

AN INVESTIGATION OF COLLEGE MALES' ATTITUDES
TOWARD AN EQUAL STATUS FOR WOMEN

By

SUE ELLEN WILLIAMS

Bachelor of Science

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

1965

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 1972

NOV 13 1972

AN INVESTIGATION OF COLLEGE MALES' ATTITUDES
TOWARD AN EQUAL STATUS FOR WOMEN

Thesis Approved:

Josephine Zoffer

Thesis Adviser
Rich Stinnett

Elaine Jorgensen

A. Durham

Dean of the Graduate College

830955

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special appreciation is extended to Dr. James Walters for his assistance in the planning, execution, and reporting of this study, and his tremendously supportive attitude.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Nick Stinnett for his efforts in proofing the manuscript and the item pool; to Dr. Elaine Jorgenson for her critical reading of the manuscript; and to Judy Powell for her excellent suggestions regarding the item pool.

Acknowledgement is given Dr. B. C. Hamm whose classes served as subjects; to Dean Henderson for his help in gathering the data; and to the students who provided the data for the study.

Finally, special thanks to Jim and Josh Williams to whom this study is dedicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem	1
Purpose of Study	3
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	5
The Nature of Inequality	5
Employment Status	8
Educational Status	12
Causes and Maintenance of Inequality	13
Effects of Inequality	16
Eradication of Inequality	17
Nature of Equality	21
The Opposition of Men to Equality	22
Review of Research	24
III. PROCEDURE	26
Selection of Subjects	26
Construction of the Instrument	26
Analysis of the Data	27
IV. RESULTS	28
Description of Subjects	28
The Item Analysis	31
Responses to <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Items	31
Examination of Hypotheses and Discussion of Results	38
V. SUMMARY	51
Limitations of the Study	52
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	54
APPENDIX	58

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Characteristics of the Subjects	29
II. Item Analysis Reflecting Discriminating Items on the <u>Status of Women Scale</u>	32
III. Percentages of Favorable and Unfavorable Responses to Items on the <u>Status of Women Scale</u>	39
IV. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Age	43
V. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Class in School	43
VI. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Number of Sisters	44
VII. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Education of Mother	45
VIII. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Perception of Own Masculinity	45
IX. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Authority Role of Mother	46
X. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Size of Community in Which Reared	47
XI. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Employment Status of Mother	48
XII. H Score Reflecting Differences in <u>Status of Women Scale</u> Scores Classified According to Perception of Child- rearing Methods Experienced	50

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

. . . the principle which regulates the existing relations between the two sexes . . . is wrong in itself and is now the chief hindrance to human improvement; and . . . it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no power or privilege on the one side, nor disability on the other. (John Stuart Mill, 1929, p. 219)

Women occupy a position of inferior status in this society. This was true in 1869 when John Stuart Mill wrote his original essay, The Subjugation of Women, and is still true today, though to a lesser degree.

Webster defines status as the state of position of a person. Knudsen (1969) uses the word status in referring to relative prestige, esteem, power, or recognition of two or more categories within the same general classification. Laswell (1965) states that all definitions and uses of the term "status" imply factual comparison. Therefore, the status of women is always relative to men, and measurements of women's status which involve comparisons only within rather than between sexes is inappropriate and may be misleading (Knudsen, 1969).

According to Knudsen (1969), the relative status of women as measured by education, occupation, and income has steadily declined from the period of the 1940's through the 1960's. Millett (1970) and Kraditor (1968) see the period of 1930 through 1960 as a time of deterioration

in the economic and educational status of women. Friedan (1963) created the term "feminine mystique" to describe the 1940's and 1950's when the status of women declined as they chose to dedicate their lives to the tasks of homemaking and motherhood. Bernard (1968) also views the era of the "feminine mystique" as having an adverse relationship on the status of women in regard to graduate study, career aspirations, and participation in the world.

Throughout history men have repeatedly, and for the most part successfully, relegated women to a position of secondary importance in society (Lewis, 1968). Opinions supporting the view that this is still true include ". . . the male is the dominant, superior sex and is generally believed to be more intelligent" (Albert, 1963, p. 110); ". . . investigation of feminine roles makes very clear that they assume an inequality of power and prestige between the sexes: men are top dogs" (Janeway, 1970, p. 121).

If woman's status is considered from the long historical view, improvement has obviously occurred. Hunt (1963) reports that the American woman has greater advantages, opportunities, and freedom than any woman in the past. However, acknowledgments of these improvements are usually coupled with the stipulation that more must be done if women are to achieve equal status with men (Harbeson, 1967). Kraditor (1968) states that although women are more equitably treated than ever before, inequities still remain in law and in practice.

Bernard (1968) lists the two areas of discrimination against women as those having to do with enacted rules (legislation and administrative rulings) and crevice rules (mores, custom, tradition, and convention); she states that the greatest amount of discrimination has now shifted

from enacted to crecive rules. Kraditor (1968) reiterates this point by saying that the inequities in law that still exist barely touch the lives of most women, and that the inequities in private hiring and promotion, in thought, and in custom are of greater importance.

The concept of equal status for women received increasing emphasis in the late 1960's and is continuing to do so. Although there is an ample amount of literature dealing with opinions about man's attitude toward woman's enjoying the same status as he, there is a dearth of research literature concerning the subject. Therefore, it is the goal of this study to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning this important and timely issue.

Purpose of Study

The general purpose of this study was to investigate the attitudes of college men toward an equal status for women, and to relate these attitudes to selected background factors, interpersonal variables, and intrapersonal variables.

The specific purposes of this study were to:

1. Develop an instrument, the Status of Women Scale, for measuring college males' attitudes toward an equal status for women.
2. Compare the differences in Status of Women Scale scores according to: (a) age, (b) classification in school, (c) number of sisters, (d) amount of mother's education, (e) perception of own masculinity, (f) perception of mother's authority role, (g) size of community in which reared, (h) mother's employment status, (i) perception of childrearing

methods experienced, in order to determine whether these factors are related to an egalitarian attitude toward women.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Nature of Inequality

Millett (1970) maintains that the caste system of male dominance over the female is the most thoroughly ingrained one of all, pervading all other political, social, and economic forms. Klein (1950) discusses the theme of masculine dominance by saying that this is traditional in our society, and that it implies control over persons as well as things.

Dixon (1971) draws an analogy between the racism shown by the white male toward Negroes and women because both forms are based upon stereotypes drawn from a belief in biological inferiority.

Social Darwinism has been used to justify racism toward blacks and women. According to this theory, the very fact of a groups' oppression is proof of its inferiority; consequently, each immigrant group coming to America was treated racially until assimilated. However, women and Negroes cannot be absorbed into the dominant group because of their obvious differences from it (Dixon, 1971).

Although women hold a numerical majority over men, they can be classified as a minority group because of their psychological and sociological status (Lewis, 1968). Hacker (1951) defines the term "minority group as any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which

they live for differential and unequal treatment . . ." (p. 61). Lewis (1968) lists some minority group principles which apply to women: they are

. . . subject to discrimination; there is a significant degree of social distance between them and the superior group, and women who attempt to enter the traditional domain of the dominant group . . . encounter problems and resistance
(p. 34)

Despite the fact that women show psychological characteristics of minority groups, e.g., group self-hatred, acceptance of the dominant group's stereotyped conceptions of them, exclusion of self from the average of the home group, few see themselves as members of a minority group in the way that other minority group members do (Hacker, 1951).

Greer (1971) notes a correlation between the social inequalities which result in woman's inferior status and her inability to love herself or her own kind because of an impaired narcissistic development. Greer feels that this condition is much less prevalent in males.

Another traditional theme in our society is the preference for the male role over that of the female one (McKee and Sherriffs, 1957). Eastman (1958) discovered that on a checklist of 49 adjectives, his subjects, both male and female, accepted women less than men. The research by McKee and Sherriffs showed that the partiality for the male role is more marked in college women than in college men, and the inference was made that these students' self-concepts were a reflection of the difference in esteem with which the two sexes are regarded by society.

The cultural superiority of the male role is shown by the fact that activities which are performed by men only are accorded more importance than those performed by either sex (Gavron, 1966; Lewis, 1968). While

man's status within this society centers mainly on his well defined role as a working man, woman's status is mainly dependent upon that of her husband (Lewis, 1968). Although the roles of wife and mother are considered important, they are generally viewed as secondary and sometimes inferior (Lewis, 1968).

Girls and boys are educated together and achieve equally as well in school. However, if the girl becomes a homemaker, the abilities she has been encouraged to develop are no longer very important (Lewis, 1968). This is because a woman is to assume a role in marriage entirely different from the one she is accustomed to playing, while the husband's remains much the same (Greer, 1971). The ideology of the modern family demands high standards of care and involvement which restricts the freedom that woman has learned to expect from her rearing and education (Gavron, 1966).

Gavron states that there is almost universal acceptance of the fact that the mother must carry the major responsibility for the care of children, and she found in her study of young, house-bound mothers that their lives did center around their children and the home. However, she also found that many of these young mothers were not prepared for the responsibilities of motherhood, and that they resented the restrictions it imposed.

Social stereotyping of proper role taking limits both the activities and the development of the woman. Gunderson (1963) discusses the effects of this on the woman who chooses to work rather than assume the traditional role of homemaker; she is made to feel guilty as diverse elements of society lament that an injustice is being done to her husband, children, and the institution of the family. Mueller (1966)

asserts that it is no more sufficient for a woman to be only a wife and mother than for a husband to be only a husband and father; to become a fully developed personality means participation in the external world. Gunderson (1963) summarizes the scope of culturally stereotyped roles for men and women by saying:

Success for a man means using his abilities effectively in the field of his choice; for a woman it is using her powers to elicit a marriage proposal from the man she loves, bearing his children, and making him a comfortable home. (p. 176)

Money determines value in this society (Greer, 1971; Dixon, 1971). Therefore, the housewife who earns no wage cannot be as important as the man who does, nor is her work real work since it is outside the money economy. Because activities which yield no monetary wage are not considered as important as those which do, a husband earns and deserves his leisure activities, while the housewife does not (Gunderson, 1963). It is also believed that family life should be arranged for the satisfaction of the husband, and that the wife should endeavor to make her husband's life easier in the home.

Employment Status

Upon examining the current status of women as related to employment, including hiring and firing procedures, opportunities for promotions, and equal pay, a statement by Kennedy (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963) points up discriminating cultural attitudes toward woman's place in the labor market:

In every period of national emergency, women have served with distinction in widely varied capacities, but thereafter have been subject to treatment as a marginal group whose skills have been inadequately utilized. (p. 3)

The world in which women work is democratic in name only (Koch, 1963). The inequalities which exist in employment are found at all levels and are not restricted to skilled and semi-skilled labor. Knudsen (1969) reports that for the period 1940-1966 there has been a slight but persistent decline in the proportion of professional, technical, and kindred workers that were female, and while there are more women professionals than in earlier years, their proportion of the total number of professionals has declined from about two-fifths to slightly over one-third during the past twenty-five years. Less than one per cent of federal judges, four per cent of lawyers, nine per cent of scientists, and seven per cent of doctors are women, although women represent fifty-one per cent of the population.

According to Bird (1970), only nine per cent of full professors are women. Gordon (1968) indicates that the number of college presidents and professors who are women has declined from 30 per cent in 1920 to 22 per cent in 1960. Bernard (1964) gives the following estimated figures to show the proportion of academic personnel who were women for the years 1879-1960:

1879-80 . . .	36.6%
1929-30 . . .	27.0%
1949-50 . . .	24.5%
1959-60 . . .	22.0%

Bernard attributes the decline in the proportion of faculties who were women to a decline in their proportion of the academic pool, those with higher degrees, from which faculties are drawn.

The helping professions are the ones traditionally open to women (Adams, 1971). This is exemplified by the fact that two-thirds of the

women who are classified as professionals are in education (Gordon, 1968). These jobs that have historically provided women with an amount of employment security such as social work, librarians, and top positions in elementary and secondary schools are being increasingly filled by men (Kraditor, 1968). As men continue to fill typically female occupations, the status and income of these occupations should continue to rise; Knudsen (1969) has shown that the relationship between levels of income and number of women employed in any occupational category is a negative one.

While the number of women who are employed has risen, the greatest numerical growth has occurred in the lower status and lower paid categories (Knudsen, 1969; Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963). It has been estimated that 75 per cent of employed women work at routine clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or as household and hospital workers (NOW Statement of Purpose, 1968; Gladstone, 1971). Knudsen (1969) reports that for clerical and kindred workers, sales, service, and farm workers, there was an increase of ten per cent from male to female workers for the period of 1940-1966.

Full-time women workers earn sixty per cent of the amount that men earn (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963). Only two per cent of those who earn over 10,000 dollars per year are women (Gladstone, 1971). Figures by Babcox and Belkin (1971) show the median income for white women as \$4,152 and the median income for white men as \$7,164. This is due to discrepancies in job distribution as well as inequities in pay scales. A study of 1,900 companies showed that one of three had differential salary scales for men and women (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women,

1963). The following figures by Ginzberg (1968, p. 196) show differentials in pay scales according to sex and profession for the year 1965:

<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Type of Job</u>
\$5,500	\$8,200	Professionals
4,200	6,200	Clerical
3,900	5,700	Craftsmen
2,800	4,900	Service workers

Women do not receive the same opportunities as men for promotions and are often passed over in favor of men for posts that lead into management training programs and subsequent exercise of major executive responsibility. Expenditures for on-the-job training are divided about one-tenth for women and nine-tenths for men, while women make up one-third of the labor force (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963; Koch, 1963).

Harrison (1964) reports on a study made by the Civil Service Commission concerning discriminatory practices against women in government jobs. The major findings of this study were:

1. Men fare better in career progress than women having the same educational background or length of service.
2. Grade for grade, men are younger and have fewer years of service.
3. Grade for grade, women are better educated than men.
4. The average aspiration level of men is to attain two grades higher than their current grade; the aspiration level for women is one grade.
5. Grade for grade, women participate in as many career related activities as men.

6. Women do not prefer men supervisors nor do they dislike working with other women.
7. Men prefer men in all responsible job positions, and even more strongly as supervisors.

Bunting (1968) summarizes the problem of women who choose to have a career by saying that acceptance of the educated woman as a creatively function figure in our culture and in the economy of our society was extended reluctantly and slowly and is still limited.

Educational Status

There was a sizeable and relative loss for women in terms of college enrollment from 1940 to 1950 (Knudsen, 1969). This was probably due to postwar demands for education on the part of male veterans and limited available facilities. The effects of the lower educational participation during this period for women are currently reflected in their occupational and income data.

Bernard (1964) reports that the decrease in female enrollment during the postwar period was not due to a decrease in demand, but to a decrease in supply. Bunting (1968) states that no one now begrudges a woman either college or advanced degrees merely because she is a woman. However, she acknowledges that there may be crecive forces which tend to discourage a woman in attaining educational equality. Koch (1963) says that there are still inequities in the educational system in that women students do not have the same opportunities for scholarship and fellowship programs as men. Both Bernard (1964) and Knudsen (1969) state that if a choice is to be made for a male or a female to be educated, the male is deferred to. There are, too, professional schools

such as architecture and medicine which apply quotas for women, perpetuating the almost total male dominance of these fields (Hacker, 1951).

In 1962, the median number of years of school completed was twelve for women and 11.6 for men, and in that year more girls than boys graduated from high school. However, women comprised only 42 per cent of the students who enrolled in college the following fall, and the number of females who graduated with a Bachelor's or Master's degree was only one-third that of men. The number of women who earned Ph.D.'s in 1962 was only one-tenth the number of men. In 1930, women earned two of five Bachelor's and Master's degrees and one of seven Ph.D.'s (Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963).

Causes and Maintenance of Inequality

Inequality of the status positions of the sexes with man in the dominant position is a historical fact. Mitchell (1971) offers an explanation for this by saying that it has been man's greater capacity for performing physical labor and for violence that has determined woman's subordination. Primitive man had the strength to assert himself against both nature and his fellow man.

Another force which served to perpetuate woman's dependent role was the industrial revolution. Men went to work in the factories, and women stayed home; thus they became both economically and psychologically dependent upon men (Gavron, 1966).

The discrimination which is currently imposed upon women is either a carry-over from these outdated social patterns, or else an adherence to an unrealistic conception of what woman's role should be in modern life. However, stereotyped role differentiation begins early in life,

and as a result, girls are psychologically prepared for a more limited range of activities than boys (Harbeson, 1967).

Old-fashioned attitudes teach boys and girls that adequate women find complete satisfaction within their families (Lewis, 1968). This has been traditional with man playing the instrumental role of breadwinner, and woman playing the expressive one of wife and mother (Brenton, 1966).

Lewis (1968) says that women can, in fact, achieve the best adjustment through acceptance of the traditional role endorsed by society. According to this role, women are to find identity in fashion, romance, and social life (Mueller, 1966). This is the image of women which is transmitted by the mass media and society, and although it may be intellectually scorned, it still subtly affects cultural and self expectations (Babcox and Belkin, 1971).

Dixon (1971, p. 14) theorizes that the entire society is geared to socialize women to believe in and adopt as immutable necessity their traditional and inferior role.

Ninety-five per cent of all women marry, and two-thirds are married by the age of twenty-one. This is a step which greatly changes and limits the behavior of young women to activities centered in the home (Lewis, 1968). Despite the magnitude of the decision to marry, Gavron (1966) found in her study of young house-bound mothers that many had drifted into marriage with no thought of what it entailed.

The children that are a part of the marriage pattern also affect the position of the woman. Blood (1963) states that having a young child creates needs for the wife which lead her to depend more on her husband for help, financial support, and making decisions. Gavron

(1966) sees the exaltation of motherhood by men as a subtle form of anti-feminism as women are thereby bound more tightly to their children and their traditional role.

In reviewing the content of third grade readers published since 1930, Child, Potter, and Levine (1966) found that differential treatment was given boys and girls in regard to role performance and in total number of central characters of each sex. Seventy-three per cent of the central characters were male, twenty-seven per cent were female, and males were shown in a more favorable light according to the cultural standards of this society. The authors point out that the assumption that males and females are educated the same is proven false by these findings which indicate the process of sexism is already present in elementary school.

The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women (1963) states that the roles held up to girls deflect training into narrow channels. The discrepancies in aptitudes between men and women in certain fields are believed by psychologists to be caused as much by social attitudes concerning the areas of work appropriate for women as by inaptitude (Harbeson, 1967). Lewis (1968) reports that there is no proof that sex differences in abilities have an innate, sex-linked basis except for those which are directly related to physical characteristics, and Rossi (1964) supports this by saying that the majority of the differences between the sexes noted in social research are socially rather than physiologically determined.

Social scientists and psychoanalytic thinking promote a traditional role for women through popularization of their theories (Rossi, 1964). Weisstein (1971) reports that the field of psychology has failed the

female sex by trying to find solutions to her problems of identity and self-actualization by concentrating on inner traits when the emphasis should have been on social context. Results of a series of experiments done by Rosenthal show the importance of the influence of social expectations on behavior with subjects showing a marked tendency to be and behave as is expected of them (Weisstein, 1971).

Psychoanalytic theory supports the status quo by perpetuating the theory that men are aggressive and achieving, whereas women are passive and masochistic (Greer, 1971). However, this pattern is not a universal one. In some uncivilized tribes, there is a reversal of sex roles and attitudes with woman being the dominant, managing partner and the man the less responsible and emotionally dependent one (Eysenck, 1953).

Gornick (1971) comments on the pervasive influence of traditional sex role stereotyping:

It seems amazing that a century after Freud, women could still be reared to believe that their basic makeup is determined, not by the needs of their egos, but by their peculiar childbearing properties and their so-called unique capacity for loving. (p. 37)

Effects of Inequality

The most certain effect of the inequality between the status positions of the sexes is that women are generally held in lower esteem than men in all facets of life which consequently affects her participation in educational, occupational, political, and social activities.

Koch (1963) states that the most corrosive effect of the discrimination against women is the psychological effect it has of reducing their sense of personal competence, thereby encouraging women to disqualify themselves from competing in the masculine dominated world

before they can be rebuffed by it.

A study of the content of third grade readers by Child, Potter, and Levine (1966) found that boys are presented more favorably than girls according to the cultural values of this society. The authors conclude that it is no wonder girls are not as suited for creative tasks as men of comparable aptitude, or that they develop inferiority complexes if these readers are typical of other social influences that girls are exposed to.

Hacker (1957) discusses the effects of inequality on the self-concept of the woman. She says that because a person's self-concept is based on others defining gestures toward him, it is unlikely that women, as members of a minority group, can escape personality distortion. The constant reiteration of one's inferiority must often lead to its acceptance as a fact (Hacker, 1957; Komisar, 1970).

That personality distortion of girls occurs may be shown in test scores on which they display a higher degree of neuroticism and introversion than boys (Hacker, 1957). Also, there are more women than men who attempt suicide, and more women than men in mental hospitals (Greer, 1971).

Eradication of Inequality

The true emancipation of women must begin with enlightened professionals within the educational and occupational worlds who understand the complexity of individual differences included under the label female, and who provide females with opportunities to discover and use their individual talents. (Lewis, 1968, p. 6)

Educational and training programs must be designed so that they prepare women for the kind of lives that they will lead. This includes

alteration of the sense of timing about women's formal education and greater flexibility in admission requirements, time schedules, and the variety of courses offered (Peterson, 1963).

Education makes a positive difference in the status of the individual (Gordon, 1968). One reason is that the more education a woman has, the more likely she is to work (Ginzberg, 1968), and the more financially and psychologically satisfactory will be the job she gets (Peterson, 1963).

In 1966, about 70 per cent of the women with postgraduate education worked; 50 per cent of those who were college graduates worked; and 40 per cent of those who were high school dropouts worked (Ginzberg, 1968).

A study by Heer (1958) shows the importance of working on the comparative status of marital partners within the family. In both working and middle classes, the working wife exerts more influence in the making of family decisions than one who does not. Blood (1963) has constructed a conceptual framework which measures marital power in terms of decisions governing transactions between the family and the external system, with the comparative participation of the husband and wife in the external system determining the balance of power.

While equal access to jobs outside the home is one of the preconditions for women's liberation, this in itself will not provide equality for women. As long as work in the home is private in nature and the woman has full or major responsibility for it, the working woman will carry two jobs (Benston, 1971). Goode (1963) lists as one roadblock to equality the fact that most of the daily work of caring for children and home is still handed over to women.

If women must assume major responsibility for housework and child care, their participation in politics, professions, or arts cannot be equal to men unless ways are devised to ease the combination of home and work responsibilities (Rossi, 1964). Benston (1971) proposes that any work which could be performed by the public economy should be transferred out of the home.

The major obstacle remaining to woman's achieving equal status with man emerges as the institution of the family (Millett, 1970; Greer, 1971; Kraditor, 1968). Expressions of this view by other authors include: Clavan (1970, p. 320) ". . . most liberationists view the expected role structure of the family with the husband as provider and wife as homemaker and child nurse as the basis of their oppression." Dixon (1971) says that the economic position of the wife is low, that she has no legal bargaining power, and no independent status. This attitude toward the effects of the family system are not new; more than 2,000 years ago Plato envisioned a Utopia that eliminated the family, which he saw as the impediment to equal opportunity for all (Mueller, 1966).

Goode (1963) summarizes the present situation regarding woman's status and the family by saying:

. . . we do not believe that any system now in operation or likely to emerge in the next generation will grant full equality to women . . . we believe that it is possible to develop a society in which this would happen, but not without a radical reorganization of the existing social structure. (p. 373)

One reason that women seem to find themselves in situations not to their liking is the lack of planning of their living patterns. Davis and Olesen (1965) state that college-aged women seem unable to plan

their lives realistically for a period as little removed as ten to fifteen years. Girls should realize while still in school that they will probably work outside the home even though they marry and plan their lives to receive maximum rewards from doing so (Peterson, 1963).

There must be fundamental changes in the perceptions of men and women toward women and their roles if the concept of female identity and equality are to be recognized. Mannes (1963) lists the following social changes as fundamental to this end:

1. The unmarried woman must not be made to feel inadequate or strange because she assumes a role other than the traditional one.
2. Girls who delay marriage because of a strong career interest should not be made a source of public attention.
3. The creative woman should not try to make herself over to fit the cultural stereotype of woman.
4. People in the mass media should realize that not every woman is happy in suburban domesticity and stop perpetuating the myth.
5. Men must realize woman's need to be recognized as an individual.

Koch (1963) offers educational and occupational proposals for treating women equitably which are based upon the principle that intellect is not sexed: superior all male colleges should admit qualified girls; properly qualified academic women should not be discriminated against, and those who have children should receive a leave of absence; and a way must be found to provide full employment without accomplishing this by discriminating against women in the labor market.

Rossi (1964) describes institutional levers which should be enacted in aiding the achievement of sexual equality: the provision of adequate care for children of working mothers; the reconsideration of the suburban pattern of living which isolates women from working centers and other ways of life; and a more equitable distribution of men and women in all occupations of the labor market.

Babcox and Belkin (1971) sum up the importance of changes in social institutions regarding woman's equality as this relates to the functioning of the family:

. . . the way we live and relate to each other within the family is a microcosm of how we are forced to relate to people in the society at large. We will not be able to deal with the inequities within the family until we are able to change the mammoth inequities which surround us in the larger society. (p. 107)

Nature of Equality

Webster defines the word equality as like in value, quality, status or position.

Equality of the sexes does not mean that there are no physiological and possible psychological differences between them, but both legal and creative equality of rights and opportunity (Scriven and Gorman, 1970). Equality does not mean that men and women are the same, but rather that they should not relate as inferior and superior persons (Smith, 1970).

In discussing equal status, Steinem (1971) says that women do not want to trade places with men, and that this assumption is viewed by psychologists as a fantasy based on ruling-class ego and guilt. This guilt causes men to ponder the possibility of being treated by women as they have treated women, and thus to fear equality.

Sex equality is defined by Rossi (1964) as:

. . . a socially androgynous conception of the roles of men and women, in which they are equal and similar in such spheres as intellectual, artistic, political, and occupational interests and participation, and complementary only in those spheres dictated by physiological differences between the sexes.
(p. 608)

A position of equal status between the sexes would benefit them both. Wollstonecraft (1929) has stated that no healthy society is possible that is not based on equality for all groups, and that it is for the good of men themselves that women should have a position of equality. Rossi (1964) repeats this view by saying that inequality not only depresses the potential of the subordinate group, but corrupts those in the superordinate group.

In discussing the effects of a more equal status on the marriage relationship, Janeway (1970) says that freedom for a woman to choose among alternative life styles is a predictor of happiness in marriage for both husband and wife and should strengthen the marriage relationship. Hunt (1963) also predicts that marriages will become stronger as a result of increasing role flexibility which enables women to develop more total relationships with their husbands.

Adams (1971) cautions, however, that in the movement for women's rights, care must be exercised to understand and accept attitudes traditional in nature. It must be realized that there are still women who unconsciously or consciously shun the new pressures that equality would entail (Komarovsky, 1966).

The Opposition of Men to Equality

A major obstacle to a change in the status of women is the apathy

or opposition of men. The reason for this is obvious, since an increase in the status of women would result in corresponding loss of status for the male (Goode, 1963; Bernard, 1968).

Men may have more than a loss of status to fear in a situation of sexual equality, however. According to Hartley (1960), any change in the status quo would cause discomfort to males who are anxious about carrying out their male role. Brenton (1966) supports this by saying that males who are secure about their manhood do not have to rely on external symbols such as sharp role differentiation to enforce their sexual identity.

Tavris (1972) found that men who are uncomfortable over the prospect of equal women are also more uneasy around women in general. Many men do not want to compete with women on equal terms because of a belief that women are inferior, and some want to maintain the status quo so that the present division of labor will not be subject to change. Because of the present labor division in both the home and industry, men enjoy the privileges of supporting women which include earning sexual favors and the performance of homemaking tasks (Mueller, 1966).

Men oppose the presence of women in the labor market for other reasons. They fear that women will use their sexual attraction to an unfair advantage; men don't want women to discover how really easy the world of business is; and women who work no longer need depend upon a man as her link to the outside world (Hacker, 1957; Gunderson, 1963).

Finally, men have guilt feelings concerning the tradition of male-female relationships, and while the emotionally secure man may be attempting to work out a more equitable pattern of interaction, the neurotic man has reacted by trying to stand firm on traditional male

prerogatives or by going to the other extreme in subservience to women (Hacker, 1957).

Review of Research

Only a limited amount of research has been done concerning egalitarian attitudes toward women, the background, interpersonal and intrapersonal variables associated with this attitude.

Research by Vavrick and Jurich (1971) shows that college males with poor self-concepts think of women as sex objects rather than as persons. Likewise, those whose self-acceptance was high also displayed high acceptance of women as persons.

Sterrett and Bollman (1970) found in their study of high school boys and girls that higher social status subjects have a more egalitarian attitude toward marriage role expectations than lower status subjects. Another finding was that students with the highest grade averages had more equalitarian expectations of marriage than students with lower grade averages.

A study by Vreeland (1972) compares dating patterns of men at Harvard for the years 1965 and 1972. It was found that in the intellectually stimulating environment of Harvard traditional sex-role stereotypes are breaking down, and that these men now prefer women who are liberated and unconventional.

Tavris (1972) developed an instrument for comparing attitudes toward the Women's Liberation Movement to certain background variables. The conclusion that she draws from her research concerning the dynamics of an egalitarian attitude is that men tend to be liberal on issues that do not touch them closely, but they also share myths designed to

keep women's liberation from coming too close to home (p. 61).

Meier (1972) conducted research concerned with the relationship of sex role attitudes of college youth to parental characteristics and socialization influences. Results show that women scored higher than men on a scale measuring attitudes toward feminine social equality (FSE). This study also showed a pronounced association of egalitarian attitudes toward women's roles with the mother being college educated, and that having a highly educated mother and a less educated father optimizes the probability of an egalitarian attitude toward women's roles. There was a marked positive association between student's FSE scores and the extent of the mother's occupational involvement from the time the student had begun his schooling. Students whose mothers had never been employed scored lower than those whose mothers were employed for any substantial length of time.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Selection of Subjects

The 128 subjects for this study were Caucasian male students enrolled in the Marketing 3213 course at Oklahoma State University during the fall semester of 1971. They ranged in age from 18-26 years, and the majority were classified as juniors.

Construction of the Instrument

The first section of the instrument was made up of items concerned with information regarding selected background factors and interpersonal and intrapersonal variables including: (a) age, (b) classification in school, (c) number of sisters, (d) amount of mother's education, (e) perception of own masculinity, (f) perception of mother's authority role, (g) size of community in which reared, (h) mother's employment status, and (i) perception of childrearing methods experienced.

After a review of available literature, the Status of Women Scale was developed to assess the attitudes of college men concerning an equal status for women in the areas of educational, occupational, social, intellectual, and political participation.

A panel of family life specialists were given the original items

and asked to evaluate them in the following manner:

1. Give suggestions for modification of the items to improve clarity or specificity.
2. Indicate those items which should be deleted from the questionnaire due to a lack of relevance to the concept being studied.

Changes were then made in the original items in accordance with recommendations made by the judges with two of the items being deleted. This revised version of the questionnaire was submitted to the subjects in the study (see Appendix).

A five point Likert-type scale was utilized on which respondents indicated one of the following responses for each statement: strongly agree, mildly agree, undecided, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

Analysis of the Data

A numerical value of 4 was given the most favorable response and a value of 0 given the least favorable response toward an equal status for women. The sum of the numbered values represented the score of each respondent on the Status of Women Scale.

The chi-square test was utilized to determine the differences between high scoring and low scoring subjects on each of the items on the Status of Women Scale. The relationship of these scores to the selected background, interpersonal and intrapersonal variables was analyzed utilizing the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Description of Subjects

A detailed description of the college men who participated in this study is presented in Table I.

More of the respondents were in the age category of 18-20 years (47 per cent) than any other, however, 37 per cent were in the age category of 21-23 years. The majority were classified as juniors. The questionnaire was administered to Marketing 3213 classes, and 85 per cent of the subjects were business majors. Most of the respondents were single, and more were reared in a community of over 50,000 than any other community size. The majority of the men perceived themselves to be of average masculinity. Thirteen per cent of their mothers had graduated from college, while 44 per cent had graduated from high school. Seventy-one per cent perceived their mothers as having an equalitarian authority role within the parent's marital relationship. Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents' mothers had never been employed, and 17 per cent had mothers who had been employed the major portion of their life. In regard to the subjects' perceptions of the childrearing methods they had experienced, 59 per cent felt they had been disciplined by their mother and father about equally. Fifty-five per cent saw their fathers as using democratic methods of discipline

TABLE I
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS

Variables	Classification	No.	%
Age	18-20	60	46.88
	21-23	47	36.72
	24-26	21	16.41
Class	Sophomore	2	1.64
	Junior	85	69.67
	Senior	35	28.69
Number of sisters	None	31	24.22
	1 or 2	76	59.38
	3 or more	21	16.41
Major	Business	108	85.04
	Arts and sciences	5	3.94
	Engineering	2	1.57
	Other	12	9.45
Marital Status	Single	95	74.22
	Married	33	25.78
Education of mother	Less than high school	19	14.84
	High school or equivalent	56	43.75
	1-3 years college	26	20.31
	College graduate	17	13.28
	Graduate work	10	7.81
Perception of own masculinity	High masculinity	27	21.26
	Average masculinity	98	77.17
	Low masculinity	2	1.57
Perception of mother's authority role	Domineering	18	14.06
	Equalitarian	91	71.09
	Submissive	19	14.84
Size of community in which reared	Rural area	14	10.94
	Population less than 25,000	39	30.47
	Population 25,000-50,000	23	17.97
	Population over 50,000	52	40.63
Primary disciplinarian	Father	24	18.75
	Father and mother equally	75	58.59
	Mother	29	22.66
Closeness of childhood relationship with father	Above average	30	23.44
	Average	68	53.13
	Below average	30	23.44

TABLE I (Continued)

Variables	Classification	No.	%
Closeness of childhood relationship with mother	Above average	41	32.28
	Average	80	62.99
	Below average	6	4.72
Method of discipline most used by father	Permissive	20	15.63
	Democratic	70	54.69
	Strict	38	29.69
Method of discipline most used by mother	Permissive	23	17.97
	Democratic	81	63.28
	Strict	24	18.75
Parent most influential in determining present personality structure	Father	25	19.69
	Father and mother about equally	74	58.27
	Mother	28	22.05
Mother's employment status	Never employed	48	37.80
	Employed after respondent in high school	29	22.83
	Employed after respondent of school age	23	18.11
	Employed from birth to school age	5	3.94
	Employed major portion of life	22	17.32

while 63 per cent saw their mothers' discipline methods as democratic. More of them reported a degree of closeness with the mother (32 per cent) which was above the average than with the father (23 per cent). A total of 23 per cent reported that the closeness of the relationship with the father was below average while only five per cent felt this of the relationship with the mother. Finally, 58 per cent felt they had been influenced about equally by their mothers and fathers, with 22 per cent being more influenced by the mother and 20 per cent more influenced by the father.

The Item Analysis

In order to obtain an index of the validity of the items in the Status of Women Scale, a chi-square test was utilized to determine which items significantly differentiated those subjects scoring in the upper quartile and those scoring in the lower quartile on the basis of total scores. Table II indicates that of the 46 items in the questionnaire, 45 were found to be significantly discriminating at the .05 level or beyond.

Responses to Status of Women Scale Items

In response to items concerned with the occupational status of women (numbers 1, 3, 5, 15, 16, 17, 28, 31, 37, and 42), a greater number of subjects responded positively than negatively on each of these items to a position of equal status for women. On the items concerned with a woman's having as much freedom as a man in her choice of a life style, the responses for each of these related items were again favorable toward an equal status position (numbers 23, 40, and 41).

TABLE II

ITEM ANALYSIS REFLECTING DISCRIMINATING ITEMS
ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN SCALE

Item	df	X ²	Level of Sig.
1. Women should have the opportunity to compete equally with men for top professional careers.	2	29.60	.001
2. Women should be subject to the same standards as men regarding military obligations.	3	15.15	.01
3. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding hiring procedures.	3	32.56	.001
4. Women should be reared in a manner that provides them as much encouragement to participate in the world at large as men.	2	31.96	.001
5. Women should receive as much money as men for doing comparable work.	1	22.44	.001
6. Married men should have more freedom than their wives to participate in activities outside the home.	3	13.12	.01
7. A woman should view having a higher education as necessary a part of her life plan as a man views this.	2	20.78	.001
8. Women should have as much freedom as men in proposing marriage.	4	16.78	.01
9. It should be possible for a woman to become president of the United States.	3	23.92	.001
10. Employers should expect women workers to be absent from the job more often than men.	2	2.84	n.s.
11. Women should share with men the responsibility for being the breadwinner according to their earning ability.	2	18.43	.001

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	df	X ²	Level of Sig.
12. A husband should be expected to do as much housework as his wife if both are gainfully employed full-time.	2	20.00	.001
13. The mother should assume more responsibility than the father for the social development of their children.	2	9.67	.01
14. When a mother has a full-time job outside the home, the father should assume equal responsibility with her for the care of children.	1	20.25	.001
15. Men should be encouraged more than women to pursue occupational ambitions.	2	37.24	.001
16. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding firing procedures.	2	30.69	.001
17. Women should not be placed in as highly competitive professional positions as men.	3	32.79	.001
18. Husbands should have more freedom than their wives to work outside the home.	2	41.39	.001
19. A man should be allowed more creative freedom on the job than a woman employed in a similar capacity.	2	36.23	.001
20. Development of the ability to think creatively should be stressed in the education of females as much as in that of males.	1	17.73	.001
21. Development of the ability to think abstractly should be stressed more in the education of males than in that of females.	2	34.44	.001

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	df	X ²	Level of Sig.
22. Occupational opportunities available to a woman should be considered as much as those of her husband in reaching a decision as to where the family will live.	3	25.97	.001
23. Men should enjoy more freedom than women in their choice of life styles.	2	40.33	.001
24. Men should have more freedom to take the initiative in arranging dates than women.	3	23.28	.001
25. A father should assume as much responsibility as the mother for the discipline of children.	1	10.54	.01
26. Husbands should have more privileges than their wives in going out at night.	2	26.12	.001
27. A wife should have as much voice in making decisions affecting the entire family as her husband.	2	31.58	.001
28. A woman comparably talented with her male counterparts should receive as much consideration as they regarding career advancements.	2	46.03	.001
29. Women should be recognized as being as intellectually gifted as men.	1	34.72	.001
30. Men should be encouraged more than women to continue their education beyond high school.	3	40.56	.001
31. A woman should be able to compete equally with men for any job that she is qualified to hold.	2	49.34	.001
32. Qualified women should play as active a role in politics as qualified men.	2	36.03	.001
33. Male professors should enjoy more status within the university than female professors of equal rank.	2	39.94	.001

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	df	χ^2	Level of Sig.
34. It should be acknowledged that male Ph.D. candidates are intellectually superior to female Ph.D. candidates.	1	25.59	.001
35. Patients should feel as confident in being treated by a female doctor as in being treated by a male doctor.	2	30.46	.001
36. Men should receive more opportunities for career promotions than women.	3	47.36	.001
37. Women should be comparably represented with men in on-the-job training programs.	2	38.35	.001
38. It is more essential for men than for women to plan their life patterns with great care.	3	29.35	.001
39. It should be recognized that men possess more ability to think logically than women.	2	16.31	.001
40. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to pursue a career as the major focus of her life.	2	33.44	.001
41. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to decide whether she will become a parent without the possibility of social stigma.	2	25.14	.001
42. Women workers should be as well represented by labor unions as are men workers.	2	40.93	.001
43. The man should be the dominant member of a man-woman relationship.	2	33.93	.001
44. Girls should be reared in a manner that encourages the development of independence in them just as this is encouraged in boys.	3	29.00	.001

TABLE II (Continued)

Item	df	χ^2	Level of Sig.
45. The role of breadwinner should be accorded more status in the family than the role of wife and mother.	2	18.98	.001
46. It should no more be expected that women will willingly assume the role of housekeeper in marriage than to expect men willingly to do this.	2	16.54	.001

Items concerned with investigating attitudes toward status positions within marriage show a varied direction of response. Subjects think the wife should have as much social freedom outside the home as the husband (numbers 6 and 26). They think, however, that the husband should have more freedom to work outside the home (number 18). Responses to whether the wife should share the responsibility for earning money were divided about equally (number 11), and a greater number responded negatively rather than positively to an item concerned with the husband performing as much housework as the wife when both work (number 12).

Other examples of an inconsistent response to items concerned with marital power are numbers 22 and 27, respectively. Occupational opportunities available to a woman should not be considered as important as those of her husband in deciding where the family will live, yet the woman should have as much voice in family decision making as the husband. The majority felt that to expect a woman to assume the role of housekeeper in marriage was acceptable, but to expect a man to do this was not (number 46).

The subjects displayed a more equalitarian attitude toward child-rearing than toward housework. On each of the three items concerned with parenting (numbers 13, 14, and 25), subjects showed an egalitarian attitude.

Women are viewed as being as intelligent as men (numbers 29 and 34), and most respondents felt that women should be as well educated as men (numbers 7, 20, 21 and 30). Responses show the subjects viewing the development of independence in girls as important (numbers 4 and 44), yet they felt that the male should be the dominant member of a

heterosexual relationship (number 43). The desire to retain traditional courtship patterns is shown by the attitude that men should take the initiative in making dates and proposing marriage (numbers 8 and 24). Each of the above mentioned items are shown in Table III.

Examination of Hypotheses and Discussion of Results

Hypothesis I (a). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to age. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was utilized in determining if significant differences existed in Status of Women Scale scores of college males according to age. As shown in Table IV, an H score of 6.94 was obtained, indicating that Status of Women Scale scores were significantly related to age with older students reflecting greater support for equality than younger students. However, when each age category was analyzed separately in relation to the others, no statistically significant difference was found.

Hypothesis I (b). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to class in school. As reported in Table V, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance revealed that no significant differences existed in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to class in school.

Hypothesis I (c). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to number of sisters. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was utilized to determine whether there were significant differences in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to the number of sisters reported by the

TABLE III
 PERCENTAGES OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE RESPONSES
 TO ITEMS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN SCALE

Item	Percentages of Responses				
	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
	Strongly	Mildly		Mildly	Strongly
1. Women should have the opportunity to compete equally with men for top professional careers.	39	47	2	6	7
2. Women should be subject to the same standards as men regarding military obligations.	14	24	11	30	21
3. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding hiring procedures.	16	21	13	28	23
4. Women should be reared in a manner that provides them as much encouragement to participate in the world at large as men.	30	30	15	16	9
5. Women should receive as much money as men for doing comparable work.	68	23	2	5	2
6. Married men should have more freedom than their wives to participate in activities outside the home.	12	18	13	33	24
7. A woman should view having a higher education as necessary a part of her life plan as a man views this.	37	27	8	21	8
8. Women should have as much freedom as men in proposing marriage.	15	17	19	23	27
9. It should be possible for a woman to become president of the United States.	20	28	16	19	18
10. Employers should expect women workers to be absent from the job more often than men.	3	13	2	26	55
11. Women should share with men the responsibility for being the breadwinner according to their earning ability.	16	27	15	32	10
12. A husband should be expected to do as much housework as his wife if both are gainfully employed full-time.	19	34	9	20	19
13. The mother should assume more responsibility than the father for the social development of their children.	9	21	5	33	32

TABLE III (Continued)

Item	Percentages of Responses				
	Agree		Undecided	Disagree	
	Strongly	Mildly		Mildly	Strongly
14. When a mother has a full-time job outside the home, the father should assume equal responsibility with her for the care of children.	45	40	5	7	3
15. Men should be encouraged more than women to pursue occupational ambitions.	34	34	6	18	8
16. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding firing procedures.	11	14	17	26	32
17. Women should not be placed in as highly competitive professional positions as men.	13	13	16	35	23
18. Husbands should have more freedom than their wives to work outside the home.	30	30	14	13	13
19. A man should be allowed more creative freedom on the job than a woman employed in a similar capacity.	2	0	11	34	52
20. Development of the ability to think creatively should be stressed in the education of females as much as in that of males.	69	24	5	0	2
21. Development of the ability to think abstractly should be stressed more in the education of males than in that of females.	5	8	13	40	35
22. Occupational opportunities available to a woman should be considered as much as those of her husband in reaching a decision as to where the family will live.	17	21	12	28	21
23. Men should enjoy more freedom than women in their choice of life styles.	6	19	5	40	30
24. Men should have more freedom to take the initiative in arranging dates than women.	23	39	5	18	15
25. A father should assume as much responsibility as the mother for the discipline of children.	77	16	2	3	2

TABLE III (Continued)

Item	Percentages of Responses				
	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
	Strongly	Mildly		Mildly	Strongly
26. Husbands should have more privileges than their wives in going out at night.	7	22	11	34	27
27. A wife should have as much voice in making decisions affecting the entire family as her husband.	48	30	4	11	6
28. A woman comparably talented with her male counterparts should receive as much consideration as they regarding career advancements.	44	45	3	5	3
29. Women should be recognized as being as intellectually gifted as men.	58	32	5	5	0
30. Men should be encouraged more than women to continue their education beyond high school.	32	29	2	20	16
31. A woman should be able to compete equally with men for any job that she is qualified to hold.	51	38	3	5	3
32. Qualified women should play as active a role in politics as qualified men.	37	36	10	12	5
33. Male professors should enjoy more status within the university than female professors of equal rank.	3	9	9	27	53
34. It should be acknowledged that male Ph.D. candidates are intellectually superior to female Ph.D. candidates.	3	2	2	33	59
35. Patients should feel as confident in being treated by a female doctor as in being treated by a male doctor.	43	32	12	9	4
36. Men should receive more opportunities for career promotions than women.	12	23	13	23	28
37. Women should be comparably represented with men in on-the-job training programs.	28	44	13	8	7
38. It is more essential for men than for women to plan their life patterns with great care.	15	31	9	24	20

TABLE III (Continued)

Item	Percentages of Responses				
	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
	Strongly	Mildly		Mildly	Strongly
39. It should be recognized that men possess more ability to think logically than women.	9	13	16	36	25
40. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to pursue a career as the major focus of her life.	41	32	4	16	6
41. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to decide whether she will become a parent without the possibility of social stigma.	41	33	14	7	5
42. Women workers should be as well represented by labor unions as are men.	39	38	13	5	5
43. The man should be the dominant member of a man-woman relationship.	31	38	9	13	9
44. Girls should be reared in a manner that encourages the development of independence in them just as this is encouraged in boys.	24	45	15	11	5
45. The role of breadwinner should be accorded more status in the family than the role of wife and mother.	6	18	17	33	26
46. It should no more be expected that women will willingly assume the role of housekeeper in marriage than to expect men willingly to do this.	9	14	10	40	27

TABLE IV

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
18-20 years	60	57.38		
21-23 years	47	65.77	6.94	.05
24 and over	21	82.00		

TABLE V

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING
TO CLASS IN SCHOOL

Class	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Sophomore	2	103.00		
Junior	85	57.49	5.36	n.s.
Senior	35	68.86		

respondents. Table VI indicates that the H score obtained was not significant.

TABLE VI
H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN SCALE
SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF SISTERS

Number of Sisters	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
No sisters	31	62.48		
1 or 2 sisters	76	67.35	1.36	n.s.
3 or more	21	57.17		

Hypothesis I (d). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to the education of the mother. Table VII indicates that no significant difference was found when the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was applied to the examination of this hypothesis. An H score of 2.85 was obtained, indicating that, in this sample, the amount of education of the mother was not a significant factor in determining one's attitude toward the status of women.

Hypothesis I (e). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to perception of own masculinity. A Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance revealed that no significant difference existed among Status of Women Scale scores

classified according to the perception of respondent's own masculinity (see Table VIII).

TABLE VII

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN SCALE
SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EDUCATION OF MOTHER

Education of Mother	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Less than high school	19	71.45		
High school	56	59.28		
1-3 years college	26	71.44	2.85	n.s.
College graduate	17	61.65		
Graduate work	10	67.35		

TABLE VIII

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
PERCEPTION OF OWN MASCULINITY

Perception of Own Masculinity	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Highly masculine	27	66.24		
Average masculinity	98	64.18	2.35	n.s.
Low masculinity	2	25.00		

Hypothesis I (f). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to the authority role of the mother. In order to determine whether there was a significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to the authority role of the mothers of the respondents, a Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was applied. An H score of 5.32 was obtained, indicating that the difference was not significant (see Table IX).

TABLE IX

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AUTHORITY ROLE OF MOTHER

Role of Mother	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Domineering	18	69.47		
Equalitarian	91	67.28	5.32	n.s.
Submissive	19	46.47		

Hypothesis I (g). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to size of community in which reared. A Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance revealed no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to size of communities in which subjects were reared (see Table X).

TABLE X

H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
 SIZE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH REARED

Size of Community	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Rural area	14	52.00		
Less than 25,000	39	71.77	3.50	n.s.
25,000 - 50,000	23	66.50		
Over 50,000	52	61.53		

Hypothesis I (h). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to mother's employment status.

Table XI indicates that a significant difference was found when the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was applied to the examination of this hypothesis. The H score of 24.24 shows that a significant difference exists among Status of Women Scale scores classified according to employment status of respondents' mothers with those whose mothers have been employed the major portion of their lives having the most favorable attitude toward equality for women.

Hypothesis I (i). There is no significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to perception of the childrearing methods which he experienced.

In investigating this hypothesis, six items were used which dealt with the childhood discipline of the respondent and his relationships with his parents. These included: (1) the parent who acted as primary disciplinarian; (2) the type of

TABLE XI
 H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MOTHER

Employment Status	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Never employed	48	54.01		
After respondent in high school	29	49.28		
After respondent of public school age	23	76.63	24.24	.001
From birth to public school age	5	61.20		
Major portion of life	22	92.64		

discipline received from mother; (3) the discipline methods used by father; (4) the closeness of relationship with father during childhood; (5) the closeness of relationship with mother during childhood; and (6) the parent who had the greater influence in determining present personality structure.

The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance revealed a significant difference in Status of Women Scale scores classified according to the parent who acted as the primary disciplinarian. As shown in Table XII, an H score of 6.49 was obtained, indicating that those respondents disciplined primarily by their mother held a more favorable attitude toward an equal status for women. None of the other five items investigated were found to be statistically significant.

TABLE XII
 H SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN STATUS OF WOMEN
SCALE SCORES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
 PERCEPTION OF CHILDREARING
 METHODS EXPERIENCED

Area	Response	No.	Average Rank	H	Level of Sig.
Primary disciplinarian	Father	24	47.29	6.49	.05
	Father and mother	75	67.65		
	Mother	29	70.59		
Method of discipline of mother	Permissive	23	63.09	1.47	n.s.
	Democratic	81	62.45		
	Strict	24	72.77		
Method of discipline of father	Permissive	20	61.42	0.42	n.s.
	Democratic	70	66.39		
	Strict	38	62.63		
Closeness to father	Above average	30	75.37	3.55	n.s.
	Average	68	60.10		
	Below average	30	63.60		
Closeness to mother	Above average	41	65.02	3.35	n.s.
	Average	80	61.54		
	Below average	6	89.83		
Parent having greater impact on child	Father	25	55.38	2.47	n.s.
	Father and mother	74	68.07		
	Mother	28	60.95		

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to develop an instrument, the Status of Women Scale, for measuring college males' attitudes toward an equal status for women, and to relate Status of Women Scale scores to selected background, interpersonal, and intrapersonal variables.

An item analysis utilizing the chi-square test showed that 45 of the 46 items on the Status of Women Scale were significantly discriminating at the .05 level or beyond. Percentages of responses on these discriminating items show the college males in this sample to hold egalitarian attitudes toward women concerning occupational and educational activities, childrearing responsibilities, and social development and participation. Responses tended to be more traditional in the areas concerning relative power within the marital structure, performance of housekeeping tasks, and courtship patterns.

The direction of these responses are similar to the findings of Tavis (1972) who reported that college educated men tend to hold more egalitarian attitudes in areas that do not involve them personally.

The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance indicated a relationship between Status of Women Scale scores and the following variables:

1. Age. Older students supported greater equality than younger students.

2. Mother's employment status. Subjects whose mothers had been employed the major portion of their life obtained the highest Status of Women Scale scores. This compares with Meier's (1972) research findings relating an egalitarian attitude to the mother's employment status.
3. Parent who acted as primary disciplinarian. Respondents who were disciplined by their mothers primarily hold a more favorable attitude toward an equal status for women.

These findings indicate the importance of the role of mother on forming egalitarian attitudes, both through the role model that she presents, and the extent to which she socializes the child.

Meier (1972) discusses the importance of the role of mother in determining egalitarian attitudes:

Ironically, our findings suggest that perhaps the most important vehicle for producing a more egalitarian conception of feminine roles is the most traditional of all female roles, that of mother, albeit a style of motherhood that is apt to be quite untraditional. (p. 121)

Limitations of the Study

The sample used was homogeneous in nature with the majority of the subjects having the same defining characteristics: race, age, social class, educational status, and area of residence. It would be interesting and worthwhile to compare the present results of college men with another segment of the population to determine the extent to which these demographic factors influenced males' attitudes as measured by the Status of Women Scale.

According to research (Sterrett and Bollman, 1970; Vreeland, 1972), the college educated segment of the population would possess a more

equalitarian attitude toward women than any other because of three dimensions of their status--education, social class, and intelligence.

Perhaps if those items on the data sheet dealing with socialization of the child had allowed only two responses, mother or father, rather than including the third safe response, mother and father about equally, the relative effects of the socialization influences of each parent on the child would have emerged more clearly.

A dimension which was not investigated, but which is doubtlessly significant in the degree of egalitarian attitude held, is the attitude of the father toward same and his manifestation of this, and the degree of liberalism or conservatism of his beliefs in general.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Margaret. "The Compassion Trap." Psychology Today, 5 (November, 1971), pp. 71-72, 100-103. ✓

Albert, Ethel. "The Roles of Women: A Question of Values," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Potential of Women. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, pp. 105-115.

Babcox, Deborah, and Madeline Belkin. Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971.

Benston, Margaret. "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 139-144.

Bernard, Jessie. Academic Women. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.

Bernard, Jessie. "The Status of Women in Modern Patterns of Culture." The Annals, 375 (1968), pp. 3-14. ✓

Bird, Caroline. Born Female. New York: David McKay Co., 1970.

Blood, Robert O. "The Measurement and Bases of Family Power: A Rejoinder." Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 475-478.

Brenton, Myron. The American Male. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1966.

Bunting, Mary I. "The Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study," in Aileen Kraditor (Ed.), Up From the Pedestal. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968, pp. 353-363.

Child, Irvin, Elmer Potter, and Estelle Levine. "Children's Textbooks and Personality Development: An Exploration in the Social Psychology of Education," in Morris and Natalie Haimowitz (Ed.), Human Development. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966, pp. 346-356.

Clavan, Sylvia. "Women's Liberation and the Family." The Family Coordinator, 19 (October, 1970), pp. 317-323. ✓

Davis, Fred, and Virginia L. Olesen. "The Career Outlook of Professionally Educated Women." Psychiatry, 28 (November, 1965), pp. 335-345. ✓

- Dixon, Marlene. "Why Women's Liberation?" in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 9-24.
- Eastman, D. "Self-Acceptance and Marital Happiness." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 22 (1958), pp. 95-99.
- Eysenck, H. J. Uses and Abuses of Psychology. Boston: Penguin Books, 1953.
- Friedan, Betty. The Feminine Mystique. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963.
- Gavron, Hannah. The Captive Wife. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Ginzberg, Eli. "Paycheck and Apron Revolution in Womanpower." Industrial Relations, 7 (May, 1968), pp. 193-203.
- Gladstone, Rose. "Planned Obsolescence: The Middle-Aged Woman," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 145-149.
- Goode, W. J. World Revolution and Family Patterns. New York Free Press, 1963.
- Gordon, Margaret S. "Introduction: Women in the Labor Force." Industrial Relations, 7 (May, 1968), pp. 187-192.
- Gornick, Vivian. "The Next Great Moment in History Is Ours," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 25-39.
- Greer, Germaine. The Female Eunuch. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.
- Hacker, Helen M. "The New Burdens of Masculinity." Marriage and Family Living, 19 (August, 1957), pp. 227-233.
- Hacker, Helen M. "Women As a Minority Group." Social Forces, 30 (October, 1951), pp. 60-69.
- Harbeson, Gladys E. Choice and Challenge for the American Woman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1967.
- Harrison, Evelyn. "The Working Woman: Barriers in Employment." Public Administration Review, 24 (June, 1964), pp. 78-85.
- Hartley, Ruth. "Some Implications of Current Changes in Sex-Role Patterns." Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 6 (April, 1960), pp. 153-163.
- Heer, David. "Dominance and the Working Wife." Social Forces, 35 (May, 1958), pp. 341-347.

- Janeway, Elizabeth. "Happiness and the Right to Choose." The Atlantic, 225 (March, 1970), pp. 118-126.
- Klein, Viola. "The Stereotype of Femininity." Journal of Social Issues, 6 (1950), pp. 3-12.
- Knudsen, Dean. "The Declining Status of Women: Popular Myths and the Failure of Functionalist Thought." Social Forces, 48 (1969), pp. 183-192.
- Koch, Adrienne. "Two Cheers for Equality," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Potential of Women. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, pp. 199-215.
- Komarovsky, Mirra. "Women's Roles: Problems and Polemics," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Challenge to Women. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966, pp. 20-33.
- Komisar, Lucy. "The New Feminism." Saturday Review, 52 (February 21, 1970), pp. 27-30.
- Kraditor, Aileen. Up From the Pedestal. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968.
- Laswell, Thomas. Class and Stratum. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1965.
- Lewis, Edwin. Developing Woman's Potential. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1968.
- Mannes, Marya. "The Problems of Creative Women," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Potential of Women. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, pp. 116-130.
- McKee, John, and Alex C. Sherriffs. "The Differential Evaluation of Males and Females." Journal of Personality, 25 (March, 1957), pp. 356-371.
- Meier, Harold. "Mother-Centeredness and College Youths' Attitudes Toward Social Equality for Women: Some Empirical Findings." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 34 (February, 1972), pp. 115-121.
- Millett, Kate. Sexual Politics. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970.
- Mills, John Stuart. "The Subjugation of Women," in Ernest Rhys (Ed.), The Rights of Women. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1929, pp. 218-317.
- Mitchell, Juliet. "Women: The Longest Revolution," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 249-267.

- Mueller, Kate Hevner. "Education: The Realistic Approach," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Challenge to Women. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966, pp. 111-129.
- Mueller, Kate Hevner. "National Organization for Women: Statement of Purpose," in Aileen Krador (Ed.), Up From the Pedestal. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968, pp. 363-369.
- Peterson, Esther. "The Impact of Education," in Seymour Farber and Roger Wilson (Ed.), The Potential of Women. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963, pp. 188-198.
- Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963.
- Rossi, Alice. "Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal." Daedalus, 93 (Spring, 1964), pp. 607-652.
- Scriven, Michael, and Margaret Gorman. "Education for Real Living," in Martha Stuart and William Liu (Ed.), The Emerging Woman. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970, pp. 255-287.
- Smith, Page. Daughters of the Promised Land. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970.
- Steinem, Gloria. "What It Would Be Like If Women Win," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., pp. 55-61.
- Sterrett, Joye, and Stephan Bollman. "Factors Related to Adolescent's Expectations of Marital Roles." The Family Coordinator, 19 (October, 1970), pp. 353-356.
- Tavris, Carol. "Woman and Man." Psychology Today, 5 (March, 1972), pp. 57-64, 82-85.
- Vavrick, Julie, and Anthony Jurich. "Self-Concept and Attitude Toward Acceptance of Females: A Note." The Family Coordinator, 20 April, 1971), pp. 151-152.
- Vreeland, Rebecca. "Sex at Harvard." Sexual Behavior, 2 (February, 1972), pp. 5-10.
- Weisstein, Naomi. "Psychology Constructs the Female, or the Fantasy Life of the Male Psychologist," in Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin (Ed.), Liberation Now. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 267-284.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. "The Rights of Women," in Ernest Rhys (Ed.), The Rights of Women. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1929, pp. 15-215.

APPENDIX

STUDENT'S DATA SHEET

51. Age
 - a. 18-20
 - b. 21-23
 - c. 24 and over

52. Number of sisters that you have:
 - a. none
 - b. 1 or 2
 - c. 3 or more

53. Marital status:
 - a. single
 - b. married

54. In school your mother completed grades;
 - a. less than 12
 - b. 12 or high school equivalent
 - c. 1-3 years college
 - d. college graduate
 - e. graduate work

55. Your major is:
 - a. business
 - b. arts and sciences
 - c. engineering
 - d. other

56. Your grade level is:
 - a. freshman
 - b. sophomore
 - c. junior
 - d. senior

57. Do you consider yourself:
 - a. highly masculine
 - b. of average masculinity
 - c. of low masculinity

58. In your parents' relationship, do you perceive your mother as generally being:
 - a. domineering
 - b. equalitarian
 - c. submissive

59. For the major part of your life you have lived:
 - a. in a rural area
 - b. in a community of less than 25,000
 - c. in a community of 25,000 - 50,000
 - d. in a community of over 50,000
60. In your family, the discipline you received was from:
 - a. your father primarily
 - b. your father and mother about equally
 - c. your mother primarily
61. Which of the following best describes the degree of closeness of your relationship with your father during childhood?
 - a. above average
 - b. average
 - c. below average
62. Which of the following best describes the degree of closeness of your relationship with your mother during childhood?
 - a. above average
 - b. average
 - c. below average
63. Check the answer which most nearly describes the type of discipline that you received from your mother.
 - a. permissive
 - b. democratic
 - c. strict
64. Check the answer which most nearly describes the type of discipline that you received from your father.
 - a. permissive
 - b. democratic
 - c. strict
65. Which parent had the greatest influence in determining the kind of person that you are?
 - a. father
 - b. father and mother about equally
 - c. mother
66. Which of the following best describes your mother's employment status?
 - a. has never been employed outside the home
 - b. was employed outside the home only after you reached high school age
 - c. was employed outside the home after you reached public school age
 - d. was employed the majority of the time from your birth until you reached school age
 - e. has been employed the major portion of your life

STATUS OF WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Key: Strongly agree - A
Mildly agree - B
Undecided - C
Mildly disagree - D
Strongly disagree - E

1. Women should have the opportunity to compete equally with men for top professional careers.
2. Women should be subject to the same standards as men regarding military obligations.
3. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding hiring procedures.
4. Women should be reared in a manner that provides them as much encouragement to participate in the world at large as men.
5. Women should receive as much money as men for doing comparable work.
6. Married men should have more freedom than their wives to participate in activities outside the home.
7. A woman should view having a higher education as necessary a part of her life plan as a man views this.
8. Women should have as much freedom as men in proposing marriage.
9. It should be possible for a woman to become president of the United States.
10. Employers should expect women workers to be absent from the job more often than men.
11. Women should share with men the responsibility for being the breadwinner according to their earning ability.
12. A husband should be expected to do as much housework as his wife if both are gainfully employed full-time.
13. The mother should assume more responsibility than the father for the social development of their children.

14. When a mother has a full-time job outside the home, the father should assume equal responsibility with her for the care of children.
15. Men should be encouraged more than women to pursue occupational ambitions.
16. Men should receive preferential consideration over women regarding firing procedures.
17. Women should not be placed in as highly competitive professional positions as men.
18. Husbands should have more freedom than their wives to work outside the home.
19. A man should be allowed more creative freedom on the job than a woman employed in a similar capacity.
20. Development of the ability to think creatively should be stressed in the education of females as much as in that of males.
21. Development of the ability to think abstractly should be stressed more in the education of males than in that of females.
22. Occupational opportunities available to a woman should be considered as much as those of her husband in reaching a decision as to where the family will live.
23. Men should enjoy more freedom than women in their choice of life styles.
24. Men should have more freedom to take the initiative in arranging dates than women.
25. A father should assume as much responsibility as the mother for the discipline of children.
26. Husbands should have more privileges than their wives in going out at night.
27. A wife should have as much voice in making decisions affecting the entire family as her husband.
28. A woman comparably talented with her male counterparts should receive as much consideration as they regarding career advancements.
29. Women should be recognized as being as intellectually gifted as men.
30. Men should be encouraged more than women to continue their education beyond high school.

31. A woman should be able to compete equally with men for any job that she is qualified to hold.
32. Qualified women should play as active a role in politics as qualified men.
33. Male professors should enjoy more status within the university than female professors of equal rank.
34. It should be acknowledged that male Ph.D. candidates are intellectually superior to female Ph.D. candidates.
35. Patients should feel as confident in being treated by a female doctor as in being treated by a male doctor.
36. Men should receive more opportunities for career promotions than women.
37. Women should be comparably represented with men in on-the-job training programs.
38. It is more essential for men than for women to plan their life patterns with great care.
39. It should be recognized that men possess more ability to think logically than women.
40. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to pursue a career as the major focus of her life.
41. A woman should have the same freedom as a man to decide whether she will become a parent without the possibility of social stigma.
42. Women workers should be as well represented by labor unions as are men workers.
43. The man should be the dominant member of a man-woman relationship.
44. Girls should be reared in a manner that encourages the development of independence in them just as this is encouraged in boys.
45. The role of breadwinner should be accorded more status in the family than the role of wife and mother.
46. It should no more be expected that women will willingly assume the role of housekeeper in marriage than to expect men willingly to do this.

VITA

Sue Ellen Williams

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: AN INVESTIGATION OF COLLEGE MALES' ATTITUDES TOWARD AN EQUAL STATUS FOR WOMEN

Major Field: Family Relations and Child Development

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Checotah, Oklahoma, June 19, 1943, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Winkle. Married James W. Williams, August 14, 1965. One child: Joshua Williams, born October 17, 1968.

Education: Graduated from Checotah High School, Checotah, Oklahoma, May, 1961. Attended Connors State College, Warner, Oklahoma, 1961-63. Attended Oklahoma State University from 1963-65 and graduated with a major in Home Economics Education, August, 1965. Completed requirements for the Master of Science degree in May, 1972.

Professional Experience: Teacher of Home Economics in Jefferson County, Colorado, September, 1965 to June, 1966, and in Chicopee, Massachusetts, September, 1966 to December, 1969.

Professional Organizations: Phi Kappa Phi, Omicron Nu, National Council on Family Relations.