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Early Gender-Role Socialization: Possible Consequences for the Older Woman

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EARLY GENDER-ROLE SOCIALIZATION:
POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE OLDER WOMAN

by

Marilyn J. Bell

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Western Michigan University
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August 1978
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Finally, I am extremely grateful to my friends, parents, and grandmother for their continuing faith and encouragement, and particularly to the special friend who encouraged my return to the doctoral program after some years' absence. Without the patience of these individuals who lived through the process with me, this dissertation could never have been brought to completion.

Where this research may be said to be successful, much of the credit goes to those mentioned above, and others too numerous to mention individually, who have assisted in so many ways. The

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT
OF THE PROBLEM

During the past decade social scientists have devoted more attention to women and the aged. Woman's place in our society has been researched, contemplated, speculated about, and predicted. Works, scholarly and popular, abound, discussing women in every imaginable sphere of activity -- how she achieves or does not achieve in certain areas, how socialization process direct women and men in different life paths, how the double standard rewards or penalizes men and women differently in similar endeavors, and so forth. Moreover, we have been deluged with studies of "feminine" and "masculine" attributes and the perspectives of various groups on the "ideal woman" (or man).

Concurrently the aged are receiving more attention, both academic and popular. Media coverage, as well as scholarly research, informs us of the "plight" of the elderly in housing, medical care, leisure time and retirement, finances, morale, and life satisfaction.

Since the ratio of women to men increases with age, many of the problems of the elderly are the problems of older women. However, one seldom finds "female" and "aged" specifically linked or of major concern in research. When the two variables are linked, it is often to point to such problems as widowhood, poverty, friendship patterns, or the eccentricities of the "little old lady in tennis shoes."
More often than not, the old woman is a lost entity in research. If she is included at all, the age-sex compounding is overlooked and the old woman is essentially desexed (Beeson, 1975; Sommers, 1974; Stoll, 1974). She becomes one of the respondents, a part of the sample, a case -- who happens to be female. But femaleness, in and of itself, or the experience of being female in a patriarchal society, is usually not an explaining variable.

The Older Woman

When she is defined as both old and female, two kinds of patterns seem to emerge in the literature. First, and primarily, she is seen as the dependent, helpless woman who clings to familiar patterns of behavior even when these produce inappropriate action (Aldous, 1974) or she is seen as unable to act. It is in this framework that widowhood has been seen as "a pervasive social problem" (Berardo, 1968:193), affirmed in such settings as the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference on Aging sponsored by the University of Michigan and Wayne State University Institute of Gerontology.

The other picture that emerges is that of the tough, aggressive, eccentric older woman, eccentric because she is no longer behaving in typical "feminine" ways. She has probably found middle age to be a time of increasing liberation and increased frustration with the limitations placed on her as a female (Chilman, 1968). As she becomes older she may, if she defines her marriage as happy, note that she and her husband have more freedom to interrelate and
express themselves (Stinnett, 1972). But she is unlikely to confine herself to home and husband. Particularly if she has worked and experienced the world outside the home, she is likely to go out as a volunteer in her old age (Rosenblatt, 1966). She has probably become more tolerant of her own aggressive and egocentric impulses (Kahana, 1976). Thus we have two rather extreme images of older women: the dominant image being the passive, dependent, and helpless woman; the other being the strong and capable person, usually seen as eccentric when in her old age she exhibits these socially desirable characteristics.

Gender-Role Socialization: Female, Feminine, Feminist

The question which seems to have been overlooked, to which this research is addressed, is that of age and sex. Obviously, one does not merely become old -- one becomes an old woman, or an old man, with attitudes and values and behaviors learned and refined over a lifetime. Thus to understand the problems of the older woman, one needs to look at what the young woman was taught, to consider whether early socialization restricted or expanded her world. One must further consider some of the woman's actual life experiences and how these may modify or reinforce the early definitions of woman's place. For example, woman A and woman B may both have learned while young girls that their goal was to marry and raise a family. Neither expects ever to have to support herself by working outside the home. Neither believes women in general should strive
for anything other than a wife-homemaker-mother role. Each sees
males as stronger and more capable than females, and responsible for
protecting and providing for females. Suppose then, that woman A's
life moves according to this pattern. Woman B, however, does not
marry. She finds it necessary to work for a living, to make major
decisions herself. Both reach old age. Woman A is widowed; woman B
retires. It seems unlikely that they would perceive the same things
as problems or difficulties, or follow the same routes to resolve
their problems. Consequently, at this stage, their views of what is
appropriate for women may be quite diverse.

What do women learn about being women? Three levels of learning
can be seen taking place, each to some extent based on those before.
First, the female child learns to identify herself as female, that
she is a girl. Second, and almost simultaneously, she begins to
learn that being a girl has a social meaning. Some behaviors are
appropriate, expected, and encouraged, others discouraged as
inappropriate because she is a girl. For this research the following
distinction is made: "Sex role" is used in reference to the former,
i.e., it is reserved for those characteristics which are biologically
linked. "Gender role" refers to the latter, or that which is
socially defined and interpreted (Bernard, 1971). This distinction
is fairly recent in the literature and has not been adopted by all
researchers and writers. Where works cited have used the term "sex
role" to denote the social rather than the biological, "gender role"
will be substituted in this research unless the material is directly
quoted. Essentially, "sex role" may be seen as labeling those
attributes which are male or female, "gender role" those which are masculine or feminine. These terms, and the distinction between them, are used although it is recognized neither is more than nominally a "role."

At the third level, the female child learns that gender roles extend into the structure of the society and become institutionalized as expectations or restrictions on general categories of people. For example, in the United States females were often denied the right to own property in their own names. All three levels may be seen to operate: first, a general category was defined on the basis of an ascribed biological characteristic — sex; second, certain social definitions of femininity were accepted which indicated that a woman should not, or could not, assume the responsibility of owning property; third, the social structure in laws and norms reflected the belief. Women, again a general category, could not own property. The specific femininity of any individual woman, her capabilities or lack of them, was not the issue. In today's society we have the term "sexism" which refers to this level of discrimination by one sex (usually males) against the other (usually females) based on the notion that one is superior to the other. Those persons, usually female but sometimes male, who advocate equal rights and status for the female are "feminists," and their advocacy "feminism."¹ Thus feminism may be seen associated

¹The extent to which "sexism" is applicable to the male-superior, female-subordinate situation may be further indicated by the fact that we have no words equivalent to "feminist" or "feminism" for the advocacy of equal rights for males.
with the changing content of the general role and the structure of the society. In this research, "feminism" is a relative term. A scale which measures attitudes toward feminism (Kirkpatrick, 1936a, 1936b) is used as an indicator of the extent to which one sees the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women limited or equal to those of men.

A basic premise underlying this research is that gender-role socialization in our society has led to and supported a society with persistent and predictable differences in treatment of the sexes which is sometimes regarded as sexist. The traditional role of women may be seen as subordinate to that of men and feminism may be equated with the non-traditional. It is expected that early socialization of females to the traditional gender role has long-lasting effects, reaching into, and identifiable in, old age.

Gender-Role Socialization: Process and Content

Sex- and gender-role socialization appears to begin essentially from birth. Differences in the way parents relate to female or male infants appear to be the major socializing factors leading to the internalization of sex and gender identity by the age of 18 months to two years (Hampson, 1965; Mussen, 1969; Money and Ehrhardt, 1972). By these very young ages, children not only can identify themselves correctly as to sex in most cases, but they have begun to tie in to feminine or masculine artifacts such as toys, clothing, etc.

Gender roles, once established, appear to remain quite stable
(Hoffman, 1972; Vener and Snyder, 1966). While undoubtedly these roles are expanded and refined as the individual moves from childhood to adulthood, the process would seem to be that of adapting the gender role to age-specific situations and demands rather than changing the character of the gender role.

One of the major components of the traditional female gender role in American society, and perhaps the major component of the female stereotype, is dependence (Broverman et al., 1970; Hoffman, 1972; Rossi, 1969). Dependency may be seen as operating in a circular manner — females are socialized to be dependent, thus access to alternative and independent positions and behaviors in the wider society is closed or severely restricted. Having limited opportunity to learn, and few rewards for learning, non-dependent ways, she behaves in a manner in accord with the stereotype. In so doing she sets the model for socialization and expectations of others, as well as continuing the circle in her own life. Thus dependency and other related components of the female gender role may be reinforced throughout the individual's life. Essentially, a self-fulfilling prophecy is created.

The Female Gender Role and Old Age

With the onset of old age, usually defined in our society as 65 (based on the conventional retirement age), female behavior which perhaps was considered "cute" in the child, "seductive" in the young adult, and "appropriate" in the good wife may become problematic.
Informal observation and conversation with persons dealing with elderly populations suggests that many of the problems faced by older women may tied directly to the socialization pattern of their earlier years. Komarovsky suggests that

... to the extent the woman remains more "infantile," less able to make her own decisions, more dependent upon one or both of her parents ... [she] may find it more difficult than the man to conform to the cultural norm of primary loyalty to the family she establishes later,

or,

... it is possible, of course, that the only effect of greater sheltering is to create in women a generalized dependency which will then be transferred to the husband and which will enable her all the more readily to accept the role of wife in a family which still has many patriarchal features. (1950:512)

Thus many women are socialized to a passive dependence, first on the father, then on the husband, and finally, perhaps, the son. This socialization to traditional female roles and thought ways appears to have directed women away from experiences or occupations which would encourage independence, resourcefulness, and an ability to make major decisions. In old age, without the male as provider-protector, their individual resources are often inadequate for meeting many day-to-day situations. They may not have learned to assume responsibility for business and financial matters, housing, transportation, and major decision making in important aspects of their own lives.

Since women live longer than men, and since most wives are younger than their husbands, many women find themselves spending their later years as widows. Sons, in our highly mobile society,
may not be in close proximity, or may not be willing or able to assume responsibility for elderly mothers. It appears sons may be more ready to institutionalize aged parents than to deal with day-to-day problems of caring for them (Habenstein, Biddle, and Habenstein, 1975). The female who has been socialized to a traditional female role may find herself at a loss to manage her affairs alone. She may turn to friends, if friends are available, even if they are older females beset by the same problems. Or she may turn to professionals, such as insurance company representatives, bank officials, etc. Finally, she may turn to social agencies for the aged in search of a substitute protector-provider.

The sequence, and possible variations, may be seen in summary as: initial identification as female or male (not of concern to this research); early socialization through which the individual begins to learn what is appropriate and expected on the basis of being female or male; life experiences which reinforce or modify early learning; and finally, the attitudes and expectations held in old age emerge, from and through early socialization and life experience.

Nature of the Study

Specifically, this research is focused on early socialization to the female role and the adherence to values and beliefs inherent in that role as the relate to the problems experienced by aged women. It must be pointed out that it is difficult, at best, to attempt to tap early socialization patterns of respondents who are currently 60
to 80 years old. However, such an attempt has been made here. Respondents have been asked to think back, to remember their parents, and to answer a Likert-response-type attitude scale dealing with the rights, prerogatives, and adequacy of women as they think their parents would have answered when they, the respondents, were children. To be sure, this is a crude measure, but without longitudinal data, any attempt at retrospective information is somewhat crude, and one must recognize the possible errors of faulty memory, etc. In this instance, with due consideration give the problems, it is expected the measure will give an indication of the parents' viewpoint on the role of women. The parental attitudes, as the respondents recall them, then become a measure of the traditional/non-traditional nature of the early gender-role socialization.

The respondents' own attitudes as measured by the same scale give an indication of change which has taken place over time. Intervening variables such as educational level, marriage, religious beliefs, work experience are analyzed as life conditions which may either reinforce the early socialization or modify it.

Finally, attention is turned to the problems which the respondents report having confronted after reaching age 60 and the resources, family, friends, professionals or social agencies used in problem solving. These problems and problem-solving techniques are analyzed in terms of the attitude toward the role of women in an attempt to determine if, in fact, adherence to a stereotypical gender role is related to increasing problems and decreasing ability to

Although the focus of the research is the aged female, data
have been gathered about the aged male for comparison of types of problems and solutions sought. Thus the question of dependency and passivity of the female role and dependency as a function of age alone may also be examined. Although little empirical research seems to have been directed to the question, indications seem to be that different needs and problems do arise in old age as a result of gender roles. A detailed description of the methods employed in the study will be found in chapter IV.

Relevant Literature Considered

With the recent "interest-explosion" in terms of women and the aged, the literature has also exploded. It would be of little practical value to attempt to review all of the material; however, attention will be focused in chapter II on some: gender-role socialization itself, how and when it occurs and what are its major components for women; the effects of gender-role socialization in adulthood with specific emphasis on decision making in marriage, community and political activity, and the employment of women. These are areas of particular importance in terms of the interrelationship of gender roles and feminism vs. the traditional sphere of women. Moving to the older woman specifically, attention will be given to the meaning of aging for women, the question of role convergence between women and men in their later years, and woman's identity and menopause. Retirement and the financial situation of the older woman as well as widowhood will be considered as areas.
which are closely linked with gender roles and feminism.

Theoretical Framework

Various so-called "theories" have been formulated to explain the older woman. For example, disengagement, which essentially posits a mutual withdrawal between the individual and society in old age; developmentalism, in which the individual's life is seen as a series of crises to be resolved or characterized by growth, culmination, and decline; role theory, in which explanation relies on the various roles of individuals and the dynamics surrounding those; and categorical ordering, which posits sex and age as the two primary first-order positions which structure the lives of individuals. All are reviewed in chapter II.

Findings and Conclusions

Data gathered from 272 persons over the age of 60 have been analyzed with reference to the preceding concerns regarding the relationship of attitudes to problems reported in later life. Early socialization, as measured through remembered parental attitudes, is significantly related to the subjects' current personal beliefs about the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women. Further review of this and additional findings will be found in chapters V and VI. Conclusions, possible implications, and directions for further research are discussed in chapter VII.
CHAPTER II

RELEVANT THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The type of theoretical framework needed to look at the relationship between early gender-role socialization and the older woman must be a framework which allows for the lifelong concern of developmentalism, the possibility of change and inconsistency being built into the role, and the interaction of the individual and the society as it may change. Age and sex must be viewed together as component parts of an individual. This relationship has been noted over the years by various sociologists and anthropologists. Linton (1940) sees age and sex as basic to the creation of society. Parsons (1942) considered the age-sex relationship as vital for structural continuity. Age and sex are considered to be basic to classification of peers by Rosow (1967). Van den Berghe (1973:89) goes beyond a societal concept and refers to age and sex as the "two universal ways of differentiating humans" which are "closely interrelated."

A considerable amount of work has been carried out in recent years in attempts to develop theories of aging. Some theories focus on the aging process and/or the aged, such as disengagement and developmentalism. Disengagement addresses itself specifically to changes thought to be associated with normal aging without extension back to pre-aged times in the individual's life. Developmentalism sees life as a process which can be viewed in terms of a sequence of stages in which activities and expectations are closely related to
chronological age. Secondly, there are attempts to fit aging into already existing sociological concepts, constructs, and theories. Role theory, for example, has been used in this fashion. While not specifically or primarily developed as an approach to aging, aging can be viewed in terms of roles, role changes, role exit, and so forth.

Each of these approaches will be reviewed in the following sections in terms of usefulness as a perspective for considering early gender-role socialization and its possible relationships to the problems and coping mechanisms of the older woman.

Disengagement

Disengagement theory, as posited by Cumming et al. (1960), further developed by Cumming and Henry (1961), and elaborated by Cumming (1963) is perhaps the most well-known theory of aging. Essentially, disengagement theory focuses on a mutual withdrawal, or lessened interaction, between aging individuals and others in their social systems. The disengagement process is seen as being initiated either by the individual because of loss of ego energy or by the society because of organizational imperatives, or both. However, both the society and the individual must be ready in order for disengagement to take place, although it is recognized that disengagement may occur if the society is ready even if the individual is not.

Three stages are posited as following age 50: first, working,
a large life space, and no perception of constriction of that life space. The second stage has the individual still working, with a large life space, but perceiving constriction. Third is a stage of not working (retirement), small life space, and perception of constriction. It is suggested that the stages are similar for both men and women with the exception of a beginning phase for non-working women which is characterized by a small life space. Retirement and widowhood are seen as the points at which central tasks are terminated.

The reduction in social life space is seen as often resulting in crisis and loss of morale unless different roles are available which are more appropriate to the disengaged state. It is also suggested that individuals sense not only the shortness of life left to them but also their own decreased life space and diminished ego energy. Consequently, they are ready to disengage (Cumming and Henry, 1961).

When disengagement is complete, the equilibrium that existed in middle life between the individual and society has given way to a new equilibrium characterized by greater distance, and a changed basis for solidarity. (Cumming, 1963:377)

Disengagement may be seen as a functionalist theory based on a concept of society in equilibrium. The old, who are close to death, and the society, which will go on, are seen as maintaining balance through disengagement. No great disruption occurs at the death of a disengaged person.

Disengagement theory was developed from the Kansas City Research, a panel study of 275 people ages 50 to 90. The people included in
the study were all in relatively good health and economically independent. Due to the fact that the sample excluded non-whites, ill, disabled, and poor, it represents a somewhat advantaged group.

Interviews were begun in 1956 and extended over a number of years.

Later research on the 55 percent of the panel still alive and available for study (Havighurst, Neugarten, and Tobin, 1968) suggests that there are two types of disengagement which occur: psychological and social. Psychological disengagement begins in the 50's and involves the internal physiological changes which prepare the individual for social disengagement. Social disengagement, which focuses on role activity, ego investment in present roles, and changes in role activity after age 60, is seen to occur during the 60's and 70's.

Disengagement, over the years, has been resoundingly criticized. Some critics have focused mostly on the construction of the theory, among them Cath (1975), who notes a lack of clarity; Spence (1975), who sees a lack of interactionist perspective¹ and social context of the individual; and Hochschild (1975, 1976), who raises serious questions in terms of the untestable, unfalsifiable nature of the theory in which disengagement is seen as universal, inevitable, and intrinsic. No counter-evidence is possible in terms of the semantic arguments used by Cumming. Finally, Cumming herself (1975) suggests

¹Specific critiques of functionalism (as opposed to symbolic interaction) as the basis of theories in aging have been put forth by Decker (1975a, 1975b) and Ward (1975).
the theory would have been improved if she had defined what "normal" aging is and is not.

Others have criticized disengagement on more substantive grounds and many have used it in research and considered specific issues in the lives of older people in terms of disengagement. Crawford (1972), in a British study of anticipation of retirement, concluded that disengagement does not happen. She found those soon to retire looking forward to an increase in participation and engagement. Glenn (1969) analyzed data from Gallup Polls to test the hypothesis that older individuals would be less likely to hold or express opinions, a hypothesis based in disengagement. No support for this measure of disengagement was found. In fact, with education controlled, the old were less likely to have "no opinion" and paid most attention to, and evidenced greater knowledge than any other group of, current public personalities and issues. Urban women do not disengage in terms of family life, according to Youmans (1967), and rural women show only slight signs of disengagement. It should be mentioned that Youman's urban random sample included 15 percent non-white and a median income of $922 per year, unlike the Cumming and Henry (1961) sample which excluded the non-whites and poor.

Brown (1974), in a sample of 263 persons over age 55 in a metropolitan area, found people only withdrawing from unsatisfying situations in self-reports of social contact. Brown's findings are similar to those of Lipman (1968), who found high morale associated with engagement. Lipman used indexes similar to those of Cumming
and Henry to measure role count, social participation, life space, and perceived life space. Respondents included blacks and whites ages 60 to 81, of all marital statuses, a variety of religions, with an educational median of 8.3 years, living in low-cost senior citizen housing in Miami.

Among those who suggest disengagement does occur but only under certain conditions, Tallmer and Kutner (1969) attempted to replicate Cumming and Henry's work with 181 respondents ages 50 to 90. They found signs of disengagement related to stress-inducing disturbances. However, even then, a move from zero to one stress-inducing disturbance, or from one to two, produced some disengagement, but beyond two no increase in disengagement was found. Havighurst (1965) notes his work with Neugarten and Tobin which seems to indicate that disengagement is related to physical condition. Kalish (1972), in an essay on dying, supports the notion that disengagement is adaptive behavior for those close to death. Or, as Kastenbaum (1965) suggests, some personalities develop perspectives which resolve the time-death crisis well before middle age, others are so engrossed day by day with their lives that they never experience it -- others may disengage. All of these variables may be found in the situation of the older person, but they may also be found at other points in life. Thus disengagement may not be directly associated with age. Agreement obviously does not exist as to the nature of disengagement, the catalysts which trigger the process, or if there even is such a phenomenon.
Putting aside the major questions about disengagement itself, consideration must be given to the older woman, disengagement, and this specific research. Cumming and Henry included women in their Kansas City sample and some of their findings and conclusions need to be considered in light of their theoretical framework. The aged were basically seen as dependent on kin, with women keeping closest touch with both children and siblings. In fact, the level of contact was maintained with both as the women aged. It would seem little disengagement takes place in terms of the female role as family member.

Retirement is not viewed as problematic for women because work is thought to be unimportant to them. It is stated that women "add work to their lives the way they would add a club membership" (Cumming and Henry, 1961:144). Again, Cumming and Henry seem to sidestep truly applying their theory to women. Would not dropping the club membership be a step in the disengagement process? Why are work and voluntary formal organization memberships both seen as unimportant in the lives of women? Cumming (1963:387) does speak specifically of women in the framework of disengagement and to an extent answers these questions:

... women's roles [are] essentially unchanged from girlhood to death. In the course of their lives women are asked to give up only pieces of their core socio-emotional roles or to change their details. Their transitions are therefore easier.

It should be mentioned that there were 36 working women in the Kansas City study, of whom only 16 were married. The 20 unmarried
women were not dealt with in the analysis which developed disengagement theory. Thus there is no indication of the use of the theory for explaining or predicting the aging process for the unmarried woman. Cumming and Henry did acknowledge that their study did not include professional and intellectual women "who may have different attitudes because they have more involvement in their work" (1961:144).

Widowhood, which seems to be equated with retirement for men as a major step in disengagement, may, in fact, be just the opposite. Lopata (1973) and Uits (1974) both note that widowhood sometimes frees women from past roles and allows self-development and involvement never before possible. In fact, after indicating that widowhood marks the completion of women's central task, Cumming and Henry do acknowledge that widowhood may be something of an honored state, a state in which prestige based on the late husband's status is not lost. They find widows often have a ready-made peer group of other widows, a tendency to desire to be on the go, and an increase in aggressiveness. It might be suggested that the life space of an older woman actually increases with widowhood, and that the changes noted in terms of the peer group of other widows hardly parallel the retired man's lifestyle. Finally, Cumming and Henry seem to be caught in the dilemma here of finding retention of status based on the late husband to be the only positive thing about widowhood while ignoring their own information which points to self-development in the later years -- inconsistent, of course, with disengagement.

Lastly, Cumming and Henry view women's role as that of a buffer in socio-emotional areas: sociability, religion, and the general
culture. This is in contrast with the male role, which is that of buffer between women and the economic world. The problem of disengagement seems to be that of male loss of the instrumental role and forced entry into expressive roles, previously the domain of women. Women do not seem to lose as much in the expressive roles as men lose in instrumental roles. Cumming and Henry mention the older woman as becoming more dominant and assertive, as proceeding on the basis of personal whimsy and egocentric demand. Although the eccentricity is seen as self-centered, it is turned outward in behavior among women. Males are viewed as more introspective and self-preoccupied. Again, the suggestion that older women may, in fact, be assuming more instrumental roles, which seems to equate with engagement, is overlooked and the ensuring behavior termed "eccentric."

Looking specifically at this part of disengagement theory, which suggests that the eccentric behavior of older women is from a decrease in normative control, Shanas (1968, 1970) finds no normlessness or decrease in normative control.

Disengagement theory begins with assumptions about women and their roles which are testable but remain untested. In line with other functionalist theories, especially Parsons', it limits women to positions and roles in the family that are expressive, nurturant. When in old age she deviates she is "eccentric." The basic premise of disengagement is the mutual withdrawal of the aged individual and the society. Yet the evidence, from Cumming and Henry themselves,
seems to contradict this for women. If in any sense disengagement is "normal" aging, much less intrinsic, inevitable, and universal, can half of the population be said to age in an abnormal manner or to violate intrinsic, inevitable, and universal processes? In general, disengagement claims to explain and predict too much as a theory of aging, for either men or women, but especially in terms of women. It may be a useful tool for analyzing the behavior of individuals anticipating or reacting to major crisis, role loss, or other upheavals in their lives at any age. It is not a useful framework for considering the socialization of women and their coping abilities in old age. Finally, one would have to agree with Cumming (1975:188):

> Although light has been thrown on some aspects of disengagement theory, it remains on the whole poorly operationalized and largely untested.

The Developmental Models

In essence, the theoretical approach of developmentalism is based on the concept of the life cycle, a series of continuous stages through which individuals are seen to progress from infancy to old age. Developmentalism draws heavily from Freudian and Jungian psychology (Buhler, 1968; Erikson, 1963, 1968), although attempts have been made to incorporate the biological and social aspects of development. Two conceptions of development can be distinguished: the growth-and-decline model and the growth-through-crisis-resolution approach.

The growth-and-decline model comes from the work of Charlotte
Buhler and her students in Vienna in the 1930's. Biographical material, including documents, letters, diaries, as well as direct questioning similar to clinical interviews, was collected on about 400 people from all walks of life, living and dead. These data were analyzed and compared in three areas: external events, which included everything a person does, from occupation to sports to travel, etc.; internal reactions to the external events; and accomplishments and productions in which the life course was related to its objective results. Buhler's student Frenkel-Brunswick (1968) sums up the research.

In this way an inventory was obtained of everything that happened to the individuals concerned, or was experienced inwardly, or accomplished in the various periods of life. (78)

From these data, a five-phase life course was proposed. To age 15 the individual is not seen as self-determining. From 15 to 25 is a preparatory phase including experiments in self-determination which culminate between 25 and 45 with definite and specific goals. Between 45 and 65 the individual is seen assessing the results. After 65 fulfillment or failure is experienced and the individual either continues previous activity or returns to a childhood orientation (see Kimmel, 1974).

Buhler and her students focus on "needs" and "dominance" as overall frameworks in which these phases occur. The first two phases are seen as characterized by individual wishes and desires, mostly stemming from biological wants. In the third and fourth stages, needs derived from ideals and conscience take precedence.
and authority and practical demands become dominant. The final phase involves retrospection and considerations of death. Needs and dominance may again be those individual wishes of adolescence.

Also suggested by Buhler (1968) is the importance of goal setting throughout life. She sees goals being set during the first two phases; ideally they are reached in mid life. At that point some individuals are seen as setting new goals and continuing to strive to reach them, though most are thought to shift their emphasis to stability and retirement.

Another noteworthy exponent of this general expansion/contraction model is Kuhlen, whose focus is motivation. He sees the first half of life dominated by growth motivation and the latter half by fear and anxiety motivations as the individual becomes increasingly aware of irreversible losses. Kuhlen (1968) also notes five sources of frustration which may cause motivational changes and are age-linked, particularly in later life: status accorded various age groups; time and money limitations; change and decline in physical health; perceived skill deficits in a technological society; and, finally, inability to change situations which are disturbing or cause unhappiness. Many empirical studies are noted by Kuhlen, including his own work (with Johnson, 1952) on goal-changes of public school teachers, which shows the achievement need to be greater, especially for males, in early life and (1948) the linkage of age and reasons for major happy events in life. In the earlier research it appears that love, marriage, parenthood are key events, followed by vicarious
pleasure taken in children's successes when the parents' lives become stagnant.

The second developmental model, crisis resolution, is essentially that of Erikson (1963, 1968). Erikson identifies eight stages of life characterized by conflict which must be resolved successfully for the individual to continue through the life cycle healthy and well adjusted. Most of the emphasis in Erikson's work is on childhood and early development, with the individual entering the fifth stage at the onset of puberty, when the conflict of establishing Identity from Identity Confusion must be resolved. The sixth stage is usually linked with early adulthood and focuses on Intimacy/Isolation. Successful resolution is usually seen as marriage. Generativity/Stagnation conflicts characterize the seventh and longest stage. The positive resolution is found in the creation of something which will outlive oneself, e.g., children, occupational or creative achievements. Negative resolution would involve stagnation and boredom. In the final stage the individual looks for a sense of fulfillment or integrity as opposed to despair at the meaninglessness of life.

Peck (1955) suggest some further delineations of crises to be resolved in middle and old age if one is to age successfully. In middle age the shifts from valuing physical strength to valuing wisdom and from sexualizing to socializing human relationships need to be made. Emotional or cathetic flexibility is seen as the positive resolution of the losses experienced at this point in life,
in which the individual can shift emotional investments from one person or activity to another. The negative resolution, cathetic impoverishment, would result in reaction to loss becoming cumulative. Similarly, mental flexibility is seen as more positive than closed-minded mental rigidity.

In old age, Peck proposed Ego Differentiation vs. Work-Role Preoccupation as an important resolution, especially for men. The point being that for successful aging, the individual must find identity and self-worth in things other than the job. Body Transcendence vs. Body Preoccupation represents another critical decision point. Declining health may be resolved negatively through preoccupation, or physical discomfort may be transcended through a focus on social and mental sources of pleasure. Finally, Ego Transcendence or Ego Preoccupation are seen as possible responses to the prospect of death. Transcendence involves making active efforts in behalf of the welfare and happiness of those who will survive the individual, as opposed to becoming preoccupied with the coming end of the individual identity.

Although both models of development are popular and well known, it must be noted that there has been little solid research to test them. Kimmel (1974:17) refers to them as "armchair theories; that is, they are based on inferences drawn from clinical or empirical observations, but none has been rigorously tested and supported by empirical research." In fact, to a great extent the models are almost impossible to test without longitudinal research. In all instances, serious questions can, and should, be raised. Where Buhler, Frenkel,
and their colleagues worked with both written biographical records and interviews, one may question the comparability of the data. One might also question the use of biographical materials on deceased individuals in terms of their extensiveness and accuracy. One must take with the proverbial grain of salt Frenkel's assertion that they inventoried *everything* that happened to an individual. Kuhlen refers to numerous empirical studies but they are not tests of the theory. Rather, he uses the empirical data as a literature review leading to the model he proposes. Erikson and Peck are also speculating and proposing in what could be termed a psycho-philosophical sense.

Both forms of developmentalism present an interesting descriptive framework. There can be no doubt that individuals do develop, progress, grow, or at least change, from infancy through some culturally defined stages, which are somewhat related to chronological age, to old age. However, the models are quite general, and generally untested. Each makes reference to individual differences and suggests that categories of people exist who do not fit exactly with the models proposed, though none go into great detail on the exceptions.

One exception consistently referred to is women. Frenkel (1968:84), in pointing out that some individuals do not evidence all types of experience, especially as it pertains to the shift from physical to mental, indicates:

> We are thinking in particular of . . . many women whose life has a short blooming period, and then is completely extinguished. Lives in which sexual experiences play the chief role and in which very little compensatory effects through more sublimated interests are present, and also no productions of any sort . . . show an
unquestionable subjective decline in the second half of their lives. Physical efficiency is taken as the only measure for the building up or breaking down of their lives.

Children are seen as a "production" and may forestall woman's decline somewhat. Even so, women are seen as much more governed by a biological cycle of growth and decline associated with physical-sexual attractiveness.

Kuhlen (1968), while not drawing any major conclusions about the female role and aging, does note sex differences in much of the work he reviews. In something hinting at the crisis-resolution model, he notes that 30 may be a critical point for single women, and the late 40's for late-marrying women who desire children (that was really his concern). Surprisingly, he speaks of late marriage rather than the crisis of the late 40's often thought to be triggered by children growing up and leaving home. Most of the achievement-need work cited is male-oriented. The exception is Neugarten and Geltman (1958), who not only found that subjects described older men as passive and inactive, but older women as increasingly dominant and assertive. From the many studies reviewed by Kuhlen, Kimmel (1974) concludes that women are affected less or later by age-related issues. This author would suggest that Kuhlen's review leads to the opposite conclusion. Kuhlen notes the critical points of the 30's and 40's. His study of teachers' goals (with Johnson, 1952) shows a shift away from occupational-growth goals to retirement as a goal.
for women earlier than for men. He notes an increase of women's participation in organizational activity around age 50 (Kuhlen, 1951) as an attempt to establish new goals after children leave home. Like Buhler, he suggests the psychological curve of growth, culmination, and contraction may resemble most closely the biological curve for those dependent on physical attributes such as strength or attractiveness. It would appear that women deal with the changes from growth to culmination and from culmination to contraction earlier than males. Perhaps the problem lies in the higher visibility of male retirement from occupations than of the turning points for women. One might also suggest that Kuhlen's work, with a hint of the crisis-resolution model added, points to two forms of adaptation to the later years by women -- becoming fearful and anxious in the contracting phase of life due to negative resolutions of the crises or turning points encountered, or, freed from societal demands, becoming more dominant and assertive.

In Peck's expansion on Erikson one also finds the suggestion that women confront the crises of aging earlier than do men. Peck

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2Research by Atchley, in which women telephone workers were found to be committed to their jobs, appears to call into question Kuhlen and Johnson (1952). The two studies involve different time periods and different occupations; this author would suggest that perhaps the time period is the salient difference. In the late 40's and early 50's, when Kuhlen and Johnson would have been collecting data, America was reorienting after World War II. A definite attempt was made by government, industry, and the media to convince women to leave the labor force, which may have affected the attitudes of many women workers. In the early 1970's, no such activity was taking place; in fact, if anything, the women's movement might be seen as encouraging occupational commitment.
finds the critical point for males in physical vs. mental powers to be between the late 30's and late 40's. Although he does not single out women here, or in the socializing vs. sexualizing crisis, the societal focus on youthful attractiveness and the sex-object definition of the female would suggest that it could be an earlier crisis. The Ego Differentiation vs. Work-Role Preoccupation is placed in old age, identified as occurring in the 60's and related to the male occupational role. Peck does note that

... for many women, this stage may arrive when their "vocational" role as mother is removed by the departure of grown children. In that case the crisis-stage might well come in middle age, for many women. (1968:90)

Thus an old-age crisis for the male may be a middle-age crisis for the female.

In summary, developmentalism relies heavily on "normative data." Havighurst and Birren (1964) note its use in providing such data for practitioners in psychiatry, public health, social services, and adult education. Others question the "normative" approach, however. Gubrium (1973) points out the circularity involved when developmentalism is applied to personal adjustment: adjusted behavior is seen as leading to high morale, which in turn is evidence of adjustment, which of course is expressed in adjusted behavior. Rosow (1974:64) maintains that

... the norms provide almost no expectations that effectively structure an older person's activities and general pattern of life. His adjustment in this respect results essentially from his individual decisions and choices, from his personal definitions of what is appropriate and desirable. In this sense, an old
person's life is basically roleless, unstructured by the society, and conspicuously lacking in norms, especially for nonfamilial relationships.

Thus a theoretical approach based on the "normative" is of questionable use during a period characterized by a lack of norms.

Kimmel (1974:26) raises further problems with the developmental/life-cycle approach:

These theories tend to be not only too general but also too idealistic. . . . they do not give very much indication of the ways in which cultural differences, or social class differences, interact with this general developmental progression; and they describe a process of development that leads toward the ideal of "human fulfillment" or "successful aging" as defined by the middle class of our society. . . . these theories may not be wholly relevant to the lives of many aging persons. Systematic research on the effects of social class, ethnic background, and male-female differences on adult development are currently underway, but the results are not yet available. Until these effects are better understood, we can only caution against accepting these rather speculative theories of the life cycle as applying to all persons in all conditions . . .

Thus developmentalism can be seen as class (middle) and sex (male) linked as well as based on normative behavior. It should be noted that women are mentioned by the developmental theorists, but usually as exceptions. Events in a woman's life are noted as out of the basic time frame, usually earlier. Neugarten and Lowe (1965) further suggest that women are under more stringent expectations and are more sensitized to age norms than are men. The woman portrayed in developmentalism is very traditional; her life cycle is dependent on her sexual attractiveness and reproductive schedule. When this linkage is made in the theory, given what is known of gender-role socialization, one might particularly ask how this perspective can
speak to anything "normative" in the lives of old women.

Payne (1960:360), in theorizing about aging, says very clearly what may be the position of many:

Application is made to the male situation only because it was supposed that the contrast between active and retired statuses of the male would be more clear-cut than changes in the female status with aging . . .

Although developmentalism may be criticized for its bias toward the life cycle of the middle-class male, it must be credited with one extremely valuable perspective: the view of aging as lifelong. Old age is not necessary a separate, unique time but a culmination of task solving (Thomae, 1963) or personality development (Maas and Kuypers, 1974). Unfortunately, even with this focus on lifelong processes of task resolution, developmentalists usually ignore the social structure and its group-specific normative boundaries. Little thought is given to the norms which structure and control which tasks a specific individual or group of individuals will be given the opportunity to solve.

Role Theory

Role theory is, of course, a perspective not limited to old age and would seem to be a perspective which could give insight into roles associated with both females and the aged. The concept of roles comes from the theatre rather than social science and basically has changed little. It can be defined as referring to "the functions a person performs when occupying a particular characterization
(position) within a particular social context" (Shaw and Costanzo, 1970:326).

In an outstanding discussion of the "field of role," Biddle and Thomas (1966) note that it is unfortunate the label "theory" has been applied, since there is speculation, hypotheses, and theorizing about various aspects of role, but no single theory. According to Biddle and Thomas (1966:14),

... that which is regarded as "role theory" ... appear[s] in essentially three forms: a) as single hypothesis, b) as sets of logically unrelated hypotheses on the same topic, and c) as sets of logically, as well as topically, related hypotheses.

The resulting body of knowledge is enormous. Specific roles, such as those in the family or occupational settings, have been extensively studied. Similarly, various concepts of role have been researched, for example, role playing, role conflict, etc.

However, in spite of the volume of research, numerous difficulties exist in terms of role "theory." Over the years, the role-related terminology has expanded to the point where most any and all social phenomena have been/could be described in terms of roles.3

With reference to this, Shaw and Costanzo (1970:344) point out that

Because role concepts are so generalizable, there have been innumerable empirical investigations using roles as dependent, independent, or interpretive variables. Despite the ubiquity of the concept of role, it is

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3See Wilkinson and Crickson (1972) and Wilkinson (1973) for a somewhat lighter view of the role-terminology explosion.
nevertheless . . . rather ephemeral . . . its flexibility and generalizability are assets and
detriments.

The major detriment that Shaw and Costanzo see is the "deceptive similarity" (344) of language used by various analysts, language which is, in fact, not precise. Angrist (1969) also comments on the inconsistent language as well as the basic nature of role. Is it observed behavior, expectations, norms, or combinations of these? She also refers to the social context or reciprocity of roles, noting that consequently research is on a location or setting, i.e., the family, the home, work, etc., and that the question of how to study the general role of woman, for example, is unanswered.

Age can also be problematic as the target of study through roles. Rosow (1976:459) discusses the difficulty as one of four basic ambiguities in the study of roles: "1) presence, 2) boundary criteria, 3) interaction, and 4) levels." Presence involves the problem that some roles are not clearly defined; thus it cannot always be established that there is a role and when behavior is role activity. "Consequently, certain roles that are integral to group structure and process have not been related to role theory, but to personality and other factors" (Rosow, 1976:459). When there is a role, boundaries are often not clear. Nor do most uses of the role concept deal with the interaction of effects roles have on one another. Rosow sees interaction in two ways: "Simple qualification of other roles, or in a hierarchy of importance so that some roles have more pervasive effects than others" (460). Finally, the problem
of levels is that of connecting "a person's many role complexes at a concrete level into the role at a comprehensive level" (460).

Aside from these problems with the field of role, or role theory, itself, Rosow, like many others, sees old age as roleless in and of itself: "Society does not specify an aged role" (1976:466). Looking at Angrist and Rosow together, a basic contradiction and difficulty with the role perspective becomes evident: Women cannot be studied in the general role "woman" and the aged have no aged roles. Angrist does, however, begin to answer the problem when she suggests that the "sex role" is, in fact, multiple roles, some dominant and some latent. Age and sex are seen as intruders. In other words, neither has such specifics of a role as jurisdiction or a set of tasks but both modify other roles.

From this perspective the question of roles changes. The rolelessness of old age is in reality the cumulative loss of roles, in particular occupational and familial, which is due to the modifier "old age" and which cannot be replaced. The "role of woman" does not exist as a separate specific role, but femaleness modifies other roles.

Angrist (1969) discusses the age-sex (gender) role concept as the basis of the idea of role constellations and a life-cycle perspective. The gender role is usually put into the family positions, however. Thus, "woman" equals "wife-mother" and the study of gender roles has concentrated on these areas. A prime example of this can be found in Lopata (1966) in which a life-cycle model of the role of
housewife is developed.

Angrist (1969:221) also points out that

... the family is seen primarily in the stage of
procreation rather than that of orientation, role
constellations of the unmarried do not fit the familial
life-cycle model and tend to be either ignored ... or defined as deviant.

In reality, however, Angrist sees, as did Rose (1951) before her,
women's socialization as contingency training and women's lives as
preparation for, and adjustment to, contingencies.

Flexibility in future fulfillment of women's roles is
built into socialization both early and late as con­
tingency training. ... woman lives by adjusting to
and preparing for "contingencies." The degree varies
by social class, so that the lower the class the
higher the contingency orientation. (1969:224)

She suggests the relationship to class as resulting from the fact
that lower-class women face more unpredictability and are more
likely to accept life's hazards as inevitable. Thus the lower-class
woman may be more practical and realistic than her higher-class
sisters.

Angrist notes some of the specific contingencies basic to the
lives of women. First, woman is seen as socialized for marriage and
must be prepared to accommodate herself to the value system of her
husband. He, however, is unknown, thus a contingency. Second,
marriage itself. Perhaps she will not marry. The fear of non-
marriage is seen as a motive for some form of vocational training
in case she must be self-supporting. Next, there is the possibility
she may marry but at some point have to work due to economic neces­
sity. Though probably socialized primarily for motherhood, this too

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presents some "what if's." Temporary or permanent childlessness demands a rethinking of how to fill her time. If she has children, their departure as young adults again presents her with the need or freedom to fill her life with work or leisure. The possibility of becoming ex-married through widowhood or divorce means the woman must be prepared to become the breadwinner, at least for herself, and possibly for dependent children.4

Angrist has developed this contingency approach to women's roles based on a longitudinal study of college women in which a shift toward career salience was noted; 30 percent career saliant as freshmen, 43 percent as seniors. Further research involved five- to fifteen-year alumnae of the same school. Angrist found of 318 women 85 percent were married. Ninety percent were employed at least part time. However, of the single working women, 48 percent felt they would want to concentrate on home and family if married. Among the married working women, 24 percent of the childless would have preferred home and family to work and 12 percent of the working mothers also picked this option as preferred. Obviously, for many of these women it had been impossible to structure their live according to their preferences, preferences which were no doubt the result of primary socialization.

Knudsen (1961:191), after reviewing census data on occupations

4See Benedict (1938) for an early perspective on continuity and discontinuity in role conditioning in which behaviors which must be unlearned later are contrasted with continuous socialization.
and education of men and woman in 1940, 1950, and 1960 and finding a
general decline in the status of women, makes a similar comment in
criticizing functionalism for

... detailing sex-based social roles appropriate to the
marital relationship, the family is consigned the function
of ... early socialization ... and agency for assuring
the persistence of social patterns by socializing children
to class based age and sex roles.

[Through] preconceptions regarding appropriate sex
roles, sociologists have asserted the value and necessity
of certain family structures ... The traditional
family is thus justified by appeals to a normative order
which defines females as complementary to males.

Thus the role of the highest order -- if not the only appropriate role
for woman -- is that of mother.

Beeson (1975) also challenges the typical view of women's roles,
particularly those of the older woman, noting the lack of empirical
support for the conclusions that woman's role is smoother, less
demoralizing. She calls attention to the statistical documentation
of, and non-academic literature on, the problems of older women:
poverty, living alone, institutionalization, disadvantages for
remarriage, etc. Beeson suggests that the role-theory approach is
an example of stratification of language in which public, official
symbols are male-oriented. This she feels is the language of
sociology and gerontology. Since it is a male-oriented language
system, it speaks mostly to the male experience. Women's language,
on the other hand, is seen as private, with individualized needs and
privatized meanings. Beeson sees role theory as having fallen into
the trap of "repressive communication" in which the more powerful
group structures the world of meaning for the less powerful (aged

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women). It is the old question of through whose eyes do we see and interpret the world?

Kline (1975), like Angrist and Beeson, suggests that woman's role is not characterized by constancy, as most role theorists view it, but by change and inconsistency. She sees women constantly striving for a permanence which repeatedly dead-ends. However, she finds greater life satisfaction among women with varied, discontinuous life histories. She concludes that the very inconsistency of the female role may account for the resilience noted in many older women.

Closer study of women's roles as contingency socialization, with a view to inconsistency rather than consistency, might account for some of the paradoxical information about women: Women's suicide rates are lower than men's at all ages, and the gap widens in old age. Segal ties this to traditional female attributes of gentleness and family orientation and concludes these may "help explain why women respond to crisis more openly and directly, but in the long run more competently than men do" (1969:139). Could it not be rather a lifetime of dealing with change that allows women to seek help and continued existence into old age. Query and Steines (1974) tested the validity of "disillusionment theory," in which it was hypothesized that ill health and other problems of old age would lead to disillusionment with the values of youth, as applied to women. They found no decrease among women in values of work, activity, and science-mastery belief. Perhaps the inconsistencies experienced
throughout life by women make possible values and attitudes in old age which from a male model would be considered inconsistent. Gordon (1975) notes the need to research the possibility, as implied in disengagement, that widowhood is less traumatic than retirement. Rather than writing it off as sexist oversimplification, we should attempt to discover if, as women age, the loss of marriage becomes less salient, perhaps not even a severe crisis. Could this possibly be the ultimate in contingency socialization?

Finally, noting that women have been left out of most retirement studies, or the data not analyzed by sex, Jaslow (1976) found that among women over 65, morale was highest among those who were working. It was lowest among those who had never worked; the morale of retired women varied according to their retirement income. Through all of these one would expect the opposite result from persons whose lives are smooth, unchanging, and geared only to the marital and parental roles.

In conclusion, role theory provides some extremely useful concepts for research but due to lack of clarity the terminology can present as many problems as it solves. Particularly problematic in terms of this research is the question of the interaction of age and sex, as well as the functionalist overtone of role theory which ties the female to domestic roles.

Two particular points do, however, stand out: sex and age as modifiers of other roles, both essentially roleless by themselves; and women socialized for contingencies and roles which are incon-
istent. While role theory, per se, does not provide the framework this research needs, it raises the questions, even in its shortcomings, which a useful theory must address.

Recapitulation

At this point some recapitulation of the theories with a view to age and sex over time is in order. Disengagement theory as posited by Cumming and Henry (1961) has brought a mixed reaction from those interested in gerontology. It is extremely questionable whether disengagement is even directly part of the aging process or not. Considerable evidence would suggest that disengagement, a mutual withdrawal between the individual and society, is a process which is related to change, crisis, or upheaval in the individual's life at any age. Further, from this perspective disengagement is probably temporary and the disengaged state one which characterizes most people at some times in their lives. In this context it may be safe to assume that both men and women disengage, although the original formulation of the theory, as a theory of aging, did not apply as well to women as to men. If, however, disengagement is viewed as only spuriously related to aging, mainly related to change, it does not provide a framework which is useful in an attempt to understand early gender-role socialization and the coping, problem-solving abilities of older women. It might, however, be suggested that those older women who are experiencing disruption and upheaval in their lives (for example, the recently widowed) may show some
signs of disengagement which would affect, temporarily, their behavior in these areas.

The developmental theories, whether developed as growth-and-decline or crisis-resolution, are difficult to test in research. Neither formulation really delves into the life cycle of women except to suggest that she is often an exception and that, for her, decline, or certain crisis points, may come earlier than for the male. While the notion that women must deal with diminished sexual attractiveness and an end to reproductive capabilities, both highly valued by our society, is undoubtedly valuable, it is too simplistic and too narrow. Developmentalism gives a lifelong perspective, which is certainly necessary to the understanding of aging, but, as pointed out by Kimmel (1974), it is as yet unable to help us understand what it is to develop male or female, black or white, etc.

Role theory gives some useful concepts and terminology which aid in looking at the experience of being female and what females are or can be in our society at various ages. The concept of role is extremely valuable for analyzing society, groups, individuals in their settings. However, problems exist in trying to understand the effects various roles have on each other and which take priority. Role theory has also often been aligned with functionalism, which includes a basic traditional premise of male/female, instrumental/expressive, etc., and has served to limit research and understanding, particularly of those who do not exactly fit the model. Women's roles, it has been suggested (Angrist, 1969; Beeson, 1975; Kline, 1975), are not necessarily stable nor permanent; thought must always
be given to the contingencies; what is desired is often not achieved or maintained. This represents a development in role theory which may well give some insight into the strengths of some older women (Kline, 1975) and the passive dependency expressed by others.

The preceding theoretical frameworks, while adding some useful ideas, are of themselves not adequate perspectives for this study. The long-range view of developmentalism is helpful in focusing on a lifelong process and pointing toward the relevancy of early experiences and socialization for situations encountered in old age. A focus on roles can be brought into the life-cycle perspective and considerable explanation achieved through looking at changes in roles over time. The addition of women's socialization as directed toward contingencies and change rather than being a smooth, unchanging, linear role based on the functionalist notion of the family is extremely useful. However, what is needed is an overview which can ties these concepts together.

Categorical Ordering

A theory which would make possible research in which age and sex are considered together, basic lifelong interrelated attributes, in which the woman's roles are not absolutely defined in terms of family and in which change on the part of the individual or society can be dealt with is the theory of categorical ordering (Robin, 1971). Initially, this theory posits two kinds of social structure, first and second order. First-order positions are universally held by
everyone in the society. They may be seen as organizing positions, descriptive of the social structure. Each consist of at least two mutually exclusive categories and every individual occupies one category in each position at any given time. These first-order positions are assumed to be hierarchically ordered, starting with the most basic, which influences the next most basic, and so on. In American society these are considered to be, from the most basic: sex, age, race, religion, and general social status. The first-order positions are, for the most part, ascribed and not expected to change. The only category in which movement is expected is that of age. The expected movement is set, orderly, and one-way through a series of culturally defined stages from infancy to old age.

First-order positions are also seen as having roles associated with them. These parallel positions in that they are of a broad general nature and serve an organizing, defining function for the individual.

Second-order positions, contrary to first, do not cut across the total society. They are specific to certain aspects of the society such as occupational or organizational positions. Like the first-order positions, those of the second order form complexes and have roles associated with them. The second-order positions can be seen as derived from the first order. It is suggested that:

The exclusive nature of first-order positional categories is important in that occupation of a single positional category cuts off access to whole ranges of second-order positional (and ultimately, behavioral) alternatives. . . . occupation of any given first-order positional category shapes the nature and content of each other first-order positional category occupied and, in turn,
the totality of the first-order positional categories occupied determines the universe of second-order positions which may be occupied by the individual . . . (Robin, 1971:62)

The first-order complex serves not only to facilitate or cut off access to various second-order positions, but can be seen as a legitimizing force where access is allowed.

Access must be seen in two ways: absolute and probabilistic. For example, the first-order category "male" makes access to the second-order position "mother" impossible in the absolute sense. However, if the first-order complex includes "male" and "young adult," the probability of the second-order complex including the position "father" could be calculated.

Finally, it must be recognized that a subjective societal definition of desirability or value of the first-order categories exists. In contemporary American society, "male" would be the more highly valued sexual category; "youth" more desirable than "old age"; "white" preferable to "black," etc. Value or desirability in the first order can be seen as directly related to access to positions in the second. Thus, a desirable first-order complex would be that allowing a wide range of access to the socially desirable second-order positions. The individual is seen as broadly socialized in terms of social roles of the first order. These in turn provide a pool of values and norms to be applied to second-order roles. This leads to a mutually reinforcing pattern of first- and second-order positions. In return, occupancy of highly valued second-order positions by those with specific first-order complexes serves to
accentuate the value of the first-order positions.

Although this mutual reinforcement takes place, social change is not ruled out. Individuals may occupy second-order positions unexpected in terms of their first-order complexes -- low probability assess. As this happens, and if it happens with increasing frequency, definitions of access allowed based on the first order may change. Also, legalistic definitions of access based on the first order may change through, for example, civil-rights legislation. This may force more open access, which in turn leads to a change in definitions and values (Bell, 1970).

Categorical ordering is essentially a new theoretical approach, although its general perspective has been hinted at many times over the years. The theory has had a limited test by Robin (1971) in research on those about to retire, confronted with a change in the first-order position "age." She concludes that

... the testing of the propositions in this study does support the theory of categorical ordering. It must be recognized, however, that only a very small proportion of the theory with very limited application was tested; that the testing was accomplished by means of data not developed with this test in mind; and that there are many more aspects of the theory itself as well as this particular age group yet to be tested before we can judge the utility and validity of the theory. (1971:235)

Support was found for hypotheses dealing with: 1) perception of self and others by the 60-64 year olds, which is based on the assumption that the first-order structure becomes much more apparent to those about to experience change; 2) a unique perspective on retirement in those 60-64, since the first-order change would be

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largely expressed in the second-order occupational categories.

Categorical ordering has also been used by Bell (1970 and 1971) as an explanatory framework applied to the questions of poverty and social change, and to conflict in Northern Ireland, where "religion" is seen as the primary first-order position. Neither involved any empirical test of the theory.

Due to the extremely limited use of categorical ordering, one can only suggest at this point that it is the best overall perspective available for this research, and that within the framework of categorical ordering enough flexibility exists to accommodate useful concepts from other theories.

In terms of this research, it is believed that the first-order position "female" functions to limit second-order access. In American society, not only is access restricted, but allowed access is often to less valued positions. The broad general socialization of young females to passivity and dependency sets the stage for restricted access to, or even desire to achieve, positions which demand or develop self-reliance, resourcefulness, and the confidence to direct one's life. The sphere of the female is traditionally seen as that of the household, and her appropriate roles those which accompany the positions of "wife," "mother," and "homemaker." When she does participate in the larger society, in the labor force, in political or religious activity, it is most often in a clearly subordinate role, and frequently a role which carries with it elements of the nurturing aspect of the generalized female charac-
teristics. She is the secretary; he is the boss. She stuffs envelopes and makes the coffee; he runs for office. She teaches Sunday School; he presides over religious rituals.

Old age is generally seen as a time of limited access for both sexes. Retirement marks the end of the individual's activity in an occupational position. Related positions in associations such as unions, recreational clubs, etc., may be lost. Many elderly persons find themselves less able to be physically active or less mobile than at earlier ages. Thus, other access routes are restricted. However, it is assumed that skills and abilities acquired prior to old age, particularly those of a mental rather than a physical nature, are not lost. He may no longer drive his car to work each day or tinker with it weekends, but he knows what upkeep it needs and how to go about getting that work done for him. If he has made major decisions on the job or for the family in the past, he will probably continue to do so. He knows about the financial resources, the insurance, etc. If she, through limited participation in the society beyond the home, has never developed such skills, she cannot suddenly acquire them with ease in her old age. Not only has access been restricted throughout her life because of sex, but in old age, occupation of the position "aged" may, in itself, limit access to channels of effective socialization. The traditional roles associated with the second-order positions of "daughter" and "wife" may not be appropriate or adequate to meet her needs if she must occupy the position of "widow."
On the other hand, if she has experienced contingency socialization which has prepared her well for changes in her earlier years, she may be better prepared for change in old age. If she has, through choice or necessity, occupied some low-probability positions in earlier life, she may, as Kline (1975) suggests, bring those strengths to her old age. One might further speculate that if her low-probability aspirations, positions, and activities were by choice, her overall perspective on femaleness, the early socialization to her gender role, may not have emphasized the dependent-passive qualities to a great extent. If necessity had forced her farther out of a limiting definition of female than she ever expected or hoped to go, early perspectives on femaleness may have changed. Successfully dealing with the contingencies may develop not only personal strength but a new definition of what occupying the first-order position "female" means.

While the transition from adulthood to old age may in itself be difficult for many individuals since it means moving to a less valued first-order position, it is perhaps especially difficult for women. "Female," as the less valued sex position, becomes combined with the low-value position "old," and thus the two primary first-order positions are undesirable. Both are limiting with regard to access in the second order as well as in the generalized content of the first-order positions themselves.
Summary

Categorical ordering, based on first-order positions which allow or restrict access to second-order positions, provides an overall perspective in which useful aspects of the preceding theories can be considered. In a categorical-ordering framework, it is also possible to consider sex and age together, the effects of one on the other, and the changes over time. In terms of this particular study of the life style and problems of the older woman, categorical ordering suggests the following: Early socialization toward the generalized content of the female role may set the stage for a lifetime of norms, values, and roles which the individual female will accept as structuring her life. As she learns the "appropriate" generalized role of female, she develops certain expectations of herself and the society around her which determine the second-order positions for which she may strive and the likelihood of achieving them.

Consideration can be given to the actual second-order positions she has occupied as an adult, the extent to which they "fit" with her early socialization, and their function as contingency socialization for old age. If she has been socialized to traditional female roles, with their qualities of dependence and passivity as major components, the question of the extent to which she sees her roles as limited may be addressed. Some assessment can be made of the extent to which she has lived her life according to her view of women in general.

With assumption of the first-order position "old," categorical
ordering provides a means to view the relationship of her problems and coping abilities, especially if she is alone through widowhood, to her previous and continuing position as "female." It is reasonable to expect, in terms of the theory, the limitations imposed by the position "female" will continue. Further, it would be expected that the more limiting the position "female" has been in an individual's life, the more difficult it will be to resolve problems which now confront her as an "aged female." The better she has coped with change and inconsistency in earlier life, the less tied she has been to the traditional female roles and view of women, the more resources she will probably bring to the resolution of problems in her old age.

The Hypotheses

The preceding theoretical framework can be seen in relationship to the findings reviewed from the literature. It also suggests prediction of some probably occurrences in the lives of older women resulting from occupation of the first-order positions of "female" and "old." Thus, the following hypotheses will be examining in the research:

**Hypothesis I:** Females' present attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women.

(a) Greater differences will exist between present attitudes and remembered parental attitudes of those never married.
(b) Greater differences will exist where female respondents have a history of employment.

(c) Female respondents who have never married and have been employed outside the home will differ significantly in remembered parental attitudes from those who have married and have never been employed outside the home.

The first hypothesis reflects the theoretical assumption of a generalized concept of "female" as a limited-access position characterized by the components noted in the literature review. Influences of early socialization are expected to be in evidence into old age, though some modification may occur. Respondents' present attitudes may differ somewhat from their remembered parental attitudes in terms of a wider range of activities and attitudes seen as acceptable for women. The main second-order positions associated with the first-order position "female" are expected to be those of "wife" and "mother." Those women who have never married are expected to have had to assume some second-order positions which are in contrast to possible conservative traditional socialization. Most notably, these would be in the areas of employment, which could involve decision-making roles and responsibility taking not traditionally associated with females. Attitudes regarding the appropriate roles for women are expected to be adjusted to the reality of day-to-day life. The single woman, therefore, may express less traditional attitudes than her remembered early socialization would indicate, as a result of life experience. Ever-married women who have been employed outside the home are also expected to differ more markedly from expectations based on early parental socialization,
through having had contact in the working world and receiving pay-checks on their own. This experience is assumed to promote individual responsibility and decision making.

Subhypothesis (c) speaks to the possibility that early socialization which included a less traditional "feminine" image of women may be linked to later decisions not to marry, or if married, to work outside the home. While some women may have sought employment due to necessity regardless of their attitudes toward women's participation in work and public life, others will have chosen to pursue, or continue in, employed positions. For women who, by choice, pursue less probable second-order positions, it is expected that the generalized content of the first-order position "female" may be somewhat different beginning with early socialization.

**Hypothesis II:** Females expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will report significantly more problems in old age than will those with less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and problems reported.

(a) Never-married females will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will married females.

(b) Females with employment histories will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those never employed outside the home.

(c) Females with college-level educations will express less less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those with educational levels of high school or less.

(d) Females with traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will have significantly
more problem solving done for them by male family members than will those expressing less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and proportion of male problem solvers.

The theoretical framework postulates the first-order position "female" as the lesser valued sex category, being a limiting rather than an enhancing position in terms of second-order access. The literature would suggest that a part of the generalized role of "male" is that of caring for and protecting females, who are characterized as less self-sufficient and competent. The second hypothesis predicts, on this basis, that the older female will consequently experience more problems when her increased age makes less probable the existence of a male to mediate between her and the world beyond the home. If she has experienced fewer limitations due to her femaleness earlier in life, as evidenced by employment and education, it is expected she will identify fewer problems in her later years.

Hypothesis III: Women's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with the degree to which they were/are involved in decision making in their marriages.

(a) Females with high involvement in decision making in marriage will differ significantly from those with low decision-making involvement in reported problems after the marriage has ended.

The third hypothesis also speaks to the limited female role and the male's greater influence in terms of decision making within a marriage. The female with less traditional attitudes is expected to be more involved as an equal with her husband in decision making. It

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is further expected that such experience within the marriage would facilitate decision making and responsibility taking for the woman alone, should she be widowed or otherwise out of the marriage.

Hypothesis IV: Excluding recourse to social agencies, no association will exist between the traditional nature of attitudes toward the rights, prerogatives, and adequacy of women and the sources of problem-solving assistance: family, friend, or professional.

(a) Significantly greater use of social agencies for problem solving will be made by women expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women than by those expressing less traditional attitudes.

Hypothesis IV predicts that the traditional nature of attitudes does not affect the sources of help which may be considered, excluding the social agency. Sources of assistance are viewed in terms of distance. They may be close, such as family members; slightly more distant, such as a friend; or more distant yet, as in the case of seeking professional help from an insurance representative, banker, auto mechanic, etc. The most distance between the respondent and the source of help is in the case of the social agency. The more traditionally oriented woman is expected to be more likely to turn to the formal social agency, having less access to the in-between sources of help in problem solving.

Hypothesis V: No significant differences exist between type of living arrangement and number of problems reported.

Living arrangement is not expected to predict or explain the likelihood of problems. In itself, it may reflect many different
things. The individual living alone may be extremely independent and competent, thus choosing to live by herself. Or, she may be a woman with no alternative to living alone and be highly dependent on others for problem solving. Recent disruption of living arrangement is, however, expected to increase the likelihood of problems and is predicted in hypotheses VI and VII.

Hypothesis VI: Number of problems reported by women who are widows will be negatively associated with length of widowhood.

Hypothesis VII: Number of problems reported by women new to the community will be negatively associated with length of residence.

Both of these hypotheses are presented in light of "female" as a limiting position coupled with "age" which is also limiting. Consequently, it is expected that the older woman may have more difficulty resolving her problems during a time of transition.

Hypothesis VIII: No significant relationship exists between levels of organizational affiliation and either traditional attitudes or reported problems.

(a) Fewer problems will be reported by women with high levels of organizational participation (as constrained with mere affiliation), resulting in a negative association.

(b) Females with high levels of organizational participation will be significantly less traditional in attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women, resulting in a positive association between feminism and participation.

The eighth hypothesis focuses on the participation of the older woman in groups and organizations. Although the combined position of "older woman" allows access to second-order positions of member-
ship in many clubs, church groups, etc., these may well be nominal
and in no way reflect the individual's view of the role of women or
her ability to cope with her own life. It is predicted, however,
that those who can and do hold decision-making positions in such
voluntary organizations are also those who manage decision making in
their personal lives. Those whose attitudes are supportive of women's
participation are also expected to be most likely to follow through
on these attitudes in their own behavior.

While male respondents were not actively sought for the study,
data collection in group setting did include some males. Thus, the
following hypotheses will be examined in order to further explain and
predict, in contrast, the position of the older woman.

**Hypothesis IX:** Males' present views will be positively associ­
ated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the adequacy,
rights, and prerogatives of women.

(a) No significant difference exists between the attitudes
expressed and the marital status of the male.

(b) No significant relationship exists between the male's
attitudes toward the role of women and his reported problems.

(c) A significant relationship exists between the degree to
which decision making within marriage is/was shared with
the wife and the males' attitudes toward the adequacy,
rights, and prerogatives of women.

(d) No significant relationship exists between the degree of
decision making in marriage for the male and reported
problems after the dissolution of the marriage.

(e) A significantly greater proportion of problem-solving
assistance for males will come from males than will
problem-solving assistance for females.

It is expected that early socialization of males by their
parents includes a perceive appropriate role for women. The male, therefore, should show the same type of pattern in terms of his present view of women's roles and his remembered parental view as will the female. It is not expected that marriage, or lack of it, will influence the male perception of the female role and his remembered parental view, as it will the female. It is not expected that his view of the female role will in any way be related to his problems.

Males who share decision making in marriage with their wives are expected to have less traditional attitudes toward the role of women than those who do not share decision making. Lack of shared decision making is seen as being an expression of the male role as absolute authority and head of his household. However, unlike the female, the degree to which he participates in decision making in marriage is not expected to be related to the problems he may experience after the marriage ends.

It is recognized that traditional gender roles do create areas in which the male depends on the female. It is also recognized that in old age the male may experience certain problems which are linked to no longer having the female carrying out those aspects of her role which have been supportive to him. He may be as lost in the domestic sphere as she in the economic. Similar research on the male role as it is related in old age to early socialization and to problems experienced by the aged male is no doubt in order.
Additional Analysis of Data
Not Directly Related to Hypotheses:
Age Cohorts

Four historical events are projected as possibly affecting respondents and their attitudes toward the role of women: World War I, passage of the Suffrage Amendment, the Depression, and World War II. Respondents 75 or older could well have been directly affected by all four events. Those under 65 would have been young adults during World War II and mid to late teens during the Depression. Each of these events certainly affected the role of women as it occurred and undoubtedly affected some people's attitudes toward women in general in a long-term sense.

Two previous studies suggest that such concern in reasonable and necessary. Freedman (1961) concludes from studying Vassar graduates from 1904 to 1956 that specific item differences of various age groups go beyond class and family variables and must be related to the time they were in college rather than to aging. More recently, Bernard (1974) has suggested that the children of the Depression, born between 1923 and 1932, are the most anti-feminist, due to their experiences during the Depression years.

If possible, given actual ages of the sample and numbers of respondents in each age cohort, analysis of the attitudes toward women will be examined according to cohorts over 75 and under 65.
CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Two bodies of literature are specifically relevant to this research: the literature of gender-role socialization and that on the older woman. All societies must, of course, socialize their members to expected and socially acceptable attitudes and behaviors, and many elements and variables must be considered in this. Many things structure the general socialization process; for example, one would hardly expect a 12-year-old girl and a 45-year-old man to conform to the same definitions of what is socially acceptable and expected of them. Both age and sex would serve to define certain aspects of the socialization of these two individuals, i.e., the young girl and the middle-aged man have both been taught to behave in certain ways because they are female and male as well as to express different behaviors which are age related.

In order to investigate, as this research does, the early socialization of females and situations which they must cope with in old age, a number of aspects of the age-sex component of life need to be considered. Attention will first be given to gender-role socialization. What does the very young female learn about being female? How is she reared differently from her brothers? Consideration will be given to the general, or stereotypical, image of women perpetrated through socialization, when and how this socialization occurs, and evidence of its effects in adulthood as well as the
intergenerational nature of attitudes and behaviors. Specific attention will be given to women in community and political activities and in employment. In these areas, she is removed from the home and family setting and it is possible to consider how her socialization as a woman affects her performance aside from specific roles such as wife and mother.

Secondly, the older woman and her life will be reviewed. What does the gender role mean in old age? Is menopause, which occurs earlier than old age, the explanation of women's behavior in later years? Attention will be given to the older woman in terms of her financial situation, retirement, and widowhood and how these may be affected by the fact of having been female and having been socialized to the female gender role.

It should be recalled that "gender role" refers to the socially defined and expected attitudes and behaviors: that which is considered "feminine" or "masculine." "Sex role" refers to those attributes which are biologically linked, "female" or "male." In some direct quotes the reader will find the term "sex role" used as "gender role" is being used in this study, since it is the earlier term and has been used both ways.

Gender-Role Socialization

It will be recalled that the theory of categorical ordering posits first- and second-order positions which are mutually exclusive and not equally desirable. The first-order position "female"
has been defined as the less valued, therefore limiting, position in the first-order category "sex." In this section, consideration will be given to the early socialization received by females which begins to define the female gender role and its limits.

Literature on the female role has increased rapidly over the past few years as attention has focused on the status of women in our society. Seemingly consistent throughout the literature is the indication that women are socialized for dependency. Rossi (1969) speaks to this phenomenon in essay form, pointing out early gender-role socialization which prepares women to be dependent on men. Cohen (1966), in a psychoanalytic review of data from research on infancy, longitudinal studies of child development, and psychological data on pregnant women, finds that children are socialized to view the male as independent and dominant. The female is seen as dependent and passive. Differential handling of male and female infants is noted, with girls being related to verbally more than boys, while boys are held and attended to more. The longitudinal studies suggest that, along with the early socialization toward dependency, social pressures cause girls to withdraw from challenge and show decreased interest in intellectual activities. The cultural prevalence of sex-typed standards of activity/passivity and independence/dependence appears to promote female incompetency.

A great deal of excellent work in the area of gender roles and stereotypes has been carried out by Broverman and her colleagues (Broverman et al., 1970, 1972; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; Vogel et al.,
1970). Initially the researchers developed lists of characteristics, attributes, and behaviors in which respondents believed males and females differed. Respondents were then asked to indicate the extent to which each item on the composite list was descriptive of self, adult females, and adult males. The items which elicited 75 percent agreement, or more, were termed stereotypic. Male and female responses differed at less than .001 for these items. A second category of "differentiating" items was developed from those with less than 75 percent agreement but significance at less than .05. This tool has since been used in numerous studies. Much of the research points to the stereotype of females as

... relatively less competent; less independent, less objective, and less logical than men ... college students portray the ideal woman as less competent than the ideal man, and mental health professionals tend to see mature healthy women as more submissive, less independent, etc., than either mature healthy men, or adults, sex unspecified. (Broverman et al, 1972:75)

The authors further point out the problematic nature of the female role. Commenting on the societal standards, they note:

Some are clearly put in a double bind by the fact that different standards exist for women than for adults. If women adopt the behaviors specified as desirable for adults, they risk censure for their failure to be appropriately feminine; but if they adopt behaviors that are designated as feminine, they are necessarily deficient with respect to the general standards of adult behavior. (1972:75)

Further,

... both men and women incorporate both the positive and negative traits of the appropriate stereotype into their self-concepts. Since more feminine traits are negatively valued than are masculine traits, women tend to have more negative self-concepts than do men. The tendency for

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women to denigrate themselves in this manner can be seen as evidence of the powerful social pressures to conform to the sex-role standards of the society. (1972:75)

Many others have come to similar conclusions either from the literature or their own research. Among these, Hoffman (1972), in reviewing literature on the development of independence, competence, and self-confidence, also points out that female children are not encouraged in their strivings for independence. Her thesis is that, due to this lack of encouragement, the female child does not develop the confidence and sense of independence needed to cope with her environment and she continues to be dependent on others as an adult.

Komarovsky (1950) studied 73 biographical documents from undergraduate students to determine how role training in the parental family affects members in their own family of procreation and which sex makes the shift better. She found that parents tended to speed up the emancipation of sons and restrict daughters. Sons had earlier and more frequent independent actions and a higher degree of privacy in personal affairs, while daughters were held to a more exacting code of interpersonal obligations. Thus, confidence and a sense of independence necessary to cope with their environments is not developed and women continue to be dependent on others. Komarovsky concludes that greater sheltering sets up "latent dysfunction" for the woman and for marriage in general. Although her data did not support her specific hypotheses about marriage and the transition to one's own family, she did document the socialization for dependency.

Whether one approaches the generalized female gender role from
carefully structured empirical research (Broverman et al.) or through analysis of biographical data (Komarovsky, 1950) or by reviewing the literature (Hoffman, 1972), the consistent theme of dependence arises. No matter what the age of the woman, female behavior is considered to be something less than adult, and the female role one of dependence, passivity, and incompetence. There are, however, some inconsistencies in this picture which will be noted in the following sections.

Beginnings of Gender-Role Awareness in Children

While it is obvious that individuals learn to identify themselves as either female or male and to carry those definitions into the realm of attitudes and behavior appropriate to the individual's sex, there is no absolute agreement as to when sex- and gender-role identification takes place. All indications are that it is early in the life of the individual, however:

There is evidence that a baby is permanently bent toward masculinity or feminity in a critical period between 18 and 30 months of age. If he is treated either as a boy or as a girl during that interval, he adopts that gender; his so-called core gender identity, a conviction of belonging to one sex or the other, is fixed for life. (Swerdluff, 1975:75)

Most researchers do seem to place the categorization of self as female or male, and awareness of what that means in terms of behaviors, between 18 months and three years (for example, Kagan, 1964; Hampson, 1965; Mussen, 1969) and note the time as concurrent with language development.
In humans, it seems that learning both speech and gender roles are acquired simultaneously, universally, and almost irreversibly during the second year of life. (Van den Berghe, 1973:34)

Vener and Snyder (1966), in a study of gender-role development typical in the field, determined sex-linkages of 63 artifacts through ratings by judges and validation by 7-11 year olds. Some of the artifacts were appearance related and some, task items. Three groups of children were tested (ages 30-40 months, 41-50 months, and 51-60 months) and each child was asked to remove the items from a suitcase one at a time and to indicate if it would be "Mommy's" or "Daddy's." Then each child was asked to select their five most wanted items.

Had the children been incapable of determining the sex linkages, 2,640 random errors would have been expected. In actuality, only 819 errors were made, or in other words, the children made 84.5 percent accurate choices. Most accuracy was found with female appearance items, followed by female task items, male appearance, and male task items. Vener and Snyder concluded that awareness of gender roles is similar at 30-40 months to the awareness of 7-11 year olds. Also, consistency was found between adults, pre-adolescents, and pre-schoolers in perceptions of gender roles. This is seen as indication of a high intergenerational stability of gender-role definitions.

Walum (1977:38) notes that:

Because self-categorization occurs so early in life and forms the basis upon which children make sense of the world, it is nearly impossible to change one's belief about what gender one is after the age of three . . .
The most impressive data on the acquiring of sex and gender roles comes from the work of Money and Ehrhardt (1972) with cases of sex change or misidentification. In follow-ups of such cases, it appears that resocialization of those whose biological sex undergoes change prior to 18 months is not problematic. Thus it may be concluded that sex and gender roles are not fixed at this point. However, difficulties do arise in attempts to resocialize those who have experienced physical sex change after 18 months.

Thus, gender-role socialization may be seen as a process which begins early in the life of the individual. Self-identification as male or female and initial awareness of what that means in terms of behaviors, desired artifacts, and so forth, is made by most individuals between 18 months and two and one-half to three years of age. One may also conclude that such identification is not likely to change.

The Family as Source of Early Gender-Role Socialization

It might be suggested, merely from the ages at which gender-role perceptions and identification develop that most of the socialization process would take place within the family. Parents, being for most children the adults with whom they have the earliest and most contact, begin socializing children to appropriate gender roles essentially from birth.

... the earliest months of the child's life are not gender-role free. Differences in expectations, names, behavioral responses, apparel, toys, furniture styles,
and games treat the baby as belonging to either the male sex or the female sex. (Walum, 1977:43)

These are areas over which the parents have control. Not only do the select artifacts, but parents structure the environment in which the child begins to act. Consequently:

Most children learn their gender roles primarily by role-taking. Within the family the children role take with their parents. They learn how to be masculine or feminine by imitating their same-sex parent and interacting with their opposite-sex parent in order to learn how to anticipate the normative behavior and responses. They learn "proper" attitudes, values, behaviors, and goals associated with their sex status. They learn rights, obligations, and prestige accompanying their sex status. Gradually and irrevocably, the children internalize their gender roles until the attributes come to seem like the only possible ways to behave and feel. (Duberman, 1975:26-7)

A recent study by Brandi and Wait (1976) suggests some kinds of things children learn about gender roles within the family. Content analysis was performed on 360 stories told by pre-school children, ages two through five, to determine gender-role bias before entering school. The researchers hypothesized that there would be a male bias reflecting the greater value of the male over the female. Indeed, of the males' stories, 62 percent had only male central characters and little change occurred in the pattern with age. Six percent had both sexes central, and three percent had central female characters only. In female stories, there was a balance at ages two through three, but by four through five, 41 percent of the stories had males as central characters, 22 percent females, and 32 percent both sexes. It was also noted that boys gave few roles to females other than family roles. The authors concluded pre-
school bias in favor of males does exist and that females are stereotyped into a traditional family role by pre-school children.

An earlier study by Minuchin (1965) focuses specifically on determining whether the school or the home was the greater influence on children's gender-role concepts. A sample of 48 female and 57 male fourth graders, all urban, middle class, was selected from schools designated "traditional" or "modern." The families were assigned a modern/traditional score based on information obtained from the mothers. Children were interviewed, observed in a play session, given the "Stick Figure Scale" and "Children's Picture Story Test." More open attitudes and less conventional role imagery were associated with the more modern backgrounds. The expected correlations were found in all measures, though many were small. Indications are, however, that the family is more influential than the school.

Siegel and Curtis (1963) studied future work orientation among college women through open-ended interviews with 43 sophomores. Five family characteristics were thought to be possibly related to the student's orientations: SES, parents' educational levels, parents' views on the purpose of college, parental attitudes toward importance of education for daughters, and mother's work orientation. The only significant correlation was between the mother's and daughter's work orientation. Although this study is small and non-representative, it does suggest that the family influence is still felt in young adulthood.
Each of the cited studies poses its own problems. The Brandi and Wait (1976) study uses as its data a book of stories told by children. Little indication is given as to how the compilers\(^1\) of the book gathered the stories; consequently one cannot be sure how representative these pre-schoolers are of pre-schoolers in general. Minuchin's study is small, as is Siegel and Curtis's. While it would be unwise to generalize from any of this research, the trend which seems to remain suggests that families are influential in gender-role socialization and that what is learned early in the family setting may well be carried into one's attitudes and behaviors many years later.

**Summary**

It becomes apparent, when one considers how early gender-role socialization begins and how stable gender identity is, that the general content of this socialization is extremely important. Very young children receive messages which tell them their gender is more or less valued, that it opens or closes options and alternatives to them. Before children enter school, they have learned in the family setting that fewer roles and social positions (second-order roles and positions) are available to females than to males. They have learned to associate the female primarily with family roles, while

the male has a much wider variety of roles open to him. The general outlines of the first-order positions "female" and "male" and their differential access to second-order positions have been established.

**Intergenerational Continuity**

If the family is the salient socializing agent, one would expect to see evidences which go beyond the parent-child dyad. Attempts have been made by numerous researchers to trace various attitudes and values through three generations.

Aldous and Hill (1965) studied three generations of married couples in 88 white families in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area. Thirty-two of the three-generation linkages were pure matrilineal — grandmother, mother, daughter — compared to fifteen which were pure patrilineal, leading Aldous and Hill to suggest possibly greater holding power of the female line. Affiliation was measured through religious affiliation; marital interaction through role-task specialization and role-task conventionality; achievement through education and occupation of the husband. In general, all three areas evidenced intergenerational transmission. The greatest similarity appeared in the area of religious affiliation (64 percent), and women appeared to be keepers of the religious heritage. Role-task conventionality was consistent in 23 percent of the families and was found to be transmitted in a same-sex line. Role-task specialization, however, showed influence of the mothers on both sons and daughters, with a transmission level of 34 percent. Education was least consistent,
with only 20 percent apparently transmitted intergenerationally. Occupation was mixed, with a 50 percent linkage in all-male lines and 25 percent in all-female (the occupation considered would be that of the husbands of three generations of women). While intergenerational transmission does not appear in the Aldous and Hill data to be a simple, direct phenomenon, it does seem to exist, further supporting the importance of the family as a socializing agent. Aldous and Hill note:

Intergenerational continuities that make possible an enduring society [are] dependent on the socialization of each generation by its predecessors. (1965:471)

Kalish and Johnson (1972) obtained similar results in a study of 53 young women (ages 14-29), their mothers, and maternal grandmothers. The focus was on social issues and aging. Data were gathered through use of a six-scale attitude questionnaire composed of 44 statements. Significant correlations were found among the three generations on all the social and political issues. Positive relationships held between generations one and two, and two and three, on traditional religious values. In all instances the daughters correlated more highly with mothers than with grandmothers. They conclude, "Family members most definitely hold relatively similar values" (1972:51).

Neither Aldous and Hill (1965) nor Kalish and Johnson (1972) can been seen as definitive works on intergenerational transmission. Each has its problems; however, the problems to some extent may counter one another. The Aldous-Hill (1965) subjects differed from
the population as a whole in that they were less mobile, of lower income and educational levels, and with an overrepresentation of Roman Catholics. The Kalish-Johnson (1972) subjects, on the other hand, were recruited by senior psychology students through personal contact, excluding the students' own families. Consequently, they were more highly educated and of more liberal views than the general population. Neither study leads to generalizable findings alone; together, however, they are suggestive of what might be expected in a more random sample.

Fengler and Wood (1973) and Gallagher (1974) obtained similar results in research also using college students as the youngest generation. Again the population is not known, nor the sample random, but the intergenerational transmission of attitudes and values appears. Gallagher (1974:3) sees parent and child interaction as having an "... anchoring effect so that a child resembles his own parent more than a randomly selected member of his parent's generation."

Questions of intergenerational transmission of attitudes and values are not easily answered. What is transmitted, by whom, to whom, and to what extent is still open to question, although the transmission itself may be accepted. Further, as Troll (1977b) points out, the middle generation is being socialized (in adulthood) by both its elders and its children.

While few investigations have so far been directed at this topic, at least two have reported that the middle generation is under pressure and pain to modify many earlier beliefs and practices through trying to come to terms with the
behavior of their children. . . . parents . . . found themselves having to change their views sometimes because of the potent arguments of their children, sometimes in order to be able to once again feel good about their children — and incidentally feel better about their worth as parents. (Troll, 1977:4)

A great deal more work needs to be done on intergenerational transmission and techniques developed which will help researchers to understand the direction of transmission. At this point, however, we can probably accept that gender-role socialization begins very early in the individual's life, that basic patterns are established within the family, and that attitudes and values regarding the roles of women and men are not only carried into adulthood but transmitted from generation to generation with some change and some feedback to the older generation.

Intergenerational continuity can be seen as a basic component of the categorical-ordering theory, though not spelled out in the theory. The first-order positions, and their resulting complexes, serve to determine the positions available in the second order. What is available, and to which categories of people, to a great extent defines the social structure. Thus the life of any given society and its cultural pattern depends on intergenerational transmission. The older generation socializes the younger to its appropriate "place" depending on sex, race, age, etc. Continuity through intergenerational socialization is not confined to individual normative socialization; rather, there is socialization to basic structural realities that endure to limit second-order positions to women and to be passed on to later generations.
Content of the Female Gender Role: Dependency and Passivity in Adult Women

Obviously the general content of a first-order position is not limited to children. While the basic parameters of the position are established in childhood, the position itself serves to structure the life of the individual into adulthood as well. Being female and ten years old may severely reduce the probability that the individual will play Little League Ball or Rocket Hockey. As an adult the limitations are, of course, quite different. It will be seen in this section that, although different, the limitations of the first-order position "female" are still in evidence, and that occupation of this position serves to structure the adult woman's life in many areas.

It was previously noted that female children are not socialized to be as independent and resourceful as their male counterparts. If early socialization does, in fact, structure one's adult years, aspects of dependency and passivity should be in evidence in the lives of adult women. Many studies of various aspects of lives of adult women do point to a dependency and subordination.

It should also be pointed out that while the dominant image in the literature seems to be that of dependence and passivity, there are inconsistencies, some of which will be mentioned. Some women are assertive and independent. Some things which are interpreted to be weaknesses may, by different interpretation, be strengths. Certain social situations may be responded to in ways that are seen as
passive and dependent, and it may be that these are ones which have been more often the object of research than those which would produce a different image.

Flora (1971) reviewed 202 samples of working- and middle-class magazine fiction in the U.S. and Latin America and concluded that there were few models of women who actively controlled their own lives presented in the magazines. Each image of women or men was classified according to a U.S. or Latin American stereotype and rated -- plus, minus, or neutral. Plots were coded and relation of sex of character to plot noted. Ten percent of the data were coded by two other sociologists to check reliability. Flora concluded that the U.S. middle-class magazine fiction perpetuated the most passive image of women.

Babchuk and Bates (1963) studied friendship patterns among 39 white, middle-class, married couples ages 20 to 40. Couples were asked to indicate close mutual friends and who initiated the friendship, the husband or the wife. The findings indicated that husbands initiated more mutual friendships for the couple than did wives. Of 118 close mutual friends, both husband and wife agreed that the husband initiated the friendship in 69 cases, wives in 23 instances. Close friends of the husband prior to marriage were more likely to be close mutual friends after marriage. Fifty-three of 71 friends from before marriage were friends of the husband, 18 friends of the wife. Neither husband nor wife was as likely to identify with women as friends as with men. Wives identified husband's male friends among
their own three closest friends in many instances. The authors conclude that, equalitarian appearances aside, the male predominates in setting friendship parameters. Twenty-one of the couples themselves see the husband as dominant in friendship patterns, ten felt neither partner dominated and eight felt the dominant one to be the wife.

All the respondents in the study were white, middle-class, college-educated people and the authors do not indicate where and how they were recruited. Consequently, the generalizability is severely limited. However, this study is of interest in terms of the general lack of cross-sex friendships noted in most friendship research. The dominance of the husband in friendship setting may, if it is typical of the population as a whole, account for Booth and Hess (1974) finding more cross-sex friendships between married women and male friends than among separated, single, divorced, or widowed women. Usually the women with male friends had been introduced to the friend by a relative -- often her husband.

Adults have been found to state their roles as equalitarian more often than their children perceive them that way, according to data collected by Larson (1974). Seventh, ninth, and twelfth graders in a community of 11,000 were given a questionnaire on family roles which was also completed by their parents. Of the 465 three-people units responding, agreement on family power was found in 56 percent. Agreement on family problem-solving dynamics was found in only 24 percent. When confronted with the fact of quite specific traditional
family roles, the adults agreed on the sex-linked outcomes of problem solving but considered the process -- decision making -- to be equal. Although this study has a much larger sample size than Babchuk and Bates, the response rate is low, with 60 percent of the mothers and 50 percent of the fathers responding. While Larson does not indicate the specific rate of response for the three-person units, it could not be more than 50 percent -- assuming a 100 percent response rate from wives of responding fathers. It is probably lower. One may also question the three-person unit and note that it could be misrepresented, based on the views of one member. Analysis which focuses on agreement/disagreement within the unit is somewhat questionable. Larson appears to be aware of many of these possible problems but notes that the need to analyze data from several family members overrides possible error.

Ahammer (1971), studying cultural definitions and socialization throughout life from the perspective of age grading, asked 15 males and 15 females in each age group, 11-12, 15-18, 34-40, and 64-74, to rank affiliation, achievement, autonomy, and nurturance. Subjects were asked to rank the desirability of each for themselves, as they believed others of their age and sex work, and as they see society ranking these attributes. Of particular interest here are the findings on autonomy and nurturance. Autonomy was seen as most desirable by adolescent boys, more so than by either younger boys or older men. Adolescent girls ranked autonomy less desirable than did adult or older women. Nurturance was seen as more desirable by
females of all ages than by males, under all types of instruction.

In a much larger study, Bendo and Feldman (1974) approached dependency and passivity in women from yet another direction. Thirteen hundred and twenty-five low-income women were selected from twelve welfare jurisdictions in New York state. All were at similar positions in the life cycle, as each had a teenage child at the time of the study. Six hundred and thirty-two had husbands present; 693 were "husband absent." Analysis also considered present and previous welfare status and employment or lack of employment. Bendo and Feldman were specifically interested in testing hypotheses related to the self-concepts of low-income women with or without husbands. They predicted that husband-absent women would have stronger self-concepts and that those with husband present would be more satisfied with their lives and circumstances. They found women with husbands present more likely to perceive themselves as "second sex," and to be more satisfied with traditional areas of female concern. Non-employed wives were most likely to receive vicarious satisfaction through other family members. Where the husband was absent, women had fewer "second-sex" attitudes, exhibited more instrumental behavior, felt greater optimism, and had more independent identities.

Looking at these studies together, one might speculate that, while the female role seems to rely heavily on passivity and dependence, evidenced by stereotypes presented to adult women in the mass media, male dominance in friendship selection, and traditional sex-linked activity in the family even by those who believe themselves
to be equalitarian, other factors are at work. Although young girls devalue autonomy, and the gender-role socialization is toward passivity and dependence, something else may be seen to operate. The Bendo and Feldman (1973) data would suggest that perhaps dependency is the preferred style of many women and operates when possible, i.e., husband present, but that coping abilities, which reflect a more independent identity, may surface when necessary. The findings suggest many possibilities: the husband-absent women may have been different from the husband-present women in other ways which were not identified in the study; in spite of the stereotype, women may learn to behave in independent ways while also learning to limit the situations in which such behavior is expressed; the husband-absent women may have been forced through circumstances to modify their behavior in the direction of greater independence. Bendo and Feldman do not report length of husbands' absences, nor indicate for certain that all of the women had husbands, or the duration of an intact marriage. It would seem all of these factors could be considered and would help to explain when and under what circumstances low-income women exhibit strong, independent behavior and positive self-concepts.

**Women in Community and Political Activity**

Moving away from women in home and family roles and into a consideration of the woman as community participant, one can continue to trace possible effects of socialization to a traditional
gender role. In these areas of voluntary participation, one might expect that women would have a degree of choice in style -- to remain dependent and passive, or to assert their independent identities. The former choice appears to be more common.

Levitt (1967) used data from three nationwide surveys following the elections of 1956, 1960, and 1964 to study women's political participation and the effects of it on work and education. While working experience seemed most positively related to increased participation, Levitt also noted that women suffer from being stereotyped as non-political beings in a male-oriented world. Women do not become highly involved in the political process because involvement is perceived as inconsistent with their roles. Additionally, Levitt believes that women hold attitudes about women, such as low individual efficacy, which either prevent participation entirely or limit the extent to which women participate in the political process.

Jennings and Niemi (1971) looked at political activity as expressed in electoral activity, community affairs, and school matters by 430 couples aged 35 to 55 with high-school-aged children. The study basically focused on the homogeneity of couples and under what circumstances the mother might be more politicized than the father. Jennings and Niemi found that in general the males were more politically active. In their study, employment of the female was not an indicator of greater political activity, nor was there constant variation between middle- and working-class couples. They report only a slight indication that mothers near the end of child rearing may begin to be
more interested in the political world.

In an earlier study, Jennings and Thomas (1968) investigated the Michigan delegations to the 1964 national conventions. In general, the male delegates had been much more active in their respective parties than the females. Half of the females were unemployed housewives and nearly one half had husbands with high political status. Further, male delegates put greater reliance on personal judgment while females were more influenced by party leaders or public opinion in their voting. Again it appears the passive aspect is dominant; women delegates may be delegates through accomplishments of their husbands, and as delegates rely on others' opinions to guide their behavior. Female delegates who were employed were found to be more like male delegates than like housewives in their behavior. Jennings and Thomas see women delegates as lacking in political ambition, which results from gender-role socialization.

In community decision making, Babchuk, Marsey, and Gordon (1960) studied boards of directors of 73 social agencies in a large northeastern city. Agencies were designated as instrumental or expressive, based on the purpose of the agency, and ranked by "knowledgable" people in the community in terms of vital nature of function. It was hypothesized that the more "vital" agencies would have higher status boards in terms of their members, and they would deal with larger budgets and be mostly male. Status of members was measured in terms of occupation (husband's occupation for women), memberships in private clubs, and/or listing in the social register. It was
expected that boards with lower budgets, more women members, and expressive nature would be those of less "vital" agencies. It was found that the boards of 33 of the 38 instrumental agencies had a majority of men, and six were exclusively male. On expressive-agency boards, females composed 39 percent of the membership. Five boards with female majorities were agencies serving children, a finding consistent with the traditional nurturant role of women. Looking at the agencies ranked "most" or "least" vital to the community, the researchers found "most vital" boards to be 89 percent male, and "least vital" 61 percent male. The pattern found in political activity seems to hold in community agency activity; women participate less in numbers and women participants are in less prestigious or "vital" areas when they do participate.

Similar differences in community participation are also reported by Booth (1972) in a study of 800 non-institutionalized adults over age 45 in an urban area in the midwest. Respondents were interviewed in terms of their activity with friends, relatives, and groups. In analyzing group participation, women were found mostly in church and recreational groups. Men were more likely to be on governing boards, job-related and fraternal organizations.

Another area of participation which has been researched and found to reflect the same pattern is that of jury deliberations (Strodtebeck and Mann, 1956). Twelve sets, or 144 jurors, drawn from regular pools in Chicago and St. Louis, listened to mock trials at the University of Chicago Law School and their deliberations were
taped and scored. It was hypothesized that gender-role differences would arise, and that males would be "task specialists" and women "social-emotional specialists" in the deliberations. When the tapes were analyzed, significant differences between male and female behaviors were found in a number of areas: 1) males gave more opinions (.01); 2) males gave more orientation (.05); 3) females showed more solidarity than males (.001); 4) females exhibited more tension-releasing behavior (.001); and 5) females agreed more (.001).

When jurors were asked to list four who were most helpful in arriving at decisions, it was found that showing tension release, laughing, joking, etc., increased the males' potential as being chosen most helpful, but decreased chances for females. The same pattern was noted with asking questions -- a positive behavior in males, negative in females.

In old age, women are found as volunteers in traditional service-expressive roles. Payne (1975) studied a panel of 39 females and 29 males aged 55 to 79 drawn from active volunteers working with a senior service center in Kansas City. Most of the women had married and raised children; only one-fourth were widowed. They were highly educated, with 88 percent having education beyond high school. Eighty-two percent had worked, 72 percent at professional or managerial jobs. Past volunteer experiences were in . . . types of roles that are the service-expressive ones culturally defined as appropriate for the female. Although they were mostly educated, professional women, they performed the expected female volunteer role. (Payne, 1975:8)

When Payne looked at the current volunteer activities of these
women, she found they continued in the same types of service-expressive areas. In addition,

... the expressive nature of the volunteer role for the female is found in the major reason given for volunteering. All of these reasons were expressive type needs: In rank order they gave the following: 1) self-fulfillment; 2) obligation (duty); 3) religious belief; 4) help others; 5) peer involvement (social).

Once again the expressive element is the dominant characteristic in the female volunteer role. Women seem to continue to experience volunteering as they always have, as expressive or socio-emotional ... (Payne, 1975:8)

Each of the studies cited in this section can be seen as a well designed and executed piece of research in and of itself, with the possible exception of Payne, where insufficient methodological information is given and the number of respondents is extremely small. None of these studies can be considered definitive in and of itself.

Levitt (1967) is a secondary analysis of data collected for other purposes; Jennings and Niemi (1971) were not really looking for women's participation levels and styles but for homogeniety in couples. Jennings and Thomas (1968) limited their investigation of national political convention delegations to one state and one year, possibly not representative of other times and places. One might take issue with Babchuk, Marsey, and Gordon (1960) over definitions of instrumental/expressive and ranking of "vitalness," or note that Strodtbeck and Mann's (1956) jurors came only from two large mid-western cities and question scoring of the jurors' behaviors.

However, none of the results contradict what one would expect on the basis of gender-role socialization. Taken together, the studies represent a wide cross section of people from rural and urban areas.
through the range of adult years and the range of activities. In each instance, females are seen acting within the confines of traditional female roles, participating less both in quantity and quality, depending on the opinions and judgments of others, being nurturant. Early gender-role socialization appears to structure the community and political voluntary activity of the adult female.

Finally, Clausen (1968:142) exemplifies the position in which women are viewed, or not viewed, in the political areas. He suggests that political socialization takes place early,

... with boys more politically aware and more informed. For both sexes the father becomes the important reference figure.

Clausen has indicated that female children are not as politically socialized as males, and that adult females are not as important in this process as adult males. He continues his essay with a discussion of socialization for competence, self-concept, self-esteem, and moral development without another reference to sex/gender differences, although each variable is considered by race, ethnic group, and class!

Employment of Women

Another area where specific results of the socialization of women can be seen is that of employment. Studies of employment and professional orientation quite consistently indicate a willingness on the part of females to subordinate their plans to those of the male. Ireson (1978:176) sums up the situation, pointing out that:
Conflict between traditional notions of femininity and occupational or intellectual achievement is experienced by many girls and women. Achievement is highly valued and rewarded in American society, yet it is often viewed as unfeminine. This culturally induced conflict, buttressed by various social institutions, may partially account for women's limited success in the world of paid employment.

For the married woman, the initial decision to enter the labor force is to a great extent dependent upon her husband. Weil (1972) surveyed 200 women living in suburban housing developments in New Jersey. Their median age was 36; they were white, with husbands averaging slightly above the national median income. Half were either planning to work or working. One of Weil's nine hypotheses about the circumstances under which women work focused on the attitude of their husbands. Husband's attitude was found to be the primary predictor of the woman's present or planned employment, with tetrachoric $r$ of .92 and .88, respectively. None of the women who stated their husbands objected only to full-time work were working full time. Seventy percent of those whose husbands objected to any paid employment were not planning to work, while only ten percent of those whose husbands did not object to working wives were not planning to work. Rossi (1965), in researching women in the sciences, reviews data from a national career-development study and comes to a similar conclusion: Women's views on employment are basically more liberal than men's, but their (women's) actual behavior conforms to their husbands' preferences.

Oppenheimer (1968), in an essay on the sex labeling of jobs, points out another area in which the traditional socialization of
women to be dependent on men affects their employment. Women give priority to their husbands' careers, thus careers involving geographic mobility are closed to these women. Further, she sees a cyclical effect in which, even when the woman has the time, dedication, and mobility to pursue a career, employers are tied to stereotypic expectations. The career opportunities are then closed to women because of others', usually males', concept of the woman's role.

Poloma and Garland (1971), discussing data from a previous study in which 53 couples were interviewed, found that the family role is salient over the professional role and allows limited professional involvement. However, their interviewees did not seem concerned over this, and employment was viewed not as a career but as work. The attitude was the same in women over 50 and those between 25 and 30.

In more recent research, Hennig and Jardim (1977) analyzed case histories of 25 successful women in management. They found career decisions were made late; often an unexpected acknowledgement from a superior that her work was outstanding triggered the woman's decision to pursue a career. In attempting to understand how women came to career decisions late, Hennig and Jardim note that many had worked since finishing school, roughly ten years before making their career decisions.

What had they failed to see, think about and act on in the preceding ten years? During those critical years in the twenties men are typically attempting to build the foundations of their careers. But if these women

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were not thinking of the long-term at all, what had they missed? How in spite of it had they got where they were? When we asked this question the answers varied from "I was good at my work and it just happened," to "I was just lucky . . . " "I had a boss who believed I could do it," to variations on "I was dragged kicking and screaming up the ladder."

Somehow it had happened. Even thinking back as we asked them to there was little they could remember that varied the essentially passive theme. They had worked hard and had had the luck to be chosen. (6-7)

Much as in the voluntary sector, passivity and dependence internalized in early socialization can be seen affecting women's participation in the labor force whether from the standpoint of a "job" or a "career." Weil (1972), working with limited, non-representative data, and Rossi (1965), coming from a national sample, both conclude women look to their husbands for approval to work. Oppenheimer's essay (1968) points out the cyclical nature of women's own expectations and employers' expectations, both tied to the traditional stereotype of women. Poloma and Garland's (1971) article lacks a good deal of information one would like regarding the sample and methods. However, it does seem to support the priority of family roles, those traditionally associated with women, over work roles. And finally, Henning and Jardim (1977), in a small qualitative study of women who have succeeded in the male-dominated business world, find even there passivity is characteristic. Decisions were not made by these women nor high-level career goals set initially -- success just happened.

Many researchers and writers have noted the incompatibility of values and behaviors leading to success in careers and those typical

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of female gender-role socialization. Not only are women socialized in patterns that make occupational achievement difficult, much of the socialization suggests that women should not even desire such achievement. Blau (1961:438) summarizes it very well when she speaks to the problematic aspects of being female, married, employed, and relating to friends:

For the married woman with marital duties . . . (child rearing and household management) there is a growing acceptance of employment for women, particularly after their children are grown, but the prevailing attitude is that the job for women constitutes a secondary role that must not be allowed to interfere with the discharge of their primary responsibilities, that of wife and mother. . . . Patterns of association among women . . . are conditioned by their marital status and . . . somewhat by their maternal status. Indeed the woman who seems unduly concerned with her job is apt to be an object of criticism not only among her own sex but among men as well.

The Female Gender Role and Mental Health

One of the studies previously cited (Broverman et al., 1970) considered attributes of the mentally healthy male, female, and adult (sex unspecified), as identified by mental health professionals. In sum, the results suggest that those characteristics attributed to healthy adults are not those of healthy women, and, in fact, the attributes of a healthy woman would be considered somewhat less than healthy for adults or males. If the characteristics attributed to females are less than healthy, what then is the result in terms of mental health?

The traditional female role is associated with mental illness,
possibly due to the fact that women are socialized to see their roles in terms of what men will do and how men react rather than in terms of their own needs, according to Gove and Tudor (1973). The following aspects of the traditional female role are thought to be specifically linked to mental illness: 1) restriction to one role -- housewife -- while men have two -- household head and worker -- or more roles. If the woman is unhappy as a housewife, few other alternatives are seen as possible for her; 2) housekeeping and childrearing may be found frustrating and of low prestige, not in line with her skills and abilities; 3) the role of housewife is unstructured and invisible. If the housewife is depressed she can brood and let her distress feed itself, and it may go unnoticed; 4) if and when she does work, she may well face discrimination in the labor force; and 5) the expectations for the female are unclear and diffuse. Gove and Tudor reviewed data from NIMH on admissions to psychiatric hospitals, studies of physicians' practices, and community surveys which included outpatient services, suicide, and suicide attempts. On the basis of this information they concluded that more women than men are mentally ill and suggest that it is due to the traditional female roles, again noting the single role expected, scarcity of alternatives, and lack of clear role definitions.

Clifton and Lee (1976) conducted studies of self-destructiveness among college undergraduates. Students were asked to complete Suicide-Proneness and Self-Destruction scales, measuring, respectively, serious intent of outright suicide and the tendency to do harmful or
or neglectful things to oneself or to withdraw from social involve-
ment. Also included were a self-favorability scale, self-confidence
scale, and some open-ended questions regarding suicide. Women were
found to be higher than men on Self-Destructiveness, and the reverse
on Suicide-Proneness, though neither was significant. Women were,
however, significantly less self-confident. In terms of self-
favorability, males, more often than females, saw themselves as
logical, ambitious, and inquisitive; only males saw themselves as
purposeful, systematic, and critical. Females were more likely than
males to believe themselves thoughtful and emotional, while soft-
hearted, worrier, talkative, and possessive were traits exclusively
claimed by females.

Men and women had significantly different types of responses to
why they would not commit suicide: Males wanted to face their prob-
lems, felt loved, and enjoyed life. Females did not want to hurt
others. The authors conclude that women are as self-destructive as
men, but in passive ways in keeping with the general passive social-
ization of women. They see as quite consistent with low self-
confidence opting for a decrease in life effectiveness and waiting
for something external to make the decision rather than initiating
direct suicidal action.

Turning from research on suicide and destructiveness among the
living to information on accomplished suicide, Segal (1969) studied
all suicides identifiable through State Death Certificates in New
Hampshire for the years 1955 to 1967. Suicide rates were found to

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be lower for women than for men, the usual finding for suicide rates. Women, however, were more inclined to seek help for emotional problems, and among those who committed suicide, twice as likely as men (20 percent to 10 percent) to have been, at least once, a patient in the state's mental hospital. While noting the problem of suicide data in terms of accuracy, Segal felt state-by-state or regional data would be helpful to social workers and suicide-prevention counselors. He concludes that

... men [are] more secular, more assertive, more oriented to vocation and achievement: women are more traditional, gentler, for familialistic, and readier to have their dependency needs met by others. ... [This] may help explain why women respond to crisis more openly and directly, but in the long run more competently than men do. (Segal, 1969:139)

Similar conclusions have been reached by Bock and Webber (1972) in a study of suicide among elderly residents of Pinellas County, Florida. Data on 188 suicides were compared with a random sample of 2,544 persons aged 65 and over, residing in other than group quarters. Bock and Webber hypothesized that widowed persons would be more likely than married to commit suicide, especially widowers; that the widower is more isolated, thus more suicide prone; that alternative relationships can help counteract the tendency toward suicide on the part of the widowed; and that there are limits to how much alternative relationships can do for the widowed. The authors claim support for all four propositions, and on the basis of suicide rates alone the evidence seems to support their claim. However, no statistics beyond suicide rates and percentages were computed, thus evaluating
the evidence is difficult. With no tests for significant differences between the rates for males and females, or the married and widowed, it must be kept in mind that the results could be merely chance. Bock and Webber do, however, tie their results in to others (see, in particular, Berardo, 1968 and 1970) who also maintain that the widow has a greater opportunity for continuity of her roles and the widower becomes more isolated, thus more suicide prone. Here again is the suggestion that the basic nature of women's roles allows for a life-sustaining strength.

Summary

A review of literature related to female gender-role socialization leads to the following conclusions: 1) Gender-role socialization begins very early in the life of individuals; self-identification and initial awareness of what it means to be either female or male in terms of desired artifacts (toys, clothing, etc.) and behaviors are made by most individuals between 18 months and three years of age. 2) It appears that the family is most influential in terms of gender-role socialization. 3) Attitudes and values are transmitted from generation to generation in families, with modification as the society itself changes. This would lead one to conclude that the early gender-role socialization, as it relates to attitudes about the adequacy and rights of either sex, would take place in the family, and evidence of traditional or less traditional expectations based on the sex of individuals, modified by social change, would be
seen across generations.

The female gender role, in particular, has been characterized by passivity and dependency; girls are seen as being socialized away from a desire for autonomy and independence. In adulthood this trend can be seen in reliance on the husband for direction and decision making. This view is further reflected in the stereotypes in the mass media. In community and political activity, adult women are also found to be proportionately few in numbers and active in less prestigious areas than are adult men. Reliance on the directions and opinions of others, and status of the husband, also structures the adult woman's participation in activities outside the home. When it comes to paid employment, rather than volunteer activity, the adult woman again is seen as dependent on the wishes of her husband, which may well determine if and when she seeks employment and the degree of mobility allowed in pursuing her career. Even women who achieve exceptional occupational success approach career decisions from a passive position, attributing their success to luck and others rather than individual conscious action.

Finally, the restriction of acceptable female roles to those connected to home and family is often linked to greater incidence of mental illness among women than among men. The implication here being that the traditional woman's role may be unhealthy.

Some questions and inconsistencies remain, however. Low-income women without husbands present exhibit more strength and coping ability than do those with husbands (Bendo and Feldman, 1973).
Employment outside the home may be associated with more instrumental behavior in voluntary activities (Jennings and Thomas, 1968). Older women, near the end of child rearing, may begin to show more interest in political involvement (Jennings and Neimi, 1971). And, although women exhibit more mental illness, they have lower suicide rates than men. Somewhere, running through the predominant passive-dependent theme, are hints of strength. It may be a hidden strength, perhaps from an understanding of male gender-role socialization, which provides coping mechanisms to some women when they need them. It may be that inherent in the female role itself are attributes, usually unnoticed when the focus is the dependence and passivity, which form the basis for independent action at some times. Perhaps, and it is the thesis of this research that this is so, variations in the socialization of women which allow for less traditional perspectives on the nature and rights of women open options in times of need. For such less traditional women the range of acceptable alternatives and routes of behavior may be much wider.

Many second-order positions which one may occupy must be viewed probabilistically. It may well be that some women are socialized, as children, to view certain second-order positions as more probable for themselves than are other women. Some may be socialized to believe the housewife-mother positions are the only possibilities, while others may see careerwoman-wife-mother as appropriate. Further, socialization is not limited to childhood. Many experiences in adulthood may be seen as continuing socialization.
and preparing the individual for contingencies which may occur. A
circular dynamic may take place among those holding less desirable
first-order positions in which occupation of any less probable
second-order position makes occupation of other less probable posi-
tions more possible. By the same token, coping beyond that which
would be expected in terms of the first-order position may be
facilitated by occupation of less probable second-order positions.
Latent socialization may also take place, in which the individual
acquires skills and abilities associated with positions not actually
held, either by close contact with such positions, or by the
restricting nature of the first-order position and the process of
learning what the "other" does and is expected to do. Through such
experiences the individual may acquire some of the skills ordinarily
associated with the more valued first-order position, and be able to
call upon such skill resources when needed.

In the next section, focus will be on literature related
specifically to the older woman. Her situation and problems will be
reviewed with thought to her early gender-role socialization and her
coping ability in old age.

The Older Woman

It has been established that "female" is the less valued first-
order position based on sex. "Old" is most certainly a devalued age
position, restricting access and limiting alternatives in the second
order. When an individual has spent a number of years occupying one
devalued first-order position and then assumes another, it might be expected that numerous difficulties would arise. On the other hand, the question may be in terms of just how limiting the original devalued position has actually been in the individual's life, as suggested in the hypotheses tested in this research. Here, it is predicted that the more limiting the position "female" has been for the woman, the more problems she will report as an "old" woman.

In view of the disproportionate numbers of older women in the population, little attention has been paid to the older woman in research and the literature. A quick review of the literature on aging quickly indicates to the observer that with few exceptions, such as the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference on Aging sponsored by the University of Michigan and Wayne State University in 1973 or Troll, Israel, and Israel (1977), aged women are seldom the focal point. In another direction, a look at the recent explosion of literature on women is equally indicative that few researchers and writers concerned with women carry that concern beyond middle age of women. The old woman is a lost entity.

The stereotypes about, though few are empirically studied: There is the sweet grandmother with cookies, the "little old lady in tennis shoes," and the "old witch." There are the unique individuals: the Grandma Moses, Imogen Cunningham, Martha Graham, or Ruth Gordon; the Florence Luscomb or Maggie Kuhn, whose contributions are being made and recognized well into old age. But what becomes of the ordinary woman? What does it mean to be old and a woman in a youth-
and male-oriented society? How does being a woman affect being old?

In this section, attention will be focused on some of these questions and the available literature. The double standard of aging will be discussed, as well as the possibility that gender roles converge in old age. Menopause will be considered as an explanation of later behavior. Attention will also be directed to the problems of retirement, finances, and widowhood, with emphasis on these problems as they affect one who has been socialized to the female gender role. In each of these areas the questions of being both "old" and "female" are salient issues. The double standard serves, on the basis of earlier gender-role definitions, to label and value the aging process differently for each sex. The gender-role-convergence question raises the issue of whether gender roles would even be important distinctions in old age or if they are minimized. Menopause, though not usually occurring in what is defined as old age, has been seen as marking the end of woman's access to some valued second-order positions and thus accounting for personality change and difficulty associated with post-menopausal years. Retirement, finances, and widowhood are all conditions of later years which, for women, seem to be greatly affected by occupation of the first-order position "female." The relationship of these three areas to the earlier roles, limitations, and socialization will be discussed.

The Double Standard of Age

The first place one sees a connection between being female and
being old is the double standard, the societal view of older men as opposed to older women. This aspect has not been the focus of researchers, but a number of writers have addressed it. Susan Sontag most eloquently speaks to the fact there are fewer rewards for the aging woman than the aging man. She points out the social importance of physical beauty in the female and suggests that

... beauty, identified as it is for women, with youthfulness, does not stand up well to age. Exceptional mental powers can increase with age, but women are rarely encouraged to develop their minds above dilettante standards. ... wisdom considered the special province of women is "eternal," an age-old intuitive knowledge about emotions to which a repertoire of facts, worldly experience, and the methods of rational analysis have nothing to contribute, living a long time does not promise women an increase in wisdom either. The private skills expected of women are exercised early and ... are not the kind that enlarge with experience.

"Masculinity" is identified with competence, autonomy, self-control -- qualities which the disappearance of youth does not threaten. ... "Femininity" is identified with incompetence, helplessness, passivity, non-competitiveness, being nice. Age does not improve these qualities.

In a further comment on the aging process, Sontag notes:

In effect, people take character in men to be different from what constitutes character in women. A woman's character is thought to be innate, static -- not the product of her experience, her years, her actions. (1975:38)

In a work group at the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference on Aging (Uits, 1975:45), panelist Joan Israel pointed out that "Women of all ages, whether sixteen or sixty, are given the same roles ..."

Similar conclusions have been drawn by Bell (1970) and Archer (1974).

Another work group at the same conference reviewed the portrayal of older women in literary works (Patraka, 1974:42), found the
stereotype to be negative, and concluded that since

... Western culture places importance on the individual's actively fulfilling his destiny and contributing to the creation of the new and innovative, older women might very well be neglected or regarded negatively in the literature. Since older women functioned ... in a male-dominated culture which regarded women as inferiors and prevented them from doing the very things the culture considered significant, they were never conceived of as major characters in literature unless they were excessively evil.

Troll (1977a:4) notes that "the Western world is full of old women [who are] poor, dumb and ugly." As she points out, women begin to get old at marriage; by 30 or younger, fading beauty is a major concern. By 40 the children may be grown and gone. She has little left, little that is desirable.

You are cursed with health, vigor, and the prospect of a long life; and you have no skills or savvy to help you deal with the management of economic affairs, such as getting a job or managing the lowered income you get after your breadwinner is gone. Because education was more important for the men in the family when you were young and because your life has been filled with repetitive trivia, you are apt to think on a simple-minded level. Even the pleasures of intelligent conversation or creative activity are likely to have been denied you. (Troll, 1977a:4-5)

No matter the perspective from which these authors approach, aging is not the same for men and women. Women have been socialized to view as important and appropriate for their lives skills and behaviors which are not seen as either useful in old age -- being a good mother, for instance -- or possible -- the desired level of physical attractiveness. She develops grey hair and wrinkles and it's a major crisis to be tackled with dyes and creams; he, however, becomes distinguished. His wrinkles give character. As she deals...
with the "empty nest," he is probably achieving in his occupation. If he is widowed, he will probably remarry quickly, and a younger woman at that. If she is widowed, she will find possible partners for remarriage scarce, as scarce perhaps as her skills for coping alone.

Gender-Role Convergence

Before discussing some specific situations and experiences of the older woman, some consideration needs to be given to the possibility of gender-role convergence in old age. Controversy exists in the literature regarding this question and at this point in time there is more speculation than fact. Part of the question revolves around the traditional gender-role boundaries and the division of labor for the older married couple after his retirement. Van den Berghe (1973) suggests that the traditional boundaries do, in fact, break down, and the couple finds more companionship and a more equalitarian relationship. Engle (1974:70-71), however, reports that the non-working wife may dread her husband's retirement because "Wives have difficulty accepting husbands' needs for activity when it means sharing household routines."

Ballweg (1967) found retired husbands were increasingly active in household tasks in a survey of 52 couples in which the husband was over 65. Fewer tasks were never participated in by husbands following retirement and more tasks became entirely his. However, his were tasks requiring, according to Ballweg, strength or adminis-
trative skills, such as paying bills. He was unlikely to take on tasks defined as feminine. No disagreement was noted between husband and wife over new roles.

The study hardly resolves the questions of role convergence. Of the 52 couples, 34 husbands were retired, 18 still working, small numbers for comparing changes in the roles. Further, the study was conducted through interviews with the wives of these men, never the husbands themselves. Wives were asked to categorize 12 household tasks on a "never" to "always" continuum in terms of who performed them: self, husband, or hired help. The 12 tasks had been selected from a list of 30 by a panel of 25 middle-class couples. Not only is this a small sample for making a generalization, but an unknown sample -- if, indeed, it could be called a "sample." Further, it is a one-way perspective on change -- only the wife's view of her husband's role. There is no input from him, nor any indication as to how her role may have changed. Ballweg is also short on information to support the changes in activity, and these become somewhat more assumed than documented.

In observations such as that of van den Berghe, the suggestion seems to be that both change, toward more equality. In fact, often the emphasis is on the shift that occurs for the woman. Some suggest that behavior of older women may become more eccentric than that of men (Cumming, 1961) or that, "There appears to be a point in our society where old women are no longer women, thus in a sense are freed from the restrictions of being female" (Stoll, 1974:155).
Livson (1976) has approached this question on a much more psychological level, and with longitudinal data on 80 men and women from the Oakland Growth Study. The respondents were born in 1921, are white, middle-class, urban, predominantly Protestant, and generally conservative. Data were collected at four age periods: early and late adolescence, age 40, and age 50. The California Q-Sort Personality Tests showed the females and males to be moderately alike in early adolescence, less so by late adolescence, then increasingly alike to age 50, with correlations respectively, .77, .65, .73, and .85. Psychological-health-score means were used as a dividing point to create four groups: healthy and unhealthy; men and women. Healthy men and women showed the greatest increase in similarity.

In analyzing how healthy women and men become more alike, Livson concluded that the healthy woman is less assertive at 40, turns stress inward, and experiences an increase in guilt feelings and psychosomatic complaints. She also becomes "more ambitious and interested in ideas" (1976:5), a trend which increases to 50, when the healthy woman rises

... to the level of men in creativity and philosophical interests. ... more analytic, assertive and skeptical. Within this shift toward active mastery, intropulitive tendencies decline. While healthy women continue to be nurturant and open to feelings, by 50 they allow more masculine qualities to emerge. Both sexes in the healthy group become more androdynous by 50. (Livson, 1976:5)

The healthy male, from adolescence to 40, is seen as becoming

... more assertive, less expressive of feelings, less openly dependent, and continues to be more ambitious and
power oriented than women and to value intellect.  
... a rather one-sided emphasis on traditional  
masculinity ... (1976:4)

However,

... by age 50, this one-sidedness disappears ...  
balanced by a rise in nurturant, expressive qualities;  
they become more giving, protective, open to feelings,  
less aloof. While their ambition and power orientation  
remain high, their drive is now softened by feminine  
qualities. (1976:4)

The unhealthy women seem locked into roles of dependence,  
passivity, and timidity. Their interests do not widen by 40. They  
do not develop androgynous characteristics by 50 and are the most  
anxious, continually adding qualities to validate their femininity.  
Unhealthy men, rather than becoming nurturant, become dependent.  
The aging male has been studied and reported on at length by Levinson  
(1978); the focus here, however, is the female.

Here a shift toward role convergence is seen taking place in all  
but unhealthy women. Those who were previously determined healthy  
take on positive qualities of the other without losing positive  
qualities of their own gender roles; dependency, a negative quality,  
appears in unhealthy men. Unhealthy women, Livson concludes, do not  
change. One might suggest that over-socialization to the traditional  
female role is linked with unhealthy aging, since it appears these  
women are trapped in a restrictive femininity. Bart, in fact, has  
noted this connection in another area and will be discussed in a  
following section.

Huyck (1976) also reviews the role-convergence question, and  
while not adding a new body of research, touches on what appears to
this author to be the key point, although Huyck does not put it together as such. She notes that

... generally, women who incorporate more androgynous or "masculine" qualities in their later years show more adaptive functioning than those women retaining a more stereotyped "feminine" modality. In part this seems to be useful for some women even while emeshed in the family; for most it seems necessary to cope with widowhood. (1976:10)

At the same time, ... concern remains about differential evaluation of the shifts [in gender roles] ... Most specifically we may reflect upon the jokes and unease that accompany tales of strong, dominant old women. ... old women are seen as dominant, pushy, intrusive -- not particularly nice or sympathetic characters ... "the old battle axe" ... (Huyck, 1976:12)

She sees men shifting to a more "feminine" mode in old age as acceptable, but suggests society views the strong, competent, assertive woman at any age as a threat.

Huyck proposes that for many older women, becoming more "masculine," the problem may be in not knowing how to use the power they acquire. Perhaps the scope of the question is larger than this, tying in to the Livson (1976) data and the concept of "healthy" and "unhealthy" women, and traceable to a pattern of contingency socialization and non-traditional activity throughout life. It is one thing to experience change on a psychological-personality level and perhaps another to be able to actualize the changes in everyday living situations.

In summary, the data are inadequate. Questions of role convergence are focused either on external content of social roles or...
internal psychological characteristics. Even the longitudinal data give no explanation of why some people develop one way and others another way. Perhaps a perspective which looks back at the woman's early gender-role socialization and her life experiences which reinforce or modify it will help. It may also add to our understanding of why some older women act out their gender shifts, in the face of social disapproval, and others do not.

Menopause

Although menopause is an event which occurs in the lives of most women considerably earlier than the sixth decade, it is of some concern here. There is a social mythology about menopause which is often expressed in popular culture, and has been succinctly summarized by Linden (1959:483):

The cessation of menses coupled with the rigors of "change of life" often constitutes a serious threat to woman's psychological well-being. The fairly abrupt termination of the child-bearing period . . . tends to undermine personality and to promote a sense of life's bleakness and meaninglessness. . . . she may develop a feeling of lost femininity.

From the standpoint of the menopause myth, one could conclude that perhaps it is this experience which so damages the aging woman that she becomes more dependent, passive, and incompetent in the years to follow. If her personality is undermined, her life bleak and meaningless, what could one expect?

However, more recent data call the myth into question. Kagan (1963:143), after reviewing the significance of gender-role standards

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and the efforts of the young to meet this standards of the ideal female or male, suggests that:

One of the important implications of these data for gerontological work relates to the differential occurrence of conflict at the time of menopause. It may be that the ease with which a woman passes through this critical period will be related to her sex-role identification. The degree to which the standard feminine attributes prescribed by the culture (i.e., attractiveness, nurturant relation to children, acceptance by men) are critical for a woman's self-concept may influence the degree to which she will suffer anxiety and tension during this period.

In other words, it is suggested that the more she is tied to the traditional female role, the more this biological aspect of aging, menopause, may be disruptive. This observation begins to move away from the assumption that all women are equally negatively affected.

Comparative work by Dowty, Antonovsky, and Moaz (1971) sheds further light on what kinds of women are negatively affected. In a study of five Israeli subcultures, nearly 1200 women were interviewed, representing five degrees of modernity: from Muslim Arab women born in Israel; through immigrants from North Africa, Persia, Turkey; to the most modern, from central Europe. From the initial open-ended pilot interviews, the researchers developed a questionnaire used to survey approximately 200 women ages 45-54 from each subcultural group. It was found that all women welcomed the loss of fertility, though all associated menopause with declines in physical health. It was the most modern, European-born, middle-class, urban women who associated menopause with possible emotional problems and loss of social status. The most traditional Muslim Arab women expected no
emotional problems and anticipated more respect within their society. They saw their status going up, while the middle-class European woman was more likely to identify menopause as a signal that her status would decline. The authors point out that these findings "challenge a common image of the loss of fertility as crisis, seen in psychiatric and popular literature" (Dowty et al., 1971:5).

A spurious relationship is seen to exist between crises and menopause by Crawford and Hooper (1973), in which menopause itself is not the critical event but may be associated in time with critical events. They studied 63 women with a first child about to marry (not necessarily the oldest child, but the first one to wed) and 63 women about to become grandmothers for the first time. The median age of the women was 49. Menopause was handled easily by most of the women. Those who were currently menopausal or post-menopausal were likely to be those with a child about to marry. Among these, "symptoms" were significantly related to the coming marriage of the daughter than than the son. In comparing the women with menopausal symptoms, significantly more anticipating a child's marriage experienced psychological symptoms than did those anticipating grandparenthood. The authors concluded that marriage of a daughter may be a critical event for many women which happens to take place at the same time as menopause.

While this study is small and perhaps biased -- respondents were to a great extent self-selected from persons contacted through engagement notices in the papers, weddings scheduled by churches, and
and expectant mothers attending clinics — it does again challenge
the problematic aspect of menopause itself.

Bart (1971 and 1970) takes the question one step further,
suggesting a traditional/non-traditional variation:

... it is the women who assume the traditional
feminine role — who are housewives, who stay married
to their husbands, who are not overtly aggressive, in
short, who accept the traditional norms — who
respond with depression when their children leave.
(1970:74)

Bart came to this conclusion after considerable study of depressed
middle-aged women. Beginning with the hypothesis that depression in
middle age is hormonal, caused by changes occurring with menopause,
a cross-cultural study of 30 societies was made, using Human Relations
Area Files. Six of the cultures were studied in depth, using original
anthropological monographs. Additionally, the records of 533 women
hospitalized for depression, with no previous mental hospitalization,
were examined and 20 in-depth interviews conducted with patients at
two hospitals. Bart found no evidence for hormonal changes associated
with menopause as the cause of depression. However, when she con-
sidered role loss and overprotective maternal relationships, an
association did appear. In fact, the cumulative aspects of the
female role were increasingly associated with depression. For those
who were experiencing only a role loss, 62 percent were depressed.
By the time the cumulative description involved housewives with
maternal role loss who were overprotective or overinvolved with
children, the depressed rate was 82 percent.

In the interviews, the women were asked to rank roles, with the
following result:

... the women view as important precisely the roles of homemaker and mother that become contracted as women age. Conversely, they do not consider as important the roles that could be expanded at this time: the sexual partner role, the occupational role, and the organizational role (taking part in church, club and community activities. (Bart, 1971:18)

As Bart points out, these depressed women did what was expected of them.

The menopause myth makes it too easy just to write off the unfortunate older woman as one whose personality was undermined hormonally or socio-psychologically. In light of the more recent data, however, one could say the problem is not menopause itself but the shock of finding roles being lost, of role exits. For the woman who has spent her adulthood mothering, the departure of children at this time can be disturbing. The role of homemaker may well change when only husband and wife occupy the home. She may begin to look forward to the future, her husband's retirement, possible widowhood. How can she make her life meaningful? What will replace the mother-homemaker-wife roles? The women identified by Dowty, Antonovsky, and Moaz (1971), by Kagan (1963), by Crawford and Hooper (1973), and finally by Bart (1970 and 1971) may be beginning to find that there are no rewards in later years for spending the earlier years in limited, traditional feminine behavior. There may be unanticipated changes which are not coped with well. Again, the early socialization may be seen as having structured their values and expectations; their life experiences may not have included effective contingency socialization or forced them into non-traditional activities. Menopause,
for these women, may signal the beginning of a time they are not prepared to deal with effectively.

Retirement and Finances of the Older Woman

Until very recently little research has been focused on retirement and women, probably because it was usually assumed that women either return to a known and desired domestic role or have never taken work seriously. In either instance, retirement has not been seen as affecting women in ways similar to the effects on men. Townsend (1959) suggested that unmarried women who are important in kinship networks may have little to lose on retirement; Cumming and Henry (1961) saw women's occupations on the same level of importance as women's club memberships. More recently, however, attention has been given the question of retirement and women.

Engle (1974) reports conflicting views expressed at the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference on Aging. Some participants felt that women's friendship networks, known to be stronger than men's, offset negative aspects of retirement. Others noted that, due to society's perception of women and aging in general, women begin to deal with age-related questions long before retirement; thus retirement does not signal age as it does for men. Finally, it was suggested that retirement may be more traumatic for women than for men, due to the economic problems faced by older, retired women.

Blau (1961) and Engle (1974) both note the problem of women's retirement as possibly being class related. Citing a study of
retired social workers, Engle reports that women with high educational levels and relatively high incomes have the advantages of financial security and diversity of intellectual interests, which may help offset negative reactions to retirement. She also notes that single women may be more favorably disposed toward retirement than men and that the married woman with more limited education and fewer skills for retirement may "find herself locked into a domesticity that no longer has any appeal" (Engle, 1974:70).

Two recent studies begin to give some indication of the situation of the retired woman, and though both are focused mainly on life satisfaction and adjustment from a more psychological perspective than the problem-solving perspective of this research, some conclusions may be drawn. Fox (1977) studied 212 white, middle-class women who are part of the Duke Longitudinal Study. They were categorized as retired, still employed, and non-working, with mean ages, respectively, 65.8, 56.7, and 61.5. Focus was on measures of social and personal resources and psychological well-being. Retirees were found to have lower family incomes, perceive their health to be worse, and fewer were currently married than either other category. Retirement was also associated with lower feelings of psychological well-being. Only income is seen as strongly enough associated with well-being to explain the significant difference between the retirees and the non-working housewives. Compared to other women, the retired woman is not lacking social resources and social involvement. Her lowered well-being appears to be associated with reduced income.
Jaslow (1976), in a similar study of 2,398 women over 65 classified as working, retired or never-worked, found significant differences (p < .001) between morale scores. Working women had the highest morale. Only those working with incomes of less than $5,000 had lower morale than the retirees. However, the lowest morale and the least economic advantage was found among the never-worked group. The median age of these respondents was 71.7 years.

In both instances lower adjustment, though measured differently, was associated with lower income. The change which is meaningful here is that from retiree to never-worked as the category afflicted with these problems. In the Fox (1977) study, the retirees mean age was 65.8; for Jaslow's work, the general median was 71.7. One might suggest a number of things likely to have happened in six years to create this difference — or ten years if one considers Fox's never-worked mean age of 61.5. Undoubtedly many women experience widowhood during the sixth decade of life, which could account not only for greatly reduced income but related difficulties especially intense for the woman who has never worked but has devoted her life to housekeeping and her family. The retired woman, however, would have had six more years to adjust her lifestyle to a reduced income. While obviously these studies were done on different populations, using different measures, together they raise as many questions as they answer about changes in the lives of older women.

Jonas (1976) adds one more dimension to the income-related problems of retirement which cannot be overlooked — the individual
perception and definition of the situation. Four hundred and fourteen women residents of low-income housing for the elderly were interviewed. The average age was 74. Sixteen percent had never worked and were not included in the analysis. These women were obviously defined as poor, through their living situation. One-fifth had been clerical workers; fewer than one in ten had been a professional worker; most had worked as operatives or in service occupations. Respondents were asked how much they missed their work, the money, and the people. Much like the men interviewed in similar research, they reported income to be the primary loss; 39 percent missed it a great deal, followed by the loss of people, and finally, the work itself. Forty to 55 percent reported not missing one or more of these at all. Missing the money was found to be related to whether the woman saw herself as well-off, average, or having trouble making ends meet, not to a dollar amount of retirement income. Forty percent of the women would like to return to work, most to a job much like the one they had. Jonas points out that this is contrary to most popular stereotypes which suggest that low-level occupations would not be viewed as desirable. Even the women from these low levels miss their jobs, their income, and the contacts with people.

One might suggest that by the time individual perception of income is taken into consideration, the woman who has had the most experience handling money, regardless of amounts, making decisions, and planning might be most capable of stretching her retirement income, finding it adequate, and maintaining fairly good morale.
While these studies are suggestive, all leave many questions to be answered. As well as the question of the morale-income shift over time, one might well ask: With income controlled, what kinds of women do, in fact see themselves as well-off, average, or having money troubles? Unfortunately, Jonas did not include this analysis.

Although adequacy of income in retirement may depend to some extent on the individual's perception, from the dollar standpoint, financial problems are often critical for the older woman. O'Neil (1974) stresses that women tend to have fewer working years than men. They usually receive lower pay, and consequently may have low, or no, pension benefits. Old age often equates with poverty.

In 1970, half of all white women over the age of 65 and living alone were living below the poverty line. Four-fifths of all black women . . . (O'Neil, 1974:58)

Further, women who do receive benefits under pension plans other than Social Security often receive lower benefits than men, due to the use of actuarial tables and women's longer average life expectancy. In discussion of the causes of this inequity, it was suggested that:

An obvious reason is the role differentiation between men and women in America; at least in the past, women have been forced to accept the roles assigned to them by society, and those roles have been at the bottom of the employment ladder. (O'Neil, 1974:59)

Allen, addressing the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference on Aging, states that in 1971 median incomes of women 45-54 were $5,790, or 54 percent that of men; for women 55-64, the median was $5,831, or 61 percent that of men. The resulting differentials in retirement income are obvious. She further comments:

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Speaking categorically, the financial fortunes of the older woman today are affected greatly . . .
~ by a socialization which led her to believe a husband would provide everlasting security,
~ by her lack of experience, opportunity, and equal pay in the labor market,
~ by overt and covert discrimination which denied her training and upward mobility to better paying positions,
~ by the failure of society to recognize her contribution to the economy as a housewife . . . (Allen, 1975:24-25).

Panelist Virginia Nordin (O'Neil, 1974:60), in summarizing the plight of the older woman economically and legally, turns again to the gender-role socialization of women in our society, noting: "Those who have followed society's dictates are made helpless, economically and legally."

Huyck (1974) looks somewhat optimistically at the future, speculating that as more and more women work, middle age and the end of the mother role will cease to be experienced as a "retirement" and depression at that age will end.

Independent career development will surely reduce the risks of aging for women. Two of the greatest problems for older women are financial security and a sense of self-worth. Women who earn their own pension and save for old age will not be one man away from welfare; and financial independence contributes greatly to good feelings about the self. (Huyck, 1974:116-117)

In summary, women do experience problems with adjustment to retirement as do men. However, the major problem seems to be linked to actual or perceived retirement income. Here one must look to the socialization of women and the structure of society once more. Women have not been socialized for careers and financial success as workers but rather to depend on the achievements of their husbands. Those who do develop independent sources of earned income are likely to
make less than their male counterparts and consequently to have lower retirement incomes. For these women, reduced income and its accompanying restrictions lower morale and well-being in retirement. The traditional woman who depends on her husband for financial support may fare better in early old age but experience more deprivation in later old age, presumably widowhood.

Widowhood

With women's lifespan longer than men's and the societal norm of the wife younger than the husband, many women spend a considerable portion of their later years as widows. It may be suggested that widowhood is the real test of gender-role socialization, women's dependency and passivity, or their strengths. Women who have spent their lives dependent on others, usually the husband, may have a very difficult time finding a replacement for their dependency. On the other hand, women who have been socialized to meet major responsibilities themselves, who may have had to deal with contingencies which took them beyond a narrow, traditional definition of female roles, and who believe that it is acceptable for a woman to be capable and self-reliant may deal well with widowhood.

Widowhood cannot be discussed without reference to the work of Lopata (1976, 1971, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1971). However, it should be noted that although Lopata is prolific in terms of publications and papers presented, there are concerns which need to be raised regarding her research. Those concerns will be raised here and should
be kept in mind by the reader as reference is made to Lopata's research. Her original study focused on a modified area probability sample of 301 widows in 60 Chicago neighborhoods. The sample was drawn by the National Opinion Research Center, and NORC interviewers collected the data. Lopata herself (1973b) notes that some of the interviewers were less than comfortable with their task; however, she feels the results of the interviews to have been "excellent" (1973b:xi). These interviews took place in 1967 and 1968. These data form the basis for citations through 1974. By 1974 a second study of widows had been undertaken, "begun in 1972 and still in progress . . . interviews with a sample of over 1,000 widows of all ages drawn from the Social Security Administration lists" (1974:28). Little statistical analysis is undertaken in Lopata's work, with the exception of her book (1973b). In the papers, one finds mostly percentages used. Other works cited by Lopata change little over the years in her papers. She appears to have selected, in the 60's, the information she feels to be relevant, and stayed with it. There are numerous questions one could raise in terms of the methods, analysis -- or lack of analysis -- presented, generalizability of information gathered in a large metropolitan area, and lack of attention to current writings.

In spite of the limitations of the research and the researcher, much interesting information is presented. It is semantically seductive in that it "feels" right; it fits with other data, speculation, and informal observation. Lopata's material could be a
wealth of hypotheses for future research on widows and widowhood. That not being the specific purpose of this study, attention will be turned to the available information as it relates to gender roles and widowhood.

Lopata (1973b) points out connections between early female socialization and difficulties experienced by older women through the framework of widowhood.\(^2\) She notes that older widows are among those in our society who are restricted in the life styles available to them. They have been

\[\ldots\ldots\text{socialized into traditional roles, encouraged into passive stances vis-à-vis the world and with limited skills because of age and sex.} \ (1973b:16)\]

She found few widows had been left enough money to necessitate concern with wise investment; however, among those who had such a concern, there were complaints about inability to handle their problems and quality of the advice they received.\(^3\) Many felt they had been cheated because they knew so little about financial matters they feared that people were taking advantage of them.

The ignorance of financial matters experienced by widows is due to the traditional child rearing and educational specialization typical of the older generations of American women . . . husbands . . . failed to acquaint them with their financial situations. . . . Even educated women rarely handle or understand investments outside of the family expenses. \(1973b:59\)

\(^2\)Earlier stages in life which relate to some of the problems of widows are analyzed by Lopata (1966).

\(^3\)Research by Clayton and Jellison (1975) would suggest a preference for male advisors on the part of older people, both male and female.
Many of the women were found to turn to persons not really competent to advise them because they had no bankers or lawyers available to them.

Lopata (1973b:69) notes that the "division of labor in traditional homes often resulted in passive dependence on the part of the wives," and quotes one of her respondents who described her situation thus:

"... your husband made all the decisions and took care of all the financial things, and [now] you have to take care of your own checks and banking and bills, and this is a problem, when you've never done this." (1973b:69)

The dependency noted by Lopata is alluded to in a small study of Vinick (1977). She interviewed 24 couples located through marriage license records in which at least one partner had been over age 65 at the time of marriage. The women are seen as moving back to the spouse role in these marriages, having less interaction with the outside world except in the traditional female activities of contact with kin and close family friends.

Lopata found the most lonely and frustrated widows to be those who expected someone to assume the relational task duties which had been the husbands', and who could not find such help. Problems were often solved in the context of remembering what the late husband would have done (Lopata, 1973c). A great deal of frustration was also reported by widows who felt forced to perform tasks previously designated "his." Many indicated they felt very unfeminine at these times (Lopata, 1973c). Husbands also tended to be idealized in retrospect (Lopata, 1976).

Another, less negative, perspective of the widow is also evident.
in the literature. Uits (1974:46) notes that widowhood can be a time of forced development:

Widowhood may force women to assume many of the roles her deceased spouse so carefully kept from her ("keeping the books," working, etc.).

Forty-two percent of the older widows in Lopata's research saw themselves as freer and more independent than ever before. At ages over 50, thirty-six percent reported widowhood to be the easiest time of their lives.

While all of Lopata's work was done in a large metropolitan area, Philblad and Adams (1972) studied 610 men and 941 women in small towns. The towns were selected on a probability basis as representative of small towns, and the individuals were randomly selected within them. Respondents were categorized as married, recently widowed (within four years), or long-term widows (five years or more). They found widows to be more activity oriented than their male counterparts and to show no great change in activity patterns either with the onset or length of widowhood.

Once again, the literature gives a mixed picture of the older woman who is widowed. In some instances she appears to be the dependent woman who is unable to cope, who looks for someone to take care of her and her interaction with the world outside the home. Or she may be the widow whose life is changed very little by widowhood, and then perhaps the changes are positive. She sees widowhood as a free and independent time, perhaps the easiest time of her life.

One might suspect that this type of widow may have always found her
role as woman limiting but bowed to the forces of socialization and societal pressure that defined what she should do. Finally, there seems to be the transitional widow who is forced to develop beyond her traditional role. Here the previously mentioned coping abilities of women may be seen: She never sought or desired the independence and self-direction thrust upon her by widowhood, but assumes responsibility for herself when she must.

Summary

The socialization of women, it will be recalled, to the female gender role begins early, around ages 18 months to three years. The family may be seen as most influential in this early socialization. The basic socialization to gender roles is stable and may be seen operative in adult behavior. It also appears to be transmitted from generation to generation.

The female gender role has been characterized by passivity and dependence. Adult women may be seen as relying on the male, usually the husband, to set the direction in terms of such things as decision making within the marriage, friendship patterns, employment of the wife, etc. Males are also found in leadership positions in voluntary community and political activities. It may even be suggested that a connection exists between limitations imposed by the traditional female gender role and mental illness.

Some aspects of the female gender role are still in question: the greater coping abilities of women with husbands absent, the
influence of employment outside the home, and the lower suicide rates.

Older women have been ignored in most research on women and not specifically dealt with in much of the work on aging. It does appear that a double standard exists in terms of how age is judged in our society in which age for women comes earlier and the outward signs of aging are seen negatively. On the other hand, some investigators feel that age leads to a convergence of gender roles as evidenced either by external content of social roles or by internal psychological states. Women, it is suggested, become more assertive, men more passive. This perspective is, at this time, more speculative than based on empirical data.

Another view of the older woman comes through the menopause myth. In this case, menopause is seen as explaining changes in behavior. Menopause for most women is not an event of old age but, rather, later middle age. One must also note that the more recent literature would suggest that menopause itself is not the problem, but is perhaps the most obvious change during a phase which may involve many role losses and role exits. It may signal the onset of a stage in the woman's life which she is not prepared to deal with.

For some time it has been thought that women did not experience problems with retirement; however, more recent data suggest that women as well as men may have problems adjusting to retirement. Major problems appear to be linked to actual or perceived retirement income. Since women tend to have fewer working years than men,
usually at lower pay, retirement incomes tend to be low. The woman who is dependent on her husband and his retirement income may fare better in early old age than her self-supporting counterpart but experience more deprivation in later old age as a widow.

Widowhood, itself, seems to reflect the gender-role socialization. Some widows who have been very traditional and dependent upon their husbands find it a very difficult time. Others remark upon the newfound freedom and independence as positive aspects of widowhood.

The problems of the older woman do appear to be related to the socialization of women and female children in American society: to be the results of a tendency toward passivity and dependency on the male which lasts into old age. Lopata (1973a:618) suggests increasing potential for isolation on the part of women who are

... trained into passive stances and who hold negative sentiments about themselves ... and about new social roles. [These probable isolates] tend to be the less educated women of a historical generation which socialized all but the elite females into a restricted life space and a limited use of the resources of the modern urban scene.

She details more specifically the process for

... widows who wish they could develop new lifestyles but do not have the personally developed resources to know how to even start ... They do not know how to train for or enter a job, join a club or even a church, move to a new neighborhood and develop satisfactory levels of interaction or convert a stranger into a friend because they were socialized according to the traditional ideal of passive feminity which did not interfere with the needs of the patriarchal family. Even when offered a range of alternative lifestyles in widowhood, may women are constrained by internalized assumptions about what women in general ... are capable of doing. (1974:24)
Wolk and Kurtz (1975) also link early socialization and old women's problems, in research dealing with locus of control. They found women with external locus of control to have lower levels of involvement and adaptive behavior than internally controlled women or men with external or internal control. Suggested as an explanation for this finding is that

... heightened non-involvement for external women may reflect the interaction of sex-appropriate responses (as again acquired during an earlier socialization period) with a generalized expectancy for low personal control. (Wolk and Kurtz, 1975:177)

A further connection between traditional female dependence and problems of older women is found in the work of Dubourg and Mandelbrote (1966) on widows admitted to a psychiatric hospital. Those living alone had better social recovery and lower readmission rates. Self-sufficiency was also correlated with good recovery, and dependence with relapse and readmission.

While it may be that older women are seen as having no specific role and engaging in behavior which can be termed eccentric when the typical "woman's role" is no longer appropriate or rewarding, it may also be that the eccentric, unfeminine behavior is an indication of good adjustment. It may be, also, that those who exhibit independence and competence in old age have never truly subscribed to the traditional role: that their socialization was non-normative. Most writers who have approach the phenomenon of the more independent, assertive woman -- or the dependent, passive one, for that matter -- have not specifically looked for correlates, especially in the early
years, which might help explain the situation. Lopata is an exception here in that she has related the independence and strength of older women to educational levels. While education is undoubtedly an important correlate, the question needs to be pushed back even further. Why did some women in the generation now old receive more education than was usual for their cohort? Why did some continue to pursue educational goals throughout life? The answer, it would seem, must be in the perspective held by the family in which they were socialized of women's roles, rights, and abilities.

While we catch glimpses of the independent, competent older woman in the literature, the major image is that of the dependent old woman beset with problems. And certainly she does exist. There are also indications that the role of women may be changing, and there are legislative actions which will allow wider alternatives and more equitable opportunities in the future. Huyck predicts that as more and more women enter the labor force middle age is no longer signal the woman's retirement, and depression at the end of the mother role will end.

Independent career development will surely reduce the risks of aging for women. Two of the greatest problems for older women are financial security and a sense of self-worth. Women who earn their own pensions and save for old age will not be one man away from welfare; and financial independence contributes greatly to good feelings about the self. (Huyck, 1974:116-117)

Unfortunately, it will be many years before these changes affect the generation which is old.\(^4\) While undoubtedly some of today's

\(^4\)According to the 1970 census, there were 11,600,000 women over the age of 65 in the United States. It is reasonable to predict, on
older women have found viable methods of dealing with the combination of devalued age and sex categories, many most certainly have not.

The interrelationships between each of the areas reviewed in terms of socialization to the first-order position "female," how this defines and limits the second-order positions for which the woman is likely to strive, or feel she may appropriate occupy, and how this pattern, established over many years, further defines her as an "old female" seem quite evident. As Huyck points out, however, more and more women are moving into what have been less probable second-order positions. Not only is this likely to affect their situation in old age, it may also change the socialization patterns of the young female, decrease the limitations of the female role, and, ultimately, increase the value of the first-order position "female."

the basis of increasing life expectancies, that there will be an increasing proportion of women among the population over 65. According to Strieb's (1975) reviews of the 1970 census data, the ratio of women to men over the age of 65 is rising. In 1950, there were 112 women per 100 men over the age of 65. By 1960, the ratio was 121 women to 100 men. In 1970, there were 139 women per 100 men. Of these women, 37 percent were living alone. Ten percent were heads of households with other family members present. Sixteen percent lived with a relative other than their husbands; 33 percent of the women over 65 were living with their husbands. Only four percent of the women over 65 were institutionalized and thus removed from many of the problems of day-to-day living.

Palmore and Manton (1972) have attempted to measure inequality produced by ageism, racism, and sexism and compare the three "isms." They find ageism to produce the most inequality in terms of education, weeks worked, and income. In two-variable combinations, age-sex produces the most inequality (old and female) in terms of income. Finally, changes since 1950 show gains for blacks, women "barely maintaining their generally inferior status" (9), and the aged losing ground in the areas of income and education.
CHAPTER IV

METHODS

In essence, the research is a questionnaire survey involving ten groups of older adults in the Kalamazoo, Michigan, area. The respondents are all volunteers and self-selected. A number of questions had to be resolved in terms of the research methods: selection of a sample, the data-gathering procedures, and the data-collection instrument. Needless to say, when one is attempting research with older adults, such questions must be approached differently than if one draws a sample of students, for example. There is no list of senior citizens from which to select a random sample. There are no captive groups in which cooperation in completing questionnaires is practically assured. There are special concerns regarding format and length of the data-collection instrument. Each of these questions was addressed and resolved, and will be discussed in sections of this chapter. The end result was distribution of 412 questionnaires; 309 were returned, resulting in a return rate of 75 percent. Data were coded, put on a computer tape, and statistical analysis performed through the Computer Center of Western Michigan University.
The Sample

Selection of the Sample

Among the methodological decisions made for this research was that of the sample. Many problems exist in any attempt to draw a random sample and those are increased if the population under consideration is essentially unknown, as in the case of older adults. There is no readily available list of these individuals. If one wishes to research pre-adolescents, for example, it is possible to determine the age groups included, their grade level in school, and the number of classes of that grade within the survey area. From that information a random sample of classrooms can be drawn and data gathered from the individuals enrolled in those classes. It can be assumed that such classrooms comprise the population of individuals of that age who are of "normal" mental and physical condition, and that the sample will reflect that population. No such defined population of the elderly exists.

The ideal procedure for research with the aged is probability sampling. In this case the total geographic area to be included is divided into smaller areas. The number of persons over 65 in each area can be calculated from census information and the proportion which will comprise the sample decided upon. A systematic, door-to-door survey is then begun and continued in each area until the number of required respondents for that area has been obtained. Area probability sampling, as can be seen from this brief description, involves

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a complex procedure, is time-consuming and expensive. In this preliminary, exploratory study, area probability sampling was not feasible.

Another method of sampling is group sampling. As noted by Kinsey (1953), this approach has many positive aspects, among them: 1) when confidence and cooperation of the leaders is secured, individual members are likely to participate, and 2) when people see their friends and peers in a group setting agreeing to participate, they too are likely to become involved.

No such group psychology is available to persuade the lone rancher living on the Western plain . . . when they are chosen by the process of randomization as the ones who are to contribute . . . (Kinsey, 1953:28)

When the decision is made to use groups, however, the question of group selection arises. Problems also exist if one attempts to secure a random sample of groups, especially when, as in this case, the population of groups is both limited and unknown. Individuals may belong to more than one group, thus throwing off the randomness of individual chance of selection from the groups. Securing cooperation of specific groups selected at random can be as difficult as securing individual cooperation, and with a small initial known population of groups, replacement of those refusing becomes problematic.

Given these difficulties, it was decided to request cooperation from all identifiable groups of older adults and to use all that agreed to cooperate. Initially, a search was undertaken through the files of the local public library which list clubs, groups, etc.
Those which appeared to be primarily older persons were selected for contact. Letters (see appendix B) were sent to the contact person listed for the group; in the case of notices of activities at community centers, the center director was contacted. The letters briefly explained the nature of the research and requested permission to distribute questionnaires at a meeting of the group. Follow-up telephone calls were made to each contact person to answer further questions about the study and arrange a distribution time. Of the sixteen groups initially contacted, ten agreed to participate in the research. Of those not participating, several had ceased to exist or did not have any planned meetings. Only one refused to cooperate, on the basis of having full agendas for their meetings and the expectation that if one person were to use them in research they would be deluged with similar requests.

Nature of the Sample and the Population

Although the population of older adults is unknown, there are some characteristics which can be determined and some which can be inferred. From what can be known of the population, it is possible to comment on the sample in relation to the population. According to the 1970 census, there were then 15,590 persons over the age of 65 in Kalamazoo County, Michigan. Of these, 9,254 were female, and 6,336 male, or 59.36 female to 40.64 male. The sample includes 213 females and 69 males, or 75.53 percent female to 24.46 percent male. It is obvious that the sample contains a sex ratio which does
not reflect the population. Females are represented in a proportion greater than their proportion in the population of persons over 65, and it would be expected that with the age of the sample set at 60 and over, the ratio of males to females would be slightly higher than that in the population over 65.

By setting the lower age limit for the research at 60, the sample is somewhat younger than the population usually considered older adults, where the cut-off point is 65. It should also be pointed out that the sample would be expected to be in better health than the older population has a whole, since those individuals in it are healthy enough to be mobile and to be found in group settings.

The group settings used for data collection may account for other ways in which the sample differs from the population, as well as being a factor helping to explain the disproportionate numbers of women. Most research indicates that women are more likely to join and maintain membership in voluntary organizations, thus more would be expected in a sample drawn from groups. Men are most likely to join groups which are related to their occupations, or civic groups; these were not included since the focus was on age. Persons who join groups are also likely to be the more highly educated, and the sample does have a disproportionate number of well-educated persons. It must also be kept in mind that other characteristics which may be common to people who join and attend groups, whatever these may be, would be overrepresented in the individuals in this sample drawn from groups.
Summary

The sample is composed of persons over the age of 60 found in group settings. Group data collection was selected for this research because random sampling in a population of older adults is extremely difficult. Area probability sampling, which would be the ideal method, is too complex and expensive to be feasible in a study such as this.

The sample does not reflect the population as it is known in terms of sex ratio. Women are overrepresented. It is younger than the population of older adults, more highly educated, and in better health. It is also composed of people who join and participate in groups and does not reflect the characteristics of those who avoid, or are unable for whatever reasons to participate in, these settings.

All in all, the sampling procedure places considerable limitations on this research. Any generalization of the findings should be done with caution.

Instrumentation: The Questionnaire

The instrument needed for this research would assess attitudes toward females in American society which the respondents held currently, as well as attempting to ascertain those same attitudes in early socialization. Additionally, it was to identify the problems encountered by the elderly and who they turned to for help when it was necessary, as well as to collect demographic data.
The questionnaire (see appendix A) used in this research is composed of the sections noted above. The first part covers basic demographic data, including the current living situation and an occupational history which includes time out of the labor force and reasons for such breaks in the employment history. Information is also requested regarding the marital status and educational level of the respondent. Part two is an attitude scale, which the respondent was asked to complete as she or he believed her or his parents would have completed it when the respondent was a child. Next, the respondent was asked to check specific problems experienced since reaching 60 and to indicate to whom she or he had turned for help resolving the problems. Problem questions focused on basic day-to-day issues of transportation, housing, and financial matters. The final section repeated the attitude scale, asking that the respondent express her or his own current views. Use of the same attitude scale twice, once as a projective technique, allows the researcher to construct an index of remembered impressions of early socialization as well as the respondents' present personal beliefs.

The Attitude Scale

Numerous studies, through various techniques, have indicated substantial similarity of attitudes and values between generations (see chapter III). For example, Troll (1971) considered conventional moralism in three-generation families. She found the grandparent and the middle-aged parent to be closest, followed by the middle-
aged parent and the grandchild. The trend was away from conventional morality, but with the contiguous generations quite similar. Fengler and Wood (1973) also found more continuity than rebellion between college students, their parents, and grandmothers. Linn (1973) notes that early orientation to lifestyle or early memories are certainly colored by one's current emotional state. While acknowledging that we can in no way determine the reality of childhood experience, she suggests that there exists a "certain validity" in a person's perception of her or his own past.

In this research, the absolute reality of the remembered parental attitudes cannot possibly be tested. When intergenerational research begins with the high school or college student it is possible to acquire data from the parental and often the grandparental generations. However, when the youngest generation being considered is composed of persons over age 60, direct data rather than retrospective data is almost non-existent. Any use of retrospective data is, of course, subject to the ability of the respondent to remember. However, it does appear that while generations are similar, a liberalizing trend may be seen in the society and measured from generation to generation. Thus, there is both continuity and change, as well as that "certain validity" in the way individuals perceive their own past.

The attitude scale selected to tap remembered early socialization as well as present beliefs is a shortened form (Bell and Yinger, 1972) of Kirkpatrick's Feminism Scale, Form C, developed in the 1930's.
(Kirkpatrick, 1936a, 1936b). This particular scale was selected for use in this research because of the time of its original construction, the 1930's. At this time the Feminist Movement (Suffrage) had peaked and declined, but many of the issues raised were still important. These would have been current issues during the middle years of the parents of most of the respondents in this study, and issues which many of the respondents might have been aware of in their teens and early adulthood. The shortened form, constructed during the peak of the second Feminist Movement, is seen as identifying issues which are still points of controversy and disagreement in American society, thus applicable for use in the 1970's. It was felt that use of a scale developed in the 1970's would be less useful than one containing items known to have been concerns over a period of years, that, in fact, it might tap attitudes about issues not relevant to respondents of age 60 and over.

Kirkpatrick (1936b) notes that in developing the Feminism Scale, he reviewed all formal resolutions of women's rights groups from 1900 on. From these resolutions he developed what he termed an outline of feminist concerns which became the base for questions in the scale. These issues were subdivided into: Economic Issues, concerned with competition with men, equal pay, choice of work, clash with home duties, etc.; Domestic Issues included authority over children, retention of maiden name, obligations and duties of a wife, submission to the husband, etc.; Political-Legal Issues revolved around property, public office, marriage laws, wills,
contracts, etc.; and Conduct and Social Status Issues focused on the double standard, dress, etiquette, morals, etc.

The original Kirkpatrick scale was in three forms, A, B, and C, with 80 items in each form. Kirkpatrick saw the scale as tapping beliefs about the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women, especially married women. The scale does not focus on traditional masculinity/femininity, as do many instruments used in more social-psychological research in gender roles. The focus is on issues and specific behavioral situations which arise in the family and in the total society. It does not assess personality characteristics, although some inference of those characteristics might be made from how individuals view the outcomes in answering the Kirkpatrick questions.

The Kirkpatrick (1936a) scale is described as follows by Shaw and Wright (1967:279):

Reliability. The equivalent-forms reliability for this scale is reported as being .85.

Validity. The scale has content validity for a domain of female dominance and female equality in social, political, and business affairs. A further demonstration of validity was made by using known groups (National Women's Party Members and Lutheran pastors).

Comments. . . . usable as it stands. It is possible that a Likert response continuum . . . would serve as well as the response mode suggested by the author. In this case, the scale might be shortened and improved by application of a Likert-type item analysis.

In developing the scale, Kirkpatrick had 13 judges identify items as feminist or non-feminist. The Kirkpatrick scale was then constructed upon a sample of 545 students, feminists, and ministers, and has been

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used occasionally over the years by researchers, including Kirkpatrick (1939) himself, and Neiman (1954), who used form A, revised to 23 pairs of questions regarding permissive behavior and attitudes. Respondents ranged in age from 11 to 24, and were asked to answer in terms of self, same-sex parent, opposite-sex parent, and peers. Respondents were found closer in attitudes to perceived peer attitudes than to perceived parental attitudes. Roper and Labeff (1976) compared student responses given in 1974 to student responses gathered by Kirkpatrick in 1933-34. The general trend was toward more liberal attitudes. In both samples, greatest equality was found in economic and political-legal areas, less in domestic and conduct issues. Doyle (1976) also compared current student scores with Kirkpatrick's sample. Mean scores for both males and females indicated a profeminist shift among students, although, like the Kirkpatrick findings, females had a significantly higher profeminist mean than did males.

The shortened, Likert-type form of the Feminism Scale used in this research was developed by Bell and Yinger (1972). The complete 80-item form C, adjusted to Likert-response categories, was administered to about 200 Western Michigan University students in Women's Studies (Status of Women) and Sociology (Introduction to Marriage and the Family) courses, as well as to about 40 members of Kalamazoo Women's Liberation. The Women's Liberation group, as expected, had a much higher mean score than did the Marriage and Family students, with the Status of Women students falling somewhere between. The 80

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items were analyzed in terms of the mean for each item. The upper and lower quartiles were identified and the 25 most discriminating items selected for use in a shortened form.

In this study of older adults, the standardized item alpha coefficient of reliability for the shortened form was .6. The same reliability coefficient was obtained for both remembered parental attitudes and the respondents' own current attitudes.

In summary, the attitude scale selected for use in this research has had various applications over the past 40 years. The time of its origin, the 1930's, makes it particularly useful with older respondents, as it can be assumed that the substantive issues contained in the questions are not of recent origin. In Kirpatrick's original form, there were 80 questions, far too many for use with a group of older respondents. The shorter form developed by Bell and Yinger (1972), containing 25 questions and using a Likert-response continuum, was used in this study because: 1) it contains the same substantive material as Kirpatrick's 1936 scale, while 2) the shorter version used in 1972 indicates the items are still meaningful; 3) a 25-item scale is a less demanding task for an older person than an 80-item scale (repeated).

The scale is scored in the typical Likert fashion, in that respondents indicate answers ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The most feminist answers were scored "five"; the least feminist, "one." The "Feminism Scale Score" is the mean of the answers to all 25 questions given by the sample, or subsample,
under discussion. Thus a "Feminism Scale Score" will be referred to for "all women respondents," "all single women respondents," etc. The scores were computed for both the remembered parental attitudes as well as the respondent's own current attitudes. Means and standard deviations have also been computed on each question for all females and all males.

Measures of Problems Experienced

In addition to the two attitude scales, the questionnaire also contained questions which related to possible problems elderly people may have encountered. The basic problems selected for inclusion were those of transportation, housing, and finance. These are the most frequently mentioned types of problems which older people seem to have, with the exception of health-related difficulties. In selecting problems, consideration was also given to a need for the problems to be resolvable, which some health problems are not, through the individual's own efforts or knowledge of available resources. Finally, these problems were seen as being to a great extent non-threatening or embarrassing. It was felt that respondents would be willing to acknowledge experiencing such problems. In general, then, transportation, housing, and finance were selected as problems to be included in the questionnaire because of reported frequency of occurrence, resolvability, and non-threatening nature (see detailed list below).
Basic Problem Areas and Issues

Transportation Problems
- Knowledge of car maintenance needed
- Finding person to do maintenance
- Cost of maintenance
- Transportation itself; respondent does not drive

Housing Problems
- Finding housing
- Knowledge of home maintenance
- Finding person to do maintenance
- Cost of maintenance

Financial Matters
- Checking account
- Savings account
- Stocks and/or bonds
- Taxes
- Loans
- Insurance
- Wills

The transportation section covers the problems of knowing maintenance needs of one's car, finding someone to do the work, and the cost of car upkeep, as well as transportation itself being a problem if the individual does not drive. Additional questions ask for the year in which the respondent learned to drive, or reasons for not driving, if that is the case.

Housing problem questions are similar and request information about the basic question of finding housing, knowing what work should be done to maintain the home, finding someone to do the work, and the cost of home maintenance. The financial section covers possible problems with a checking account, savings account, stocks and/or bonds, taxes, loans, insurance, and wills.

A total Problem Score was developed for each individual, based
on the mean number of problems reported out of the 15 problem issues (four each for transportation and housing, seven financial issues). Separate scores for each problem area were computed in the same manner. An additional Problem Score2 was developed using the mean number of sources of assistance consulted, up to three, for each problem issue in each area. Thus, for transportation problems, up to twelve sources of help could be counted and the mean computed by dividing the actual number by the twelve possible.

Sources of help were further identified by social distance, in which self, family, friends, professionals, and social agencies were scored one through five, respectively, and the mean computed. This mean is referred to as Problem-Solving Distance. The Proportion of Male Problem Solvers is the ratio of male to female and sex-unknown sources of assistance reported by the respondent.

Additional problem questions relate to the decision-making process in the three problem areas within marriage, and which partner makes the decisions. Respondents were also asked, in general, to whom they would turn with a problem.

Summary

The problem section focuses on common, resolvable problems in the areas of housing, transportation, and finance. Information gathered covers numbers of problems, numbers and types of resources used in problem resolution, decision making in marriage, and general direction of help requested in problem solving.
Pre-tests

Prior to use in this research, the questionnaire was pre-tested in its present form on a group of Associate Members of a Child Study Club in a nearby city. Associate Members are those who were active when their children were young, and who now meet occasionally since their children are grown. Twenty-one individuals were contacted by telephone and then mailed questionnaires. A 100-percent response rate was obtained and in all cases the respondent completed the attitude scale both in terms of self and remembered parental attitudes. The women participating in the pre-test were all white, and ranged in age from 44 to 79, with the median age being 56. All had employment histories, mostly in the teaching profession. No concerns or problems were expressed over being asked to complete the attitude scale in terms of remembered parental attitudes. The expected liberalizing trend was seen, with the respondents' own mean response on the scale being 3.7, while the remembered parental mean was 2.8.

A second pre-test was undertaken involving two senior citizens' groups in a YWCA in another nearby city. Nine individuals in the first group and eleven in the second agreed to complete the questionnaire. Respondents in this pre-test were again all white females (two males in attendance did not participate), with a mean age of 74.7. In this instance the scale was revised to elicit answers from the respondents as they recalled their own attitudes at four stages of life: when still in school (16-17); first married and/or beginning a career (20-25); children in school and/or self settled in a job
The revised form of the attitude scale did not work. Respondents found it difficult and often impossible to recall previous time periods in their own lives and the attitudes they had held. The data which they provided on this form of the questionnaire were inadequate.

Following the second pre-test, it was decided to return to the original format in which the attitude scale was included twice, requesting remembered parental attitudes first and the respondent's own current attitudes the second time.

Summary

In conclusion, the data-collection instrument used in this research is a four-part questionnaire. Parts are distinguished as follows: 1) demographic data; 2) Feminist Scale, remembered parental attitudes; 3) problems encountered and sources of help in solving them; and 4) Feminist Scale, respondents' own current attitudes. The Feminist Scale is a revised, shortened, Likert-type scale developed by Bell and Yinger (1972) from the original Feminist Scale constructed by Kirkpatrick (1936). The instrument was pre-tested twice prior to establishing the final format.

The problem of retrospective data is recognized as a limitation in the research. However, there appears to be no other way, short of a longitudinal study, to gather information about early socialization of older adults. While undoubtedly no one of 60 to 90 years of age can say much about what their parents believed in terms of absolute

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fact, it is expected that through use of a 25-item scale, a general sense of the early socialization can be tapped. As Linn (1973) pointed out, there is that "certain validity" in one's perception of the past.

Data Gathering

Data Collection

Questionnaires were taken to the ten cooperating groups at their convenience. All individuals present in the group at the time the researcher attended were asked to participate. Some individuals, of course, refused the questionnaire. It should be noted, however, that in some instances the group activities made it impossible to count accurately those in attendance; thus a ratio of attenders to questionnaire accepters is impossible. It was evident, however, that greater cooperation was obtained in the more formal groups, e.g., congregate meal sites, a senior citizens' dance, etc. The cooperation and support of the leadership was also more evident in the more formal groups, also, no doubt, encouraging greater participation of individual members.

Following a brief introduction of the study and instructions for completing the returning the questionnaire, materials were distributed to those willing to participate. Participants were instructed to sign the consent form (see appendix A) and hand it back to the researcher. Questionnaires were to be taken home and completed at
the individuals' convenience. Stamped, self-addressed envelopes were provided for the return of the questionnaire. Respondents were also given addressed postcards which they were asked to sign and return when they returned the questionnaire. By comparing postcards and consent forms, it was hoped that response rates from various groups could be determined. However, many more questionnaires than postcards were returned and some postcards were returned unsigned. Consequently, return rates by participating groups could not be determined. Of the 412 questionnaires distributed, 309 were returned, resulting in a 75-percent response rate.

Follow-Up

Letters of appreciation were sent to each group two weeks after the data-collection period was over, and those who still had not returned the questionnaires were encouraged to do so. Appreciation was expressed for the cooperation of those who had responded and for the involvement of the group itself.

Handling of the Data

As previously indicated, the data were collected via questionnaires distributed in group settings and returned by mail. Returned questionnaires were given identification numbers as received, and returned signed postcards were attached to the previously collected consent forms. All questionnaires were coded for computer analysis.
by the researcher and two assistants. When all questionnaires had been coded, ten percent were spot-checked for accuracy and necessary corrections made.

The only item which required collapsing for coding was that of occupation. Actual occupations of the respondents were reviewed and an attempt was made to categorize them according to the Bureau of Census divisions. This method was found wanting in terms of the actual data in that it did not allow for comparison of jobs of both males and females in the type of status ranking desired. For example, within "sales," it is often pointed out that males tend to sell property, automobiles, large appliances, etc., while females are more likely to be involved in retail sales of small items. Consequently, the category hides the occupational status difference between men and women in the general category "sales." For the purposes of this research, seven levels of occupational status were identified on the basis of the data. They are as follows:

First (highest) status ~ top-level executive, medical specialist, etc.

Second status ~ M.D., professor, engineer, etc.

Third status ~ junior executive, junior college instructor, high school teacher, minister, social worker, etc.

Fourth status ~ bank clerk, grade school teacher, factory foreman, office secretary, nurse, etc.

Fifth status ~ mechanic, skilled factory worker, general office worker, retail salesperson, etc.

Sixth status ~ semi-skilled factory worker, waitress, gas station attendant, etc.

Seventh status ~ dishwasher, domestic, janitor, etc.
With the data computerized, variables identified, and composite variables (scales) created where needed, it is possible to turn to the testing of the hypotheses.

Hypothesis Testing and Item Selection

Each of the nine hypotheses, and their subhypotheses, will be tested through use of an assortment of combinations of items from the questionnaire. A listing of the hypotheses, subhypotheses, and the items used for testing follows. Items used in testing more than one hypothesis will be so indicated.

Hypothesis I: Females' present attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location on Questionnaire</th>
<th>Paraphrased Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1, question 1</td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2, questions 1-25 (mean)</td>
<td>Remembered parental attitudes (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean)</td>
<td>Own current attitudes (FS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis I(a): Greater differences will exist between present attitudes and remembered parental attitudes of those never married.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location on Questionnaire</th>
<th>Paraphrased Content</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 1, question 1</td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1, question 5</td>
<td>Marital status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2, questions 1-25 (mean)</td>
<td>Remembered parental attitudes (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean)</td>
<td>Own current attitudes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Feminism Scale
Hypothesis I(b): Greater differences will exist where female respondents have a history of employment.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 12 Occupation, if ever worked
Section 2, questions 1-25 (mean) Remembered parental attitudes (FS)
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis I(c): Female respondents who have never married and have been employed outside the home will differ significantly in remembered parental attitudes from those who have married and have never been employed outside the home.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 5 Marital status
Section 1, question 12 Occupation, if ever worked
Section 2, questions 1-25 (mean) Remembered parental attitudes (FS)
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis II: Females expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will report significantly more problems in old age than will those with less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and problems reported.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 3, questions 1-4 Transportation problems
Section 3, questions 7-10 Housing problems
Section 3, questions 11-17 Financial problems
(problem-score variable created from these)
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

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Hypothesis II(a): Never-married females will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will married females.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 5 Marital status
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis II(b): Females with employment histories will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those never employed outside the home.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 12 Occupation, if ever worked
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing financial problems
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis II(c): Females with college-level educations will express less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those with educational levels of high school or less.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 6 Educational level
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis II(d): Females with traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will have significantly more problem solving done for them by male family members than will those expressing less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and proportion of male problem solvers.
Hypothesis III: Women's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with the degree to which they were/are involved in decision making in their marriages.

Hypothesis III(a): Females with high involvement in decision making in marriage will differ significantly from those with low decision-making involvement in reported problems after the marriage has ended.

Hypothesis IV: Excluding recourse to social agencies, no association will exist between the traditional nature of attitudes toward the rights, prerogatives, and adequacy of women and the sources of problem-solving assistance: family, friend, or professional.
Hypothesis IV(a): Significantly greater use of social agencies for problem solving will be made by women expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women than by those expressing less traditional attitudes.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Source of assistance
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis V: No significant difference exists between type of living arrangement and number of problems reported.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 8 Living arrangement
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems

Hypothesis VI: Number of problems reported by women who are widows will be negatively associated with length of widowhood.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 5 Marital status, year
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems

Hypothesis VII: Number of problems reported by women new to the community will be negatively associated with length of residence.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 9 Years in area
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems

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Hypothesis VIII: No significant relationship exists between levels of organizational affiliation and either traditional attitudes or reported problems.

- Section 1, question 1
- Section 1, questions 16-19
- Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 (problem score)
- Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Organizational activity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, housing, financial problems</td>
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</table>

Hypothesis VIII(a): Fewer problems will be reported by women with high levels of organizational participation (as contrasted with mere affiliation), resulting in a negative association.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Organization activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, housing, financial problems</td>
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Hypothesis VIII(b): Females with high levels of organizational participation will be significantly less traditional in attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women, resulting in a positive association between feminism and participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Organization activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own current attitudes (FS)</td>
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</table>

Hypothesis IX: Males' present views will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Remembered parental attitudes (FS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own current attitudes</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

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Hypothesis IX(a): No significant difference exists between the attitudes expressed and the marital status of the male.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 5 Marital status
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis IX(b): No significant relationship exists between the male's attitudes toward the role of women and his reported problems.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems
(problem score)
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis IX(c): A significant relationship exists between the degree to which decision making within marriage is/was shared with the wife and the male's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 3, questions 19-24 Decision making in marriage
Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean) Own current attitudes (FS)

Hypothesis IX(d): No significant relationship exists between the degree of decision making in marriage for the male and reported problems after the dissolution of the marriage.

Section 1, question 1 Sex
Section 1, question 5 Marital status
Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17 Transportation, housing, financial problems
(problem score)
Section 3, questions 19-24 Decision making in marriage

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Hypothesis IX(e): A significantly greater proportion of problem-solving assistance for males will come from males than will problem-solving assistance for females.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section 1, question 1</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Section 3, questions 1-4, 7-17</td>
<td>Assistance in solving (male-assistance score) problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1, question 1</td>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1, question 3</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 4, questions 1-25 (mean)</td>
<td>Own current attitudes (FS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional analysis will be made related to age cohorts, although no specific hypothesis has been stated. Attitudes toward women expressed by respondents over age 75 will be compared to those expressed by respondents 65 and under.

Analysis of the Data

Analysis of the data was carried out through the Computer Center of Western Michigan University. Questions specific to each hypothesis were analyzed as follows:

Hypothesis I: Females' present attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women.

In testing all questions specific to Hypothesis I, the Pearson Product Moment correlation will be used, since the data are interval and a linear relationship is predicted. Tests for significance of difference between the means, the $t$ test, will also be used, as the
respondent generation is predicted to be more feminist than they remember their parents to have been. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level of significance.

**Hypothesis II:** Females expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will report significantly more problems in old age than will those with less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and problems reported.

The Pearson Product Moment correlation, r, will be used in testing questions related to Hypothesis II, since the data are interval and a linear relationship is predicted. Data will also be organized in a two-by-two table, high and low, and the difference tested with \( \chi^2 \) for Hypothesis II only. Differences between the means on the Feminism Scale and Problem Scores will be analyzed through the use of the t test for significance. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level.

**Hypothesis III:** Women's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with the degree to which they were/are involved in decision making in their marriages.

Data specific to Hypothesis III will be organized in an ordinal manner, ranking traditionalness of attitudes, involvement in decision making, and reported problems. The hypothesis will be tested using gamma and the z test for significance. These statistics will be used because the data are ordinal by ordinal, there is no restric-
tion on the number of responses per cell, and gamma allows for curvilinear patterns. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level.

**Hypothesis IV:** Excluding recourse to social agencies, no association will exist between the traditional nature of attitudes toward the rights, prerogatives, and adequacy of women and the sources of problem-solving assistance: family, friend, or professional.

Hypothesis IV will be tested through the use of the Pearson Product Moment correlation, \( r \), because the data are organized in an interval manner (each respondent has been given a Problem-Solving Distance Score based on the mean for sources used), and a linear relationship, if any, would be expected. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level of significance.

**Hypothesis V:** No significant difference exists between type of living arrangement and problems reported.

The test of Hypothesis V will be accomplished through the use of theta with a \( z \) test for significance. In this instance the data are nominal by ordinal. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level.

**Hypothesis VI:** Number of problems reported by women who are widows will be negatively associated with length of widowhood.

The gamma statistic will be computed to test Hypothesis VI, as it is appropriate for ordinal-by-ordinal data and it is not restricted by the frequency of responses per cell. Rejection of the null hypothesis is at the .05 level.
Hypothesis VII: Number of problems reported by women new to the community will be negatively associated with length of residence.

Hypothesis VII will be tested through the use of gamma, as in Hypothesis VI, with rejection of the null hypothesis at the .05 level.

Hypothesis VIII: No significant relationship exists between levels of organizational affiliation and either traditional attitudes or reported problems.

Gamma will be used in testing this hypothesis with data arranged in an ordinal-by-ordinal manner. There are no restrictions on number of frequencies per cell with gamma, and although a linear relationship would be expected, the asymmetrical nature of the table makes the use of gamma preferable to tau beta. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level.

Hypothesis IX: Males' present views will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women.

The Pearson Product Moment correlation will be used in testing Hypothesis IX. The data are interval and linear relationships predicted. The null hypothesis will be rejected at the .05 level.

Subhypotheses (a) and (b), which deal with marital status, attitudes, and problems encountered by the male, will be tested through use of the t test of difference between the means, with the null hypothesis rejected at .05.

Subhypotheses (c) and (d), both of which focus on decision
making in marriage and on association with attitudes and reported problems, respectively, will be tested through the use of gamma and the z test for significance, with the null hypothesis rejected at the .05 level. Gamma has been chosen for use with these hypotheses because the data are ordinal, there is no restriction on number of responses per cell, and the possibility of curvilinear patterns is considered.

Subhypothesis (e), dealing with the proportion of problem-solving assistance from males, will be tested through the use of a t test of the difference between the means, with rejection of the null hypothesis at the .05 level.
CHAPTER V

DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

Before reviewing the findings as related to each hypothesis, a description of the respondents, their attitudes, and problems is in order. There were 282 useable questionnaires returned. Twenty-seven were unuseable, either having been returned completely blank or missing demographic data (age and sex) which made it impossible to categorize the remaining data in a meaningful way for this study.

Two hundred and thirteen, or 75.5 percent, of the respondents are female. The remaining sixty-nine, 24.5 percent, male (see table 1).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age and Sex of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One female respondent did not respond to the question of age.

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As can be seen in table 1, a greater proportion of the females than males are under age 65, though from that age on the proportions are similar, except for males between 70 and 75. Nine individuals actually under age 60 were included in the data collection and have been left in the analysis. This decision was made in light of the fact that they were participating in groups designed for the retired or senior citizens. The mean age of the sample is 70.6 years, with the median also being 70, while the modal age is 72. Actual ages range from 56 through 89.

Although slightly more than half of the respondents were married at the time of the survey (see table 2) a larger proportion of the men were currently married, while more of the women had either never married or were currently widowed or divorced. None of the respondents reported being separated.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status of Respondents by Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ninety percent of the respondents are of the Protestant religion; seven percent are Catholic. Two percent specifically indicated no religious preference. Less than one percent indicated a religion other than Catholic or Protestant. The "other Protestant" denominations mentioned included Church of God, Disciples of Christ, the Salvation Army, etc. (see table 3, page 164).

Overall, the respondents are a highly educated group, with only 20 percent having less than a high school education (see table 4, page 165). Education for women was bimodal, "some college" and "master's degree," and for the men the mode was "master's degree." An additional 1.4 percent of each sex indicated some other form of education, such as vocational training.

Most of the respondents have lived in the Kalamazoo area for quite some time, the mean number of years being 46.6. In 61.7 percent of the cases, respondents live in a home which they or their spouse owns, or it is jointly owned. An additional 16.6 percent live in houses that they rent (see table 5, page 166). Far more of the women are apartment dwellers than are the men. "Senior citizens' housing" includes both apartment complexes for older people and retirement villages. Most of the men are living with their spouses, as would be expected by the greater proportion of men who are married. About half the women live alone (see table 6, page 167). Two respondents reported living with their spouse and friends of both sexes. One male respondent indicated he lives with a lover. Other shared living arrangements included five individuals, two males and three
Table 3

Religious Preference of Respondents by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Preference</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant (unspecified)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.4%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Protestant</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>269*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Twelve females and one male did not respond to the question of religious preference.
Table 4

Educational Level of Respondents by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - 11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Graduate School</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 5
Living Arrangements of Respondents by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In own house</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.5%</td>
<td>89.9%</td>
<td>78.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior citizens' housing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others' home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>212*</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One female did not respond.

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### Table 6

**Persons Respondents Live With by Sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living With</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36.5%</td>
<td>72.5%</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>211*</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Two cases of missing data.*
females, who live with a spouse and one of their children. There
were other assorted combinations of relatives, including nieces,
nephews, cousin, mother-in-law, with whom the respondents live. One
female lives with a roomer.

All of the males had occupational histories, with mean number
of working years being 37.4 (standard deviation of 9.41). Only six
(less than three percent) of the females had never worked outside
the home, but the mean number of working years for females was 26.7
(standard deviation of 14.0). In general, the women worked fewer
years than the men. One hundred and thirty-five of the women indi­
cated at least one time period when they had been out of the labor
force, while 21 had two breaks in their employment history (see
table 7, page 169). Of the first breaks noted by women, 122 were
related to marriage and children; other reasons included health, the
Depression, not liking the job, and one case of military duty.
Twenty-one, or 30 percent, of the men also reported breaks in their
civilian employment history. Most of these breaks were due to mili­
tary duty or the Depression. Other reasons given by women for
being out of the work force included moving (2) and not liking the
job (1). Neither of these reasons were cited by any male respondents.

It should be noted that the decision to include military duty in
breaks in employment does in no way suggest that those in the military,
especially during times of war, are not working. The position taken
in this study is, however, that military duty is not the usual employ­
ment and in many cases certainly not the chosen employment. None of


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>First Break</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Break</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/child rearing</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81.5%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>57.1%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse's wish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Depression</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military duty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the respondents indicated a military career in which this would have been the usual employment.

Ninety-eight percent of the respondents were white.

In summary, the sample could be described as predominately well educated, white, middle-class Protestants with an average age of 70. Just over half of the total sample is currently married. Among the women there is an almost even distribution between currently married and widowed. Most of the respondents live in their own homes. Almost half the women live alone. Practically all have employment histories, although many of the women took time out from work to attend to the duties of wives and mothers. Males were out of the work force primarily due to the Depression, and out of their civilian jobs due to military service. The respondents are residents of a medium-sized metropolitan area. They appear to be residentially stable, many having spent their entire lives in the area.

Respondents' Attitudes Toward Women:
The Feminism Scale

Both the older men and women in the study perceive themselves to be slightly more feminist\(^1\) than their parents. However, there is

\(^1\)Although the terms "more" and "less feminist" will be used throughout the discussion of findings, it should be mentioned that, overall, the respondents are certainly not very feminist. Means of 3.50 and 3.40 on a 5-point scale are only slightly beyond the midpoint which puts the respondents into a profeminist category.
no significant difference between them in terms of their own current attitudes (see table 8).

Table 8
Feminist Scale Means for Respondents by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t = 1.34 \quad df = 257 \quad p < .05$

When the specific questions contained in the Feminism Scale are considered separately, some differences of note appear. There are five questions for which the males have given more feminist answers than the females: 1) single standard in sex matters, 2) women's right to wear shorts, 3) childishness of asserting oneself by retaining the maiden name, 4) women taking the initiative in courtship, and 5) women sharing the cost of common recreation (see table 9, page 172 ff.). The female respondents see themselves as significantly more feminist than their parents on all of the questions, while there is no significant difference between the males and their parents on five of the questions: 1) single standard on sex matters, 2) a deceased son's property assigned to his father, 3) women more underhanded, 4) closing of occupations to women because of emotional instability, and 5) married women willing property to someone other than the husband.
Table 9
Mean, Standard Deviation, and Significance of Response to Feminism Scale Items
Remembered Parental and Self, by Sex of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraphrased Question</th>
<th>Remembered Parental</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>$\sigma$</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Father as final source of authority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Single standard in sex matters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Women's right to wear shorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Childishness of asserting oneself by retaining maiden name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>2.53</td>
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<td>Males</td>
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<td>1.21</td>
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### Table 9 - Continued

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<th>Significance</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
<td>$\sigma$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Women take more responsibility for solving problems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Women's right to maiden name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Physical handicaps bar women from some jobs</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.76</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>2.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Premarital sex as grounds for divorce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>3.38</td>
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<td>Remembered Parental</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Significance</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>$\sigma$</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Men share in household tasks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.02</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
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<td>10. Woman needs male protection and guidance</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Deceased son's property assigned to his father</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.60</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>4.02</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3.67</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>3.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Wifely submission an outworn virtue</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>3.65</td>
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<td>Remembered Parental</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{x}$   $\sigma$</td>
<td>$\bar{x}$ $\sigma$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Equal pay for women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.35 1.08</td>
<td>4.03 .91</td>
<td>6.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.03 1.05</td>
<td>3.75 .81</td>
<td>4.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Equal working hours</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.52 .94</td>
<td>3.88 .77</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.15 1.08</td>
<td>3.60 .78</td>
<td>2.59</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Women more underhanded</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.28 1.05</td>
<td>3.55 1.01</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.33 .93</td>
<td>3.43 .91</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Men better for business and bridge building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.40 1.08</td>
<td>3.08 1.12</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.37 .91</td>
<td>2.91 1.07</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Occupations closed to women for emotional instability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.87 1.07</td>
<td>3.32 1.13</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.85 1.03</td>
<td>3.07 1.02</td>
<td>1.19</td>
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### Table 9 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Woman should &quot;love, honor, and obey&quot;</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. &quot;Obey&quot; not to remain in marriage service</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Married woman letting personal feeling interfere with &quot;conjugal duty&quot;</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Women give up false ideal of intellectual equality</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.86</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraphrased Question</th>
<th>Remembered Parental</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
<td>$\sigma$</td>
<td>$\bar{X}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22. Initiative in courtship from the male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>23. Women share cost of common recreation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>24. Married women willing property away from husband</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>25. Family allowances for child rearing paid to father</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both females and males score the highest in feminism on the question regarding men sharing with household tasks (#9). Second most feminist-oriented question concerns women taking increasing responsibility for solving the problems of the day (#5). Women have an equally high score on the question regarding equal pay (#13). A difference exists in terms of the third most feminist answer: females are third on the question regarding disposition of a deceased son's property (#11); males are third in supporting a single standard in sex matters (#2). Agreement exists again the the fourth most feminist response to the question of women giving up their false ideal of intellectual equality (#21). Disagreement comes in again on the fifth most feminist response. Women come in fifth on the question of equal working hours in industry (#14). Men give their fifth most feminist response to the question of women wearing shorts in public (#3).

An interesting difference is suggested here in that women rank highest on questions which are legalistic and somewhat impersonal. Two of the five highest ranked answers from males are questions regarding sexual behavior and public conduct of women. These are much more personal questions than any which the women rank among the five highest in feminist scores.

At the other end of the continuum, women are least feminist on the question regarding who takes the initiative in courtship (#22). Men rank the question among their five lowest also. The childishness of a woman asserting herself by retaining her maiden name (#4)
is ranked 24th by women and 23rd by men. Next least feminist, 23rd, is given by women to the question of women needing male protection and guidance (#10). Men rank this question 25th, giving it their least feminist answers. The question of men being better fitted to run businesses or build bridges (#16) is ranked 22nd by women. It does not place among the five least feminist questions for men. Women give 21st place to the question of a woman's right to retain her maiden name (#6); men rank this 24th. Twenty-first place for males' answers is the question of physical handicaps of women barring them from some occupations (#7) (see table 10).

Table 10
The Five Most and the Five Least Feminist Responses by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminism Ranking</th>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Feminist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5, 13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least Feminist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Low-feminist answers tend to occur with questions relating to the interaction of men and women in such areas as the woman's maiden name, initiative in courtship, and a woman's need for male protection and guidance. The two questions which are not of this nature that are found among the low-feminist answers are both related to women in the occupational world. Interestingly, these are the only low-feminist answers which are found among the five lowest of men or women, not both. Women see men better fitted for certain occupations, while men believe women should be barred, because of physical handicaps, from some occupations (#16 and #7, respectively). It is also of note that #16 is 22nd for women, and #7 is 21st for men; thus the order in which they occur is reversed by sex, but they are quite close.

Summary

The attitudes expressed by men and women in completing the Feminist Scale are significantly more feminist than the remembered parental attitudes. The overall mean is not significantly higher for women than for men.

In terms of specific questions, the women are significantly more feminist than their parents on all questions. The men are not significantly different on five of the 25 questions. There are also five questions on which the males have higher feminist responses than do the females. Four of these questions deal with issues involving the interaction of men and women on a personal level; the
remaining question focuses on the public conduct of women.

A great deal of similarity exists between males and females in terms of the questions which elicit the most and the least feminist answers.

Problems and Sources of Assistance

Different problems are reported with different frequency by males and females. Differences also exist in terms of the people to whom each sex turns for assistance in solving their problems. In this section, the occurrence of problems and sources of assistance in the areas of transportation, housing, and financial matters will be reviewed. It should be kept in mind that the problems are self-reported and, consequently, subject to each individual's definition of the situation. No objective criteria have been employed to judge what is, or is not, a problem for the respondents.

Transportation

Women report more problems with transportation than do men (see table 11, page 182). In only one instance, that of cost of car maintenance, do the males report more problems than the females.

When problems with transportation are experienced, different routes are taken to resolve them (see table 12, page 183). Males more frequently report solving their problems themselves. Women are more likely than men to have turned to family members for assistance, except in the area of transportation itself, when family members are
Table 11
Transportation Problems per Person by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowing car maintenance</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person to do maintenance</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of maintenance</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation/does not drive</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total transportation problems</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>2.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12
Sources of Help with Transportation Problems by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Source of Help</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solved it</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>myself</td>
<td>member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing car maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37 (15.9%)</td>
<td>100 (43.1%)</td>
<td>23 (10%)</td>
<td>69 (29.7%)</td>
<td>3 (1.3%)</td>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28 (45.2%)</td>
<td>10 (16.1%)</td>
<td>11 (17.7%)</td>
<td>13 (21%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person to do maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>122 (45.3%)</td>
<td>73 (27.1%)</td>
<td>25 (9.3%)</td>
<td>48 (17.8%)</td>
<td>1 (*)</td>
<td>269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38 (52.1%)</td>
<td>15 (20.1%)</td>
<td>7 (9.6%)</td>
<td>13 (18.1%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of car maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>113 (72.4%)</td>
<td>34 (21.8%)</td>
<td>3 (1.9%)</td>
<td>6 (3.8%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45 (80.4%)</td>
<td>6 (10.7%)</td>
<td>2 (3.6%)</td>
<td>3 (5.4%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation itself</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14 (26.9%)</td>
<td>21 (40.4%)</td>
<td>14 (26.9%)</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>2 (3.8%)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total transportation problems</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>286 (40.3%)</td>
<td>228 (32.2%)</td>
<td>65 (9.2%)</td>
<td>124 (17.5%)</td>
<td>6 (*)</td>
<td>709</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>116 (57.7%)</td>
<td>35 (17.4%)</td>
<td>21 (10.4%)</td>
<td>29 (14.4%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent.
called on equally by females and males. Friends are turned to more by men than women when the problem concerns knowledge of needed car maintenance, but more women call on friends for help with basic transportation. Professional people are utilized almost equally by females and males, with females only slightly likely to use the services of a professional for knowledge about car maintenance. Only females, and less than one percent, report asking assistance from social agencies with their transportation problems.

Housing

When attention is turned to housing problems reported by the respondents, men indicate more problems than women do (see table 13, page 185). Only in terms of problems in finding someone to do maintenance work on the house do males and females report essentially the same frequency of problems.

Reported sources of help sought for housing problems are quite similar to those reported for transportation problems (see table 14, page 186). Again the males more frequently report solving their problems themselves, with the exception of cost-related difficulties. Women, again, are more likely to call on family members for assistance. Professionals are utilized more by the males. Friends are sources of help more for females than for males with the exception of problems concerning knowledge of upkeep needed on the house. Again, less than one percent of either females' or males' problem solving is done by social agencies.
Table 13

Housing Problems per Person by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finding housing</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing house upkeep</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person to do maintenance</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of maintenance</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total housing problems</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 14

**Sources of Help with Housing Problems by Sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Source of Help</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solved it myself</td>
<td>Family member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>75 (63.6%)</td>
<td>35 (29.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30 (73.2%)</td>
<td>9 (21.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing house upkeep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>86 (50.9%)</td>
<td>56 (33.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40 (61.5%)</td>
<td>14 (21.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person to do maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>88 (47.3%)</td>
<td>57 (30.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 (58.3%)</td>
<td>8 (13.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of house maintenance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>108 (73%)</td>
<td>37 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37 (72.5%)</td>
<td>10 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total housing problems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>357 (57.5%)</td>
<td>185 (29.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>142 (65.4%)</td>
<td>41 (18.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent.
Financial Problems

In every area of financial problem covered in this study, males report proportionately more problems than do females (see table 15).

Table 15

Financial Problems per Person by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Checking account</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings account</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks/bonds</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wills</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total financial problems</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.42</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This finding was totally unexpected, as it had been presumed males had more experience throughout life dealing with financial matters than had females, and that consequently males would report fewer problems in this area. The problem area is also unlike the previous ones in that women report solving problems themselves in greater proportions than do men (see table 16, page 188f). Males do more of their own problem solving with stocks and bonds, taxes, and loans. Women, however, solve more of their own problems in the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Source of Help</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solved it myself</td>
<td>Family member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checking account</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>111 (76%)</td>
<td>24 (16.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28 (57.1%)</td>
<td>16 (32.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings account</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>114 (78.6%)</td>
<td>22 (15.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39 (72.2%)</td>
<td>10 (18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks/bonds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52 (46.8%)</td>
<td>22 (19.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24 (52.1%)</td>
<td>10 (21.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>69 (43.7%)</td>
<td>35 (22.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 (57.4%)</td>
<td>7 (11.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent
### Table 16 - Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Source of Help</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solved it myself</td>
<td>Family member</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47 (69.1%)</td>
<td>11 (16.2%)</td>
<td>1 (1.5%)</td>
<td>9 (13.2%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23 (74.2%)</td>
<td>3 (9.7%)</td>
<td>1 (3.2%)</td>
<td>4 (12.9%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79 (56.4%)</td>
<td>22 (15.7%)</td>
<td>4 (2.8%)</td>
<td>33 (23.6%)</td>
<td>2 (1.4%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28 (52.8%)</td>
<td>9 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>15 (28.3%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39 (22.5%)</td>
<td>22 (12.7%)</td>
<td>3 (1.7%)</td>
<td>109 (63%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10 (14.7%)</td>
<td>11 (16.2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.9%)</td>
<td>45 (66.2%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total financial problems</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>511 (54.3%)</td>
<td>158 (16.8%)</td>
<td>20 (2.1%)</td>
<td>246 (26.1%)</td>
<td>6 (*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>187 (51.7%)</td>
<td>66 (18.2%)</td>
<td>6 (1.7%)</td>
<td>103 (28.5%)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent
other financial areas and in total financial problems reported. The financial-problem area also is one in which men are more likely to turn to family members for assistance than are women. Women turn to family members more often for taxes, loans, and insurance problems. Both sexes rely far more heavily on professionals for help with financial problems than with either transportation or housing problems.

When total problem solving is considered, the pattern that emerges for both older women and men is quite similar (see table 17, page 191). Females turn to family members somewhat more often, and males solve things themselves or call on professionals. Friends are sources of help to the same proportion of males and females. Neither uses social agencies even one percent of the time.

Finally, when asked, in general, to whom they would turn for help (excluding self), a pattern much like the actual reported problem solving emerged (see table 18, page 192). More women than men indicated they would turn to family members. More men than women would turn to professionals. Women indicated friends slightly more often than did men. Social agencies were not seen as general sources of help even one percent of the time.

Throughout this section, respondents' problem solving follows patterns that would, for the most part, be expected. Women are thought to be closer to family and friends and do indicate these as sources of help more often than do males, although friends are not selected as often as might be expected. Males are reporting solving
Table 17
Sources of Help with All Problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Solved it myself</th>
<th>Family member</th>
<th>Friend</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1154 (50.8%)</td>
<td>571 (25.1%)</td>
<td>127 (5.6%)</td>
<td>404 (17.8%)</td>
<td>15 (*)</td>
<td>2271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>445 (57.1%)</td>
<td>142 (18.2%)</td>
<td>40 (5.1%)</td>
<td>151 (19.4%)</td>
<td>2 (*)</td>
<td>780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>1599 (52.4%)</td>
<td>713 (23.4%)</td>
<td>167 (5.5%)</td>
<td>555 (18.2%)</td>
<td>17 (*)</td>
<td>3051</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent.
Table 18

General Sources of Help to Whom Respondents Would Turn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Source of Help</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>155 (57.2%)</td>
<td>24 (8.9%)</td>
<td>91 (33.6%)</td>
<td>1 (*)</td>
<td>271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38 (48.7%)</td>
<td>5 (6.4%)</td>
<td>34 (43.6%)</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>193 (55.3%)</td>
<td>29 (8.3%)</td>
<td>125 (35.8%)</td>
<td>2 (*)</td>
<td>349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than one percent.
their own problems or calling on professionals more than females; this too would be expected in terms of the male role. An exception is in the area of financial problems where women report more self-solving than men. Two possible explanations might be put forth for this finding, although neither can be determined within the context of this study: 1) perhaps older women are more knowledgeable and resourceful in financial areas than would be expected, or 2) perhaps older women lack the knowledge and resources to know to whom they should turn with financial problems, where presumably more professional expertise might be desired.

Summary

The respondents in this study may be described as white, middle-class, well-educated, predominately Protestant individuals. Most are, or have been, married, although many of the women are widows. Single women are considerably more numerous than single men. All but six of the respondents have some employment history. Most are residentially stable and are living with their spouses or, in the case of a number of single or widowed women, alone.

Both the males and females are significantly more feminist in their attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women than they perceive their parents to have been. They are not, however, significantly different from each other. A great deal of similarly exists in terms of which questions on the Feminism Scale receive high-feminist answers from each sex and which receive low-
feminist answers. Highly feminist items are, for the most part, less personal, societal items, such as those involving equal pay, etc. Low-feminist items tend to be those associated with the interpersonal relationships between men and women, such as initiative in courtship and the question of who pays for common recreation.

About half the respondents report solving problems themselves. Other major sources of assistance with problems are family and professional persons. Women tend to turn somewhat more frequently to family, and men to professionals. Friends are turned to less often, and slightly more by women than men. Social agencies are seldom sources of problem-solving assistance.
CHAPTER VI

HYPOTHESIS TESTING

In this chapter each hypothesis will be reviewed along with the data and tests used to determine the degree to which it is supported.

Hypothesis I

Females' present attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women.

The Pearson Product Moment Correlation ($r$) was computed to test the relationship between Feminism Scale scores for Remembered Parental Attitudes and Respondents' Own Current Attitudes. All female respondents were included. The resulting value of $r = .29$ is significant at the .005 level. Thus the null hypothesis that there is no difference between current personal attitudes toward the role of women and the remembered parental attitudes toward the role of women is rejected. Although the correlation is significant, the value is small and accounts for very little of the variance.

It should be further noted that the mean for all female respondents is higher for current personal attitudes than for remembered parental attitudes (see table 19, page 196). The significant difference between the means indicates a liberalizing trend between the older women respondents and the attitudes they believe their
parents held toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women. The scale was considered question by question in chapter V, and it may be recalled that the female respondents were significantly more feminist than they recall their parents to have been on each question contained in the Feminism Scale (see table 9, page 172ff). Thus, while an association exists between the women's own attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women and those they recall their parents having held, there is also a difference. The difference is in the expected direction, in which the daughters are more feminist than their parents.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Remembered Parental</th>
<th>Current Personal</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remembered Parental</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Personal</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td></td>
<td>.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 9.82 \quad p < .0005 \]

Hypothesis I(a)

*Greater differences will exist between present attitudes and remembered parental attitudes of those never married.*

This hypothesis has been tested through use of the \( t \) test of difference between the means using the Remembered Parental and Own

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Current Feminism Scale means of the never-married and ever-married female respondents (see Table 20). A slightly greater difference between the Remembered Parental and Own Current mean does exist for the never-married. However, the difference between the Remembered and Current means for both never- and ever-married respondents is significant.

Table 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remembered Parental Mean</th>
<th>Current Personal Mean</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Married</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>9.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Married</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The crucial question in terms of the hypothesis, however, is the difference between Remembered Parental attitudes of ever-married and never-married respondents. This difference is not significant. The hypothesis is not supported and the null hypothesis of no difference cannot be rejected. There is not support for the companion question of significant difference between Current Personal means of those never- and ever-married, either.
Significant correlations, Pearson Product Moment, were obtained between the Remembered Parental and Own Current scores for both the never-married and ever-married female respondents, with $r = .56$ for the never-married ($p < .005$) and $r = .20$ ($p < .025$) for the married. Therefore, it may be concluded that both married and never-married older women have attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women that are significantly related to those they remember their parents holding. In both instances the liberalizing trend may be seen in the higher Feminism Scale scores for Own Current attitudes. However, the parents of married and never-married women are not remembered as significantly more or less feminist, nor are the daughters significantly different in their attitudes toward women on the basis of marital status. Intergenerational transmission of attitudes toward women is evident for both married and unmarried older women, although it may be seen as somewhat stronger for those who have never married. However, the hypothesis was not supported.

**Hypothesis I(b)**

*Greater differences will exist where female respondents have a history of employment.*

This hypothesis has also been tested through use of the $t$ test of difference between the means, using the Remembered Parental and Own Current Feminism Scale means of the women who have employment histories and those who do not (see table 21, page 199).

Those who have never been employed do not perceive themselves
to be significantly different from the attitudes they remember their parents to have held, while those women who have been employed have a significantly higher Feminism Scale mean. The hypothesis that greater differences will exist between remembered parental attitudes and the respondents' own current attitudes is not supported. There is no significant difference in the way in which ever-employed and never-employed female respondents remember their parents' attitudes. This are significantly different, however, in terms of their own attitudes at the current time.

Table 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Remembered Parental Mean</th>
<th>Current Personal Mean</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Employed</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>&lt; .0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Employed</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t value</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>&lt; .0005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These findings point to employment as a variable which may account for the more feminist attitudes held by the respondents than those they perceive their parents to have held. The hypothesis was not supported.
Hypothesis I(c)

Female respondents who have never married and have been employed outside the home will differ significantly in remembered parental attitudes from those who have married and have never been employed outside the home.

This hypothesis, like I(b), has been tested through use of the $t$ test of difference between the means, using the Remembered Parental and Own Current Feminism Scale means of the women who have married and never been employed (the same as the never-employed in hypothesis I(b)) and those who have never married and have been employed (see table 22).

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Remembered Parental Mean</th>
<th>Current Personal Mean</th>
<th>$t$ value</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never-Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Married</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>&lt; .005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$ value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>&lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As in hypothesis I(b), the never-employed women do not differ significantly in their own attitudes from the remembered parental attitudes, nor do they differ from the never-married employed women in remembered parental attitudes. There are significant differences between the never-married, employed women and their remembered parental attitudes, and between the never-married employed and the married never-employed in terms of current attitudes. The hypothesis that differences in remembered parental attitudes will exist was not supported.¹

Summary

In summarizing findings related to the first hypothesis and its subhypotheses, it may be concluded that a relationship exists between the current attitudes held by older women regarding the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women and the attitudes they remember their parents holding. Overall, this relationship may be seen as positive in direction, with the older women more feminist than they remember their parents to have been. The marital status of respondents, contrary to the prediction of subhypothesis (a), does not appear to influence this relationship. The attitudes of both married

¹A further comment on the never-employed, married woman needs to be made. The correlation between Remembered Parental and Own Current attitudes is negative, \( r = -.10 \). The correlation is not statistically significant, thus, technically, no correlation exists. However, it is of interest in that it is negative, while in all other instances, correlations between the two Feminism Scale scores have been positive and significant.
and never-married women are significantly related to their remembered parental attitudes, and both a significantly more feminist in attitude than they recall their parents to have been.

A very small group of the married respondents had no work history. The correlation between these women's attitudes and remembered parental attitudes is not significant and is negative, suggesting that women who have never been employed may, in old age, see themselves as more traditional and less feminist than their parents were. These non-working women do not differ significantly in remembered parental attitudes from the employed-married or the never-married, employed women, but are significantly more traditional in their current attitudes than employed women, married or single.

Hypothesis I was supported. The subhypotheses, as stated regarding remembered parental attitudes, were not supported.

Hypothesis II

Females expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will report significantly more problems in old age than will those with less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and problems reported.

Hypothesis II focuses on the Feminism Scale scores and the problem scores. The problem scores are computed by dividing the number of problems reported by the number of problems listed in the questionnaire. The hypothesis has been tested through use of the Pearson Product Moment correlation and Chi Square.

A significant ($p < .5$) but inverse relationship exists between
Feminism Scale scores and the number of problems experienced by the female respondents, with $r = -.16$. Two things need to be pointed out regarding this statistic: 1) the correlation is negative -- thus, the more feminist the woman in her attitudes, the fewer problems reported; and 2) the value of $r$ is quite small and, though significant, accounts for very little of the variance. This hypothesis was further analyzed by dichotomizing the variables at their medians and computing Chi Square (see table 23). The respondents who report few problems tend to be the most feminist in attitude, while the least feminist report the most problems. The null hypothesis, that there is no relationship between attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women and the problems experienced by older women, is rejected. Hypothesis II is supported.

Table 23
Feminism Scale and Problem Scale Scores for All Female Respondents, Dichotomized at the Median

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminism Scores</th>
<th>Problem Scale Scores</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below Median Number Problems</td>
<td>Above Median Number Problems</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Median Feminism Score</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Median Feminism Score</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>197*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50.3%</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 4.97 \quad p < .05$

*Total not equal to 213, as some did not complete Own Current Feminism Scale.
Hypothesis II(a)

*Never-married females will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will married females.*

It was established in hypothesis I(a) that marital status is not a predictor of significant differences in attitudes toward the role of women. The marital status of the older woman, however, does appear to be related to the number of problems she experiences (see table 24). Ever-married females report significantly more problems than never-married females when the problem-score means are tested with $t$. Hypothesis II(a), which predicts that ever-married women will report more problems than never-married, is supported. However, the companion prediction in the hypothesis regarding traditional attitudes, as measured by the Feminism Scale, was found lacking in support in hypothesis I(a). Thus, the hypothesis is supported in part.

Table 24

Problem Score Means for Ever-Married and Never-Married Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Married</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Married</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t = 1.94 \quad p < .05 \quad 209 \, df$

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Hypothesis II(b)

Females with employment histories will express significantly less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those who have never been employed outside the home.

Hypothesis II(b) was also tested using the t test for difference between the means. Computation was made on the problem-score means for those females with employment histories and those without (see table 25). The question of attitude differences of those who have and have not been employed has been dealt with in hypothesis I(b). A significant difference between the two groups was found, with the working women being more feminist than those who have never worked (see table 21, page 199). The null hypothesis, that no difference would exist in terms of numbers of problems experienced by older women with or without employment histories, can be rejected. The hypothesis is supported, as seen in table 25.

Table 25
Problem Score Means for Ever-Employed and Never-Employed Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Employed</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Employed</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.18 \quad p < .05 \quad 211 \, df \]
Hypothesis II(c)

Females with college-level educations will express less traditional attitudes and fewer problems than will those with educational levels of high school or less.

This hypothesis has also been tested with the $t$ test for significant difference between the Feminism Scale means and the problem-score means (see table 26). The analysis has been carried a step further than that called for by the hypothesis with inclusion of the female respondents with educational levels of Master's degree or more.

Table 26

Problem and Feminism Scale Means by Educational Level of Respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Problem Score</th>
<th>Feminism Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>$\sigma$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years or less</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree or more</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree or more</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Feminism Scale: $12$ or less/Bachelor's or more  
$t = 2.16 \quad p < .005 \quad 151 \text{ df}$

Problem Score: $12$ or less/Bachelor's or more  
$t = .55 \quad \text{ns} \quad 169 \text{ df}$

Problem Score: $12$ or less/Master's or more  
$t = 1.85 \quad p < .05 \quad 109 \text{ df}$

There is support for the prediction that Feminism Scale score means will be higher for the more educated women. There is a sig-
significant difference in the means between the women with high school or less and those with a Bachelor's degree or more. In terms of the problem scores, however, there is no support for the hypothesis as stated. No significant difference exists between the women with high school or less and those with Bachelor's degree or more. When the women with high school or less are compared, in terms of their problem-score means, to those with a Master's degree or more, the difference becomes significant. Thus, the hypothesis is partially supported in terms of education and feminist attitudes, but not in terms of education and problems reported. The significant difference when the Master's degree women are considered does lend support to the intent of the hypothesis that problems will decrease with higher educational levels.

Hypothesis II(d)

Females with traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will have significantly more problem solving done for them by male family members than will those expressing less traditional attitudes, i.e., a negative association exists between feminist attitudes and proportion of male problem solvers.

Sources of problem-solving assistance utilized by each respondent were scored in terms of the proportion male to female family members. The resulting proportion-male-problem-solver scores have been correlated with the feminism scores (see table 27, page 208). There are no significant correlations between the proportion-male-problem-solvers and the Feminism Scale scores. However, it will be recalled that there is a significant relationship between the femin-
ism score and the problem score. There are also significant relationships between the problem scores and the proportion-of-male-problem-solvers scores. The higher the number of problems the respondent reports, the greater proportion of her problem-solving resources are male (see table 28, page 209). There are significant relationships between number of problems and the proportion of male problem solvers utilized in almost all instances. There are two exceptions: 1) there is no significant relationship between problems and male problem solvers for women with a Master’s degree or more; and 2) there is an inverse relationship for single women between number of problems and male problem solvers which is significant. As problems increase for the single woman, the proportion of males to whom she turns for assistance decreases.

Table 27
Correlations between Own Current Feminism Scale Scores, Proportion of Male Problem Solvers, Total Problems Reported, and Problem-Solving Distance for All Women Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminism Score</th>
<th>Total Problems</th>
<th>Male Problem Solvers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminism Score</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Problems</td>
<td>-.16* (n=197)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Problem Solvers</td>
<td>-.05 (n=155)</td>
<td>.25** (n=167)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem-Solving Distance</td>
<td>-.05 (n=197)</td>
<td>.66*** (n=213)</td>
<td>-.55 (n=167)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05      **p < .01     ***p < .005

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Table 28  
Correlations between Problem Scores  
and Male Problem Solver Scores  
by Various Categories  
of Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Females</td>
<td>$r = .25^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Married</td>
<td>$r = .25^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever-Worked</td>
<td>$r = .24^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduates (or less)</td>
<td>$r = .34^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree (or more)</td>
<td>$r = .06$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never-Married</td>
<td>$r = -.36^{**}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .01$  ** $p < .05$

Hypothesis II(d) is not supported. No significant relationship exists between the feminism scores and proportion of male problem solvers. However, significant correlations do exist between the Feminism Scale scores and number of problems as well as between number of problems and proportion of male problem solvers.

Summary

In summary, there is general support for hypothesis II and the subhypotheses. Less feminist women do report significantly more...
problems than the women with higher Feminism Scale scores. Fewer problems are experienced by single women, women with employment histories, and those with high educational levels than by married women, women who have never worked outside the home, and those with educational levels of high school or less. Employed and more highly educated women are also more feminist in attitude. While subhypothesis (d) was not supported as stated, the relationship between increased numbers of problems and higher proportion of male resource persons does hold except for the more highly educated and the never-married women.

Hypothesis III

Women's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women will be positively associated with the degree to which they were/are involved in decision making in their marriages.

In order to test this hypothesis, the data were divided into an ordinal ranking and the statistic gamma computed. Original cross-tabulations were run with the Feminism Scale scores divided into five ordinal categories crossed with decision-making categories of "self, most/all," "equal," and "spouse, most/all" (see table 29a, b, and c, page 211ff).

No support for hypothesis III was found in any of the three decision-making areas about which respondents were questioned. Consideration of tables 29a, b, and c indicates that in most instances the greatest proportion of respondents indicated that decision making in their marriages had been/is equal. The same pattern held

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Table 29a

Transportation Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{gamma} = -.04 \) ns
Table 29b
Housing Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gamma = .06 ns
Table 29c
Financial Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents

| Decision-Maker | Feminism Scale Score |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|                | Low                  | Low Middle     | Middle         | High Middle    | High            | Total          |
| Self, Most/All | 3                    | 6              | 4              | 2              | 5               | 20             |
|                | 1.7%                 | 3.4%           | 2.2%           | 1.1%           | 2.8%            | 11.2%          |
| Equal          | 20                   | 18             | 26             | 26             | 22              | 112            |
|                | 11.2%                | 10.1%          | 14.6%          | 14.6%          | 12.4%           | 62.9%          |
| Spouse, Most/All| 8                   | 6              | 10             | 9              | 13              | 46             |
|                | 4.5%                 | 3.4%           | 5.6%           | 5.1%           | 7.3%            | 25.8%          |
| Total          | 31                   | 30             | 40             | 37             | 40              | 178            |
|                | 17.4%                | 16.9%          | 22.5%          | 20.8%          | 22.5%           |                 |

\( \gamma = .09 \) ns
for decisions regarding transportation, housing, and financial matters.

In further analysis (see tables 30a, b, and c), the Feminism Scale scores were divided into three ordinal categories and the statistic gamma again computed. Again, there were no significant findings. The pattern which emerged was the same as that shown in tables 29a, b, and c, page 211ff); most respondents perceived the decision making within their marriages to have been equal.

Table 30a

Transportation Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.1%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{gamma} = -0.03 \quad \text{ns} \]
### Table 30b

**Housing Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\gamma = 0.09\) ns

### Table 30c

**Financial Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Female Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\gamma = 0.10\) ns

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Summary

Decision making within the marriage is perceived to be or have been equal between the spouses in most instances. Hypothesis III, which predicts the more feminist woman to be more involved in decision making within their marriages, was not supported.

Hypothesis IV

Excluding recourse to social agencies, no association will exist between the traditional nature of attitudes toward the rights, prerogatives, and adequacy of women and the sources of problem-solving assistance: family, friend, or professional.

Sources of assistance were scored from one through five, starting with "self" and continuing through "family," "friend," "professional," and "social agency." The resulting mean is the problem-solving-distance score. Hypothesis IV has been tested through the use of the Pearson Product Moment Correlation between the problem-solving-distance score and the Feminism Scale scores (see table 27, page 208). No significant relationships were found between these scores for the women respondents.

Further analysis of this hypothesis was undertaken with the focus on never-married women (see table 31a, page 217), those with high school educations or less (see table 31b, page 218), and those with Master's degrees or more (see table 31c, page 219). Again, no significant relationships were found between the Feminism Scale scores and the problem-solving-distance scores. In all instances, the correla-
tions are inverse, suggesting that women with high Feminism Scale scores are perhaps more inclined to seek help from others and may move out farther from the family than other, less feminist, women. However, this is in the area of speculation, as the correlations were not significant.

Table 31a

Correlations between Own Current Feminism Scale Scores, Proportion of Male Problem Solvers, Total Problems Reported, and Problem-Solving Distance for Never-Married Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminism Score</th>
<th>Total Problems</th>
<th>Male Problem Solvers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminism Score</strong></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Problems</strong></td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male Problem Solvers</strong></td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.36*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem-Solving Distance</strong></td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.76**</td>
<td>-.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05  **p < .005

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Table 31b

Correlations between Own Current Feminism Scale Scores, Proportion of Male Problem Solvers, Total Problems Reported, and Problem-Solving Distance for Women with Educational Levels of High School or Less

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminism Score</th>
<th>Total Problems</th>
<th>Male Problem Solvers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminism Score</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Problems</td>
<td>-.30* (n=50)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Problem Solvers</td>
<td>-.23 (n=51)</td>
<td>.34** (n=52)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem-Solving Distance</td>
<td>-.06 (n=50)</td>
<td>.64** (n=63)</td>
<td>-.11 (n=52)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .25  **p < .005
Table 31c

Correlations between Own Current Feminism Scale Scores, Proportion of Male Problem Solvers, Total Problems Reported, and Problem-Solving Distance for Women with Educational Levels of Master's Degree or More

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Feminism Score</th>
<th>Total Problems</th>
<th>Male Problem Solvers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feminism Score</strong></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Problems</strong></td>
<td>-.18 (n=47)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male Problem Solvers</strong></td>
<td>-.09 (n=37)</td>
<td>.06 (n=37)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem-Solving Distance</strong></td>
<td>-.11 (n=47)</td>
<td>.66* (n=48)</td>
<td>-.26 (n=37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .005

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The one area in which there is a correlation with problem-solving distance is with total problems. In all instances this is a significant relationship. This finding runs countervailing to the preceding speculation because of the significant relationship between higher feminism scores and fewer problems. On that basis, it could be expected that since greater numbers of problems correlate both with low feminism scores and distance, the less feminist women would go the greatest distance in seeking assistance.

Hypothesis IV(a)

*Significantly greater use of social agencies for problem solving will be made by women expressing traditional attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women than by those expressing less traditional attitudes.*

Subhypothesis IV(a) could not be analyzed due to low frequency of the response "social agency" as a source of assistance utilized by the respondents. The subhypothesis predicted that less feminist women would make more use of social agencies for help in solving problems than would the more feminist. The various sources of assistance have been dealt with, problem by problem, in chapter V (see tables 12-18, page 183ff.), and it may be recalled that the response "social agency" was given by females only 15 times out of a total of 2,271 responses as to assistance in problem solving. To recapitulate these responses (table 32, page 221), they occur mostly with transportation and financial problems, less for assistance with housing-related problems. Only one respondent mentioned the social agency as
an "in general" source where she might turn for help.

Table 32  
The Social Agency as Source of Help for Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Contacts with Social Agencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

The null hypothesis that no difference exists in terms of feminist attitudes and problem-solving sources cannot be rejected. No support was found for a relationship between these variables. Problem-solving distance was found to correlate significantly only with increased number of problems. The social agency is not utilized often enough by the female respondents to analyze its possible relationship to attitudes.
Hypothesis V

No significant difference exists between type of living arrangement and problems reported.

To test this hypothesis the data were arranged in a nominal (type of living arrangement) by ordinal (problem score) manner and the statistic theta computed. There was no support for a difference in number of problems by living arrangement and the null hypothesis that no difference exists cannot be rejected (see table 33).

Table 33

Number of Problems Reported and Living Arrangements for All Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Number of Problems Reported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In own house</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior citizens' apartment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement village</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other's home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\theta = \cdot06 \text{ ns}

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There is some indication that those in their own homes may have more problems, considering the 28 percent in the high-problem cell; however, it must be remembered that one section of the problem questions was directed toward housing problems. With the exception of the question of finding housing as a problem, the questions would only apply to persons in their own houses. While the frequencies are very low for retirement-village dwellers, a total of five, only one is in the high-problem category. This direction in the findings would also be expected, as many transportation problems, as well as all housing problems, would probably be solved within the structure of a retirement village.

There is no support for a difference between type of living arrangement and problems reported.

Hypothesis VI

*Number of problems reported by women who are widows will be negatively associated with length of widowhood.*

The problem scores and length of widowhood have been arranged in an ordinal manner to test this hypothesis, and the statistic gamma has been computed.

There were 30 respondents who reported having been widowed within the last ten years (see table 34, page 224); those having been widowed less than five years were designated "recent" and those widowed six through ten years designated "long-term." Fourteen were "recent" and sixteen "long-term." It should be noted that many of
the widows did not indicate the year of widowhood. Given the ages of the respondents, it seems likely that of the 82 widows in the sample more than 30 would have experienced widowhood within the last ten years.

Table 34

Length of Widowhood and Number of Problems Reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Problems Reported</th>
<th>Length of Widowhood</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recent Widows</td>
<td>Long-Term Widows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3 10.0%</td>
<td>5 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>7 23.3%</td>
<td>7 23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4 13.3%</td>
<td>4 13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14 46.7%</td>
<td>16 53.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \gamma = -.15 \ ns \)

There is no significant difference in problem scores by length of time widowed. Widows of more than ten years were not included in the analysis as the increased age would be expected to become a contaminating variable, confounding the results which might be obtained. Thus, the null hypothesis that no difference exists between the recently widowed and the long-term widows in terms of number of problems experienced cannot be rejected.
In further analysis of the problems of widows, the mean problem scores for widows and presently married as well as never-married women were compared using the $t$ test (see table 35). The widows have a significantly lower mean score than do the presently married women. It should also be noted that there is no significant difference between the problem-score means of the widows and the never-married women. All of the female respondents in these three marital-status categories were included in the analysis, regardless of length of marital status or age of the respondent.

Table 35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>$\sigma$</th>
<th>$t$ value</th>
<th>$p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presently Married</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>&lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

No significant difference was found in problems reported by length of widowhood. Hypothesis VI is not supported. However, it should be noted that widows, regardless of duration of widowhood, have lower problem-score means than married women. The widows'
problem-score means are not significantly different from the never-married women.

Hypothesis VII

Number of problems reported by women who are new to the community will be negatively associated with length of residence.

In analysis similar to that of widowhood and problems, data were arranged in an ordinal manner, with consideration given to women who reported having moved to the area within the last ten years. Gamma was planned as the test for this hypothesis; however, with only 12 cases such a test cannot be truly indicative. The frequency distribution is presented in table 36 for descriptive purposes only.

Table 36

Length of Residence in the Area and Problems Experienced by Women New to the Area in the Last Ten Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Problems Reported</th>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>4-6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Only 12 respondents reported having moved to the area within the last ten years. As with the widows, there is no pattern of increased problems experienced by those who have had a recent disruption in their lives, in this case moving.

Only five of the respondents were widows who had moved to the area within the last ten years. Despite the low number, a cross-tabulation was computed with problem scores and is presented in table 37. No trend is discernable in terms of numbers of problems among the five widows new to the area. No statistical tests were undertaken, due to low frequencies in the cells, and the table is presented merely for further information.

Table 37
Widows New to the Area in the Last Ten Years and Number of Problems Reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Problems Reported</th>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Summary

There is no support for hypothesis VII, which predicts that greater numbers of problems will be experienced by women new to the community. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Hypothesis VIII

No significant relationship exists between levels of organizational affiliation and either traditional attitudes or reported problems.

For the test of hypothesis VIII, data were arranged in an ordinal-by-ordinal manner and the statistic gamma was computed. Data or organizational affiliation and feminism scores are presented in table 38, page 229; organizational affiliation and problem scores will be found in table 39, page 230. No significant differences were found in either feminism scores or problem scores and organizational affiliation. Of interest, however, is the indication that these women would probably be considered "joiners." About one-fifth indicate they belong to no groups; the remaining four-fifths appear to be quite active until the level of six or more organizations is reached. The greatest proportion report being members of four or five clubs or organizations.
Table 38

Feminism Scale Scores and Organizational Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Organizations</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{gamma} = .30 \ ns$
Table 39
Problem Scale Scores and Organizational Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Organizations</th>
<th>Problem Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td>213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{gamma} = .06 \) ns
Hypothesis VIII(a)

Fewer problems will be reported by women with high levels of organizational participation (as contrasted with mere affiliation), resulting in a negative association.

Subhypothesis VIII(a) has been analyzed in the same manner as hypothesis VIII. The data were organized in an ordinal fashion and the statistic gamma was computed (see table 40). It was predicted and expected that those who were high in participation, making decisions and taking leadership roles in voluntary organizations, would have fewer problems. Gamma is not significant, thus the null hypothesis that no difference in number of problems reported by level of organizational participation cannot be rejected.

Table 40

Organizational Participation and Problem Scale Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Participation</th>
<th>Problem Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>.5%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attends</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{gamma} = .16 \quad \text{ns} \)

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It should be pointed out that participation levels are self-reported. Those considered "nominal" members reported only the name of the group or groups to which they belong. The "attenders" indicated that they attend meetings but did not indicate considering themselves to be "active participants." Those who are categorized as active labeled themselves as "active participants" or indicated having held an office within the last three years.

Hypothesis VIII(b)

Females with high levels of organizational participation will be significantly less traditional in attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women, resulting in a positive association between feminism and participation.

For this subhypothesis the data have again been arranged in an ordinal manner and gamma computed (see table 41, page 233). No significant difference was found between levels of organizational participation of those women who have high feminism scores and those with low scores. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected.
Table 41
Organizational Participation and Feminism Scale Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Participation</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Scores</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attends</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\gamma = -0.03\] ns
Summary of Hypotheses Regarding Older Women

It may be concluded from the preceding analysis that the older women in this sample have attitudes toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women which are significantly related to, and more feminist than, those they remember their parents to have held (see table 42, page 235ff., for a summary of hypotheses and support). Marital status does not appear to determine either remembered parental attitudes nor account for differences in the respondents' current attitudes toward the role of women.

A significant relationship has been found to exist between the Feminism Scale scores and number of problems, in which the more feminist women report fewer problems. Marital status, employment, and educational levels are also associated with numbers of problems: Never-married women report fewer problems; women with some employment history report fewer problems than those who have never worked outside the home; women with high school educations or less report more problems than those with Master's degrees or more.

No relationships were found between feminist attitudes and the proportion of males utilized as resources in problem solving. However, there is a correlation between proportion of male problem solvers and the number of problems experienced. The relationship is positive and significant except for the women with Master's degrees or more, where there is no significance, and for those who have never married, where the correlation is inverse and significant.
No relationship was found between decision making in marriage and feminist attitudes. Most respondents perceive their decision-making process to be, or have been, essentially equal.

Table 42
Summary of Hypotheses Regarding Older Women:
Tests, Significance, and Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraphrased Hypothesis</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Association between remembered parental and respondents' own attitudes toward women</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between remembered parental and own attitudes</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I(a). Remembered parental attitudes of ever- and never-married</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own attitudes of ever- and never-married</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I(b). Remembered parental attitudes of ever- and never-employed</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I(c). Remembered parental attitudes of married never-employed and never-married employed</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Association between number of problems and Feminism Scale score</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(a). Difference in number of problems reported by ever- and never-married</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraphrased Hypothesis</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II(b). Difference in number of problems reported by ever- and never-employed</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(c). Difference in number of problems reported by high school educated and less, Bachelor's degree and more</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in number of problems reported by high school educated and less, Master's degree and more</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in feminist attitudes of those with 12 or fewer years of education and Bachelor's or more</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II(d). Association between proportion of male problem solvers and feminist attitudes</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of male problem solvers and number of reported problems</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist attitudes and number of problems experienced</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Involvement in decision making in marriage and feminist attitudes</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Problem-solving distance and feminist attitudes</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV(a). Use of social agency to solve problems and feminist attitudes</td>
<td></td>
<td>(not used enough to analyze)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrased Hypothesis</td>
<td>Test</td>
<td>Significance</td>
<td>Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Living arrangement and number of problems reported</td>
<td>theta</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Recency of widowhood and number of problems reported</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in problem means of widowed and married</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in problem means of widowed and never-married</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Length of residence and number of problems reported</td>
<td>(too few cases to analyze)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Voluntary-organization membership and feminist attitudes</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary-organization membership and reported problems</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII(a). Participation in groups and reported problems</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII(b). Participation in groups and feminist attitudes</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Hypothesis IX

Males' present views will be positively associated with their perception of parental attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women.

Hypothesis IX and its subhypotheses focus on the older male as a comparison to the findings previously reported on older females. Initially, like the older females, the male is expected to hold attitudes which are both significantly associated with and different from those he remembers his parents to have held. Both sets of Feminism Scale scores have been correlated, using the Pearson Product Moment. The resulting $r$ value is .35, which is significant at the .01 level of significance. Also, like the older female, the older male perceives himself to be significantly more feminist than he recalls his parents to have been (see table 43). Both the differences are significant at $p < .0005$ and the hypothesis is supported.

Table 43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remembered Parental</th>
<th>Current Personal</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remembered Parental</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Personal</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\begin{align*}
t &= 6.16 \\
p &< .0005 \\
df &= 109
\end{align*}$
Hypothesis IX(a)

No significant difference exists between the attitudes expressed and the marital status of the male.

Attitude scale means for male respondents who are currently married and those who were previously married have been tested for significant difference using the $t$ test (see table 44). No significant difference was found. The null hypothesis of no difference in attitude toward the role of women by the male based on marital status cannot be rejected.

Table 44

Current Personal Feminism Scale Means for Married and Previously Married Male Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previously Married</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t = 1.36$  ns

Hypothesis IX(b)

No significant relationship exists between the male's attitudes toward the role of women and his reported problems.

Hypothesis IX(b), regarding the older male's attitudes and his reported problems, is the companion to hypothesis II, in which the same variables are consider for the older woman. Like hypothesis II regarding women, a Pearson Product Moment correlation was computed.

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between the male scores on the Feminism Scale and the problem scores. The correlation, with an $r$ value of .16, was not significant. The variables were again dichotomized at the median and Chi Square computed (see table 45). No significance was found with the second test. The null hypothesis that no relationship exists between the male's attitudes toward the role of women and his reported problems cannot be rejected.

**Table 45**

Feminism Scale and Problem Scale Scores for All Male Respondents, Dichotomized at the Median

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminism Scores</th>
<th>Problem Scale Scores</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below Median Number Problems</td>
<td>Above Median Number Problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Median Feminism Score</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above Median Feminism Score</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 1.28$ ns

*Total not equal to 69, as some did not complete Own Current Feminism Scale.
Hypothesis IX(c)

A significant relationship exists between the degree to which decision making within marriage is/was shared with the wife and the male's attitudes toward the adequacy, rights, and prerogatives of women.

The data regarding decision making in marriage have been arranged in an ordinal manner and the statistic gamma computed to test this hypothesis (see tables 46a, b, and c, page 242f.). No significant differences were found. However, in each decision-making area, no more than one of the 58 respondents indicated that his wife was, or had been, the major decision maker. The suggestion is that when the male does not see the decision making as equal, he perceives himself in that role. Comparison with the same analysis for females (tables 30a, b, and c, page 214f.) indicates that females' patterns are also "equal," "husband," and then "self." However, the females perceive themselves to have been the decision makers between 9 and 12 percent of the time; males do not perceive their wives to have been the decision makers in more than 1.7 percent of the cases.
### Table 46a

Transportation Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self)
for Ever-Married Male Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \gamma = .02 \text{ ns} \]

### Table 46b

Housing Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self)
for Ever-Married Male Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.9%</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>89.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \gamma = .10 \text{ ns} \]
**Table 46c**

**Financial Decisions and Feminism Scale Scores (Self) for Ever-Married Male Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision-Maker</th>
<th>Feminism Scale Score</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self, Most/All</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, Most/All</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>36.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \gamma = .14 \text{ ns} \]

**Hypothesis IX(d)**

*No significant relationship exists between the degree of decision making in marriage for the male and reported problems after the dissolution of the marriage.*

This hypothesis was to have been analyzed the same way as sub-hypothesis (c). However, there are only seven widowers in the sample and only five who completed the decision-making section of the questionnaire. All indicated decision making had been equal in their marriages. Their responses have been grouped in terms of the areas of decision making and are presented in table 47 (page 244) for descriptive purposes only. No attempt at statistical analysis was made for subhypothesis IX(d).
Table 47

Decision Making in Marriage Reported by Widowers and Problems Reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Problems Reported</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total = 3 responses per widower.

Hypothesis IX(e)

A significantly greater proportion of problem-solving assistance for males will come from males than will problem-solving assistance for females.

This subhypothesis has been analyzed through use of the $t$ test for significance between the proportion-of-male-problem-solvers score means for males and females (see table 48, page 245). The difference is significant and the subhypothesis is supported. It appears that males are more likely than females to turn to males to help resolve their problems.
Table 48

Difference between Proportion of Male Problem Solvers for Males and Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>69.87</td>
<td>37.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>55.50</td>
<td>42.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.98 \quad p < .025 \quad 207 \, df \]

Summary of Hypotheses Regarding Older Men

The older male, like the older female, holds attitudes about the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women which are significantly correlated with those he believes his parents held. His attitudes are significantly more feminist than his remembered parental attitudes, which also parallels the findings on the older female. There is no significant difference in terms of his attitudes toward the role of women and his marital status, nor are there significant differences in terms of the number of problems he reports experiencing and his attitudes about the woman's role. A significant difference exists in terms of the proportion of male to female advisors used by males and females in problem solving (see table 49, page 246, for summary). The older male turns to other males in greater proportion than does the older female.
### Table 49

**Summary of Hypotheses Regarding Older Men:**
*Tests, Significance, and Support*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paraphrased Hypothesis</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IX. Association between remembered parental and respondents' own attitudes toward women</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between remembered parental and own attitudes</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX(a). Difference in attitudes by marital status</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX(b). Relationship between attitudes and reported problems</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX(c). Decision making and attitudes toward the role of women</td>
<td>gamma</td>
<td>ns</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX(d). Decision making and problems experienced by widowers</td>
<td>(number of widowers too small to analyze)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX(e). Difference in proportion of male problem solvers for males and females</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older male, like the older female, perceives decision making in his marriage to be, or have been, equal. However, when it is not perceived as equal, he is the decision maker. In less than two percent of the cases is the wife reported to make most or all decisions.

It should also be noted that while there is no significant difference in the means of males and females for remembered parental
attitudes \( (t = 1.03, 277 \, df) \), the females have a significantly higher mean on their own current attitudes than do the males \( (t = 2.22, p < .025, 257 \, df) \).

Thus, the older male is similar to the older female in that there is a relationship between his attitudes and those of his parents. Both sexes are much more feminist in their attitudes than they remember their parents to have been, and the older women is more feminist in attitude than the older male.
CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion of the Findings

The basic question proposed in this research is that of attitudes held by older women toward women, based in early socialization, and the effect of those attitudes on the problems experienced by the women in old age. At this point, the findings presented will be reviewed with this question in mind, as well as the theoretical framework from which the hypotheses were derived.

On the basis of the theory, it was suggested that older women will hold attitudes toward the role of women which are related to the attitudes they remember their parents having held. Further, it was expected that the respondents' generation, as a whole, would be more feminist in attitude than their parents, and that the respondents' attitudes would have been affected by life experiences which limited them to traditional women's roles or exposed them to inconsistencies and contingencies. In the latter case, it was expected that attitudes might well be an adjustment to the reality of day-to-day living.

A consideration of the findings leads to the conclusion that a relationship definitely exists between the attitudes held by the respondents and those they remember their parents to have held. The relationships are not great and most of the correlations, though
significant, are small. Little of the variance is actually explained. The tests for difference between the respondents' attitudes and those held by their parents result in greater values of the statistics and higher levels of significance. As expected, the respondents are more feminist in attitude than the parents are perceived to have been. While one can say that the attitudes held by older women toward the role of women are based in early socialization, the more salient questions would seem to be what factors have contributed to the higher feminism scores? The case might be made that American society, in general, has changed and that individuals who are now between 60 and 80 experienced a world which allowed more options to women than did the environment in which their parents lived. If social change was a sufficient answer in and of itself, one might suggest that it would have affected all women in essentially the same way and to the same degree. This is not the case nor is the answer that simple. Further discussion will focus on some specific variables and the findings related to them, with the question of similarity to the previous generation and change from it in mind.

Marital Status

Marital status, in and of itself, does not seem to explain or predict the respondents' Feminism Scale scores. However, when marriage and employment, or lack of marriage or employment, are combined, some differences do appear. In this sample, the women who never married were employed and presumably self-supporting. The
women who were never employed outside the home were married and presumably supported by their husbands. The single, employed women were found to be much more feminist in attitude than those who had married and never been employed outside of the home. The attitudes of the women who had married and never been employed do not differ significantly from the perceived attitudes of their parents.

It is impossible to determine, within the context of this research, whether it was the condition of singleness which served to force these women into the labor force, or if a desire to be self-supporting lessened the desire, or restricted the opportunities for marriage. This would seem to be an area for further research, since studies do not tend to focus on single women who would normally be considered beyond the marrying age.

The single women in the sample were also found to have reported fewer problems than the married women. The contention and interpretation is not that marriage causes problems in old age; rather it is suggested that perhaps the single women have been obliged to do more problem solving for themselves throughout life. Problems, in the study, were self-defined; no criteria were given to the respondents which indicated a standard for what constituted a problem. If the respondent defined a situation within one of the areas of question as problematic for her, it was a problem. Consequently, it is quite possible that some women make arrangements to deal with situations and never define the situation as a problem, while others may define it as such. For example, the single woman may have made arrangements
all her adult life for someone to do maintenance work on her home. The husband of the married woman may have taken care of these things. If in later years he can no longer paint the house, patch the roof, or whatever, she (and he) may experience as a problem the same situation that the single woman defines as an ordinary part of life.

Widows were also found to report fewer problems than the currently married. Unfortunately, there were very few widows whose widowhood was of less than five years' duration. Those who have been widowed for some time might be expected to have learned to cope and thus report fewer problems. The new widow, especially if her husband had been able to resolve the "problems" for them both, might be expected to report greater numbers of problems.

It might be expected that occupation of the first-order position "female," coupled with the second-order position of "wife," would reduce the number of problems reported. If, in fact, the traditional pattern of the husband as provider-protector was the case, and he resolved the problems for the couple (or at least assumed this responsibility, whether they were actually resolved or not), she would not be expected to report experiencing the problems. However, it appears that those women who have dealt with the contingencies of never marrying, or becoming widowed, report the least numbers of problems. This finding would lend support to the notion of the inconsistencies of the female role leading to strength, as noted by Angrist (1969), Beeson (1975), and Kline (1975). It also supports the contention that to the extent one is not limited by the first-
order position "female," one may cope better with assumption of another devalued first-order position: "old."

Education

The women who report at least a Bachelor's degree were found to be significantly more feminist than those who completed, at most, high school. Those who had completed a Master's degree were found to have even higher Feminism Scale scores. In terms of reported problems, the women with Master's degrees, while not significantly different from those with Bachelor's degrees, report fewer problems than do the women with high school, or lower, levels of education. Again, there is the question which cannot be answered on the basis of this research: Did these women become more feminist because they received more education, or did they pursue higher levels of education because they were more feminist? In either case, given the ages of the women in the sample, higher education can be seen as a move away from the traditional role of woman and limitations of the first-order position "female."

Possibly education serves as one of the contingency-training experiences for women, and those who pursue higher levels of education also prepare themselves better for coping with change and inconsistency in their lives.
Voluntary Organizations

Organizational activity of two kinds was considered. Affiliation with groups or clubs was not expected to be associated with feminism scores or number of problems, and no such association was found. Belonging to voluntary organizations was considered to be a part of the female role and such memberships expected as second-order positions occupied by women. However, some associations were predicted in terms of the level of participation in these organizations.

It was predicted that the women who were willing and able to assume leadership positions and decision-making positions in voluntary organizations would be different from those who merely listed nominal membership or attended meetings but had low levels of actual participation in the life of the group. This difference was expected to be related to the Feminism Scale scores and to be an indicator of attitudes toward the role of women and appropriate behavior and activities. Consequently, the women who held offices in groups, or labeled themselves "active members," were expected to be more feminist and have fewer problems than those who were not as active.

Although the affiliation with groups was not seen as a move away from the limitations of femaleness, participation in leadership was seen as a move toward greater access for those who occupied the first-order position "female." No relationships were found. The women with higher participation levels did not differ in feminism scores or problem scores from those who merely belonged, or from those who did not belong, to voluntary organizations. In summary,
there seems to be no reason to believe that a difference exists between women who are active leaders in voluntary groups and those who are not, in terms of their perception of the woman's role and her appropriate activities.

**Disruption in Life**

Two variables were considered in terms of the possibility that a recent disruption in the woman's life would be associated with increased problems, regardless of the Feminism Scale scores. These two were recency of widowhood and/or a recent move to the community. Either these variables are not actually related, or, due to small number of women in the subcategories, the relationships could not be adequately explored.

Very few of the respondents were new to the community, so there could be no real analysis of the disruption caused by geographic relocation in old age and its relationship to either problems or attitudes. Similarly, there were few women who had been widowed within the last five years; thus recency of widowhood could not be explored in depth. No significant differences were found between those widowed in the last five years and those who had been widows six to ten years. Analysis was not carried further back in widowhood due to possible contamination by increased age.
Decision Making in Marriage

Another area where differences were expected was that of decision making in the marriage situation, in which it was predicted that women with higher Feminism Scale scores would participate to a greater extent in decision making. It was expected that differences in the degree to which women had shared with their husbands in making decisions would be related not only to attitudes toward women but, ultimately, to problems reported. No support for this expectation was found. The finding was that the majority of women and men perceive the decision making in their marriages to be, or have been, equal in the areas of transportation, housing, and finance. This is in line with the findings of Larson (1974), although Larson's respondents were considerably younger. It may well be, as Larson suggested, that the perceived equality does not really exist, but that married couples persist in viewing their relationships in this way, presumably because neither partner is unhappy with the outcomes.

Where decisions are not seen to be equal, the husband is most often seen as the decision maker by both men and women. Very few men, regardless of their Feminism Scale scores, perceive their wives to be been the decision makers. Women are more likely to view themselves as decision makers, although the most common response other than "equal" is "husband."

It may be suggested that no matter how feminist the individual woman views herself to be, or how feminist the man views himself to be, or how far either's attitudes have moved from those held by the
parents; when it comes to the marriage, decisions are perceived to be equal, although in reality the male may make more of them. It may well be, as suggested by the findings reported here, that the role of wife includes some degree of acceptance of the husband as decision maker and problem solver, no matter how the couple views the role of woman in general.

Sources of Problem-Solving Assistance

There is no support for the expected relationship between proportion of male problem solvers and the feminism scores. However, the measure is confounded by being associated with number of problems. Again, education, remaining single, and being employed appear to be the important variables. For single women with employment history, there is an inverse correlation between number of problems and the proportion of male problem solvers; for the women with Master's degrees, there is no significant relationship. For other women, however, there is a positive correlation between number of problems and the proportion of males they have turned to for assistance with the problems.

It should be recalled here that number of problems is also related to lower Feminism Scale scores. It can be concluded that some relationship, although it may be indirect, does exist between a traditional, limited view of women and their place in society, the number of problems experienced in old age, and the tendency to turn to males to solve problems.
Males are even less likely to have problems solved by women, and have a higher proportion-of-male-problem-solvers score. While the research does not allow for analysis of this finding in terms of why certain persons are chosen when help is needed and others are not, the finding is logically consistent with males being the major decision makers in marriage, and the general stereotype of women as passive and dependent. The general conception of the male as instrumental, assertive, competent, etc., certainly would make him, in general, the more likely source of help and advice.

Another area of concern was that of problem-solving distance. It was expected that the less feminist, more traditional women might lack the resources needed for mid-range sources of assistance and be more likely to utilize social agencies. It was found that almost no women turned to social agencies. Most problems were self-solved. This was true of over half of the problems in each category: transportation, housing, and finance. Housing and transportation problems which could not be solved by the respondent herself were usually taken to family members. Financial problems caused the women to turn to family and professional people, with professionals used mostly for assistance with wills.

The findings on problem-solving distance were essentially the same for the older male, with most indicating "self" as the source of the solution and almost no instances of the social agency being used.

One might be tempted to interpret this finding as an indication
that both older women and men tend to be quite resourceful and can resolve their own problems. This may be the case. The question which this finding leaves unanswered, and which cannot be answered through this research, is the quality of the problem solving. Many of the "self-solved" problems may not have been resolved as well as they could have been. The question is particularly salient in terms of some of the financial problems such as wills, insurance, etc. While the respondent may have resolved the situation her/himself, perhaps a lawyer, banker, insurance agent, or other similar professional person would have found a preferable solution. Like the definition of what constitutes a problem, within the context of the study, what constitutes a solution also rests with the respondent and her or his definition of the situation.

**The Older Male**

The males in the sample were very much like the females in that they had Feminism Scale scores which were significantly related to the attitudes they remembered their parents having held as well as significantly different from the parents in a more feminist direction. It is not possible to compare the older male in low-probability second-order positions to the older female who has occupied low-probability second-order positions. The males in the sample all had employment histories, had almost all been married, and could in no way be seen as occupying roles considered to be unusual for the male.

There is, as predicted, no relationship between the male's
attitudes toward women and his reported problems. However, he turns to other males for assistance with problems at an even greater rate than do women.

Like the women, the men tend to report decision making in their marriages to be equal, and when not equal to be the responsibility of the man.

There is no direct evidence from the research which can be said to explain the more feminist attitudes expressed by the males in the sample generation than those believed to have been held by the parents. It may be suggested, however, that perhaps as the male has observed females successfully occupying low-probability second-order positions, previously seen as male domains, attitudes have shifted in a direction which allows a variety of alternatives to be viewed as "appropriate" for women.

Summary

The attitudes held by older women toward the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women do appear to be associated with those perceived to have been held by their parents, as do the attitudes of the older man. Both sexes are significantly different, in a more feminist direction, from their parents. The women who hold less traditional attitudes about the role of women also seem to be those who have fewer problems in old age. This association may be seen as affected by the educational level of the woman, her employment history, and remaining single as opposed to marrying and never working outside.
the home. Thus, one can suggest that the extent to which "femaleness" as a first-order position limits the woman to traditional second-order positions may also influence the probability that she will experience problems upon assuming the first-order position "aged."

The problems reviewed in this research -- transportation, housing, and financial matters -- are those often attributed to older women. They certainly do not appear to be equally distributed among all older women, nor do they correlate with the age itself. Increased difficulty with common, day-to-day existence problems can be seen as related to the female role; older males do not report as many problems in any area. Inconsistencies within the female role, contingencies dealt with, and the degree to which less probable second-order positions are occupied may better prepare the female to deal with survival as an old female.

Further Findings and Proposed Further Analysis

Age Cohorts

While no specific hypothesis has been put forth regarding differences between age cohorts, some historical events have been noted which could affect these older women differently: World War I, women's suffrage, the Depression, and World War II. Three variables have been considered as indicators of differences between these cohorts which would warrant further analysis: The Feminism Scale means, problem score, and relationship of Feminism Scale scores to
proportion-of-male-problem-solvers scores. The differences in the means have been analyzed through the use of the \( t \) test, and the results are presented in table 50. No significant differences were found. The correlation between Feminism Scale scores and proportion of male problem solvers was also not significant \( (r = .04 \text{ for the under-65 group; } r = .21 \text{ for those over 75}) \). No further analysis by age cohort has been undertaken.

Table 50
Problem Score and Feminism Scale Score Means for Female Respondents under 65 and over 75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Ages</th>
<th>Problem Score</th>
<th>Feminism Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean ( \sigma )</td>
<td>Mean ( \sigma )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 65</td>
<td>.96 ( .70 )</td>
<td>3.54 ( .47 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 75</td>
<td>1.03 ( .61 )</td>
<td>3.59 ( .49 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = .54 \text{ ns} \]
\[ 104 df \]
\[ t = .44 \text{ ns} \]
\[ 95 df \]

Educational Levels

The sample is noticeably high in educational level. This is the result of a very high participation on the part of the local Retired School Personnel group. The group was the largest included and, being mostly retired teachers, it is believed that they were also most attuned to the academic world and predisposed to cooperate in a project of this sort. Consideration was given to a secondary
analysis in which an attempt would be made to stratify the sample on educational levels which might more closely resemble the older population. However, as analysis proceeded and it became apparent that such a subsample would be quite small, severely reducing the possibilities of analyzing some variables, it was decided not to undertake such secondary analysis at the present time. Such analysis does, however, remain a future possibility.

Other questions related to educational levels would also be areas for further research. It is often heard that education is not a good investment in terms of women. The stereotype which seems to permeate our society is that women do not use their educations in a productive manner, i.e., gainful employment. A quick glance at the mean number of years worked by the older women in this sample who have only a high school education or less, those with a Bachelor's degree, and those with Master's degrees presents a challenge to this stereotype (see table 51). The more education the woman has had, the longer it appears she has been employed.

Table 51
Mean Number of Years Employed by Educational Level of Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Mean Number of Years Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school or less</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree or more</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree or more</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In further analysis, consideration should be given to the type of employment and educational level, circumstances of entry into the labor force, and circumstances surrounding leaving of the labor force. Such analysis might produce information as to whether the education is actually related to the type of work or not. There could also be indications of whether or not these working women entered the labor force on completion of education or if educational advancement has been interspersed with work. Finally, information could be gained as to why they left the employment and if reasons for leaving correlate with educational levels; e.g., were the women with Master's degrees as likely to leave upon marriage, or do they work in jobs related to their educational background until retirement age?

A second question related to education which has not been dealt with in the analysis is the association of Feminism Scale scores of the parents and daughters with increasing education of the daughter. Here again, looking at (but not testing) the data, it appears that the remembered parental feminism scores would not be found to be significantly different for the different educational levels of the respondents. If, in fact, this is the case, and the respondents' scores do increase with higher levels of education, part of the cause of difference between generations might be isolated.

Work History and Problems Reported

No analysis has been undertaken on the relationship of the work history of the woman and her reported problems, beyond that of ever-
and never-employed. Not only would it be reasonable to analyze this further in terms of length of employment, but time of employment needs to be considered. There might be differences in women who had worked the same number of years if one had been in the labor force early in her life and left to raise a family, etc., and the other had raised the family first and entered the labor force later in life. It does not seem unreasonable to predict fewer reported problems among those with recent work experience.

The Feminism Scale

In chapter IV it was noted that the Kirkpatrick Scale had been used by Doyle (1976) and Roper and Labeff (1976). Both pieces of research were done with student respondents and both compared the responses of students in the 1970's with the students Kirkpatrick studied in the 1930's. A proposed further analysis from this research involves comparing the responses of this sample with the Kirkpatrick student responses. Such analysis, rather than being cross-sectional, would come close to an age-cohort analysis. The respondents in this study, being generally 60 through 80, would have been 17 through 37 in the mid 1930's. What has been noted as an educational bias in this research would be most appropriate for the proposed analysis; in fact, the analysis could be entirely focused on those with at least some college education, who would be most comparable with the Kirkpatrick sample.

The proposed analysis would focus on the scale itself and on
the four domains which Kirkpatrick delineated: economic issues, political/legal issues, domestic issues, and conduct/social-status issues. Further comparison could be made to the findings of Doyle (1976) and Roper and Labeff (1976) in their studies of contemporary students.

Summary

Undoubtedly there are many areas which could be further analyzed as extensions of the research presented here. However, four have been suggested as points of departure. Further attention will be directed to questions of women's educational levels and employment, educational achievement and attitudes toward the role of women, details of the work history and reported problems, and a comparison of the responses to the Feminism Scale in this study with those in Kirkpatrick's (1936) research and the work of Doyle (1976) and Roper and Labeff (1976).

Limitations of the Study

At this point, attention must be given to some limitations in the research, specifically in terms of the sample and the data.

The Sample

It may be recalled that problems arise in research focused on older adults. The problems of drawing a random sample are legion.
where the parameters of the populations are well known and defined. Little is really known of the population of older people. No readily available lists can be used to draw the sample. Area probability sampling is extremely time consuming and expensive. Longitudinal research which would encompass early socialization and old age is impossible for the individual researcher and could only be the project of an on-going institute or research corporation.

Given these problems, the decision was made that this study would use groups of older people as settings in which to distribute questionnaires. Obviously, the research is open to bias through this sampling method. Only the groups which were identifiable and agreeable could be included. While the groups ranged from those composed of retired professional people to Title VII Congregate Meal Sites, they may not be representative of the population of groups. Within the groups, further problems arise. Only certain individuals agreed to, and did, complete the questionnaires. They may not be representative even of the membership of the group, much less the older population. They certainly are not representative of older individuals who shy away from group settings, be they voluntary organizations, social activities, or services. The sample is not representative in terms of educational level. The respondents are more highly educated, in general, than would be expected from the population of that age. Women are also disproportionately represented.

Several possibilities of bias, and some known bias, may have affected the research. However, given the sampling problems and the
exploratory nature of the study, these limitations were expected and accepted.

The Data

Some specific limitations were imposed by the data themselves. As noted in the findings, the section of questions regarding decision making within a marriage produced responses indicating that decisions were, for the most part, made equally. It is unlikely that this was the case. Future research concerned with this variable would require a new format for the collection of the data. It could possibly be arranged for more of a forced choice of "self" or "spouse" and down-play the response of "equal" as a built-in possibility.

A piece of information which would have been valuable, but was not included on the questionnaire, was numbers and sex of living children. Of particular importance would have been those children residing in the area. With this information missing, questions of turning to children in general -- as opposed to others -- for help, or sons as opposed to daughters, cannot be considered. Many respondents did indicate children as persons to whom they had turned; however, one cannot determine which others had no children. Further, it cannot be determined if respondents turned to daughters when sons were available (or vice versa) or if daughters (or sons) were the only possible sources of assistance.

Finally, there were problems with the shortened Kirkpatrick Feminism Scale. One difficulty, which had been anticipated, revolved
around Kirkpatrick's wording of questions. Perhaps the two most problematic are questions #16 ("Men are much better fitted to run business enterprises or direct the building of bridges than are women" [italics mine]) and #21 ("Women should give up their false ideal of intellectual equality with men" [italics mine]). In each instance some respondents noted that the questions are ambiguous: Building bridges and running businesses are not the same; is intellectual equality a false ideal? There were a number of marginal notes to the effect of "False?" or, "Not a false ideal." Other problematic questions are those stated in the negative. As mentioned, these problems were expected. In deciding to use the scale, in a shortened form, the limitations of the original wording were accepted.

The second problem was not anticipated, i.e., the problem of a lower response rate for the second attitude scale (self). In the pre-test, with the questionnaire in the form in which it was ultimately used, all 21 respondents completed both scales. In the actual study, some respondents did not complete the Feminism Scale the second time. Some even noted on the questionnaire that they already had done that part, that it was a duplicate. When the research was introduced in the groups, the questionnaire was discussed by sections and respondents informed that parts two and four contained the same questions but that part two was to be completed as they believed their parents would have completed it, and part four with their own current attitudes. The instructions were also included on the questionnaire itself. It is no new finding in this research that some
people do not listen to, read, or follow instructions.

If the lower response rate on the second Feminism Scale has had any effect on the research, it would have been to decrease the difference between the scores on remembered parental attitudes and the respondents' own attitudes, and to raise the feminism scores for remembered parental. It is probable that those who believed the scale to be merely a duplication had completed it the first time with their own attitudes -- presumably more feminist than the remembered parental. Thus, the difference between the means for remembered parental and self may actually be larger than that reported.

Theoretical Implications

Nature of the Study

When consideration is given to the theoretical framework selected for this study, further limitations become evident. The theory is new; it is untested. Consequently, the research may be seen as preliminary and exploratory, not only in its substantive direction but in its theoretical base. There is no solid body of either theoretical or empirical knowledge into which this research can be fitted.

However, four theories were reviewed in terms of possible relevance as the framework for this research. The theory of categorical ordering (Robin, 1971) was seen as the most useful, although aspects of the other three were also of value. At this point,
consideration needs to be given to the four theories and the ways in which the findings bear on them.

Disengagement

Two questions addressed in the research could be seen as possibly bearing on disengagement theory: problems associated with recent widowhood and recent geographic location. Disengagement, it will be recalled, can be seen in essence as a mutual withdrawal between the individual and society. It has been proposed as the theory of aging (one disengages with increasing age) and suggested by some to be associated more with major role loss or disruption than with age. It is the latter which is of concern in this study.

This research did not use the more social-psychological variables such as life space. However, if the case could be made that withdrawal from the society should be associated with increased problems (as one has withdrawn from problem-resolving routes and resources), there is no evidence in this research to support such a contention. Those who have experienced recent role loss and disruption such as widowhood or moving, although there are not many of them, do not show increased problems. In fact, it should be recalled that widows, in general, report fewer problems than those respondents still married (see hypotheses VI and VII).

Additionally, it has been suggested that disengagement, if it occurs should be associated with lack of interest in current events and issues, evidenced by "no opinion" on questions in these areas.
This contention has not been supported by others (see Glenn, 1969), nor is there support here. A number of respondents made marginal notes on the questionnaire which definitely indicate interest and opinions. For example, one 69-year-old woman commented on women wearing shorts in public, "Not good attire for general public, but as to 'right' to wear, I must agree." Or the 70-year-old man who noted in regard to premarital sex as grounds for divorce, "In 'No-Fault' divorce?" Another, a 63-year-old woman, remarked, on women taking the initiative in courtship, "I bridle at overly aggressive women in this area. I realize to uphold my image I should disagree, but sorry. Paradoxical."

In no way do the results and findings in this study support disengagement as either a function of age or role loss.

**Developmentalism**

The findings in this research lend further support to the basic concept of developmentalism which suggests that old age should not be viewed in a vacuum. In light of the significant correlations between such things as singleness, education, attitudes toward women, and the problems of the older woman, one can suggest that consideration of the earlier years is a must. in order to better understand the older adult.

This research did not specifically focus on developmental concepts beyond the recognition of aging as lifelong. However, some comments can be made. Although the women in this study may not be
representative, they were not only wives and mothers, but most of the respondents were well educated and almost all had employment histories. One might suggest that the developmentalists have been myopic in associating woman's developmental cycle so closely to her biological functions.

In terms of the growth-culmination-and-decline model, the woman with a work history similar in length to that of the male probably does not experience culmination or decline strictly on the basis of her role as mother. From the crisis-resolution perspective, developmentalists tend to describe women as resolving crises only within the framework of marriage and family. If it can be accepted that successful crisis resolution leads to good adjustment, and that good adjustment would be related to the absence of problems, one of two conclusions can be suggested from this research: 1) the women who were married and never employed outside the home were the least successful crisis resolvers as individuals, since they have the most reported problems; or 2) crisis resolution, as posited by developmentalists, is accomplished more successfully in settings other than the home for women (see hypotheses I, II, and VI).

The research reported here, while not based in either of these developmental models, does suggest that much more needs to be done to adapt the developmental models to, or create new developmental models for, women.
Role Theory

Role theory has been taken to task for too often depicting the woman's role, in general, as smooth, unchanging, and tied to home and family roles. The findings of this research would seem to raise a number of questions as to what the nature of the woman's role may be and suggest that it may not be what is usually assumed. Women are usually discussed as individuals who do not occupy the role of worker, and when they do it is for short times and not to be taken seriously. Past generations of women are even more likely to be assumed to have been "just housewives." Interestingly, only six of the 213 female respondents in this research had no employment history. The mean number of working years for all female respondents was 26. This does not present a picture of the woman's role excluding that of worker. Secondly, seldom is woman thought of without the roles of wife and mother, yet 15 percent of the respondents were never-married women. An exception to the norm of marriage would seem to be noteworthy and one might propose that research directed toward the "woman's role" should be more open to the varieties of "women's roles" than is usually the case.

Support may also be seen for the contentions of Angrist (1969), Beeson (1975), and Kline (1975) that women's role is inconsistent and women must be socialized for contingencies. One can point to the lower problem scores of those who hold more feminist attitudes, have high educational levels, have never married, or are widowed as evidence of strength and competency being derived not from a smooth
consistent role, but from the inconsistencies.

Categorical Ordering

Within the framework of categorical ordering, the first-order position "female" is seen as one which limits access in the second order and as the less valued sex category in American society. In particular, this research has been directed to the socialization of women for such a limited, devalued role and the meaning of that when another limiting, devalued first-order position must be assumed -- that of "old." In this section, each of the hypotheses will be reconsidered in terms of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Hypothesis I: This hypothesis and its subhypotheses focus on the remembered parental attitudes of older women. It is suggested that the evidences of early socialization will continue into old age, but that the respondent's own attitudes will be adjusted to the reality of her everyday life. The first-order position "female" is seen as one which is basically limiting and which closes access to a variety of second-order positions. The probabilistic nature of the second-order positions are taken into consideration, in the sense that the less probable positions for a woman are expected to be those which will increase the scope of behavior she shes as appropriate for women in general.

The research findings do tend to lend strength to the above theoretical assertion. The respondents' attitudes are associated with those of their parents, and remembered parental attitudes do not
tend to be differentiated on the basis of the woman's life experience. The respondents themselves, however, have adjusted their own attitudes to their situations. Further, those who have occupied less traditional, less probable second-order positions have developed a more feminist perspective. This is especially noticeable in terms of the single (a low probability for women) and highly educated (also a lower probability) women, who have significantly higher Feminism Scale scores than the women in general. In the other direction, the women who have married and never been employed outside the home have scores which are much like those of their parents.

Hypothesis II: The second hypothesis and its subhypotheses consider the attitudes women hold toward the role of women and the number of problems they report in old age. It was expected that since "female" is a devalued, limiting first-order position, those women who had followed the most traditional female role would not have developed problem-solving skills which could be put to use in old age. If the role of "female" had been less limiting earlier, such skills might have been developed.

A significant correlation was found between Feminism Scale scores and number of problems reported by these older women. Thus it would seem that occupation of a limiting, devalued first-order category is restrictive in terms of developing certain desirable skills. As found in hypothesis I, the findings in hypothesis II also indicate that the occupation of less probable second-order positions may have allowed access to skills and competence often denied women. The
women with employment histories, those who never married, and the highly educated report fewer problems than do the more traditional women.

Hypotheses I and II together suggest that the theory of categorical ordering may not only be an explanatory and predictive theory in terms of the society at any given point in time, but that change can also be investigated within this framework. It may be suggested that as occupants of a devalued, limiting first-order category begin, in greater numbers, to occupy less probable second-order positions (usually accessible to those with the valued first-order position), the first-order position itself will become less limiting.

Hypothesis III: This hypothesis approached the female role within the marriage situation through focus on the decision making in the marriage. Not only has the first-order position "female" been a limiting one in the larger society, the male has usually been found to be most influential in marriage. The expectation was that those women who had shared equally in decision making in marriage would have acquired skills which would help them resolve problems. It was also expected that those with more feminist attitudes toward the woman's role would be most likely to share in the decision-making process. As it turned out, most respondents, male or female, considered the decision making in their marriages to have been equal. There was no correlation with attitudes.

The finding which is noteworthy in terms of the theory is that when decision making is not seen as equal, it is almost always seen
as being done by the male. This pattern holds in spite of the degree to which feminist attitudes are expressed. The theory of categorical ordering can be seen as incorporating the very basic structure of the society. One may suggest that the expectations which accompany occupation of any first-order category so entirely permeate the social structure that behavior and conscious attitude may be entirely incongruous. It would appear that categorical ordering might well be an appropriate framework in which to study institutionalized "isms" such as sexism or racism.

Hypothesis IV: This hypothesis predicts that attitude is not related to sources of help utilized by older women, with the exception of the more traditional women and the social agency. It was expected that the limitations of the position "female" would restrict use of professional sources of help. Actually, about half the time the respondents, male and female, more feminist or less feminist, reported having solved their problems themselves. The social agency was hardly ever a source of help for any of the respondents. There was no indication that first-order position had any limiting or enhancing effects upon one's help-seeking behavior.

Hypotheses V, VI, and VII: These three hypotheses may be seen as derived from disengagement theory as well as categorical ordering. Hypothesis V focuses on the woman's living arrangement, hypothesis VI deals with widowhood, and hypothesis VII looks at geographic relocation. From the disengagement perspective, the disruption or role loss is expected to have a negative effect which would be expressed in
increased problems. Categorical ordering would suggest that those occupying two devalued and limiting first-order positions might have more difficulty coping at a time of disruption. There was no support for any of these hypotheses. While it appears that the first-order position, as it limits the individual, may be associated with increased problems, these are not further increased by disruption in the pattern of the individual's life. It should be noted that there were very few recent widows or women who had recently moved to the community. With a larger sample in these categories, the findings might be different.

Hypothesis VIII: The focus here is on the participation of older women in groups and organizations. Affiliation with voluntary associations is believe to be typical female behavior. One of the more probable second-order positions would be that of "clubwoman." However, it was predicted that those who are active in leadership positions in such organizations might be affected much like the working women and that such activity would be associated with higher feminism scores. This was not the case. Again, it appears that occupation of probable second-order positions may not serve to decrease the limitations of the lesser first-order position in the same sense that occupation of less probable second-order positions may.

Hypothesis IX: This hypothesis and its subhypotheses were directed at the males in the study as a comparison group. Like the females, they were found to have attitudes toward women associated
with those they perceive their parents to have held, and to be more feminist themselves. It was not possible to compare the men and the women on some of the variables thought to have influenced the change in women's attitudes from those of the parent generation. There are few or no males in the sample who can be seen to have occupied less probable second-order positions for males. They all have employment histories; practically all are or were married. Male, being the more desirable first-order category, is a category which allows access to a wide range of second-order positions; thus none of the occupations or educational levels of the men in the sample can be termed "low-probability" positions.

Summary

The findings of this research lend support to the concepts of a first- and second-order structure characterized by hierarchically arranged positions which an individual may occupy. Occupation of a devalued and limiting first-order position appears to be more restrictive the more the individual accepts its limitations. Occupation of less probable second-order positions may actually change the individual's attitudes toward the general first-order category. It is suggested that such change may be part of the process of social change.

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Further Research

In addition to the research previously mentioned which involves further analysis of the data already collected for this study, it is obvious at this point that much more needs to be done in order to determine the interrelationships between employment, education, and marital status for women. Intergenerational transmission of attitudes has been established, as has difference between generations. It would seem that attention needs to be given to the change process in an attempt to understand why generations change.

In regard to this specific research, one outstanding need comes to mind: a similar study with known groups. The older women respondents in this study were essentially unknowns. In many ways they are still unknown. There is no way to determine if, as a group or individually, they are more or less feminist than most. Perhaps many of the questions which remain concerning interrelationships between some important variables, intergenerational transmission and change, inconsistency in women's roles and socialization for contingencies could be answered through replication, or a similar study, using groups of older women known to be highly feminist or anti-feminist. Such a study would also shed additional light on the possible assumption of low-probability second-order positions related to the first-order position "female" and the effects of such second-order positions on older women.

A companion piece to such an endeavor might well be a replication using an area probability sample. With this study considered to be
preliminary and exploratory, a follow-up with either known groups or a truly random sample might provide answers to some of the questions unanswered, or raised, by this research.

Other questions have been raised by this research which cannot be dealt with through further analysis of the present study and the data already in hand. Some of these research possibilities will be outlined in the next few pages.

It is often noted that women seem to have more friends than men and to have friendships that are of a much closer nature in which problems are shared, etc. In this study, very few respondents of either sex indicated having turned to friends as sources of help with problems. Research which focused on the role of friend in old age would be of interest and possibly provide some valuable insights into the problem-solving process. Since it appears here that even the older women do not utilize friends often for problem solving, perhaps the role of friend does not include this function. Problem sharing, if it takes place, may not be defined as help with one's own problems. On the other hand, the role of problem solver and the role of friend may be so interlocked that it is not defined.

Another problem-related question is seen particularly in the area of financial problems. It is within this area that one would expect the least number of problems to be "self-resolved" and the most taken to professionals. Although many of the respondents in the study do utilize professionals in this area, more report solving problems themselves. This raises questions which cannot be answered
here: What, specifically, are the problems with taxes, wills, loans, insurance, and can the individual provide her/himself with an adequate solution? As previously noted, this research did not set any criteria for what constitutes a problem or a solution. With these areas defined by the respondents, a great variety may exist.

While this research did not, nor was the intent to, focus on the social-psychological variables of life satisfaction, adjustment, etc., there could be value in combining some of the variables considered here with the social-psychological ones. Are those with more problems less satisfied and well adjusted? Does the traditional female role and/or holding attitudes that support the more traditional role, have any relationship to satisfaction or adjustment?

Application of Findings

Not only are these questions of value from the research standpoint, they are questions which could give answers useful to the more applied areas. There are many in social work and other related professions who intend to provide various services to older adults, and many who attempt to socialize the young (and middle-aged) to be competent and self-reliant so that such services will not be needed. It would seem that either group could benefit with more information on what factors interrelate, and in what ways, throughout life to lead some people to a problem-ridden old age and others to see few problems in their day-to-day lives. Some of the findings, aside from future research possibilities, have implications for providers
of service.

One of two things may be concluded from the respondents' pattern of solving their own problems: 1) older adults, of either sex, are much more capable of problem solving than is often assumed; or 2) much low-quality problem solving takes place when the individual solves her, or his, own problems which should have been turned over to someone with more expertise in the specific problem area. In either case, the answer would be important. If it is the former, groups concerned with the image of older adults have a negative stereotype with which to contend. If it is the latter, groups and agencies concerned with service to the older adult need to look for ways to facilitate service provision.

Most people, including those employed by agencies serving the aged, probably assume that older women have not had employment experience. It may well be, as these data suggest, that this is an erroneous assumption. Although many of the respondents in this study were contacted through groups of retired persons, and consequently the retired may be over-represented, only 2.8 percent of the women never worked outside the home. Perhaps it would be helpful for practitioners to modify their image of the older woman to include the role of worker, thus attributing to her the strengths and capabilities associated with this role.

Another common assumption is that of marital status, in which all women are thought to have been/be married. Again, these data indicate that there may be many older women who have never been
married.

If, as it appears, part of the negative stereotype of the older woman is the result of the female stereotype of passivity and dependence associated with the never-employed housewife, a recognition that most older women are not without employment experience and that many have never been housewives should be important. Perhaps, if women's roles, at any point in life, were seen in the contingency framework with probability of access to second-order positions recognized, persons in the helping professions could more easily tap the older woman's resources of strength, rather than stereotypically assuming her weaknesses.

Conclusion

In recent years, a good deal of attention has been focused on both the aged and women. It is seldom the case that the center of attention is both old and female. When the older woman is thought of, it is usually as a helpless, dependent person with many problems, although the opposite image of the assertive older woman is sometimes found. It may also be seen that the usual image of woman, of any age, is of someone less competent and more passive than the male.

A considerable body of literature exists which would demonstrate that female children are generally socialized to be dependent and passive, and that by rather young ages most girls have learned to prefer the expressive role. There are indications that this carries into adulthood. Women are seen as relying on husbands to initiate...
friendships, determine when and if they (the wives) will work, and be the decision makers for the couple.

With early socialization to a limited, devalued role of female, and continuation of these elements in adulthood, it might be expected that evidence of this socialization would be found in old age.

This research has focused on older women, their early socialization toward the female role, the attitudes they currently hold regarding the rights, adequacy, and prerogatives of women, and how these may be related to the problems they experience in old age.

Some support has been found for the transmission of attitudes from one generation to the next. Noticeable differences between generations were also found. The differences, which are in a more feminist direction in most cases, seem to occur more often and to be the greatest with women who have had some non-traditional experiences in their lives. These women may have been less limited by the general female role and by their early socialization. They are the women with higher levels of education, with histories of employment outside the home, and/or the women who have never married. The women who do not appear more feminist than they remember their parents to have been -- in fact, they are slightly less feminist -- are the most traditional, who have married and never worked outside the home.

There is also evidence that the women holding the most traditional attitudes about the appropriate role of women are the ones most likely to report greater numbers of problems in their old age. The less traditional, more feminist women tend to report fewer problems.

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Fewer problems in old age also are associated with the less traditional life experiences, such as having been employed, having an educational level of Master's degree or above (certainly non-traditional for women now 60 through 80), or having remained single.

The variables previously mentioned appear to be the keys to the change in attitude and the difference in reported problems. Length of widowhood, recency of residence in the area, participation in voluntary organizations, and the type of housing in which the woman lives do not seem to be associated either with her attitudes toward the role of women or with the number of problems she experiences in her old age.

Both the older women respondents and the older men in the sample indicate that they turn to men for help with their problems more often than they turn to women. For the men, the proportion of males who help with problems is even greater than for the women. It may well be that this is, in part at least, a function of the stereotype of women as less competent than men. Certainly one would wish to consult the more competent person for assistance.

Even more often than they turn to others, of any sex, for help, the older individuals in the sample report solving problems themselves. It is impossible to determine in this research if this is the most desired problem-solving route, or if it is an adequate route. It is, however, the most utilized.

Most of the respondents, of either sex, report that within their marriages they shared decision making equally with the spouse. When
the decisions were not seen as equal, the husband was more likely to be identified as the decision maker. The feminist attitudes of the respondents did not affect this pattern. Consequently, it appears that even for those who support equal rights and participation in the society, the male is more likely than the female to be the decision maker in the home.

The research supports the theory of categorical ordering in terms of the primacy of the first-order position "sex" and the limiting nature of "female." Those women who have been least restricted by their femaleness throughout life, and have had life experiences which are less probable for females, seem to be least limited when they assume the less desirable age category of "old."

No support was found for role loss and disruption, or age, leading to disengagement. Importance of a lifelong developmental approach is stressed, although considerable work needs to be done to understand the scope of the female role in a developmental perspective. Support was found for the position taken by some regarding role theory: that the woman's role is not as smooth and unchanging as is often assumed, but is filled with contingencies and inconsistency. Such contingency socialization received by women is seen as leading to strength and coping ability. The findings in this study would support that contention.

Additional research, especially that which would utilize groups identifiable in terms of feminist attitudes prior to the research, or a truly random sample, is needed on women's socialization for
contingencies and inconsistency. Consideration should be particularly
given to the interaction of education, employment, and marital status.
In the following pages you will find some questions about yourself, your opinions, and some of your experiences.

We hope you will answer all of the questions carefully and as accurately as possible. There are no right or wrong answers; your thoughts and your experiences are what is important. Only you can give us this information about your life. We hope that through you, and many others who will help us with this, we can come to better understand how people's ideas affect their lives, or how life experiences affect ideas.

Please answer the questions in the order in which they are given.

All information is confidential. Do not put your name on the questionnaire.

Thank you very much.
Section 1

First, we would like to know a few things about you . . .

1. Male ( ) Female ( )

2. Year of birth ________ 3. Your current age ________

4. Race
   ( ) Black
   ( ) White
   ( ) Oriental
   ( ) American Indian
   ( ) Spanish American
   ( ) Other (what) __________________________________________

5. Are you currently
   ( ) Married Year married ________
   ( ) Separated Year separated ________
   ( ) Divorced Year divorced ________
   ( ) Widowed Year widowed ________
   ( ) Never married
6. What was the last year in school you completed:
(circle the grade)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
(  ) Some college
(  ) Bachelor's degree
(  ) Some graduate school
(  ) Master's degree
(  ) Doctorate

7. What is your religious preference ____________________________

Next, would you tell us some things about your living arrangement . . .

8. Do you live in your own house (  ) Yes (  ) No
   Do you live in an apartment (  ) Yes (  ) No
   If yes, is it an apartment for senior citizens?
       (  ) Yes (  ) No
   Do you live in a retirement village (  ) Yes (  ) No

9. How many years have you lived in the Kalamazoo area? _________
10. Do you live by yourself? ( ) Yes ( ) No

If you live with someone else, who?

( ) Your spouse

( ) A son ( ) and his family

( ) A daughter ( ) and her family

( ) Other relatives

What is the relationship? ____________________________

( ) Friends

( ) Male ( ) Female ( ) Both

11. If you live with someone else in a house, who owns the house?

__________________________________________________________________________

Now we would like to ask you a few questions about your work history.

12. If you are working, or ever have worked, what is/was your occupation?

__________________________________________________________________________

13. Number of years in this occupation _______

Please outline briefly your work history. When did you first go to work -- please note the year and any important event in your life. For example: 1920 - just finished high school.

__________________________________________________________________________

year event
14. Now would you please indicate any time periods during which you did not work. For example:
   1930 - 1955, stayed home with children
   or
   1942 - 1945, military service

   years                  reason

   years                  reason

15. If you are no longer employed, why did you stop working?
   (  ) Retired       At what age? ___________
   (  ) Needed at home Why? ____________________________
   (  ) Health reasons
   (  ) Marriage
   (  ) No need to work; sufficient income from other wage earner
        Who? __________________________________________
   (  ) Other reason (please explain) ____________________
        ____________________________________________
Some people are very interested in clubs and organizations, and some people are not. If you belong to one or more groups, would you tell us what group, how active you are in it, and if you have held any office in the group in the last 3 years.

16. Name of group ____________________________________________
   (  ) Attend most meetings
   (  ) Active participant
   (  ) Held office in the last 3 years

17. Name of group ____________________________________________
   (  ) Attend most meetings
   (  ) Active participant
   (  ) Held office in the last 3 years

18. Name of group ____________________________________________
   (  ) Attend most meetings
   (  ) Active participant
   (  ) Held office in the last 3 years

19. (  ) I belong to more than 3 groups but less than 6
    (  ) I belong to 6 or more groups
Section 2

Please read each of the following statements and circle the answer which would best represent YOUR PARENTS' attitude as you remember it. If you believe YOUR PARENTS would have disagreed on a particular question, circle the answer according to the attitude of the parent you think influenced you most as a child.

1. The father should be the final source of authority over children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. There should be a single standard in sex matters for both men and women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. Women have the same right as men to wear shorts in public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. A woman has the same right as a man to retain the same name after marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
7. The physical handicaps of women should be recognized as sufficient reason for men to disbar them from certain occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. It is unjust to make premarital sex experience grounds for divorce in the case of women but not in the case of men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. Under modern economic conditions involving activity of women outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

10. A woman, on the average, needs male protection and guidance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

11. A son's property at death should be assigned by law to his father rather than to his mother.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

12. Wifely submission is an outworn virtue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

13. Women should not receive equal remuneration with men in industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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14. Legal restrictions concerning minimum hours in industry should be the same for both sexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

15. Women are more likely than men to be underhanded in obtaining their ends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

16. Men are much better fitted to run business enterprises or direct the building of bridges than are women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

17. There is no occupation which should be closed to women because of alleged emotional instability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

18. A woman should "love, honor, and obey" her husband in the full sense of the phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

19. The word "obey" should not be permitted to remain in the marriage service.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20. The married woman should not permit personal feeling to interfere with the performance of her "conjugal duty."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
21. Women should give up their false ideal of intellectual equality with men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

22. The initiative in courtship should come from the man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

23. Women earning as much as their escorts should bear equally the expense of common recreation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

24. A married woman should not be permitted to will any of her property away from her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

25. Any family allowances which are paid to aid in the rearing of children should be paid to the father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Section 3

There are some kinds of problems many people over 60 report experiencing. Very often these are problems having to do with transportation, housing, and money.

There are also many ways people solve problems -- by themselves, by asking friends or relatives to help, by turning to professionals in certain fields, or by turning to social agencies.

Please look over each of the following problems and check those you have experienced since reaching 60, and where you found help solving the problem.

Transportation and Automobile Problems

1. ( ) Problem of knowing about maintenance of car
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

2. ( ) Problem of finding someone to do the work
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself
3. ( ) Problem of cost of car upkeep
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

4. ( ) I don't drive; transportation itself is a problem
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

5. If you drive, what year did you learn to drive? __________

6. If you don't drive, is it because you
   ( ) Never learned how
   ( ) Don't want to spend the money to keep a car
   ( ) Shouldn't drive for health reasons
   ( ) Shouldn't drive due to vision problems
   ( ) Other (please explain) ______________________________

Housing Problems

7. ( ) Problem of finding housing
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself
8. ( ) Problem of knowing what work should be done to keep up home
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

9. ( ) Problem of finding someone to do the work
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

10. ( ) Problem of cost of home upkeep
    ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
    ( ) Helped by friend
    ( ) Helped by professional
    ( ) Helped by social agency
    ( ) Solved it myself

Problems with Financial Matters

11. ( ) Problem with checking account
    ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) __________
    ( ) Helped by friend
    ( ) Helped by professional
    ( ) Helped by social agency
    ( ) Solved it myself
12. ( ) Problem with savings account
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

13. ( ) Problem with stocks and/or bonds
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

14. ( ) Problem with taxes
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

15. ( ) Problem with loans
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

16. ( ) Problem with insurance
   ( ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
   ( ) Helped by friend
   ( ) Helped by professional
   ( ) Helped by social agency
   ( ) Solved it myself

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17. (   ) Problem with wills
(   ) Helped by family member (relationship) ____________
(   ) Helped by friend
(   ) Helped by professional
(   ) Helped by social agency
(   ) Solved it myself

18. In general, who would you be most likely to ask to help you with a problem?
(   ) Family member (relationship) ______________________________
(   ) Friend
(   ) Professional in the problem area
(   ) A social agency
(   ) No one (please explain) ______________________________

___________________________________

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Please read each of the following statements and circle the answer which would best represent YOUR OWN attitude at this point in time.

1. The father should be the final source of authority over children.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree

2. There should be a single standard in sex matters for both men and women.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree

3. Women have the same right as men to wear shorts in public.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree

4. It is childish for a woman to assert herself by retaining her maiden name after marriage.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree

5. Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree

6. A woman has the same right as a man to retain the same name after marriage.
   - Strongly Agree
   - Agree
   - Undecided
   - Disagree
   - Strongly Disagree
7. The physical handicaps of women should be recognized as sufficient reason for men to disbar them from certain occupations.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

8. It is unjust to make premarital sex experience grounds for divorce in the case of women but not in the case of men.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

9. Under modern economic conditions involving activity of women outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

10. A woman, on the average, needs male protection and guidance.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

11. A son's property at death should be assigned by law to his father rather than to his mother.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

12. Wifely submission is an outworn virtue.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

13. Women should not receive equal remuneration with men in industry.

Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly

Disagree

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14. Legal restrictions concerning minimum hours in industry should be the same for both sexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

15. Women are more likely than men to be underhanded in obtaining their ends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

16. Men are better fitted to run business enterprises or direct the building of bridges than are women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

17. There is no occupation which should be closed to women because of alleged emotional instability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

18. A woman should "love, honor, and obey" her husband in the full sense of the phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

19. The word "obey" should not be permitted to remain in the marriage service.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20. The married woman should not permit personal feeling to interfere with the performance of her "conjugal duty."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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21. Women should give up their false ideal of intellectual equality with men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

22. The initiative in courtship should come from the man.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

23. Women earning as much as their escorts should bear equally the expense of common recreation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

24. A married woman should not be permitted to will any of her property away from her husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

25. Any family allowances which are paid to aid in the rearing of children should be paid to the father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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APPENDIX B

Groups Included - Correspondence
Groups Contacted

1. Retired School Employees Association*
2. Senior Citizens of Comstock*
3. Friendship Club - Salvation Army*
4. Vicksburg Community Center - Title VII Meal Site*
5. Helen Coover Recreation Center - Social Dance Group*
6. Edison Community Center - Title VII Meal Site*
7. Helen Coover Recreation Center - Macrame Class*
8. Extra Years of Zest Club*
9. Service Corps of Retired Executives*
10. Retired State Employees Association, Kalamazoo Chapter*
11. American Association of Retired Persons
12. Central 60-Plus Drop-In Center
13. Schoolcraft Community Center
14. Masons' Senior Citizens Club
15. Mothers of World War II
16. Sixty-Plus Club - Woodward Area

(* indicates participating group)
Dear

In order to complete my doctorate in Sociology, I am undertaking some research in the area of attitudes and problem solving among people over 60. I hope to have the assistance of many local groups in this project and would greatly appreciate the help of

More specifically, the project focuses on the many ways people go about solving the everyday problems that may confront them, and how attitudes and behavior learned in one's youth may affect problem-solving methods in adulthood. The members of could be extremely helpful in this study by filling out questionnaires which ask about their life history in terms of marriage, employment, education, etc. There are some questions about their attitudes and about how they have solved various problems.

No one will be asked to put his or her name on the questionnaire, so all of the information will be confidential. No individual in the group should feel he or she must fill out the questionnaire even if the group as a whole agrees to help with this project.

I expect to be collecting this information in September and early October. I would appreciate it very much if you could arrange for me to come to a meeting of your group early in the fall to tell your members about my research and enlist their help. I will contact you by telephone within the next few weeks to answer any questions you may have about the research and, hopefully, to arrange a time to come to one of your meetings. is extremely important in the collection of this information, and I do hope you will be able to arrange time to assist with the project.

Thank you for your consideration, and I am looking forward to talking with you in the next few weeks.

Sincerely,

Marilyn J. Bell
Dear

In order to complete my doctorate in Sociology, I am undertaking some research in the area of attitudes and problem solving among people over 60. I hope to have the assistance of many local groups in this project and would greatly appreciate the help of any that meet at

More specifically, the project focuses on the many ways people go about solving the everyday problems that may confront them, and how attitudes and behavior learned in one's youth may affect problem-solving methods in adulthood. The members of the group(s) could be extremely helpful in this study by filling out questionnaires which ask about their life histories in terms of marriage, employment, education, etc. There are some questions about their attitudes and about how they have solved various problems.

No one will be asked to put his or her name on the questionnaire, so all of the information will be confidential. No individual in the group should feel he or she must fill out the questionnaire even if the group as a whole agrees to help with this project.

I expect to be collecting this information in September and early October. I would appreciate it very much if you could arrange for me to come to meetings of any groups at to tell the members about my research and enlist their help. I will contact you by telephone within the next few weeks to answer any questions you may have about the research and, hopefully, to arrange a time to come to group meetings. All groups are extremely important in the collection of this information, and I do hope you will be able to assist with the project.

Thank you for your consideration, and I am looking forward to talking with you in the next few weeks.

Sincerely,

Marilyn J. Bell

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Buhler, Charlotte

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Decker, David L.  

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Dowty, Nancy G., Aaron Antonovsky, and Benjamin Moaz  

Duberman, Lucile  

Dubourg, G. O., and B. M. Mandlebrote  

Engle, Dorothy S.  

Erikson, Erik H.  

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Fox, Judith Huff  

Freedman, Mervin B.  

Frenkel-Brunswick, Else  

Gallagher, Bernard J. III  

Glenn, Norval D.  

Gove, Walter R., and Jeanette F. Tudor  

Gubrium, Jaber F.  

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Hampson, John L.  
Havighurst, Robert J.

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Hannig, Margaret, and Anne Jardim

Hochschild Arlie R.


Hoffman, Lois Wladis

Huyck, Margaret Hellie


Ireson, Carol

Jaslow, Philip
Jennings, M. Kent, and Richard G. Niemi

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Kagan, Jerome

Kahana, Eva

Kalish, Richard A.

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Roper, Brent, and Emily Labeff  

Rose, Arnold  

Rosenblatt, Aaron  

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Rosow, Irving

Rossi, Alice S.

Segal, Bernard

Shanas, Ethel

Shaw, Marvin E., and Philip R. Costanzo

Shaw, Marvin E., and Jack M. Wright

Siegel, Alberta Enguall, and Elizabeth Ann Curtis

Sommers, Tish

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Troll, Lillian E.

Troll, Lillian E.

Troll, Lillian E., Joan Israel, and Kenneth Israel

Uits, Carolee

Van den Berghe, Pierre L.

Vener, Arthur M., and Clinton A. Snyder

Vinick, Barbara

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Walum, Laurel Richardson

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Wolk, Stephen, and John Kurtz  

Youmans, E. Grant  