

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PROFESSIONAL ROLE AND POLITICAL
ATTITUDES IN THE ACADEMIC WORK FORCE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Political Science
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Mary Helen Neville
Fall 1977

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on survey responses from one hundred five faculty members of a southwestern urban university. A questionnaire was mailed to a sample composed of the women faculty in the top three academic ranks and to a matched sample of male faculty (two hundred academics). The matching male respondents were selected randomly from a list of all males of similar department rank and marital status.

The findings indicated that academic women in this sample do not differ significantly from their male counterparts with respect to professional role definition or adaptation. However, women perceive their own professional experiences differently from the way in which men perceive either their own experiences or the professional women's experiences.

Finally, while all faculty are supportive of feminist goals dealing with civil rights issues, women professionals differ from their male counterparts in that they tend to support change in the present sex role system.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scholarly literature on professional women has focused largely on socio-economic background profiles,¹ the difficulties women face in developing positive self-images as professionals,² the participation rates of women in professional activities,³ and the patterns of sex discrimination evident in the professions and institutions.⁴ In addition, there is a vast array of literature identifying the importance of gender

¹Helen S. Astin, The Woman Doctorate in America (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969).

²Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Woman's Place (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970) and Pamela Roby, "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education" in Alice Rossi and Ann Calderwood (eds.). Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), pp. 37-56.

³Lora B. Robinson, "The Status of Academic Woman," ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, April, 1971; and Michelle Patterson, "Sex and Specialization in Academe and the Professions" in Rossi and Calderwood, op. cit., pp. 313-331.

⁴See, for example, Helen S. Astin and Alan E. Bayer, "Sex Discrimination in Academe" in Rossi and Calderwood. Bayer found that sex was a better predictor of salary than academic rank or degree. Mary M. Lepper, "The Status of Women in the United States, 1976: Still Looking for Justice and Equity," Women in Public Administration (July-August, 1976), pp. 365-368.

difference in the socialization process of children.⁵ However, as William E. Moore reports, the acquisition of requisite skills and attitudes for occupations appears not to have excited scholarly interest proportionate to its importance.⁶

Although recent research has identified the importance of gender differences in the socialization process of children, less attention has been directed toward the impact of these gender differences on professional role socialization.⁷ The growing number of women who hold professional posts has generated interesting normative and analytical questions, such as whether women and men define the professional role in similar terms, or whether women perform as men do in identical professional situations.

⁵Janet S. Chafetz, Masculine/Feminine or Human; Fred Greenstein, "Sex Related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, 23 (1961), 353-371; Paul Musser, "Early Sex Role Development" in David Goslin, Handbook of Socialization (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), pp. 707-732; and Wilma R. Kraus, "Political Implications of Gender Roles: Review of the Literature," American Political Science Review, 68 (December, 1974), 1706-1723.

⁶William E. Moore, "Occupational Socialization" in Goslin, op. cit., p. 861.

⁷Cynthia Epstein and Athena Theodore, The Professional Woman (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1971). The latter is a collection of articles distinguishing between professional and non-professional women, comparing males and females and documenting extensively a distinctly different role for the professional woman.

Two distinctly different positions on gender differences in the professional role have been taken by women's advocates. Some argue that women bring different, and indeed desirably different qualities to the professional setting which influence role definition and performance. On the other hand, some analysts argue that there are no differences in gender; men and women in professional settings respond in similar ways to similar stimuli. This study is an attempt to formulate some hypotheses about gender differences in professional role definition and adaptation, and to investigate the participation of women in professional life.

Professional role could be examined in a number of settings. Using the academic setting as an illustrative case seems particularly ideal because of the variety of professions represented. Thus, professional role is examined in this research by a survey of female and male faculty in a southwestern urban university.

Professional women, particularly those in an academic environment, are both non-traditional occupational role models and attitude leaders. The survey also allows us to examine the attitudes of professional women on a political movement of importance to them.

Role and Role Conflict

Janet Saltzman Chafetz, writing in Masculine/Feminine or Human?, notes that the concept of role may be defined in terms of "a cluster of socially or culturally defined expectations that individuals in a given situation are expected to fulfill."⁸ A number of scholars have suggested that the contradictory nature of the expectations society holds for women and the expectations society holds for professionals cause the professional woman a great deal of personal anxiety and stress.⁹ Such role stress is referred to as "sociological ambivalence" and is defined by Robert Merton and Elinor Barber as

... . the social state in which a person, in any of his statuses (as wife, husband, lawyer) faces extraordinary normative expectations of attitudes, beliefs and behaviours which specify how any of these statuses should be defined.¹⁰

Cynthia Epstein states that it is this ambivalence which is a primary source of stress for the professional woman in planning and preparing for a future career, entering a career, and being successful and respected in a career.

⁸Chafetz, p. 3.

⁹Epstein, p. 19.

¹⁰Ibid.

The ambivalence professional women are likely to face are summed up well by a recent Yale Ph.D.:

The woman professional must cope with the very contradictory drive of her profession and what society expects of her. Men are fortunate that professional success and social success are judged by standards which don't conflict with each other. But what of the woman professional? She is judged by one set of standards as a professional and another set of standards as a woman. She may find that success as a professional detracts from her status as a woman, and feel, as a result, that she must somehow compensate for her professional success in order to prove herself as a woman.¹¹

According to Epstein, ambivalence arises from the contradictions posed by three factors: (1) images of the female role, (2) professional roles, (3) American society's values of equality and achievement.¹² Epstein's argument is

. . . that these cultural and structural processes create conditions which act to limit women's participation in prestige occupations and alter their capacity to fulfill professional norms.¹³

An examination of these three factors will further explicate the conflicts faced by the professional women.

Sex Roles

Sex roles are the constellation of traits and behaviours which are considered "feminine" and "masculine."

¹¹Rossi and Calderwood, op. cit., p. 59.

¹²Epstein, p. 20.

¹³Ibid., p. 20.

They are usually defined according to the images of the ideal man and woman that appear in a society's literature and history, and are maintained by a community through a process of rewards and punishments. Jesse Bernard observes that sex roles are a social-cultural-sociological-psychological fact.¹⁴ Sex roles are also of political significance in that they are

. . . directly related to the political socialization a child will receive, the law which he or she will need to abide by, the differential distribution of social values and the micro and macro power relations of men and women.¹⁵

Research has shown that sex roles vary across cultures, times, and socio-economic status. In Iran, for example, some of the traits that Americans consider feminine are included in the masculine sex role and considered inappropriate for Iranian women.¹⁶ Similarly, no one would argue that the Victorian concept of femininity which included weakness, fragility, and sickness applies to the feminine sex role today. Variance by socio-economic status has been

¹⁴Kraus, op. cit., p. 1707.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 1707.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1707. See also "Being and Doing: A Cross Cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females" in *Women in Sexist Society*, Garnick and Moran, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

reported in the United States and United Kingdom where lower and working class male youths are socialized to be politically passive while middle-class youngsters are nurtured to be politically active, whereas the opposite is the case for physical aggression.¹⁷

For the American culture, femininity includes personal warmth, tenderness, empathy, passivity, sensitivity, grace, charm, compliance, dependence, and deference. In addition, Epstein notes that the image of woman includes what she describes as "non-characteristics: lack of aggressiveness, lack of personal involvement and egotism, lack of persistence (unless it be for the benefit of a family member) and lack of ambitious drive."¹⁸ Masculine characteristics, that is, characteristics which are thought of as positive characteristics for men, include being practical, adventurous, an initiator, active, competitive, aggressive, and autonomous. A crucial point to be made with respect to these characteristics is that if a male is described by use of "feminine" characteristics, this description detracts from the prestige of the male (and vice versa).

¹⁷Kraus, ibid., p. 1707.

¹⁸Epstein, p. 22.

Professional Role

A major source of ambivalence derives from society's definition of professional role as related to the masculine sex role. Professional role can be defined as the socially and culturally prescribed set of interrelated attitudinal, behavioral, and value patterns which are expected of or considered appropriate for all professional persons. In a university setting, for example, graduate students, as potential professionals, learn more or less complete roles by observing faculty and interacting with them in the professional context. A study of professional role includes, among other interests, an examination of how individuals in a profession define their role, how well they conform or adapt to the norms of the profession (how they feel about themselves and their work), and the quality of their participation in professional life.

Each individual performs many roles during the course of a lifetime. This study is concerned with those individuals who combine the feminine and professional roles and the ways in which they differ from their male counterparts. Robert Merton defined "status*" set as "the complement of social

¹⁹Joseph Fichter, Sociology (University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 212-218.

*Sociologists often use "status" and "role" interchangeably.

statuses."²⁰ "Status set typing occurs when a class of persons shares statuses and when it is considered appropriate for them to do so."²¹ For example, members of the political elite in this country share their occupational roles as well as other roles such as being white, male and Anglo-Saxon. This combination occurs most frequently and any deviation from this pattern is considered highly significant and makes people feel uncomfortable.

The major consequence of a person's acquisition of a status which "should" not fit in with others he holds is that irrelevant statuses will be focused upon or activated. In such deviant cases, the irrelevant status is the salient status.²²

For women professionals, gender becomes the salient status. Since feminine and professional roles are traditionally defined as mutually exclusive, a woman typically either chooses between the two or combines them under great stress.²³ Indeed, the socialization process works to reinforce and transmit norms that guarantee that the stress produced by an attempt to reconcile feminine and professional norms will be intense, if

²⁰Epstein, p. 87.

²¹Ibid., p. 87.

²²Ibid., p. 89.

²³Jane U. Anderson, "Psychological Determinants" in Women and Success, pp. 200-207.

not self-defeating.

Epstein defines the basic conflict each individual female must come to terms with if she chooses not to accept society's definition of her role and the functions she is allowed to perform:

Conflict faces the would-be career woman, for the core of attributes found in most professional and occupational roles is considered to be masculine: persistence and drive, personal dedication, aggressiveness emotional detachment, and a kind of sexless matter of factness equated with intellectual performance.²⁴

Arlie Hochschild discusses this phenomenon also when she describes the professional woman as partially rejected by both other women and her male colleagues.²⁵ According to Hochschild, the process of de-feminization and the process of de-professionalization are identifiable patterns of behavior with which professional women attempt to reconcile role conflict. In order to maintain a professional identity, some professional women carry on their own subtle form of de-feminization by coming across as somehow different from all other women or somehow more professional than their male colleagues.

Even the mass media present feminine and professional

²⁴Epstein, p. 23.

²⁵Arlie Hochschild, "Making It" in Women and Success, Ruth B. Kundsinn, ed. (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1974), p. 196.

roles as mutually exclusive. Rose Laub Coser and Gerald Rokoff, in "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict," report the results of a content analysis of a popular film. The image of the professional women presented to the public is that the professional woman is not really a woman, but rather a frustrated person who exhibits masculine behaviour. As the plot thickens, the career woman has a streak of luck and meets a man with whom she falls in love. Real masculinity wins in the end when she becomes a happy housewife. The other message implied by this type of film is that since a woman's choice of an occupation is not compatible with her having a family, the only reasonable thing she can do is to forsake her career.²⁶

Epstein observes that women who attempt to demonstrate both feminine and professional traits usually end up confusing their colleagues who cannot discern how to react to them. In addition both males and females feel professional women violate the feminine stereotype. That the number of women who have successfully combined feminine and professional roles is limited and that they usually receive limited recognition are both indicators that the socialization process offers major

²⁶Rose Laub Coser and Gerald Rokoff, "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict," Social Problems, p. 542.

impediments to later professional socialization for women.

Equality and Achievement

Another source of ambivalence for females delineated by Epstein arises from the theme of equality and achievement imbued in the ordinary American citizen through the process of political socialization. In the Declaration of Independence there is expressed a conviction that "all men are created equal" and, indeed, survey research has shown that most Americans articulate an abstract commitment to this "democratic" value.²⁷ Feminism, which is a commitment to the social, political and economic equality of the sexes, seems to be the logical extension of this commitment Americans have to equality. In reality, however, this abstract commitment seems to vaporize when common responses to feminist goals are considered. For example, while racist jokes are no longer considered socially acceptable, this same taboo does not apply to sexist "humour." Indeed some men are proud to report to women that they are male chauvinist pigs though they would not think of extending the equivalent information to a Black. Many still cannot adjust to the participation of women in public and

²⁷Kenneth Prewitt and Sidney Verba, An Introduction to American Government (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 44-68.

professional life on an equal basis. With "state after state defeating the Equal Rights Amendment, male dominated legislatures are rubbing women's faces in their inequality."²⁸

Achievement, an important aspect of the American socialization process is also given a separate definition for women. Achievement is operationalized within a separate but equal framework; that is, for men, success is a rewarding, prestigious occupation; for women, it becomes being the wife of someone with a rewarding, prestigious occupation.

The literature suggests that adaptation to the professional role for the professional woman is significantly different, and indeed more difficult than it is for the professional man. Accordingly, we might expect that indicators of role definition and role adaptation would differ significantly by sex. For example, women as products of feminine sex role socialization might be expected to allocate more professional time to the nurturant function of teaching; women professionals might feel a compulsion to put their personal lives before their professional commitments; and that women would feel a "natural" dissatisfaction with a career.

On the other hand, one could also argue that indicators

²⁸"Era Rejection Challenging," Houston Post, May 6, 1975.

of role definition and role adaptation will be similar for males and females, since the process of professional socialization would tend to overcome any non-professional sex role traits. In this view, men and women in professional settings will respond in the same way to similar stimuli. Hence, one purpose of this study can be described as an attempt to formulate and examine some hypotheses about gender difference in professional role definition and professional role adaptation.

Participation in Professional Life

The literature on professional women²⁹ suggests three main variables which affect women's participation in professional life. These have been referred to as the protege system,³⁰ the old boy club³¹ and the Queen Bee syndrome.³²

The protege system. In many professions it is important for a student to be the protege of an established member

²⁹Theodore, op. cit., represents a collection of articles discussing sexual structure of professions, cultural definitions of the female professions, career choice processes, adult socialization and career commitment, career patterns and marriage, the marginal professional and female professionalism and social change. Specifically, on academic women by Rossi and Calderwood.

³⁰Epstein, pp. 168-173.

³¹Jesse Bernard, Women and the Public Interest (Chicago: Aldine, 1971), pp. 112-113.

³²Graham Haines, et al., "The Queen Bee Syndrome," Psychology Today (January, 1971), pp. 55-60.

of that profession. This system provides training, support, and professional opportunities. Epstein states that the protege system may inhibit the advancement of women in the professions since a sponsor is likely to be male with mixed feelings about accepting a woman as a protege. Even if women manage to obtain professional credentials, male sponsors are hesitant to push for their employment or key professional growth opportunities because of a presumed lack of professional commitment on the part of women. Epstein notes, for example, that the famous anthropologist Ruth Benedict was the protege of Franz Ross, but he thought she did not need much money because her husband supported her, and that she would never work hard. Therefore, he helped her get an assistant professorship only after she separated from her husband. Roby observes that women students are not taken seriously by most professors, who assume that women are less committed to the discipline and who will probably just quit and get married anyway.³³ Epstein argues that the interdependence of career advancement and sponsorship may operate differently for the sexes; that is, a woman may be able to advance in a profession only because she is somebody's protege; whereas, career advancement for men is not necessarily dependent upon sponsorship.

³³Roby in Rossi and Calderwood's Academic Women, p. 52.

The Old Boy Club. The second variable affecting women's participation in professional life, most notably academic life, is the nature of informal interaction within the professional environment. The "Old Boy" professional network controls information about professionals which establishes their professional reputations and controls access to "in" information. It also provides an informal system of introduction, support, and casual exposure to current research ideas; grants prospects intellectual interaction which encourages creative thought and interpretation.

Jesse Bernard, in Women and the Public Interest, observes that even when women have achieved formal equality on their campuses, they may still be denied informal signs of belonging and recognition.³⁴ For example, male professional colleagues may focus on the sex role of the female professional rather than the professional role and deny that individual access to the exclusive male club of that profession. In addition, by focusing on the sex role, the female professional is made to feel uncomfortable in talking over an idea or trying to find a partner with whom she can share a research interest. This denial of recognition has a political dimension to it, for many professions key decisions are made in informal,

³⁴Bernard, pp. 112-113.

casual settings traditionally reserved for male access.

Jane Prather also addresses herself to the exclusion of women from informal situations where decisions are made, and the implications of this custom for the advancement of women in the professions.³⁵ She finds that women are excluded from powerful, informal circles.

The Queen Bee syndrome. The third variable affecting women's participation in professional life is the Queen Bee syndrome. This term is used to describe the fact that some women enjoy their special status of being "the only woman" or "the first woman" and develop a prejudice against other women. Having made it on their merit, having beaten the system, these accomplished women do not seek out the recognition and support of other women and strenuously resist encouragement which might be given to other women having a potential for success.³⁶

Research conducted by Philip Goldberg which was reported in a 1968 publication indicated that "women do consider their own sex inferior, and even when facts give no support to this belief, they will persist in downgrading the competence--particularly, the intellectual and professional competence--of their fellow females."³⁷ Female evaluators were

³⁵Prather, American Behavioral Scientist, pp. 172-182.

³⁶Haines, et al.

³⁷Goldberg in Theodore, p. 167.

asked to evaluate several articles at different times. The sex of the authors was changed at each evaluation time. One particularly interesting aspect of Goldberg's research was that though the articles were exactly the same, female evaluators felt that when the articles were supposedly written by male authors they were superior and definitely more impressive than when the same articles were supposedly written by female authors. Another interesting finding was the lack of support for the hypothesis that the tendency to downgrade the work of female professionals would decrease as the proportion of females in a particular field increased. Thus, even in "traditionally female fields, anti-feminism holds sway."³⁸

Epstein reports that from her interviews with women lawyers, she had the impression that while they generally respected themselves, they often had negative things to say about other women lawyers.³⁹

Gender differences in perceptions of the participation of women in professional life will be closely related to whether academic women in this sample differ significantly from their male counterparts with respect to either role definition or role adaptation. If women define their role as

³⁸ Goldberg in Theodore, p. 171.

³⁹ Epstein, p. 26.

professionals and conform and adapt to professional norms in ways not dissimilar to those of male counterparts, one would not expect significant gender differences in perception of the participation of women in professional life.

Professional Attitudes Toward Feminism

Until very recently, a judgment on the nature of political systems based on knowledge of political science literature would lend itself to the conclusion that political systems operate in a world without women.⁴⁰ Political scientists, for the most part, had seen women primarily as wives and mothers; and, secondly, as citizens in either capacity, females did not seem to merit much scholarly examination.

Empirical knowledge of women as political beings is gradually expanding.⁴¹ This increase in empirical work on gender differences in political behaviour and attitudes is closely associated with the rebirth of the feminist movement

⁴⁰Arlie Hochschild, "The American Women: Another Tool of Social Science," Transaction, 8 (November-December, 1970), 13.

⁴¹For examples, see Jeane K. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1974); Jane S. Jaquette, Women in Politics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974); and David Brady and Kent Tedin, "Ladies in Pink: The Anti-ERA Movement," Social Science Quarterly, 56 (March, 1976), 564-575.

in the United States since 1970. The focus of this study will be limited to an examination of attitudes of professionals toward the women's movement or feminism.

The goals of the present women's movement which are articulated in feminist writings can be described as civil rights issues; that is, issues relating to equality in status and opportunity, and issues requiring changes in sex roles.

Civil rights issues are those issues which concentrate on ending discrimination in hiring, equalizing salaries and promotions, increasing women's career choices, and changing laws that discriminate against women. The civil rights issues are similar in that each facilitates a woman's access to and presence within the established system. Moderate feminists, for example, may be characterized as primarily concerned with civil rights issues. Deckard suggests that these women find that liberal principals of equality have not been applied to women and that they should be.⁴² "Moderate feminists tend to see sexism as dysfunctional for society--it deprives society of the talents of half of its members."⁴³

Examples of current issues in the women's movement which require changes in sex roles are removing expectations

⁴²Deckard, The Women's Movement, p. 426.

⁴³Deckard, p. 427.

of what men and women can do in jobs, hobbies and home life, changing family relationships between husband and wife, and freeing men from a rigid sex role performance. Women who give high priority to these issues generally believe "androgeny to be a major defining characteristic of a good society."⁴⁴ With the destruction of sex roles, both males and females would be free to develop and express the full range of desirable human traits and qualities.⁴⁵ Androgeny is typically a radical feminist goal.

Research conducted on the political behaviour of academic women in professional organizations shows that academic women tend to be fairly moderate, if not conservative in their view of the goals of the women's movement.⁴⁶ The research suggests that having been outside of the system for so long, academic women place a higher priority on access to the system, rather than any substantial changing of that system. Indeed, Klotzburger argues that "their primary goals are to ensure equal opportunity and to increase the participation of

⁴⁴Deckard, p. 425.

⁴⁵Deckard, p. 425; and Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Toward a Recognition of Androgeny (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

⁴⁶Klotzberger in Rossi and Calderwood, p. 385.

woman in established professional groups."⁴⁷

Given the difficulties of the professional women, we might hypothesize that they would place a high priority on destruction of sex roles. Similarly, as potential victims of professional exclusion or under-utilization by both formal and subtle processes, and by both male and female colleagues, we might expect a group of women radically supportive of equality of the sexes. However, on the basis of past research on academic women, one would expect academic women to place a higher priority on equal job opportunity than on destruction of sex roles. Indeed, the nature of the professional experiences, the perception of role conflicts and the ease of participation in the professional community may form the context within which professional women view the movement and its goals.

Overview

A woman who has the intellectual capacities for professional work is forced to reconcile her capabilities with the traditional images of her place in society and her own self-image, as produced by the standard agents on socialization. In addition, a woman who has established her competency in a field by successfully completing professional

⁴⁷Ibid.

training generally lacks the collegial support or encouragement that is afforded her male counterparts. Since the feminine and professional roles are defined traditionally as mutually exclusive, a woman typically either chooses between the two or combines them under great stress. Indeed, the socialization process works to reinforce and transmit norms that guarantee that the stress produced by a reconciliation of the feminine and professional role will be intense if not self-defeating. That the number of women who have successfully combined feminine and professional roles is limited, and that they usually receive limited recognition, is an indication that the socialization process offers major impediments to later professional socialization for women.

The literature on professional women suggests at least three variables which affect women's participation in professional life. These have been referred to as: the protege system, the old boy club, and the Queen Bee Syndrome.

The protege system may inhibit the advancement of women in the professions since the sponsor is more likely to be male with mixed feelings about accepting a woman as a protege. Even if women manage to gain professional credentials, male sponsors are hesitant to push for their employment or key professional growth opportunities for them. For example,

women students are not taken seriously by most professors, who assume women are less committed to the discipline, and "will probably just get married and quit anyway."

The second variable affecting women's participation in professional life, most notably academic life, is the nature of informal interaction within the professional environment. Even when women have achieved formal equality on their campuses, they may well still be denied informal signs of belonging and recognition. This denial of belonging and recognition has a political dimension to it, for in many professions, key decisions are made in informal settings traditionally reserved for male access. Informal systems of introduction and support are provided by this network, as well as the casual exposure to current research ideas and intellectual interaction which encourages creative thought and interpretations.

The third variable affecting women's participation in professional life is the Queen Bee Syndrome, which is a term used to describe the fact that some women enjoy special status of being the "only woman" or the "first woman," and develop a prejudice against other women, hence inhibiting their participation. Having made it on their own merit, having "beaten the system," these accomplished women do not seek out recognition from other women and resist strenuously encouragement

which might be given to other women who have the potential for success.

These observations suggest that adaptation to the professional role for women is significantly different and indeed more difficult than it is for the male professional. Indeed, women have always been under-represented among university faculty, and they are usually found in fields which suggest that women tend to choose career areas where sex role conflict may be minimized. Hence, the purpose of this study is (1) to examine the professional role definition and adaptation of female and male academics in order to ascertain the degree to which gender is a significant influence; (2) to examine the impact of the protege system, the Old Boy Club and the Queen Bee syndrome on the participation of women in the university; and (3) to examine the attitudes of professions toward feminist goals, measuring the extent to which those perceptions differ by sex.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter will describe the manner in which the data on attitudes of professionals were collected as well as the operationalization of the two dependent variables and the statistical techniques used in this study. The specific research setting of this study is an urban state university, located in the southwestern United States, with an enrollment of over 30,000 students. While women represent about 19 percent of the total faculties in all colleges and universities nationally, women represent about 10 percent of the faculty surveyed.¹

The study is based on a sample of 105 faculty members. The university employs 16 full professors, 27 associate professors and 57 assistant professors who are women. During February, 1976, a questionnaire was mailed to a sample composed of the women faculty in the top three academic ranks and to a

¹Laura Morlock, "Discipline Variation in the Status of Academic Women" in Academic Women on the Move by Alice Rossi and Ann Calderwood (eds.) (New York: Russell Sage, 1973), p. 258.

matched sample of men faculty. Part-time faculty were not included in the sample. The matching male respondents were selected randomly from a list of all males of similar department, rank and marital status. Thirty-one departments are represented in the sample.² The two hundred faculty members comprising the sample population were asked to return the completed questionnaire in March, 1976. One hundred thirteen questionnaires were returned, of which 105 had been completed.

The matching sample procedure provided the comparative data necessary in order to establish a distinction between attitudes of males and females in a professional occupation. Only by comparing the responses of males and females are we capable of addressing the larger research issue: to what extent does gender influence roles and political attitudes held by professionals. The matching male respondents were selected randomly from a list of all males of similar rank, department and marital status. These three control variables--rank, department, and marital status--were selected because the scholarly literature on the status of women in academia consistently reports differences between academic males and

²Males were chosen from college if the same rank; male was not available within the department. Marital status was dropped if all other criteria could be met.

females on these bases. Women, for example, are far less numerous in the upper academic ranks. Laura Morlock found this pattern characteristic of nine academic disciplines.³ Similarly, studies show the proportion of women faculty tends to be greater in departments of education and modern languages, while they are considerably under-represented in the natural sciences. With respect of marital status, Alan Bayer found that "a much larger proportion of women than men elect not to combine academic with marital and parental roles; women are much less likely than their male colleagues to be married and, if married, less likely to have children."⁴

This matched sampling procedure was designed to eliminate discrepancies in rank, department and marital status that would have been present had males been randomly selected from the university faculty population. The procedure was an attempt to create a sample of professionals who were similar in every respect, except gender, thereby allowing for the testing of the hypothesis that women perceive their professional roles differently from men, and this perception influences their political attitudes as well as control for as much

³Laura Morlock, op. cit., p. 261.

⁴Bayer in Rossi and Calderwood, p. 264.

known variance as possible. As a result of this procedure, thirty-one departments were represented in this survey.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of items designed to measure job satisfaction, self-perception, images of the ideal academic, allocation of professional time, attitudes toward men and women interacting professionally in the academic environment, childhood experiences,⁵ and attitudes toward feminism as a political movement. The traditional sequence of questions suggested by Backstrom and Hursh was used.⁶ Each respondent received a letter of introduction (attached to the questionnaire itself) which described the research project and requested their participation. The questionnaire began with a series of warm-up questions which consisted of innocuous inquiries on how the respondent liked her/his work and colleagues at the university. These questions were designed to build rapport and catch the interest of the respondent. The body of the study included other job-related questions: questions on graduate school experiences,

⁵Questions designed to test differences in childhood experiences showed no differences by sex.

⁶Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald D. Hursh, Survey Research (Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 92.

statements that were designed to elicit a wide variety of responses regarding current stereotypes, attributes, and issues about women in universities, questions about self-perception, and a series of questions dealing with feminism. The questionnaire concluded with demographic questions, including questions on tenure, rank, professional discipline, marital status, race, age religion, sex, income and years of academic service. The questions were for the most part structured, though respondents were encouraged to elaborate if they wished. The questionnaire was pretested on four graduate students who reported that the questionnaire took about twenty minutes to complete.

In recognition of the demanding schedules followed by academicians, the questionnaire was mailed to the respondents so that they might complete the questionnaire at a time and place most convenient for them. We hoped that the flexibility of this method of distribution, as well as the structured design of the instrument itself, would increase the proportion of the sample willing to participate in the survey.

The Response

The 200 faculty members comprising the sample population were asked to return the completed questionnaire by March 5, 1976, which was three weeks after they had originally

received the questionnaire. On March 22, 1976, the sample members received a second notification which thanked those who had responded for their time and effort and promised to honor requests for the results of the study with a copy of the findings. In addition, the recipients of the questionnaire who had not responded were asked to do so. One hundred thirteen questionnaires were returned of which 105 contained information which could be used. Thus, the response rate for this study is 56.5 percent.

Since the study is based on a matched sample, it is of some importance to establish sample trends. Sex is the main independent variable and, in terms of this variable, males are clearly somewhat under-represented: 56 percent of the 105 respondents are females; 44 percent are males. With respect to rank, Table A shows that over two-thirds (70 per cent) of the respondents are assistant professors. Most of the males (74 percent) in the sample fall in the assistant professor category (as do the females); however, there are a greater proportion of females than males in the other two academic ranks. Interestingly enough, though mostly a function of rank, more males than females reported being untenured. Departments in the College of Education and the College of Humanities and Fine Arts are where most women faculty are concentrated, and

TABLE A
ACADEMIC RANK OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX*

	Percent Females	Percent Males	Totals (N=104)
Full Professor	9	7	8
Associate Professor	26	20	23
Assistant Professor	65	74	69

*Not significant.

so not surprisingly, Table B shows that over one-half of the respondents are from those colleges. As Table C indicates, males in the sample are overwhelmingly married (71 percent). The respondents are generally young (49.5 percent are under thirty-five years of age), and cross-tabulation of age by sex shows that older males and younger females are somewhat under-represented.

The sample on which this study is based appears to be reasonably representative of the full-time faculty holding tenure track academic ranks and their male counterparts. No inferences can be made about attitudes of male faculty in general on the basis of this data. Similarly, no inferences about university faculty attitudes can be made on the basis of the data collected.

Operationalization of the Dependent Variables

Role Definition and Adaptation

For the purposes of this research, role definition refers to relative amount of time devoted to a variety of professional activities. Respondents were asked to indicate what percentage of their professional time they spent on teaching, research and departmental service. Role definition was also measured by a semantic differential designed to ascertain personal and professional characteristics associated

TABLE B
RESPONDENTS' COLLEGE BY SEX*

	Percent Females (N=59)	Percent Males (N=46)	Totals
Business Administration	5	4	5
Education	22	30	26
Humanities & Fine Arts	24	20	22
Engineering	0	2	1
Law	0	2	1
Natural Science	10	13	11
Pharmacy/Optometry	5	2	4
Social Science	32	17	26
Technology	2	6	4

*Not significant.

TABLE C
MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX*

	Percent Females (N=58)	Percent Males (N=44)	Totals
Single	47	29	39
Married	53	71	62

*Not significant.

with the ideal academic. The differential was based along a five point scale for a series of paired items, one of which might be considered "feminine," the other "masculine." For example, respondents were asked to rate the ideal academic in terms of a practical-impractical scale. Finally, differing perceptions of role definition were tested by asking respondents to agree or disagree (strongly or just) with the following statement: There are not enough rewards in the university system for good teaching. The latter statement was used because socialization studies suggest women might be more concerned about good teaching than are males. Moreover, teaching in the university tends to take on the connotation of "women's work," and is often considered less important than research.

Role adaptation was measured by questions designed to measure job satisfaction and self-perception. Several questions were asked to determine whether women differ from their male counterparts in terms of satisfaction with their work, how they feel about themselves and how well they fit into the academic niche. For example, respondents were asked if they found their work at the university rewarding and satisfying. In addition, since the literature has often indicated that married women have a particular disadvantage in reconciling their many roles, respondents were asked if their marital

status interfered with their professional advancement.

Finally, in order to measure how academicians view themselves professionally, respondents were requested to describe themselves by use of a semantic differential similar to the one described for the ideal academic, and rank qualities (moral, social, physical, and intellectual) they liked most about themselves.

Participation Within the Professional Setting

This variable was measured by a series of questions designed to represent a wide variety of current stereotypes, attributes and issues about women in universities. Of the statements to which each participant was asked to respond, five dealt with the undesirability of women in the academic work force, three dealt with the exclusion of females by both male and female colleagues, two dealt with stereotypical attitudes thought to be held by women, and one dealt with stereotypical functions expected of women. We were particularly interested in testing for the influence of the three male variables discussed in the literature. For example, respondents were asked to indicate a degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement: Peer relationships where professional decisions are made and favours exchanged in terms of research

collaborations frequently exclude women faculty members. Responses to this question were used to indicate collegial exclusion of women professionals, specifically the presence or absence of the Old Boy Club. Similarly, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: A significant number of women professionals are prejudiced against other women. Significant responses on this question were taken as evidence of the existence or absence of attitudes associated with the Queen Bee syndrome. The protege system was measured by responses to the following statements:

1. Directing the work of a male graduate student is more prestigious than directing the work of a female graduate student.

2. Female graduate students are not as dedicated as male students are to the discipline.

3. Some professors do not really take female graduates students seriously.

4. Most women lack the necessary drive to be really successful in this discipline.

5. It is easier for a woman to get a job now than it should be.

This five-part operationalization is in basic agreement with the description of the protege system provided in the literature mentioned earlier in Chapter I. This section also included agree/disagree questions on women students' need for women role models, expectations that women, because they are

women, will be supportive of other colleagues, and whether the qualities necessary for success in the university differ for men and women.

Attitudes Toward Feminist Goals

The respondents were provided with a list of goals that have been suggested by the literature as objectives of the women's movement and were asked to assign a priority (low, medium, high) to each goal. The list of goals were representative of both civil rights issues as well as issues requiring changes in sex roles. Specifically, respondents were asked to prioritize the following: ending discrimination in hiring, changing family relationships between husband and wife, freeing men from a rigid sex role performance, increasing women's career choices, minimizing sexual distinctions in human relationships, equalizing salaries and promotions, changing standards of sexual conduct and removing expectations of what men and women can do in jobs, hobbies, and home life.

A separate question was asked to investigate attitudes toward ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Respondents were asked if they agree or disagree with the argument that barriers against women's full participation in society cannot be removed unless and until men share equally with women the responsibilities of homemaking and child-

rearing. Two questions on attitudes toward androgeny were included. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statements: (1) Both men and women would benefit from a movement away from polarization of the sexes toward a world in which the modes of personal behavior can be freely chosen; and (2) creativity, independence, nurturance, and sensitivity should be considered desirable traits for all human beings.

Finally, general questions on political party identification and political philosophical leanings were also included.

Statistical Techniques

Simple descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected in this study. Specifically, contingency table analysis was used to investigate sets of relationships among two or more variables. The relationships are displayed in cross-tabulation tables and are summarized with a measure of association (Tau C) and a test of significance.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS: PROFESSIONAL ROLE

Role Definition

The female and male respondents in this study, all of whom are full-time faculty, do not differ significantly in their responses to questions on the proportion of time devoted to teaching, research and department service. Women and men faculty appear to devote about the same amount of time to teaching, research and administrative tasks as indicated in Table 1. In addition, there were no statistically significant differences by sex to the statement, "There are not enough rewards in the university system for good teaching." Males (87 percent) and females (76 percent) alike tended to agree with this statement, suggesting that the respondents define the importance of teaching in approximately the same way. Suggestions that women will devote more time to the nurturant functions of teaching, counseling and department service than to research are completely without basis in this sample.

Role definition was also measured by the respondents' description of an ideal academic. The respondents were asked to describe the ideal academic by use of a semantic

TABLE 1
ACADEMIC ROLE DEFINITION

Percent of Time Spent in Professional Activities			
	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent Female (N=54)</u>	<u>Percent Male (N=45)</u>
Teaching	1 - 10	2	4
	11 - 25	17	20
	26 - 50	50	63
	51 - 75	24	18
	76 -100	7	4
Research	1 - 10	29	23
	11 - 25	36	42
	26 - 50	33	30
	51 - 75	2	5
	76 -100	--	--
Administrative	1 - 10	33	39
	11 - 25	25	35
	26 - 50	23	22
	51 - 75	--	3
	76 -100	--	--

differential. This task involved rating the ideal academic along a scale from "1" to "5" for a series of items, one of which might be considered "masculine," the other "feminine."

As shown in Table 3, the responses did not differ significantly by sex, though ironically women are more likely than men to say that the ideal academic should be practical, autonomous, and should demonstrate initiative. In response to a direct question, sample members did not indicate that they consider the ideal academic to be characteristically "masculine" or "feminine." However, a breakdown of the data show that respondents, regardless of sex, tend to see the ideal academic in terms of traditionally "masculine" characteristics: practical, adventurous, initiator, competitive. There is one notable exception to this trend: both men and women see the ideal academic as compassionate (which may be viewed as a "feminine" characteristic) rather than distant. This variable is also distinguished by sex in that women are more likely than men to say the ideal academic should be compassionate.

Role Adaptation

In order to measure role adaptation, several questions were asked of the respondents to determine whether women

TABLE 2
ACADEMIC ROLE DEFINITION

There Are Not Enough Rewards for Teaching			
	Percent Female <u>(N=58)</u>	Percent Male <u>(N=45)</u>	Total <u>(N=103)</u>
Agree	76	87	81
Neutral	17	2	11
Disagree	7	11	9
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 3
ACADEMIC ROLE DEFINITION

Gender Differences in Identified Attributes of the Ideal Academic	
	<u>Tau C</u>
**Practical - impractical	.18*
Logical - intuitive	-.07
Adventurous - inhibited	.15
Initiator - follower	.19*
Pragmatic - idealistic	-.02
Active - passive	.08
Individualistic - conforming	-.08
Masculine - feminine	.01
Competitive - affiliative	.08
Political - apolitical	.13
Liberal - conservative	.11
Distant - compassionate	-.20*
Autonomous - dependent	.20*
Innovative - traditional	.07

*Denotes significance at .05 level.

**Variable on left coded with low value.

differ from their male counterparts in terms of satisfaction with their work, how they feel about themselves and how well they fit into their academic niche. In response to a direct question, 40 percent of the females as compared to 25 percent of the males indicated that they found their work extremely satisfying and rewarding. As Table 4 shows, an additional 44 percent of the females and 52 percent of the males indicated that they found their work (just) satisfying and rewarding. Though these results were not statistically significant, the females are at least as satisfied with their jobs as are their male counterparts and a higher percentage of females said they were very satisfied.

As shown in Table 5, most of the sample report having had an opportunity to work on research with another colleague. There is only a modest difference in the responses for this variable by sex, with women reporting research collaboration with a colleague less often.

The literature has often documented that married women are particularly disadvantaged in reconciling their many roles.¹ Yet, Table 6 shows that there is no difference in the

¹Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers (Los Angeles and Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970), Chap. III and Letty Cottin Pogrebin, Getting Yours (New York: McKay Co., 1975), Chap. II.

TABLE 4
ROLE ADAPTATION

Evaluation of Work as Satisfying and Rewarding by Sex			
	Percent Female <u>(N=58)</u>	Percent Male <u>(N=44)</u>	Total <u>(N=102)</u>
Extremely satisfying and rewarding	41	25	34
Satisfying and rewarding	45	52	48
Occasionally satisfying and rewarding	12	14	13
Not satisfying and rewarding	2	4	3
Satisfying but not rewarding	0	5	2

TABLE 5
A COMPARISON OF FACULTY OPPORTUNITIES FOR
RESEARCH COLLABORATION*

	Percent Female (N=59)	Percent Male (N=45)	Percent Total (N=104)
Research Collaboration Experience	66	82	73
No Research Collaboration Experience	34	18	27

*Question asked: "In the research you are doing now, are you working alone or with someone else?"

Tau C = $-.15828$
Significance = $.0338$

TABLE 6
ROLE ADAPTATION

Marital Status Affected Professional Advancement			
	Percent Female (N=55)	Percent Male (N=42)	Total (N=97)
Yes	38	38.1	38
No	38	61.9	62
Tau C = .0008			

sample between the responses of males and females on this issue, with over 60 percent of the sample responding that their marital status has not interfered with their professional advancement. Of those who did respond to this question, some took the opportunity to offer further comment. Married males typically cite that their marriage is a source of time constraints, immobility, interferences with professional relationships and a drain on their emotional energies. Some single males and males indicate that being single is often grounds for discrimination in academic life. A few of the female respondents report that faculty in their graduate school behaved less enthusiastically toward them after they married: One woman lost her scholarship upon marriage without a change in academic performance or financial status to warrant the loss. As one might expect, many married women report that marital interference with their career has as its source the burden of being entirely responsible for rearing children and maintaining the home.

Similarly, the suggestion that women professionals will put their personal lives first is not substantiated by this data. As shown in Table 7, 43 percent of the male respondents view their personal life as more important than their professional life, while only 31 percent of the females responded in a similar manner.

TABLE 7
ROLE ADAPTATION

My Personal Life Is More Important to Me Than My Professional Life			
	Percent Female (N=58)	Percent Male (N=46)	Percent Total (N=104)
Agree	31	43	36
Neutral	40	31	36
Disagree	29	26	28
Total	100	100	100

In order to measure how academics view themselves professionally, respondents were requested to describe themselves by use of a semantic differential similar to the one described for the ideal academic. The most significant difference in self-description by sex is that the males tend to consider themselves to be competitive rather than affiliative, while females tend to see themselves as either moderately competitive or moderately affiliative (see Table 8). While all respondents tend to view themselves as compassionate, the males tend to describe themselves as only moderately compassionate, but the women tend to describe themselves as compassionate without qualification. There are two other small but significant differences: women tend to see themselves as more liberal and more intuitive than men. In all other characteristics, men and women describe themselves in strikingly similar terms.

In addition, respondents were asked to rank qualities they liked most about themselves. For descriptive purposes it is interesting to note in Table 9 that more women than men rank themselves "high" on their social and moral characteristics. Rankings on intellectual and physical are undistinguished by gender.

TABLE 8
ROLE ADAPTATION

Gender Differences in Self-Description	
	<u>TAU C</u>
Practical - impractical**	.16
Logical Intuitive - Intuitive	-.18*
Adventurous - inhibited	.03
Initiator - follower	.03
Pragmatic - idealistic	-.09
Active - passive	.07
Individualistic - conforming	0.05
Masculine - feminine	-.68*
Competitive - affiliative	-.25*
Political - apolitical	.07
Liberal - conservative	.17*
Distant - compassionate	-.21*
Autonomous - dependent	-.06
Innovative - traditional	.03

* Denotes significance at .05 level.

**Variable on left coded with low value.

TABLE 9

FACULTY ASSESSMENT OF PERSONAL SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL,
PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
<u>Social</u>	(N=53)	(N=38)	(N=91)
High	38	24	32
Medium	51	52	52
Low	11	24	17
<u>Intellectual</u>	(N=55)	(N=38)	(N=93)
High	74	71	73
Medium	25	26	26
Low	0	2	1
<u>Moral</u>	(N=53)	(N=37)	(N=90)
High	64	54	60
Medium	34	38	36
Low	2	8	4
<u>Physical</u>	(N=54)	(N=36)	(N=90)
High	17	17	17
Medium	59	61	60
Low	24	22	23

As we have shown, academic women in this sample do not differ significantly from their male counterparts with respect to role definition or role adaptation as defined in this study. The data suggest that women define their role as professionals and conform and adapt to professional norms in ways not dissimilar to those of male counterparts.

Participation Within the Professional Setting

This variable was measured by a series of questions designed to represent a wide variety of attitudes toward the participation of women in the academic community. Special attention was paid to three main variables suggested by the review of the literature as being the predominant influences on women's participation in professional life: the Old Boy Club, the Queen Bee syndrome and the protege system. The data suggest that women perceive their own professional experiences in a significantly different way from the way in which men perceive either their own experiences or the professional women's experiences.

Throughout the literature on socialization, the importance of role models for the personal development of all individuals is underlined. Responses to the statement, designed to measure attitudes toward this concept, "Women student need

academic women for role models," show that men and women perceive the importance of this socialization tenet differently: 69 percent of the women as compared to 46 percent of the men faculty agree with this statement: twice as many males as females disagree with the statement. Table 10, Attitudes Toward Women Academic Role Models, show that these results were moderately significant. In addition, the respondents were asked whether they thought the qualities for success in the university differed for men and women. The results were moderately significant, showing that men are more likely to feel that the qualities for success in the university do not differ for men and women; whereas, women are divided in their perception of that phenomenon. Table 11 displays the gender differences in attitudes toward success qualities.

Old Boy Club. In terms of key variables affecting women's interaction in professional life, questions designed to examine the existence of an "old boy club" concentrated on collegial exclusion, and asked respondents to comment on the statement: Peer relationships where professional decisions are made and favours exchanged in terms of research collaboration, etc., exclude women faculty.

As shown in Table 12, Collegial Exclusion of Women

TABLE 10
ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN ACADEMIC ROLE MODELS*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=58)	Percent Male (N=46)	Percent Total (N=104)
Yes	69	46	59
Neutral	19	30	24
No	12	24	17

*Question: Women students need academic women for role models.

Tau C = .2
Significance = .0084

TABLE 11
ATTITUDES TOWARD QUALITIES FOR SUCCESS
IN THE UNIVERSITY*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=58)	Percent Male (N=43)	Percent Total (N=101)
Yes	38	19	30
Neutral	14	14	14
No	48	67	56

*Question: Qualities for success in the university differ for men and women.

Tau C = .214
Significance = .0175

TABLE 12
COLLEGIAL EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FACULTY BY SEX

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=45)	Percent Total (N=101)
Yes	64.3	31.1	49.5
Neutral	14.3	20	16.9
No	21.4	48.8	33.7

*Question: Peer relationships where professional decisions are made and favors exchanged in terms of research collaborations frequently exclude women faculty members.

Tau C = .3544

Significance = .0004

Faculty by Sex, female respondents feel discrimination in their work, most notably seeing themselves left out of informal interaction within the professional environment.

Apparently many male faculty are totally unaware of the "old boy" exclusionary behavior as 49 percent of the male faculty disagree with the statement. These data support Bernard's contention that even when women have achieved formal equality or presence on the university campuses, they may still be denied access to the informal decision-making, support, and brainstorming networks so often crucial to academic success.

The responses in this research also support Bernard's theory that the archetypically feminine behaviour of showing solidarity, raising the status of others, giving help, rewarding, concurring, complying, understanding, and passively accepting is expected of all women, even professional women.² While this supportive function may hinder a woman's success in a competitive profession, nearly two-thirds of the female respondents recognize that it is expected of them and must be dealt with in the professional setting. Table 13 shows that male respondents (36 percent) appear not so quick to recognize this behavioral expectation and a few (11 percent) argue

²Jesse Bernard, Women and the Public Interest (Chicago: Aldine, 1971), p. 90.

TABLE 13
PERCEPTION OF THE "STROKING" FUNCTION BY SEX*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=45)	Percent Total (N=101)
Yes	62.5	35.6	50.5
Neutral	26.8	31.4	28.7
No	8.9	22.2	14.9
Applies to men also	1.8	11.1	5.9

*Question: Being personally supportive to colleagues in one form or another is expected of all academic women.

Tau C = .32742
Significance = .0010

that is behavioral expectations apply to academic males also. Obviously, both sexes are capable of performing the stroking or supportive function, as indeed a small percentage of the sample argues, but in most cultures women have specialized in this function; this is a possible explanation for why males seem somewhat unlikely to recognize its existence.

Queen Bee syndrome. Another key variable affecting women's interaction in the professional setting is the Queen Bee syndrome, which (as discussed in Chapter I) is the term used to describe the fact that some women enjoy their special status as the "only women" and develop a prejudice against other women. In their responses to the item of the questionnaire designed to test for the presence of the Queen Bee syndrome, the sample did not agree that a significant number of professional women are prejudiced against other women (see Table 14). Possible explanations for this finding are that either professional women no longer resent other women or professional women, or they are sufficiently aware of the fact that intentionally admitting such prejudice against other women is a highly unpopular stance. Given the attention that this concept receives in the literature, this finding, in conflict with previous scholarly findings, is of significant importance.

TABLE 14
ATTITUDES TOWARD QUEEN BEE SYNDROME*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=58)	Percent Male (N=44)	Percent Total (N=102)
Yes	31	27	29
Neutral	31	38	34
No	38	34	36

*Question: A significant number of women are prejudiced against other women.

Tau C = $-.003$
Significance = $.4886$

Protege system. The protege system is the third key variable which this study has concentrated on and in examining its impact on women's interaction in the professional community, focus was limited to the training and placement of professional women. With respect to training, the majority of the sample disagrees with the suggestion that directing the work of a male graduate student is more prestigious than directing that of a female graduate student.

The results, as displayed in Table 15, are not statistically significant at the .05 level. Similarly, as shown in Table 16, respondents do not perceive that female graduate students are less dedicated to the discipline than male graduate students. However, apparently there is still some ambivalence in attitudes on the subject of the training of professional women, since in spite of the two above findings, more males than females said that "some professors in the department do not really take female graduate students seriously," though the results were not statistically significant.

As shown in Table 17, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement: Most women lack the necessary drive to really successful in this discipline. These results are interesting because that kind of reasoning is often the popular explanation for the under-representative of women in

TABLE 15
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT
OF PROFESSIONALS*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=58)	Percent Male (N=46)	Percent Total (N=104)
Yes	12	4	9
Neutral	12	17	14
No	76	78	77

*Question: Directing the work of a male graduate student is more prestigious than directing that of a female graduate student.

Tau C = .039
Significance = .3186

TABLE 16
ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE GRADUATE STUDENTS*

		Sex		
		Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
		(N=59)	(N=46)	(N=10)
"Female graduate students are not as dedicated as male students are to the discipline."	Agree	5	2	4
	Neutral	10	17	13
	Disagree	85	80	83
		(N=58)	(N=45)	(N=10)
"Some professors in this department do not really take female graduate students seriously."	Agree	41	22	33
	Neutral	19	24	21
	Disagree	39	53	46

*Not statistically significant.

TABLE 17

ATTITUDES TOWARD REASONS FOR UNDER-REPRESENTATION
OF FEMALES IN THE ACADEMIC WORK FORCE*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=44)	Percent Total (N=100)
Yes	16	14	15
Neutral	11	16	13
No	73	70	72

*Question: Most women lack the necessary drive to be really
successful in this discipline.

Tau C = $-.0164$

Significance = $.4283$

the academic work force. Though not statistically significant, it is also of some interest to note that a higher percentage of the females than the males thought that most women lack the necessary drive to be really successful in academic.

The most striking of the indicators of the protege system were in the responses to a question on job opportunities for women academicians. The findings indicate that men and women perceive this professional employment situation quite differently. Women overwhelmingly (74 percent) disagree with the statement, "It is easier for a woman to get a job now than it should be," whereas only 38 percent the male counterparts gave a similar response (see Table 18). The results on the training and placement indicators used to measure the existence of the protege system suggest that attitudes toward the training of female academicians are generally undistinguished by sex and, contrary to expectations, those attitudes appear not to be set against female students. A word of caution might be added: These results do not necessarily predict the behavior of academics towards female graduate students during their training. However, data collected on attitudes toward placement (Table 18, Attitudes Towards Job Opportunities for Women by Sex) tend to support suggestions that academic male and female faculty have different attitudes concerning

TABLE 18
ATTITUDES TOWARD JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN BY SEX*

	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=57)	Percent Male (N=46)	Percent Total (N=103)
Yes	12	28	19
Neutral	14	35	23
No	74	37	57

*Question: It is easier for women to get a job now than it should be.

Tau C = $-.3600$
Significance = $.0002$

employment or professional growth opportunities for female students. Male faculty apparently feel that female students are able to get academic positions without much effort on their part. Women faculty strongly disagree with this view.

Overview

As we have shown, academic women in this sample do not differ significantly from their male counterparts with respect to either role definition or role adaptation. Since the data suggest that women define their role as professionals and conform and adapt to professional norms in ways not dissimilar to those of male counterparts, one would not expect statistically significant gender differences in attitudes towards the interaction of women in professional life. However, in spite of similar role definition and adaptation, women perceive their own professional experiences in a significantly different way from the way in which men perceive either their own experiences or the professional woman's experience.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISM

Until very recently, political scientists had little empirical knowledge of women as participants in the political process. The state of the discipline with respect to political attitudes of professional women may be generally described in similar terms. The rebirth of feminism and the increasing number of women holding professional positions pose some interesting questions. Are these women supportive of the goals of the women's movement? Which goals? Do role experiences affect and shape women's views? How do their attitudes differ from their male counterparts? The purpose of this chapter is to shed some light on those kinds of questions.

In order to provide political background information on the respondents, the discussion of the dependent variable, attitudes toward feminist goals, will be preceded by some general political information on the respondents.

As shown in Table 19, Gender Differences in Party Identification, 65 percent of the respondents are either Democrats or Independents with democratic leanings. Almost 40 percent

TABLE 19
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION
OF ACADEMICS*

Party	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=45)	Percent Total (N=101)
Democrat	43	44	44
Republican	12	11	12
Independent with Democrat leanings	21	20	21
Independent with Republican leanings	9	7	8
Independent	12	9	11
Other	2	7	4
None	0	2	1

*Question: What is your party identification?

(Not significant.)

of the sample is independent or independent with weak party leanings. Party identification is undistinguished by sex and is comparatively similar to a scientifically selected sample of the United States population at the same time.¹ Similarly, respondents were asked to describe themselves in terms of the moderate, liberal and conservative political labels. Again, these responses show males and females in the sample do not differ in the political descriptions of themselves. The responses were statistically insignificant by sex but are of some descriptive importance. Forty-seven percent of the respondents considered themselves to be political moderates, 40 percent considered themselves to be political liberals, whereas 11 percent were most comfortable as political conservatives (N=103). The remaining miscellaneous responses were for a few radicals and persons wishing to be categorized as "issue-oriented."

Some very interesting responses were collected attitudes towards the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The ERA is the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It says that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any

¹Gallup Opinion Index (June, 1976), p. 11.

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¹Gallup Opinion Index (June, 1976), p. 11.

state on account of sex." The popular view of the ERA is that it will remove sex as a factor in determining the legal rights of women and provide clear constitutional protection for women against discrimination. At the time this questionnaire was distributed, thirty-four states had ratified the ERA and public opinion polls were showing strong support for the ERA.²

The majority of the faculty respondents favored ratification. However, as shown in Table 20, 18 percent of the male respondents as compared to 2 percent of the female respondents had opposed the ERA. Amazingly, 12 percent of the females had "no opinion."

In order to determine the level of political awareness of professionals with respect to feminist issues, respondents were asked if they were familiar with the organizational goals of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) and the National Organization for Women (NOW), the most well known of the women's interest groups. They were also asked to indicate whether they had membership or office in these organizations. The stated purpose of NOW is "to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof

²Gallup Opinion Index (March, 1976), p. 18.

TABLE 20
FACULTY ATTITUDES TOWARD RATIFICATION
OF THE ERA*

Ratify the ERA	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=45)	Percent Total (N=101)
Agree	86	71	79
Disagree	2	18	9
No opinion	12	9	11

*Question: Do you favor ratification of the ERA?

(Not significant.)

in truly equal partnership with men"³; whereas, NWPC's goals focus on organizing women politically. As shown in Table 21, these responses were significantly different by sex, showing that males in the sample were more likely to be unfamiliar with the organizational goals of these two organizations. Although no male respondents reported membership in either of these more well known organizations (whose members nationally do include men), one male in the sample is a member of Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), a nationwide organization dedicated to improving the social, economic, and legal status of all women through education, litigation, and legislation. WEAL has maintained a low profile nationally in comparison to the other two organizations, though it has been particularly active in cases of sex discrimination in higher education and in the ERA campaign.⁴ Eighty-three percent of the faculty were unfamiliar with the organizational goals of WEAL.

The faculty respondents were asked to describe their feelings about the current women's movement. As shown in Table 22, Attitudes Toward the Women's Movement, the results were not statistically significant but are of some descriptive

³Barbara Deckard, The Women's Movement: Political, Socio-Economic and Psychological Issues (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), p. 330.

⁴Ibid., p. 331.

TABLE 21

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL AWARENESS

Question: Are you familiar with the organizational goals of---

		Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
		(N=51)	(N=40)	(N=91)
National Women's Political Caucus?	Yes	61	35	50
	Member	8	0	4
	No	31	65	46

Tau C = .3041

Significance = .0022

		(N=52)	(N=43)	(N=95)
National Organization for Women?	Yes	67	46	58
	Member	10	0	5
	No	23	54	37

Tau C = .2570

Significance = .0063

TABLE 22
FACULTY ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT*

Attitudes Towards the Women's Movement	Sex		
	Percent Female (N=55)	Percent Male (N=43)	Percent Total (N=98)
I am opposed to it	0	0	0
I am in sympathy with some of its goals but find it too radical	18	16	17
I am in sympathy with some of its goals	26	46	35
I support its goals but am not actively involved	49	35	43
I participate as much as I can in movement activi- ties	4	0	2
My personal commitment to feminism has changed my life	4	0	2
It's not radical enough	0	2	1

*Question: Which of the following most closely describes your feelings about the current women's movement?

(Not significant.)

interest. The majority of the male faculty describe themselves as being in sympathy with some of the goals of the women's movement; whereas, 44 percent of the females responded in similar manner. Nearly half of the female faculty (49 percent) responded that they support the goals of the women's movement but are not actively involved. Only 4 percent of the females as compared with 0 percent of the males said that they "participate as much as (they) can in movement activities." One male faculty member, and indeed the only member of the sample to give that response, characterized the women's movement as "not radical enough."

The respondents were provided with a list of goals that have been identified by the literature as objectives of the women's movement and were asked to assign a priority (high, medium, low) to each particular goal. The list of goals were representative of civil rights issues as well as issues requiring changes in sex roles. In terms of civil rights issues, respondents were asked to prioritize the following: ending discrimination in hiring, increasing women's career choices, and equalizing salaries and promotions. As shown in Table 23, an overwhelming number of the sample, regardless of sex, give these goals a high priority.

TABLE 23

PRIORITIES ASSIGNED TO FEMINIST CIVIL RIGHTS GOALS

		Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
		(N=56)	(N=40)	(N=90)
Ending discrimination in hiring				
	H	96	90	95
	M	4	8	4
	L	0	2	1
Tau C = .0633				
Significance = .0979				
		(N=57)	(N=40)	(N=97)
Increasing women's career choices				
	H	91	85	89
	M	7	12	9
	L	2	2	2
Tau C = .05994				
Significance = .1737				
		(N=56)	(N=39)	(N=95)
Equalizing salaries and promotions				
	H	95	92	94
	M	5	8	6
	L	0	0	0
Tau C = .0226				
Significance = .3235				

Respondents were also asked to assign priorities to goals which would involve change in contemporary sex roles. These responses are distinguished by sex with males tending to assign a lower priority (than females) to these goals. As shown in Table 24, Attitudes Toward Feminist Goals Involving Change in Sex Roles, 30 percent of the females as compared with 18 percent of the males assign a high priority to changing family relationships between husband and wife. Indeed, over half of the male faculty give this goal a low priority, not including the one male faculty member who feels this should not even be a goal at all. Similarly, males are not so keen on placing a high priority on "freeing men from a rigid sex role performance." Eighty-nine percent of the females assign that particular goal either a high or a medium priority, whereas only 66 percent of the males responded in a similar manner. Fifty-one percent of the male faculty as compared to 18 percent of the females give "minimizing sexual distinctions in human relationships" a low priority. Note that those responses are statistically significant and Tau C is of a high strength (Tau C = .36074).

Ninety-four percent of the females assign a high or medium priority to "removing expectations of what men and women can do in jobs, home life, etc., "whereas only 70 percent of

TABLE 24
PRIORITIES ASSIGNED TO FEMINIST GOALS INVOLVING
CHANGE IN SEX ROLES

		Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
		(N=54)	(N=40)	(N=94)
Changing family relationships between husband and wife	H	30	18	24
	M	39	28	34
	L	32	52	40
	S*	0	2	1
Tau C = .25079 Significance = .0120				
		(N=55)	(N=38)	(N=93)
Freeing men from a rigid sex role performance	H	42	26	36
	M	47	40	44
	L	11	32	19
	S*	0	3	1
Tau C = .2673 Significance = .0075				
		(N=54)	(N=39)	(N=39)
Minimizing sexual distinctions in human relationships	H	39	20	31
	M	43	26	36
	L	18	51	32
	S*			
Tau C = .36074 Significance = .0007				
		(N=53)	(N=40)	(N=93)
Removing expectations of what men and women can do in jobs, home, life, etc.	H	62	40	53
	M	32	30	31
	L	6	28	15
	S*	0	2	1
Tau C = .29738 Significance = .0029				

*S = "Shouldn't be one."

the males chose to respond the same way. Again, these responses are statistically significant.

It is interesting to note that the average percentage of women assigning a high priority to civil rights issues is twice as many as the percentage of women assigning a high priority to goals of the women's movement involving changes in the sex roles.

Another question designed to measure attitudes toward goals change in sex role stereotypes produced some highly significant results in terms of gender differences in attitudes. Faculty respondents were asked to indicate a degree of agreement or disagreement with the following statement: Barriers against women's full participation in society cannot be removed until and unless men share equally with women the responsibilities of homemaking and child-rearing. In view of Epstein's research on role strain which professional women may experience, this question seemed particularly crucial. The results are statistically significant and Tau C indicates a strong association between the two variables. As shown in Table 25, twice as many women professionals as men professionals strongly agree with that statement. Indeed, twice as many females as males agree and just agree with that statement. Strong disagreement with that statement was registered by 16 percent of

TABLE 25

FACULTY ATTITUDES TOWARD SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES*

	Percent Female (N=56)	Percent Male (N=44)	Percent Total (N=100)
Strongly agree	29	11	21
Agree	36	20	29
Neutral	16	18	17
Disagree	16	34	24
Strongly disagree	4	16	9

*Statement: "Barriers against women's full participation in society cannot be removed until and unless men share equally with women the responsibilities of homemaking and child rearing."

the males as compared to 4 percent of the females.

Finally, two questions were designed to measure attitudes toward androgeny among the professional community. For the purposes of this study, androgeny was defined as a "condition under which the characteristics of the sexes, and the human impulses expressed are not rigidly assigned,"⁵ Table 26, Faculty Attitudes Toward Androgeny, indicates that females are more likely to strongly agree with the indicators of acceptance of androgeny.

Overview

As shown in the data discussed above, all faculty are supportive of civil rights issues and consider those issues to be high priority goals for the women's movement. Generally, women professionals differ from their male counterparts in that while they do not assign as high a priority to goals involving change in sex roles as those dealing with civil rights issues like employment discrimination, they tend to be supportive of changes in the present sex role system. Males generally, in contrast, seem to be more content with sex-roles-as-usual.

⁵Carolyn Hielbrun, Toward a Recognition of Androgeny (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 4.

TABLE 26

FACULTY ATTITUDES TOWARD ANDROGENY

		Percent Female	Percent Male	Percent Total
		(N=55)	(N=43)	(N=98)
Both men and women would benefit from a movement away from polarization of the sexes toward a world in which the modes of personal behavior can be fully chosen.	SA	47	19	35
	A	36	46	41
	N	9	23	15
	D	6	9	7
	SD	2	2	2
Tau C = .3257				
Significance = .0015				
		(N=57)	(N=45)	(N=102)
Creativity, independence, nurturance, and sensitivity should be considered desirable traits for all human beings, male and female.	SA	67	38	54
	A	33	58	44
	N	0	2	1
	D	0	0	0
	SD	0	2	1
Tau C = .2995				
Significance = .0013				

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the impact of gender on professional role adaptation and definition, the effect of established informal channels on the interaction of women in professional life, and the attitudes of professionals toward feminist goals. The purpose of this final chapter is to compare current theory on these issues with the findings of this study.

Although recent research has identified the importance of gender differences in the socialization process experienced by children, less attention has been directed toward the impact of these gender differences on professional role socialization. However, scholarly observations in the literature suggest that adaptation to the professional role is significantly different, and indeed more difficult, for the professional woman than it is for the professional male.

We might accordingly expect the indicators of role definition and of role adaptation to reflect the gender differences discussed and predicted in the scholarly literature. However, the findings of this study tend to indicate that the

actual patterns of role definition and adaptation among professionals is divergent from the patterns predicted in the literature.

As was shown in Chapter III, the male and female academics who responded to this study do not differ significantly with respect to role definition or adaptation. Male and female faculty members appear to allocate their professional time in approximately the same way. They also tend to evaluate the rewards available for good teaching in approximately the same way. Similarly, both male and female faculty members tend to describe the ideal academic in the same terms, and, regardless of their sex, most report satisfaction with their jobs. Neither sex tends to report interference between their jobs and their marital status. The male and female respondents to this study tend to describe themselves and their professional commitments in strikingly similar terms. The findings of this study thus suggest that female faculty members define their role as professionals, and conform and adapt to professional norms, in ways not at all dissimilar to those of their male counterparts.

The findings of this study tend to support the literature on professional women with respect to the interaction of women in professional life. In spite of the similarity between men and women in professional role adaptation and definition,

women, nevertheless, perceive their own professional experiences in a significantly different way from that in which men perceive both their own professional experiences and the experiences of their female colleagues.

In this study, the male and female respondents tended to disagree on the importance of the academic woman as a role model of women students, the female respondents tending to support the need for such role models. Similarly, while the female respondents reported experiencing collegial exclusion from informal channels, the male respondents did not agree that such patterns of exclusion exist. Again, the male and female respondents tended to disagree on the placement of professional women and on the expectation that a stroking function is to be performed by female colleagues.

The findings of this study tend to diverge from those of the literature over the Queen Bee syndrome. The respondents to this study did not agree that a significant number of professional women are prejudiced against other professional women. One possible explanation for this is that professional women do not resent their female colleagues. Another explanation is that professional women are fully aware evidence of the Queen Bee syndrome can have adverse professional and social repercussions.

The findings of this study on the attitudes of male and female faculty members toward the training of professional women tend to diverge somewhat from the findings reported in the literature. In this sample, there is in fact some ambivalence toward the training of professional women. Unlike findings reported in the literature, the prestige and dedication of a female graduate student was not considered to be different from that of a male graduate student. On the other hand, the sample did indicate that female graduate students are not taken seriously by some of the members of the respondents' departments.

There is very little data available on the political attitudes of professional women. Data on attitudes of professionals toward feminist goals is even more scarce. Research conducted on the behavior of academic women in professional organizations suggests that academic women tend to be fairly moderate and might place a higher priority on equal job opportunity than on change in sex roles. The findings of this study support that argument. More women professionals assign a high priority to civil rights issues, i.e., issues dealing with employment discrimination, than to goals of the women's movement involving change in the present sex role system. In addition, in terms of gender differences in attitudes toward

feminist goals, the findings suggest significant gender differences in attitudes toward feminist goals involving change in sex roles and support, regardless of sex, for civil rights issues.

Thus on the basis of this study, theories of professional role socialization seem to be inadequate in describing gender differences in professional role adaptation and definition. On the other hand, theories on the effect of established informal channels appear to accurately describe experiences faced by the professional woman. Finally, there is a pressing need for additional research on political attitudes of professional women and the extent to which they differ in their attitudes from similarly situated males.

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