# DEVELOPING ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ROLE OF WOMEN A Comparison of Females and Males

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In recent years, researchers have examined changes in attitudes toward the role of women, both among adults (Mason et al., 1976; Erskine, 1971; Ferree, 1974) and among college students (Parelius, 1975) and adolescents (Bush et al., 1977). Some have compared the attitudes of men and women (Osmond and Martin, 1975; Steinmann and Fox, 1970); others have examined the relationship of attitudes to demographic variables such as employment status, educational attainment (Mason and Bumpass, 1975) and academic field of study (Bayer, 1975). Yet, attitudes toward women's roles begin to develop long before people enter the world of work. They are influenced by

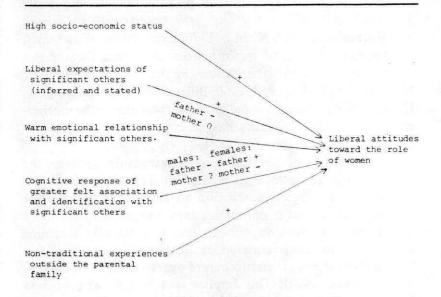
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the expectations of parents, by a young person's relationship with his or her parents, as well as by experiences outside the parental family. This article explores the impact of these variables on attitudes toward the role of women.

# ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

According to symbolic interactionists (Blumer, 1969), people base their attitudes and actions on their perception of the expectations of others. Bem (1970) suggested that peoples' attitudes are also influenced by emotional reactions, cognitive beliefs, and actual behavioral experiences. Figure 1 presents a model of the development of sex role attitudes that takes each of these influences into account. It suggests that people's attitudes are influenced by the expectations, both stated and inferred, of significant others; by their emotional relationship with these others; by their cognitive reaction to the others; and by experiences outside the parental family. Because many previous studies suggested that people from higher status backgrounds have more liberal attitudes toward the role of women (King et al., 1968; Sterrett and Bollman, 1970; Mason et al., 1976; Bayer, 1975; Mason and Bumpass, 1975), this variable is also included. The signs in the model indicate the direction of influence that is expected from previous research.

Previous research has shown that the expectations of significant others influence both males' and females' attitudes. Some studies have found that parental encouragement, especially that of the mother, is associated with more liberal sex role ideology of the daughter (Lipman-Blumen, 1972) and that the parents' own attitudes also influence the young woman's attitudes (Steinmann, 1970). However, parental expectations may also be inferred and only silently communicated. For instance, several studies show that children who grow up in more egalitarian homes have more liberal sex role attitudes. This may include having a mother who works, a mother in a



Directions are specified separately for males and females and for variables involving fathers and mothers only where differences are expected.

Figure 1: Model of Influences on Females' and Males' Attitudes Toward the Role of Women

more prestigious occupation, a more egalitarian parental division of labor and decision-making patterns, or having a mother with more education than the father (Meier, 1972; King et al., 1968; Sterrett and Bollman, 1970; Lipman-Blumen, 1972).

Whatever the content of these expectations, the emotional relationship between a person and the significant others also influences the development of sex roles. A number of writers have noted how the quality of the father-child relationship influences sex role identity. With females, close associations with the father are associated with more traditionally feminine

orientations in lifestyle and/or personality (see especially Johnson, 1963, 1975; also White, 1959; Leonard, 1966; Mussen and Rutherford, 1963; Nuzum, 1970; Lynn, 1976). With males, greater nurturance and warmth from the father facilitates a traditional masculine orientation (Payne and Mussen, 1956; Mussen and Distler, 1959, 1960; Biller, 1969; Freedheim, 1960; Kaplar, 1970). The emotional quality or warmth of the mother-child relationship generally has no influence on the development of sex roles.

The influence of the emotional relationship between the father and child appears to be distinct from the impact of a person's more cognitive reaction to significant others. For instance, some studies emphasize how women who are more career-oriented or who choose less traditionally feminine occupations are more closely identified or feel more similar to their fathers than to their mothers (Fogarty et al., 1971; Lovett, 1968; Helson, 1967). This implies that women who express greater cognitive identification or feelings of similarity to the mother will have less liberal attitudes, adopting a more traditionally feminine orientation. Similarly, men's reports of similarity or cognitive identification with the father may suggest an adoption of his generation's supposedly more traditional and less liberal views. It is unclear from previous research how men's cognitive identification with the mother will influence their attitudes.

Finally, in developing sex role attitudes, people are influenced by their past experiences. Some evidence suggests that young women who choose creative and less traditional careers have had more enriching experiences and interests than traditional women (Almquist and Angrist, 1970, Cutright, 1960; Anastasi and Schaefer, 1969). To the extent that nontraditional career choice is associated with liberal sex role attitudes, women with nontraditional experiences may develop more liberal attitudes toward women's roles. To the extent that men's experiences challenge traditional attitudes, it would be expected that they would also develop more liberal views.

To summarize, it is hypothesized that men's and women's attitudes toward women's roles will be influenced by their social background, the expectations of significant others, their emotional attachment and cognitive response to these others, and their experiences outside the parental family. Both males and females from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, with more liberal expectations inferred or stated by the parents, with a less warm emotional relationship with the father, and with more nontraditional experiences outside the family are expected to express more liberal attitudes. It is expected that neither men's nor women's attitudes will be influenced by the warmth of the mother-child relationship. Finally, it is expected that women and men who cognitively see themselves as unlike their parent of like sex and women who rate themselves as like their father will express more liberal views. It is unclear how men's cognitive reaction to their mother will influence their attitudes.

## DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data to test this model come from a large survey of undergraduate students at four western colleges and universities. All the students responding to the questionnaire were enrolled in introductory social science courses. They are overwhelmingly white and predominantly from middle-class backgrounds. Slightly more than one-half of the students' mothers work outside the home, although they usually hold traditionally female positions such as secretary, teacher, or nurse. The average age of the females is 18.9 years (s = 1.2), and the average age of the males is 19.5 years (s = 1.8). Thus, most of the students are near the start of their college careers and probably can remember a great deal about their earlier experiences. Responses from 253 females and 249 males are used.

Ninety percent of the females and 94% of the males lived with both their mother and father during high school. The

remaining students had enough contact with their parents or parental substitutes to describe their relationship with them. Because students who did not provide answers to all the items used in the analysis are excluded, the sample is somewhat biased toward those with contact with both a mother and father or his or her substitute during high school.<sup>1</sup>

The dependent measure of attitudes toward the role of women is adapted from a feminism scale developed by Acker et al. (1974) and is designed to measure attitudes toward issues such as women's work status and sex roles in the home. The seven Likert scale items used were chosen for their high interitem correlation among both males and females. The females give more liberal responses than the males (t = 5.98; df = 500; p = .001).<sup>2</sup>

Wherever possible, multiple indicators are used for each aspect of the model in Figure 1, and the measures regarding the mother and father are separate.

Even though over half of the mothers work outside the home, there is little variation in their occupational levels. Also, in this society the father generally provides the largest proportion of a family's income and the family's status is derived from his occupational status. Thus, one measure of family social status used here is the father's level of occupation. The other measure used is a combined indicator of both the mother's and father's education.

Stated expectations of the significant others are measured by the children's ratings of their mothers' and fathers' respect and encouragement of general competence; their encouragement of competition (both summated Likert scale scores), and their attitudes toward women's roles (a single Likert scale item). Earlier studies have found that parental encouragement, especially that of the mother, is related to more liberal attitudes (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). Similarly, more liberal attitudes of the parents appear to influence the liberal attitudes of the children (Steinmann, 1970). Conceivably, encouragement of children fosters self-confidence and assurance, which in turn

fosters the acceptance of more liberal views. In constructing the measures for this analysis, a single Likert scale measuring encouragement from each parent was originally planned. However, the individual items grouped into two clearly different categories: one relating to encouragement of general competence and showing of respect (for example, "When I was in high school my mother [father] respected my judgment") and the other denoting the encouragement of a more competitive and achievement oriented approach ("When I was in high school my mother [father] encouraged me to go to the top in the work I chose"). The resulting scales showed only a moderate correlation (the Pearson product-moment correlations varied between .40 and .50), and thus the two separate scales of encouragement are used in this analysis.

Inferred expectations are indicated by the reports of the mother's work status, the relative input into family decisions of the mother and father (a combination of two items), and the students' perception of their mothers' and fathers' satisfaction with their lives (a single Likert scale item).

Measures of the warmth and quality of the emotional relationship with the mother and father are summated Likert Scale scores, and indicators of the cognitive reaction to the parents are summated ratings of both similarity to and frequency of association with the mother and father.

Indicators of experiences outside the family include the total number of after-school and summer jobs held, as well as whether or not the student held certain kinds of jobs such as clerical work, medical work, and experience in an art or professional field. It would be expected that those with more varied work experiences will have a greater exposure to alternative views and opportunities and thus may develop more liberal attitudes toward women's roles.

Multiple regression is used to analyze the model of Figure 1. The analysis is aimed at developing the most concise and simple model that will explain influences on attitudes toward the role of women. All the variables hypothesized to influence

the dependent variable are included in the first analysis of the model. Variables that fail to show either an important direct or indirect influence on the dependent variable are then systematically eliminated to produce the final results.<sup>3</sup>

# RESULTS

Table I summarizes the influences on the dependent variable for both males and females. Twenty-one percent of the variation in the females' attitudes is explained by variables in the model. The final model for the males is simpler and explains 15% of the total variation.

#### THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STATUS

As hypothesized, both men and women from higher status families report more liberal attitudes toward the role of women. For females, the parents' educational level enters the model; for males, the father's occupational status is the important variable. The influence of status is largely independent of the other variables.

#### THE IMPACT OF EXPECTATIONS

In general, the women's attitudes are influenced less by the parents' expectations than are the men's attitudes. Although the zero-order correlations indicate that both the inferred and stated expectations of the parents influence the women's attitudes, the results of the multiple regression show an important influence of only the mother's attitudes toward women's roles. Examination of the intercorrelations shows that most of the impact of the inferred expectations is accounted for by the quality of the relationship between the fathers and daughters.<sup>4</sup> Women from homes with a nontraditional division of parental authority and with parents who

are less satisfied with their lives also report less warm relations with their fathers. This emotional aspect overrides the inferred expectations in influencing liberal views. Similarly, while the zero-order correlations indicate that young women who are

TABLE 1
Summary of Influences on Females' and Males'
Attitudes Toward Women's Roles<sup>a</sup>

	Females		Males	
	В	r	В	r
Independent Variables				
Social Status				
Parents' education Fathers' occupational status	.13**	.10**	.11**	.10*
Parental Expectations				
Inferred:				
Mother's work status	-		.10*	.12**
Mother's power in home	.08*	.17***	.01	.09*
Father's satisfaction				
with life	08	11**	-	-
Mother's satisfaction				
with life	11	17***	17***	12**
		and the state of t		
Stated:				
Father's attitude toward				
women's role	.11*	.16***	.15**	.20****
Mother's attitude toward				
women's role	.17**	.16***	.05	.21****
Father's encouraging com-				
petence and respect	.07	08	.16**	.05
Mother's encouraging com-				
petence and respect	11	14**		-
Father's encouraging com-				
petition	-	Maria Some P	07	14**
Emotional Relation With Parents:				
Warmth and closeness of rela-				
tion with father	21**	15***	-	-
Warmth and closeness of rela-				
tion with mother	.13*	15***	-5	-
Cognitive Reaction to Parents:				
Similarity to father	.08	09*	20***	18***
Similarity to mother	15**	19****	09*	13**
Associations with father	.07	08*	<b>4</b>	-
Associations with mother	14**	17***	_	-

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# Table 1 (Continued)

		Females		Males	
			r	15	r
ndependent Variables		Jan 17 17			
experiences Outside the	Family:				
Number of jobs held		15**	11**	-	-
Held art or profession related jobs	n-	.18***	.18***		
Hold mechanical job		.10*	.04	-	-
Held medical related j	job	07	12**		•
	R <sup>2</sup>	.21****		.15****	
	. 45			.15****	-
	n	253		249	

<sup>\*</sup>p = .10 \*\*p = .05 \*\*\*p = .01 \*\*\*\*p = .001

given less respect and encouragement of competence from their parents develop liberal attitudes, this influence drops in the final analysis because of associations with the emotional relationship with the father and the reports of similarity to the parents and frequency of association. Here both emotional relations with and cognitive reactions to the parents override the influence of expectations.

In contrast to the situation with the women, the men's attitudes are influenced by parental expectations. The stated expectations of the father and the inferred expectations of the mother are most important. Having a mother who works and especially one who is less satisfied with her life influences the men's more liberal views. The impact of the mother's dissatisfaction on liberal attitudes is enhanced by its correlation with the father not showing respect or encouraging competence. Although showing some influence in the zero-order correlations, the impact of the parents' division of authority totally disappears in the results of the multiple regression. Examining

a. Probability levels given for regression coefficients are for a one tail test.

the intercorrelations shows that this drop occurs because the mother's greater input into family decisions is associated with the son's lower-rated similarity to the father, the mother being less satisfied with her life, and, to some extent, the father having more liberal attitudes. This lack of influence of family decision-making patterns when other variables are included in the analysis indicates that earlier findings (King et al., 1968; Lipman-Blumen, 1972) may be spurious and that the influence of parental division of authority may largely reflect other more salient aspects of family interaction patterns. With the stated expectations, the impact of the mothers' attitudes toward sex roles is largely accounted for by the fathers' views, whose impact remains large in the multiple regression. The negative impact of the fathers' encouraging competition goes down in the multiple regression, mainly because of its association with the fathers' less liberal attitudes toward women and greaterrated similarity of the son to his father. The impact of encouraging competence and respect rises dramatically, mainly because of the indirect influence of rated similarity to the father and the mother's dissatisfaction with her life. In this case, sons who report more respect and encouragement of general competence from their fathers also report that their mothers are more satisfied with their lives and that they see themselves as more similar to their fathers.

#### THE IMPACT OF EMOTIONAL RELATIONS

Only females' attitudes are influenced by the quality of their relationships with their parents. There is a trend for warmer relations with the mother to influence liberal attitudes, but the influence of less warm father-daughter relations on more liberal attitudes is much more important. This is somewhat strengthened by the indirect influence of the inferred and stated expectations of both the mothers and fathers.

# THE IMPACT OF COGNITIVE REACTIONS

Cognitive reactions to the parents influence both males' and females' attitudes. For the males, less-rated similarity to the father has a more important influence on liberal attitudes than lower-rated similarity to the mother. Men who react to their fathers by seeing them as "models" or people with whom they want to associate are more traditional themselves. However, as noted above, through its association with encouragement of competence and respect, greater cognitive identification with the father has an indirect impact on liberal views. In other words, as an independent influence, greater cognitive identification with the father influences less liberal views; but in conjunction with encouragement of competence and showing general respect, greater identification with the father may prompt more liberal attitudes. Males' cognitive reaction to the mother does not have an important impact in the final model.

As hypothesized, the women's cognitive reactions to the mother and father influence attitudes in opposite directions, although only the influence of the reaction to the mother is significant. Women with less reported similarity to the mother report more liberal attitudes. This suggests that, as with the men and their fathers, those who do not see their mothers as "models" are less traditional. The zero-order correlations show that daughters who rate themselves as similar to and having more associations with their fathers tend to have less liberal views. Yet, a shift occurs in the multivariate analysis so that there is a slight tendency for women who rate themselves as similar to the father to report liberal attitudes. This occurs largely because of the association of less reported similarity and fewer associations with the father with a poor-quality father-daughter relationship.

# THE IMPACT OF NONFAMILIAL EXPERIENCES

Finally, in contrast to the hypotheses, individual's experiences outside the family affect only the women's sex role

attitudes. This impact, however, is relatively important and largely independent of the other variables. Women who have had art-related, semi-professional, and, to some extent, mechanics jobs report more liberal attitudes. These findings are important, given that having a smaller total number of jobs tends to also influence liberal attitudes. There is a slight tendency for experience in medical fields to promote less liberal views.

To summarize, the results of the multiple regression indicate that men's liberal attitudes toward women's roles are mainly influenced by higher social status; the stated expectations of the father in terms of encouraging competence, showing respect, and having more liberal attitudes; the inferred expectations of the mother, especially through her lowered satisfaction with her own life; and the cognitive reactions of the men to their fathers in terms of less-felt similarity or rejection of him as a model. The women's more liberal attitudes are mainly influenced by their higher social status; by the parents', and especially the mothers', stated expectations of more liberal attitudes; by the emotional foundations of a less warm relationship with the father; by the cognitive reactions of lessrated similarity and fewer associations with the mother, but a slight trend of greater-rated similarity and associations with the father; and by having more unusual and nontraditional experiences outside the home.

# DISCUSSION

It is clear that the hypothesized model does not totally fit the data for either the males or females, although greater support is found with the females. The results help clarify the impact of social status, behavioral experiences, parental expectations, cognitive reactions to the parents, and the quality of the parent-child relationship on attitudes. The results also point to distinctions between parental identification and sex role

identification, as well as differences between the sexes in influences on the attitudes toward the role of women. Each of these areas is discussed below.

#### THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STATUS

For both sexes, coming from a higher status background seems to influence more liberal attitudes. Although this finding is often reported in other studies, it is not always clear why it occurs. It may be that because their relative affluence provides more advantages and options, middle-class people can take the chances implied in liberal and tolerant views. This may be more important for the young men for whom the father's occupational status is the important influence. Liberal views may also be encouraged by middle-class socialization patterns that encourage independent thinking, creativity, and exploration (see, for example, Kohn, 1969). This explanation may be more appropriate for the women, whose liberal attitudes are influenced by the parents' higher education, generally a broadening and liberalizing experience (Wright and Wright, 1976). In any case, the present analysis indicates that the effect of class status is largely independent of the parental expectations, emotional attachments, and cognitive reactions that specifically influence sex role attitudes.

#### THE IMPACT OF EXPERIENCE

Experiences outside the family influence only females' attitudes, and, as with the impact of social status, the influence is largely independent of other variables. Participating in less traditional work fields such as mechanics or art-related and semi-professional areas may increase women's awareness of possible roles and thus influence liberal attitudes. In contrast, women's jobs in medicine tend to be within traditional helping and serving roles that emphasize the authority of the usually male professionals. Participating in these fields is not likely to

challenge traditional attitudes. Extrafamilial experiences may not affect males' attitudes because men's job experiences tend to be in such sex-segregated or stereotyped areas that they provide little challenge to traditional conceptions of appropriate sex roles.

# THE IMPACT OF EXPECTATIONS AND COGNITIVE REACTIONS

The expectations of significant others, the cognitive reaction of an individual to these others, and the quality of the relation with the others influence men's and women's attitudes in different ways. Because these variables are interrelated, their impact is often not independent of other variables in the three sets.

Both stated and inferred expectations of parents directly influence men's attitudes. A mother who is less satisfied with her own life may communicate to her son that the traditional role does not necessarily promote happiness. Independently of this, a working mother demonstrates and legitimates the possibility of developing alternative roles. Fathers showing respect and encouraging general competence, but not encouraging a strict competitive orientation, may help men develop tolerance and respect for others. This, in turn, may promote a potential for accepting alternative roles for women. While the mothers' nonverbal or inferred communications influence men's attitudes, the fathers' verbal expectations influence their attitudes. Similarly, the men's cognitive reaction to their fathers, rather than to their mothers, is important in influencing attitudes. This greater importance of the cognitive reaction to the father and the influence of his stated views may reflect the greater prestige accorded men in the society as a whole, as well as in the family, and the young men's acceptance of that state.

With the women, the emotional relationship with the father and the cognitive response to the mother in particular generally override the impact of the parents' inferred and direct expectations. The only expectation that has an important impact is the one directly related to attitudes toward women's roles, the actual views of the mother. The finding that the stated attitudes of and the cognitive reaction to the mother are important influences may reflect the more liberal attitudes of the women in the sample. The women may be more willing than the men to accept the stated expectations of their mothers.

# SEX ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION

The results indicate that a warm and affectionate fatherdaughter relationship negatively affects liberal attitudes; and other variables in the model tend to affect women's attitudes indirectly through this variable. Yet, greater perceived fatherdaughter similarity or more cognitive identification with the father has a slight positive and independent influence on more liberal attitudes. These results illustrate the conceptual distinction of sex role identification; the adoption of sexdifferentiated traits and behaviors; and parental identification, the extent to which people see their actions, beliefs and attitudes as like their parents'. A warmer emotional relation with the father may influence more traditional sex role identification, shown here by more traditional or less liberal attitudes toward women's roles (see Johnson, 1963, 1975). This, in turn, may influence the daughter to see herself as less similar to her father (less parental identification), which in turn also influences more traditional sex role attitudes. For purposes of analysis the present model cannot include these feedback patterns. However, a more realistic picture of the actual situation should include this more complex causal pattern.

The impact of women's cognitive identification with their mothers and of men's identification with both parents, but especially the father, on more traditional attitudes illustrates the independent influence of parental identification. In these cases, by perceiving themselves to be similar to their parents and more frequently associating with them, the men and women report the more traditional attitudes associated with parental generations.

# SEX DIFFERENCES IN PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE

The literature suggests that the warmth of the relation with the father should influence both males' and females' sex role development. Yet, in this analysis, the emotional relationship with the father is an important influence on only women's attitudes. This may occur because the dependent variable is attitudes toward the roles of women, not toward the roles of men. While men's view of their own sex roles involves avoiding females' roles (Chodorow, 1974; Stockard and Johnson, 1979), attitudes toward the roles of women are probably more closely related to the sex role identity of women than to the sex role identity of men. If the dependent variable were more closely related to men's sex role identity, it could be expected that the emotional relationship with the father would enter the model. Moreover, only 15% of the variation in men's attitudes is explained by the model compared with 21% of the variation in women's attitudes. A dependent measure more directly related to men's sex role identity might also yield greater explanatory value.

In general, if the dependent measure is central to the subjects' sex role identity or self-definition as male or female, the nature of the relationship between the father and child, which directly influences the development of sex role identification, may be important. This situation occurred here with the females. Parental identification will be an influence whether or not the dependent measure is central to sex role identity, although the direction of the influence may vary. Expectations of others may be a more important influence on attitudes when these attitudes are less central to sex role identity. For instance, here, for females, only parental ex-

pectations directly involving the dependent measure have an important impact; the inferred and other direct expectations indirectly influence attitudes through the quality of the father-daughter relationship and its influence on sex role identity. In contrast, parents' expectations have an important direct impact on males' attitudes.

These results indicate that it is necessary to consider the meaning that the dependent variable holds for the subjects in developing explanatory models. Moreover, simply examining the expectations communicated by others—whether stated or inferred—as suggested by symbolic interactionists may not be sufficient when the variable under consideration is closely related to a person's self-identity and selfdefinition. In that case, the influences posited by Bem (1970) including behavioral experiences and especially emotional and cognitive reactions may be even more important than the actual expectations of others. However, when the dependent variable is less central to an individual's self-conception, these expectations of others (both stated and inferred) may assume greater importance. Specifically, in studies of the development of sex role behaviors and attitudes, it is important to assess how central the dependent variable is to the subjects' sex role identification, his or her self-definition as a female or male. The closer the variable is to sex role identity, the more important may be the influence of the emotional quality of the father-child relationship, a key influence on sex role development, and the less important will be simple expectations or communications of others.

## SUMMARY

While symbolic interactionists suggest that the expectations of others influence peoples' attitudes, other theorists suggest that emotional reactions, cognitive beliefs, and behavioral experiences are also important influences. A model is devel-

oped in this article that posits the influence of social status, expectations of parents, emotional relations and cognitive reactions to the parents, and experiences outside the parental family on attitudes toward women's roles. The results suggest that expectations of others are not always an important influence on attitudes. An analysis of survey data with multiple regression indicates that higher social status has a liberalizing influence on both women's and men's attitudes toward women's roles that is independent of other influences. Actual work experiences challenge and affect only women's attitudes, probably because men's work experiences do not challenge traditional views. Experiences in the parental family affect men's and women's attitudes in different ways. Parental expectations and cognitive reactions to the father are more important for men. Emotional relations with the father and stated expectations of and cognitive reactions to the mother are more important for women. It is suggested that these differences occur because the dependent variable is more salient and directly related to females' sex role identity than to males'. The results also illustrate and help clarify conceptual differences between parental identification and sex role identification.

#### NOTES

<sup>1.</sup> In the total sample, 83% of the females and 82% of the males lived with both their mother and father during high school.

<sup>2.</sup> The original validation of this instrument resulted in a nine-item scale for use with both males and females. However, with this sample, two items ("The joys of motherhood do not make up for the sacrifices" and "Jokes about women are made in good humor and aren't really insults to women") had very low correlations with the other items for the males and were eliminated.

<sup>3.</sup> As the first step in analyzing the model, all the variables were entered into the regression equation. Variables whose associated multiple regression coefficient was not large enough to yield an F-ratio greater than .5 were then eliminated from the model. The only exceptions to this rule were variables where the difference between the zero-order correlation and the standardized multiple regression coefficient was large

enough to indicate that there was an important indirect influence on the dependent variable (a difference of about .07 was the cut-off point). This procedure was then repeated to winnow the model to its most concise form.

4. The tables of intercorrelations are available from the author on request.

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