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## Men's Sex-Role Attitudes as a Function of Maturity, Trust, and Experience of Women

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MEN'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF  
MATURITY, TRUST, AND EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN

by

Carl Robinson

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate  
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment  
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## VITA

The author, Carl Robinson, is the son of Joseph Robinson and Florence (Beam) Robinson. He was born on November 25, 1953 in Chicago, Illinois.

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## INTRODUCTION

During the last 10 years, psychology has witnessed a resurgence of interest in understanding the social roles of men and women in our modern society. It would seem that this interest is due, in large part, to the changing nature of these sex-based roles, particularly in the expansion of traditional role boundaries. Both men and women are beginning to behave in ways which would have been unheard of for their respective sexes a short time ago. The women's movement of today deserves much of the credit for these changes. This social force has drawn much of its power from such diverse sources as the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, sweeping changes in both education and employment, and technological progress in areas like birth control and communication. The current picture finds a public that has grown considerably in its acceptance of women in all sectors of the labor force, smaller families with mothers less burdened by childrearing, and, in general, a new freedom that has encouraged members of both sexes to break away from traditional role constraints.

Of course, there have been many who have not greeted the changing zeitgeist with open arms. Although the women's movement has proven itself to be an effective

social force, many men and women have been less than receptive to its call for change. Indeed, the resistance appears to have gained ground in the last two or three years--as witnessed by the problems legislative action like ERA has encountered. Women's liberation has been described as a serious threat to our moral character, potentially leading to the destruction of "family" as an institution. It has been labeled "unAmerican," and seen to go against the grain of the establishment both in religious and political terms. The ramifications of the resulting conflict which surrounds our traditional sex-based boundaries are too interesting and important to overlook. The women's movement of today is actively reassessing and challenging long-held attitudes and beliefs. This is an evolving and complex process, and its outcome remains unclear. Yet, we as psychologists are duty bound to investigate this process carefully. The intention of the present project is to make its contribution by broadening our understanding of why some individuals have welcomed these role changes and others have not.

Recent research has focused on two separate but related dimensions: sex-role identity and sex-role attitudes. For the sake of the present discussion, the author accepts Block's (1973) broad description of sex role to mean the constellation of qualities an individual understands to characterize males and females within the

context of his or her culture. Identity then refers to the way that individual incorporates those descriptive role characteristics into his or her own personality and behavior. One's attitudes describe his or her general feelings, beliefs, or expectations about the way men and women should adopt or exhibit those same qualities. Regarding these sex roles, two "truths" appear to have emerged: (a) there are reliably identifiable behavioral characteristics that are commonly and traditionally accepted to be descriptive of males or females respectively, and (b) both men and women tend to value masculine traits above feminine ones (Block, 1973; Kravetz, 1976; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968).

It is the apparent injustice of the second "truth" that has become the focal issue of the women's movement, and has in turn sparked much psychological research. Unfortunately, the attitude that the male role is superior to the female role pervades our society at all levels. The extent of this can be seen within our own profession. In a classic study conducted by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970), psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers were asked to describe an emotionally healthy and mature adult. They were then asked to do the same for a man and a woman. The authors found that the descriptions for a healthy adult paralleled those for a

healthy man, while the healthy woman was seen as less mature, less actualized, less stable, and generally less healthy than the healthy adult. Indeed, as recently as 1977, Aslin found that while feminist therapists viewed women within the context of "healthy adults," some 55 male therapists continued to perceive mental health in male-valued terms.

The women's movement has long challenged the notion that women's roles need be less desirable (or indeed less healthy) than men's role in our society. They have argued that we would all be better off if people of both sexes had a greater opportunity to utilize masculine and feminine characteristics. Following this line of reasoning, psychologists have begun to contest the assumption that masculinity (M) and femininity (F) represent the polar ends of a single sex-role dimension. The established M-F scales (MMPI, California Personality Inventory, Draw-a-Person, Adjective Checklist, etc.) have come under increasing criticism for reasons of their bipolar approach as well as for their poor construction and outdated item content (Constantinople, 1973; Wakefield, Sasek, Friedman, & Bowden, 1976). Instead, the conceptual advantage of assessing the independent development of masculine and feminine attributes has been advocated. This approach allows for the possibility that an individual may hold both desirable masculine and feminine characteristics and hence

have an "androgynous" identity. With this in mind, a number of researchers have developed new scales that assess sex-role identity within the framework of current thinking (e.g., Bem, 1974; Berzins, Welling, & Wetter, 1978; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974).

The advent of these new psychometric tools has been paralleled by an increasing interest in looking at the way individuals have responded to the call by the women's movement for a rectification of past inequities. While research on sex-role identity looked with equal interest at both men and women, many of the current studies on sex-role attitudes have focused on women alone. This bias is understandable in that recent changes have been brought about primarily by women, and on the surface it would seem that it is women's roles which have been most affected. Much of this research energy has been spent in attempting to understand how changing roles have affected women. A frequent target of study has been the feminist. Initially, research centered on comparing actual members of the women's liberation movement (who, some speculated, held traditional masculine sex-role traits) with nonliberated women. From these efforts, attempts were made at describing the "feminist personality." However, these known group studies proved rather limited as they failed to allow for individual differences. As a result, a number of researchers devised feminism or sex-role attitude

inventories (i.e., scales designed to measure an individual's feelings about the role changes espoused by women's liberation) in an attempt to increase sample sizes, strengthen the generalizability of findings, and further clarify the situation (e.g., Herman & Sedlacek, 1973; Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975; Spence & Helmreich, 1972).

With these measures in hand, a great deal of research has occurred in the area of attitude dynamics and influences, and the feminist personality has in fact become better understood. So, it would seem reasonable that researchers would want to explore the other side of the coin; i.e., what might be called the "chauvinist" personality. Indeed, one might logically argue that understanding the male perspective would prove most valuable, as men continue to remain on top in our society, and hence they put up much of the resistance to changing women's roles. Surprisingly, very little of this research has yet been done. Although the tools now exist to explore this domain, not much is known about the dynamics that underlie and influence men's attitudes towards today's changing sex roles. Indeed, the scant research that has occurred has relied almost exclusively on samples of college students. One can easily see that a young college man is a rather limited subject from which to generalize about all men, particularly in the present research area, as his attitudes have generally not yet been influenced by

"adult" considerations such as marriage, family, employment and the broader base of values and prejudices held by his nonstudent brothers.

The present investigation, through its study of 66 adult men, was designed to shed some light on sex-role attitudes. A wide variety of cultural and familial background variables were carefully assessed in terms of their possible impact on these men's feelings about today's role changes. In addition, a well recognized psychological dynamic described as the "receptivity hypothesis" was presented, and from this, two personality dimensions--interpersonal trust and ego development--were hypothesized to be positively related to men's attitudes. The results of this study were discussed and interpreted within the receptivity framework and also within the context of research already completed on this topic.



## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### The Women's Movement in Context

The purpose of the present section is to rather informally remind the reader that the assertion of the women's liberation movement for the goals of expanded role opportunities, equal rights under the law, and just treatment for all individuals is a process which began many years ago. One can point to the Bible, for example, as setting a symbolic stage for the subjugation of women by men with its description of Adam and Eve's fall from grace in Genesis. Since that time, women throughout the world have had to play a game of catch up--a game they have only recently had hopes of winning. Important as it is to recognize the longstanding fight by women for their rights, it is equally necessary to understand the unique social and technological developments of the last 20 years which have enabled their movement to recently move forward at a dramatically rapid pace.

Cudlipp (1971, p. 15) quoted an early feminist who made the following comment to her husband:

If particular care is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws of which we have no voice or representation.

Surprisingly, this was directed to John Adams by his wife,

Abigale, in 1777. A sense of the anger felt by women later in the 19th century began to assert itself with an early attempt at organization. In 1838 a pamphlet was published by the Female Anti-Slave Society of Boston (Tanner, 1970, p. 38). It sounded the following alarm:

All history attests that man has subjected woman to his will, used her as a means to promote his selfish pleasures, but never has desired to elevate her to the rank she was created to fill. He has done all he could to debased her and enslave her mind.

Continuing in this vein, Susan B. Anthony declared that women are the great unpaid laborers of the world. Her comments preceded the first Women's Rights Convention of 1848. This organization became the spearhead of women's drive for the right to vote in the United States; a right not won until 1920. Yet to some, receiving this right did not change many of the fundamental inequalities which divided men from women in early 19th century Western society.

As time passed, the issues changed. Women were given the right to own property in most states in the 1930s, and other rights followed. But writers like Simone de Beauvoir still referred to the condition of women as "next to slavery" as recently as 1949 (Tanner, 1970, p. 105). In a more humorous light, a popular movie opened that same year starring Spence Tracy and Katherine Hepburn. The movie, titled Adam's Rib, described the battle between men and

women in terms that sound very much like they came from today's most strident activists. In one scene, Hepburn, who plays a lawyer, argues that the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence, stating all men are created equal, is the height of hypocrisy. She then proceeds to defend a female client accused of attempting to murder her husband when caught cheating on her. She angrily points out that a man would not stand accused if the situation were reversed.

It would be an error to deny the very real progress made by women in their efforts to achieve some parity with men during that large period of history prior to 1960. But, practically speaking, most historians would agree that the women's movement has accelerated considerably during the last two decades. Researchers point to several developments as spurring this dramatic growth. Perhaps the most significant factor occurred in the early 1960s as a social zeitgeist that developed through the civil rights movement of Black Americans. This zeitgeist marked a more progressive or accepting phase in our history which allowed and encouraged social reform. The women's movement aligned itself with the cause of civil rights, and profited as a result. Another development occurred in education. Cudlipp (1970) has pointed out that in 1920 only one out of five women graduated from high school, while in 1970, four of five did. This change resulted from the more general

push for higher education for all people in our society. Yet, one consequence was to create a well educated female population less willing to let their intellectual powers lie wasted. Hennessey (1971) has also noted that changes in the labor force contributed to today's women's movement. Women made great inroads in the labor front during World War II. The demand for their services was strong and they moved into many jobs previously held only by men. Thus, having experienced these benefits, women were not to be denied their rightful opportunity in the future.

Tanner (1970) has observed a number of technological developments in the last 20 years which, she feels have contributed to the recent surge in modern feminism. Perhaps the most important of these was the advent of the birth control pill in 1962. This single development changed the lives of millions of people and offered women a means of controlling their bodies in a way never before seen. In a similar direction, it became medically safe to provide women with abortions. Besides offering women a new source of control, these developments acted to raise the issue of sexuality to a more prominent and visible position. Tanner concluded that the sexual revolution helped provide a catalyst to the women's movement.

Another technological outgrowth of recent years has been the advance of communication. The mass media, through television, radio, and publication has enabled today's

public to be more informed than ever possible before. With this tool, women found a way to share their common concerns with each other, and the media has enabled liberation to be an idea whose time has finally arrived.

Of course, this brief review provides only a glimpse of some of the factors that created the context for the women's liberation movement of today. Legal action mandating affirmative action programs and antidiscrimination suits have continued this process. Certainly the movement has a long way to go, and is encountering great resistance these days. The author of the present project seeks not to justify its progress, but rather, he hopes to enable the reader to arrive at a better understanding of the way people view the role changes encouraged and espoused by its supporters. As noted previously, many men and women have come to see the traditional male and female social roles as less than ideal. The recent developments noted above have helped to empower and encourage individuals to act to rectify this situation. The attitudes men have to such a rectification and the factors which might contribute to their reluctance to change become the focus of the remainder of this investigation.

## The Construct of Sex-Role Identity

In reviewing the literature relevant to men's attitudes towards women, a brief description of the current thinking on the topic of sex roles is a necessary starting point. As noted previously, our conception of this construct has changed considerably during the last few years, and yet we find ourselves still bound to many old ways of thinking. The repercussions of our reluctance to adjust to this change are significant. In his important paper on masculinity, Pleck (1981) has commented on psychology's long-time preoccupation with understanding sex-role identity. With this preoccupation has come important new evidence suggesting the need to move forward. However, this research appears to have had little impact at a practical level. Clinicians often adhere to old myths. These include such things as the widespread belief that homosexuality always reflects a person's confusion over his or her sex-role identity, and the idea that men who have not developed a secure and stable masculine identity are more likely than other men to be violent or hostile to women. Perhaps a brief review of the literature will help explain this paradox.

Early sex-role theory concerned itself primarily with defining masculine and feminine identification. This sex-role identification referred to the actual incorporation of

the roles thought to be inherently male or female and the unconscious reactions of the individual to the characteristics of that role (Caligor, 1951; Lynn, 1959). This approach has a dynamic basis, stemming from the psychoanalytic theory espoused by Sigmund Freud (1924). Freud set the stage for masculinity (M) and femininity (F) to be viewed as opposing ends of a single dimension (M-F). The phrase, "the opposite sex," fits well into his bipolar approach, as the stereotypical man is seen as the opposite of his female counterpart in M-F characteristics. The dynamic explanation for sex-role development stems from childhood identification with the same sex parent. Freud (1924) proposed that this process occurs in the successful resolution of the Oedipal (or Electra) complex. Depending on the modeling provided by the parent, as well as the level of success achieved by the child in moving from one developmental stage to another, the adult finds himself falling somewhere on the M-F continuum (Mussen, 1962). The importance of one's ultimate sex-role identity has been of enduring theoretical significance. For example, Lynn (1959) has noted that most psychologists have long associated emotional disturbance with a lack of harmony among aspects of an individual's sense of masculinity or femininity, and Pleck (1981) has added that, traditionally, clinicians have believed that a strong sex-role identity is crucial to one's psychological health.

As mentioned in the introduction, a variety of psychometric tools were devised in the 1940s and '50s to assess M-F. They were inspired primarily by the work of Terman and Miles (1936), who observed that the purpose of M-F scales is to enable the clinician to obtain a more meaningful, more objective measure of those aspects of personality in which the sexes tend to differ. More specifically, their purpose is to make possible a quantitative estimation of the amount and direction of a subject's deviation from the characteristic mean of his or her sex. The Femininity Scale of Gough (1952) follows this tradition in an exemplary fashion. It was derived from some 500 items thought to differentiate men from women. The final product contained the most reliable 58 items. One of the first applications of this test was a demonstration that homosexual men scored more similarly to females than to normal males. Support for this hypothesis was presented by Gough (1952) as an indication of the validity of his measure.

Little criticism of this general approach to sex roles was heard until the late 1960s, when the social and political climate began to change. Initial concern was expressed regarding the obviousness of the available M-F inventories themselves. It was repeatedly demonstrated that respondents' scores could easily be manipulated by response set and subject expectations (Bieliauskas,



Miranda, & Lansky, 1968; Sappenfield, 1968), thus indicating the transparency and ineffectuality of these measures.

Constantinople (1973) criticized existing measures of M-F from another direction. She suggested that M-F is best not thought of as a single dimension, but as a multidimensional construct. If this were the case, then the bipolar nature of sex-role inventories would be necessarily limited. She argued that the theoretical explanation that would tie sex differences to masculinity and femininity does not, in fact, exist and that empirical data actually point to the inadequacy of the bipolar approach. She observed that personality theorists, such as Erikson, Jung, Adler, and Maslow have long implied that an emotionally healthy adult incorporates characteristics of both sexes, and that the mature individual is somewhat "androgynous" in nature. She correctly pointed out that existing M-F scales fail to take this information into account and that they are defined only in terms of sex differences on item responses. She concluded her paper by suggesting that future work might be done in reevaluating the unidimensional M-F continuum.

In a similar vein, Block (1973) argued that traditional thinking on masculinity and femininity as a single bipolar dimension is not only in grave theoretical error, but also itself a source of sexist ideology.

Drawing on cross-national studies of self-definition as well as longitudinal assessments of sex-role attitudes in the United States, Block pointed out that evidence indicates our conception of M-F is consistent within our culture and times, but fails to hold constructural shape outside of this context. It is a construct highly influenced by developmental socialization, and may best be thought of as a socialized value rather than a psychological dimension. She added that individuals demonstrating highest levels of ego functioning hold qualities traditionally thought of as masculine (e.g., independence and achievement orientation) as well as feminine (e.g., conscientiousness and sensitivity). These androgynous individuals claim the desirable and strong characteristics from both sexes. As a consequence, they exhibit greater adaptability, flexibility, and psychological harmony. Block also suggested that it is easier for men to attain this higher ego functioning in our culture because the individuation process for women involves greater conflict with prevailing social norms. She concluded that a redefinition of sex roles and a revamping of socialization processes is necessary if our society wants to foster individuation and personal maturity for its young.

These important papers by Constantinople and Block directly led to the development of new psychometric tools.

In 1974 Bem introduced the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. This is a 60-item measure of "desirable" sex typed qualities which treats masculinity and femininity as independent dimensions, thereby making it possible for psychometricians to categorize persons either as masculine or feminine in the traditional sense, or androgynous (i.e., individuals holding both masculine and feminine qualities). Not only was this inventory an improvement over other M-F scales in terms of item content and the reduction of social desirability confounds, but it also provided a means of validating the construct of androgyny, and hence the multidimensionality of sex-role identity. Indeed, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory became the first measure that did not automatically build an inverse relationship between masculinity and femininity. It should be noted that the scoring of the inventory was later modified (Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976) to allow the classification of subjects scoring low in both masculine and feminine qualities into an "undifferentiated" sex-role category.

The changing M-F construct also led Spence et al., (1974) to develop the Personality Attributes Questionnaire. This inventory is a measure of sex-role stereotypes and masculinity and femininity. It is a 55-item measure derived from the Sex-Role Stereotype Questionnaire (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968) that treats masculinity and femininity as separate dimensions, both being

characteristic of each sex. This questionnaire yields three scales: Masculinity (M), Femininity (F) and Androgyny (M-F). Items used for the M and F scales are considered desirable for both sexes (although they tend to be favored by one sex over the other), while items on the M-F scale are strongly identified with a particular sex. This inventory provides still another means of defining and validating the multidimensionality of sex-role identity.

Several less significant scales have been developed which treat masculinity and femininity as independent variables. Berzins, Welling, and Wetter (1978) described the PRF-Androgyny Scale. It follows the same theoretical rationale that underlies the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, only it relies on the already established Personality Research Form for its items. This has two chief advantages:

(a) because the inventory has been widely used in past research, post hoc inspection of data can provide a rich source of sex-role information, and (b), there is greater utility in using a measure which has established scales already available. The authors note that a correlation of .65 was found between the PFR-Androgyny Scale and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory.

A comparable line of reasoning led Heilbrun (1976) to extract masculinity and femininity subscales from an earlier bipolar composite index based on the Adjective Check List. Similarly, Wakefield et al. (1976) devised

independent M-F scales using the MMPI. These authors developed their respective measures in a fashion that allowed "undifferentiated" individuals to emerge and as a result, made up for this deficiency in the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. However, as noted before, Bem and her colleagues adjusted their measure in 1976 to accomplish exactly this same function. As a result, most new M-F scales besides the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the Personality Attributes Questionnaire have not seen much use.

One final comment on the new sex-role scales:

Recently these measures have received their own share of criticism. Bem's measure, in particular, has been singled out by researchers. Yonge (1978) and Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) each found fault with Bem's item selection. Although her sex typed items were selected, in part, because raters found them desirable (Bem, 1974), these critics note that while the masculine items appear desirable, many of the feminine items were found to be undesirable by members of both sexes (e.g., gullible, shy, and childlike). Robinson (Note 1) has commented on this shortcoming, and has added that the items on both Bem's and Spence's inventories appear transparent, and in need of some revision. Substantiating this concern, Petro and Putnam (1979) completed a longitudinal study and found that 75% of an initial pool of items selected from the Sex-Role

Stereotype Questionnaire capable of differentiating men from women in 1972 were no longer stereotypic in 1979. These authors argue that such sex-role measures must be adjusted and updated to keep pace with a changing world.

Obviously, the recent developments in sex-role identity theory have generated a great deal of research during the last few years. Much of this has been in the direction of validating the androgyny construct, and by now this seems to be well established (Bem, 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). More relevant to the present study, researchers have sought to explore the various correlates of and influences on sex-role identity. Much of this work originated from Block's (1973) observation, noted previously, that individuals of highest ego development demonstrate an androgynous identity. In supporting this finding, psychologists are beginning to dispel the long-accepted notion that individuals of high emotional health and maturity necessarily hold strong stereotypical same-sex identity roles.

Using the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, Bem (1975) found that androgynous individuals showed greater adaptability and more situationally effective behavior in an experimental laboratory situation than either high masculine or high feminine subjects. She concluded that this was due to their greater role flexibility and their broader repertoire of available skills. Wiggins and Holzmuller (1978)

substantiated this finding. Using Bem's scale on some 178 college students, they found androgynous individuals to be more flexible in their interpersonal behavior than sex-typed individuals. In addition, the authors suggested that androgynous men have greater flexibility than androgynous women.

In the areas of locus of control, Johnson and Black (1981) found that males who scored masculine or androgynous and females who scored feminine or androgynous on Bem's scale were significantly more internal in their sense of control than feminine males, masculine females or undifferentiated members of both sexes. This study was one of the few that found feminine scoring females tending in a more healthy direction than their masculine peers. In explaining this finding, the authors noted that women are expected to use their power in different ways than men. In our society, feminine power may be more effective for women than masculine power, as women most frequently vie for power with men.

However, Hoffman and Fidell (1979) found quite different results when they sampled the actual behavior of masculine, feminine, and androgynous women. For their pool of 369 respondents, masculine tending women used time more effectively, had a more positive outlook on the job, and generally were more assertive and more "in charge" of their lives than feminine scorers. As in other studies,

androgynous women came out ahead on these indices of locus of control.

In a similar direction, Deutsch and Gilbert (1976) administered the Bem scale and the Revised Bell Adjustment Inventory to 128 subjects. Androgynous men and women scored high in personal adjustment. However, masculine males also scored quite high on this measure, while feminine males and females scored low. The authors speculated that the acquisition of cross-sex qualities benefits women more than men, as the attainment of masculine traits by women may be more adjustive in the social context of a male dominated society.

Similar results were found by Orlofsky (1977), who tested the hypothesis that psychological androgyny should be associated with ego integrity. Sex-role orientation, ego identity status, and self-esteem were determined for 111 individuals. The author found that androgynous subjects had high levels of ego development and self-esteem, while undifferentiated subjects had a low self-concept and a lack of personal integration (identity diffusion). However, as in Deutsch and Gilbert's (1976) study, Orlofsky found that masculine males also had high self-esteem. Yet these males demonstrated significantly poorer ego integration than androgynous subjects of both sexes.

Perhaps the most extensive research on this topic has



been done by Spence and her associates. In a series of experiments utilizing both the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the Personality Attributes Questionnaire (Helmreich & Spence, 1979; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), these researchers not only consistently demonstrated the validity of the androgyny construct, but also investigated a wide range of issues raised by this discovery. They have presented data showing that a dualistic conception of M-F holds for a large number of groups varying widely in age, geographic location, socioeconomic status, and patterns of interest. Importantly, they have demonstrated that androgynous individuals display higher self-esteem, social competence, and greater achievement orientation than individuals who are strong in either masculinity or femininity or strong in neither. The authors found some sex differences in these correlates. In self-esteem, for example, masculine males tended to score higher than feminine females. However, across both sexes, results indicated that androgynous individuals scored highest on all measures, with masculine subjects of both sexes scoring next highest, followed by feminine subjects of both sexes and finally the undifferentiated scoring lowest. Others have substantiated these findings (e.g., Katz, 1979; Sappenfield & Harris, 1975). Apparently any strong sense of sex-role identity is better than none. Equally apparent is the fact that in

our male dominated culture, individuals holding masculine qualities fare better than those holding feminine ones.

The purpose of this brief review of the research on roles has been to set the stage for the more pertinent literature on men's attitude toward women. As pointed out in the introduction, the issues of sex-role identity and the attitudes regarding sex roles are linked both historically and conceptually. It should now be clear to the reader that the last 10 years have witnessed major changes in our understanding of masculinity and femininity. In many respects, these changes have occurred in response to a call from the women's movement for the general reevaluation of the traditionally accepted social roles of men and women in our culture, a reevaluation which is still in progress and still meeting much resistance. The remainder of this literature review is concerned with the ways in which individuals have experienced the women's movement and the attitudes that have become associated with that process.

### Understanding the Feminist Personality

The principal intention of this project was not the study of sex-role identity, but rather, the investigation of individuals' attitudes and feelings toward today's changing sex roles. As noted in the first section of this

literature review, it became increasingly clear in the late 1960s that a social movement was underway to expand and alter our society's traditional sex-role boundaries. As this movement gained force in the early 1970s more people began to react to it. Some heard the cry for change and actively supported the idea. They identified with the women's movement and saw it as facilitating liberation and empowerment. Others reacted quite negatively, seeing it as threatening and regressive. Most people stood back and simply watched. Given these volatile circumstances, a number of myths developed about women's liberation. Most relevant to the present study are the myths that evolved around its more active supporters--the so called "feminists". It was generally understood that these women were "masculine" in their sex-role identity, "lesbian" in their sexual preference and "socialist" in their political ideology. Because these women were seen to be a product of a turbulent period in our history, they were thought of as being unstable and maladjusted psychologically. These myths were challenged as social scientists moved to investigate the feminist personality. In the early research, this was primarily a question of differentiating women's movement supporters from traditional women. Early studies of this type used the known group method and were primarily exploratory in nature. However, these attempts laid the groundwork for the subsequent increase in good

research completed during the last several years.

One of the most important of the initial explorations of the feminist psyche was reported in a study by Sanger and Alker (1972). Interested in investigating the possible similarities between the personality of black militants and feminists, these authors hypothesized that relative to control subjects, members of the Women's Liberation Movement would score more internal in their own lives, yet more external in their political ideologies as measured by an adjusted version of Rotter's I-E Scale. This hypothesis followed from an already established trend seen in black activists. Results confirmed the authors' expectations. Feminists tended to blame "sexism" on socialization, laws, and cultural influences, while the controls saw sexism as inherent and internally controlled. In addition, the liberated members took a significantly more internal view regarding controlling their personal lives when compared to the nonfeminist sample. The authors concluded that a key distinction between these groups is that feminists identify sexism as a problem which can be overcome by collective social action, while nonactivist women either do not see a need for change or else feel the problem is insoluble.

This work inspired a number of studies in which members of the women's movement were compared to nonfeminist controls. Generally this research was haphazard and limited in focus. For example, Fowler and

Van De Riet (1972) administered the Adjective Check List to 18 women attending a radical women's conference sponsored by a feminist organization, as well as to 45 other women with a wide range of backgrounds. Data analysis yielded interesting findings. The feminist sample scored significantly higher on autonomy, aggression, self-confidence, and dominance, and significantly lower on deference than did controls and normative samples. Results were interpreted in terms of both generational confounds and the self-actualization values espoused by the Women's Liberation Movement.

Pawlicki and Almquest (1973) administered the California Fascism Scale and Rotter's I-E Scale to 31 members of a women's liberation group (The National Organization for Women) and to 44 female control subjects. The liberated group demonstrated lower levels of authoritarianism on the Fascism Scale as well as significantly higher levels of internal control on the I-E Scale. These findings add support to those reported by Sanger and Alker (1972), and suggest that the women's movement is composed of individuals who believe in their ability to effect the changes they seek. Bieliauskas (1974) suggested that this finding reflects a "masculine" orientation in feminists, one that is by nature achievement oriented and efficacy conscious. He presented data to substantiate this claim. Twenty-nine self

identified feminists and 29 nonfeminists were given two bipolar measures of M-F (the Gough Femininity Scale and the Drawing Completion Test). On both measures feminists scored more masculine than control subjects. However, this difference was significantly more apparent on the Drawing Completion Test, and Bieliauskas speculated that this reflects a greater unconscious masculine identity than is willingly admitted by most feminists.

Some additional support for the accuracy of early thinking on the feminist personality is provided by Fowler, Fowler, and Van De Riet (1973). The Conservatism-Radicalism Opinionnaire was administered to 50 identified members of the women's movement (individuals attending a Feminist Women's Symposium) and to 50 nonfeminist college females. A significant difference was found between these two samples, with the feminists scoring much more radical (liberal) in their political attitudes. The authors concluded their paper with the observation that feminism is an antecedent to political radicalism.

A number of studies, however, have suggested that the stereotypes which surrounded the early women's liberation supporters were quite inaccurate. Goldberg (1974), for example, found that 12 early members of the National Organization for Women did not score significantly more masculine on the Gough M-F Scale than did 19 control subjects. He did find, however, that feminists were less

likely to conform to external pressure (as measured by the Conformity Instrument) than nonfeminists. Similarly, O'Neil, Teague, Lushene, and Davenport (1975) reported that they found no evidence to support the imputations that feminists exhibit deviant personality characteristics, nor was there any indication that these women are more maladjusted than other women. The authors scored some 26 scales of the MMPI which had been completed by 19 members of a university women's group and 34 nonfeminists. While the two groups differed significantly on seven of the scales, in general this reflected a variance of attitudes and values, not clinical deviancy. In all cases, the mean T scores for the liberated group were within normal limits.

In a study important for its myth breaking findings, Jorden-Viola, Fassberg, and Viola (1976) administered the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to a large sample of women (100 members of different feminist organizations and 380 nonfeminist women of various backgrounds). Rather than scoring in a masculine direction, feminists as a group tended to score androgynous (i.e., holding qualities thought of as both masculine and feminine). The authors suggested that prior studies evaluating M-F identity for members of the Women's Liberation Movement may have missed this important distinction. They added that feminists do not appear to be rejecting feminine qualities in favor of masculine ones,

but rather they seem to value qualities seen as desirable in both sexes. In addition, the authors reported that the feminist sample scored no more anxious than other subjects. Indeed, they scored lower on the Taylor Score than did a sample of 100 college females. The authors, responding to the stereotype, had hypothesized quite the opposite.

Finally, in a 1980s version of the known group method, Amstey and Whitborne (1981) sought to compare the psychosocial development and sex-role identification of "newly liberated" middle age women choosing to return to college with that of their traditional homemaker peers. The authors administered the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, an Ego Development Scale, and the Identity Status Questionnaire to 80 women between the ages of 30 and 50. Forty of these women were housewives who decided to pursue a college degree after a prolonged absence from school. The remaining 40 subjects represented a generally matched group of housewives not interested in returning to school. The two groups were found similar in their identity achievement, but the continuing education sample appeared to be more active in their questioning of personal goals and religious beliefs. In addition, the traditional women had significantly more feminine scores on Bem's measure. Although the groups did not differ in their ego development, there was a sense that homemakers were less than secure in their acceptance of traditional roles. The



authors conclude their paper by noting the study was limited by confounding issues, including a differential social status between the groups.

### Sex-Role Attitude Measures

It is noteworthy that during the last several years research comparing members of feminist groups to nonfeminist women has decreased almost to the point of nonexistence. Social scientists have been quick to realize that there are inherently limited features to doing this type of investigation. Not only are usable women's movement subject samples difficult to obtain, but there are serious confounding factors which make these women poor candidates from which to generalize. The so-called "feminist personality" is a complex entity that may well represent many women (and men) not actively involved in the women's movement. Clearly it reflects a continuum of attitudes, beliefs, and characteristics. Indeed, there is little reason to believe that a member of a socialist women's art collective in Chicago necessarily has the same personality of a member of the moderate National Organization for Women in Washington, D.C. Some method of assessing individual differences is certainly essential.

As a result of these considerations, researchers have developed a number of attitude measures designed to

objectively assess an individual's feelings regarding the changing social roles of women and men. In effect, these feminism scales have allowed research to proceed with greater flexibility and rigor. They have opened the door for the expansion of study to include men's as well as women's attitudes toward today's changing sex roles. These inventories are generally bipolar, with feminist or progressive attitudes seen as falling on one side of a continuous dimension and traditional or sexist attitudes as falling on the other extreme.

The forerunner of the modern feminism scale is reported by Kirkpatrick (1936). He described the construction of a belief pattern scale for measuring Attitudes Toward Feminism. He devised items that assess acceptance of feminist beliefs rather than attitudes toward avowed feminists. Primarily these items represent a wide range of women's roles. However, the outdated nature of the items precludes the use of this measure for current research (Smith et al., 1975; Spence & Helmreich, 1972).

The first modern feminism scale apparently has demonstrated the greatest utility as witnessed by the sheer number of studies reporting its use. Titled the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, this 55-item inventory was developed by Spence and Helmreich in 1972 as an updated version of Kirkpatrick's 1936 measure. The construction and validation of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale is



described in the Methods Section of the present paper. However, it should be noted that the authors intended their inventory to be used as an objective measure of an individual's attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. Indeed, in a personal communication (Note 2) Spence noted that her measure is really appropriate for assessing attitudes toward the roles of both sexes, as the items in her scale always concern women vis a vis men. Prior to this measure researchers were forced to speculate on individual attitudes. Impressionistic assumptions about the beliefs held by acknowledged members of the women's movement can hardly suffice when one can have a psychometrically sound assessment of an individual's attitudes, as made possible by the Spence scale. The dimensions covered by this inventory include vocational, educational, and intellectual roles, freedom and independence, dating and courtship behavior, sexual attitudes, drinking and related social behavior, as well as marital obligations. It should be pointed out that Doyle (1975) found a correlation of .87 ( $N = 103$ ) between the Spence and the Kirkpatrick measures. In addition, in 1973 a 25 item short form of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale was introduced by Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp. This measure was found to correlate .95 to the full scale.

In 1973, Herman and Sedlacek devised an attitude

inventory titled the Situational Attitude Scale for Women. This measure was designed to assess an individual's level of "sexism," which the authors defined as the reluctance to view both men and women outside the context of their traditional sex roles. In standardizing their measure, Herman and Sedlacek administered related items to 100 college students. Their final inventory consists of 100 bipolar items reflecting personal and social situations relevant to male-female relations and sex roles. Although reliability is satisfactory, the authors reported difficulty in validating the measure. They concluded that sexism is more than a negative reaction to feminism, and is actually a stereotyped reaction to any change in the established sex roles.

Still another feminism measure is presented by Osmond and Martin (1975). Their Sex-Role Attitude Scale is a Likert-type 32-item inventory designed to measure attitudes in terms of familial roles, interpersonal roles, stereotypes of male/female behavior, and social changes related to sex roles. They suggested that the scale reflects a single dimension with traditional attitudes falling on one side of the continuum and "modern" or progressive attitudes falling on the other. Reliability coefficients for the scale averaged .33. In developing the measure's validation, men were found to be significantly more traditional in their attitudes than women. Items

regarding familial roles yielded the greatest amount of sex differentiation and sex typing. The authors concluded that nonsexist or feminist individuals appear to transcend sex-role constraints and view social roles outside of the context of sex.

The most popular alternative to Spence and Helmreich's Attitudes Toward Women Scale is Smith, Ferree, and Miller's (1975) Attitudes Toward Feminism Scale (Fem Scale). This 20-item Likert-type inventory has the singular advantage of being easy to administer, and requires only 5 minutes to complete. As with the Spence scale, the Fem Scale is a spinoff of Kirkpatrick's 1936 measure. As a result, the authors were more concerned with attitudes toward feminism than toward feminists when they selected their items. In keeping with other feminism scales, the authors view their construct as a single bipolar dimension. Reliability is reported to be .91. Construct validation is reported by Singleton and Christiansen (1977) to be satisfactory. These writers approached validation from several directions using a large sample of men and women. They found a correlation of .63 between the Fem Scale and a brief questionnaire designed to assess identification with the women's movement. Correlations of  $-.52$  to  $-.47$  were found between a measure of dogmatism and the Fem. Finally, using the known groups method, Singleton and Christiansen reported large and

significant differences for scores on the Fem Scale between "feminists" ( $N = 88$ ) belonging to the National Organization for Women, college females ( $N = 149$ ) and antifeminists ( $N = 59$ ) belonging to an organization called "Fascinating Motherhood." As expected, feminists scored high while antifeminists scored low. These authors concluded that the inventory is a highly reliable and valid instrument for measuring attitudes toward feminism.

A number of researchers have developed sexism scales for purposes specific to particular subject populations and for unique research needs. One such measure is Brant's (1978) Attitudes Toward Female Professors Scale, which is obviously designed to look at a rather focused issue. Another measure is Slade and Jenner's (1978) Questionnaire measuring Attitudes To Female's Social Roles, which specifically concerns subject's perceptions of the status of various roles common to each sex. Finally, Travis and Seipp (1978) found it practical to develop a very brief (six item) Sex-Role Ideology Scale. This measure was intended for field research and was used in the authors' large study of the relationship between parental reinforcement patterns and sex-role attitudes.

Criticism of feminism scales has generally concerned their susceptibility to social desirability influences. Bowman and Auerbach (1978) demonstrated that the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, for example, does not differentiate

"well meaning" subjects (those willing to endorse feminism in words but not in action) from "sincere" subjects (those who truly support the women's movement). Well meaning subjects ( $N = 16$ ) tended to demonstrate greater susceptibility to social pressure than the sincere ( $N = 19$ ) subjects. Both groups scored equally high (feminist) on the Spence. The authors suggested that sex-role attitude scales should attempt to screen out the well meaning types so that a more honest picture can emerge. A similar line of thinking led Gilbert, Warner and Cable (1975) to develop the Cross-Examinative Attitude Scale, which attempts to appraise feminist beliefs without the influence of response bias. These researchers pointed out that other scales assess only conscious attitudes, while theirs, through the elicitation of latent nonverbal responses, assesses unconscious attitudes as well.

The issue of social desirability and related confounds on subjects' sex-role attitudes has received additional attention. Clearly, there are strong social pressures surrounding this topic. Such pressures may well be expected to influence respondents' scores on the generally transparent sexism measures. In supporting this notion, Fischer (1977) found that respondents' sex-role attitudes were significantly affected by the sex of the examiner. Utilizing an established attitude measure, Fischer reported that males scored more conservatively when

tested by a woman than a man. Calling this the "screw you" effect, the author hypothesized that these male subjects perceived the examiner as a "feminist," and therefore they answered items in a more conservative direction. Although Argentino, Kidd, and Bogart (1977) failed to find a similar examiner effect, they did notice that men scored more progressively in their sex-role attitudes when they were tested with other women than when tested alone. Finally, in a complex study designed to assess the influence of social pressure on women's sex-role attitudes, Ward (1978) devised an experiment with two conditions, one of which clearly gave respondents a greater sense of confidentiality than the other. In this study, women scored more traditionally in their attitudes when they felt a greater sense of confidentiality. The author argued that women's attitudes are inflated in a progressive direction by social pressure and expectations.

Following a different direction, two recent studies have investigated the reaction individuals have to common terms related to the women's movement. Jacobson (1979) proposed that the public attention put on this movement has caused certain terms to become loaded with emotional meaning and therefore has colored the response people have to these terms. She found that respondents had very negative reactions to such expressions as "women's lib" and "feminism," but generally more positive reactions to terms



like "equal rights for women" and "women's liberation." However, two years later, she reported (Jacobson, 1981) that reactions to these terms had changed significantly. Although subjects still demonstrated differential attitudes toward the women's movement depending on the label used in reference to it, the terms "feminism" and "women's liberation" were now rated more favorably than in 1979, while "women's lib" was rated even more negatively.

These papers pose a warning to researchers. They suggest that a topic like sex-role attitudes is a volatile one for respondents. There are complex forces which influence these attitudes, and depending upon the circumstances under which they are investigated, one runs the risk of misreading subjects' responses. Clearly, psychologists have a responsibility to recognize the potential limitations of the sexism measures, and take the appropriate precautions necessary to insure the validity of their findings.

### Cultural and Demographic Relationships

Regardless of their drawbacks, the feminism measures have provided researchers with a valuable new tool in their quest to understand the dynamics underlying individuals' attitudes toward today's changing sex roles. Utilizing these inventories, psychologists have begun to explore the

relationships between various independent variables and these attitudes. Primarily, this research has gone in one of two directions: (a) the establishment of cultural and demographic influences, and (b) the assessment of personality factors. The present section of this paper describes those background variables--both cultural and demographic--that have been linked to sex role attitudes.

Likely due to the early known group comparisons between feminist and nonfeminist women, the proponderance of research in this area has continued to focus on women. In a number of respects this trend is understandable. Women have been seen as bringing about the feminist movement and as being more affected by it than men. As a consequence, researchers have remained quite interested in grasping the female perspective on this issue, at the expense of the male point of view. An additional limitation of past studies has been their reliance on young college students as subjects. Although it might be reasonably argued that life experiences, such as employment, marriage, and child rearing would influence one's sex-role attitudes, most researchers have ignored these considerations. Fortunately, a few investigations have taken note of the fact that individuals of both sexes and of diverse backgrounds and ages are all greatly affected by today's changing sex roles. Perhaps to the credit of the women's movement, researchers are becoming

increasingly interested in sampling the attitudes of a wide spectrum of our population.

In those studies utilizing both male and female subjects, one very consistent finding has emerged; women appear to be significantly more progressive in their attitudes toward feminism than men. One early demonstration of this occurred in Joesting and Joesting's (1973) massive statistical evaluation of archival data. These authors were the first to report that women are much more liberated than men. They relied on norms calculated for 170,000 college freshmen in 1970, and found this difference existed even though their male and female samples did not differ in terms of age, racial makeup, or socioeconomic class. Tomeh (1978) evaluated several thousand college students in terms of their attitudes toward women's roles and also found that females produced a significantly "more modern" response than males. This finding has been substantiated in numerous other college samples where subjects have taken the Spence or Fem Scale measures (Etaugh & Gerson, 1974; Gackenbach, 1978; Schmid, 1975; Ullman, Freedland, & Warmsun, 1978). Equally important are reports that this finding generalizes to nonstudent populations as well. Schumacher-Finell (1977) administered a self-devised feminism measure to a diverse sample of 479 men and women. These subjects ranged in age from 9 through 53 years. The author reported that at every age, females were more in

favor of feminist ideology than males. Braun and Chao (1978) compared men and women between the ages of 30 and 55 on their Attitudes Toward Women Scale scores and found results consistent with those reported previously. Factor analysis indicated that women were significantly more liberal regarding vocational and educational roles as well as marital roles. And, in their sample validation data for the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Spence and Helmreich (1972) indicated that mothers and their daughters both scored more profeminist than fathers and sons. However, it should be noted that in a study completed by O'Connor, Mann, and Bardwick (1978) which assessed the Spence scores of an adult sample, women appeared only slightly more profeminist than men. Yet, even in a sample of 154 male and female psychotherapists, Sherman, Koufacos, and Kenworthy (1978) found women therapists to be significantly more supportive of the feminist movement than their male counterparts. The findings reported regarding sex differences have been generally interpreted as indicating that women perceive themselves as having more to gain in changing traditional sex roles than do men. Interestingly, this has held across the last 10 years, and suggests that not only are these roles still perceived as unequal by women, but that the traditional feminine role continues to be seen as less desirable than the masculine role.

Sex differences on attitudes toward feminism are one

of the few consistently replicated findings. Less success has been found in demonstrating the influence of age. In the manual for the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Spence and Helmreich (1972) reported that both sexes of the college sample scored in a more progressive direction than their parents, suggesting that the older one is, the more traditional will be his or her attitudes. They reiterated this point in 1979. Schumacher-Finell (1977) found similar results for her sample of 479 subjects. She noted that the relationship between age and attitudes toward feminism is a curvilinear one with feminism scores increasing gradually until age 20, then declining steadily with increasing age. Etaugh and Bowen (1976), in a more limited longitudinal study of 1102 university students, found that there was a shift to more liberal attitudes toward feminism over the college years. In the case of men, it was speculated that this change reflects a developmental maturation process. However, for women this effect may have been partially due to the high college drop-out rate of traditional thinking females. In conflict with these reports, Pleck (1978) found no correlation between age and attitudes toward women's roles for 616 males representing a diverse national sample (age range: 18 to 70). However he reported a mild but significant correlation ( $r = -.22$ ) between age and the recognition that women are discriminated against in our society. Finally, Robinson (Note 1) found no significant

relationship between Spence measured sex-role attitudes and respondents' ages for a diverse male sample of students, white collar businessmen, and factory workers. He concluded that those studies reporting age differences may have overlooked other confounds including artifacts related to sampling the attitudes of children and their parents (i.e., "cohort" effects). He also argued that as one moves away from college samples toward a greater representation of the actual society, the effect of age on sex-role attitudes appears to fade out, at least for adults.

Interesting cultural influences have been demonstrated for sex-role attitudes, including racial differences. Gackenbach (1978) administered the Spence scale to 206 black and white university subjects. She found that black women had significantly more traditional attitudes than white women. However, she observed no differences between black and white men. Contradicting this later finding, Robinson (Note 1) found 74 adult white males had significantly more progressive attitudes than 30 black and Latino male respondents ( $p < .01$ ). Ullman et al. (1978) gave both the Spence and the Fem measures to some 314 college students of either oriental or caucasian ancestry. For both sexes, the white sample held more progressive attitudes. In this vein, Braun and Chau (1978) administered the Spence to 74 caucasian American subjects

and to 84 Asian born Chinese Americans. Although the authors predicted that the Chinese would score more liberal, this was not confirmed. The most progressive scores were held by the caucasian females. These authors concluded that Asian born women are socialized to accept traditional roles to an extent not seen in American culture. Unfortunately, most of the studies demonstrating racial differences noted that other confounds may be the source of at least part of the variance found.

Such diverse influences as family socioeconomic level, education, and the attitudes of parents all appear to affect respondents' attitudes toward women. Robinson (Note 1) found white-collar businessmen's attitudes to be more progressive than blue-collar factory workers'. Scott, Richards, and Wade (1977) found more liberal sex-role attitudes were held by students attending an affluent private university than by those attending a regional campus of a state university. These findings were interpreted in terms of the relative values held by wealthy as opposed to middle-class families. Another series of studies have looked at the effects of education on respondents' attitudes. Pleck (1978) found a significant relationship ( $r = .26$ ) between educational level and attitudes toward feminism, with more highly educated subjects demonstrating more accepting attitudes toward the women's movement. This is consistent with Etaugh and Bowen's (1976) finding that

attitudes become more progressive regarding women's liberation as subjects move through college. However, Schumacher-Finell (1977) failed to find differences on the Spence scale between subjects attending college and subjects of the same age not in school. And yet, perhaps the most definitive investigation in this area has been presented by Spence and Helmreich (1978). These authors clearly demonstrated in a large cross-age study involving several thousand respondents that education is significantly and positively related to progressive sex-role attitudes.

Beyond these related pieces of research, a number of interesting individual efforts have occurred which further contribute to an understanding of the factors related to sex-role attitudes. For example, Staines, Tavris, and Jayaratne (1973) found that married women hold more negative attitudes toward feminism than single women of the same age and economic class. The authors posited that traditional attitudes stem from the successful adoption to the existing system of sex-role differentiation, as reflected by marriage. Robinson (Note 1) also found that marital status has an influence on these attitudes. For his sample of adult males, divorced men held the most progressive sex-role attitudes, followed by subjects married from 1 to 15 years. Single and long-married (over 15 years) men scored most traditional in their attitudes. The author speculated that divorced men held their



attitudes as a consequence of their unique marital difficulties; concerns which made them particularly sensitive to the importance of changing women's roles in society. In a different direction, Schmid (1975) assessed the relation between religious faith and attitudes toward feminism for 289 men and women. She found that atheists held the most favorable attitudes toward feminism. This corresponded to the findings of Ellis and Bentler (1973). In addition, Schmid found that Jewish subjects held the next most progressive attitudes, followed by Catholics. The least progressive attitudes were expressed by Protestants. Similar results were found by Robinson (Note 1), although he noted that atheists held slightly less progressive attitudes than Jewish respondents.

One final area of study has been to look at the influence of family attitudes and behavior on respondents' ultimate beliefs. From a theoretical point of view, one would expect that there would be a strong relationship in this area (Block, 1973). And, indeed, this seems to be the case. Van Fossen (1977) noted that family dynamics--particularly familial dominance, patterns--significantly influenced daughter's sex-role attitudes. In families where husband and wife shared child-rearing responsibilities equally and treated one another with "respect", their college-age daughters had more liberal sex-role attitudes than those from traditional families. Huth (1978) reported

similar findings for women. She also noted that wives with progressive attitudes tended to have husbands with similar values. However, while she linked as causal the influence of parental attitudes, she added that husbands were likely selected in part because of their agreement with attitudes already held by their wives. Final support for this relationship comes from Spence and Helmreich (1978), who repeatedly have demonstrated a correlation between parents' attitudes and their children's views. These authors concluded that one's receptivity to today's changing sex-roles is very much influenced by a complex range of background variables including the modeling provided by the individual's family of origin.

The wide ranging relationships found for social/cultural influences on sex-role attitudes point to a need for further research in this area. The interaction between so called "background" variables and the more psychological "personality" variables is complex and difficult to unravel. Indeed, as is the case with parental modeling, these variables may be one and the same in their impact on a subject's attitudes as an adult. Above all else, these studies point to the need to recognize the limitations of utilizing a relatively homogeneous subject source like young college students. When factors such as education level, socioeconomic background, and age all play a significant role in determining an individual's attitudes,

then an effort must be made toward understanding these factors through the use of nontraditional sources of subjects. Otherwise, the resulting picture will be necessarily limited.

One final comment on the influence of background variables: it is interesting that so little empirical research has been done on the influence of familial relationships on role attitudes. As noted previously, Freud proposed a strong theoretical bond between family dynamics and sex-role identity. But an even more relevant tie has been espoused by Carl Jung (1933) in his model of analytical psychology. Jung felt that a person's capacity for relatedness to other people, and in particular, to members of the opposite sex is very much colored by the balance between masculine (animus) and feminine (anima) aspects of that person's own personality. For men, the anima serves as a mediator between ego and self, and is a personification of all feminine psychological tendencies in his psyche. The most crucial function of the anima is to provide the man with a capacity for love and a receptivity to other human beings (Von Franz, 1964). What makes this particularly interesting to the present investigation is the fact that Jung and his disciples (e.g., Frey-Rohn, 1969; Singer, 1972) have proposed that a man's anima is, as a rule, shaped by his mother and by his experience of other significant women in his life including sisters and lovers

(Von Franz, 1964). Although there are many hypotheses regarding the way this actual experience contributes to a man's anima development, Jungians are in agreement that dissonance in this area inevitably leads to disturbed and fragile relations with women in general. Von Franz (1970) has described one consequence of a negative anima figure as "Puer Aeternus" or eternal youth. The man in this state views women as inferior beings, and takes every opportunity to degrade and devalue them. Another facet of a disturbed anima was described by Jung (1933) as a complex around erotica. Here men see women in strictly sexual terms, and are incapable of forming mutual and mature relationships with them. With Jung's work receiving a great deal of attention today, one would expect that his proposed link between men's generalized attitudes toward women and their actual experience of significant females including mother and mate would warrant serious investigation. These background variables must be looked at more seriously.

### Personality Relationships

Given that researchers have demonstrated the important influence of various cultural and background factors in the formation of one's sex-role attitudes, it is noteworthy that there have also been inroads in establishing psychological components to these attitudes.

As discovered in the known group comparisons of the early 1970s, a sense of the feminist personality began to emerge which was seen as distinct from the psyche of the traditional woman. The advent of the sexism measures has allowed research in this area to continue at a more rigorous pace, and has enabled psychologists to investigate the male response as well. In reviewing this work, theorists like Pleck (1981) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) have posited that cultural and personality variables affect an individual's attitudes in two different ways; the former providing him with a framework for viewing sex roles (i.e., giving the individual a sense of the way the real world is, and hence providing him with a bevy of expectations about how people should behave), and the latter affecting his adjustment to changing sex-role boundaries (i.e., tempering one's reaction to the demands of the women's movement). Robinson (Note 1) has noted that the linkage between personality and attitude supports a general "receptivity hypothesis." This model follows from the work of Pleck (1976) and Unger (1976), and argues, in essence, that an individual's receptivity to today's changing sex-roles is partially determined by his or her perception of these changes as threatening. An individual who finds his world-view, sense of identity, or personal security jeopardized in some way by the changes called for by the women's movement will likely not readily endorse feminism.

Conversely, an individual who finds himself open to change and whose personal integrity or security are not easily compromised will likely be more receptive to changes in traditional sex-roles. From this hypothesis, one would expect that researchers might propose relationships between sex-role attitudes and a variety of specific personality variables, including self-esteem, locus of control, sex-role identity, personal adjustment, openmindedness, psychological maturity, and others. Indeed, a review of the literature indicates that many of these variables have been looked at. In some cases, relationships have been demonstrated, while others have not been substantiated. A summary of these findings follows.

One important area of research has been to compare an individual's sex-role attitudes with his or her sex-role identity. Myth would have it that feminist women are probably more masculine in their identity than traditional women. Similar reasoning would suggest that men who support women's liberation are likely more feminine in their orientation than their traditional peers. The early findings of the known group studies have been substantiated to a large extent by recent efforts (i.e., Jordan-Viola, Fassberg, & Viola, 1976; Spence et al., 1975). These papers suggest that feminist women have not forsaken feminine qualities, but rather have supplemented their identity with masculine qualities as well, making them more

likely to score as androgynous. Unfortunately, research on male attitudes and identity has tended to yield ambiguous results.

For example, Spence et al. (1975) administered the Personality Attributes Questionnaire and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale to some 530 subjects. Males who scored high on the masculinity dimension tended to score more conservatively in their attitudes toward feminism. Similarly, women who scored in a feminine direction also held more traditional sex-role attitudes. However, the authors noted that all relationships found were weak and nonsignificant. In a further discussion provided on the subject in 1978, Spence and Helmreich reported that they found virtually no relationship between men's femininity scores nor women's masculinity scores and their sex-role attitudes. Only one small but significant correlation ( $r = .21$ ) was found to suggest that androgyny was related to profeminist attitudes. The authors concluded that any relationship between sex-role attitudes and the psychological attributes of masculinity and femininity is slight.

These findings have not been consistently replicated, however. Bem (1977) administered her sex-role measure and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale to 179 individuals and found significant results. Males scoring as feminine were the most liberal in their attitudes toward women, while

masculine respondents scored in the most conservative direction. Those males scoring as undifferentiated and androgynous fell in between the others in their attitudes toward women scores. When Zeldow (1976) gave the Spence and the Bem scales to 100 college freshmen, he found that feminine males were significantly more conservative than other males. Interestingly, this was the only group that differed in their Spence scores. This author speculated that the feminine male perceives the women's movement as a threat to his fragile self-image, and as a result he defensively clings to more conservative sex-role attitudes. However, when Minnigerode (1976) administered the Bem and the Spence scales to male and female subjects, he found no significant relationship between sex role identity and attitudes toward women for the men in his study. Yet he did report that feminist females tended to score as androgynous on the Bem Scale.

Three recent studies have examined the attitude-identity issue from the perspective of non university subject samples. In one, O'Conner et al. (1978) replicated the 1975 Spence et al. study for a large upperclass group of adults. Substantiating the earlier findings, these authors found no significant relationship between men's sex-role identity and their attitudes. For women, only a small relationship was found, with androgynous women scoring more progressive in their support of feminism. In



their study of middle aged women, Amstey and Whitborne (1981) found that those interested in returning to college had higher levels of androgyny than their traditional peers. Finally, Robinson (Note 1) failed to find significant differences on Spence scores for masculine, feminine, or androgynous scoring males in his study of adult sex-role attitudes.

Clearly these studies suggest that the relationship between role attitudes and identity is less dramatic than might be expected by their common theoretical bond. The myth that supporters of feminism are either masculine females or feminine males has been exploded. One's receptivity to the women's movement appears to be relatively independent of one's personal sex-role identity. Indeed, perhaps the most important relationship between these dimensions is presented by Smith and Self (1981). They found for 279 women that a more consistent sex-role identity was held by those who scored in a feminist direction on the Fem Scale. In contrast, traditionalist women tended to be more confused in their identity. These authors concluded that as women become more progressive they appear to establish a clearer and more secure sense of sex-role identity, regardless of its direction.

A number of recent studies have evaluated the influence of internal or external locus of control in relation to one's attitudes toward sex-roles. Findings

have generally been consistent with the 1972 Sanger and Alker study and the 1973 Pawlicki and Almquest effort showing a small but significant correlation between internality and profeminist attitudes for women.

Minnigerode (1976) for example, assessed results obtained from the administration of Rotter's I-E Scale and the Attitude Toward Women Scale to 104 male and female respondents. He found a significant correlation in the expected direction ( $\underline{r} = .34, p < .05$ ) for women, but not for men ( $\underline{r} = .18$ ). The author speculated that a ceiling effect may have suppressed the correlation for the male sample. Yet, when Pleck (1978) evaluated locus of control for 616 men, he too found no significant relationship to attitudes toward women. However, Pleck's study did not use an established or reliable measure of internality, but rather a self-devised three item questionnaire.

In another study, Pomerantz and House (1977) sifted through a large number of females to find 64 who had extreme scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (32 "feminists" and 32 "antifeminists"). These women were then given a number of social skills tasks designed to assess locus of control. Results were consistent with previous findings, in that the liberated sample appeared less dependent on social skills for personal fulfillment and seemed to base their self-esteem to a greater extent on a sense of inner control than the traditional sample. In a study published

by Devine and Stillion (1978) using Rotter's I-E Scale and the Spence scale for 220 respondents, results were similar to those reported already. Weak but significant correlations were found between internality and profeminist attitudes for women. In this case internal males were found to be significantly more traditional than external males. While the work of Devine and Stillion suggested some relationship between I-E and sex-role attitudes for males, all studies indicate that any such relationship is weak at best.

There have been a number of studies which investigated the relationship between predicted interpersonal behavior and sex-role attitudes. These efforts have generally relied on female subjects and have yielded some interesting results. A valuable line of research followed from Pawlicki and Almquest's (1973) conclusion that authoritarian subjects hold more conservative attitudes toward feminism. Ayers, Rohr, and Rohr (1978) examined the attitudes toward women of various groups of college students in relation to their levels of exhibited authoritarianism as well as their authoritarian scores on the California F Scale. For both independent measures, authoritarian respondents held more traditional sex-role attitudes. Similar findings were reported by Younge and Regan (1978) for the Spence scale and the Autonomy scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory; with

authoritarian individuals holding significantly more traditional attitudes.

In a similar direction, a number of papers have examined the relationship between attitudes and aggression. The first of these was presented by Tipton, Bailey, and Obenchain in 1975. They found that while feminist women reported themselves as being more aggressive and potent than the traditionalists, in fact traditional women were rated as more aggressive in their actual behavior in interactions with other women. These authors concluded that feminist women are more internally governed but less actively domineering in social behavior. However, in a replication of this study, Powers and Guess (1976) found no significant differences in aggressive behavior between feminist and nonfeminist women. Similar conclusions were drawn by Borges and Laning (1979) and Hess and Bornstein (1979) in their studies of assertiveness. Both papers found little relationship between measures of assertiveness and sex role attitudes. Yet in other experiments, subtle differences emerged. For example, Tayler and Smith (1974) investigated men's attitudes and found that males who espoused liberal sex-role attitudes behave significantly less aggressively toward women than traditionalists. In another study reported by Hall and Black (1979), both male and female traditionalists acted more aggressively in interpersonal situations, while

profeminist individuals were more assertive. The authors concluded that assertive behavior was more appropriate and indeed, more powerful than the aggressive actions taken by traditional subjects. Finally, Richardson, Vinsel and Taylor (1980) devised an experimental condition where high and low Spence scoring women were provoked by a male opponent in a competitive game situation. Aggression was measured by respondents' willingness to administer a "penalty" shock to their opponent. Traditional scoring women not only administered significantly more frequent shocks to the male confederate, but issued shocks of greater intensity. In total, these studies suggest that while little relationship exists on pencil and paper measures of aggression or assertion, traditional men and women actually behave more aggressively than individuals supportive of changing women's roles.

Several recent studies have looked at sex-role attitudes as a function of psychological adjustment. Pleck (1978) found ambiguous results in his study of 616 men. Respondents who held traditional attitudes were less happy in their home life and more hostile in their world view than progressive subjects. However, traditional men reported feeling more competent at their jobs and more satisfied with their mates than profeminist men. As noted, in an early known-group study Jordan-Viola, Fassberg, and Viola (1976) found feminist women to be less anxious than

their peers on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. This conclusion was recently substantiated by Redfering (1979), who found for 1500 subjects that feminist women were less anxious than traditional women. In 1977, Greenberg and Zedlow compared men's and women's Spence scores on a number of dimensions ascertained from the Adjective Checklist. They found that although liberal subjects were more spontaneous, willing to take risks, and individualistic, there were no significant relationships between sex-role attitudes and adjustment or anxiety. Finally, Robinson (Note 1) found no tie between personal adjustment, as measured by the Adjective Checklist, and feminism for his adult male sample. Thus, while these studies tend to negate the myth that feminist individuals are maladjusted, they fail to provide much insight into the psychological differences between these personalities.

Another research focus has been an exploration of the relationship between self-concept and sex-role attitudes. The rationale behind these studies stems from the hypothesis that men and women who feel better about themselves will be less threatened by changing women's roles. Hence, one would expect a positive correlation between self-esteem and progressive sex-role attitudes. The first attempt to investigate this was made by Miller (1972). He administered the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and an unpublished feminism scale called the Women's

Liberation Questionnaire to 171 males representing six different university and nonuniversity samples. For four of the groups, significant correlations (ranging from .31 to .49) were found between the measures in the expected direction. However, for two groups, nonsignificant negative correlations were reported. Although the author concluded that his findings generally support the hypothesis, he also noted that sampling confounds may have interacted with individual findings. Gill (1975) used the Attitudes Toward Women Scale in her research on self-esteem with 40 male respondents. She, too, found a significant relation between favorable attitudes toward feminism and positive self-concept. However, the Gill study relied on a 20-item self-esteem measure without demonstrated validity or reliability. Perhaps the best research on this topic has come from Spence et al. (1975). Using 530 college male and female students, the authors assessed the relationship between Attitudes Toward Women Scale scores and self-concept as measured by the respected and validated Texas Social Behavior Inventory. For these subjects, no correlation was found between the measures. Spence and Helmreich (1978) later reaffirmed these findings for another sample of 715 male and female college students. Indeed, Robinson (Note 1) also failed to find a correlation between the Spence scale and self-esteem as measured by the Tennessee Self Concept Scale for his 105 respondents. Perhaps one

explanation for these contradictory results lies in a study reported by Pomerantz and House (1977). For a group of college women, these authors found that the primary sources of self-concept varied from feminists to traditionalists. Liberated women appeared to derive their esteem from their intellectual abilities and their social interests, while the traditional respondents based their esteem on their social skills. Pomerantz and House concluded that while one's general level of self-concept may not be correlated to sex-role attitudes, significant differences exist in the way individuals form this concept.

In another direction, researchers have approached the issue of openmindedness as it affects sex-role attitudes. This dimension, perhaps more than others, would appear to be a powerful measure of an individual's general receptivity. As a consequence, psychologists have hypothesized that open and trusting people should exhibit more progressive sex-role attitudes than those who are dogmatic or closedminded. By definition, dogmatic individuals are seen as more easily threatened by the world than openminded ones (Rokeach, 1960). Hence one would expect them to be more threatened by today's women's movement. In studying this, Ellis and Bentler (1973) found that for both males and female student subjects, disapproval of traditional sex determined role standards was significantly related ( $r = .28$ ) to an individual's



political liberalism. The writers concluded that conservative attitudes seem to reflect a perceived threat inherent in change. They speculated that in "sexist" men, feminism is perceived as demasculinizing while in "liberated" men, feminism is seen as a welcome expansion of the sex-role boundaries. Additional support for the receptivity hypothesis comes from Singleton and Christiansen's (1977) validation work with the Fem Scale. These authors found a correlation of  $-.50$  for 283 college students given the Fem Scale and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, a measure of openmindedness. Similar findings were reported by Robinson (Note 1). He found a significant correlation ( $r = .58$ ,  $N = 105$ ) between Attitudes Toward Women Scale scores and respondents' performance on Rokeach's measure. These results suggest that a conventional or "closed" worldview is reflected in conservative attitudes toward the social role of women, while open individuals tend to favor expanded sex-roles.

In a related thrust, two authors have looked at trust as it might impact on role attitudes. Bridges (1978) found for 121 male and 201 female respondents that progressive sex-role attitudes were significantly related to self-disclosiveness. Those individuals who were more open (trusting) about themselves with the examiners tended to score higher on the Spence scale, while guarded subjects scored more conservatively. Similarly, Pleck (1978) found

that men who had negative attitudes toward women workers were significantly lower in their willingness to trust others than their positive thinking peers. Pleck (1981) has recently concluded that the dimension of interpersonal trust may play an important function in men's receptivity to today's changing sex roles. Certainly this area warrants further study.

One final focus of investigation is worth noting. Recently, researchers have proposed a relationship between sex-role attitudes and psycho-social development. Arguing that an individual's receptivity to changing roles may be determined, in part, by his or her capacity or ability to adapt and encompass these new boundaries, a number of writers have started to look more closely at the influence of ego development or psychological maturity. The first of these studies was completed by Rozsnafszky and Hendel (1977). They administered Loevinger and Wessler's Washington University Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development to two groups of 28 university women and found correlations of .21 and .39 with this measure and Spence scores. They concluded that the qualities of self-realization and identity important to the subject of high ego level encourages him or her to seek broadened social roles for all people. Erikson (1977) reported a similar relationship between profeminist attitudes and ego development for 23 college women. His analysis of variance

between post conformist (higher ego stages) individuals and lower scoring respondents indicated that higher level students were significantly more progressive on the Spence scale. In one last study of this relationship, Amstey and Whitbourne (1981) administered Spence's scale and Constantinople's Ego Development Scale (a 60 item questionnaire) to samples of adult women returning to college and traditional housewives. They failed to find a significant difference on psychological maturity between these groups. However, they concluded that their study was limited by sampling confounds. The area of ego development remains an interesting one for further research. No study has yet looked at its influence on sex-role attitudes for men. Indeed each of the studies reviewed here has utilized small limited samples of women. One would certainly expect ego maturation to affect an individual's receptivity to change, particularly in the interpersonal arena of sex roles.

### Present Study and Hypotheses

In reviewing the literature relevant to sex-role attitudes, it becomes clear that much progress has been made in understanding the impact of the women's movement on people's lives. Yet certainly work remains to be done. The intention of the present investigation was to learn

more about the various cultural and psychological variables which might influence an individual's receptivity to the role changes espoused by this movement. At present, two serious deficiencies continue to exist within the research already completed on this topic. The first concerns the relative lack of information on men's sex-role attitudes. For reasons noted previously, prior work has tended to focus on women. The second weakness concerns the preponderance of studies which have relied on young college students as subjects. There is a significant need to explore attitudes towards sex roles within adult populations as research suggests that factors, such as marriage, education, employment, and childrearing, all have an impact on these attitudes. The present study addressed both of these limitations by utilizing an adult male sample.

Men's sex-role attitudes were investigated from two directions. In an exploratory fashion, this project looked at the influence of a variety of background variables and personal beliefs on respondents' attitudes. Particular attention was paid to the impact of significant interpersonal relationships, as the analytical theory of Jung and others would suggest that one's perception and experience of parents and mate should significantly affect one's generalized position toward the social roles of men and women.

The other facet of this study was provided by a void in the research literature on the personality correlates of sex-role attitudes. An implicit rationale underlying past research in this area has been the so-called "receptivity hypothesis." This model has argued that sex-role attitudes are governed, in part, by one's receptivity to change. Men threatened by the changes in roles espoused by today's women's movement will likely not endorse feminism, while men secure enough to be open to change and risk should be more accepting of these new boundaries. Two promising but little researched avenues for the study of this model are the personality dimensions of interpersonal trust and ego development. One would expect high trust individuals to have the security and social confidence necessary for a receptive approach to changing sex roles. Similarly, individuals possessing a well developed and mature ego could also be reasonably expected to approach expanded roles with a favorable attitude. With this in mind, two specific hypotheses were generated for confirmation by the present investigation:

(1) Men more supportive of the goals and values of today's women's movement evidence significantly higher levels of interpersonal trust than those more traditional in their sex-role ideology.

(2) Men of higher ego development hold significantly more progressive attitudes toward the women's

movement than men of lower ego levels.

## METHOD

### Subjects

Sample Considerations and Demographics. Respondents for the present study consisted of 66 male graduate students selected from Loyola University's Master's in Business Administration Program. These students were utilized as subjects because they readily met a number of crucial criteria, and also had several unique qualities as a group which further warranted their investigation. It was the intention of the author to explore the sex-role attitudes of adult males. It was argued that life experiences, such as employment, marriage, and child rearing may greatly affect these attitudes. Hence, a pool of potential respondents was sought out which would lend itself to these experiences. Graduate business students proved far superior to the traditional undergraduate subject-pool candidates, as they were both older and more qualified to answer the questions posed by the study.

The average age for the respondent sample was 30.5 (SD = 7.2) with a range of 23 to 65 years. Some 63% of these men were married, 6% divorced, and 25% were "seriously involved in a monogamous relationship". In addition, 86% of the participants were employed full time

while pursuing their graduate degree on a part time basis. Finally, 81% of those questioned had or were considering having children with their present mate. Additional normative demographic data for the subject sample are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Although meeting the above criteria was an important factor in the decision to utilize business students as subjects, additional issues warrant comment. Table 1 indicates that this population consisted of individuals diverse in their religious, socio-economic, family, and occupational backgrounds. However, there were a number of features unique to this group which must be considered in this discussion. It may be reasonably speculated that MBA students are a highly motivated and achievement oriented group. Information gathered from the present subjects would seem to substantiate this. Some 25% were employed in management positions while another 32% were working in other aspects of business including sales and consulting. Indeed, 38% of these men aspired to move into upper management after completing their degree and another 27% hoped to run their own businesses. Additional evidence for their unusually high motivation can be drawn from the fact that the vast majority of subjects were seeking to improve their marketability by completing a graduate degree while continuing to work full time. The issue of achievement motivation must, then, be carefully considered in data



Table 1

## Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Age	<u>M</u> = 30.5	<u>N</u> = 66	<u>SD</u> = 7.2	
		<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
Education				
1st Year MBA		13	20	
2nd Year MBA		41	62	
3rd Year MBA		12	18	
Race				
White		63	95	
Minority		3	5	
Religion				
			Childhood	Adult (practicing)
Catholic		31	47	22 33
Protestant		28	42	16 24
Jewish		3	5	4 6
Born Again Christian		2	3	5 8
Other		1	2	3 5
None (stated)		-	-	15 23
Occupation				
Full Time Student		9	14	
Management		17	26	
Consultant		12	18	
Sales		9	14	
Other		19	28	
Career Aspirations				
Abstract Goals		11	17	
Self Employment		18	27	
Upper Management		25	40	
Other		8	12	
Unknown		4	6	
Relationship Status				
Single - Uninvolved		4	6	
Seriously Involved		16	24	
Married		42	64	
Divorced		4	6	
Length of Relationship				
Less than 1 Year		5	8	
1 to 3 Years		19	29	
4 to 10 Years		30	45	
More than 10 Years		7	10	

Table 2

## Family and Relationship Characteristics of Sample

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>						
Family Compatability								
Incompatable	13	20						
Neutral	25	38						
Harmonious	28	42						
Family Economic Status								
Lower	4	6						
Lower - Middle	8	12						
Middle	28	42						
Upper - Middle	24	36						
Upper	2	3						
Family Traditionality								
Traditional	23	35						
Moderate	25	38						
Progressive	28	27						
			Father		Mother		Mate	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Level of Education								
High School	19	29	34	51	8	12		
Some College	10	15	9	14	6	9		
College Grad	22	33	20	30	25	38		
Graduate School	13	18	3	5	27	41		
Occupation								
Blue Collar	21	32	-	-	-	-		
White Collar	30	45	2	3	32	48		
Other/Traditional	14	21	9	14	14	21		
House Wife	-	-	55	83	10	15		
Student	-	-	-	-	5	8		
Personality								
Positive	37	56	51	77	57	86		
Neutral	14	21	10	15	4	6		
Negative	13	20	5	8	5	8		
Sex-Role Identity								
Masculine	18	27	8	12	13	20		
Androgynous	40	61	30	45	29	44		
Feminine	6	9	28	42	19	29		

interpretation and discussion.

An additional population issue which warrants comment is the racial makeup of the group. Owing to a variety of historical and social factors, few minorities are presently seeking graduate degrees in business. A recent publication (Women and the Executive Suite, 1981) has documented the progress made by both women and minorities in bolstering their ranks in graduate business programs, and, although the numbers are increasing, the scant 5% of blacks and Latinos found in the present sample seemed accurately representative. Statistics were not available regarding the composition of Loyola University's program, but a visual scan of many classes revealed few minorities. Again, this limitation must be acknowledged in discussing the results gleaned from this sample.

One final limitation results from the process of subject selection used in the present research: the solicitation of volunteers. Scott and Wertheimer (1962, p. 277) noted that this nonrandom sampling procedure is often the most appropriate one when the investigator has important sample criteria that cannot be met by ideal probability sampling in a random population. They argued that volunteer subjects are generally more willing to commit themselves to the research than those forced to participate through university subject pool requirements. Indeed, a nonrandom sample can provide a valid pool if

precautions are taken, particularly when one does not know how to define empirically a certain population so that it can be sampled randomly. Scott and Wertheimer cautioned that when using volunteers, one can reduce the risks of nonrandom sampling by documenting the selection procedure and by distinguishing those that volunteer from the total pool sampled. In the present case, roughly 2/3 of those approached (men only and preferably married) agreed to participate and exactly 66% of this agreeable group actually completed all that was asked of them by the investigator. This response rate is considered quite good (Scott and Wertheimer, 1962) and suggests that the confounding limitations associated with volunteer subjects should not seriously infringe upon the conclusions drawn from this research, particularly as there is little reason to suspect that these volunteers should differ markedly in their attitudes from their peers.

With these considerations, there remains one particularly enticing aspect of sampling the sex-role attitudes of graduate business students. As noted previously, dramatic changes are taking place in the way we perceive the roles of men and women in society. No where are these changes more apparent nor more important than in the work place. Although there is abundant indication that men still dominate business management (Women Still Have Far to Go, 1981), changes in society's expectations for

women and such legislative mandates as affirmative action programs necessitate that all decision makers in business give careful consideration to their attitudes and behavior as these certainly affect hiring practices, job discrimination, sexual harassment, etc. It was, therefore, a unique opportunity to survey and investigate the sex-role attitudes of these MBA students, for they are certainly among tomorrow's decision makers. Their present beliefs will likely have an important effect on their future actions as managers, directors, and heads of business. They may well tell us much about tomorrow's society and the changing interaction between men and women.

Subject Sampling. In the present project, the format for procuring volunteers was as follows: Permission was received from the Dean of the Graduate Business Program to contact faculty members and solicit student subjects from their classes. Eight professors were personally contacted by the investigator. Each proved interested and cooperative, and each allowed the investigator to present himself briefly at the beginning of each of their 13 evening classes. Males were invited to participate in the project and a particular invitation was made to married students. Each class member was provided with a brief typed statement (refer to Appendix A) which sketched the intention of the project to explore men's attitudes toward societal norms and values as well as the procedure to be

used to do this. An explanation was also made to the effect that past research on these particular issues had focused primarily on women and hence there was a serious need to study the male perspective. This statement was provided in order to reduce any antagonism which might result from recruiting men in a coed classroom. The typed statement and recruitment "pitch" were designed to stimulate interest and present a standardized package to all students while not divulging any information which might influence or bias the respondents in their participation. All students were assured of their complete confidentiality as well as the strictly voluntary nature of their cooperation. Faculty members were not allowed to exert any pressure on the students to become involved.

After this presentation, those males who were interested were provided with a materials packet and instructions. Names and phone numbers were obtained from each. Some 102 packets were distributed over a 4 week period, and 66 subjects ultimately participated fully (refer to the Procedure Section for a statement detailing this process).

### Materials

All respondents were administered three established personality and attitude measures. In addition, an

extensive background questionnaire was included which was designed by the investigator. Instructions were provided with the materials (refer to Appendix B). Factors influencing measure selection included their demonstrated validity and reliability, as well as the practical considerations of ease of administration, item clarity, and the time required for completion. These later factors were of particular importance due to the constraints of an "in field" administration to volunteer subjects. Demographics and family/relationship information were assessed by the investigator's Background Questionnaire. The critical dependent variable, men's attitude toward the social role of women, was measured by a short form of Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence et al., 1974). Receptivity to trust was measured by Rotter's (1967) Interpersonal Trust Scale. Finally, ego development was assessed through a short form of Loevinger and Wessler's (1970) Washington University Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development (Holt, 1980).

Background Questionnaire. The Background Questionnaire is a 46-item measure designed to assess information in four general areas of the subject's life; personal demographics, the influence of admired people, family background, and relationship characteristics (Appendix C). For the most part, the items on this measure are straight forward and easily objectively scored. However, a number of

items elicited complex responses which warranted some independent collaboration in terms of scoring. Reliability information is provided below for each such case. These coefficients were obtained by comparing an independent rater's item scoring to that of the investigator for 20 randomly selected subject protocols. The written scoring criteria used by both raters are provided in Appendix D of this paper.

Some seven of the items simply inquired into personal demographics of the subject, and included such information as age, education completed, race and religion. Only one of these items required an independent scorer: subject's career aspirations. Based on the preestablished scoring criteria, a reliability coefficient of .87 was obtained, indicating an acceptable level of agreement (Scott & Wertheimer, 1962).

An additional series of six items sought information about the influence of individuals whom the subject reported he admired. In scoring the nature of this influence, an independent rater agreed at a .82 level with the investigator. An additional scoring paradigm was utilized to assess the overall sex-role of those admired individuals (a similar technique was applied to score sex-role for the subjects' parents and mate). A global rating of "masculine," "feminine," or "neutral" was assigned to the admired males and females based on the descriptive



adjectives provided by the subject. Each adjective used was classified as either masculine, feminine, or neutral by one of two methods. Some were simply categorized based on their prior classification by Bem (1974) or Broverman (1975). All remaining adjectives were randomly pooled and categorized by five independent raters (3 women and 2 men) based on criteria described by Block (1973) and presented in Appendix D. Those adjectives which had a consensus of rater agreement were added to the appropriate category, while all those remaining were scored as neutral. A sex-role rating was then assigned for each relevant item on the questionnaire based on the cumulative direction of these descriptive adjectives.

Twenty-one items dealt specifically with the subject's family, and included questions on mother, father, and sibling relationships, as well as family traditionality, compatibility, and socio-economic level. Of these items, only ratings on the personality of the subject's parents warranted independent scoring. The adjectives used to describe both parents were assessed in terms of their overall positive, neutral, or negative flavor, and a measure of each subject's feelings toward his parents was obtained. An independent rater agreed at a .75 level with the investigator on this scoring.

Finally, the remaining 12 items of the questionnaire concerned the subject's feelings toward love relationships--

both in an idealized form and vis a vis their present mate (wife or girlfriend). Information was also collected on their mate's education, occupation, personality, and sex-role attitudes. Scoring of these items was objective with the exception of questions concerning childrearing responsibility and the subject's perceived goals of the women's liberation movement. For these items, an independent reliability check was warranted, and coefficients of .71 and .81 were respectively found.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale--Short Form. A short version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1972), published by Spence et al. in 1973, was used to assess respondents general attitudes toward the rights and roles of men and women in contemporary society (Appendix E). They found that the 25 item short scale correlated at the .95 (427) level or higher with the 55-item long form. This short form, which takes about 10 minutes to complete and is therefore ideal for field research, is a pencil and paper, self administered questionnaire. Vocational, educational, social, intellectual, sexual, and marital roles are all examined by the inventory, and although the title might be misleading, its author has personally communicated her sentiment that the measure assesses attitudes toward the sex roles of both men and women (Note 2).

Each item on the scale consists of a declarative

statement for which there are four response alternatives: agree strongly, agree mildly, disagree mildly, disagree strongly. Each item is given a score from 0 to 3, with 0 representing the choice of an alternative reflecting the most traditional or conservative attitude, and 3 reflecting the most profeminist or progressive attitude. The total score is obtained by summing the item scores.

Normative data, provided by the authors, indicated that for some 1400 college students the mean scale scored 89.26 on the long form with a standard deviation of 22.5 and within a range of 37 to 156. Additional sample information was provided on 500 parents of students. In this population, men's scores averaged 81.3 (SD = 17.3). In both samples, women's scores were significantly higher than men's scores (averaging 10 points). This finding is consistently demonstrated elsewhere (Etaugh & Gerson, 1974; O'Connor et al., 1978; Schmid, 1975). For the short form, Spence et al. (1973) reported male's scores averaging 44.8 (SD = 12.0, N = 286) and females averaging 50.2 (SD = 11.6, N = 241). Spence and Helmreich reported acceptable reliability coefficients for their inventory and subsequent research has demonstrated its validity and utility. Ullman et al. (1978) found a correlation of .80 between the Attitudes Toward Women Scale and the Fem Scale (Smith et al., 1975), a measure designed to assess attitudes towards feminism. Baucom and Sanders (1977)

reported a correlation of .70 between the Spence scale and Goldberg's Women's Liberation Scale, an instrument similar in purpose to the Fem Scale. Both papers suggested that the Attitudes Toward Women Scale is the more robust and effective measure. Spence et al. (1975) demonstrated a significant relationship for both men and women between the Spence scale and subjects' self-ratings for traditional or liberal values held, particularly as these affect their sex-role attitudes. Spence and Helmreich (1978) provided additional evidence for the construct validity of their test in their massive study on masculinity and femininity. The authors noted that subjects from various groups consistently scored in the expected direction in their sex-role attitudes, and that the validity of the test has been effectively demonstrated over the years.

However, criticism of the inventory has come from a number of sources. While some of the potential limitations of measuring sex-role attitudes have been discussed previously (refer to p. 41), two papers concerning the Spence scale warrant comment here. Argentino, Kidd, and Bogart (1977) were concerned about the influence of social desirability on subject's scores. They administered the Attitudes Toward Women Scale to college students and found men's scores were more progressive when they took the questionnaire with women respondents than when tested alone. In a more critical study, Bowman & Auerbach (1978)

found that male subjects who were "well meaning" in words, but "sexist" in behavior tended to score as high on the Spence scale as consistently progressive subjects. However, this discrepancy between words and action was disputed by Ghaffaradli-Dotty and Carlson (1979). They found, at least for 242 women, that progressive scorers do indeed behave in a significantly more liberal fashion than traditional scorers. It should be noted that the issue of social desirability has not been entirely resolved for this inventory, as there can be considerable pressure for respondents to misrepresent their true feelings regarding the topic of sex-role attitudes. In the present study, one intention of comparing Spence's scale with the investigator's Background Questionnaire was to investigate this issue further.

Interpersonal Trust Scale. Rotter's Interpersonal Trust Scale (Appendix F) was used to assess respondent's generalized expectancy that another's word can be relied upon. The "trust" construct constitutes a relatively stable personality characteristic that remains consistent across a broad range of situations for the individual. While other theorists have described trust as a belief in the goodness of others or in the benign nature of the world, Rotter (1967, 1971) feels that the dimension is more specific. High trusters expect others to be honest. They are generally not suspicious of people's intentions, and

they expect others to be open and reliable. Low trusters are cynical and suspicious. They feel people are out to get as much as they can for themselves, and they have little faith in human nature, but see the world as a threatening and hostile place.

The measure Rotter developed to assess this dimension contains 40 items, 15 of which are filler items designed to camouflage the intention of the scale. Each item is a statement which deals with belief in the communication of others. Subjects rate on a 1 to 5 scale their level of agreement with each statement (1 = strongly agree; 5 = strongly disagree). The total score, after unscrambling reversed items, is obtained by simply summing the individual item scores. High scorers are considered high trusters. This measure is straight forward and requires approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Normative data, provided by Rotter (1967), indicated that for 547 college students, the mean Interpersonal Trust Score was 72.4 (SD = 10.9), with women's scores slightly higher than men's (73.0 vs. 71.9). The scale has an internal consistency of .76 and test-retest reliabilities ranging from .56 to .69. The validity of both the construct and its measure are reported by Rotter to be quite acceptable. His principal technique for testing the validity of the scale was to compare scores against actual behavior for college students. In these studies,

significant correlations were demonstrated ( $\underline{r} = .39$ ,  $\underline{N} = 156$ ) between the measure and sociometric rated trust as well as trustworthiness ( $\underline{r} = .31$ ,  $\underline{N} = 156$ ). Others have contributed to the validity of the measure. Wright and Kirmani (1977) found high trusters engaged in significantly less antisocial behavior and were more trustworthy than distrusting subjects. In an extensive review of additional relevant research, Rotter (1980a) reported a number of interesting studies each of which contributed favorably to his measure's validity. High trusters were less likely to lie and cheat, but more likely to respect the rights of others and give people a second chance.

Rotter (1971, 1980a) reported that trust had been found related to locus of control (with high trusters more internal than low trusters), general levels of suspiciousness ( $\underline{r} = .43$ ), and maladjustment. In addition, the antecedents of interpersonal trust have been investigated. Rotter has noted that fathers of high trusting sons were significantly higher on trust than fathers of low trusters. He speculated that early developmental factors, including parental modeling, play an important role in the establishment of an individual's interpersonal trust.

Finally, Rotter and his colleagues have gone to great length to investigate the relationship between trust and gullibility. In two extensive reports (1980a; 1980b),

Rotter concluded that gullibility, defined as naivete or foolishness, is not related to his construct of interpersonal trust. Although the high truster may be fooled occasionally by dishonest people, the low truster is as likely to be taken in by distrusting honest people.

Washington University Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development--Short Form for Men. A short form of the Washington University Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development was used to classify subjects at their appropriate ego stage (Appendix G). This form, a 12-item version of the 36-item long form (Loevinger & Wessler, 1970), was introduced by Holt (1980) as a reliable means of assessing ego development without subjecting the respondent or the scorer to the time consuming original measure. In an extensive study of its reliability, Holt reported alpha coefficients for internal consistency of .76 for males and .77 for females ( $N = 966$ ), suggesting that the short form is an acceptably representative version of Loevinger's long form. Holt concluded that his abbreviated test is not only reliable, but particularly useful for field research or large scale projects.

Loevinger's measure categorizes subjects on a theoretical continuum of ego stages based on their written responses or associations to incomplete sentence stems. These stems are designed to elicit a variety of different responses, and subjects are simply instructed to complete



each sentence in any way they wish. Loevinger and Wessler (1970) describe different forms for men, women, boys and girls. Some stems are shared by all forms (e.g., "Rules are . . ."), while others are unique for a particular form. In keeping with this tradition, Holt (1980) developed different short forms for men and women.

In defining the construct of ego development as they intended their test to measure it, Loevinger and Wessler (1970) brought together the common elements and thinking of a number of personality theorists (e.g., Sullivan, Kohlberg, Harvey, Peck). To the authors, ego development represents an abstract continuum that follows both a normal developmental sequence and yet allows for individual differences at any given age cohort. Personality is seen in a holistic framework, and the ego is that aspect of the psyche concerned with impulse control, character development, interpersonal relations, and cognitive preoccupations. In simplified terms, one's ego development reflects one's integrative processes and over-all frame of psychological reference. The model assumes that each person has a customary orientation to himself and to the world, and there is a continuum of development along which one's frame of reference can be arrayed (Hauser, 1976). It is the purpose of Loevinger's measure to indicate where a given individual falls on this spectrum of psychological maturity.

The stages of ego development are defined independently of age, and follow an invariant hierarchical order. There are some seven distinct stages and three transitional phases described by Loevinger's model, each characterized by a different but coherent character style and mode of thinking (Loevinger, 1979). A brief description of each stage follows, with a more extensive description of crucial stages to be provided in the Results and Discussion section of this paper. Coded I-1, the first stage is a primitive presocial one, typified by an autistic interpersonal style and a preoccupation of distinguishing self from nonself. An Impulsive Stage (I-2) follows, which is epitomized by gross dependency and an absence of impulse control. Individuals at this level tend to dichotomize the world into good vs. bad stereotypy. The next higher stage, Self Protective ( $\Delta$ ), is represented by an opportunistic style. Individuals here are wary of the world and manipulative in their approach to self-protection. The next stage is a transitional one ( $\Delta/3$ ) which finds the individual moving away from protection to conformity. Obedience and compliance with social norms are rules which govern behavior. The Conformist Stage (I-3) is typified by the need to belong, and the taking on of a superficial persona to accomplish this task. Appearances are very important, and behavior is dictated by absolute standards of right and wrong. Next, a transitional stage (I-3/4)

occurs in which one finds a dawning acknowledgement that values such as right and wrong may be relative to their context and the beginnings of introspective abilities emerge. The Conscientious Stage (I-4) is represented by internalized standards of morality and complex conceptualizations. Interpersonal relations are seen in terms of feelings and emotions rather than actions. The next transitional stage, I-4/5, finds individuals capable of tolerating paradoxical relationships. Complex conceptualizations are more frequent. At the Autonomous Stage (I-5), the individual is aware of inner conflict and has a respect for the autonomy of others. The highest stage (I-6) is titled the Integrated Stage, and is seldom achieved. Here, the individual moves beyond coping with inner conflict to conflict resolution. This complex person appreciates both the common bond between people as well as their subtle differences.

Norms published by Loevinger and Wessler (1970) indicate that for noncollege subjects the modal ego stage is I-3 for both men and women, while college subjects average I-3/4; one half step higher. Scoring the ego measure involves assigning a stage level to each stem response on a subject's protocol. A total protocol rating is then computed based on the frequency distribution of the item ratings. An "Ogive" rule, developed by the measure's authors, allows for a protocol rating to be based on a

subject's higher item responses rather than his mean response. An extensive scoring manual, complete with strategy, training exercises, and hundreds of scored examples for each stem has been published by Loevinger, Wessler, and Redmore (1970).

The reliability of this scoring system has been carefully reviewed and is reported to be good. Loevinger (1979) found that scorers trained by her manual agreed at a level ranging from .71 to .86 with scorers she trained herself. Indeed, trained scorers agreed within 1/2 stage on total protocol ratings 94% of the time. Hauser (1980) reported interrater agreement ranging from .61 to .92. He concluded that the scoring system and its manual are sufficiently clear so that reasonable agreement can be maintained across different scorers. Substantiating this claim, the present investigator found that with practice, he was able to reliably score sample protocols at an agreement level of .90 with Loevinger.

In assessing the validity of both Loevinger's model and measure, researchers have generally been favorably impressed. In their thorough reviews of these studies Loevinger (1979) and Hauser (1976) note that researchers have addressed validity issues from many angles. There is evidence for the sequentiality of ego development in cross age studies and longitudinal efforts. Moderate correlations have been demonstrated with tests of related

conceptions including Kohlberg's measure of Moral Maturity ( $r = .40$ ) and Carkuff's Empathy Test ( $r = .46$ ). In addition, studies have demonstrated that ego development is not simply a reflection of intelligence. The construct has also been found predictive of behavior--particularly interpersonal behavior. Spontaneity, helpfulness, confrontiveness, empathy, etc. are all social qualities found positively related to ego development. Hauser and Loevinger have concluded that overall, the model and its measure have adequate validity for research purposes when administered and scored with sufficient care.

One final consideration merits comment. Most of the studies reported on by Loevinger and Hauser compare Washington University Sentence Completion Test results with other measures of behavior through a correlational format. Although ego development clearly reflects a continuum, Loevinger just as clearly has noted that its stages are not integrally related. Not only do the transitional phases confound the picture, but Loevinger notes that behavioral evidence supporting her construct is found primarily at lower levels, while at higher stages differential evidence lies in attitudes and ideas. Hence, a correlational treatment of data is not appropriate. As a consequence, the present investigator felt that analysis of sentence completion data might best be done across stages comparing one to another (through analysis of variance or chi square

techniques), and not by treating the data as integrally continuous.

### Procedure

Instructions and the four measures were presented to the students as a packet within a self-addressed envelope. Only those men who indicated an interest in volunteering their time to participate in the project were given these packets. The order of presentation of the personality measures was counterbalanced and alternated in a random fashion so as to minimize order effects. Respondents were asked to take the materials home, read the directions carefully, complete the measures independently and honestly, and then return the packet to the investigator in the provided envelope through the interoffice mail system of Loyola University. Subjects were encouraged to complete all materials in one sitting and were asked to return them within 2 weeks of receiving them. As noted, names and phone numbers were collected when the packets were distributed and subjects were informed that they would be contacted. Finally, participants were told that if they wished general feedback on project results they could request it when they returned their completed materials.

The distribution of materials took place in a 4 week period on a class-by-class basis. Since 13 MBA classes

were visited by the investigator, an average of eight packets were given out each time a presentation was made. No identifiable trends emerged regarding the interaction of particular graduate classes and the number of volunteers that stepped forward. Faculty members agreed that a representative sample of the different MBA classes was used by this project, and in nearly every case, a majority of the potential candidates agreed to participate. To ensure an adequate return rate, every volunteer was called once by phone about 2 weeks after he received his packet and asked about his progress. As mentioned, 66% of those who took packets ultimately returned them--usually within 3 to 4 weeks after their distribution.

Students generally reported that the materials were interesting to work on and took approximately 1 hour to complete. They appeared to appreciate the opportunity to participate in the project. This was substantiated by the fact that 66 out of 67 of those that returned the materials did a thorough and careful job of completing them, even though their only real payoff for the hour spent was the knowledge that they had contributed to psychological research.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Because of the large number of relationships tested in the present project, it was decided that the results and discussion chapters would be combined together in order to maintain continuity. The presentation of data proceeds along five general areas of discussion. The first concerns a brief description of the psychological variables which were found to distinguish the subject sample from the population at large. This is followed by an examination of the support generated for the two principle hypotheses proposed regarding interpersonal trust, ego development, and the dependent variable--men's attitudes toward women. The final three sections of this chapter involve comparing men's scores on these three established measures with the independent variables generated from the investigator's Background Questionnaire. The Spence scale is discussed first, followed by Rotter's Interpersonal Trust Scale, and then Loevinger's Ego Development measure. The presentation of results and their subsequent discussion proceed on a variable by variable basis.

### Sample Characteristics

Because the present sample reflected a fairly unique



group of men--a group that was found to differ in some respects from the population at large--it seemed important to briefly look at their scores on the three established personality measures and compare these to the general norms available from the tests' authors. It was hoped that this would provide the reader with a better sense of the possible limitations of this group of MBA student respondents, particularly when considering the generalizability of the extensive findings to be discussed later.

The mean sample score for the Attitudes Toward Women Scale--Short Form was found to be 56.54 ( $\underline{N} = 66$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 10.1$ ). This appears to be significantly higher ( $p < .001$ ) than the norms provided by Spence and Helmreich for their sample of male college students in 1973 ( $\underline{M} = 44.80$ ,  $\underline{N} = 236$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 12.07$ ). Three factors might reasonably account for this difference. In studies reported in 1975 and again in 1978, Spence and her colleagues have documented that subjects' scores have been slowly increasing, with college men averaging 47.16 in 1975 and 49.8 in 1978 for her short form. This change has been taken to simply reflect the more progressive attitudes held by respondents in recent years. Certainly, then, it is reasonable to expect that the present sample in 1981 may have even more progressive attitudes than those found in 1978, 1975 or 1973. Additionally, Spence et al. (1978) have determined that

sex-role attitudes increase with the education level of respondents. Clearly, the graduate students in the present student represent one of the most educated samples yet investigated for their Attitudes Toward Women Scale scores. Finally, Fischer (1977) has described the "screw you" effect, in which men were found to score more conservatively on the Spence Scale when it was administered by a woman who respondents perceived to be a feminist, than when given by a male examiner. Possibly, the present investigator was perceived as less threatening or anger provoking than examiners used in past studies. This subtle effect may warrant further investigation.

For Rotter's Interpersonal Trust Scale, present respondents averaged 70.07 ( $\underline{N} = 66$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 9.6$ ). This compares quite favorably with norms published by Rotter in 1967. For his male subjects, scores averaged 73.01 ( $\underline{N} = 248$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 23$ ). Although the difference is quite small, it does indicate that the present sample scored significantly ( $p < .05$ ) less trusting than the norm. Perhaps the best explanation for this follows from an earlier observation that this sample was very achievement oriented. Such students would be expected to be somewhat more distrustful of others. In some ways, this finding confirms a popular lay perception of MBA students as being a little suspicious by nature.

Finally, the Washington University Sentence

Completion Test for Ego Development yielded interesting results for the MBA respondents. Their modal ego stage was I-4 (conscientious) with the following frequency distribution occurring: 3% at  $\Delta/3$ , 7% at I-3, 34% at I-3/4, 31% at I-4, 22% at I-4/5, and 3% at I-5. These results differ from national norms in two ways: the mode is higher for the present sample and the distribution variance is tighter (with some 87% of the respondents scoring at I-3/4, I-4, or I-4/5). Loevinger and Wessler (1970) pointed to I-3 as the modal stage for the general population, and Holt (1980) reported that most studies utilizing college students have found the mode to be at I-3/4. In explaining the obtained differences, several factors may play a role. Hauser (1976) described a positive relationship between age and ego stage. The present sample was averaged about 10 years older than most of the previous studies reporting norms. Additionally, Hauser (1976) and Loevinger (1979) each found that 16 to 25% of the variance in ego scores can be accounted for by intelligence and/or education levels of subjects. Likely, the MBA students rank higher on both counts than most samples utilized previously for norms. Lastly, the tight distribution of the present sample may have resulted from an artificial ceiling effect. Loevinger (1979) has warned that such a confound may occur for subjects high in achievement motivation, as such motivation appears to peak

at the Conscientious Stage (I-4). Fortunately, the distribution found for these respondents was sufficiently diverse as to enable further comparisons. Indeed, for all these measures, the differences found do not serve to negate the validity of making the kinds of comparisons which follow. As ready explanations were available to account for differences between this sample and national norms, the representativeness of the present sample is satisfactory, and the discussion can continue.

### Principal Hypotheses

Interpersonal Trust. A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated between respondents' scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale and the Interpersonal Trust Scale. In this case, the hypothesis that liberated men are more trusting of others than sexist men was clearly supported, as an  $r(66) = .37$ ,  $p < .001$  was found. Although no study known to the investigator had looked at this relationship previously, Rotter's trust construct appears similar to a number of other dimensions which have been found related to sex-role attitudes. Chief among these are the findings of Singleton and Christiansen (1977), Redfering (1979), and Robinson (Note 1) who each demonstrated a relationship between these attitudes and general openmindedness; Bridges (1978), who found men's

sex-role attitudes were significantly related to their levels of disclosiveness; and Pleck (1978) who reported a similar relationship with a self devised 2 item Trust in Others Scale.

As noted previously, Rotter (1967, 1971) has described high interpersonal trusters as individuals who are more open to the ideas of others and secure enough in themselves and the world to not only trust people but to be trustworthy themselves. In contrast, low trusters are described as guarded and suspicious of the intentions of others. Clearly then, the finding that high trusters are more supportive of changing sex-roles than their distrusting peers lends credence to the receptivity hypothesis proposed by Pleck (1976), Unger (1970) and Robinson (Note 1). As noted, these authors have argued that men's sex-role attitudes are, in part, a function of their personal sense of security. Those that are secure enough to be receptive to social change will be more easily able to tolerate and encompass expanded sex-role boundaries, while those who see the world as a threatening place will tend to favor the maintenance of the status inequality of traditional values. Indeed, interpersonal trust would appear to be a good barometer for the receptivity hypothesis, and hence its moderate correlation to men's attitudes toward women is not surprising.

Ego Development. As noted previously, 87% of the

present respondents scored in one of three ego stages; I-3/4, I-4 or I-4/5. Because of the small Ns found in the extreme stages ( $\Delta/3$ , I-3, I-5) three collapsed categories were formed; a preconscious group (I-3/4 or lower, N = 29), a conscientious group (I-4, N = 20), and a postconscious group (I-4/5 or higher, N = 17). A one way analysis of variance was computed across these three categories for Attitude Toward Women Scale scores. For this analysis, a significant main effect,  $F(2,65) = 2.87$ ,  $p < .05$ , was found. A post hoc Newman Keuls analysis indicated subjects classified at I-4 had significantly ( $p < .05$ ) higher scores on Spence's measure than subjects at lower ego levels. Other differences were not statistically significant. It should be noted that when all stages were left intact (not collapsed), the distribution of scores across ego stages indicated that those classified at I-3 scored the most progressive in their sex-role attitudes (M = 63.5, N = 4) followed by subjects at I-4 (M = 60.8, N = 20), I-4/5 (M = 55.6, N = 15), I-3/4 (M = 53.5, N = 23), and I-5 (M = 50, N = 2). The lowest Spence scores were held by subjects at  $\Delta/3$  (M = 48.0, N = 2).

Again, because of the small Ns in the extreme ego stages conclusions are limited to discussion of the three collapsed ego categories. Respondents categorized at I-4, the conscientious stage, scored a significant seven points

higher on Spence's measure than those at preconscious stages. This finding partially supports the hypothesis that men of higher ego levels hold more progressive sex-role attitudes than those at lower levels.

Certain characteristics which Loevinger and Wessler (1970) used to differentiate I-3/4 from I-4 ego levels seem to best explain the differences in sex-role attitudes found in the present study. While the individual at I-3/4 is still concerned with conforming to established norms, the I-4 subject is considerably more idealistic and more concerned with acknowledging individual differences. Indeed, the I-3/4 person tends to see the world in broad stereotypes, while the I-4 prides himself in seeing the other person's point of view. It is the open-minded nature of the higher level subject that may well enable him to be more receptive to the changes in sex-roles asked by today's women's movement. An actual example from two respondent's protocols to one of Loevinger's more appropriate items help highlight the differences between the world views of these individuals. To the stem; Women are lucky because ..., one respondent's I-3/4 response was, "they have men to look out for them", while an I-4's response was, "they have a choice of competing in the job market or opting for the more traditional role." The I-4's appreciation of this choice would translate well into more progressive sex-role attitudes.

It is a bit more challenging to explain the 5 point drop in Spence scores found between I-4 and higher level respondents. Although this difference is not significant, it was hypothesized that scores would rise rather than fall. Certainly this was the prediction of both Rozsnafzsky and Hendel (1977) and Erikson (1977). As noted, these authors demonstrated that higher scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale were moderately related to higher ego stages for women respondents.

An explanation for the lower scores might lie in the differences between the way men and women perceive the feminist movement, particularly those at high ego levels. Loevinger and Wessler (1970) observed that individuals at the I-4/5 level and above sense the paradoxical relationships between events. In addition, their greater complexity of conceptualization allows them to appreciate the subtle consequences of one's actions. Finally, the higher level individual exhibits a great tolerance for others, regardless of their diverse views. This tolerance does not mean acceptance, however, and herein lies a crucial difference between I-4 and I-4/5 respondents. Perhaps those higher level men are less idealistic and a bit more realistic in their assessment of the women's movement. Clearly, dramatic changes in sex-role boundaries pose risks as well as benefits. We are already feeling such paradoxical consequences as political backlash to the



ERA and cries of reverse discrimination. A complex understanding of the wide range of possible reactions to the women's movement may temper the enthusiasm of men at I-4/5 or above. As it has been well documented (Spence & Helmreich, 1978) that women perceive more to be gained from sex-role changes than men, perhaps the higher level male respondents in the present study are a bit wary in comparison to their female peers. Certainly, the issue warrants further study.

An additional note should be made of the comparison between ego levels and respondents' interpersonal trust. An analysis of variance for trust scores across the three collapsed ego categories failed to indicate significant differences. However, a closer inspection of the data suggested a subtle pattern, with postconscientious subjects scoring highest in trust ( $\underline{M} = 72.7$ ,  $\underline{N} = 17$ ) followed by conscientious level respondents ( $\underline{M} = 70.5$ ,  $\underline{N} = 20$ ), and then by preconscious subjects ( $\underline{M} = 68.2$ ,  $\underline{N} = 29$ ). Although no hypotheses were put forward for this comparison, it does appear that men's interpersonal trust may increase slightly with their ego development. Given the nature of both dimensions, such a relationship would not be unexpected. Future studies might look at this more closely.

### Independent Relationships with Men's Attitudes

This section concerns the various relationships found between the dependent variable, respondents' scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, and the numerous independent variables of the Background Questionnaire. In cases where background items provided continuous integral data (i.e., education or age), Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated with the Spence scale. In those cases of noncontinuous categorical data (e.g., religion or race), one-way analysis of variance was the statistic used to assess meaningful differences for the categories. As no specific hypotheses were put forward for confirmation by this data, significant findings are discussed in terms of their impact on past research results as well as their implications for sexism theory and future studies on this topic.

Demographics. A variety of demographic information was collected from each respondent. As was the case in several past studies (i.e., Pleck, 1978; Robinson, Note 1), no relationship was found between the respondent's age and his sex-role attitudes. This supports the notion that in sampling a population containing individuals with a wide range of ages, this variable plays little role in governing men's attitudes. Similarly, no relationship was found between respondents' present occupations and their Spence

scores. However, an interesting finding did occur for an index of career aspirations (Table 3). A one-way analysis of variance indicated that men who stated an interest in abstract job aspirations (i.e., those seeking greater challenge or creativity, etc.) scored significantly more progressive in their sex-role attitudes than men who provided concrete goals (e.g, move into upper class management, start own business, etc.);  $F(1,61) = 5.60, p < .05$ . Those abstract men scored 8 points higher than their concrete peers on the Spence scale. While no known research had looked at this dynamic before, the difference might be adequately explained in receptivity terms. Those respondents interested in abstract goals seem to view a job as a means, not an end. This open or receptive approach appears to translate into progressive role attitudes. On the other hand, the concrete subject might be compensating for his concerns of insecurity by laying definite plans for the future. If he is, indeed, a bit more threatened by the world, one would expect him to take a more traditional stance regarding sex roles.

Another interesting difference was determined for the education level of respondents (Table 3). Although past research has found that as men move through college their role attitudes tend to become more progressive (Etaugh & Bowen, 1976), the opposite was the case with these graduate students. A one-way analysis of variance indicated that

Table 3

Analysis of Variance  
Attitudes Toward Women Scale by Background Questionnaire  
Variables  
Significant Findings

Source - (variable)	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Subject's Education	66	-	1	403.5	4.14	.046
1st Year MBA	13	61.5				
Advanced MBA	53	55.3				
Religion-Adult	64	-	5	225.9	2.42	.045
Jewish	4	65.2				
Agnostic	3	61.3				
None	15	60.8				
Protestant	16	56.0				
Catholic	22	52.7				
Born Again Christian	5	51.2				
Career Aspirations	62	-	1	539.5	5.60	.021
Abstract	11	62.5				
Concrete	51	54.8				
Admired Women - Sex Role	52	-	2	269.7	2.65	.081
Androgynous	21	58.7				
Masculine	13	58.1				
Feminine	18	51.7				
Ideal Mate - Liberation	66	-	1	502.0	5.23	.025
Progressive	30	59.5				
Traditional	36	54.0				
Mate's Occupation	61	-	2	269.6	2.75	.072
Nontraditional Job	37	58.7				
Traditional Job	14	56.8				
Housewife	10	50.4				
Child Rearing Roles	53	-	3	532.2	5.86	.001
Articulated Equality	13	63.5				
Equality	5	60.0				
Moderate	20	57.5				
Traditional	15	48.8				
Women's Movement Goals	64	-	3	265.8	2.79	.048
Accurate - Articulated	19	60.8				
Accurate - Stereotyped	34	54.9				
Accurate - Incomplete	7	56.5				
Inaccurate or Negative	4	47.0				
Women's Movement Support	66	-	2	598.7	6.86	.002
Yes	56	57.7				
Neutral	3	55.0				
No	5	41.6				

the first year business students had significantly higher Spence scores than the upperclassmen in their program;  $F(1,65) = 4.14, p < .05$ . The 6-point difference between these groups might be explained by an increasing sense of competition between men and women (both academically and for future jobs) as they near the completion of their graduate program. Such a competition, if it exists, might temper men's sex-role ideology, and might act as a shot of reality into an initially idealistic population.

In other demographic areas, an effort was made to look at racial differences, but too few minorities participated to enable a comparison. However, respondents were sufficiently diverse on their religious backgrounds to warrant comparison. While no significant differences resulted when childhood religious affiliations were reviewed, significant results did occur for religious beliefs held as adults. A one way ANOVA indicated a significant main effect,  $F(5,64) = 242, p < .05$ , with Jewish respondents scoring most progressive on the Spence ( $M = 65.2, N = 4$ ), followed by men describing themselves as Agnostic ( $M = 61.3, N = 3$ ), subjects of no religious conviction ( $M = 60.8, N = 15$ ), Protestants ( $M = 56.0, N = 16$ ), and Catholics ( $M = 52.7, N = 22$ ). Respondents calling themselves Born Again Christians had the most traditional sex-role attitudes ( $M = 51.2, N = 5$ ). A Newman Keuls post-hoc analysis found that Jewish and Born Again Christians

differed significantly ( $p < .05$ ), while other differences were nonsignificant. The pattern found here is surprisingly similar with past findings for religion (Schmid, 1975; Robinson, Note 1), and indicates that the cultural influence of religious belief and training is important in forming one's sex-role attitudes. Particularly interesting is the finding that Evangelical (Born Again) Christians hold such traditional attitudes. No known investigation had looked at their attitudes before, but given their increasing social power, this group's beliefs may spell an impending roadblock for the women's movement. Clearly this rapidly changing area warrants future study.

Admired Individuals. All respondents were asked to provide the names of three admired men and women, and then to describe these people with adjectives. From this, a general assessment of the sex-role identity for the pooled groups of admired individuals was made. Finally, respondents were told to briefly describe the influence of these people on their lives. For these data only one meaningful finding occurred (refer to Tables 3 and 4). An analysis of variance indicated a nonsignificant trend for Spence scores across sex-role identity categories of admired women;  $F(2,51) = 2.65$ ,  $p = .08$ . Respondents who described their admired women in androgynous or masculine terms had higher Spence scores ( $\bar{M} = 58.7$ ,  $N = 21$  and  $\bar{M} = 58.1$ ,  $N = 13$  respectively) than those who described the

Table 4

Admired Individuals Correlated with Sex-Role Attitudes,  
Trust and Ego Development

		Correlations		
		Role Attitudes	Trust	Ego Stage
Number of Men	$\frac{r}{p}$	.00	.02	-.04
<u>N</u> = 63		NS	NS	NS
Sex Role of Men	$\frac{r}{p}$	.01	.17	.17
<u>N</u> = 61		NS	NS	NS
Number of Women	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.07	.00	.22
<u>N</u> = 60		NS	NS	.09
Sex Role of Women	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.25	.04	.07
<u>N</u> = 52		.07	NS	NS

women in traditional feminine terms ( $\underline{M} = 51.7$ ,  $\underline{N} = 18$ ). Although Spence (1978) and others found little relationship between men's sex-role attitudes and their own identity, it is interesting that a relationship was found here between attitudes and the identity of admired women. People are admired for their personal qualities, and when those qualities are traditional (i.e., feminine for women) then it is not surprising that they reflect a more general view of women's roles. However, it is somewhat surprising that no other relationships appeared for these items. The findings suggest little connection between men's sex-role attitudes and the individuals most admired by them.

Family Background. As noted previously, there was considerable interest in this project to investigate the influence of family dynamics on men's attitudes. A variety of questionnaire items was designed to do this. No significant results emerged for any of the questions posed (Table 5). Spence scores were found to be unrelated to items assessing respondents' family traditionality, compatibility or economic status. Furthermore, indices of father's and mother's education level, sex-role identity, personality, and occupation were all nonsignificant in their effect on sex-role attitudes.

Additional data were gathered on subjects' siblings, including their hierarchy, and the number of brothers and sisters in the family. Again, no significant relationships



Table 5

Family Background Correlates with Sex-Role Attitudes, Trust,  
and Ego Development

		Correlations		
		Role Attitudes	Trust	Ego Stage
Family Compatibility	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.06 NS	.17 NS	-.04 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Family Economic Status	$\frac{r}{p}$	.14 NS	.07 NS	.01 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Family Traditionality	$\frac{r}{p}$	.09 NS	.18 NS	.17 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Father's Education	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.06 NS	.17 NS	.06 NS
$\underline{N} = 64$				
Father's Sex Role	$\frac{r}{p}$	.15 NS	.01 NS	.00 NS
$\underline{N} = 64$				
Father's Personality	$\frac{r}{p}$	.14 NS	.00 NS	.05 NS
$\underline{N} = 64$				
Mother's Education	$\frac{r}{p}$	.00 NS	.12 NS	.25 .04
$\underline{N} = 65$				
Mother's Sex Role	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.13 NS	.09 NS	.01 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Mother's Personality	$\frac{r}{p}$	.05 NS	.08 NS	.12 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Number of Brothers	$\frac{r}{p}$	.07 NS	.30 .02	.12 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Number of Sisters	$\frac{r}{p}$	.11 NS	.23 .06	-.28 .06
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Sibling Hierarchy	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.12 NS	.04 NS	.01 NS
$\underline{N} = 64$				

were found for these variables. Finally, several questions inquired into family roles. Respondents were asked to provide the name of the family member who served as disciplinarian, friend, teacher, etc. One-way analysis of variance was calculated for each of these roles to determine what effect, if any, various family members would have on respondents' adult sex-role attitudes. Again, no significant findings emerged.

The utter absence of relationships for these familial variables was unexpected. Analytical theorists and others have pointed to the family as the major source of expectations for the individual in his subsequent interactions with people. While these findings shed little light on such a relationship, it is certainly possible that the family may still play an instrumental role in providing one with his worldview. Such a perspective should have a significant influence on one's attitudes toward the social roles of men and women. The only plausible explanation for the present result is that as men grow older and more experienced, the input of their family or origin plays a diminishing role in the way they view the societal role of men and women.

Mate's Influence. Considerably more meaningful findings emerged from those background items concerned with men's mates (refer to Tables 3 and 6). As noted, some 64% of the present subjects were married, and an additional 30%

Table 6

Mate's Influence and Subject's Views Correlated with  
Sex-Role Attitudes, Trust, and Ego Development

		Correlations with Mate		
		Role Attitudes	Trust	Ego Stage
Liberation of Ideal	$\frac{r}{p}$	.20 .10	.09 NS	.15 NS
$\underline{N} = 66$				
Length of Relationship	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.24 .05	-.12 NS	.06 NS
$\underline{N} = 61$				
Mate's Education	$\frac{r}{p}$	.25 .05	.20 .05	.14 NS
$\underline{N} = 61$				
Mate's Personality	$\frac{r}{p}$	.01 NS	.12 NS	.19 .12
$\underline{N} = 61$				
Mate's Sex Role	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.11 NS	-.33 .01	-.11 NS
$\underline{N} = 61$				
Child Rearing	$\frac{r}{p}$	.48 .001	.20 .12	-.03 NS
$\underline{N} = 53$				
Liberation of Mate	$\frac{r}{p}$	.11 NS	.07 NS	-.03 NS
$\underline{N} = 61$				

Correlations with Subject's Views

		Role Attitudes	Trust	Ego Stage
Woman's Movement Goals	$\frac{r}{p}$	-.30 .01	.09 NS	-.21 .08
$\underline{N} = 64$				
Support for Goals	$\frac{r}{p}$	.42 .01	.03 NS	.02 NS
$\underline{N} = 64$				

reported being actively involved in a serious monogamous relationship. Although no significant Spence score differences occurred between married and unmarried respondents, an interesting relation was found for the length of these relationships. A significant correlation ( $r = -.24$ ,  $p = .05$ ) was computed, indicating that the longer an individual had known his mate (wife or girlfriend), the more traditional were his sex-role attitudes. Given that no correlation was found between a respondent's age and his attitudes, one might surmise that the nature of the relationship itself was a crucially important factor in the formation of these men's attitudes. While many older men's views have apparently changed in a progressive direction with the times, those men in longstanding relationships (many of whom had been married for 15 years or more) appear to still be bound to the thinking which prevailed at the time they met their mate. Certainly traditional values and expectations held greater popularity ten or 20 years ago than they do today. Perhaps men's general sex-role attitudes are dictated to an extent by the context of their own love relationships.

Further evidence for this was found from items pertaining to mate's education, occupation, and personality (refer to Table 6). A significant correlation was found ( $r = .25$ ,  $p = .05$ ) indicating that respondents' attitudes become more progressive as their mates' level of education

increased. While Spence (1978) and others have documented that an individual's attitudes move in a progressive direction with their own education, the present finding is novel. Additionally, a nonsignificant trend was found between mate's occupation and respondent's sex-role attitudes;  $F(2,60) = 2.75$ ,  $p = .07$  (refer to Table 3). Subjects whose mates held nontraditional jobs for women (e.g., businesswoman, graduate students, etc.) had slightly higher Spence scores ( $\underline{M} = 58.7$ ,  $\underline{N} = 37$ ) than those whose mates held traditional job employment ( $\underline{M} = 56.8$ ,  $\underline{N} = 14$ ), and those whose mates were housewives ( $\underline{M} = 50.4$ ,  $\underline{N} = 10$ ). While it is impossible to infer causality here, men's general attitudes toward women appear to be consistently (albeit, modestly) reflected by the behavior and experience of their loved one.

This was also the case when respondents were asked about how they divided or intended to divide childrearing responsibilities with their mate. A one way ANOVA indicated a significant main effect for this item;  $F(3,52) = 5.86$ ,  $p < .001$  (Table 3). Men who elaborated on their intention to share this responsibility equally with their wives scored highest on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale ( $\underline{M} = 63.5$ ,  $\underline{N} = 13$ ). Subjects who simply and briefly stated their intention of "50/50" sharing scored next highest on the Spence scale ( $\underline{M} = 60$ ,  $\underline{N} = 5$ ), followed by those who acknowledged regretfully that their wives had or will have

a greater responsibility in childrearing ( $\underline{M} = 51.5$ ,  $\underline{N} = 20$ ). Those men who stated that their mate did or would take most of the responsibility scored lowest on the Spence scale ( $\underline{M} = 48.8$ ,  $\underline{N} = 15$ ). A post hoc Newman Keuls analysis indicated that the high and two lowest scoring groups were significantly different ( $p < .05$ ). These scores follow an expected pattern from a progressive to traditional stance on childrearing. When categories were assigned a descending numerical value, a significant correlation of  $.48$  ( $p < .001$ ) was found with Spence scores. One conclusion might certainly be that the Attitudes Toward Women Scale translates well into actual behavior, at least regarding childrearing. This finding supports similar conclusions drawn by Ghaffaradli-Dotty and Carlson (1979).

A final interesting relationship was discovered when respondents were asked to select adjectives descriptive of their ideal mate (refer to Table 3). Those who chose actualizing descriptions (e.g. words like assertive, creative, intelligent) for their ideal scored significantly higher on the Spence ( $\underline{M} = 59.5$ ,  $\underline{N} = 30$ ) than those who chose domestic terms like sexy, faithful, and traditional ( $\underline{M} = 54.0$ ,  $\underline{N} = 36$ );  $\underline{F}(1,65) = 5.23$ ,  $p < .05$ . This finding suggests that men desire a mate with qualities consistent with their own sex-role ideology. Interestingly only a small and nonsignificant correlation ( $\underline{r} = .11$ ) was found between men's measured attitudes and their mate's rated

support for the women's movement. This discrepancy between what is and what should be (actual vs. ideal) suggests that men are more concerned with the liberated actions of their wives and girlfriends than they are with the lip service they may pay to liberation. It should be noted that 70% of those men involved in a relationship felt that their mate had the qualities of their ideal, while 16% wished that their mates were more actualizing and another 13% wished their mates were more domestic. It would seem that most men have what they want.

In contrast to the absence of familial relationships for men's attitudes, many significant relationships were found for men's mates. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine whether one's mate influences one's sex-role attitudes, or rather, one selects a mate based on preexisting attitudes. Likely, both occur. Future research might explore these relationships more closely in order to determine the direction of causality. The findings of the present investigation suggest that one's lover carries considerably more weight than one's mother in the formation of men's attitudes toward the social role of women.

Support for the Women's Movement. The two final items on the Background Questionnaire were designed to provide a more complete picture of respondents' feelings toward women's liberation (refer to Table 6). The first

asked subjects to state what they felt were the three principal goals of today's women's movement. Answers were assigned to one of four categories, and a one way ANOVA indicated a significant main effect on Spence Scores;  $F(3,63) = 2.79, p < .05$ . Respondents who provided three accurate and well articulated goals scored highest on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale ( $\underline{M} = 60.8, \underline{N} = 19$ ), followed by those who provided only two accurate and articulated goals ( $\underline{M} = 56.5, \underline{N} = 7$ ). Subjects whose goals were accurate, but brief and stereotypical, scores next highest on the Spence scale ( $\underline{M} = 54.9, \underline{N} = 34$ ), and the lowest scores were those men who stated negative or hostile goals ( $\underline{M} = 47.0, \underline{N} = 4$ ). A post hoc Newman Keuls analysis found that the extreme scoring groups differed significantly ( $p < .05$ ), while other differences were nonsignificant. The pattern found here provides further construct validity for Spence's measure. One would certainly expect that progressive scorers would be better able to articulate the goals of expanded role opportunity put forth by the women's movement than traditional scorers.

Finally, respondents were asked to state their own support for the goals of the women's movement. Surprisingly, some 80% said they supported these goals. A one way ANOVA was computed to compare this group's Spence scores with those of subject's less enthusiastic about the movement, and a significant main effect was found,  $F(2,65)$



= 6.86,  $p < .01$ . Respondents who supported the goals averaged 57.7 ( $N = 56$ ) on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, followed by individuals neutral toward these goals ( $M = 55.0$ ,  $N = 3$ ) and those against the goals ( $M = 41.6$ ,  $N = 5$ ). A post hoc Newman Keuls analysis indicated that those for and against were significantly different ( $p < .05$ ). These results provide additional validity to Spence's scale. However, it is even more interesting that so many of the respondents reported their support for the goals of women's liberation. Two explanations might account for this. It was already noted that this subject sample appeared significantly more progressive in sex-role ideology than the population of men at large (based on their Spence scores). However, perhaps more important was the wording of the question item. It asked the men to state their support for goals of women's liberation. Two explanations might account for this. It was already noted that this subject sample appeared significantly more progressive in sex-role ideology than the population of men at large (based on their Spence scores). However, perhaps more important was the wording of the question item. It asked the men to state their support for goals they themselves had previously articulated. This approach encouraged the respondents to be more thoughtful and probably negated most of the negative reaction they may have initially had to the cliché "women's movement"

(Jacobson, 1979).

### Independent Relationships with Men's Trust

In order to learn more about Rotter's Interpersonal Trust Scale and to provide further information on the present sample for this dimension, the following section concerns the relationships between trust and the independent variables of the Background Questionnaire. Continuous data were analyzed by Pearson product-moment correlations, while categorical data were subjected to one way analysis of variance for Interpersonal Trust scores. It should be noted that even though Rotter developed his measure in 1967, he reported (1980a) that only recently has it received a flurry of interest from other researchers. Hence, there was generally little prior information available about the kinds of relationships that follow.

Demographics. For the seven demographic variables on which information was gathered, no significant relationships were found with interpersonal trust. Based on Rotter's (1967) own validation effect, with religious individuals of all faiths scoring higher in trust than nonreligious individuals. A similar comparison was made in the present study and it failed to yield the same difference, leading the investigator to conclude that perhaps religious beliefs play a diminished role on interpersonal trust than was the

case some 13 years ago.

Admired Individuals. No relationships were found between trust and that information gathered on the individuals most admired by the present respondents (refer to Table 4).

Family Background. A number of relationships were found between trust and those variables concerned with respondents' family background (refer to Tables 5 and 7). Small, nonsignificant trends were identified for both family compatibility and traditionality. Subjects who reported greater familial harmony scored higher in their trust ( $\underline{r} = .17$ ,  $\underline{p} = .16$ ) as did subjects who described their families as more progressive ( $\underline{r} = .18$ ,  $\underline{p} = .12$ ). An additional relationship was found for family economic status. For this variable, a significant analysis of variance indicated that respondents from upper class families scored somewhat more trusting than those from lower or middle income families;  $\underline{F}(2,65) = 3.11$ ,  $\underline{p} = .05$ . These findings lead the investigator to conclude that family security, compatibility and receptivity all play a small, but meaningful role in the formation of men's interpersonal trust. These results follow similar patterns reported by Rotter (1967), and suggest that the trust dimension is influenced, in part, by early childhood family experiences.

Additional support for this comes from other

Table 7

Analysis of Variance  
Interpersonal Trust Scale by Background Questionnaire  
Variables  
Significant Findings

Source - Variable	<u>N</u>	Mean	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Family Economic Status	66	-	2	270.4	3.11	.051
Upper Class	26	72.7				
Lower Class	12	71.7				
Middle Class	28	66.7				
Father's Occupation	65	-	2	320.5	3.52	.042
White Collar - Business	31	72.9				
Professional	13	69.6				
Blue Collar	21	66.9				
Mother's Sex Role	66	-	2	210.8	2.37	.101
Androgynous	30	71.9				
Feminine	28	69.6				
Masculine	8	63.2				
Relationship Status	66	-	3	313.8	3.84	.014
Divorced	4	79.7				
Seriously Involved	16	74.1				
Married	42	68.1				
Single - Uninvolved	4	64.2				
Mate's Occupation	61	-	3	216.5	2.45	.073
Traditional Employment	14	74.3				
Nontraditional	32	70.4				
Housewife	10	65.1				
Full Time Student	5	64.9				
Mate's Sex Role	61	-	2	326.7	3.76	.029
Masculine	13	75.3				
Androgynous	29	69.8				
Feminine	19	66.2				

significant results. Higher trust was found positively, although nonsignificantly, related to father's education level ( $r = .17$ ,  $p = .16$ ), and a significant effect was found for father's occupation;  $F(2,64) = 3.52$ ,  $p < .05$ . For this latter effect, respondents whose fathers had white collar jobs scored significantly more trusting ( $M = 72.9$ ,  $N = 31$ ) than those whose fathers held blue collar jobs ( $M = 66.9$ ,  $N = 21$ ). Another interesting but nonsignificant relationship was found between trust and mother's sex-role identity;  $F(2,65) = 2.37$ ,  $p = .10$ . For this variable, subjects who described their mothers in androgynous terms scored slightly higher in trust ( $M = 71.9$ ,  $N = 30$ ) than those who described her in feminine terms ( $M = 69.6$ ,  $N = 28$ ) and even more so than those who had masculine mothers ( $M = 63.2$ ,  $N = 8$ ). The most significant results followed from those variables inquiring into respondent's siblings. Although Rotter (1967) reported no relationship between trust and family size, the respondents on the present study who had more brothers and sisters scored slightly higher in interpersonal trust ( $r = .30$ ,  $p < .05$  and  $r = .23$  and  $p = .06$  respectively). These results indicated that regardless of their sex, the more sibs one had, the higher his trust. Apparently there is increased security in numbers. However, no tie was found between sibling hierarchy or family roles and interpersonal trust. Finally, it should be noted that Rotter (1980a) cited general findings which

suggest that high trusters have had happier childhoods than low trusters. Taken in total, the present results would tend to collaborate this conclusion.

Mate's Influence. There has been very little research that has looked at the influence of one's mate on one's level of trust. The present findings suggest that this area should receive more attention, as a variety of interesting relationships was discovered (refer to Tables 6 and 7). A significant main effect was demonstrated for respondents' relationship status,  $F(3,65) = 3.84$ ,  $p = .01$ , with divorced subjects holding the highest levels of trust ( $M = 79.9$ ,  $N = 4$ ), followed by involved single subjects ( $M = 74.1$ ,  $N = 16$ ), and married subjects ( $M = 68.1$ ,  $N = 42$ ). The lowest trust was found in the uninvolved single subject group ( $M = 61.2$ ,  $N = 5$ ). A post hoc Newman Keuls analysis indicated that the divorced men differed significantly from the uninvolved single men ( $p < .05$ ). While it was surprising to find the divorced sample so high in trust, these findings generally suggest that as far as interpersonal trust goes, it is better to have loved and lost than not to have loved at all.

For those men with mates (wives or girlfriends), additional factors influenced their level of trust. For example, the higher their mate's education, the higher their Rotter scale score ( $r = .20$ ,  $p = .10$ ). For their mates occupation, a nonsignificant trend,  $F(3,60) = 2.45$ ,

$p = .07$ , indicated that men whose mates were employed had higher trust than those men whose mates were housewives or full-time students. This factor may simply reflect higher trust through the greater economic security of two breadwinners. Another trend ( $r = .20$ ,  $p = .10$ ) was found between trust and childrearing. Men who agreed to take more of the responsibility in rearing their children scored slightly higher in trust. Finally, a highly significant relationship was found for mate's sex-role identity;  $F(2,60) = 3.76$ ,  $p = .02$ . In sharp contrast to the findings for mother's identity, men who described their mates in masculine terms scored highest on Interpersonal Trust ( $M = 75.3$ ,  $N = 13$ ), followed by androgynous mates ( $M = 69.8$ ,  $N = .29$ ), and by feminine mates ( $M = 66.2$ ,  $N = .19$ ). These results might best be explained as reflecting a more open or trusting attitude on the part of men willing to accept a nontraditional mate who holds masculine qualities, as opposed to the less secure stance one would expect from a man who has chosen a traditional feminine mate. Certainly, this variable warrants further study. Indeed, a variety of sex-role identity relationships were found with men's interpersonal trust. These findings point to what might be a crucial influence of the perceived sex-role identity of others.

Support for the Women's Movement. There were no significant relationships between measured trust and items

designed to independently assess respondents' support for the women's movement (refer to Table 6). This was somewhat surprising, as a clear correlation ( $r = .37$ ) was previously found between trust scores and scores for Spence's Attitudes Toward Women Scale. However, it appeared that there was no tie between a respondent's ability to articulate these goals of the women's movement, nor his support for these goals, and his level of trust of others. The positive correlation found for Spence's measure suggests that it is considerably more robust than these simple items included on the Background Questionnaire.

#### Independent Relationships with Men's Ego Development

Final data analyses involved determining the relationships between the various independent variables of the Background Questionnaire and men's ego development. For this, two statistical procedures were utilized; for continuous independent variables an analysis of variance was applied across ego stages, and for the many noncontinuous categorial items, Chi Square's were calculated to determine the contingency relationship with ego levels. For most of these latter analyses, Loevinger's ego stages were collapsed to form two meaningful categories: a preconscious group (I-3/4 or less) and a conscientious or higher group (I-4 or greater). Loevinger



(1979) has described the conscientious stage as a natural dividing point for determining high and low scorers, as at I-4 there is a dramatic shift to psychologically minded self-reflection indicating significantly higher cognitive complexity for respondents.

Demographics. For those background items concerned with respondents' demographics, only a single meaningful relationship was found, and this only when ego categories were expanded to include three groups: low (pre I-4), middle (I-4), and high (post I-4). When this was done, a nonsignificant trend was found indicating a slight relationship between ego development and respondents' career aspirations; Chi Square (2) = 4.97,  $p = .08$  (refer to Table 8). Of the 11 subjects who provided abstract job aspirations (e.g., "greater creativity", "responsibility") three (27%) scored low in ego level, two (18%) scored in the middle range, and six (54%) scored high. This contrasted to the distribution found for those 51 subjects who provided concrete aspirations (e.g., "move into management", "start own business"). For these men, 22 (43%) scored low in ego development, 18 (35%) scored in the middle, and only 11 (21%) scored high. Although the cell sizes provided by this distribution are technically too small for the abstract group to yield valid differences, these results do follow a pattern predicted from Loevinger's model. Given their capacity for complex and abstract

Table 8

Chi Square  
Ego Development by Background Questionnaire Variables  
Significant Findings

Career Aspirations

		Abstract	Concrete	Total
Ego Stage	Lo	3	22	25
	Mid	2	18	20
	Hi	6	11	17
	Total	11	51	

Chi Square (2) = 4.97,  $p = .08$

Mother's Education

		College Grad	No Grad	Total
Ego Stage	Lo	7	22	29
	Hi	15	21	36
	Total	22	43	

Chi Square (1) = 2.20,  $p = .13$

Women's Movement Goals

		Articulate	Total
Ego Stage	Lo	4	27
	Hi	15	37
	Total	19	45

Chi Square (1) = 4.94,  $p < .05$

Admired Women

		Complete	Incomplete	Total
Ego Stage	Lo	20	9	29
	Hi	33	4	37
	Total	53	13	

Chi Square (1) = 4.20,  $p < .05$

Role Model

		Others	Parents	Total
Ego Stage	Lo	3	18	21
	Hi	14	19	33
	Total	17	37	

Chi Square (1) = 4.7,  $p < .05$

thinking, high level respondents would be expected to be more likely to view their careers as providing a means for personal growth rather than as an end in itself.

The absence of other demographic relationships was not surprising, except that for age. Loevinger (1979) has documented a positive relationship between ego development and age even through the college years, although the bulk of this variance is accounted for earlier in childhood and adolescence. One would expect some differences to occur for the group of adults utilized in the present study as they ranged in age from 23 to 65. However, an ANOVA failed to indicate any such relationship. As previously noted, the higher mean age of the present sample was proposed as accounting for some of the difference between this group and the population norms presented by Loevinger (1979) and Holt (1980). Perhaps the tight distribution of ego scores found served to negate the influence of age.

Admired Individuals. For those items relating to admired individuals, one significant finding occurred which indicated a relationship between ego stage and a respondent's ability to provide the names of three women he admired; Chi Square (1) 24.20,  $p < .05$  (Table 8). Of those 53 subjects who were unable to complete this item, 9 (69%) scored low in ego and only four (31%) scored high. Again, such a finding lends construct validation to Loevinger's measure, as it would be expected that lower ego level

subjects would be more challenged by this item's request for the names of three women. The mode of conceptualization for preconscious individuals tends to be stereotypical and mundane. Such men likely do not often think of women as individuals they admire or identify with.

Family Background. Respondents' ego levels were compared to information gathered on their family background. No relationships were found for such items as family compatibility, economic status, or traditionality. This was somewhat surprising as Loevinger (1979) has noted evidence suggesting a small negative relationship between ego development and authoritarian family ideology--a dimension similar to family traditionality.

However, for those items inquiring into subjects' parents, a slight and nonsignificant relationship was discovered between ego level and mother's education; Chi Square (1) = 2.20,  $p = .13$  (refer to Table 8). This weak trend indicated that for those 22 respondents whose mothers had graduated from college, 7 (31%) scored in the low ego group, while 15 (68%) scored in the high group. This compared to the 22 (51%) low scorers and 21 (49%) high scorers whose mothers had not completed college. Although this finding is not significant, the pattern warrants further study. Interestingly, no similar pattern resulted from comparisons with father's education, suggesting that perhaps the role of mother's intellect has more bearing on

the development of men's ego than father's.

Another interesting relationship was found for men's childhood role models; Chi Square (1) = 4.71,  $p < .05$  (Table 8). As might be expected, of the 37 respondents who cited one or both of their parents as their early role models, 18 or 49% scored low in ego level and 19 or 51% scored high. However, for those 17 subjects who cited other individuals as models (celebrities, friends, grandparents, etc.) only 3 (17%) scored low, while 14 (82%) scored high in ego development. Given this difference, it seems possible that those who identified role models other than their parents might have been interested in particular traits or characteristics as opposed to what may have been a vague relatively unreflective identification with one's parents. Further research on the dynamics underlying ego development might do well to look at this issue more closely.

Mate's Influence. There were no significant relationships found for those questionnaire items pertaining to respondents' mate. However, in looking at the frequency distribution for data on child rearing, a pattern emerges which suggests that individuals of higher ego levels slightly are more willing to share these responsibilities with their wives. Unfortunately, there were too few respondents opposed to this sharing to enable a meaningful statistical comparison. Such a pattern would

be predicted by Loevinger's (1979) model, as she concluded that individuals of higher ego levels are generally more willing to help others and take on responsibility than those of lower development.

Support for the Women's Movement. One last significant result was discovered between ego development and respondents' articulation of the goals of today's women's movement (Table 8). A Chi Square (1) of 4.94 ( $p < .05$ ) was found, and the distribution indicated that of the 19 respondents who provided three well articulated and elaborated goals, 4 (21%) scored in the low ego category, while 15 (79%) scored high. Yet of the 45 subjects who provided only brief, stereotypical or incomplete goals, 23 (51%) scored low in ego and 22 (49%) scored high. Again, given the cognitive complexity of the higher level individual, one would predict that he would be more likely to provide well thought out and carefully articulated answers to this item than would lower level persons. In a clinical sense, those that elaborated upon the goals of the women's movement would appear to have a greater understanding of and sensitivity to its issues and purposes. Hence, the significant finding for this item provides additional support to the hypothesis that men's support of the women's movement is influenced by their psychological maturity. However, one note of caution: the response formats for this item and Loevinger's sentence completion test are

highly similar as both depend on level of articulation for scoring. Thus, there is a chance that the relationship found between the two way be due to a methodological artifact.

## CONCLUSION

The investigator has attempted to come to a better understanding of the factors that influence and underlie an individual's attitudes toward today's changing sex roles. He observed that as the feminist movement pushes for the expansion of role boundaries and opportunities for women, individuals of both sexes find their lives increasingly affected. People are discovering that their traditional expectations no longer match social realities, and while some eagerly find themselves supporting and adopting sex-role changes, others greet these developments with anything but enthusiasm. A review of the psychological literature relevant to this topic indicated that two issues have received less than adequate coverage. The first concerned the relative lack of research directly interested in the male perspective on role changes and attitudes, while the second had to do with the rather limited sampling procedures utilized in past studies. This latter concern stems from the tendency for prior papers to report information based on young college student subjects, a sample felt to be limited in their experience of many issues relevant to sex role attitudes. Hence, the present effort sought to remedy this situation by investigating a variety of cultural, familial, and psychological variables



thought to impact on sex-role attitudes within the context of a diverse adult male sample of graduate business students. Men's receptivity to the role changes espoused by the women's movement was measured by a short form of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, their level of trust in others was assessed by the Interpersonal Trust Scale, and their psychological maturity was determined by a short form of the Washington University Sentence Completion Test of Ego Development. Finally, cultural and familial factors were examined through a Background Questionnaire developed by the investigator.

The literature on sex-role attitudes suggested that an implicit rationale underlying past studies of the psychological components of these attitudes has been what the investigator has dubbed "the receptivity hypothesis." This theoretical notion argues that one's receptivity to role changes is determined, in part, by his or her general level of security and openmindedness. An individual who perceives the world as threatening to his integrity may well regard the women's liberation movement as destructive and negative, while the individual who is secure in his outlook and identity may be expected to view the women's movement as role-expanding and positive.

A review of published studies indicated that there is considerable support for the receptivity model. From this framework, two specific hypotheses were put forward for

confirmation in the present project. The first predicted a positive relationship between men's sex-role attitudes and their levels of interpersonal trust. This expectation was well supported, as a correlation of .37 ( $p < .01$ ) was found indicating that high trusters were significantly more progressive in their attitudes. The second hypothesis proposed a similar relationship between men's support of role changes and higher ego development. However, this prediction was only partially supported. Respondents of moderate ego levels (I-4) scored significantly more progressive ( $p < .05$ ) than those of lower levels. However, subjects of the highest ego levels did not score significantly different from those at I-4. Indeed, their attitude scores were slightly more traditional. It was speculated that men at the highest ego levels may approach the changes espoused by the women's movement with some caution based upon their concerns with the subtle risks posed by dramatic social change.

An additional focus of this project was to explore a variety of background variables to determine if they were related to men's sex-role attitudes. Particular attention was paid to the potential influence of both family and mate, as a number of personality theorists have proposed a link between these factors and one's subsequent views on sex-roles. For these many variables, a number of interesting relationships emerged. Respondents in their

first year of graduate school had significantly more progressive attitudes than upperclassmen. However, no relationship was found for age. In addition, a significant religious effect was noted, with Jewish respondents holding more progressive sex-role views than Born-Again Christians. Also, respondents who aspired for abstract career goals were found to be significantly more supportive of the women's movement than those whose aspirations were concrete.

No relationships emerged between a respondent's family dynamics and his role attitudes. However, several meaningful conclusions were drawn from the influence of the subject's mate. The longer a respondent had known his wife or girlfriend, the more traditional were his attitudes. However, the greater her education, the more progressive were his views. In addition, respondents whose mates held nontraditional positions of employment scored significantly higher in their Attitudes Toward Women scores than those whose mates were housewives. Finally, respondents who had expressed a desire to share child-rearing responsibilities equally with their mate scored more progressive than those men who felt childrearing was women's work.

Collaboration for the construct validity of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale was determined by the results of several independent items. Not only did progressive scorers on the scale more readily acknowledge their support

for the women's movement, but they were also more able to accurately articulate the principal goals of women's liberation. Also, in their descriptions of their ideal mates, progressive scorers tended to use actualizing terms while traditional scorers selected terms more domestic in nature. These findings suggest that Spence's scale is both robust and effective in its purpose.

Very different findings emerged when respondents' background information was compared to their levels of interpersonal trust. While no significant differences were found for demographic items, a number of meaningful conclusions were drawn from items concerned with familial dynamics. Subjects who reported greater family compatibility, higher economic status, and more progressive family ideology all tended to score slightly higher on the Interpersonal Trust Scale. Also, respondents whose fathers held white collar jobs scored more trusting than those whose fathers worked in blue collar positions. Another interesting tie was found between respondents' trust and their perception of the sex-role identity of their mothers. Men who described their mothers as androgynous scored more trusting than perceived masculine mother's sons. Perhaps the strongest relationship was demonstrated between family size and subject's trust. The more siblings of either sex a respondent had, the higher his score on the Interpersonal Trust Scale, leading the investigator to

conclude that there is a greater experience of security in numbers.

For the influence of one's girlfriend or wife on trust, additional comparisons were made. Surprisingly, divorced men demonstrated higher trust than single, uninvolved subjects. More understandable were results indicating that the higher the mate's education, the greater men's trust. Also, respondents with employed mates tended to score more trusting than those whose mates were students or housewives. Finally, men who described their wives or girlfriends in masculine terms scored more trusting than those who provided feminine descriptions.

The last set of analyses concerned the relationship between the background variables and respondents' ego development. Although no clear patterns emerged, a number of interesting individual findings occurred. For example, respondents who had abstract career aspirations tended to have higher ego development than those whose aspirations were concrete. High ego scorers were also more able to provide the names of three admired women. Regarding family influences, results indicated that respondents whose mothers had completed college scored at higher ego stages than those whose mothers were not college graduates. It also appeared that subjects who had role models other than their parents were more likely to score high in ego development, while those who identified one or both of their

parents as a role model were more likely to score low. Although no connections were established between ego development and respondents' mates, a significant tie was found for men's ability to describe the goals of the women's movement. Subjects who were able to clearly articulate the principal goals of this movement tended to score higher in their development than those who provided brief, stereotypical, or inaccurate goals.

In reviewing those relationships found between the independent variables of the Background Questionnaire and the three established personality measures, a number of interesting global patterns became evident. Contrary to expectations, familial dynamics played little role on men's attitudes toward today's changing sex roles. In fact, considerably more evidence pointed to one's lover as providing the crucial influence on these attitudes. Yet, the family variables were not without their power, as a variety of these factors were found related to men's interpersonal trust. Fewer ties were made between men's trust and their mate. From this, one can conclude that while men's trust in others appears to be formed to a large extent through childhood experiences, men's sex-role attitudes are determined to a greater extent in adulthood. These attitudes seem, to a proportion not previously described, very much tied to one's experience of and expectations for one's life long opposite sex companion.

Future research on this topic would do well to examine these complex interpersonal dynamics more closely, as they appear to reflect some of the most important findings of the present investigation.

## SUMMARY

An attempt was made to come to a better understanding of various cultural, familial, and psychological factors which influence men's generalized receptivity toward today's changing sex roles. The adult male perspective on role changes has received less than adequate research attention, and hence, the sex-role attitudes of sixty-five older graduate business students were sampled. These men's beliefs, as measured by the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, were compared to their scores on Loevinger's ego development scale and Rotter's interpersonal trust measure. Additional comparisons were made with a number of background variables, selected, in part, because of their importance in psychodynamic theory. Particular attention was paid to the influence of respondent's mother and mate.

As predicted, men's receptivity to progressive role changes was found positively and significantly related to their level of trust in others ( $r = .37$ ). However, less consistent results were found for ego development. Conscientious (mid-level) respondents scored significantly ( $p < .05$ ) more progressive in their sex-role attitudes than those men at pre-conscientious (lower-level) stages. Yet, post-conscientious subjects scored slightly less progressive than their conscientious-level peers. It was



speculated that high level men may be a bit wary of the dramatic role changes espoused by today's women's movement.

In an exploratory fashion, a number of background and demographic correlates were investigated. Contrary to past reports, no relationship emerged between a respondent's age and his receptivity to role changes. Indeed, most of the assessed factors proved to be poor predictors of sex-role beliefs. This was the case for family experiences, and included men's perceptions of their parents and siblings. Results did, however, indicate a number of relationships between a man's mate (wife or girlfriend) and his subsequent sex-role attitudes. Progressive beliefs were significantly and positively related to mate's education, and her tendency toward nontraditional employment. In addition, those men who anticipated or experienced an equalitarian distribution of childrearing responsibilities held significantly more receptive attitudes towards role changes than men who saw childrearing as women's work.

Results were discussed in terms of past findings, and inferences of causality. The present research suggests that men's sex-role attitudes are in part determined in adulthood by relationship demands and by one's psychological maturity. They do not appear to be a direct consequence of childhood experiences as dynamic theorists would predict.

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APPENDIX A

## RECRUITMENT STATEMENT

I am presently engaged in dissertation research for my Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology at Loyola. My project is designed to investigate factors which influence people's attitudes toward societal norms and expectations - in particular, their attitudes toward contemporary sex roles. The bulk of psychological research in this area has been spawned by the feminist movement and has tended to review the impact of this movement on women's lives. In order to develop a fuller picture, I am interested in exploring men's attitudes. There is a serious need to sample and present the views of adult males - particularly those likely to find themselves in positions of decision-making responsibility in business and industry. Hence, I am recruiting male graduate business and industrial relations students who may be interested in volunteering some 45 minutes of their time to complete four brief questionnaires. I am especially interested in soliciting the cooperation of men who are married or presently involved in a serious monogamous relationship, as a number of items pertain specifically to these individuals.

Should you be interested in participating in this project, you may take a questionnaire packet home with you, complete it at your leisure during the next two weeks (instructions are provided), and return it to Loyola (drop the sealed packet into any interoffice mail box). Your confidentiality is assured.

Past respondents have found the process of completing the measures to be both interesting and enlightening. I will provide feedback on my results to those participants who request it. The project should be completed by late summer.

Should you decide later that you wish to participate, or should you know of a fellow graduate student who might be interested, please contact me at:

274-3000 ext. 431  
Loyola Counseling Center.

If I am not there, please leave your name and number, and I will get back to you.

Thank you for your time.

Carl Robinson

Graduate Student in Clinical Psychology  
Loyola University of Chicago

APPENDIX B



## INSTRUCTIONS FOR RESPONDENTS

Important: Please read this entire page carefully before beginning.

The following packet contains four brief questionnaires designed to gather information on your background, your family and social relationships, as well as your general attitudes toward people and society.

"Pencil and paper" measures such as the following are often less than ideal in their ability to accurately assess an individual's beliefs and feelings. However, with your cooperation some limitations can be overcome. Please complete each item carefully and honestly. This effort will greatly improve the value of the questionnaires.

With this cooperation, I can assure you of several things:

1. Your absolute confidentiality. At no time will respondents' names be used in this research, nor will any identifying information be made available to anybody under any circumstances.
2. An opportunity, through your participation, to learn something about your own psychological nature. This will occur in two ways; as part of the process of self-reflection necessary for completing some of the items, and through feedback on the outcome of this project which I will make available to all participants who request it.

Please complete these questionnaires at your leisure sometime during the first two weeks after you received them. When you begin, move through the items at a quick but comfortable pace, and attempt to answer each one. However, do not get hung up for too long on any individual question; if an answer does not come to you, simply write DK (don't know) in the appropriate space provided. Understand that some items will demand some reflection and concentration on your part.

The four measures take approximately 45 minutes to complete. Participants are encouraged to complete all measures in one sitting and with out help from others.

When you have finished, please place the packet into the envelope provided, seal it, and drop it off at Loyola in any interoffice mail box. I will be contacting you sometime after you receive the materials to inquire into your progress. If any questions arise, please contact me at 274-3000, ext. 431. Thank you for your time!

Carl Robinson  
Graduate Student in Clinical Psychology  
Department of Psychology, Loyola University

APPENDIX C

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain a picture of your background and the important people in your life. By completing the following questions as fully and as accurately as you can, you will be significantly contributing to the present research project.

Please attempt to answer each question. If a question does not apply to you or your situation, you may leave it blank. Again, the point should be made that all the information which you provide is strictly confidential, and at no time will any respondent's name or identification be made available to anybody.

General

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Your Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Your Education (Circle last grade completed):

8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th 16th 17th 18th 19th  
( High School ) ( College ) ( Graduate School )

Your Occupation (describe if necessary):

Briefly, what are your career aspirations:

Your religion  
In childhood: \_\_\_\_\_

As an adult: \_\_\_\_\_

Your racial/ethnic background: \_\_\_\_\_

Please list three men whom you admire, and after each please provide three adjectives which describe that person (may repeat if necessary):

1. \_\_\_\_\_

Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_

-2-

How has each of these men directly or indirectly influenced you (one sentence for each):

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Please list three women whom you admire, and after each please provide three adjectives which describe that person (may repeat if necessary):

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
Adjectives: \_\_\_\_\_

How has each of these women directly or indirectly influenced you (one sentence for each):

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

#### Family Background

Please provide an impression of the state of general compatibility between your family members during your childhood (rate on a one to seven scale with one = very incompatible and seven = very harmonious)

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

Socio-economic status of your childhood family (circle one):

Lower      Lower-middle      Middle      Upper-middle      Upper

-3-

**Father**

Living or deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

If deceased, your age at the time of his death: \_\_\_\_\_

His occupation during your childhood (describe if necessary):  
\_\_\_\_\_

His educational background (provide last grade completed): \_\_\_\_\_

Please provide three adjectives which describe your father's  
personality:  
\_\_\_\_\_**Mother**

Living or deceased: \_\_\_\_\_

If deceased, your age at the time of her death: \_\_\_\_\_

Her occupation during your childhood (describe if necessary):  
\_\_\_\_\_:

Her educational background (provide last grade completed): \_\_\_\_\_

Please provide three adjectives which describe your mother's  
personality:  
\_\_\_\_\_Relative to other families, please rate on a seven point scale  
how traditional you feel your childhood family was (one = very  
traditional and seven = very progressive):

1    2    3    4    5    6    7

**Siblings**

Number of brothers: \_\_\_\_\_ Ages: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of sisters: \_\_\_\_\_ Ages: \_\_\_\_\_

As you grew up with your immediate family, who served as your....  
(write in the family member who most frequently filled this role):

Confidant: \_\_\_\_\_

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_

-4-

Rival: \_\_\_\_\_

Friend: \_\_\_\_\_

Disciplinarian: \_\_\_\_\_

Playmate: \_\_\_\_\_

Role Model: \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship Background

Current relationship status (circle appropriate):

Single (not dating)      Single (casually dating)

Single (seriously involved with one individual)      Engaged

Married      Remarried      Separated      Divorced      Widowed

What qualities would you envision for your ideal mate (circle four of the adjectives listed below):

Faithful      Assertive      Honest      Domestic      Creative

Socialable      Sexy      Intelligent      Sensitive      Traditional

Independent      Good Humored      Physically Attractive      Confident

If you are currently involved in a serious monogamous relationship (marriage or otherwise):

How long have you been in this relationship: \_\_\_\_\_

Her age: \_\_\_\_\_

Her educational background (provide last grade completed): \_\_\_\_\_

Her occupation (describe if necessary): \_\_\_\_\_

Please provide three adjectives which describe her personality:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Does your current mate have those qualities you would like for your ideal mate (if not, what is she missing?):

If you and your mate have or expect to have children, how will/did you divide up the responsibilities of early child rearing (briefly elaborate):

-5-

To the best of your knowledge, how does your current mate feel about women's liberation (circle one):

Generally supportive    Neutral    Generally against

Briefly, what do you feel are the three principal goals or values of today's "women's movement":

1.

2.

3.

Are you generally supportive of these goals: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX D



## SCORING CRITERIA

## 5 Subject's career aspirations (1) to (5)

- (1) = Abstract goals: Subject looking for greater creativity, responsibility, challenge...more power, chance to make a difference in world, etc. These goals are more personal and less concrete....some may be rather vague.
- (2) = Concrete goal; to become self employed, own boss, run own company, build own business. etc. Independent.
- (3) = Concrete goal; to move into a "management" position within business. Officer, manager, executive, partner, V.P., etc.
- (4) = Other; maintain status quo Subject may list other less ambitious plans which would be scored (4) if concrete and not appropriate for (2) or (3) above.

If a subject stresses such things as "responsibility", "creativity", "challenge" even when pro job plans, than this should likely be scored (1). The deciding factor is whether or not the subject sees the job as a means of reaching the end - challenge: responsibility etc. If the "job" is the end in it self, than score (2) (3) or (4).

## SCORING CRITERIA

Items 11 and 14

Influence of admired men and women

Subject must provide at least two statements and two must be roughly the same for scoring (1) or (2). If less than two statements, score (0).

- (1) = Direct role models; These are people (famous or otherwise) who have provided the subject with specific qualities or traits which the subject seeks to model or attain. They are qualities which have are being strived for by the subject. They may have been taught, modeled, demonstrated, and are of personal value to the subject. that maybe qualities which have "helped" the subject.
- (2) = Indirect or detached influence; These are people which may be important or significant to the subject, and they may have qualities which are "great" or "important" on their own merit. Often the qualities are vague, although socially valuable. The people and their qualities are worthwhile and should be appreciated by all. Generally less of a direct model, but admirable, none the less. They may set an example for all.
- (3) = Other...unclear, unscorable or otherwise confusion responses  
When there are not two globally similar responses, score (3)

## SCORING CRITERIA

List all words (adjectives) used to describe admired men (9), admired women (9) and father (3), mother (3) and mate (3).

Pool these and pull out those already classified by Bem and Broverman, as well as clear comparable adjectives.

Provide remaining words to 5 volunteers and have them note any that they feel are "masculine" or "feminine", as defined below. Those words which 3 or more raters feel are sex typed will be added to the list of already identified masculine or feminine words.

Scoring for items 10 & 13 is the same, using lists.

Scoring for items 19, 22 & 39 is based on two of three adjectives the same for masc. and fem., and otherwise neutral.

- (1) = masculine
- (2) = neutral
- (3) = feminine

## Masculine:

Masculine adjectives imply an instrumental orientation which is seen as traditional for men. This orientation is one of "getting". Another word to describe this is "agency". Agency is concerned with the person as an individual, and manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self expansion. Masculine qualities are generally action oriented, and help the individual assert and extend him (her) self. In selecting any adjectives from the list as "masculine", it is helpful to not only rely on the above definition, but to also select adjectives which have in a traditional sense, been seen as desirable for men to hold in our society than women. <sup>more</sup>

## Feminine:

Feminine adjectives imply an expressive orientation, which implies an affective concern for others. Feminine qualities generally foster the person's sense of interdependency, mutuality, and joint welfare. This orientation has been described as communion, or being at one with others. Feminine qualities enable the individual to act in harmony with others. Selected feminine adjectives should also fall into the traditional guideline of being seen as more desirable for women in our society than for men.

## SCORING CRITERIA

MASCULINE

INDEPENDENT

SELFRELIANT

ATHLETIC RUGGED PHYSICAL

ASSERTIVE

STRONG PERSONALITY STRONG STRONG WILLED

FORCEFUL COMANDING BOLD COURAGEOUS

RISK TAKER DARING GUTSY BRAVE

ANALYTICAL SCIENTIFIC LOGICAL

LEADER

DECISION MAKER DECISIVE DELEGATES AUTHORITY

SELF SUFFICIENT SELF CONTAINED

DOMINANT

MASCULINE MACHIMISMO

AGGRESSIVE

INDIVIDUALISTIC

COMPETITIVE

ADVENTEROUS EXPLORER

PRACTICAL

AMBITIOUS SELF ACHIEVER DESIRE GOAL ORIENTED MOTIVATED DRIVEN

OUT GOING GREGARIOUS

HUMEROUS JOCCULAR JOKEFUL

INTELLIGENT SMART SHARP BRILLIANT AUTHORITATIVE KNOWLEDGEABLE

DEFENDS BELIEFS HAS CONVICTIONS

NEVER GIVES UP HARD NOSED TENACIOUS STEDFAST STUBBORN FIRM

TAKES A STAND OPINIONATED OUT SPOKEN PERSEVERING SCRAPPY

DIRECT FORWARD FRAN DELIBERATE

FEELINGS NOT EASILY HURT TOUGH

COMPETANT

ACTIVE DYNAMIC ENERGYTIC VIBERANT

BUSINESSLIKE ENTREPEOUR PRAGMATIC BUSINESS ACCUMAN

WORLDLY SOPHIFICATED CULTURED SAUVE

HANDSOME

CRAFTSMAN

INDUSTRIOUS

SELF MADE

ENGINEER

STATESMAN

FAIR

SUCCESSFUL

BILLIONAIRE

POLITICIAN

POWERFUL

HARD WORKING

## SCORING CRITERIA

FEMININE

SHY  
 CHEERFUL  
 YIELDING  
 KIND SOFT HEARTED NICE CONSIDERATE  
 GENTLE  
 QUIET SOFTSPOKEN RESERVED  
 LOYAL FAITHFUL TRUE  
 WARM  
 SENSITIVE THOUGHTFUL  
 UNDERSTANDING  
 COMPASSIONATE HELPING CARING CONCERNED  
 SYMPATHETIC  
 FEMININE  
 AFFECTIONATE  
 TENDER  
 DEVOTED DEDICATED SACRIFICING SELFLESS UNSELFISH  
 INTERESTED IN APPEARANCE VAIN  
 EXPRESSIVE OF FEELINGS EXPRESSIVE TENDER  
 SOCIABLE TALKATIVE  
 EMOTIONAL  
 ARTISTIC AESTHETIC  
 RELIGIOUS  
 HELPFUL GIVING  
 IDEALISTIC  
 NEAT  
 CHILDISH  
 SOOTHER  
 GULLIBLE NAIVE INNOCENT  
 FAMILY ORIENTED  
 PROTECTIVE  
 POISED  
 SENSUOUS  
  
 GOOD MOTHER  
 PRETTY  
 HOME MAKER  
 BEAUTIFUL  
 PATIENT  
 SUPPORTIVE  
 FRAGILE  
 LOVING  
 SWEET  
 MANIPULATING

## SCORING CRITERIA

19½ Father's personality (1) to (3)

22½ Mother's personality

39½ Mate's personality

Score pos or neg only if at least two of three <sup>adjectives</sup> are the same.  
If less than three adjectives, score only if two agree

(1) = Positive; adjectives indicate subject feels favorable toward individual.

(2) = Neutral; either adjectives are generally neutral or they do not group into pos or neg categories.

(3) = Negative; adjectives indicate that subject feels negatively.

Subject's perspective is crucial, and no judgement by examiner  
The point is to determine whether or not the subject views  
in a positive, neutral or negative way.

## SCORING CRITERIA

## 45 Child Bearing Responsibility

Have or expect to have children, how will responsibilities be divided between parents;

- (1) = Progressive; husband and wife striving for 50/50 division of responsibility. Response is elaborated and articulated.
- (2) = Progressive; with a simple statement of 50/50. Response unelaborated.
- (3) = Traditional/progressive; Response involves a sense of partnership...discussion of sharing the job, but with wife taking over more of the responsibility.
- (4) = Traditional; Statement that wife is or will be expected to take the vast responsibility of child rearing herself...husband taking small part of job.

## SCORING CRITERIA

Item 4.

Subject's three stated goals of the woman's movement.

This item is to be scored globally if possible, that is, to get a sense of the complete answer.

- (1) = Accurate and well articulated. For this scoring, the three goals are not only clear and accurate, but particularly well articulated. The responses should indicate that the subject has given thought to the issue of women's liberation, and is not simply reporting stereotypical (although accurate) goals.
- (2) = Accurate, but brief. This scoring is determined by the nature of the three goals...brief and stereotypical goals qualify for a (2) scoring. Themes of equality, the ERA, etc. frequently make up these stated goals.
- (3) = Obviously inaccurate responses, or negative/hostile ones warrant a (3) scoring. This scoring is used whether or not the subject provides
- (4) = Accurate, but incomplete, ie, subject could only think of 1 or 2 goals. Unless, these goals are very well articulated, then score (1)



APPENDIX E

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN SCALE

THE STATEMENTS LISTED BELOW DESCRIBE ATTITUDES DIFFERENT PEOPLE HAVE TOWARD THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS, ONLY OPINIONS. YOU ARE ASKED TO EXPRESS YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT EACH STATEMENT BY INDICATING WHETHER YOU (1) DISAGREE STRONGLY WITH IT, (2) DISAGREE MILDLY WITH IT, (3) AGREE MILDLY WITH IT, OR (4) AGREE STRONGLY WITH IT. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR OPINION FOR EACH STATEMENT BY MARKING OR CIRCILING THE ALTERNATIVE WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PERSONAL ATTITUDE. PLEASE RESPOND TO EVERY ITEM.

- (1) Disagree strongly      (2) Disagree mildly      (3) Agree mildly  
 (4) Agree strongly

CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PERSONAL OPINION:

- 1) Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 2) Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 3) Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 4) Men should really be the only ones to tell 'dirty' jokes . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 5) Intoxication among women is worse than intoxication among men . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 6) 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 . . 1.2 3 4
- 7) It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 8) There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to the sex of the employee . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 9) A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 10) Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 11) Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 12) Women should assume their rightful place in business and in all the professions along with men . . . . . 1 2 3 4

- 13) A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 14) Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to collage than daughters . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 15) It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 16) In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the children . . 1 2 3 4
- 17) Women should be encouraged not to become sexually intimate with anyone before marriage -- even their fiances . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 18) The husband should not be favored by law over the wife in the disposal of family property or income . . 1 2 3 4
- 19) Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and housetending, rather than with desires for professional and business careers . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 20) The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 21) Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the idea of femininity which has been set by men . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 22) On the average, women should be regarded as less capable of contribution to economic production than are men . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 23) There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted . . . 1 2 3 4
- 24) Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades . . . . . 1 2 3 4
- 25) The modern girl is entitled to the same freedom from regulation and control that is given to the modern boy . . . . . 1 2 3 4

APPENDIX F

INTERPERSONAL TRUST SCALE  
GENERAL OPINION SURVEY

This is a questionnaire to determine the attitudes and beliefs of different people on a variety of statements. Please answer the statements by giving as true a picture of your own beliefs as possible. Be sure to read each item carefully and show your beliefs by circling the appropriate number next to each item.

If you strongly disagree with an item, fill in the space numbered one. Mark the space numbered two if you mildly disagree with the item. That is, mark number two if you think the item is generally less true than true according to your beliefs. Fill in the space numbered three if you feel the item is about equally true as untrue. Fill in the space numbered four if you mildly agree with the item. That is, mark number four if you feel the item is more true than not. If you strongly agree with an item, fill in the space numbered five.

- (1) Strongly disagree
- (2) Mildly disagree
- (3) Agree and disagree equally
- (4) Mildly agree
- (5) Strongly agree

- 1) Most people would rather live in a climate that is mild all year around than in one in which winters are cold . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 2) Hypocrisy is on the increase in our society . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 3) In dealing with strangers one is better off to be cautious until they have provided evidence that they are trustworthy . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 4) This country has a dark future unless we can attract better people into politics . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5

- (1) Strongly disagree      (2) Mildly disagree      (3) Agree and disagree equally  
 (4) Mildly agree      (5) Strongly agree

- 6) Fear of social disgrace or punishment rather than conscience prevents most people from breaking the law . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 6) Parents usually can be relied upon to keep their promises . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 7) The advice of elders is often poor because the older person doesn't recognize how times have changed . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 8) Using the Honor System of not having a teacher present during exams would probably result in increased cheating . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 9) The United Nations will never be an effective force in keeping world peace . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 10) Parents and teachers are likely to say what they believe themselves and not just what they think is good for the child to hear . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 11) Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 12) As evidenced by recent books and movies morality seems on the downgrade in this country . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 13) The judiciary is a place where we can all get unbiased treatment . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 14) It is safe to believe that in spite of what people say, most people are primarily interested in their own welfare . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 15) The future seems very promising . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 16) Most people would be horrified if they knew how much news the public hears and sees is distorted . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 17) Seeking advice from several people is more likely to confuse than it is to help one . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 18) Most elected public officials are really sincere in their campaign promises . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 19) There is no simple way of deciding who is telling the truth . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 20) This country has progressed to the point where we can reduce the amount of competitiveness encouraged by schools and parents . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5

- (1) Strongly disagree      (2) Mildly disagree      (3) Agree and disagree equally  
 (4) Mildly agree      (5) Strongly agree

- 21) Even though we have reports in newspapers, radio and television, it is hard to get objective accounts of public events . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 22) It is more important that people achieve happiness than that they achieve greatness . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 23) Most experts can be relied upon to tell the truth about the limits of their knowledge . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 24) Most parents can be relied upon to carry out their threats of punishment . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 25) One should not attack the political beliefs of other people . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 26) In these competitive times one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 27) Children need to be given more guidance by teachers and parents than they now typically get . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 28) Most rumors usually have a strong element of truth . 1 2 3 4 5
- 29) Many major national sport contests are fixed in one way or another . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 30) A good leader molds the opinions of the group he is leading rather than merely following the wishes of the majority . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 31) Most idealists are sincere and usually practice what they preach . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 32) Most salesmen are honest in describing their products . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 33) Education in this country is not really preparing young men and women to deal with the problems of the future . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 34) Most students in school would not cheat even if they were sure of getting away with it . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 35) The hordes of students now going to college are going to find it more difficult to find good jobs when they graduate than did the college graduates of the past . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 36) Most repairmen will not overcharge even if they think you are ignorant of their specialty . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 37) A large share of accident claims filed against insurance companies are phony . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5

- (1) Strongly disagree      (2) Mildly disagree      (3) Agree and  
disagree equally  
(4) Mildly agree      (5) Strongly agree

- 36) One should not attack the religious beliefs of  
other people . . . . . 1 2 3 4 5
- 39) Most people answer public opinion polls honestly ... 1 2 3 4 5
- 40) If we really knew what was going on in  
international politics, the public would have more  
reason to be frightened than they now seem to be . . 1 2 3 4 5



APPENDIX G

## SENTENCE COMPLETION EXAM

Please complete each sentence in any way you wish, but complete each one.

If I had more money...

A man's job...

The thing I like about myself is...

Women are lucky because...

A good father...

A man feels good when...

A wife should...

A man should always...

Rules are...

When his wife asked him to help with the housework...

When I am criticized...

He felt proud that he...

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Carl Robinson has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Jeanne Foley,  
Chairperson, Professor, Psychology, Loyola

Dr. Jerry Wagner  
Assistant Professor, Psychology, Loyola

Dr. Dan McAdams  
Assistant Professor, Psychology, Loyola

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 Doctor of Philosophy.

November 25, 1951  
Date

Jeanne M. Foley  
Director's Signature