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Status Incongruence and Support for Change in Sex-role Ideology: A Study of Women in Various Professions

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STATUS INCONGRUENCE AND SUPPORT FOR CHANGE IN SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY:
A STUDY OF WOMEN IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS

by
Mary J. Brooke

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 1976
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LIFE

The author, Mary J. Brooke, was born June 28, 1931, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIFE</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS OF APPENDICES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE PROBLEM</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Background</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Problem</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of the Study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Roe Ideology</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Roe as Position</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes Toward Sex-Roe as Position</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Roe as Behavior</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-Roe as Relationship</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Women</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status Incongruence</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Selection</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire Development</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing and Response</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design of the Study</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Populations and Samples</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mean Scores for Part I--Sex Roles</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mean Scores for Part II--Sex Discrimination</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mean Scores for Part III--Action Orientation</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rate of Return by Professional Affiliation</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Summary Data and ANOVA for Professions and Sex Roles.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Summary Data and ANOVA for Professions and Sex Discrimination</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Summary Data and ANOVA for Professions and Action Orientation</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ANOVA for Professions by Specializations and Sex Roles</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>ANOVA for Professions by Specializations and Sex Discrimination</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ANOVA for Professions by Specializations and Action Orientation</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mean Scores and Comparisons for Sex Roles</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mean Scores and Comparisons for Sex Discrimination</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mean Scores and Comparisons for Action Orientation</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Mean Scores and Comparisons for Action Orientation</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Mean Scores and Comparisons for Action Orientation</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Multiple Regression Analysis for Sex Roles</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Multiple Regression Analysis for Sex Roles</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS OF APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>Questionnaire and Cover Letters</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>Background Information</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

In the late 1960s the American public witnessed a resurgence of feminism which had been quiescent since the late 1920s. While feminism had its roots in the 19th century, it was looked upon as a newcomer on the scene of protest movements ranging from Civil Rights to the New Left which made their appearance in the 1960s. Public reaction to the women's movement was often highly emotional and negative. Women were supposed to have "come a long way" in their struggle to gain equality. There was dismay and consternation that women should feel a need for or, worse yet, become active in such a movement.

Questions were raised concerning who supported the movement and what the movement sought. The majority of movement women are from the middle- to upper middle-class and many of them may be considered professional women by virtue of their education and occupation. The aims of the movement are varied, but center around a change in sex-role ideology. That is, a redefinition of masculinity and femininity is being sought that allows men and women to develop their capabilities and realize their potential without the restrictions and limitations imposed by traditional sex-roles.

In seeking to change traditional sex roles, the women's movement is challenging one of the most basic forms of social organization and its attendant norms. As with other social movements, action has met with reaction. While reaction from men might be expected, some of the
most disquieting reaction has come from women. Like their movement counterparts, many of these women are middle- to upper middle-class and may be considered professional women. The question that arises is why do some women work for change in traditional sex-role ideology, and others work to maintain the status quo?

Traditional sex-role ideology affords to men rights and privileges which are denied to women and restricts women to narrowly prescribed roles and responsibilities. It would seem that women who prepare for a role in addition to, or instead of, the traditional roles of wife, mother, and helpmate, have already chosen to deviate from traditional sex-role ideology with its stereotyped image of women and their culturally prescribed roles. Therefore, one would expect support for change from professional women since a redefinition of sex-roles would make choice of a career appear less deviant. Yet, some professional women, even though they deviate from the culturally prescribed roles and traditional sex-role ideology, staunchly resist any change in the status quo. More specifically, the question is why do some professional women support change in sex-role ideology, and others not support it?

Theoretical Background

Does preparation for and entry into certain professions have a bearing on how deviant a woman feels she is from traditional women and does this cause her to seek a redefinition of traditional sex-roles which will make her feel and appear less deviant? Certain professions in American society such as elementary school teaching have been traditionally considered women's professions; and, certain professions such
as engineering have been traditionally considered men's professions. When a profession becomes predominantly male or female in composition, and the normative expectation is that this is as it should be, the sex status of the minority individual becomes as important as, or even more important than, the professional status of the minority individual. It would seem, therefore, that women entering male professions would be more deviant than women entering female professions in that the former least meet the normative expectations associated with those professions. Would those women in more deviant positions insofar as professions are concerned be more supportive of change in sex-role ideology?

If one looks to the literature on status incongruence, there would appear to be some relationship between various status factors and the support for change to be found. Status, according to Homans\(^1\), is based on the complex set of stimuli which an individual presents to others and to himself which are evaluated as higher or lower, better or worse. The particular stimuli which an individual presents may be thought of as status factors, e.g. age, marital status, occupation, stage in life cycle, etc. Thus, each thing which distinguishes an individual from others may become a status factor. Furthermore, there is a relationship between status factors in that people learn, as a result of experience, that certain statuses appear linked to others and they respond with normative expectations. Therefore, when there is a divergence in the status factors which an individual presents and the normative expectations of those with whom he is interacting, the status

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of the individual will be incongruent. The greater the divergence of stimulus factors from normative expectations, the more incongruent will be the status of the individual.

According to Malewski\(^2\), when an individual presents simultaneously two conflicting stimuli, one high in esteem or respect and the other low in esteem or respect, others may react to the lower prestige stimulus. On the basis of this assumption and supportive evidence in the literature, Malewski formulated the following propositions which are relevant to the problem with which this dissertation is concerned:

1) The greater the incongruence of simultaneously perceived status factors of the given individual, the more insecure is his status. This means that others are likely to react to the individual as if he had a lower status, than the one he enjoys.

2) The incongruence of status factors simultaneously perceived by other people brings punishments and the elimination of that incongruence is a source of reward.

3) If an individual shows several incongruent status factors, some of which are evaluated as much lower than others, and if he perceives the possibility of changing the lower status factors, he will tend to raise such status factors which are evaluated as lower.

4) If an individual has several incongruent status factors, some of which are evaluated as much lower than others, and when this individual cannot raise the lower factors, he will show a tendency to avoid those people who react to them.

5) If an individual of incongruent status cannot raise the lower factors of his status, he will tend to reject the system of evaluation which justifies his humiliation and to join those who are opposed to that system.\(^3\)

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\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 305-307.
On the basis of Malewski's propositions, it would seem that one could assume that professional women would be likely to experience status incongruence since they are presenting conflicting stimuli—an achieved status (profession) which is high and an ascribed status (female sex) which is low—with different normative expectations. Secondly, since the lower status factor (female sex) is not readily changeable and is highly visible, some other avenue will be used to reduce status incongruence. Thirdly, since sex role standards have become somewhat more flexible with certain professions being considered as suitable for women, it would seem that status incongruence could be reduced by women entering the "female" professions, the "intermediate" professions—neither "male" nor "female," or the "female" areas within the "male" professions such as pediatrics in medicine. In line with Malewski's fourth proposition, entry into such "female" professions and areas of specialization within the professions would enable women to avoid those who might react negatively to them—clients and colleagues. Conversely, those women who enter the "male" professions and areas of specialization within the professions would seem to be most at risk to experience status incongruence since they least meet the normative expectations for those professions or areas of specialization. Fourthly, even though one could assume that status incongruence would increase between professional groups as one moved from the most "female" professions to the most "male" professions, exceptions to this assumption might occur in those "female" professions which are experiencing the entry of males into them. Finally, one could assume that the more one deviates from normative expectations insofar as suitable careers and
roles for women are concerned, the more apt one would be to experience status incongruence. Therefore, in line with Malewski's fifth proposition, one could assume that those experiencing most status incongruence would be most supportive of change in sex-role ideology in order to change the standards and expectations by which they are negatively evaluated.

**Statement of the Problem**

Assuming that status incongruence theory offers an answer to the question of why some professional women support change in sex-role ideology and others do not support it, the problem to be investigated will be that of determining the relationship between various status variables and support for change in sex-role ideology.

A questionnaire will be used to determine the extent of support for a) various changes in women's roles, b) gender-typing in child rearing, and c) related issues raised by the women's movement; alternative approaches to dealing with sex discrimination—individual or group; and, activities the professional woman has engaged in or might engage in to effect change. The questionnaire will be sent to a random sample of professional women engaged in professions ranging from those traditionally considered most suitable for women to those traditionally considered most suitable for men.

The problem will be investigated in terms of the following hypotheses:

\[ H_1 : \text{Professional women in "male" professions will be more supportive of change in sex-roles than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.} \]
Variables: Independent variable--profession; dependent variable--score on support for change scale /Part I/.

**H₂**: Professional women in the "male" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.

Variables: Independent variable--profession; dependent variable--score on alternative approaches scale /Part II/.

**H₃**: Professional women in the "male" professions will be more action oriented than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.

Variables: Independent variable--profession; dependent variable--score on activities scale /Part III/.

**H₄**: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more supportive of change in sex roles than will women in the "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions.

Variables: Independent variables--"male" or "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions; dependent variable--score on support for change scale /Part I/.

**H₅**: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination than will women
in the "female" areas of specialization within the "male" professions.

Variables: Independent variables--"male" or "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions; dependent variable--score on alternative approaches scale /Part II/.

H₆: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more action oriented than will women in the "female" areas of specialization within the "male" professions. Variables: Independent variables--"male" or "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions; dependent variable--score on activities scale /Part III/.

H₇: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more supportive of change in sex roles than will women in "female" areas of specialization within these professions. Variables: Independent variables--"male" or "female" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions; dependent variable--score on support for change scale /Part I/.

H₈: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex
discrimination than will women in the "female" areas of specialization within these professions.

Variables: Independent variables—"male" or "female" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions; dependent variable—score on alternative approaches scale /Part II/.

\[ H_9: \] Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more action oriented than will women in the "female" areas of specialization within these professions.

Variables: Independent variables—"male" or "female" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions; dependent variable—score on activities scale /Part III/.

\[ H_{10}: \] Status factors other than profession engaged in and area of specialization will have a differential effect on status incongruence and support for change in sex roles.

Variables: Independent variables—age, marital status, hours worked per week, stage in life cycle, career pattern; dependent variable—score on support for change scale /Part IV/.

Definitions of terms used in the foregoing hypotheses are as follows:

Professional women. Those women who have a graduate or professional degree such as the LL.B., M.D., Ph.D., B.S.E., M.S.W. or the
equivalent in experience in a professional area.

"Male," "female," and "intermediate" professions. Using Davis' classification, "male" professions are law, medicine, engineering, business, and the physical sciences; "female" professions are education, the humanities, and the fine arts; and "intermediate" professions are the social sciences, the biological sciences, and "other professions." 4

"Female," and "male" areas of specialization within the professions. Those areas within professions that attract the greatest number of men or women. In medicine the female specializations are general medicine, pediatrics, internal medicine, and psychiatry. 5 All other medical specializations are considered male specializations. In engineering the female specializations are industrial engineering, electrical and electronic engineering, civil engineering, and mechanical engineering. 6 All other specializations will be considered male specializations. In law the female specializations are trust and estate law, tax law, domestic relations, and family law. 7 All other legal


specializations are considered male specializations. In psychology all specializations other than research, writing, and university teaching are female specializations. In social work all specializations other than administrations and university teaching are female specializations. In education elementary teaching is a female specialization and high school teaching is a male specialization. In art no breakdown was available. Therefore, all specializations with the exception of university teaching are considered female specializations.

Support. This will be determined by scores on questionnaire items dealing with women's roles, gender-typing in child rearing, issues raised by the women's movement, and degree of participation in activities to effect change.

Change in sex roles. Role relationships, role position, and role behavior that depart from traditional or stereotyped standards for these dimensions of sex role.

Importance of the Study

That some professional women are working for a redefinition or change in traditional sex-roles is obvious. What is not obvious is the


extent to which professional women support change. Those who have been outspoken either for or against change have captured the attention and interest of the media. But what of the professional woman who is not so outspoken? Does her silence imply support for and belief in the status quo? What is her attitude toward women's roles, gender-typed child rearing, and other issues raised by the women's movement? Is she overtly or covertly supportive of change? Because professional women are often in positions where they could exert considerable influence in bringing about a redefinition of traditional sex roles if they were so inclined, the problem of determining the extent of change supported is of importance.

Studies of professional women have concentrated on career patterns, life styles, and conjugal-role relationships in particular. None were found which addressed themselves to the extent to which professional women support a change in the concept of sex roles as indicated by their attitudes and behaviors. Nor have any studies been found which have identified which professional women support change insofar as marital status, stage in life cycle, education, position in family, political affiliation, and other background variables are concerned.

Research on status incongruence seems to have neglected this aspect of status incongruence, i.e. professional women and their reaction to status incongruence insofar as support for changing sex-role standards by which they are negatively evaluated is concerned. This research should make some contribution to this neglected aspect of status incongruence.

If most professional women are found to support change, this
knowledge can have important implications in many realms of society such as the family, economics, politics, and education. In the economic realm, women's careers may assume more importance than previously and more employers may be compelled to consider women as other than temporary or part-time employees. Husbands' and wives' careers will need to be considered by employers when planning transfers. Career patterns for both sexes may change with more females entering "male" professions and more males entering "female" professions.

In the realm of the family, more women may avoid marriage or seek divorce as careers absorb their interests and dependence on a husband for financial support is no longer necessary. Increasing numbers of men may take a more active role in the home and in child rearing and place less emphasis on a career as they are relieved of the sole responsibility for support of wife and children. If sex-role stereotypes are being dispensed with, perhaps a blurring of sex roles may increase faulty gender identity and personality adjustment since it is believed by some that these stereotypes are necessary for proper gender identity and personality adjustment.

In the political realm, those political parties and politicians who reflect desired changes may find women taking a more active role in their campaigns as well as being more supportive in the voting booth. Politicians may find more women exerting pressure for change and women may become more interested in entering politics and running for office to effect change if it is not forthcoming.

In the realm of education, curriculum changes reflecting new attitudes insofar as women's and men's roles are concerned would be necessary. Guidance counselors and others who work with children and
youth would have to revise their criteria in order to assist in planning more meaningfully for their students' future roles and careers.

Finally, this research may reveal the potential for future growth of the feminist movement. Although professional women are a minority, they are pace setters insofar as modifying traditional sex roles is concerned and findings pertaining to their support for change in sex roles may indicate trends which could spread to other strata of society.

Summary

The question of why some professional women support a change in sex-role ideology and other professional women do not will be studied in terms of status incongruence theory. The problem to be investigated will be that of determining the relationship between various status variables and support for change in sex-role ideology. A questionnaire will be used to assess support for change as reflected by attitudes and behaviors. A random sample of women in various professions will be the subjects of this study. The following chapters will present a review of the related literature, the methodology employed, an analysis of the data, implications of the findings, and suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

The literature on sex roles is vast and diverse with an emphasis on sexual division of labor in group or societal tasks, personality, abilities, or preferences, socialization and interaction, or some combination of these areas. The emphasis of this review of the literature will be limited to those areas which have relevance to the propositions advanced by Malewski and the hypotheses derived from them. See Chapter I. The areas to be covered are as follows: sex-role ideology, professional women, and status incongruence. This review will focus on sex-role ideology as it defines women and their roles, the attitudes of women toward their roles, and the relationship of status incongruence and support for social change.

Sex-Role Ideology

The sex role has been traditionally the most basic of social roles in society. All social roles carry with them a pattern of expected behaviors which are reinforced by society through a system of rewards and punishments. The sex role is no exception. It is a highly generalized role which determines and limits the other roles the individual might aspire to. Sex roles may be viewed in terms of: (1) position—the division of labor by sex in structured groups; (2) behavior—roles defined in terms of personality, abilities, and preferences without
regard to context; and (3) relationship—sex-role learning in the socialization process.\(^1\) Sex-role ideology will be discussed in the following pages in terms of these dimensions.

**Sex Role as Position**

In terms of position, the American cultural configurations—moral values and sentiments believed by the members of society to be necessary to the functioning of society—have been that marriage is a dominating life goal for both men and women, and that family roles should be based on a division of labor by sex, but with the male status superior.\(^2\) According to these values the normal state for adults is the married one, with the husband as the head of the family, its breadwinner, and its representative in the community at large, and with the wife consigned to the roles of mother and homemaker.

Sex roles, as position, are discussed in the literature in terms of Parsonian theory which asserts that the family and society are best served when the man is the breadwinner (instrumental role) and the woman is the homemaker (expressive role). In line with this theory, the man in the marriage is responsible for establishing the status of the family, providing the material resources, and managing the family's relationships with the society at large. The woman in the marriage is responsible for the quality of the relationship, the morale of the family, and the

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necessary chores attendant upon homemaking and child-rearing. What is implicit in the instrumental/expressive model is that any change in roles is seen as role reversal. The wife’s enhancing her role is seen as a threat to or lessening of the husband’s status. Parsons makes this clear in the following statement:

It is of fundamental significance to the sex role structure of the adult age levels that the normal man has a "job" which is fundamental to his social status in general. It is perhaps too much to say that only in very exceptional cases can an adult man be genuinely self-respecting and enjoy a respected status in the eyes of others if he does not "earn a living" in an approved occupational role.

In the case of the feminine role the situation is radically different. The majority of married women, of course, are not employed, but even of those that are a very large proportion do not have jobs which are in basic competition for status with those of their husbands. The majority of "career" women whose occupational status is comparable with that of men in their own class, at least in the upper middle and upper classes, are unmarried, and in the small proportion of cases where they are married the result is a profound alteration in the family structure.

Lest his meaning not be clear, in a footnote to the above statement Parsons implies that the marital instability found in lower social class levels is related to the fact that both husband and wife have jobs of nearly equivalent status.

Kirkpatrick, somewhat more flexible than Parsons, saw three

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different marital roles that women could choose with the "aid" of their husbands: wife-mother, companion, and partner. However, he envisioned these roles being engaged in serially, rather than exclusively although he conceded that in rare cases the latter might occur. The partner role has engaged the interest of writers in the area of marriage and the family, for this role would allow the woman to pursue a career in addition to marriage. Much space in the marital adjustment literature has been and continues to be devoted to counseling the woman who would be foolhardy enough to choose the partner role that "destructive competition" could upset the stability of the marriage, deny the woman the satisfaction of parenthood, cause the woman to doubt her femininity, and finally cause the husband to seek out a less able and more dependent woman to replace his "partner" wife. Woman is, therefore, confined to the wife-mother and later the companion role if she wants to find true fulfillment, be feminine, and keep her husband. Should she choose to work, part-time work is preferable if it does not seriously interfere with household tasks or threaten the husband's status. Thus, the traditional sex roles have been deemed necessary not only to the continuing function of the family, but to the personal adjustment and function of the individual as well.

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The validity of highly generalized traditional sex roles is now being seriously questioned. Betty Friedan struck a responsive chord when she brought popular attention to the dilemma middle-class women faced in trying to find fulfillment in traditional roles which stressed an exclusive devotion to marriage and parenthood—even though the traditional roles required less and less of their time. When women sensed that something was lacking in total commitment to such a restrictive role, the forces of education, psychology, and sociology were brought to bear on them to adjust. The problem was seen not in terms of the role, but rather in terms of the individual. 8

The rationale advanced was that the joys of motherhood would offset any costs that might be associated with the woman's giving up other sources of satisfaction such as a career. However, studies of parenthood do not necessarily confirm such expectations. Rossi argued that for the first time in history motherhood had become a full-time job for women when it could become a part-time job for a short part of a woman's life span, for decreases in the infant mortality rate, increased longevity, and improved family planning methods have lessened the years needed for child bearing and child care. 9 Laws, in reviewing these studies, found that children in marriage do not necessarily make for satisfaction. 10


Studies have revealed that marital satisfaction declined for wives with the advent of children, leveled off when the children entered school, and began to increase again as the children left home. Interestingly enough, while society was decreeing that child bearing was woman's most important role, it did not afford her a progressively higher status as she had more children. 11

Children, too, were to benefit from the full-time mother role. Curiously, the importance of the father role was played down and exclusive devotion to the occupational role was thereby reinforced. Much of the literature was devoted to the effects of maternal employment on the child because it was assumed that maternal employment was detrimental to the child. What emerged from such studies was evidence that maternal employment is not detrimental and, in fact, may create greater achievement motivation, independence, and self-esteem in children. 12

Hoffman found that when women had a positive attitude toward their employment, there was more positive affect for the child and that juvenile delinquency—which was assumed to be caused by maternal employment—showed no relationship to maternal employment when social class and broken homes

11 Ibid.

were controlled for. Sexton made a telling case for women whose sole outlet for their energies was full-time motherhood as being detrimental to the children, especially to males. Finally, Walters and Stinnett, in their review of research on parent-child relationships conclude that while mother-child relationships occupy a vast portion of the literature, the influence of fathers is of considerable importance, in fact, evidence suggests that "the variability of children's behaviors is more closely associated with the type of father one has than the type of mother."  

Attitudes toward sex-role as position. That women do not find complete fulfillment in the traditional roles would seem to be reflected in their increased participation in the labor force where every third worker is a woman. Married women with husband present make up 37 percent of women workers and working mothers comprise 38 percent of women in the labor force. While almost half of the married women in a survey conducted by the U. S. Department of Labor in 1964 gave economic necessity as their reason for working, two fifths listed social or psychological reasons or the desire to earn extra money.


It is significant that the more education a woman acquires, the more likely she is to seek paid employment, irrespective of her financial status. The educated woman desires to contribute her skills and talents to the economy not only for the financial rewards, but even more to reap the psychic rewards that come from achievement and recognition and service to society.\textsuperscript{17}

Since 1947, the rate of female participation in the labor force has increased 11 per cent. In 1969, 42.7 per cent of the female population 16 years of age and over were in the labor force—the largest increase has been in women over 45 entering the labor force, and if the present trend continues, 50 per cent of the adult female population will be in the labor force by 1985.\textsuperscript{18}

Studies of college educated women reveal that they are contemplating a less restrictive role than that of the traditional housewife. Angrist found in a longitudinal study of women college students that while there were shifts in aspiration, most of the women in the study planned to incorporate work and marriage at some stages in their adult life. Family exigencies would dictate how much work and at what stage she would fit work into her life. The majority of women had a work orientation rather than a potent career orientation. Regardless of orientation, however, these women saw women's roles as more flexible and less restrictive than the traditional roles.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 9.


Epstein and Bronzaft studied 1063 college women as to their future plans for marriage, family, and career to determine how these women saw their roles as women. They found that "A clear plurality looks forward to having it all: career, marriage, and children." These women rejected the traditional role of housewife-mother as being one of complete fulfillment and anticipated more flexible roles. While rejection of the traditional role has been a phenomenon of the middle- and upper-classes, this study showed the same rejection of the traditional role by the working- and lower-middle classes.

Klemmack and Edwards found similar results in their study of women college students' occupational aspirations. Rather than an either/or conception of women's roles, their subjects saw a compatibility between the work role and the wife role. Seventy-seven per cent intended to work after college and 99 per cent intended to marry. Of those who intended to work after college, approximately half showed a preference for non-feminine or male occupations.

That college women are not merely contemplating combining a work role with marriage but are actually doing so is born out in studies of college graduates and career oriented women. Hartley in a survey of

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college graduates, found that 90 per cent of women with children under six years of age and 80 per cent of those with no children were working. Paloma and Garland's study of professional women showed that they tended to work until the birth of the first child at which time they interrupted their careers until the children were older and then resumed their careers. During this hiatus, they may keep active in part-time employment.

Three career patterns have been found for women: (1) conventional—wherein woman drops career at marriage or arrival of first child and does not intend to resume it; (2) interrupted—wherein woman drops career when children are young but intends to resume career later; and, (3) continuous—wherein woman interrupts career only minimally or not at all even though she has children. Career commitment was associated with the woman's attitude toward the right of women to self determination and the woman's perception of the husband's attitude toward her role.


Hartley's study revealed that only 4 per cent of the husbands were opposed to their wives working. Fogarty, et al, and Arnott found that the husband's commitment to the idea of careers for women sets an environment of norms and attitudes which influences the women in their choices about whether or not to work and how much to continue working. Wives of husbands with a high commitment to women's careers work more frequently than do the wives of husbands with a low commitment to women's careers.

Despite the increased participation of women in the labor force, the increased contemplation of college women combining career and marriage, and some relaxation of sex-role standards as they concern position, neither role—careerist nor housewife—has universal sanction in American culture. This ambiguity concerning female roles is reflected in studies which show little support from women for radical changes in the female role.

Fogarty, et al, found that commitment, or orientation to women having careers, shows three clear positions: (1) non-commitment—where the woman is quite happy to accept the housewife roles and returns to work, if at all, only when it is convenient to all concerned to do so; (2) secondary commitment—where the woman desires a career but accepts


26 Hartley, "American Core Culture," p. 129.

27 Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, Sex, Career and Family, p. 296; and Arnott, "Husbands' Attitude," pp. 682-683.
the fact that her career must be secondary to the requirements of her husband's career and while she definitely plans to return to work, will do so only when the probabilities of conflict between child-rearing and husband's career are minimized; and (3) full commitment—where the woman feels that women should pursue careers with the same involvement as their husbands and that in conflict situations solutions should be worked out in a manner that gives equal priority to both parties rather than automatic male priority. The latter is a minority position, however. The largest group of women with children in this study fell into a position between non-commitment and secondary commitment. These women expressed much ambivalent feeling about whether they thought women really should have a career at all, as distinct from just having a job when convenient or doing voluntary activities. 28

The college women in Gump's study thought that the feminine role that was most acceptable was one that attested the "importance and feasibility of assuming the roles of wife and mother, while concommitantly pursuing careers which would gratify needs for self-realization and achievement." 29 While they did not see the traditional role of wife and mother offering complete fulfillment, they offered no radical alternatives to the traditional view. 30

Paloma and Garland's data support Fogarty, et al, regarding

28 Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, Sex Career and Family, p. 295.
women's attitudes to their traditional roles:

Most of the women in our sample (especially those with children) did not want "career" responsibilities. The priority of the wife and mother role over professional obligations was expressed over and over in differing ways by the majority of the respondents. 31

Where a less traditional attitude toward sex roles has been found, social class--education and occupation--and maternal employment have been factors. Rainwater studied the role relationships of couples and found three types of role-relationships and that these relationships varied with social class. The three types of role-relationships are as follows:

(1) Joint conjugal role-relationship. Sharing or interchangeability of roles typifies this relationship. In carrying out task performances as well as recreation, there is a minimum of task differentiation and separation of interest. The value of sharing is stressed by these couples and even when the husband is primarily the breadwinner and the wife is the homemaker, they are interested in and sympathetic to the other in his or her assigned task.

(2) Segregated conjugal role-relationship. A formal division of labor based on sex rather than a sharing or interchangeability of roles typifies this relationship. "Togetherness" is not highly valued and they spend their leisure time apart among separate friends. There is little sympathy

or identification with the other's concerns or activities.

(3) Intermediate conjugal role relationships. This relationship is neither highly segregated nor jointly organized. The statuses of "husband," "wife," "father," and "mother" are important to the functioning of the family, although fathers in this group want to be more involved in the parental role than do fathers in the segregated role relationships. 32

Rainwater found that 88 per cent of the upper-middle class have joint relationships whereas none or very few of the lower class have them. On the other hand, 72 per cent of the lower-lower class have segregated relationships whereas none of the lower-middle or upper-middle classes have them. The intermediate relationship is characteristic of the lower-middle class and the upper-lower class. 33

Komarovsky's study of blue-collar or working class marriage supported many of the generalizations concerning kinds of conjugal role-relationships found in the various social classes. Division of labor presented few problems for the couples in this study because both men and women accepted the traditional segregation of feminine and masculine tasks. Both in ideology and in practice these couples were

33Ibid., p. 277.
traditional.  

Intricately intertwined with the role relationships in marriage is the issue of who makes the decisions or who has the power. While there is general agreement among writers on the family that the American family has evolved from a patriarchal family to a more democratic form of family, studies have shown that there are class differences in the decision making powers or authority of the marriage partners.

Blood and Wolfe's classic study of decision making revealed that the higher the husband was on the social scale, the greater his power in decision making; suburban husbands were more dominant than urban husbands; and, that when working wives were considered, these wives had more power than did non-working wives regardless of class. Further, they found that in the childless stage of the marriage a more equalitarian relationship existed with the husband sharing in the household tasks. With the birth of the first child, which lessens the wife's options and increases the power of the husband, the extra work was absorbed by the wife and a more traditional marriage model became evident. Husbands took decreasing responsibility for household tasks until the birth of the fourth child when they began to resume these tasks.  

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Rainwater found that in the middle class an effort was made to achieve some kind of equality or at least to give the appearance of equality so that neither spouse lost "face." When no such effort is made within the middle class, the husband tends to hold the authority. This is especially true of the upper-middle class where the power ratio is 3 to 1 in favor of the husband. The lower classes make less of an effort to achieve equality in decision making and in the lower-lower class, there is a tendency for wives to hold the authority. This seems to be more a case of the husband's default than of the wife's design.\textsuperscript{36}

McKinley studied decision making along Parsons' instrumental expressive lines and found that the father more often made instrumental decisions at all class levels with a slight shift in favor of the mother in the lower class. The mother more often made expressive decisions at all levels.\textsuperscript{37} Komarovsky found that in the blue-collar class education was more important than income and social status in determining who had the power. Men who had married "up," that is married women who were better educated than they, seemed to lose power.\textsuperscript{38}

Heiss, in reviewing the literature on decision making in the family, concluded that males in the middle class have a slight superiority in decision making, especially concerning financial matters, but


\textsuperscript{38} Komarovsky, Blue-Collar Marriage, p. 229.


Feminine characteristics are:

Dependence, passivity, fragility, low pain tolerance, non-aggression, noncompetitiveness, inner orientation, interpersonal orientation, empathy, sensitivity, nuturance, subjectivity, intuitiveness, yieldingness, receptivity, inability to risk, emotional liability, supportiveness.40

Broverman, et al, studied 982 subjects comprised of married and single men and women ranging in age from 17 to 60 years and in education from elementary school level to advanced graduate degree level, as to their perception of the differing characteristics of men and women. The questionnaire employed listed the characteristics which are associated with the average man and average woman and the subjects were to indicate which characteristics were those of an adult man and which those of an adult woman. There was high agreement among as to which characteristics were descriptive of women and which were descriptive of men. Age, sex, religion, educational level, and marital status did not have any effect on these perceptions. Thus, Broverman, et al, concluded that sex-role stereotypes are pervasive in American society, that stereotypical conceptions of sex roles are held by large and relatively varied samples of the population, and most importantly, these stereotypes with both their positive and negative aspects are incorporated in the self-concepts of both men and women.41


While Broverman's study indicated that both men and women held stereotyped conceptions of sex roles, other studies indicate that men perceive women's roles differently than women think men perceive them. Steinman and Fox in two separate studies found that women significantly differed from men in their perceptions of man's ideal woman. Women perceived men as desiring a woman who would perform the traditional, subservient, wife-mother, homemaker role. Steinman, et al, studied men's expectation concerning the father role and women's perceptions of male expectations concerning the father role. They found results similar to those of Steinman and Fox: "Women attributed to men far too little interest in helping wives with housework and child care and too little interest in children during infancy." They concluded that if such misperceptions were as pervasive as their data suggested, women were placing themselves in a self-imposed double bind. In a study involving only college women Steinman, et al, found that "women perceive themselves and their ideal woman as essentially alike, with equal components of passive and active orientation, but they perceive man's ideal woman as significantly more passive and accepting of a subordinate role in both personal development and place in the familial


structure."  

Other studies have found that maternal employment is associated with sex-role perceptions. Hartley found in studying children's sex-role concepts that both boys and girls had a less restrictive view of their future roles when their mothers were engaged in outside employment. Vogel, et al., found that maternal employment was associated with significantly smaller perceptual differences in male and female roles and that the women's perceptions of sex roles were more strongly influenced by this variable than were the men's perceptions. Women with employed mothers saw the masculine role as less masculine and the feminine role as less feminine than did women whose mothers had not been employed. Not only did maternal employment tend to "raise the estimation of one's own sex with respect to those characteristics that are seen as socially desirable for the opposite sex" but it also tends to make women with employed mothers see women as more competent and men as warmer and more expressive than do women with homemaker mothers.

Sex-Roles as Relationship

Men and women are socialized differentially as to sex-role expectations. This process begins in infancy and begins the shaping of

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those characteristics that are considered masculine or feminine.

Hoffman states in reviewing child development literature:

There are sex differences in both maternal and infant behavior during the first year of life. That sex role learning is begun so early should not be surprising. Sex is a primary status—the first one announced at birth. The mother is very much aware of it. Her early behaviors toward the infant are not deliberate efforts to teach the child his proper sex role, but she has internalized society's view and acts accordingly. She acts toward her son as though he were sturdy and active and she is more likely to show pleasure when his behavior fits this image. Her daughter is her doll—sweet and delicate and pink. The mother's behavior reflects this perception, and if the child exhibits behavior consistent with the female stereotype, such as dependency, she is not as likely to discourage it as she would with a son.48

This process which begins in infancy continues to mold men and women to cultural images through childhood, adolescence, and into adulthood.

Role models are important in the socialization process for it is in observing men and women in their roles that the young boy or girl finds examples to follow. In early childhood parents serve as models. However, since both boys and girls are with their mothers for more hours of the day than they are with their fathers, a different kind of learning is required for boys than for girls. As Lynn states "...the father, as a model for the boy, is analogous to a map showing the major outline but lacking most details, whereas the mother, as a model for the girl, might be thought of as a detailed map." While both

48 Lois Wladis Hoffman, "Early Childhood Experiences and Women's Achievement Motives," *Journal of Social Issues* 28, no. 2 (1972); 141

sexes tend to identify with the mother, boys are punished for signs of femininity and, therefore, they tend to identify with a culturally defined masculine role. Girls do not have to shift from identification with the mother and through imitation and reinforcement of mother-similar behavior they learn their sex-role identification.

The little girl acquires a learning method which primarily involves (a) a personal relationship and (b) imitation rather than restructuring the field and abstracting principles. On the other hand, the little boy acquires a different learning method which primarily involves (a) defining the goal, (b) restructuring the field, and (c) abstracting principles. Lynn believes that these different modes of learning may be responsible for the sex differences in skills and abilities reported in the literature.

As children grow older they come into contact with persons other than their parents who serve as models. Girls, however, have few opportunities to see women in roles other than that of mother and housewife. Betty Friedan decried this lack of models when she was growing up:

The only other kind of women I knew, other than housewives, growing up, were the old-maid high-school teachers; the librarian; the one woman doctor in our town, who cut her hair like a man; and a few of my college professors. . . . Many had not married or had children. I dreaded being like them. . . . I never knew a woman, when I was growing up, who used her mind, played her own part in the world, and also loved, and had children.

As Hartley and others have pointed out, maternal employment

50Ibid., p. 50.

51Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, pp. 67-68.
is influential in shaping sex role expectations primarily because where the mother shows that other roles can be combined successfully, she serves as a model for new role patterns. Contact with faculty who were committed to the idea of careers for women and contact with occupational role models in the work situation were mentioned as being very influential by women who had a long term commitment to a career. For non-career oriented women who had limited contact with career role models, the family was mentioned as being most influential in their stressing the importance of the wife-mother role over the career role.

For women, the importance of role models lies in their explication of a life style which incorporated work with family life. Occupational choice alone may be a temporary or changeable matter for a girl, but commitment to an adult life which includes work necessitates some notion of what such a life may be like. Adult career women, either as working mothers, female teachers, or acquaintances in a given occupation, can serve as models of this life style.

Theoretically, many possible roles are open to women since equality is basic to American ideology. However, ambiguity in the socialization of women presents them with contradictory role expectations. In school the girl is required to study, learn, and compete with boys. She is encouraged to perform at her optimum level. However, in adolescence she begins to get the message that such behavior

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54 Ibid., p. 277.
is not feminine and that it threatens and discourages the attention of boys. Since marriage and children comprise the primary goal for women, she is faced with contradictory expectations, for if she decides to excel in school and prepare for a career, she is in danger of losing her femininity.  

However, the situation for women is not clearly one of "either/or," for there is also a message to work. In looking at the changing image of women, Helson noted that:

... What the 1950s and 1960s consolidated was the idea of the woman who, though married and the mother of children, might still work as the family required it, or on a second-priority basis, to fulfill herself and contribute to society.  

For a growing majority of women "educational attainment and work represent an extension or expansion of their role repertoire."  

Thus, while the socialization of women places its major emphasis on preparation for the housewife-mother role, other forces are at work to socialize the woman to look upon work as a contingency rather than as a career.  

This attitude is reflected in the studies

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57 Klemmack and Edwards, "Women's Acquisition of Stereotyped Occupational Aspirations," p. 511.  
previously cited by Angrist and others. In discussing the contradictory role prescriptions which our culture presents to young women, Sanford states:

She must by all means be glamorous and stunningly attractive to men (which is to be achieved through a narcissistic preoccupation with her physical attributes), but she must be a practical and devoted mother. She must prepare herself for challenging and important work—to be begun after the children have grown up sufficiently—but she must be prepared at all times to accommodate herself to her husband's career plans.

Thus, the primary contingency for women is marriage and motherhood with work or career as a secondary contingency, but even in the latter case, sex role ideology exerts its influence.

Professional Women

Sex-role ideology and stereotyping exert their influence on occupational roles as they do on familial roles. Therefore, the careers that women are to anticipate and follow are usually those that are "social-emotional, nurturant, and person centered," that is, those careers or professions that are extensions of the traditional role functions of the female. While the housewife-mother role is considered more appropriate than working outside the home, work outside the

59 Angrist, "Changes in Women's Work," pp. 8-10; Epstein and Bronzaft, "Female Freshmen View Their Roles," p. 672; and Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, Sex, Career and Family, p. 375.


home has been defined as appropriate under certain conditions and in certain stages in the life cycle. As Pavalko states:

... A few occupations—teaching, nursing, social work, librarianship—have been defined as appropriate occupations for women. Pursuing a career in the professions or in business occupations has clearly been defined as not only inappropriate but actually deviant activities as far as women are concerned.

The woman who pursues a professional career, even though a wife and mother, is considered deviant because the qualities or characteristics associated with professional activities and expertise are those that are associated with the male stereotype. Therefore, for a woman to succeed in the professions, especially those which have traditionally been considered appropriate for males, she must exhibit those traits which are considered appropriate for males. According to Broverman, et al, "the masculine traits form a cluster of related behaviors which entail competence, rationality, and assertion; ... feminine traits form a cluster which reflects warmth and expressiveness." The successful professional woman who exhibits these traits is not praised for possessing them, but rather is "put down" for being un-feminine or even more pejoratively for being a "castrating female."


Thus, the invidious influence or sex-role stereotyping places the professional woman in an awkward position in that she must possess masculine traits if she is to be successful, but she must exhibit feminine traits if she seeks social approval.

Moreover, an element of evaluation is present in sex-role stereotypes. That is, certain traits are more highly valued than are others. Sex-role stereotypes assign more of the negative traits (traits devalued in our culture) to women and more of the positive traits (traits valued by our culture) to men. Thus, both men and women tend to see women as less capable than men. Goldberg vividly demonstrated that women are prejudiced against women. In his study he gave identical articles--some with a man's name affixed to them and others with a woman's name affixed to them--to college women to evaluate. The articles with the man's name affixed were consistently judged as more valuable and the author more competent than were the identical articles which had a woman's name affixed to them.

Oppenheimer, in investigating the persistence of sex-labeling of jobs, suggests that whether or not sex-linked traits are proven, the belief that they exist is a powerful influence on the employer. Thus, certain jobs tend to be automatically closed to women on the

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basis of a belief that men have the necessary traits but women do not. She further suggests that factors other than prejudice or discrimination operate to perpetuate the sex-labeling of jobs: lack of continuity in women's careers; lack of geographic mobility; and lack of commitment to work. For example, the traditional female professions, according to Oppenheimer—nursing, teaching, and librarianship—do not require the extensive training or preparation involved in some of the other professions; the lack of geographic mobility is not a serious handicap; and, career continuity is not essential. Whereas, in the predominantly male professions such as law, medicine, architecture, and engineering, the opposite is the case. Thus, sex-role ideology both in terms of stereotyping and role prescriptions has its effect on women in the market place.

According to the U. S. Department of Labor, women comprise 39 per cent of the labor force, which is 45 per cent of women in the population 16 years of age and over. Three out of five women workers were married, with the husband present. From 1940 to 1969 women increased their participation in the labor force by 11 per cent; yet,

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68 Ibid., pp. 230-233.

their representation in the professions has declined. Whereas their share of professional and technical positions in 1940 was 45 per cent, in 1969 their share declined to 37 per cent despite their overall increase of 11 per cent in employment during the same period.\(^70\) In 1968 the percentage of women in the leading professions was as follows: engineers, 1%; lawyers, 3%; physicians, 7%; and, scientists, 9%.\(^71\) Thus, Koontz concludes that "The barriers are still high against employing women in professions other than those traditionally associated with women, and many of the myths regarding women's ability to hold administrative and managerial positions still prevail."\(^72\) The implication of the Department of Labor Publications is that employers are the prime discriminators; however, other researchers see women themselves as being instrumental in their limited participations in the professions.

Gwartney and Stroup, in studying sex discrimination in employment, examined income differences in terms of employee preferences. Married females received the lowest money income. While these researchers did not completely rule out employer discrimination, they concluded that "many women take household responsibilities as given and plan any


\(^71\)Ibid., p. 11.

market work around those responsibilities."\(^{73}\) Therefore, they select
or prefer jobs in fields such as secretarial work, nursing, and teaching,
where "credential are transportable and work opportunities are
locationally disperse."\(^{74}\) Thus, employers are likely to use sex as a
deciding factor--based on the average work model of the married woman--
and individual females will be discriminated against because they are
assumed to be similar to other females. Paloma and Garland also see
inequality in employment as a result of women's acceptance of their
traditional role. They state:

> Discrimination does exist and is widespread, but it is a
complex phenomenon intricately interwoven with the social-
ization process. . . . part of the difficulty (although

certainly not all) which women face in employment is due
to their socialization for and acceptance of a tradition-
ally feminine role revolving around marriage and mother-
hood.\(^{75}\)

Sex-typing in the professions has shown little change despite
the increased participation of women in the labor force. Gross, in
studying sex segregation in occupations, concluded that "there is as much
sexual segregation now as there was some sixty years ago."\(^{76}\)
His analysis of census data suggested certain trends: (1) male occupa-

\(^{73}\) James Gwartney and Richard Stroup, "Measurement of Employment
Discrimination According to Sex," *Southern Economic Journal* 39 (April

\(^{74}\) Ibid., p. 578.

\(^{75}\) Paloma and Garland, "The Married Professional Woman," p. 539.

\(^{76}\) Edward Gross, "Plus Ca Change . . . ? The Sexual Structure of
tions have become more segregative; female occupations have become less segregative; and, (3) when females invade male occupations they tend to take them over. 77

... A major form that segregation takes is stratificational, where men become the supervisors, or take over the more prestigious forms of the occupations which may have the same name for males or females. 78

Stratificational segregation has been noted in various professions. In social work, males are twice as likely to hold administrative positions as women; men hold over 70 per cent of the professorships in schools of social work; and, males predominate in social work publications. 79 In law women tend to work in the areas of trusts and estates, tax law, and domestic relations—areas which have relatively low status according to Epstein. 80 In medicine, the majority of women specialize in pediatrics, psychiatry, internal medicine, and general practice. 81 In engineering, the majority of women are found working in industrial engineering, electrical and electronic engineering, civil engineering,

77Ibid., pp. 48-49. 78Ibid., p. 48.


and mechanical engineering. In psychology, women tend to be engaged as practitioners and men as researchers and writers. In teaching, women overwhelmingly outnumber men in kindergarten, primary, and elementary teaching; whereas, men outnumber women in secondary teaching.

Epstein notes that sex typing is a reflection of sex ranking. Since males are ranked higher than females in the ranking of the sexes, males get the highest ranking jobs. This is especially the case in the most prestigious professions. When women enter the male professions, they tend to be in the specialties or subfields that are "less prestigious and less remunerative." One consequence of sex typing occupations is that "As long as certain occupations are defined as male, women who seek entry to them will be defined as social deviants and subjected to social sanctions." Thus, women will tend to seek occupations or professions that are more compatible with women's traditional roles and reinforce the belief that "the female status and professional status are mutually exclusive."

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85 Epstein, Woman's Place, p. 84.

86 Ibid., p. 85. 87 Ibid., p. 86.
Most studies dealing with professional or career women have concentrated primarily on career patterns, life styles, conjugal-role or barriers that career women encounter in pursuing a career, for example; but, they have neglected to address themselves to the question of whether or not professional women support a change in the sex-role ideology which hinders them. There have, however, been studies to discover the extent to which males and females support the women's liberation movement. These studies reveal that the most favorable attitudes towards the women's liberation movement were held by married women, single women, single men, and married men, in that order. Whether active in the movement or not, most women were sympathetic to the majority of issues of women's liberation; however, those issues dealing with child care, household tasks, and "breadwinning" necessities outside the home were emphasized only by women active in the movement. The most salient difference between movement and non-movement women was their family background—religion, political orientation, and their orientation toward political activism. Arnott found feminists to be younger, less interested in religion, more educated, more apt to be married to

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professional men, and more apt to be studying for careers than were members of anti-feminist groups. Feminists had fewer children, did not permit motherhood to interfere with careers, and advocated excellent child-care centers staffed by men as well as women. 90 Sanger and Alker found that movement women felt they were oppressed by powerful societal forces as a class and that these forces could only be overcome by a collective, social action. Non-movement women believed that a personal approach was better or else believed that the problem was insoluble. 91

**Status Incongruence**

Status and role are often used interchangeably in the literature. There are, however, distinctions between the two terms. Status is determined by a positive or negative evaluation of "honor" which "may be connected with any quality shared by a plurality." 92 Status honor is manifested in the life style of the individual or status group. Status is linked with role in that status and role are both aspects of social position. Status is enacted through role. Thus, status is the static aspect of social position and role is the dynamic aspect of social position. Each status is associated with a role; and, each role carries

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90 Catherine Arnott, "Feminists and Anti-Feminists as 'True Believers,'" *Sociology and Social Research* 57 (April 1973): 303-305.


with it certain obligations and expectations associated with its enactment.

Each individual carries numerous statuses which reflect and shape his or her life. Moreover, these statuses tend to be associated with or linked to others and to form clusters—wife, mother, and homemaker for example. Cultural preferences and expectations influence which statuses may combine or cluster. That is, culture may deem certain combinations or clusters of statuses as appropriate and others as inappropriate. When certain statuses cluster and it is considered appropriate that they do so, status-set typing has taken place. 93

Status-set typing can have important consequences for the individual since statuses may be achieved or ascribed. Ascribed statuses are usually associated with immutable characteristics of the individual such as age, race, or sex. Ascribed statuses often determine the course of an individual's life and the other statuses he or she may earn or achieve. The totality of statuses of the individual is referred to as a status set. The ascribed status of an individual often becomes the salient or dominant status in his or her status set which limits or facilitates the acquisition of other statuses. Thus, the sex status of female is often a salient status.

 Hughes raised the issue of achieved status versus ascribed status insofar as contradictions in status are concerned. He discusses the complex of auxiliary characteristics that grow up about a status and how these auxiliary characteristics affect our expectations regarding a

particular status. In a mobile society these expectations are violated and create contradictions and dilemmas of status, e.g. the Negro physician or woman business executive create such contradictions and dilemmas both for the holder of such a status and for those who interact with such an individual. To avoid conflicting or contradictory expectations, the holder of a contradictory status may tend to see himself as differing from others of his race or sex. Another solution is segregation or isolation from troublesome situations. Thus, the Negro physician may practice in a Negro hospital. For women, however, separate systems are less likely to develop. Thus, they will be limited in their status by the number of persons in their group who will accept their service. Therefore, they will tend to monopolize such functions with reference to their own group; or they will seek those areas of practice where they are less likely to meet troublesome expectations.94 Lenski studied the problem of achieved status versus ascribed status using education, occupation, income, and ethnicity as variables. He hypothesized that individuals with contradictions in status would differ in their political attitudes and behaviors from individuals with no contradictions in status. He found support for the hypothesis and suggested that persons with contradictory statuses or a low degree of status congruence might not only support social change, but provide a potential

source of leadership for social change. 95

Kenkel studied the relationship between status inconsistency and politico-economic attitudes and found no support for Lenski's hypothesis. However, he did not use ethnicity as one of his variables. He used as variables education, occupation, dwelling rental value, and dwelling area prestige. 96 Goffman found some support for a relationship between status inconsistency and preference for change in the distribution of power, using education, occupation, income, and age as variables. 97

Studies of status inconsistency and its relationship to political attitudes and/or social change seem to have been neglected since these early studies. Instead, status inconsistency has been studied in relation to other areas such as mental and physical health, educational aspiration, or career success. 98 Another area of the status inconsist-


ency literature is concerned with methodology. Meyer and Hammond discuss the various forms status inconsistency may take and the difficulty of interpretation. Hyman raises methodological questions concerning the use of an individual's rank on two status dimensions—occupation and wealth—to determine status inconsistency. The problem according to Hyman is one of identification. That is, is the inconsistency a result of high-low inconsistency, low-high inconsistency, or both? Blalock tackles the identification problem and concludes that identification may be achieved by making a priori assumptions regarding the direction of the main effects or assuming a one-way causation, as ambiguous as this may be in many instances. Kasl argues that not just a global status inconsistency effect, but the direction of the inconsistency should be noted as well in studies of status inconsistency. Further, he argues that inconsistency "should be viewed as a departure from the norms characterizing the respondent's own reference group, rather than as a departure from national norms."  


While articles on status inconsistency mention the contradictions in status that may be brought about by different rankings on achieved and ascribed statuses, no studies have dealt with this dimension of status incongruence as it concerns professional women and support for change in sex-role ideology. This study will concern itself with that problem.

Summary

Sex-role ideology dictates not only the roles that may be engaged in by men and women in our society but the expectations for these roles as well. While sex roles have become somewhat more flexible, the male role is still seen primarily as that of bread winner. The female role, however, is less certain. Although the women's primary role is still that of wife-mother-homemaker, she may also take on an occupational role. Many women anticipate combining their primary role with a career. However, since sex-role ideology carries over into the occupational sphere, they are limited as to what fields they may pursue without being labeled deviant. Furthermore, sex-role stereotyping labels those qualities that are needed for success in careers that are not extensions of the traditional female role as masculine. Thus, for a woman to be successful in a profession, especially those which are considered male professions, she must exhibit masculine traits, but risks social disapproval for doing so.

Status is enacted through role. However, status may be achieved or ascribed. Ascribed status is often the salient status. The sex status of female is an ascribed status and is a lower status than the sex status of male. Individuals with a high achieved status and low
ascribed status are said to be status inconsistent or status incongruent. Status incongruence has been found by some researchers to be associated with support for social change; yet, no research has been done in the area of status incongruence in professional women and support for change in sex-role ideology.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to investigate the extent to which professional women support change in sex-role ideology, the means by which sex discrimination could best be overcome, and the activities engaged in or willing to engage in to end sexism. Data were to be gathered by means of a questionnaire to be mailed to a random sample of professional women.

It was hypothesized that women in the "male" professions would be more supportive of change in sex-role ideology, more inclined toward a collective approach for ending sex discrimination, and more action-oriented than women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions, based on status incongruence theory. Similarly, women in the "male" specializations of the professions would be more supportive of change in sex-role ideology, more inclined toward a collective approach for ending sex discrimination, and more action-oriented than women in "female" specializations. While the literature makes mention of "male" and "female" professions, they are variously defined.¹ This study utilized Davis' classification of professional areas since it provided a more complete classification system. Davis provided three major classifications of professional areas as follows:

1. "Male" professions—law, medicine, engineering, business, and the physical sciences.
2. "Intermediate" professions—social sciences, biological sciences, and "other professions."
3. "Female" professions—education, the humanities, and fine arts.²

Sample Selection

In line with Davis' classification scheme, a random, stratified sample was drawn for professions in each of these categories. The Encyclopedia of Organizations was used to select professional organizations that could be used in this study.³ Since this research was to be on female subjects, organizations were chosen on the basis of total membership and sexual composition of the membership. Those organizations which seemed to meet these criteria were contacted by telephone to determine whether there was a breakdown of membership according to sex so that some idea of the size of female membership could be determined. If the organization met these criteria, a letter was written to determine whether it would participate in this research by providing a mailing list or directory from which a random sample could be drawn. See letter in Appendix A.

One difficulty encountered in obtaining the necessary populations

was that unless the organization was a women's organization, there was no breakdown of membership by sex. Therefore, selection was limited to those organizations where the sexual composition of membership was known or could be fairly accurately estimated. Secondly, the formula used to determine sample size resulted in such large samples, that populations had to be chosen that were not too large, i.e., over 1500.

Thirdly, in selecting women's organizations, care had to be exercised to exclude those organizations known to be formed to end sexism either within the profession or society in general. For example, the Association for Women in Psychology was formed in response to the women's movement and the sexism believed to be inherent in the profession. Every effort was made to exclude such organizations from this study in order not to bias the results. Finally, selection of organizations was limited by the lack of cooperation of organizations in providing a directory or mailing list, or the availability of organizational directories in local libraries.

The following populations for whom directories or mailing lists were available to the writer were used in this study:

Representing "Male" professions:

American Medical Women's Association (National Membership)
Society of Women Engineers (National Membership)
Women's Bar Association of Illinois (State Membership)

Representing "Intermediate" professions:

American Psychological Association (State Membership)
National Association of Social Workers (State Membership)

Representing "female" professions:

Community Consolidated School District 15, Palatine, Illinois (Local Membership)
National Association of Women Artists (National Membership)
From each of these populations a random sample was drawn by assigning a number to each name listed and using a table of random numbers to select subjects for the desired sample size.

The total sample size was determined to insure sufficient precision so that less than one per cent error would occur 99 per cent of the time. The sample size was such that even in the worst situation, where $P = .5$ and $Q = .5$ in response to each question, the above precision was insured. The following formula, based on Cochran,\(^4\) was used:

$$n = \frac{z^2PQ}{d^2} \left/ \left(1 + \frac{1}{N}\right) \left(\frac{z^2PQ}{d^2} - 1\right)\right.$$  

where $n =$ sample size needed; $N =$ number in population strata;  
$z =$ area of normal curve for 99 per cent confidence level;  
$P =$ proportion responding to item correctly; $Q = 1 - P;  
$and, $d =$ difference between estimated $P$ and actual $P$ desired.  

Because of differences in the total membership figures of the organizations used, the above formula was used to determine the total sample size needed and proportions based on the individual membership figures were used for drawing the subsamples. See Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of Total N</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Medical Women's Association</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Consolidated School District 15</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Psychological Association</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Social Workers</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>32.08</td>
<td>1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Women Artists</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>14.76</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of Women Engineers</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>18.16</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township High School District 211</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Bar Association of Illinois</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4323</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>3432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cochran's formula yielded a total sample size of 3432 based on a total N of 4323. Every effort was made to exclude students and males from the populations before the samples were drawn. Therefore, the Ns are smaller than membership figures would indicate. For example, the Illinois membership of the National Association of Social Workers is approximately 3300. This figure includes males, females, and students. In determining the population for NASW only those members with female names and certification were included. While this effectively excluded students, a few males were inadvertently included in the population. In using the directory of the American Psychological Association, only those members with female names and at least a master's degree were included unless "Student" was indicated. In the latter event that member was not included in the population. As was the case with social workers, a few males were inadvertently included in the population. No such problems were presented by the other populations for the lists or directories.
contained only female names and where the member was a student, this was clearly indicated. The total sample for this study was 3432 subjects.

**Questionnaire Development**

A four-part questionnaire was developed for use in this study. A search of the literature indicated that no ready-made instrument existed that included all of the dimensions the writer wanted to investigate. Therefore, it was necessary to incorporate items that coincided with the dimensions of interest from instruments available and to construct items for those dimensions where instruments were not available.

Part I of the questionnaire dealt with attitudes toward women's roles, sex-typing in child rearing, and issues raised by the women's movement. Ten items dealing with women's roles were selected from the short version of the "Attitudes toward Women Scale" developed by Spence and Helmreich. Ten items dealing with sex-typing in child rearing were developed from suggested areas in the literature and from a questionnaire used in a survey by Redbook magazine. Ten items dealing with issues raised by the women's movement were developed from areas suggested in the

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The number of items contained in the final version of Part I of the questionnaire was 30, and formed a Likert-type scale.

Part II of the questionnaire dealt with alternative approaches toward ending sex discrimination. That is, whether the respondent felt an individual or collective approach was better in eliminating sex discrimination. Ten, forced-choice items modeled after the racial items used by Gurin, et al, and suggested in Sanger and Alker, were used for this dimension.

Part III of the questionnaire consisted of thirteen items dealing with different kinds of activities that persons might engage in to combat sexism. The activities ranged from writing letters to companies whose advertising demeans women to filing a complaint with a federal agency.

Part IV of the questionnaire consisted of twenty-one items asking for background information on the respondent. See Appendix A.

Validity

From the pool of items developed for Part I, the final items selected for inclusion in the questionnaire were those generally agreed upon by a group of five feminists as expressing strongly negative or positive attitudes toward the dimensions involved. The same procedure was followed for Parts II and III of the questionnaire. A preliminary

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version of the questionnaire was submitted to Drs. Ruth Useem and Barrie Thorne of Michigan State University for their evaluation of the questionnaire and suggestions for improving it. Their suggestions were very helpful and the questionnaire was revised. Unclear or ambiguous statements and items were rewritten with the assistance of students in a graduate seminar in advanced research.

The final version of the questionnaire was tested on two women's groups known for their attitudes toward traditional sex-role ideology in order to establish the construct validity of the questionnaire. Members of a suburban chapter of the National Organization for Women, a feminist group, were asked to complete the questionnaire as were participants in a Fascinating Womanhood class, an anti-feminist group. A t-test of the difference of means of the two groups on Part I of the questionnaire was significant at the .001 level of probability; and, the t-test on Part II was significant at the .05 level of probability. See Tables 2 and 3.

TABLE 2
MEAN SCORES FOR PART I--SEX ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Organization for Women</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>112.83</td>
<td>5.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Feminists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fascinating Womanhood</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90.36</td>
<td>11.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Anti-feminists)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .001 with 32 degrees of freedom

---

TABLE 3
MEAN SCORES FOR PART II--SEX DISCRIMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Organization for Women (Feminists)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.17</td>
<td>4.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fascinating Womanhood (anti-feminists)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .001 with 32 degrees of freedom

Part III of the questionnaire, dealing with activities engaged in by the respondent, was revised after the test so that more information could be gathered. In the test version of the questionnaire the respondent was asked to indicate by a check mark only those activities which had actually been engaged in by the respondent. A t-test of the difference of means in the two groups revealed no significant difference. See Table 4.

TABLE 4
MEAN SCORES FOR PART III--ACTION ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Organization for Women (Feminists)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fascinating Womanhood (Anti-feminists)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* not significant
Part III of the questionnaire was revised to form a Likert-type scale wherein the respondent could indicate whether she had actually engaged in the activity, would hesitantly engage in the activity if the opportunity arose, might engage in the activity under certain circumstances, or would never engage in the activity under any circumstances.

Reliability

The questionnaire was tested for reliability utilizing the data obtained from the feminist and anti-feminist groups. A split half (Kuder-Richardson 20) reliability coefficient of .89 was obtained. Thus, it would appear that the questionnaire is reliable and the items homogeneous.

Mailing and Response

The questionnaire was mailed on January 1, 1975, to all groups but social workers. The mailing labels for social workers did not arrive in the Chicago Office of the National Association of Social Workers until the last week in January. Therefore, the questionnaire was not mailed to social workers until February 6, 1975. On February 7, 1975, a second or follow-up, questionnaire was mailed to non-responders to the January 1 mailing. On March 1 a second or follow-up questionnaire was mailed to non-responding social workers.

The first mailing consisted of (1) a cover letter explaining the nature of the research and requesting participation in it; (2) the questionnaire; and (3) a postage-paid, addressed envelope for return of the questionnaire. The second or follow-up mailing contained (1) a cover letter explaining the research project, requesting participation in it, and stressing the confidentiality of responses; (2) the questionnaire;
and, (3) a postage-paid return envelope. See Appendix A.

The over-all rate of return was 59.4 per cent based on 1940 returned, usable questionnaires. Of the 3432 questionnaires originally mailed, 268 were returned by the postal service as undeliverable because of changes in addresses. Based on a total initial mailing of 3432, the return rate for the initial mailing was 47.3 per cent. If the undeliverable questionnaires are deducted from the initial mailing of 3432 questionnaires, the return rate for the initial mailing is 51.3 per cent.

The follow-up or second mailing was determined by eliminating the undeliverable questionnaires and the returned, completed questionnaires from the original sample and following-up on the remaining subjects. The follow-up mailing yielded a return of 379 questionnaires or an increase in the return rate of 7.0 per cent, based on a sample of 3432 professional women. If the undeliverable questionnaires are deducted from the sample leaving a sample of 3263, and the unusable questionnaires are deducted from the returns leaving 1940 usable returns, the over-all return rate is 59.4 per cent. If the return rate is based on usable returns and a sample size of 3432, then the return rate is 56.5 per cent.

The rate of return for organizations or affiliations is presented in Table 5.
TABLE 5
RATE OF RETURN BY PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional Affiliation</th>
<th>Mailing</th>
<th>Usable Returns</th>
<th>Per cent Returned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Medical Women's Association</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Consolidated School District 15</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Psychological Association</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Social Workers</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Women Artists</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of Women Engineers</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township High School District 21</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's Bar Association of Illinois</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3432</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High School teachers had the highest rate of return with 73.0 per cent and artists had the lowest rate of return with 42.4 per cent. If one looks at professional categories, the return rate is 48.9 per cent for "male" professions, 64.1 per cent for "intermediate" professions, and 53.5 per cent for "female" professions.

Design of the Study

An ex post facto design utilizing data gathered by means of a mailed questionnaire to a random, stratified sample of professional women was employed in this study. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were tested using a one-way analysis of variance using professional category as the independent variable and scores on Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire as the dependent variables. Hypotheses 4 through 9 were tested by a two-
way analysis of variance using professional categories and specialization categories as the independent variables and scores on Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire as the dependent variables. Hypothesis 10 was tested by multiple regression analysis using age, marital status, hours worked per week, stage in life cycle, and career pattern as independent or predictor variables.

Summary

In line with Davis' classification of professional areas, a random, stratified sample of 3432 professional women were the subjects of this study. Data were gathered by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of four parts. Part I formed a Likert-type scale dealing with attitudes toward women's roles, child rearing, and issues raised by the women's movement. Part II formed a forced-choice of alternative methods for dealing with sex discrimination. Part III formed a Likert-type scale dealing with various activities used to combat sexism. Part IV of the questionnaire consisted of items asking for background information on the respondent. Both content and construct validity were established for Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire. A split-half reliability of .89 was obtained for the questionnaire. An initial and follow-up mailing of the questionnaire yielded a return of 1940 usable questionnaires for a response rate of 59.4 per cent. The design utilized was an ex post facto design. Statistical analyses utilized were analysis of variance and multiple regression analysis.
CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The problem of determining the extent to which professional women support a change in sex-role ideology was investigated in terms of the relationship of various status variables to support for change. More specifically, the problem was investigated in terms of the following hypotheses:

$H_1$: Professional women in "male" professions will be more supportive of change in sex-roles than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.

$H_2$: Professional women in the "male" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.

$H_3$: Professional women in the "male" professions will be more action oriented than will women in the "intermediate" or "female" professions.

$H_4$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more supportive of change in sex roles than will women in "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions.

$H_5$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination than will women in "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions.
H$_6$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within "male" professions will be more action oriented than will women in the "female" areas of specialization within "male" professions.

H$_7$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more supportive of change in sex roles than will women in "female" areas of specialization within these professions.

H$_8$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more supportive of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination than will women in "female" areas of specialization within these professions.

H$_9$: Professional women in "male" areas of specialization within the "intermediate" and "female" professions will be more action oriented than will women in "female" areas of specialization within these professions.

H$_{10}$: Status factors other than profession engaged in and area of specialization will have a differential effect on status incongruence and support for change in sex roles.

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 above were tested using a simple-randomized analysis of variance. A significant F value was obtained for all three hypotheses (See Tables 6, 7, and 8). However, for hypotheses 1 and 2 the assumption of homogeneity of variances was untenable as indicated by tests for homogeneity of variance. For hypothesis 1 a Cochran's C of .4003 with p. = .001 and Bartlett-Box F of 10.806 with p. = .001 were obtained from tests of homogeneity. For hypothesis 2 a
### TABLE 6
SUMMARY DATA AND ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS AND SEX ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8976.00</td>
<td>4488.00</td>
<td>24.24 (.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>355360.00</td>
<td>183.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>364336.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7
SUMMARY DATA AND ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1047.94</td>
<td>523.97</td>
<td>40.35 (.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>25152.06</td>
<td>12.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>26200.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cochran's C of .3938 with p. = .001 and Bartlett-Box F of 8.320 with p. = .001 were obtained from tests of homogeneity. The tests for homogeneity of variances for hypothesis 3 yielded non-significant values for Cochran's C and the Bartlett-Box F.

While analysis of variance is a robust test with moderate heterogeneity of variance and samples of equal size, violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance can have a marked effect on the test of significance when samples are of unequal size. Since the samples were of unequal size, the null hypothesis of equal variances was rejected for hypotheses 1 and 2. The F values for these hypotheses were inconclusive because of the heterogeneity of variances. However, the F value of hypothesis 3 was accepted since the null hypothesis of equal variances was accepted.

Hypotheses 4 through 9 were tested using a factorial analysis of variance employing a 2 by 3 design with two categories for specialization and three categories for professions. The factorial analyses of variance for these hypotheses yielded significant F values for main effects (See Tables 9, 10, and 11). Since the factorial analysis of variance is a more precise design than the simple-randomized analysis of variance, the requirement of homogeneity of variances is more likely to be satisfied. According to Lindquist:

### TABLE 8
**SUMMARY DATA AND ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS AND ACTION ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male Professions</th>
<th>Intermediate Professions</th>
<th>Female Professions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n:</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \bar{X} ):</td>
<td>34.27</td>
<td>32.85</td>
<td>36.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD:</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4314.00</td>
<td>2157.00</td>
<td>37.35 (.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>111866.00</td>
<td>57.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>116180.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 9
**ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS BY SPECIALIZATIONS AND SEX ROLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Professions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7486.992</td>
<td>3743.496</td>
<td>20.432 (.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Specializations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.007</td>
<td>1.007</td>
<td>0.005 (N.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. x Spec.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>962.514</td>
<td>481.257</td>
<td>2.627 (N.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>354341.312</td>
<td>183.217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>364282.937</td>
<td>187.872</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 10
ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS BY SPECIALIZATIONS AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Professions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>827.014</td>
<td>413.507</td>
<td>31.870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Specializations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.134</td>
<td>5.134</td>
<td>0.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction: Prof. x Spec.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.407</td>
<td>25.203</td>
<td>1.942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>25093.324</td>
<td>12.975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>26196.898</td>
<td>13.511</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 11
ANOVA FOR PROFESSIONS BY SPECIALIZATIONS AND ACTION ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>S.S.</th>
<th>M.S.</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Professions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4354.414</td>
<td>2177.207</td>
<td>37.800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Specializations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41.720</td>
<td>41.720</td>
<td>0.724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction: Prof. x Spec.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>399.146</td>
<td>199.573</td>
<td>3.465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>111394.750</td>
<td>57.598</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>116150.812</td>
<td>59.902</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A considerable departure, either from normality in the criterion distribution, or from homogeneity of variance among various cells of the table, is permissible; yet the sampling distribution of the ratio of mean squares for treatments and within-cells will remain essentially the same. 2

Therefore, all hypotheses with the exception of Hypotheses 3 and 10 were tested and analyzed using the information obtained from the factorial analyses of variance. Hypothesis 3 was tested and analyzed using the information obtained from the simple-randomized analysis of variance. Hypothesis 10 was tested and analyzed using multiple regression analysis.

For Hypothesis 1 a difference among means for professions was found to be significant at the .001 level of probability (see Table 9). However, since the hypothesis had indicated that "male" professions would be more supportive of change than would other professions, pairwise comparisons among the means were made using t-tests. The difference between means for "male" professions and "intermediate" professions was not significant; nor, was the difference between means for "male" professions and "female" professions significant. There was a significant difference between the means for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions. This difference was significant at the .01 level of probability (see Table 12). However, the hypothesis as stated was not supported.

For hypothesis 2 a difference among means for professions was found to be significant at the .001 level of probability (see Table 10).

---

Because the direction of the difference had been hypothesized, pairwise comparisons between means were made using t-tests. The difference between means for "male" professions and "intermediate" professions was not significant; nor, was the difference between means for "male" professions and "female" professions significant. The difference between means for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions was significant at the .01 level of probability. However, the hypothesis as stated was rejected and the null hypothesis accepted (see Table 13).

For hypothesis 3 a difference among means for professions was found to be significant at the .001 level of probability (see Table 8). It had been hypothesized that women in "male" professions would be more action-oriented than women in the other professions. Therefore, pairwise comparisons between means were made using t-tests. The difference between means for "male" professions and "intermediate" professions was not significant. However, the difference between means for "male" professions and "female" professions was significant at the .01 level of probability. The difference between means for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions was also significant at the .01 level of probability. Therefore, hypothesis 3 was partially supported in that "male" professions were more action-oriented than were "female" professions (see Table 14).

For hypothesis 4 and 5 the main effects for specializations were not significant. Therefore, the null hypothesis of no difference among means was accepted for both hypotheses and the stated hypotheses rejected (see Tables 9 and 10).

For hypothesis 6 there was an interaction significant at the .03 level of probability (see Table 11). Therefore, pairwise comparisons
TABLE 12
MEAN SCORES AND COMPARISONS FOR SEX ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot;</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>95.68</td>
<td>14.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot;</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>99.86</td>
<td>12.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot;</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>95.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p. < .01 for one-tailed test

TABLE 13
MEAN SCORES AND COMPARISONS FOR SEX DISCRIMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot;</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot;</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>15.83</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot;</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** p. < .01 for one-tailed test

TABLE 14
MEAN SCORES AND COMPARISONS FOR ACTION ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot;</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>34.27</td>
<td>7.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot;</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>32.85</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot;</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>36.48</td>
<td>7.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p. < .01 for one-tailed test
### TABLE 15
MEAN SCORES AND COMPARISONS FOR ACTION ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professions and Specializations</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot; profession and &quot;male&quot; specialization</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>34.28</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot; profession and &quot;female&quot; specialization</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>34.66</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot; profession and &quot;male&quot; specialization</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>30.77</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot; profession and &quot;female&quot; specialization</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>33.30</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot; profession and &quot;male&quot; specialization</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>37.65</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot; profession and &quot;female&quot; specialization</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>36.57</td>
<td>7.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p. < .01 for one-tailed test

### TABLE 16
MEAN SCORES AND COMPARISONS FOR ACTION ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specialization: &quot;Male&quot;</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot; profession</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>34.28</td>
<td>7.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot; profession</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>30.77</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot; profession</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>37.65</td>
<td>6.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p. < .01 for one-tailed test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specialization: &quot;Female&quot;</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Male&quot; profession</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>34.66</td>
<td>7.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Intermediate&quot; profession</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>33.30</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Female&quot; profession</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>36.57</td>
<td>7.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p. < .01 for one-tailed test
between means were made using the t-test and Fisher's LSD test. There was no significant between the means for "male" specializations and "female" specializations within the "male" professions; nor, was the difference between means for "male" specializations and "female" specializations within the "female" professions significant. There was, however, a significant difference between the means for "male" specializations and "female" specializations within the "intermediate" professions. This difference was significant at the .01 level of probability (see Table 15). Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

For hypotheses 7 and 8 the main effects for specializations were not significant. Therefore, the stated hypotheses were rejected and the null hypotheses accepted (see Tables 9 and 10).

For Hypothesis 9 there was an interaction significant at the .03 level of probability (see Table 11). Therefore, tests for simple effects were made using the t-test and Fisher's LSD test (see Tables 15 and 16). There was a significant difference between the means for "male" specializations and "female" specializations within the "intermediate" professions. This difference was significant at the .01 level of probability. There was no significant difference between the means for "male" specializations and "female" specializations within the "female" professions.

Across "male" specializations, there were significant differences

3Kirk, Experimental Design, p. 87.
between the means for "male" professions and "female" professions and between the means for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions. These differences were significant at the .01 level of probability. There was no significant difference between the means for "male" professions and "intermediate" professions. Across "female" specializations, there were significant differences between the means for "male" professions and "female" professions and between the means for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions. These differences were significant at the .01 level of probability. There was no significant difference between the means for "male" professions and "intermediate" professions. Hypothesis 9 was partially supported in that "male" specializations were more action-oriented than "female" specializations within the "intermediate" professions.

Multiple regression analysis was used to test hypothesis 10. Age, marital status, number of children, employment status, hours worked per week, and career continuity were the variables used to predict scores on Part I of the questionnaire (attitudes toward sex roles). Of these variables, age was the only predictor that was significantly greater than zero. With 1 and 1924 degrees of freedom, an F value of 26.658 significant at the .01 level of probability was obtained (see Table 17). However, only 2.4 per cent of the variance is explained by this variable, leaving 97.6 per cent of the variance unexplained. When all of the variables are included in the regression equation, the total explained variance is 5.3 per cent, leaving 94.7 per cent of the variance unexplained (see Table 18). When one considers the magnitude of the standard error (.44645), these variables are poor predictors.
### Table 17

**Multiple Regression Analysis for Sex Roles**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>Analysis of Variance</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.22952</td>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2132627</td>
<td>1.42175</td>
<td>7.13306 (.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05268</td>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>38348900</td>
<td>0.19932</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04579</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.44645</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Variables in the Equation</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Standard Error B</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.02236</td>
<td>-0.13445</td>
<td>0.00433</td>
<td>26.658 (.01)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Single</td>
<td>0.05928</td>
<td>0.05776</td>
<td>0.13678</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Part Time</td>
<td>0.12884</td>
<td>0.09118</td>
<td>0.09712</td>
<td>1.760</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Divorced</td>
<td>0.25652</td>
<td>0.16211</td>
<td>0.13984</td>
<td>3.365</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Separated</td>
<td>0.38165</td>
<td>0.07787</td>
<td>0.17372</td>
<td>4.826 (.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Married</td>
<td>0.16215</td>
<td>0.17660</td>
<td>0.13615</td>
<td>1.418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Other</td>
<td>0.67853</td>
<td>0.04767</td>
<td>0.34405</td>
<td>3.899 (.05)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Full Time</td>
<td>0.04320</td>
<td>0.04385</td>
<td>0.09804</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Widowed</td>
<td>0.08738</td>
<td>0.04901</td>
<td>0.14149</td>
<td>0.381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children Under 6 Years</td>
<td>0.01220</td>
<td>0.01167</td>
<td>0.02592</td>
<td>0.222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: No</td>
<td>0.01460</td>
<td>0.01174</td>
<td>0.09533</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children 6 yrs. to 18 yrs.</td>
<td>0.00252</td>
<td>0.00425</td>
<td>0.01417</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours Worked Per Week</td>
<td>0.00016</td>
<td>0.00685</td>
<td>0.00087</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Yes</td>
<td>-0.01877</td>
<td>-0.00591</td>
<td>0.11625</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked Continuously: No</td>
<td>0.00391</td>
<td>0.00387</td>
<td>0.02447</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>3.18538</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F-Level or Tolerance-Level Insufficient for Further Computation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Variables Not in the Equation</th>
<th>Beta In</th>
<th>Partial</th>
<th>Tolerance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worked continuously: Yes</td>
<td>0.00773</td>
<td>0.00189</td>
<td>0.05692</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F-Level or Tolerance-Level Insufficient for Further Computation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>R Square Change</th>
<th>Simple R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.15570</td>
<td>0.02424</td>
<td>0.02424</td>
<td>-0.15570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Single</td>
<td>0.19427</td>
<td>0.03774</td>
<td>0.01350</td>
<td>-0.11737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Part Time</td>
<td>0.20322</td>
<td>0.04130</td>
<td>0.00356</td>
<td>0.06930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Divorced</td>
<td>0.21327</td>
<td>0.04548</td>
<td>0.00419</td>
<td>0.07469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Separated</td>
<td>0.21858</td>
<td>0.04778</td>
<td>0.00230</td>
<td>0.04923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Married</td>
<td>0.22263</td>
<td>0.04956</td>
<td>0.00179</td>
<td>0.09110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Other</td>
<td>0.22668</td>
<td>0.05138</td>
<td>0.00182</td>
<td>0.04316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Full Time</td>
<td>0.22849</td>
<td>0.05221</td>
<td>0.00082</td>
<td>0.02152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status: Widowed</td>
<td>0.22893</td>
<td>0.05241</td>
<td>0.00020</td>
<td>-0.07497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 6 years</td>
<td>0.22919</td>
<td>0.05233</td>
<td>0.00012</td>
<td>0.07351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: No</td>
<td>0.22939</td>
<td>0.05262</td>
<td>0.00009</td>
<td>-0.06969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children 6 yrs. to 18 yrs.</td>
<td>0.22944</td>
<td>0.05264</td>
<td>0.00002</td>
<td>0.05845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours worked per week</td>
<td>0.22947</td>
<td>0.05266</td>
<td>0.00001</td>
<td>0.04356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed: Yes</td>
<td>0.22950</td>
<td>0.05267</td>
<td>0.00001</td>
<td>-0.03429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked continuously: No</td>
<td>0.22952</td>
<td>0.05268</td>
<td>0.00001</td>
<td>0.00391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, hypothesis 10 was not supported.

Discussion

Even though the research hypotheses were largely unsupported, some interesting findings emerged. Among professions the "intermediate" professions scored consistently higher on the three dimensions of the questionnaire than did the other two professional categories. That is, women in the "intermediate" professions were more liberal in their attitudes toward women's roles, child rearing, and movement issues; were more in favor of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination; and, were more inclined to participate in activities to combat sexism. The "male" professions ranked second on all three dimensions. The "female" professions ranked third on all three dimensions.

When looking at "male" specializations and "female" specializations within professions, the "male" specializations within the "male" professions and "intermediate" professions scored consistently higher on the three dimensions of the questionnaire than did the "female" specializations within these professions. However, within the "female" professions the "female" specializations scored higher on all three dimensions of the questionnaire than did the "male" specializations; thereby, reversing the general pattern of response.

Thus, when looking only at professions, the "intermediate" and "female" professions followed the direction predicted by status incongruence theory. Even though the "male" professions were not as supportive as might be expected, they were more supportive than the "female" professions as predicted by theory. When looking only at specializations, "male" specializations were more supportive than "female" specializations.
within the "male" professions and the "intermediate" professions as might be predicted from status incongruence theory. However, "female" specializations in the "female" professions did not perform as might be expected.

Several suggestions may be advanced for the support patterns which emerged in this research. Meyers and Hammond, in presenting some of the problems posed by status incongruence theory, suggest that the actors may vary the importance to themselves of their various status attributes. That is, if a woman accepts sex status as a background limitation when evaluating her success, she may be very satisfied by her success in comparison to others of her sex. Moreover, the actor can produce consistency or inconsistency among statuses by the inclusion or exclusion of various status attributes. Thus, by the actor's definition of the situation consistency can be created where to an observer none would seem to exist. Likewise, the actor can create inconsistency where none would seem to exist. Therefore, it would seem that any further research into status incongruence and support for change in sex-role ideology would need to include some measure of the respondent's definition of the situation.

Epstein, discussing status inconsistency in terms of role strain, suggests that an individual may lessen role strain by choosing friends who share professional and family statuses; by compartmentalization through scheduling her time so that she has certain times allotted for

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4Meyers and Hammond, "Forms of Status Inconsistency, pp. 96-97.
enacting her various statuses; and, by delegating certain roles or tasks to competent hired help so that she can successfully meet the expectations of her various statuses. Therefore, further research might profitably include some means of gathering information along these lines to determine what part they play in the woman's experience of status consistency or inconsistency.

In choosing status factors other than profession and specialization, the writer had anticipated that these other status factors would exert an influence on status incongruence. For example, married women with children are often considered by employers and colleagues to owe their first allegiance to husband and children and that career is second. Because of this assumption, women are often denied promotions or access to certain positions. Thus, women often find their sex status more salient than their professional status. Another example is that women's careers are often discontinued during the child rearing years or shorter hours are worked during this period. Because of this career pattern, women are at a disadvantage in the market place. It was thought, therefore, that such status factors as career continuity, hours worked per week, employment status, marital status, and age would have an effect on status incongruence and make women more supportive of change in sex-role ideology.

However, only one variable in the regression analysis was significantly greater than zero. That variable was age. That age was negatively

5 Epstein, Woman's Place, pp. 140-142.
related to scores on Part I of the questionnaire (items dealing with women's roles, child rearing, and movement issues) would seem to fit in with status incongruence theory. That is, a young woman would be more likely to find her sex status more salient than her professional status when dealing with colleagues and clients. Conversely, with age a woman would find her sex status less obtrusive. Thus, it would seem that status factors other than age have little if any effect on status incongruence. Again, if women accept these status factors as legitimate limitations, they may consider themselves as very successful within these limitations. Further research should try to determine how women perceive these limitations.

In interpreting and/or generalizing these findings several limiting factors must be taken into consideration. The first of these factors is that of nonresponding subjects. Even though the over-all return rate was 56.5 per cent, the return rate varied by professional categories and within professional categories. By professional categories the return rate was 48.9 per cent for "male" professions, 53.5 per cent for "female" professions, and 64.1 per cent for "intermediate" professions. Thus, the "male" professions had the largest percentage of nonresponding subjects. Within the "male" professions the return rate was 43.3 per cent for medical doctors, 44.6 per cent for lawyers, and 52.2 per cent for engineers. Medical doctors has the largest percentage of non-responding subjects within the "male" professions. Within the "female" professions the return rate was 42.4 per cent for artists, 64.4 per cent for elementary teachers, and 73.0 per cent for secondary teachers. Within the "intermediate" professions the return rate was 48.9 per cent for psychologists and 68.7 per cent for social workers.
Within the "female" and "intermediate" professions artists and psychologists had the largest percentage of nonresponding subjects.

The question of bias must be raised when interpreting the findings since self-selection was a factor. While follow-up letters and questionnaires were sent to nonresponding subjects for the initial mailing, no attempt was made to interview a random sample of non-responding subjects because of the expenses that would have been involved. Some questionnaires were returned incomplete with notations to the effect that the respondent did not have the time necessary to complete yet another questionnaire. Other questionnaires were returned too late to be of use. Some respondents indicated that they did not highly value the use of questionnaires and, therefore, would not participate in the research. Thirty-nine such questionnaires were returned or 1.1 per cent.

The second limiting factor that must be considered is that of geographic distribution. While it would have been desirable to have national populations or state populations from which to draw samples rather than national, state, and local populations, this was not possible because of lack of cooperation on the part of some organizations or the unavailability of membership lists. Therefore, even though our society is a highly mobile one, some consideration must be given to geographic distribution of the samples.

Another limiting factor is that of the sexual composition of the populations used. This would seem to apply in particular to the "male" professions. The sexual composition of the membership of the professional organizations from which the samples were drawn was female. That is, these were professional organizations which limited their
membership to women. One way in which to lessen status incongruence is for the individual to isolate himself from situations where he might experience status incongruence. Epstein suggests that women's professional organizations often serve this function and notes that such organizations are found almost exclusively in the "male" professions.\(^6\) Therefore, one must raise the question of whether a sample of women in the "male" professions drawn from organizations with both male and female members would have been more supportive of change than were the women in this research.

Finally, while the use of rather simple status variables (profession and specialization) tended to support status incongruence theory, it would seem that the inclusion of other variables such as the actor's perception of his status, what he considers to be legitimate limitations, and how he deals with them would yield more meaningful results and present a more thorough test of the theory.

**Summary**

Of the ten research hypotheses tested, eight were not supported and two were only partially supported. The hypotheses were tested using analysis of variance, multiple regression analysis, t-tests, and Fisher's LSD test. Although the mean differences were not always significant or in the direction predicted from status incongruence theory, some general patterns of support emerged. Women in the "intermediate" professions were more liberal in their attitudes toward women's roles, child rearing, and movement issues; were more in favor of a

\(^6\)Ibid., pp. 187-188.
collective approach toward ending sex discrimination; and, were more inclined to participate in activities to combat sexism. The "male" professions ranked second on all three dimensions; and, the "female" professions ranked third. The "male" specializations within the "male" and "intermediate" professions were more supportive on all three dimensions than were the "female" specializations within these professions. However, within the "female" professions the "female" specializations were more supportive on all dimensions than were the "male" specializations. Of the status factors considered other than profession and specialization, only age had a correlation coefficient significantly greater than zero. Some limiting factors in interpreting the findings are possible bias resulting from self-selection, geographic distribution of subjects, and sexual composition of the populations from which the samples were drawn.
Chapter V

Summary and Conclusion

The problem with which this research was concerned was that of determining why some professional women support change in sex-role ideology and other professional women do not support change in sex-role ideology. Sex role ideology dictates not only the roles that may be engaged in by men and women in our society but also the expectations for these roles as well. While sex roles have become somewhat more flexible, the male role is still seen primarily as that of bread winner. The female role, however, is less certain. Although the woman's primary role is still that of wife-mother-homemaker, she may also take on an occupational role. Many women anticipate combining their primary role with a career. However, since sex-role ideology carries over into the occupational sphere, they are limited as to what fields they may pursue without being labeled deviant. Furthermore, sex-role stereotyping labels those qualities that are needed for success in careers that are not extensions of the traditional female roles as masculine. Thus, for a woman to be successful in a profession, especially those which are considered male professions, she must exhibit masculine traits, but risks social disapproval for doing so.

Status is enacted through role. However, status may be achieved or ascribed. Ascribed status is often the salient status. The sex status of female is an ascribed status and is a lower status than the sex status of male. Individuals with a high achieved status and low
ascribed status are said to be status inconsistent or status incongruent. Status incongruence has been found by some researchers to be associated with support for social change; yet, no research has been done in the area of status incongruence in professional women and support for change in sex-role ideology. This research investigated the problem of support for change in sex-role ideology by professional women in terms of status incongruence theory. More specifically, the problem was investigated in terms of the propositions advanced by Malewski (see Chapter I).

On the basis of Malewski's propositions, it was assumed that professional women would be likely to experience status incongruence since they are presenting conflicting statuses—an achieved status (profession) which is high and an ascribed status (female sex) which is low—with different normative expectations. Secondly, it was assumed that women in professions traditionally considered most suitable for males would experience more status incongruence than women in professions traditionally considered most suitable for females. Thirdly, it was assumed that within professions those women in traditionally male specializations would experience more status incongruence than those women in traditionally female specializations.

Since status incongruence theory postulates that status consistency, or status congruence, is inversely related to preference for change, it was hypothesized that women in the "male" professions and "male" specializations would be more supportive of change in sex-role ideology than would women in "female" professions and "female" specializations. Moreover, it was assumed that status factors other than profession and specialization would exert an influence on whether the individual
experienced status congruence or status incongruence. Therefore, it was hypothesized that age, marital status, stage in life cycle, hours worked per week, and career pattern would have an effect on status consistency or inconsistency.

An ex post facto design utilizing data gathered by means of a mailed questionnaire was used in this study. On the basis of Davis' classification of professional areas into "male" professions, "female" professions, and "intermediate" professions, a random, stratified sample of 3432 professional women representing these professional categories was employed. The "male" professions were represented by women in engineering, law, and medicine; the "intermediate" professions by women in psychology and social work; and, the "female" professions by women in elementary education, secondary education, and art.

A questionnaire was developed consisting of four parts. Part I formed a Likert-type scale dealing with attitudes toward women's roles, child rearing, and issues raised by the women's movement. Part II formed a forced-choice format of alternative methods of dealing with sex discrimination. Part III formed a Likert-type scale dealing with various activities used to combat sexism. Part IV consisted of items asking for background information on the respondent. Both content and construct validity were established for Parts I, II, and III of the questionnaire. A split-half reliability coefficient of 0.89 was obtained for the questionnaire.

An initial and follow-up mailing of the questionnaire yielded a return of 1940 usable questionnaires for a return rate of 56.5 per cent. By professional categories the return rate was 48.9 per cent for "male" professions, 53.5 per cent for "female" professions, and 64.1 per cent
for "intermediate" professions. The return rate by individual professions was 43.3 per cent for medical doctors, 44.6 per cent for lawyers, 52.2 per cent for engineers, 48.9 per cent for psychologists, 68.7 per cent for social workers, 42.4 per cent for artists, 64.4 per cent for elementary teachers, and 73.0 per cent for secondary teachers.

Of the ten research hypotheses tested, eight were not supported and two were only partially supported. The two partially supported hypotheses were $H_3$ and $H_9$. The hypotheses were tested using one-way analysis of variance, two-way analysis of variance, multiple regression analysis, t-test, and Fisher's LSD test. Although the mean differences were not always significant or in the direction predicted, some general patterns emerged. Women in the "intermediate" professions were more liberal in their attitudes toward women's roles, child rearing, and movement issues; were more in favor of a collective approach toward ending sex discrimination; and, were more inclined to participate in activities to combat sexism. If, as status incongruence theory postulates, support for social change is inversely related to status congruence, then it would seem that women in the "intermediate" professions are experiencing more status incongruence than women in the "male" professions or "female" professions. The "male" professions ranked second on all three dimensions; and, the "female" professions ranked third. Even though there was this difference on ranking, the mean difference was not significant for "male" and "female" professions; whereas, the mean difference was significant for "intermediate" professions and "female" professions and "intermediate" professions and "male" professions, if one reverses the direction of the difference. Could being in a profession that is neither traditionally male more traditionally female create more status
incongruence than being in a profession that is traditionally designated as more appropriate for one sex? That is, if a woman accepts sex status as a legitimate limitation when evaluating her success, she may be very satisfied by her success in comparison to others of her sex. Thus, women in traditionally "male" or "female" professions may accept their sex status as legitimate limitations in evaluating their success.

The "male" specializations within the "male" and "intermediate" professions were more supportive on all three dimensions than were the "female" specializations within these professions. However, the mean difference between specializations in the "male" professions was not significant; whereas, the mean difference between specializations within the "intermediate" professions was significant. While the "female" professions reversed the pattern of "male" specializations being more supportive than "female" specializations, the mean difference between specializations was not significant. Women in "female" specializations within the "female" professions may experience more status incongruence in actuality or this may be a reflection of the fact that no standards for classifying specializations in art was available and, therefore, "male" specializations may have been inadvertently included in the "female" specializations.

In choosing status factors other than profession and specialization, only one status factor was significantly greater than zero in the regression analysis. That variable was age. Thus, it would appear that younger women experience more status incongruence than older women and that sex status becomes less obtrusive as women get older. Marital status, stage in life cycle, hours worked per week, and career pattern seem to have little if any effect on status incongruence. Again, if
women accept these status factors as legitimate limitations, they may consider themselves as being quite successful within these limitations.

Although this research was concerned primarily with finding statistically significant mean differences between categories of professional women, the practical significance of these differences indicates that a majority of the professional women sampled, regardless of profession engaged in, are supportive of change in sex-role ideology. In general, these women expressed favorable attitudes toward items dealing with change in women's roles and child-rearing practices as well as those items dealing with social change suggested by movement issues. Thus, it would seem that the women's movement has been successful in getting across its message and that ideas previously considered controversial are now generally accepted. The greatest divergence in attitudes arose with items concerning feminine and masculine traits, namely physical aggression in boys, swearing and obscenity in women, and the acceptability of "tomboy" girls versus "sissy" boys. This divergence in attitudes regarding feminine and masculine traits reflects to some extent the concern both within the movement itself and in the society over whether the blurring in sex roles will result in women adopting masculine traits and de-valuing their feminine traits.

When dealing with alternative methods for overcoming sex discrimination, the majority of professional women indicated that individual improvement was preferable to group action. However, they expressed the belief, as indicated by their responses, that social and political intervention could eliminate sex discrimination. This
conflict was further illustrated in their choice of items indicating individual blame over system blame for discrimination. Since this section of the questionnaire elicited more comments than other parts of the questionnaire, these apparent conflicts may reflect the respondents' belief that both individual improvement and group action are necessary for ending sex discrimination. This interpretation seems to be supported by their choice of the more militant alternatives for ending sex discrimination over the less militant alternatives.

Few professional women indicated that they were presently engaged in, or had been engaged in, activities to combat sexism. Those activities that they expressed most willingness to engage in were the more conventional activities such as refusing to buy certain products, contacting their representatives, and making financial contributions to political candidates. The majority of women expressed only a slight willingness to engage in picketing, demonstrating, running for political office, joining a feminist organization, or making financial contributions to such organizations.

These findings would seem to suggest that professional women not only support change in sex-role ideology but believe that sex discrimination can be eliminated by social and political intervention. If this is, indeed, the case, it would seem that professional women will be less inclined to accept an inferior status either in their marriages or professional careers. Some indication that this is beginning to occur is evidenced by their comments. Many married professional women indicated that they had "liberated" husbands who shared in the child rearing and household tasks and encouraged them in their careers. Single women frequently indicated that they contemplated marriage but not at
the expense of their careers. That is, they would marry only if their potential husbands held similar views regarding women's roles. Many women indicated in their comments that while they are not active feminists in the sense of belonging to a feminist organization, they are working either on a one-to-one basis or within other groups to make women aware of their rights and the possibilities open to them for various careers. Other women indicated that they are hiring or recommending for hire qualified women whenever possible and are calling discriminatory practices to the attention of employers or institutions with which they are associated.

From these findings it would seem that the women's movement has the covert support of many professional women. However, there seems to be little overt support in the sense of joining or contributing financially to avowedly feminist organizations.

In generalizing these findings consideration must be given to the possibility of bias resulting from self-selection since interviews with nonresponding subjects were not undertaken. Secondly, consideration must be given as to how representative women's professional organizations are of women in the professions.

Further research into status incongruence might yield more meaningful results and present a more thorough test of the theory by the inclusion of other variables such as the actor's perception of his status, what he considers to be legitimate limitations and how he deals with them, and what means the actor employs to cope with conflicting status demands. Secondly, since women seem to conceive of their roles less rigidly, it might be more valuable to focus on the extent of change they are willing to accept in men's roles.
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APPENDIX A
Winifred D. White, Executive Secretary
Society of Women Engineers
345 East 47th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Ms. White:

I am researching the attitudes of professional women toward sex-typing in socialization, women's roles, and issues of the women's liberation movement. To assess these attitudes, a questionnaire will be mailed to a random sample of professional women. For my populations, I am attempting to get women in professions ranging from those traditionally considered most appropriate for women to those traditionally considered most appropriate for men.

Women representing a range of professions have been chosen so that the relationship between professionalization and attitudes toward the concept of change in sex roles may be examined. Thus far, I have obtained samples of educators, lawyers, psychologists, social workers, and business women and would like to include women in engineering.

This research is for my doctoral dissertation and will be under the direction of Dr. Anne M. Juhasz, Professor, Foundations of Education, Loyola University, Chicago. I am a Ph.D. candidate in Educational Psychology at Loyola University.

Would it be possible to obtain a directory of your membership or a mailing list from which a random sample of women engineers may be drawn? Your participation in this research would be of great value in that it would allow a wider range of professions to be studied.

May I hear from you regarding this request.

Sincerely,

Mary J. Brooke
The opinionnaire on the following pages is being sent to a random sample of professional women in the arts, education, engineering, law, medicien, psychology, and social work to research their attitudes, opinions, and feelings toward sex-typing in child rearing, women's roles, and issues of the women's liberation movement. Your name has been selected as representative of your group.

This research is being undertaken for my doctoral dissertation in Educational Psychology at Loyola University of Chicago, 820 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60611. This research is under the direction of Dr. Anne M. Juhasz, Dr. Samuel T. Mayo, and Dr. Steven I. Miller, Faculty, Foundations of Education, at Loyola University.

Professional women have been chosen for this research because they are pace setters and should serve as models for other women. Therefore, your opinions and activities will be indicators of future trends. Your opinions, feelings, and activities are extremely important and will be a valuable contribution to research in this area. Your participation in this research will be greatly appreciated. Please complete this opinionnaire and return it in the enclosed envelope within the next week.

Sincerely,

Mary J. Brooke

P.S. To receive a copy of the results of this research, please write your name and address in the space below.

* * * * * * *  TURN PAGE TO BEGIN QUESTIONNAIRE  * * * * * * *
Several weeks ago you were sent an opinionnaire asking that you indicate your attitudes toward various issues raised by the women's liberation movement. Your name was randomly selected from a population of 5000 professional women in the arts, education, engineering, law, medicine, psychology, and social work.

As indicated previously, this research is being undertaken for my doctoral dissertation and is under the direction of Dr. Anne M. Juhasz, Dr. Samuel T. Mayo, and Dr. Steven I. Miller, Faculty, Foundations of Education, Loyola University, 820 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Il. 60611.

Your opinions, feelings, and activities are extremely important to this research on professional women. Therefore, you are being sent this second opinionnaire and stamped envelope in case you misplaced the original opinionnaire and envelope that were sent to you. Your responses to all items on the opinionnaire will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. Your participation in this research will be appreciated. Please complete this opinionnaire and return it in the enclosed envelope within the next two weeks.

Sincerely,

Mary J. Brooke

P.S. To receive a copy of the results of this research, please write your name and address in the space below.

* * * * * * TURN PAGE TO BEGIN OPINIONNAIRE * * * * * *
### OPINIONNAIRE

#### Part I

The statements listed below describe attitudes that different people have toward child rearing, the role of women, and other issues raised by the women's movement. Express your personal feelings and opinions about each statement irrespective of popularly held attitudes. Indicate whether you (A) agree strongly, (a) agree mildly, (d) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly with the statement by making an "X" through the appropriate letter. Make only one "X" for each statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The overt expression of feelings is more acceptable in girls than in boys.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Public school funds should not be used to purchase textbooks or other instructional materials that perpetuate or reinforce sex-role stereotypes.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Physical aggression is more acceptable in boys than in girls.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. It is more appropriate that chores such as mowing the lawn, washing the car, and taking out the garbage be performed by boys.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. In addition to receiving equal pay for equal work, women must have the same opportunity as men for being hired, trained, and promoted.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Boys should be discouraged from playing with girls' toys.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment should receive the support of all women.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Dependence on parents or other adults is more acceptable in girls than in boys.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Children should be free to become whatever they are capable of becoming without regard to sex.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Paid maternity leave should be an employee benefit.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>If there must be a choice between which equally qualified child goes on to college, the boy should be given preference over the girl.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Neatness and cleanliness are more important for girls than for boys.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Women must have the right to control their own reproduction, including access to sterilization and abortion on demand.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Only if both men's and women's roles change will there be an equality of the sexes.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Participation in competitive team sports is more appropriate for boys than for girls.</td>
<td>A a d D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25. Marriage laws must be changed so that women's rights are equal to men's.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

26. A "tomboy" girl is more acceptable than is a "sissy" boy.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

27. Child care facilities should be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public schools.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

28. Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage, even their fiancés.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

29. Homemakers should be entitled to social security coverage on the same basis as other self-employed workers.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

30. The mass media should show that women can successfully engage in non-traditional roles such as firefighters, engineers, and construction workers.  
   | Agree | Disagree |
   | A     | a       | d       | D     |

**Part II**

The following pairs of statements describe attitudes toward discrimination against women in our society. From each pair of statements choose that which more nearly expressed your personal opinion. Place an "X" before the statement you have chosen.

1.   a. The best way to handle problems of sexual discrimination is for each woman to get the best training possible for what she wants to do.  
    b. Only if women pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.  

2.   a. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for women. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're a woman.  
    b. The problem for many women is that they aren't really acceptable by men's standards. Any woman who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and will get ahead according to the standards by which men are measured.  

3.   a. Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably few situations that couldn't be handled better by female leaders talking with male leaders.  
    b. Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.
4. __ a. People may be prejudiced, but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.
   __ b. Sexual discrimination is here to stay.

5. __ a. Many women who don't do well in the business world do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to men.
   __ b. Women may not have the same opportunities as men, however many women have not prepared themselves well enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

6. __ a. The best way to overcome sexual discrimination is for each individual woman to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified man.
   __ b. The best way to overcome sexual discrimination is through pressure and social action.

7. __ a. Many women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.
   __ b. When two qualified people, one male and the other female, are considered for the same job, the female won't get the job no matter how hard she tries.

8. __ a. Sexual discrimination in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of sexual discrimination.
   __ b. We'll never completely get rid of sexual discrimination. It's part of human nature.

9. __ a. Women would be better off and the cause of equal rights advanced if there were fewer demonstrations.
   __ b. The only way women will gain equal rights is by constant protest and pressure.

10. __ a. Discrimination affects all women. The only way to handle it is for women to organize and demand rights for all women.
    __ b. Discrimination may affect all women, but the best way to handle it is for each individual woman to get a good education, work hard, and mind her own business.

**Part III**

The following activities are often used to influence and bring about change in society. For each activity listed, indicate whether you (1) have been or are engaged in the activity, (2) would unhesitatingly engage in the activity if the opportunity arose, (3) might engage in the activity under certain circumstances, or (4) would never engage in the activity under any circumstances. Please make an "X" through the number which indicates your participation or degree of willingness to participate in each activity. Make only one "X" for each activity.
1. Writing to companies whose advertising demeans women or whose employment practices or other policies discriminate against women.

2. Refusing to buy the products or services of companies whose advertising demeans women or whose employment practices or other policies discriminate against women.

3. Joining the women's caucus of a professional association or organization in which you hold membership.

4. Joining a woman's rights or feminist organization such as Women's Equity Action League, National Organization for Women, or Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

5. Contributing money to but not joining a woman's rights or feminist organization.

6. Running for political office at the local, state, or national level.

7. Phoning, wiring, or writing your representative or senator to express your views on legislation having a bearing on women in particular.

8. Contributing money to the campaign fund of a political candidate who is supportive of women's rights.

9. Helping a feminist candidate through such activities as letter writing, leafleting, phoning, ringing door bells, or hosting coffees.

10. Writing letters to your local newspaper, radio station, or TV station to express your views or complaints regarding their news coverage, editorial policies, or programming as it concerns women.

11. Walking in a picket line to protest or call attention to some issue dealing with women's rights.
12. Participating in a sit-in demonstration, mass demonstration, or march

Have Would Might Never
1 2 3 4

13. Filing a complaint with a federal agency such as The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Have Would Might Never
1 2 3 4

14. Other (explain) ________________________

Part IV.

Please complete each of the following items.

1. Marital status: single ; married* ; separated ; divorced ;
   widowed .
   *Is this a first marriage? Yes , No . If no, number of
   previous marriages .

2. Age: 20 - 24 30 - 34 40 - 44 50 - 54 60 - 64
   25 - 29 35 - 39 45 - 49 55 - 59 65+

3. Check the highest level of education attained by your parents and
   husband (if married).

   Mother  Father  Husband
   Elementary school
   High school
   College
   Graduate or professional
   school (state degree)

4. Your educational attainment.
   Check highest level

   College . Graduate or professional school .
   Degrees obtained (please list) _____________________________.
   Major field ________________________________ .

5. Were you an only child? Yes , No .
   If "No", number of brothers older than you ; number of brothers
   younger than you ; sisters older than you ; sisters younger
   than you .

6. List number of children you have:
   Number  Sex  Age(s)
   ____________________________ .
7. Are you presently employed? Yes__, No__. Full-time__.
Part-time____.
Approximate number of hours worked per week_______________________.

8. Your occupation_________________. Specialization_________________.

9. Have you worked continuously at your profession? Yes__, No__. 

10. If your employment was discontinued to raise children, at what age did you resume employment?____. Number of children at home during period of discontinued employment:
    0 to 6 years of age____; 6 to 18 years of age____;
    over 18 years of age____.

11. If your employment was discontinued to raise children and you are still doing so, do you anticipate resuming employment in the future? Yes__, No__. 
Number of children at home when you anticipate resuming employment:
    0 to 6 years of age____; 6 to 18 years of age____;
    over 18 years of age____.

12. If you worked continuously or resumed employment while children were under 6 years of age, what child-care facilities did you use?
    a) Baby sitter, relative (state relationship_______.
    b) Baby sitter, non relative________.
    c) Live-in mother's helper or baby sitter______.
    d) Nursery school_____________________.
    e) Day-care center___________________.
    f) Other___________________________.

13. If you worked continuously or resumed employment while children were 6 to 18 years of age, what child care facilities did you use?
    a) Baby sitter, relative (state relationship)_______.
    b) Baby sitter, non-relative___________.
    c) Live-in mother's helper or baby sitter_______.
    d) None____. Not needed because of hours worked_______________________.
    e) Day-care center_______.
    f) Boarding school_______________.
    g) Other_____________________.

14. Husband's occupation_________________. Father's occupation_______________.

15. Did your mother work outside of the home when you were a child? 
    Yes__, No__. 
If "Yes," approximate number of hours per week worked_______________________.
Mother's occupation_____________________.

16. If you are not presently married, are you living with parents____? alone____?
17. Occupation of person with whom you are living.

18. Religion in which you were raised. Do you still practice this religion? Yes__, No__.

19. How would you describe your parents' political orientation? Radical__; Liberal__; Moderate__; Conservative__; Reactionary__.

20. How would you describe your political orientation? Radical__; Liberal__; Moderate__; Conservative__; Reactionary__.

21. How would you describe your political involvement? Very active__; active__; slightly active__; not at all active__. 

22. Additional Comments

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To provide additional information on the subjects who participated in this research, the following data are presented from selected items on Part IV of the questionnaire.

Marital status. Single marital status was indicated by 27.2 per cent of the subjects; married by 55.0 per cent; separated by 0.9 per cent; divorced by 9.2 per cent; widowed by 7.1 per cent; and, other by 0.2 per cent. The missing observations comprised 0.4 per cent.

Age: Two per cent of the subjects were in the age category 20-24 years; 11.6 per cent in 25-29 years; 13.4 per cent in 30-34 years; 10.2 per cent in 35-39 years; 9.1 per cent in 40-44 years; 10.7 per cent in 45-49 years; 12.3 per cent in 50-54 years; 8.7 per cent in 55-59 years; 9.7 per cent in 60-64; and, 10.8 per cent in 65+ years. The missing observations comprised 1.4 per cent.

Highest degree obtained: Twenty-two and three tenths per cent of the subjects indicated that they had obtained a bachelor's degree; 55.6 per cent had obtained a master's degree; and, 15.4 per cent had obtained a doctor's degree. This missing observations comprised 6.7 per cent.

Employment status. Eighty-two and seven tenths per cent of the subjects indicated that they were employed. Of these, 68.7 per cent were employed full time and 11.9 per cent were employed part time. Sixteen and one tenth per cent indicated that they were not employed. The missing observations comprised 1.2 per cent.

Children: Only 28.9 per cent of the subjects indicated that they had children. Of these, 10.4 per cent indicated that they had children under six years of age and 18.5 per cent indicated that they had children between the ages of six and eighteen.

Religious background. Protestant was indicated by 52.7 per cent of the subjects; Catholic by 21.8 per cent; Jewish by 17.6; other by 1.6 per cent; and, none by 2.5 per cent. The missing observations comprised 3.8 per cent.

Political orientation. Radical was indicated by 2.1 per cent of the subjects; Liberal by 49.6 per cent; Moderate by 36.3 per cent; Conservative by 10.5 per cent; and, Reactionary by 0.1 per cent. The missing observations comprised 1.4 per cent.
Political involvement. Two and one tenth per cent of the subjects indicated that they were very active; 11.0 per cent were active; 53.7 per cent were slightly active; and, 32.0 per cent were not at all active. The missing observations comprised 1.2 per cent.

Religious practice. Fifty-five and six tenths per cent of the subjects indicated that they still practiced the religion in which they were raised; 34.7 per cent indicated that they no longer practiced their religion; 1.4 per cent indicated that they had changed religions; and, 1.8 per cent indicated that they still subscribe to many of their religious beliefs, but do not attend church services. The missing observations comprised 6.5 per cent.

Maternal employment. Thirty-one and six tenths per cent of the subjects indicated that their mother had worked outside the home when they were children; 66.7 per cent indicated that their mother had not worked outside the home. The missing observations comprise 1.7 per cent.

Husband's education. Educational attainment of husbands was 0.7 per cent elementary school; 5.9 per cent high school; 22.2 per cent college; and, 29.0 per cent graduate or professional school. The missing observations comprise 42.2 per cent.
This dissertation submitted by Mary J. Brooke has been read and approved by the following committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.