational identity. As was stated earlier, not only did Group 4 members rank this identity second (meaning that they would be willing to give it up only after they had given up all of the other role-identities except kinship), but their level of commitment to that identity was significantly higher than the commitment to that identity by the other four groups. It could therefore be assumed that for the women of this group, identification as feminist may represent an attempt to seek out an audience to support strong attachments to their occupational identity (McCall and Simmons 1978: 72).

To some extent a rationale for this may be found in a question the respondents were asked about the women's movement. When asked if the women's movement encourages women to have careers the majority of respondents answered affirmatively. There was so much agreement on this question that strong non-feminists were as likely to agree with it as were strong feminists. So for the women in this sample there is an understanding that the women's movement provides support for women who choose to have careers; thus some may identify as

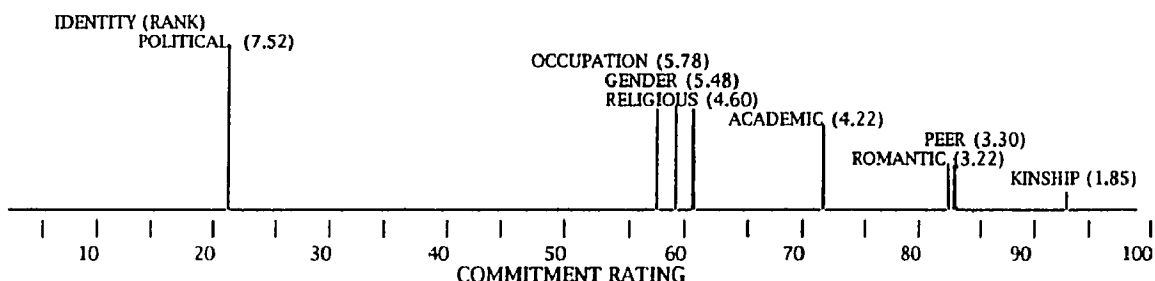
feminist in order to seek out an audience to support that role-identity.

Since the majority of the women in the sample said they wanted to have a career, common sense would say that all should identify as feminist. Underlying such a conclusion is a paradox, however. According to identity theory we know that a given role-identity (e.g. occupational) does not operate in isolation, but is connected to a set of other role-identities in the identity salience hierarchy (McCall and Simmons 1978, p: 79-87; and Serpe 1987:45). For example, the women in Group 3 ranked occupation fifth below kinship, peer, romantic, and academic. From this we could conclude that they would actively seek out audiences to support their other identities and that an occupational identity would not have a very high priority (McCall and Simmons 1978: 73). Choices that are made which influence various role-identities are also influenced by the other identities held by the individual (Serpe 1987, 44-46). If the identities in question have similar saliency and commitment then the conflict over choice will be difficult, but if the identities are of differing levels of importance the role-identity with the strongest pull will have the greatest influence over choice (McCall and Simmons 1978, p: 80-85). From this we can conclude that those identities that have a stronger degree of attachment may have a greater influence over possible role performance choices. In the Jackson model those identities would be the ones with a higher rank and rating.

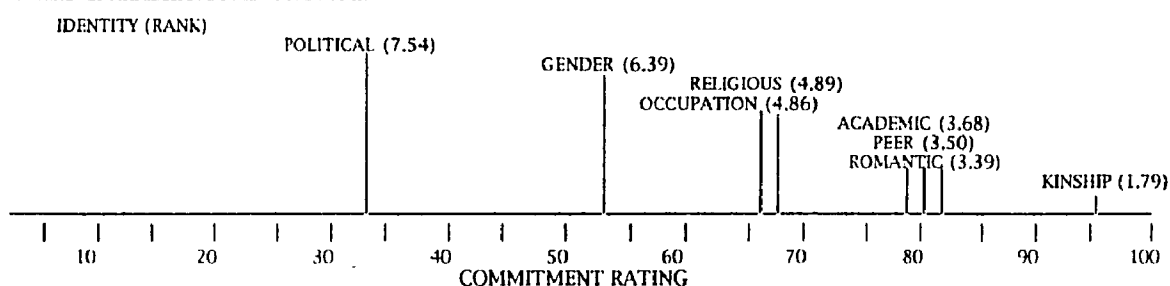
It is important to not overly simplify these findings by saying that unlike other women, feminists are simply women who truly want to have a career, linking this finding to a sort of economic determinism (Touraine 1985:784). The reality is much more complex than that, because the self-identified feminists in the sample are gambling their self esteem on commitment to a role-identity that separates them from the other women in the sample. In life the role-identities we choose to gamble on are not isolated; they are connected to a network of sometimes reinforcing and at other times conflicting role-identities (McCall and Simmons 1978:75). What is important then is the saliency and strength of commitment to an identity relative to other identities. As Table 26 illustrates, the commitment to and saliency of the occupational identity for the average woman in the feminist group enables that identity to be a possibly powerful influencing force over role performance choices which in turn influence support for other identities, creating an element of cognitive access to the women's movement (Offe 1985: 849-853).



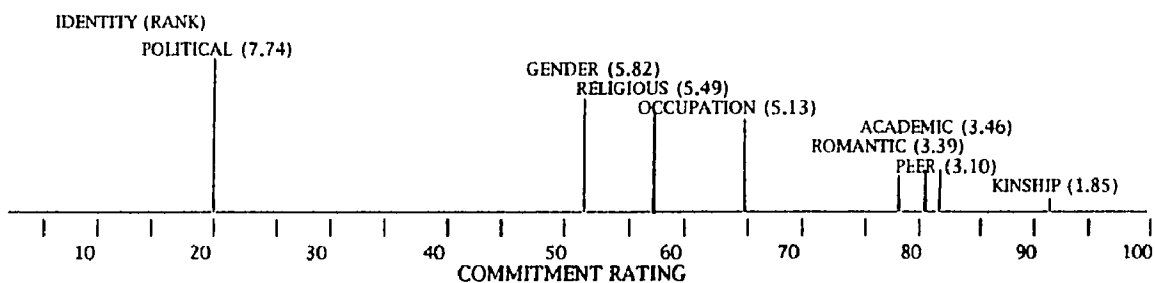
SECTION A GROUP 1



SECTION B GROUP 2



SECTION C GROUP 3



SECTION D GROUP 4

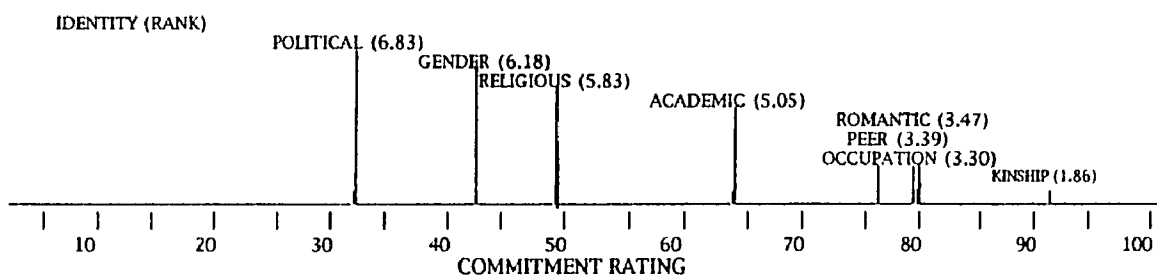


FIGURE 1 - ROLE-IDENTITY CLUSTERS WITHIN RESEARCH GROUPS

## CLUSTERING OF IMPORTANT IDENTITIES

In Figure 1 it is clear that for the women in each group kinship is the single most important role-identity. As mentioned earlier this is the typical position for this identity among college students when the Jackson instrument is administered to them. All four groups also have a cluster of identities just below kinship. The peer and romantic identities are in this cluster of identities in the groups, while the third identity in the cluster varies. In groups two and three the academic identity is closely aligned with the romantic and peer identities. This could be conceived of as representative of a typical college student's identity. For the feminist group (Group 4) however, the positioning of the occupational identity relative to the other identities appears to be important. If this assumption is true, then the positioning of the occupational identity in the other groups is also important.

In looking at the position of the occupational identity in the other groups, the location of this identity in Group 1 is the most extreme departure for the feminist group. In Group 1 the occupational identity's rank and rating is much lower, but the number of identities ranked and rated higher is important. From this positioning it is clear that for the average woman of Group 1 future occupational identity is not very important. The most interesting aspect of this group having the most extreme example of the placement of the occupational identity is that this is also the

most negative group toward the women's movement and feminists.

The other two research groups also provide an interesting contrast to Group 4 and to each other in the positioning of occupational identity. Both of the remaining groups are positive toward the women's movement and view the issues associated with the movement as important, but the women of Group 2 have a negative view of feminists. The only difference in the placement of the occupational identity in their role-identity hierarchies is that in Group 2 the religious identity is ranked higher. From this we might conclude that the saliency and commitment to the religious identity might somehow be related to a negative view toward feminists. At the very least it is possible to say that having one more role-identity ranked between the occupational identity and the top is the important issue. This implies that any decisions connected to possible role performances associated with the occupational identity would be influenced by one more role-identity. In contrast to Group 2, the women of Group 3 have only one identity that separates the occupational identity from the top cluster of identities.

As Figure 1 illustrates, the academic and occupational identities in the two groups have similar positionings. For example, in Group 3 the occupational identity is separated from the top cluster of role-identities, but it is also separated from the role-identities ranked beneath it. The same is also true for the

academic identity in Group 4. It is clear that these two groups have similar hierarchy structures. From this we can conclude that the academic role-identity may be the identity that is most likely to be influenced by a stronger commitment to an occupational identity.

The final feature of the groups that is best illustrated by Figure 1 is the level of political identification of each group. Not only is the average political identity rating of each group extremely low, but also the rankings and the ratings of this role-identity removes it from the other identities. Given all of the issues discussed above it is necessary to examine background variables for possible connections before making final conclusions. To conclude this chapter the data from the men's groups will be presented.

#### THE MEN'S RESEARCH GROUPS

Once the research controls were introduced to the men's data it became apparent that twenty-two men did not fit into any of the research groups. As a result, the men's research groups then became quite small. While this was a disappointment it was not an impediment to the research given that the views of college women have been the major focus of the paradox associated with feminist identification. Along with the problem of the size of the men's research groups there was also the issue of finding sufficient numbers of college-age men who identify as feminist. This proved

to be the single most difficult task in the sample collection.

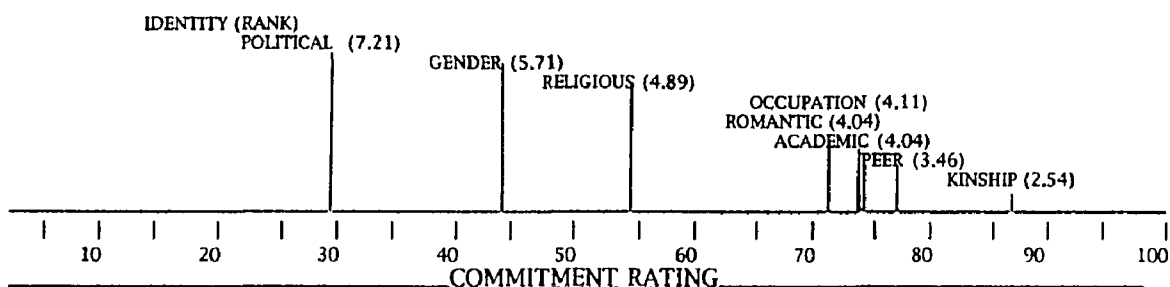
Because of these limitations the discussion of the men's data will be more brief and less detailed than that of the women.

As Table 26 illustrates the men's groups are very similar. All of the variations between the mean rankings and ratings proved not to be statistically significant. While this could be due in part to the size of the groups, it is also conceivable that the research controls had no impact on the data. There were, however, a few notable preliminary findings from the men's data. First, the overall ratings and rankings of the top role-identities were lower for the men than they were for the women, indicating a lack of consensus as to their importance within the men's groups. Another feature of the men's groups is that the highest five identities are clustered together due to the similarities in their commitment ratings (See Figure 2). As Figure 2 also illustrates the men's groups were decidedly apolitical. A final interesting feature is that among all the men's and women's groups only the men's Group 4 did not rank kinship as number one. It should be pointed out that the men's Group 4 had greater variation and thus less consensus on the ranking and rating of kinship than did the other groups (see Table 26).

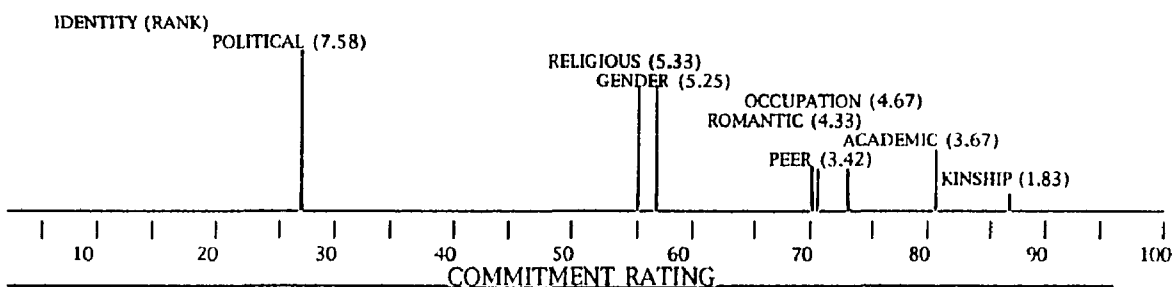
TABLE 26 RANKINGS AND RATINGS OF MEN'S GROUPS

	GROUP 1 (N=28)		GROUP 2 (N=12)		GROUP 3 (N=19)		GROUP 4 (N=10)	
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
KINSHIP								
RANKING	2.54 (1)	1.8	1.83 (1)	1.2	2.68 (1)	1.7	3.20 (2)	2.3
RATING	86.79 (1)	20.3	87.50 (1)	16.9	86.84 (1)	20.1	79.20 (1)	25.2
PEER								
RANKING	3.46 (2)	1.6	3.42 (2)	1.8	2.79 (2)	1.7	2.80 (1)	1.8
RATING	78.86 (2)	22.2	70.42 (5)	19.6	83.16 (2)	15.9	77.50 (2)	21.4
ACADEMIC								
RANKING	4.04 (3)	1.4	3.67 (3)	1.4	3.53 (3)	1.8	4.10 (4)	1.4
RATING	74.29 (4)	20.4	80.00 (2)	13.3	78.68 (3)	17.9	72.80 (5)	13.1
ROMANTIC								
RANKING	4.04 (3)	1.9	4.33 (4)	2.1	3.74 (4)	1.7	3.80 (3)	2.1
RATING	71.96 (5)	21.7	70.00 (4)	29.2	74.84 (4)	21.0	76.60 (3)	23.5
OCCUPATION								
RANKING	4.11 (5)	2.1	4.67 (5)	1.7	4.32 (5)	1.6	4.50 (5)	2.2
RATING	74.90 (3)	23.9	73.33 (3)	21.5	72.12 (5)	21.0	72.90 (4)	24.6
RELIGIOUS								
RANKING	4.89 (6)	2.8	5.33 (7)	2.7	5.26 (6)	2.4	4.70 (6)	2.1
RATING	53.75 (6)	35.6	55.00 (7)	36.3	54.05 (6)	35.8	64.60 (6)	22.1
GENDER								
RANKING	5.71 (7)	1.9	5.25 (6)	1.7	6.42 (7)	1.2	5.90 (7)	1.9
RATING	43.57 (7)	43.6	57.08 (6)	21.6	46.84 (7)	27.8	43.50 (7)	28.3
POLITICAL								
RANKING	7.21 (8)	1.0	7.58 (8)	.5	7.26 (8)	1.2	7.00 (8)	1.9
RATING	28.39 (8)	23.0	25.83 (8)	21.8	28.42 (8)	21.9	35.90 (8)	29.0

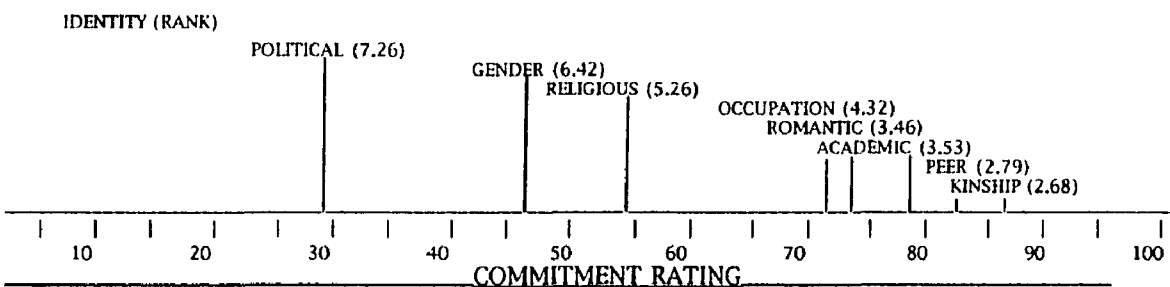
SECTION A GROUP 1



SECTION B GROUP 2



SECTION C GROUP 3



SECTION D GROUP 4

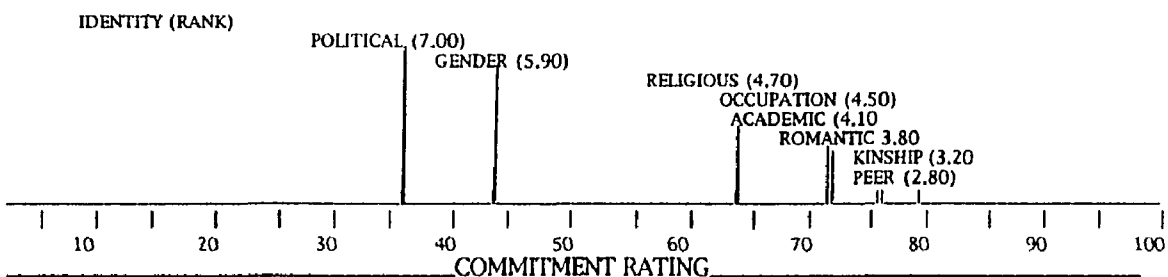


FIGURE 2 - CLUSTER TABLES OF RESEARCH GROUPS - MEN'S GROUPS

## COMPARISON OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S GROUPS

The first finding from comparisons of the men's and women's groups is the fact that the role identity hierarchies of the women's groups vary by research groups while the men's do not. This means that either the men's groups are too small to pick up any variations or the issues that separate the groups have no impact on the role-identity structures of the men. Of course this also demonstrates how important the issues are for women since there were noticeable variations between the women's groups. The overall men's rankings of the role-identities were similar to the rankings of the non-feminist women's groups that were supportive of the movement (Groups 2 & 3), but they were dissimilar to the other two women's groups. The single most interesting point of comparison between the women's and men's groups is the fact that five role-identities for the men's group hierarchies were clustered together while the women's group role-identities clustered into smaller sets (see Figure 2). This shows that for women the research controls divided them into groups of similar identity structures with a measure of consensus as to the importance of the various role-identities.

The implications of the research results will be summarized in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This project began with questions similar to those posed by Kuhn and McPartland (1954: 119-120) forty years ago related to variations in the self conceptions of individuals divided into groups of some known affiliation. In this research the affiliations of interest were respondents' attitudes toward feminists and the women's movement. The goal was exploration of the widely reported paradoxical response to feminism by today's college students considered in light of their self definitions. In other words, would there be differences in the self structures of students corresponding to their attitudes toward feminism? Two techniques were used to investigate the respondents' self-conceptions: Kuhn's TST and Jackson's role-identity hierarchy. Both of these measures are designed to explore the respondents' self-conceptions with the difference between the two being the structured nature of the measures. The TST is an unstructured measure based on the respondents' own words. On the other hand the Jackson technique presents a structured list of role-identities which respondents are asked to rank in order of their importance and to rate according to their level of commitment.

## SUBTLE DIFFERENCES FOUND WITH THE TST

The findings from the TST showed that there were subtle differences in the self-referencing styles of men and women, but no major differences between the various research groups. In other words there is no "feministspeak" that clearly differentiates feminists from non-feminists. Rather the data revealed a wide variety of self referencing styles defying any notion of political correctness. The major conclusion from the TST was that the respondents in this sample had a somewhat gender-neutral style of self referencing. The information from the TST demonstrated that many of the old assumptions about feminists and non-feminists and women and men may be moot for this twenty-something generation sample (Stockard & Johnson 1979: 215-217; and Condor 1990). Not only did this measure serve as an introduction to the project for the respondents: the data from the TST provides insight into how different this twenty-something generation might be from its immediate predecessors.

While there were no major variations in the referencing styles between the various research groups, two differences in the language conventions of men and women were apparent. First, in talking about children, women personalized these relationships stating that they wanted children or they wanted to be a mom. On the other hand, men were more likely to refer to their skill with children stating that they were "good with kids." This finding

represents women's continuing responsibility and identity connection to the role of caring for children (Andersen 1993:178).

Separate from this finding, but implicitly connected to the family is the second conclusion about the TST. The data showed that women and men had a tendency to modify or elaborate self references connected to different spheres. The dominant areas for men's elaborations were associated with athletics while for women self references involving kinship relationships were sometimes modified. This finding was judged to represent the socialization of women and men in the sample to different role-identities (Lakoff 1975: 3-8). The second technique used in the project provided further confirmation of this finding. In the Jackson role-identity hierarchy measure women ranked and rated the kinship role-identity higher, indicating both a greater commitment to and importance for this role-identity which would be consistent with a more elaborate style of referencing (Whorf 1956; Lakoff 1975).

While there was a great deal of uniformity demonstrated between the two techniques with various identities appearing in similar positions on both measures, one specific role-identity demonstrated a very strong consistency. If a respondent gave a religious self reference in the first or second position, the majority of the time (96%) the respondent would rank and rate their religious role-identity in that same position. This clearly demonstrates the known strength of religious identification

(Morgan 1987:307), but it also shows the connection between the two techniques.

#### THE JACKSON TECHNIQUE

The Jackson technique was employed to explore any variations in the role-identity hierarchies among respondents from the various research groups. Between the men's groups no differences were found. It was apparent that this was either a function of some type of sampling error or the issues used to define the groups were not connected to the men's role-identity structures. Of course the greater implication of this finding is that the issues salient to the women's movement are not salient enough to be connected to the core role-identities of the men in the sample (Rinehart 1988). Another concern not mentioned earlier which may have influenced the men's data was that a classroom may not be the best setting to elicit from men their attitudes about the women's movement. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is there were no noticeable differences between the men's research groups, indicating that men's attitudes toward feminism are probably not related to role-identities (Stryker and Serpe 1982:208). In contrast, there were clear differences between the women's research groups.

## ROLE-IDENTITY CLUSTERS IMPORTANT IN THE WOMEN'S GROUPS

In interpreting the data from the women's groups the clustering of various role-identities became apparent.<sup>34</sup> These clusters may be part of the solution to the paradox of why individuals with a seemingly positive view of the women's movement may not personally identify as feminists. As was reported above, the mean ranking and rating for the occupational role-identity of the feminist group was higher than that of any other group; clearly the position of this role-identity in the hierarchy of the feminist group was strong. For the feminists the only identity with a higher ranking or rating was kinship. Thus the occupational identity's position relative to the other role-identities indicates that the occupational role performance choices would be competitive with other identities for feminists. What this indicates is that college women feminists are already making role-

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<sup>34</sup> The ranking of the role-identities by the respondents represents the saliency of a given role-identity with respect to the relative order of that identity in the respondent's hierarchy. There is an intuitive understanding of this process at the individual level; however, at the group level the same interpretation is not clear (Curry and Weaner 1987: 286). In this research as in previous research the rankings and ratings were positively correlated, but the order of some identities changed from ranking to rating. This is only a problem when the identities in question are of a similar ranking or rating, so at a group level the forced ranking can only represent some type of preference or evidence that the identities in question are of relatively equal importance. At a group level identities with similar rankings and ratings can be thought of as clusters of competing or important role-identities.

performance choices that are connected to their future occupations. For example, instead of seeing a good grade in a class in connection to their student role-identity, such striving might be associated with improving their opportunities in the work world.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-IDENTITY

It is also important to note that the position of this identity in the hierarchy may demonstrate how central that role-identity is to how the feminist respondents define themselves. On the other hand, the occupational role identity was not ranked or rated high in the three non-feminist groups. Added to this is the fact that a drop in ranking and rating of the occupational role-identity was positively associated with the groups' views toward feminists and the women's movement. So not only was there a lower commitment to the occupational identity as the groups' views became more negative, but the number of role-identities that were more important on average to the members of the group increased.

By breaking the respondents into three types of non-feminist groups it was possible to focus the question of feminist identification on the women and away from the movement alone. Past discussions of the paradox often focused on what the movement has done to alienate women. In contrast, this research focused on the range of women's views of the movement and personal boundaries that may constrain personal identification

with feminism. The fact that the majority of young women indicate that they believe the women's movement has helped women who want careers and the fact that the majority of young women want careers are linked.<sup>35</sup> Through the information gained in this project it is clear that not only is the desire for a career important, is also necessary to consider that desire relative to other incipient adult roles.

The saliency of the occupational role-identity for the feminists in the sample is the key feature giving the women an element of cognitive access to the women's movement (Offe 1985:849-853). Having a strong commitment to the occupational identity then makes them more receptive to the issues that are connected to the women's movement (Tilly 1985:741). While this could appear to be some type of economic determinism (Touraine 1985) it is merely the element measured in this research of the collective identity the twenty-something generation has relative to the women's movement (Melucci 1985). Whether this occupational identity will lead to any type of activism remains to be seen. However, because this identity is in the public sphere the possibility for activism is present (Snoek 1985:204-212).

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<sup>35</sup> In this project one hundred percent of the women in groups two through four plan to have a career, along with eighty-eight percent of the women in Group 1. Ninety-three percent or more of the women in all four group see a positive connection between the women's movement and careers.

## DIFFERENCES IN RANKINGS AND RATINGS

*Hypothesis 6: There will be a different ranking of the various role-identities between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 7: There will be a different rating of the various role-identities between the different groups.*

The first two hypotheses for the Jackson technique were general in nature and reflected a belief that issues associated with the women's movement are salient to such a degree as to be represented in ranking and rating differences between the various groups. As was discussed in the previous chapter the degree of difference was most pronounced between the two groups representing the extremes (Group 1 and Group 4). The fact that the men's groups did not exhibit different patterns demonstrated that the issues associated with the women's movement may be more salient for women than for men.

## SIMILARITIES IN RANKINGS AND RATINGS

*Hypothesis 8: There will be a similarity in the ranking of the various role-identities within the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 9: There will be a similarity in the rating of the various role-identities within the different groups.*

The possibility of various ranking and rating similarities were addressed in the next two hypotheses. As was previously stated, all groups had kinship as the dominant social anchor. Other



similarities were also evident with regard to the rankings and ratings of the romantic and peer role-identities with the exception of Group 1. While the first two hypotheses establish the saliency of the issues to women's self definitions, these two hypotheses demonstrate that feminists are very similar to other college women with regard to the major social anchors in their life.

#### THE RELIGIOUS AND ROMANTIC ROLE-IDENTITIES

*Hypothesis 10: There will be a different ranking of the religious identity between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 11: There will be a different rating of the religious identity between the different groups.*

*Hypothesis 10: There will be a different ranking of the romantic identity between the research groups.*

*Hypothesis 11: There will be a different rating of the romantic identity between the research groups.*

The final four hypotheses were designed to explore issues that have been raised in connection to the research question. As with the other hypotheses they were general in nature and were never intended to provide possible answers to any one group's relationship with feminists and the women's movement. While the ranking and rating of the romantic identity did not vary significantly between the groups, the position of that role-identity relative to the other identities in two of the groups did exhibit a slight departure. The position of the romantic role-identity in Group 1 and in Group 2, groups holding the most negative views toward feminism, indicate that identity was central to how the

women in those groups define themselves generally. While Group 1 is not the focus of the paradox, the women of Group 2 represent the very women addressed in this hypothesis.

For example, in her 1982 research Bolotin identified women who were positive toward the movement but did not want to personally identify as feminist out of a concern that the label might limit their dating chances. Interestingly, this is the only group not showing the majority of the women in the group in a relationship. Group 2 contained women who were positive toward the movement but negative toward feminists. This group also had a higher concern for their romantic identity than the two more positive groups.

Interestingly, these same two groups were also somewhat similar in regard to religious role-identity. As was discussed in the previous chapter, not only do both of these groups rate their religious role-identity higher than did the feminist group, but the position of their religious role-identity is strong relative to their other role identities. The position of the religious role-identity is consistent with previous research linking a strong religious commitment to views that are in conflict with feminism (Morgan 1987).

## THE POLITICAL AND GENDER IDENTITIES

When considerations were being made as to how the Jackson technique would be modified it seemed clear that there were two

areas that might prove central to feminist identification (Rinehart 1988:82). The political role-identity is perhaps the most disappointing of these two new role-identities. All of the groups were somewhat apolitical, with the men's groups showing no more interest in a political identification than the women's groups and with only a small number of the feminists having a measurable amount of commitment to a political identification. This finding is consistent with other assessments of the apolitical nature of members this generation (Shea 1995: 29). It is important to state again that the majority of the respondents in the sample and in each research group identify politically as independents. A majority of women in each group reported that they voted, so at some level they are politically active.

The gender role-identity, constructed to represent an essentialist view of gender, proved to be an important identity for the most negative non-feminist group (Group 1). What was interesting about the placement of that role-identity in the group hierarchy was that respondents on average ranked it higher than they did the occupational identity. The saliency and commitment to the gender role-identity was also only slightly lower than the group's commitment to their religious identity. The finding could indicate that the occupational choices for the women in Group 1 may be influenced by their gender identity (Stryker 1980; and Rosenberg 1981:612-618).

The most surprising aspect about the gender role-identity was that even the feminists in this sample ranked and rated gender higher than they did their political identity. From this we can conclude that they have a stronger commitment to the biological nature of their role-performances than to their political identification.

### THE LESBIAN ISSUE

Many scholars have linked a resistance to self-label as feminist with homophobia, or the fear of being labeled as a lesbian (Freeman 1975: 135; Mansbridge 1986: 130-131; Buechler 1990: 66; Faludi 1992; Ryan 1992, p. 44; and Sommers 1994, 265). As Bolotin (1982) points out, this may be more of a fear of being isolated from men as potential partners and not straightforward homophobia. In this project the respondents were asked two questions that dealt with their perceived notion of the percentage of feminists who are lesbians. Of the two groups that were positive toward the women's movement and toward feminists, one hundred percent of the women who identified as feminist disagreed that most feminists are lesbians and ninety-seven percent of the women in the non-feminist group (Group 3) disagreed with the same question. Of the group of women who were positive toward the movement but negative toward feminists only seventeen percent agreed that most feminists are lesbians. Even with the group of women who are negative toward both the

movement and feminists, seventy-one percent said they disagreed with the notion that most feminists are lesbians. When the respondents were asked if they agreed that some feminists are lesbians around ninety percent of the women in all three groups agreed with the question.

A third question was added to tap into the appearance element of the feminist identity, more specifically the possible willful violation of gender behavior by feminists (Padavic 1991: 287- 289). The respondents were asked if they agreed with the notion that feminists tried to look un-feminine. Only in the negative toward feminists and the women's movement group (Group 1) did a majority agree with this statement (63%). The two groups which were most positive toward the issues (groups 3 &4) had ninety-seven and one hundred percent respectively disagreeing with this question; the group that was positive toward the movement but negative toward feminists had a majority of women disagreeing with the question, although the figure was lower (67%). When you add to these responses the fact that the women of the two groups with the most negative view of the appearance of feminists (Groups 1 & 2) also ranked and rated the romantic role-identity in the second position a better interpretation results. While this finding does not eliminate the possibility of homophobia, it broadens understanding of what may underlie such responses: conformity to traditional gender norms in

order to maintain one's attractiveness to potential partners, rather than straightforward homophobia.

#### BACKGROUND FEATURES

The majority of the women in the sample who personally identified as feminists had mothers who worked outside the home, were in relationships, and had taken a women's studies class. Controlling for these characteristics the data were analyzed and all of the original relationships held though slightly reduced. These background characteristics proved to be connected to the strength of support for the women's movement and commitment to the various role-identities. Further research would be needed to explore these findings in greater detail, but it is clear that the individual role-identity choices are the greatest determinant of the differences between the groups.

#### THE "MAGIC MOMENT" AND OTHER PATHWAYS TO FEMINIST IDENTIFICATION

Examination of the identity structures of the women in this project made it clear that the saliency of the occupational role-identity was the key factor in identifying feminists. This finding is consistent with those of many scholars who have theorized about which issues will move the twenty-something generation to more vocal support for feminism. For example, Steinem's "magic moment" realization of a feminist consciousness might occur at different times for the non-feminist women in the sample. For the

women of Group 3 it may come once they finish college or get closer to graduation. At that point the position of the academic role-identity in their hierarchy would be vacant and the three logical role-identity beneficiaries would be peer, romantic, and occupation. If the occupational role-identity becomes more central to how they define themselves, then a more active stance toward feminism may evolve. For the women in the other two groups there are other role-identities that are in a more advantageous position; as a result it would be difficult to predict when their magic moment might come.

As for the Ferree and Hess (1985) assumption that these women take feminism and the benefits of the women's movement for granted, I am not so sure that this is true. The young women in this sample seemed more than willing to give credit to the women's movement for many social accomplishments. One feature of the instrument helps illustrate this fact. Respondents were asked to comment on anything they wished at the close of the survey. Several women (10) commented that before they started answering the questions they did not think of themselves as feminists, but after completing the questions they may re-think their position. Many others who did not identify as feminist still showed interest in finding out the results. Finally the mere fact that the identity structures of the women in the sample varied by research groups shows how central the issues of the movement were for these women.

If the paradox of feminist non-identification represents a lull in the movement prior to the re-emergence of activism, what sort of feminists will the next generation be (Schneider 1988)? They might be the kinder, gentler activists that Kamen predicts (1991: 102-106). They seem to want a movement that is pro-women and not anti-male and they would accept a movement that is aggressive as long as it is not "pushy." These new feminists may have an instrumental relationship with feminism - moving from the ideological rigidity of segments of the previous generation - to a posture of "what can feminism do for me?" To some degree this demonstrates the success of the more expressive early phase of the women's movement (Cohen 1985:693). Such a view was apparent in this sample in the connection of feminism to the saliency of the occupational role-identity and the almost unanimous opinion that the women's movement is linked to women having careers. This would also be consistent with those who see the nature of the self shifting to expressive individualism with individuals having impulsive anchorages that can only be defined in terms of personal subjective experiences (Benton 1993). Perhaps twenty-something feminists will one day give us a feminist Contract With America that presents a brand of feminism unrecognizable to the radical feminists of the seventies, in harmony with the values and concerns of their generation (Braungart and Braungart 1989). Generational shifts are often filled with conflict (Schneider 1986) and may not bring on political



change (Abramson 1989). As Whitter points out, even the radical feminists of the 1970's and 1980's have undergone changes they could not have predicted (1991:150-163).

#### THE ROLE-IDENTITY APPROACH

The goal of the role-identity approach is to attempt to explain why it is that seemingly similar individuals make different role-performances choices in various social situations (Callero 1985: 214; and Serpe 1987: 44). In previous research the role-identity approach has proved useful in the understanding of human behavior (Curry and Weaner 1987: 280; and Serpe 1987: 44). The interconnectedness of role-identities is a difficult subject to explore, but it may be the only way to examine the complex issues that influence elaborate social relationships and social behaviors (Stryker and Serpe 1982: 216-217).

In this research the Jackson technique demonstrated a usefulness in exposing the complexities associated with feminism and why it is that some women choose to personally identify as feminist. Again as with the Curry and Weaner work (1987), one problem that was encountered with the Jackson measure was the transferability of the individual concept of role-identity salience, operationalized through the forced ranking of the various identities, and the group reality as represented by the mean rankings. In the earlier work, however, the focus was on a single role-identity, and as a result the relative saliency of each role-

identity was important. Understanding how role-identities work together, the focus of this research does not require such an understanding of each role-identity. What is important in such inquiries is the clustering of the identities.

While the role-identity approach cannot provide all of the answers to many of the issues raised about social movements, it can provide insight into some important elements of the inquiry. It should definitely prove useful to research dealing with "identity-oriented" movements (Cohen 1985; and Gamson 1992). In the case of the women in this sample it may provide a clue as to the element of their "collective identity" of the women's movement that might influence collective action (Melluci 1985). While the structuring of identities into hierarchies is inherently situational, those identities with high saliency are consistent over time and one would not expect these women to give up on their desire to have a career and centrality of that career in these women's self definitions (Turner 1978).

#### FUTURE RESEARCH

As is apparent in the hypotheses generated for this research, the occupational role-identity was not initially viewed as central to the issues. Clearly, assumptions about the desires of the women of the twenty-something generation to want careers presented in previous scholarship influenced this research bias. Because of an interest in maintaining a research instrument that would take

fifteen minutes to administer, it would have been impossible to include questions to validate the relevancy of all role-identities; as a result this bias limited the focus on the occupational role-identity. A decision was made to probe in more detail those issues that would be more central to the political, gender, romantic and religious role-identities. And as was discussed above, the different research groups proved to be amazingly similar with regard to these identities. Future research should explore the relevancy of occupational role-identity in greater detail.

Another surprise connected to the research findings is the lack of political identification by feminists. While the majority of respondents in all the research groups exhibited similar patterns of voting behavior and political identification, it is still difficult to believe that some political element is not important in this research. Future work might probe respondents' attitudes about politicians and politics in general.

One area for future change in the research design would be in the structure of the TST. To open up more time for other elements of the research a change in the presentation of the TST might be appropriate. Changes in the format to either eliminate the blanks or numbers might free the respondent to move on once they have exhausted their easily transmitted statements (Schwirian 1964:59). It might also be a consideration to eliminate this portion of the instrument altogether.

Other possible changes in the research design might include the examination of the respondents' involvement of self in the occupational role-identity or the occupational role-person merger. Potential settings for this research might be a panel study of students in women's studies classes. Of course focusing on older feminists and non-feminist women who are in the workforce would be a logical research direction as well. Whatever the next step is in the research it is clear that there are still many unanswered questions in the quest to more fully understand factors influencing feminist identification.

**APPENDIX A**  
**RESEARCH INSTRUMENT**

**INSTRUCTIONS** - There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write **TWENTY ANSWERS** to the simple question "WHO AM I?" in the blanks. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or "importance." Go along fairly fast, for time is limited.

### WHO AM I?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_
11. \_\_\_\_\_
12. \_\_\_\_\_
13. \_\_\_\_\_
14. \_\_\_\_\_
15. \_\_\_\_\_
16. \_\_\_\_\_
17. \_\_\_\_\_
18. \_\_\_\_\_
19. \_\_\_\_\_
20. \_\_\_\_\_

## SOCIAL IDENTITIES

In this survey, you are being asked to tell about your "social identities." Identities are labels that people can use to describe themselves.

Below are listed eight identity categories and a brief definition of each one. Also, for each category several examples of relevant identities are given. Please read these category definitions carefully and look at the examples that illustrate the kinds of identities contained in each category.

### IDENTITY CATEGORIES

CATEGORY	DEFINITION	EXAMPLES
<b>PEER:</b>	labels which describe relationships you have with people your own age	pal, buddy, friend, roommate, neighbor, co-worker, etc.
<b>KINSHIP:</b>	labels that describe your relationship to family members	daughter, step-daughter, cousin, aunt, parent, niece, nephew, brother, sister, etc.
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>	labels which describe your future career plans	teacher, doctor, lawyer, engineer, nurse, accountant, artist, actor, psychologist
<b>RELIGIOUS:</b>	labels that describe your religious or spiritual orientation	Catholic, Baptist, Jewish, agnostic, spiritualist, etc.
<b>ACADEMIC:</b>	labels that describe the academic side of being a student	honor student, junior, economics major, sociology major, etc.
<b>ROMANTIC:</b>	labels which describe close, affectionate relationships in which you are romantically involved	lover, spouse, steady, dating partner, companion, boyfriend, girlfriend, etc.
<b>GENDER:</b>	labels which would indicate your belief that certain behavior is more suitable for one sex than the other	"as a woman I should act a certain way" "as a man I should not act feminine" "always be a lady" "be a man"
<b>POLITICAL:</b>	labels which describe your political activity and/or political party loyalty	Republican, Independent, voter, interested citizen, activist, etc.

### INSTRUCTIONS

1. Think about these eight identities. Ask yourself: "How important is each identity in my life from week to week?" After you have thought about their importance go on to the next question.

2. For any particular person, some of these identity categories are more important than others. Now that you have thought about the place of each identity in your life, rank the identities in the order of their importance to you.

For your convenience, the 8 categories have been listed below. Write the identity category that is most important to you in the blank ("1"); then, write the second most important category in the next blank, and so on, putting the least important one in the last blank ("8"). Be sure to use all 8 of the categories.

	MOST IMPORTANT	1. _____
PEER		2. _____
KINSHIP		3. _____
OCCUPATION		4. _____
RELIGIOUS		5. _____
ACADEMIC		6. _____
ROMANTIC		7. _____
GENDER		
POLITICAL		
	LEAST IMPORTANT	8. _____

3. Now, go back and look at the way you rank ordered the identity categories. Ask yourself the question: If, for some reason, I had to give up my identity in one of these categories, would I do so in the order listed here? That is, would I give up the one at the bottom first, then the next one, and so on up the line. If not, change the order of the identity categories on lines 1- 8 above so that it is correct.

4. Finally, next to each identity category (at the end of each line), rate its importance to you using the scale below. The numbers on the scale should be treated like the number on a ruler, with equal distances separating them. You may assign the same number to two or more consecutive identities, and you may use any number from 0 to 100.

OF NO IMPORTANCE	SLIGHTLY IMPORTANT	MODERATELY IMPORTANT	QUITE IMPORTANT	AS IMPORTANT TO ME AS I CAN IMAGINE
0	25	50	75	100

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NEXT PAGE:** On the following page you will find statements dealing with your personal feelings about your future and your feelings about the Women's Movement. Circle the appropriate answer for each question:



## CIRCLE YOUR ANSWER

strongly agree SA	agree A	disagree D	strongly disagree SD	
SA	A	D	SD	1. I PLAN TO HAVE A CAREER.
SA	A	D	SD	2. I PLAN TO HAVE A FAMILY.
SA	A	D	SD	3. I WOULD NEVER RUN FOR POLITICAL OFFICE.
SA	A	D	SD	4. I PLAN TO STAY HOME WITH MY CHILDREN UNTIL THEY ARE OLD ENOUGH FOR SCHOOL.
SA	A	D	SD	5. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN ISSUES THAT ARE <u>NOT</u> IMPORTANT TO ME.
SA	A	D	SD	6. MOST FEMINISTS ARE ANTI-MEN.
SA	A	D	SD	7. IT IS IMPORTANT TO ME TO TRY AND LOOK FEMININE (if male substitute masculine).
SA	A	D	SD	8. I HAVE NEVER MET A FEMINIST I TRULY LIKED.
SA	A	D	SD	9. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS PRO-FAMILY.
SA	A	D	SD	10. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ENCOURAGING WOMEN TO HAVE CAREERS.
SA	A	D	SD	11. FEMINISTS SEEM TO DO EVERYTHING THEY CAN TO LOOK <u>UNFEMININE</u> .
SA	A	D	SD	12. MOST FEMINISTS ARE PRO-WOMEN.
SA	A	D	SD	13. FEMINISTS SEEM TO BE THE ONLY PEOPLE TRYING TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF WOMEN.
SA	A	D	SD	14. MOST FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS.
SA	A	D	SD	15. SOME FEMINISTS ARE LESBIANS.
SA	A	D	SD	16. SEXISM IS <u>NOT</u> AN IMPORTANT ISSUE.
SA	A	D	SD	17. FEMINISTS APPEAR TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE THAN OTHER WOMEN.

- |    |   |   |    |   |
|----|---|---|----|---|
| SA | A | D | SD | 18. FEMINISTS ARE MORE ASSERTIVE THAN OTHER WOMEN.                            |
| SA | A | D | SD | 19. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IMPROVED THE LIVES OF WOMEN.                     |
| SA | A | D | SD | 20. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS HELPED WOMEN BECOME MORE INDEPENDENT.            |
| SA | A | D | SD | 21. I PLAN TO STOP WORKING ONCE I AM MARRIED.                                 |
| SA | A | D | SD | 22. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS INTERESTED IN CHILD CARE/DAYCARE.                 |
| SA | A | D | SD | 23. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS ANTI-MEN.   |
| SA | A | D | SD | 24. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS SUPPORTIVE OF WOMEN WHO CHOOSE TO BE HOUSEWIVES.  |
| SA | A | D | SD | 25. THE ONLY PROBLEM WITH FEMINISTS IS THAT THEY GO TOO FAR WITH THEIR VIEWS. |
| SA | A | D | SD | 26. I AM A FEMINIST.  |

**INSTRUCTIONS :** Please answer the following general information questions about yourself. All information in this section, as well as the entire survey, is completely anonymous and will be kept confidential.

1. SEX \_\_\_\_\_  
(MALE OR FEMALE)

2. AGE \_\_\_\_\_

3. WHAT IS THE TOTAL INCOME FOR YOUR FAMILY. (CIRCLE YOUR RESPONSE)

UNDER \$9,000

\$9,000 TO \$14,999

\$15,000 TO \$19,999

\$20,000 TO \$24,999

\$25,000 TO \$29,999

\$30,000 TO \$34,999

\$35,000 TO \$39,999

\$40,000 TO \$44,999

\$45,000 TO \$49,999

\$50,000 TO \$54,999

\$55,000 AND UP \_\_\_\_\_  
(ESTIMATE)

4. WITH WHAT RACIAL GROUP DO YOU IDENTIFY? (CIRCLE ONE)

ASIAN

BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN

WHITE/CAUCASIAN

HISPANIC

NATIVE AMERICAN

OTHER, PLEASE SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

5. WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT RELIGIOUS/SPIRITUAL AFFILIATION?

\_\_\_\_\_

6. WHAT IS YOUR COLLEGE RANK? (CIRCLE ONE)

FRESHMAN

SOPHOMORE

JUNIOR

SENIOR

OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

7. WHAT IS YOUR ACADEMIC MAJOR? \_\_\_\_\_

8. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A WOMEN'S STUDIES CLASS? (CIRCLE ONE) YES NO

9. ARE YOU CURRENTLY IN A RELATIONSHIP ? (CIRCLE ONE)

NO

YES {IF YES, HOW LONG ? MONTHS \_\_\_\_\_ OR YEARS \_\_\_\_\_}

10. DO YOU VOTE ? (CIRCLE ONE)

IN ALL ELECTIONS AND PRIMARIES

ONLY IN GENERAL ELECTIONS (NOT PRIMARIES)

ONLY IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

NEVER

11. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF MORE CONNECTED TO A PARTICULAR POLITICAL PARTY?  
(CIRCLE ONE)

NO

YES {IF YES, WHICH PARTY? \_\_\_\_\_}

12. WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP, DID YOUR MOTHER WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME?

(CIRCLE ONE) YES NO

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO WRITE ANYTHING THAT YOU THOUGHT OF WHILE ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS.

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