*FEATURED ARTICLE*

# DEVELOPING A SCALE TO MEASURE THE DIVERSITY OF FEMINIST ATTITUDES

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This article reports two studies aimed at developing a new scale of attitudes toward women, incorporating six theoretically derived perspectives: conservative; liberal, radical, socialist, and cultural feminist; and women of color (womanist). In Study 1, an initial pool of 306 items was given to 117 respondents. Selection of 10 attitudinal and 3 behavioral items from each perspective for the final scale was based chiefly on item-total correlations. In Study 2, the Feminist Perspectives Scale was administered to 344 respondents and showed reasonable reliability and validity. For Femscore, a composite of five feminist attitudinal subscales, Cronbach's alpha was .91; test–retest correlations were .91 at 2 weeks and .86 at 4 weeks. Empirical data provided generally good support for

the six perspectives, and factor analysis produced partial support for the six-perspective structure.

Although scales to measure attitudes toward issues concerning women and gender abound, they have typically not incorporated such important—and controversial— ideas of feminism as the view of women as an oppressed group; the importance of the links among class, race, and gender; the destructiveness of masculine-dominated culture; and an openness to alternative sexualities and living arrangements. Such scales generally measure attitudes on a gross scale of least to most "liberal" (prowoman or feminist) attitudes and, to achieve consensus and internal consistency, deliberately do not include divisive issues. Although in actuality different feminists take different "feminist" positions on many issues, existing scales have not tried systematically to represent this broad spectrum of belief. Part of the diversity of feminist belief is the perspective of women of color. There has been little attempt to represent the voice of women of color or to use people of color as respondents in developing these scales (e.g., for reliability and validity testing); a broad-spectrum measure would necessarily incorporate this perspective among the others represented.

Besides not covering the spectrum of feminist attitudes, existing scales do not allow for differential measurement of feminist theoretical perspectives, for example, separating liberal, radical, and socialist feminist views. Being able to make such distinctions would be useful. For example, some people voice the view that extreme experiences such as rape are radicalizing; if we could measure different feminist perspectives, we might determine whether such experiences cause a shift in perspectives. Another use of such a measure would be to determine whether there are common developmental changes in individuals' endorsement of different perspectives on women (e.g., from conservative to liberal to radical). Alternatively, we may wish to examine differences in the strength of various feminist perspectives in certain communities, or in the same community over time, or after notable events. More broadly, if we are interested in how people come to adopt certain perspectives, we may study whether variables that affect the strength of one perspective have a similar effect on another. The possible benefits of differentiating feminist perspectives are manifold, but at present there is no measure that even attempts to do this. The studies reported here represent a first step in this direction.

## Measuring Attitudes Toward Women

Instruments to measure attitudes toward women and what are considered "women's issues" have been used for over 50 years. Despite the widespread development and use of such scales, there has been some dissatisfaction with them. Critics in the 1970s (e.g., Beere, 1979; Brannon, 1978) often found the lack of systematicness to be a problem—both within an individual scale's development and between scales.

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972, 1979; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973) has become the most widely used of such measures (Beere, 1990; McHugh & Frieze, 1997). But because of changes in the

attitudes of measured populations over time, recent researchers have noted that the AWS may have developed a ceiling effect or have felt that its specific goal—to measure "attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society" (Spence & Helmreich, 1972)—may be too limited for current needs (see review by McHugh & Frieze, 1997).

One limitation of particular interest here is that extant scales "may not adequately discriminate at the most liberal ends of the continuum" (McHugh & Frieze, 1997, p. 7). By unintentionally favoring a particular perspective or neglecting another, this lack of discrimination may misrepresent the extent of feminist attitudes among some respondents. Take, for example, two items from the AWS (Spence & Helmreich, 1972; Spence et al., 1973): "Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men" and "There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex." For both these items, agreement counts toward having more positive, liberal attitudes toward women. A respondent might disagree with the first statement because her or his socialist feminist critique of "business" and "professions" would argue against it, not because she or he is not a feminist. Another might disagree with the second statement because he or she believes that the "objective" criteria of hiring and promotion, combined with a history of restricted access to them, have discriminated against women and require correction by affirmative action. (The use of AWS items as examples here is not meant as a specific critique of the AWS, a well-established measure with different goals from those of the present study; rather, the items are offered as examples of a tendency that we believe exists generally in such scales: the tendency to emphasize liberal feminist [and conservative] theoretical perspectives.) Because there has been less attention to distinct feminist theories within psychology than within other fields, we provide a brief survey of these theories or perspectives.

## VARIETIES OF FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Overviews of feminist perspectives or theories (Bart, 1991; Donovan, 1985; Jaggar, 1983; Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1984, 1993; Walby, 1990) uniformly cite liberal, radical, and Marxist or socialist feminism as the three main feminist theories. In addition, Jaggar and Rothenberg describe conservatism as a powerful political, if not feminist, theory with implications for feminist issues. They also distinguish traditional Marxism from socialist feminism and in their second edition (1984) introduce the emerging perspective of women of color as a distinct theoretical position This latter perspective has been developed in various writings of women of color (see, e.g., Chow, 1987; Green, 1980; hooks, 1984; Vasquez, 1984); some use the term "womanist" (Walker, 1983) to name the perspective and, in particular, to distinguish it from "White women's" feminism, from which they feel alienated.[1] To these perspectives Donovan (1985) adds, among others, a cultural feminist view to the spectrum.

The scale whose development is described herein includes the following perspectives: conservatism; liberal, radical, socialist, and cultural feminism; and women of color (or womanist). As the scale was developed in the United States, traditional Marxism, which is considered to have little influence among U.S. feminists, was not included. Brief summaries of the perspectives are presented here, but readers

are referred to the references cited for a more complete understanding of the perspectives.

## Conservatism

Conservatives most often want to keep gender arrangements traditional, that is, with males dominant and in public roles and females subordinate and in private realms. Conservative theory has typically been based on two types of justification: biological and religious. The biological argument states that gender differences in human capacities, needs, styles of expression, and interests are determined by innate factors rather than, or to a far greater extent than, by social conditions, and that it is detrimental to society and unfair to women to encourage them in activities that go against their "nature." The religious argument essentially adds to this the premise that these essential differences are ordained by a Supreme Being.

## Liberal Feminism

Liberal theory grew out of the social contract theories of the 16th and 17th centuries and flowered in the 18th century, when its beliefs in liberty and equality were put into practice in the ideals of the French and American Revolutions. Wollstonecraft's (1792/1971) *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* and Mill's (1869/1988) *The Subjection of Women* epitomize the principles of liberal feminist thought, which may be summarized as a faith in rationality or reason; a belief that by virtue of reasoning capacity women and men are equal and essentially the same; a belief in civil rights, education, and equality of opportunity, assured by law, as the means to social change; and a belief in the limitation of government to a public sphere, reserving the rights of the individual to a private life not touched by government.

## Radical Feminism

Radical feminism[2] sees the oppression of women as the fundamental oppression: it is considered the first historically, the model for subsequent forms of oppression such as racism, and the most widespread and deep-rooted oppression. Radical feminist theory names men as the oppressors of women, rather than capitalism, custom, or biology. Women are defined as a politically oppressed class. Thus, women, regardless of class or race, have more in common with other women as women than they do with men of their own class or race or of any other group that would seem to bind women to men.

## Socialist Feminism

As its name implies, socialist feminism grows out of a socialist political philosophy, but it also has roots in radical feminism. It puts neither class nor gender nor race as a primary division between people or a primary root of oppression, but sees

oppression based on all of them as equally bad and equally in need of consideration in a political theory. It attempts to bring together socialist and radical feminist analyses, to treat the important issues of both perspectives simultaneously. Furthermore, it sees these issues as inseparable: sexism and class oppression and racism reinforce and feed on each other; they cannot be adequately understood separately.

## Cultural Feminism

Cultural feminism, like radical feminism, demands transformation toward a more female-valued society, but the central focus is not so much on male control and oppression of women as on "masculine" values held by both men and women, which are destructive of humane relations with each other and with the natural world. This strain of radical feminism celebrating what are termed "women's values" and "women's culture" (e.g., peace and gentleness, emotionality, caring for others) against what are termed the "masculine values" (e.g., force, aggressiveness, emotional inexpressiveness) has become so strong in recent years and has developed outside the central tenets of radical feminism that it may be seen as a separate perspective (Donovan, 1985).

## Women of Color Feminism/Womanism

The position of women of color begins with criticism of the White women's movement for excluding them and their concerns from public debate around women's issues; these womanist concerns become the primary goals of women of color feminism. They include the recognition of poverty, racism, and ethnocentrism as equal concerns with sexism; the importance of decent jobs, health care, and schooling for men, women, and children of color; the examination of racism within the women's movement; and an opposition to the criticism of single-parent families as pathological. Women of color do not tend to see men of color as oppressors but as brothers in oppression and consequently hold closer ties to men of color than White/Anglo women do to White/Anglo men (e.g., Chow, 1987; hooks, 1984; La-Fromboise, Heyle, & Ozer, 1990; Vasquez, 1984; Welch, 1988).

Obviously, women of different races and ethnicities will have different perspectives on these issues: many women of color will subscribe to one of the aforementioned political/philosophical positions rather than define themselves in separate terms. The womanist position should be seen as a definition of a specific political perspective, not as a description of the perspective of women by race or ethnicity. Just as the other perspectives encompass different strains of thought within them, so too does the women of color perspective. However, we would anticipate more understanding and endorsement of the womanist position among women of color than among those not of color.

## Other Feminist Perspectives

Various other feminist theoretical positions exist that were not included in the scale, including anarcho-feminist, lesbian feminist, ecofeminist, essentialist, global feminist, and postmodern feminist approaches. Although feminist theory is con-

stantly evolving, the perspectives selected for study here have been around for some years and continue to be viewed as important perspectives in current writings (e.g., Jaggar & Rothenberg, 1993).

A comprehensive measure of attitudes toward women and women's issues would include all of these perspectives and would be able to assess individuals' degree of adherence to different feminist theoretical perspectives. Additionally, behavioral concomitants of the attitudes would be studied (Beere, 1979). This article describes the development of such a measure of endorsement of a broad spectrum of feminist thought. We attempted to avoid the errors of previous measures by constructing the scale to represent the domain of issues systematically and to represent differing theoretical perspectives systematically; by studying the behavioral concomitants of the attitudes measured; by carefully documenting reliability and validity; and by basing development of the scale as much as possible on a broad segment of the population, including adult, nonstudent respondents, both women and men, feminist and nonfeminist, of different ethnic/racial groups. The primary goal was the development of a valid and reliable multiperspective scale of attitudes toward women and women's issues; the development of individual perspective subscales was a secondary goal.

## DEVELOPMENT OF INITIAL ITEM POOL

First, a large pool of potential scale items was created. An initial list of 24 possible topics culled from books and articles on women's studies was reduced to 17 by combination and elimination, through discussion among the authors, in order to minimize redundancy while maximizing comprehensiveness of topic coverage. These topics included appearance, battering of women, child care, employment/ equal opportunity, leadership/assertiveness, marriage/family, origins of oppression, political involvement, pornography, prostitution, rape, religion, reproduction/ reproductive rights, romantic love, gender roles, sexist language, and sexual orientation. This set of topics seemed broad enough to cover the set of constructs put forward by Brannon's (1978) table of "Possible Taxonomy of Constructs Concerning Women" (pp. 683–690).

Scale items, written to cover this set of topics, were derived mainly from feminist writings exemplifying the different theoretical positions, from writings on feminist theories and theorists, and from 18 in-depth interviews (conducted by the third author) with a heterogeneous set of women about their attitudes relating to women's issues. For each topic, a position statement was developed for each feminist theoretical position; then, for each position statement (topic by perspective intersection), three items were written for the item pool, two attitudinal and one behavioral. The "behavioral" items were self-reports of current or sometimes intended behavior. Thus a total of 306 items was generated (17 topics × 6 theoretical positions × 3 items). Table 1 shows sample attitudinal items from each perspective on a single topic.

Several characteristics tend to differentiate the items of this pool from those of other scales. First, the statements often seem more extreme than items on other scales because they attempt to represent specific positions, sometimes considered

**Table 1**

Sample Pool Items on Employment/Equal Opportunity from Each Perspective

| Subscale | Sample Item |
|----------|-------------|
| Conservative | A man has the right to forbid his wife to seek employment outside the home. |
| Liberal Feminist | The government is responsible for making sure that all women receive an equal chance at education and employment. |
| Radical Feminist | The workplace is organized around men's physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women. |
| Socialist Feminist | Women and men should fight to equalize wages to unite the working class. |
| Cultural Feminist | Bringing more women into male-dominated professions would make the professions less cut-throat and competitive. |
| Women of Color | Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment. |

extreme by others, from the point of view of an exponent of the position and to clearly separate persons who espouse and do not espouse particular positions. Second, the items sometimes violate the rule that scale items should not make compound statements, such that respondents may agree with one part but disagree with another part. Although we edited to make items as elemental as possible, it became clear that actual theoretical perspectives often could not be adequately represented with a single clause. Compound statements were employed only when deemed necessary. And third, most items are written in the "positive" direction for a subscale (i.e., agreement with an item indicates endorsement of that subscale perspective), although traditional methods of scale construction call for balancing positive and negative items. The decision to do this was made intentionally, as initial attempts to change some subscale items to negative tended both to change the meaning of the items and to make them fit more appropriately with different subscales. Because agreement or disagreement with items was to be along graded rather than dichotomous response scales, and because it was assumed that different respondents to the scale would find different items positive and negative, the danger of positive or negative response set affecting the results seemed greatly reduced.

## STUDY 1: TESTING OF INITIAL ITEM POOL

Study 1 was primarily exploratory, its main purposes being to assess the viability of the projected scale and to gather data for further refinement of items for a final scale. On the basis of previous studies (e.g., Jones & Jacklin, 1988; Vedovato & Vaughter, 1980), we expected positive correlations of feminist attitudes with self-rated degree of feminism, having taken a women's studies course, and number of

women's studies courses taken. As has been found with other measures of attitudes toward women (e.g., Baker & Terpstra, 1986; Etaugh, 1975; Etaugh & Bowen, 1976; McEwen 1990; Spence & Helmreich, 1979), we also anticipated that more feminist attitudes would be associated with greater age and more years in school.

## METHOD

### Respondents

Of the respondents, 92 (39 female, 51 male, and 2 unclassified) were volunteers from the introductory psychology subject pool and were given course credit for their participation; 25 (all female) were juniors and seniors from an advanced seminar for women's studies majors and specializers, whose submission of their answer sheets for research was voluntary. Thus, of the 117 respondents, 64 were female, 51 were male, and for 2 gender was not given. The respondents were approximately 40% European American, 25% Latin American, 18% Asian American, and 6% African American (about 9% chose "other" as a response, and about 2% did not respond).[3] The large majority of respondents (82%) were between 18 and 22 years of age, with an additional 10% in the 23 to 27 year range; 3% were between 28 and 32.

### Instrument

The scale (which we named the Feminist Perspectives Scale [FPS], but which bore the title "Measurement of Social Attitudes" to avoid biasing participants) comprised the 306 items described previously, which were divided into 204 attitudinal items and 102 behavioral items. The former, headed "Agree/Disagree Items," were accompanied by a 7-point scale labeled from "strongly," "moderately," and "somewhat" disagree through "undecided" to "somewhat," "moderately," and "strongly" agree. The latter, labeled "True of Me/Not True of Me Items," were labeled from "very," "moderately," and "a little" untrue of me through "not sure" to "a little," "moderately," and "very" true of me.

Order of items was systematically randomized within the separate attitudinal (which came first) and behavioral sections, with some reordering to avoid having items of similar topic or perspective too close. In addition, there was a set of 20 items at the end asking for such standard information as gender, age, race/ethnicity, major, year in school, marital status, employment, and so forth. These items included political self-label and self-identification as feminist or not.

### Procedure

Subject-pool respondents were run in groups of up to six by a female and/or male experimenter. Respondents from the seminar were asked to complete the scale in the first class meeting. Instructions emphasized that there might be many statements

**Table 2**

Study 1: Initial Pool Subscale Intercorrelations (Attitudinal Items Only; $N = 91–101$)

| Subscale | LF | RF | SF | CU | WC | Femscore |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative | −.52°° | −.62°° | −.58°° | −.26° | −.43°° | −.57°° |
| Liberal Feminist | | .55°° | .61°° | .47°° | .57°° | .68°° |
| Radical Feminist | | | .87°° | .78°° | .74°° | .93°° |
| Socialist Feminist | | | | .75°° | .78°° | .93°° |
| Cultural Feminist | | | | | .74°° | .88°° |
| Women of Color | | | | | | .88°° |

**Note:** LF = Liberal Feminist, RF = Radical Feminist, SF = Socialist Feminist, CU = Cultural Feminist, WC = Women of Color/Womanist.
° $p < .01$, °° $p < .001$.

with which respondents agreed or, conversely, many with which they disagreed, thus they should not worry about how many they agreed or disagreed with. They were told to note that they had a range of ratings with which to express how much they agreed or disagreed with a statement.

Respondents marked their scale responses on a machine-scorable answer sheet.[4] Most respondents were also asked to note any item they had difficulty understanding and to explain the problem. Following completion of the scale, laboratory respondents read a debriefing statement posted on the exit door (so as not to disturb others still finishing) and could leave a name and address if they desired further information; seminar respondents had a broader, group debriefing, with discussion of the theories and issues involved.

## RESULTS

### Subscale Analyses

Because of the large number of items tested (306), factor analysis could not be performed on the results: to conduct such an analysis on a sufficient sample, numbering 900-some respondents, was beyond our resources.

*Reliabilities.* Cronbach's standardized item alpha coefficients by subscale, for all 51 items of each subscale, were: Conservative, .92; Liberal Feminist, .77; Radical Feminist, .94; Socialist Feminist, .92; Cultural Feminist, .91; Women of Color, .88. (When calculated without behavioral items, alphas differed from these by .01 to .02 in three of the scales.) However, the item–subscale correlations of behavioral items were not as strong as those of attitudinal items; subsequent analyses were conducted using attitudinal items only.

*Intercorrelations.* Table 2 shows subscale intercorrelations and the correlation of each subscale with a composite "Femscore," the sum of the five subscales other than Conservative (all with attitudinal items only). As Table 2 shows, the Conservative subscale correlated negatively with each of the five feminist subscales

## Table 3

### Study 1: Initial Pool Subscale Correlations with Demographic, Attitudinal, and Experiential Items ($N = 94$–$104$ for all but WS2, for which $N = 29$–$33$)

| Subscale | Age | Year[a] | Religious[b] | Political[c] | WS1[d] | WS2[e] | Feminism[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative | −.22 | −.39 | −.31 | .19 | .57 | −.52 | .59 |
| Liberal Feminist | −.02 | .20 | .32 | −.07 | −.36 | −.05 | −.48 |
| Radical Feminist | −.26 | .47 | .02 | −.29 | −.56 | .50 | −.65 |
| Socialist Feminist | .18 | .33 | .23 | −.31 | −.48 | .46 | −.54 |
| Cultural Feminist | .22 | .33 | −.01 | −.23 | −.41 | .38 | −.44 |
| Women of Color | .13 | .32 | .08 | −.35 | −.40 | .22 | −.42 |
| Femscore | .24 | .49 | .14 | −.35 | −.54 | .40 | −.57 |

**Note:** Critical values of $r$ for $N = 98$ are: for $\alpha = .05$, $r = .20$; for $\alpha = .01$, $r = .25$. Critical values of $r$ for $N = 28$ are: for $\alpha = .05$, $r = .36$; for $\alpha = .01$, $r = .46$.
[a] Year in school.
[b] Religiousness (greater = less religious).
[c] Political conservatism (greater = more conservative).
[d] Has respondent had a women's studies course? (Yes = 1, No = 2).
[e] Number of women's studies courses taken.
[f] Degree of feminism (lesser = more feminist).

and with Femscore. To varying degrees, the five feminist subscales had positive correlations with each other and with Femscore, the highest correlations being between Radical Feminist and Socialist Feminist subscales and between each of these subscales and Femscore.

*Validity.* Correlations of the subscales (attitude items only) with various demographic, attitudinal, and experiential variables (shown in Table 3) provide a rough estimate of the scale's overall ability to measure feminism and give some indication of its ability to differentiate by perspectives. In addition, the pattern of subscale intercorrelations reported previously (e.g., the Conservative subscale correlated negatively with every one of the feminist subscales; some of the feminist subscales correlated more highly than others) provides suggestive evidence for convergent and discriminant validity.

## DISCUSSION

The attitudinal items of the initial pool showed some promise, both in reliability and validity, for developing the desired scale. In general alphas were in a quite respectable range (.88–.94 for all but Liberal Feminist). Correlations were in the expected directions, and almost all highly significant, for such variables as political self-label, self-rated feminism, women's studies course exposure, and year in school. For number of women's studies courses taken, self-rated religiosity, and age, not all subscale correlations were significant, but those that were significant were in the expected direction, with the sole exception of the negative correlation of Radical Feminism with age.

Intercorrelations of the five feminist subscales (Table 2), however, were some-

what high for desired levels of independence. Additionally, many of the individual item–subscale correlations had low or even negative correlations with their designated subscales or higher correlations with other subscales. In addition, as previously reported, behavioral items did not correlate as well with specific subscales as attitudinal items did. These analyses provided information on which to base selection of items to create a shorter, less intercorrelated, more finely tuned scale.

## STUDY 2: DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF FORM 2

The purpose of this study was to develop and test a reduced version of the scale, using the best items from the original item pool (now called Form 1 or FPS1). A subset of respondents also completed the 25-item version of the AWS (Spence et al., 1973) so that the new scale could be correlated with an already accepted measure as part of the validation procedure. Another subset completed the scale a second time (2 to 4 weeks later) so that test–retest reliability correlations could be calculated.

The goals for the second study were again largely developmental and exploratory, with the aim of demonstrating acceptable reliability and validity while maintaining the six-perspective structure of the scale. Relationships with demographic, attitudinal, and experiential variables were expected to be similar to those of the first study and of previous studies with other measures of attitudes toward women (described earlier). Another goal was to use diverse respondents, in both ethnicity and occupation, so that the scale would not be developed entirely using mainly White college students.

## METHOD

### Materials

Several criteria were followed in selecting items for Form 2: (a) the item–subscale correlation should be high; (b) the correlation of the item with other subscales should be low or at least considerably lower than the correlation with its own subscale; and (c) the item should have no or few problems of understanding associated with it (as indicated by respondents' posttest listing of problem items). Many respondent reports of problems with various items turned out to be simply comments on the substance or topic of the item. One item was dropped because of seven problems of clarity associated with it. Another was retained because its correlations were strong, but it was reworded to address three problems reported. Another item had two complaints, but they seemed minor, and the item was strong enough to keep. All other items selected for the final scale had no problems or only one. Two more items were slightly reworded for clarity. Ten attitudinal items were chosen from each of the six subscales, making a total of 60. Thereafter, the perspective subscales included attitudinal items only (the disposition of behavioral items is described below). Although it was impossible to maintain the full structure

of topic-by-perspective coverage, all topics were still represented by at least 1 item, and 13 of the 17 topics were represented by 3 or more items.

As previously reported, specific perspective behavioral subscales of the initial pool were not as well correlated with their corresponding attitudinal scales as we had wished; yet the desirability of measuring behavioral concomitants of the attitudes remained. We therefore abandoned the notion of separate perspective behavioral scales in favor of a single behavioral scale. The three best-correlating behavioral items were selected from each perspective, and these were combined into a single scale. The resulting 18-item behavioral scale had 3 conservative and 15 feminist items. The Appendix lists all scale items separately by subscale (six attitudinal, perspective-based subscales and the behavioral subscale).

## Respondents

Three samples of respondents completed the questionnaire. The first sample consisted of 84 students from the same large West Coast university (40 female, 42 male, and 2 with gender unidentified). Of these, 69 were introductory psychology subject pool students, and 15 were students in a graduate course on psychology of gender. The second sample consisted of 94 persons (55 female, 29 male, and 10 unidentified) waiting to get into the studio where the Arsenio Hall show was taped, who volunteered when approached by a student researcher. The third sample consisted of 166 respondents (104 female, 54 male, 8 gender unspecified) drawn from the subject pool of the same university described previously. In total, there were 344 participants, of whom 199 were female, 125 were male, and 20 were of unknown gender.

The nonstudent sample differed in ethnic composition from and was somewhat more diverse in age and education than the student samples. Among the students, 24% were Asian American, whereas among the nonstudents, only 5% were Asian Americans; 12% of students were Latin American, whereas only 6% of the nonstudent sample were; and 4% of the student sample were African American, whereas 32% of the nonstudent sample were. The two groups were similar in the percentage of European Americans (47% for students, 43% for nonstudents) and of Native Americans (1–2%); both groups had 12% answering "other" or not responding to the ethnicity question. The differences in ethnic composition may have been due in part to the appeal of the television program to the different ethnicities in the nonstudent group. Among all samples combined, ethnic composition was as follows: European American, 46%; Asian American, 19%; African American, 12%; Latin American, 11%; Native American, 1%; other, 5%; no response, 7% (differences from 100% total are due to rounding error).

As would be expected, the nonstudent sample was in general older than the student sample, although still fairly young: among students, 92% were between 18 and 24 years; among nonstudents, 45% were between 18 and 24. Among students, only 6% were over 24, whereas among nonstudents, 32% were between 25 and 34 years, 5% were between 35 and 44, 7% were between 45 and 54, and 2% were older; 3% of students and 9% of nonstudents did not respond. The percentages for the combined group were: 18–24 years, 79%; 25–34 years, 11%; 35 and older, 6%; no response, 4%.

In education, 35% of the nonstudents had bachelor's or graduate degrees or had completed some graduate work. Only 6% of the students had a similar educational level: 71% of the student sample had "some college" as their highest educational achievement, compared to 30% of the nonstudent sample. The two groups were similar in percentage for whom high school was the highest educational attainment (17–18%). Understandably, there were more nonstudents who had not finished high school (7%) than students (1%). About 5% of the student data and 12% of the nonstudent data were missing on this item. For the combined group, about 20% had high school or less, 60% had some college, and 14% had a bachelor's degree or more (7% were missing).

## Instruments

The scale, again titled "Measurement of Social Attitudes," comprised the 78 items whose selection was described previously. The instructions were essentially the same as for Study 1. There were minor changes to make demographic and personal information items more appropriate for nonstudents as well as students. The 25-item version of the AWS (Spence et al., 1973) was also administered to a subsample of the student respondents ($n = 138$). This version was reported by Spence et al. to correlate from .96 to .97 with the original 55-item version. The AWS items consisted of four-choice agree–disagree statements on themes relating to women and gender roles, ranging from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly."

## Procedure

Student respondents were again run in small groups of up to six by female or male experimenters, using a procedure similar to that of the first study. They were also given the option of returning to take the FPS again (for additional subject pool credit) for test–retest reliability evaluation; 189 respondents took this option (52 returned after approximately 2 weeks, and 137 after approximately 4 weeks).[5]

Nonstudent respondents were approached in the queue for the studio by a female or male research assistant with the research packet mounted on a clipboard and were asked if they would fill out a questionnaire taking only 15 to 20 minutes, which almost all agreed to do. However, not all were able to (or chose to) complete the full survey.

## RESULTS

### Subscale Statistics

Means and standard deviations were calculated for all samples separately as well as combined. Besides the subscales, statistics for Femscore (the sum of the scores on the five feminist attitude subscales) were also calculated, as in Study 1. In addition, the 15 feminist behavioral items (3 from each subscale other than Conser-

## Table 4

Study 2: Mean Subscale Scores for Student and Nonstudent Samples

| Subscale | Student samples (N = 177–207) | | Nonstudent sample (N = 87–93) | | Both samples combined (N = 257–296) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | (SD) | Mean | (SD) | Mean | (SD) |
| Conservative[a] | 28.20 | (9.92) | 32.11 | (9.62) | 29.38 | (9.98) |
| Liberal Feminist[a] | 52.49 | (7.74) | 49.89 | (8.31) | 51.68 | (8.00) |
| Radical Feminist[a] | 36.25 | (12.16) | 37.29 | (10.67) | 36.57 | (11.71) |
| Socialist Feminist[a] | 34.30 | (10.23) | 35.47 | (10.11) | 34.65 | (10.20) |
| Cultural Feminist[a] | 33.97 | (8.90) | 37.46 | (8.56) | 35.02 | (8.93) |
| Women of Color[a] | 46.82 | (8.80) | 43.22 | (9.09) | 45.72 | (9.03) |
| Femscore[b] | 202.28 | (37.21) | 204.59 | (36.93) | 203.00 | (37.07) |
| Fembehave[c] | 61.97 | (9.47) | 60.67 | (9.94) | 61.57 | (9.62) |

[a] Maximum score (10 items) = 70.
[b] Maximum score (50 items) = 350.
[c] Maximum score (15 items) = 105.

vative) were pooled to make a composite feminist behavior (self-report) scale, named "Fembehave." Because the nonstudent group differed from the student one on some measures, results are presented separately for these two groups, as well as for the two combined.

Table 4 shows subscale and composite scale means and standard deviations for the two types of samples, separately and combined. Respondents in both groups were lowest in their endorsement of Conservative subscale items and highest in their endorsement of Liberal Feminist items, followed by Women of Color ones.

Reliability

Reliability of the individual subscales was assessed in two ways: by an internal consistency measure (Cronbach's alpha coefficient) and by test–retest correlation. Results are displayed in Table 5.

Of the six perspective subscales, the Liberal Feminist subscale had the lowest alpha coefficient, and the Radical Feminist subscale had the highest. For the two composite scales, the alpha for Femscore was reasonably high, but the alpha for Fembehave, like that for the Liberal Feminist subscale, was below conventional standards for this coefficient. Comparing the two samples, alphas were higher for the student respondents than for the nonstudent ones, but the pattern of reliabilities (i.e., rank order) was fairly similar.

To test the stability of reliabilities across ethnic differences, alphas of respondents of European American ethnicity were compared with those of respondents of color (i.e., those who claimed different ethnicities from European American, including "other"), combined across ethnic groups. In other words, reliability tests were run

**Table 5**

Study 2 Reliabilities: Standardized Item Alpha Coefficients and
Test–Retest Correlations by Subscale

| | Alpha Reliabilities | | | Test–Retest Correlations | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Subscale | Student sample (n = 250) | Nonstudent sample (n = 94) | Combined samples (N = 344) | 2-week (N = 52) | 4-week (N = 137) |
| Conservative | .77 | .65 | .74 | .82 | .82 |
| Liberal Feminist | .62 | .46 | .58 | .73 | .72 |
| Radical Feminist | .86 | .78 | .84 | .85 | .81 |
| Socialist Feminist | .79 | .76 | .78 | .86 | .73 |
| Cultural Feminist | .73 | .58 | .70 | .82 | .75 |
| Women of Color | .75 | .68 | .75 | .85 | .80 |
| Femscore | .92 | .88 | .91 | .91 | .86 |
| Fembehave | .52 | .41 | .49 | .40 | .72 |

*Note:* Ns given are full sample Ns, which may differ from per-statistic Ns because of incomplete answers on some scales.

twice on each of the eight subscales. Ns of cases (respondents) for these tests were
104 for respondents of color and 118 for European American respondents (Ns are
reduced by incomplete subscale scores). Although alpha scores in general were
slightly lower for respondents of color, they ranged from .70 to .88 for all but three
subscales: Liberal Feminist (.56), Cultural Feminist (.64), and Fembehave (.38).
Alphas for European American respondents ranged from .74 to .92 for all except
Liberal Feminist (.60) and Fembehave (.55). Thus, all alphas that obtained .70 or
better for the combined samples were again .70 or above for the samples divided
by ethnicity, the sole exception being the alpha for the Cultural Feminist subscale
for respondents of color.

Test–retest correlations on the respondents who were retested (all from the
student sample), as seen in Table 5, were in a respectable range for the perspective
subscales and for Femscore, but low for Fembehave in the 2-week testing subset.

## Subscale Intercorrelations

Subscale intercorrelations yielded 28 correlations for each group (student and
nonstudent); the correlation between these sets of figures from the two samples
was $r = .96$. The patterns of subscale means, reliabilities, and intercorrelations were
deemed sufficiently similar to justify combining the samples; further statistics will
be given for the two samples combined. (All analyses were executed on the two
samples separately as well; no serious differences in direction or other discrepancies
between the samples were found.)

Subscale intercorrelations for the combined samples are shown in Table 6. The
five feminist subscales had positive (and, because of the large N, highly significant,
$p \leq .002$) correlations with each other and with the two composite scores and

**Table 6**

Study 2: Subscale Intercorrelations (Combined Samples; $N = 243$–296)

| Subscale | LF | RF | SF | CU | WC | FemS | FemB |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative | −.50 | −.37 | −.18 | −.03 | −.23 | −.33 | −.33 |
| Liberal Feminist | | .36 | .29 | .06 | .35 | .52 | .28 |
| Radical Feminist | | | .74 | .64 | .57 | .90 | .36 |
| Socialist Feminist | | | | .64 | .54 | .87 | .32 |
| Cultural Feminist | | | | | .38 | .75 | .29 |
| Women of Color | | | | | | .74 | .33 |
| Femscore | | | | | | | .39 |

*Note:* LF = Liberal Feminist, RF = Radical Feminist, SF = Socialist Feminist, CU = Cultural Feminist, WC = Women of Color/Womanist, FemS = Femscore, FemB = Fembehave.

**Table 7**

Study 2 (Combined Data): Correlation of Subscales with
Self-Report Items ($N = 203$–288 except as noted)

| Subscale | Religious[a] | Political[b] | Feminism[c] | WS1[d] | WS2[e] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conservative | .22 | .51 | −.41 | .22 | −.32 |
| Liberal Feminist | −.28 | −.43 | .24 | −.08 | .11 |
| Radical Feminist | −.07 | −.31 | .41 | −.31 | .49 |
| Socialist Feminist | −.14 | −.29 | .24 | −.25 | .41 |
| Cultural Feminist | −.01 | −.08 | .28 | −.17 | .35 |
| Women of Color | −.05 | −.27 | .28 | −.22 | .25 |
| Femscore | −.13 | −.36 | .36 | −.28 | .46 |
| Fembehave | −.06 | −.33 | .31 | −.29 | .33 |

*Note:* Critical values of $r$ for $N = 200$ are: for $\alpha = .05$, $r = .14$; for $\alpha = .01$, $r = .18$. Critical values of $r$ for $N = 50$ are: for $\alpha = .05$, $r = .27$; for $\alpha = .01$, $r = .35$.
[a] Religiosity (greater = more religious).
[b] Political conservatism (greater = more conservative).
[c] Degree of feminism (lesser = greater feminist).
[d] Has respondent had a women's studies course (Yes = 1, No = 2)?
[e] Number of women's studies courses taken (subsample $n = 51$–61).

negative correlations with the Conservative subscale, except for the Cultural Feminist subscale's correlations with the Conservative and Liberal Feminist subscales.

## Validity

Validity was assessed in several ways. Table 7 shows the correlations of the various subscales with relevant self-reports: self-rated religiosity, political self-label, feminism, whether the respondent had taken a women's studies course, and, if so, number of women's studies courses taken. Correlations with respondent age and year in school are not given, as none of these reached significance except that between the Cultural Feminist subscale and age, $r = .12$, $p = .04$.

Political identification (self-label) was assessed by asking participants to choose

a political label, from Radical (left) (1) to Extreme Right (5); the mean for these ratings was 2.91 ($SD = .83$). The highest positive correlation with (right-leaning) political label was that for the Conservative subscale, and the highest negative correlation was that for the Liberal Feminist subscale; all correlations were highly significant ($p \leq .001$) except that for the Cultural Feminist subscale.

The self-rated feminism item was a scale asking respondents to indicate the degree to which they considered themselves feminist, from "not at all" (1) to "extremely" (7). These ratings yielded a mean of 3.58 ($SD = 1.62$). As may be seen in Table 7, all correlations were positive (though small to moderate) except that for the Conservative subscale. All were highly significant ($p < .001$ or lower).

One question asked whether students had taken any women's studies courses: 56 (16%) answered "yes" and 214 (62%) answered "no" (74 answers [22%] were missing because of being invalid, missing, or otherwise excluded). A repeated-measures multivariate analysis of variance of the six perspective subscale scores by response to this yes/no question revealed significant main effects for having taken a women's studies course, $F(1, 191) = 12.38$, $p = .001$, and for subscale, $F(5, 187) = 131.88$, $p < .001$, as well as a significant interaction effect, $F(5, 187) = 6.10$, $p < .001$. Those who had taken a women's studies course had higher scores on the feminist subscales and a lower score on the Conservative one than those who had not taken such a course. Biserial correlations with this question (as WS1) are also shown in Table 7.

Another validating measure is the correlation of subscale scores with the number of women's studies courses respondents reported taking (categorized from "one" to "seven or more"); the mean was 2.23 ($SD = 1.69$). Although these correlations were based on a subset of 51 to 61 respondents (those with any women's studies courses and completed subscales) rather than the larger numbers of the previous tests, they were all significant, although again small to moderate (two-tailed $p < .05$ and lower), except for that of the Liberal Feminist subscale, and all were in the appropriate direction.

A frequent means of validating scales of attitudes toward women, although a rather indirect one, has been to cite significant differences between men's and women's scores. We conducted separate analyses of variance for each subscale by gender and ethnicity, again (for the ethnicity factor) contrasting respondents of color with those not of color.

There were significant gender differences for all subscales except Women of Color: for Conservative, $F(1, 234) = 44.43$; for Liberal Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 7.42$; for Radical Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 59.35$; for Socialist Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 27.30$; for Cultural Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 41.34$; for Femscore, $F(1, 229) = 37.03$; for Fembehave, $F(1, 229) = 13.59$. For Liberal Feminist, $p = .007$; for all others, $p \leq .001$. Females scored higher on all subscales except Conservative and Women of Color; males scored higher on the Conservative subscale. Thus females and males differed in the expected directions; however, the gender difference was complicated by the influence of ethnicity.

The main effect of ethnicity was significant for all subscales except Liberal Feminist and Fembehave; in those subscales with significant difference, respondents of color scored higher than those not of color: for Conservative, $F(1, 234) = 6.45$ ($p = .01$); for Radical Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 4.47$ ($p = .04$); for Socialist Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 4.28$ ($p = .04$); for Cultural Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 11.31$ ($p = .001$);
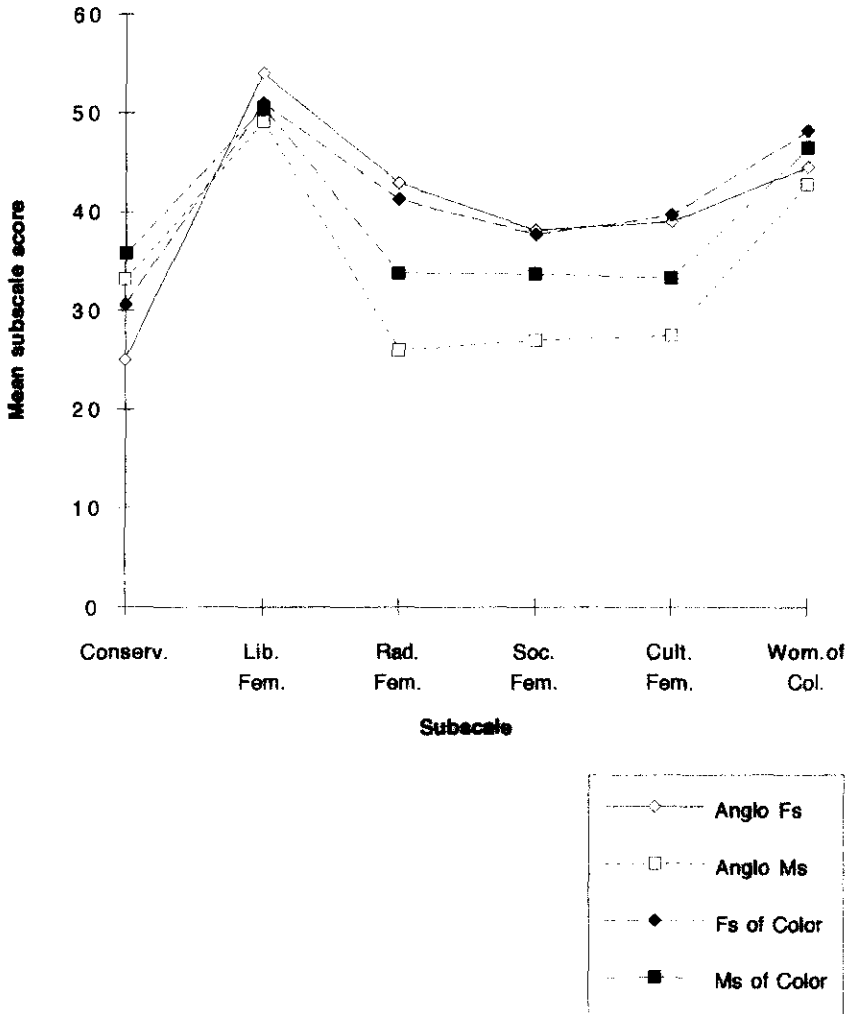
FIGURE 1.    Study 2, combined data: Mean subscale scores by gender and ethnicity (dichotomized).

for Women of Color, $F(1, 229) = 13.93$ ($p < .001$); for Femscore, $F(1, 229) = 8.41$ ($p = .004$).

The interaction of gender and ethnicity was significant, or marginally so, for all subscales except Conservative and Women of Color: for Liberal Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 5.03$ ($p = .03$); for Radical Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 8.91$ ($p = .003$); for Socialist Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 3.18$ ($p = .08$); for Cultural Feminist, $F(1, 234) = 3.93$ ($p < .05$); for Femscore, $F(1, 229) = 7.83$ ($p = .006$); for Fembehave, $F(1, 229) = 5.37$ ($p = .02$). The nature of these interactions is shown for the perspective subscales in Figure 1. In this interaction, not only is the female > male order reversed for

the Conservative subscale (as might be expected), but it is broken by the higher scores of males of color than those of European American females on the Women of Color subscale.

In addition, females' scores across ethnicity are generally closer together than males', and the scores of females and males of color are closer together than those of females and males not of color. This visual difference is verified by effect sizes calculated for the gender difference within (dichotomous) ethnic category for each subscale. For respondents of color, effect sizes ranged from 0 (Liberal Feminist) to .17 (Conservative), with a mean of .10; for those not of color, effect sizes ranged from .06 (Women of Color) to .40 (Radical Feminist), with a mean of .23. Despite their significance, it may be noted that gender effect sizes for both ethnic groupings for all subscales are small, according to classifications suggested by Cohen (1977).

Correlations were run for all subscales with the AWS. This 25-item version of the AWS was found to have an alpha reliability of .91, based on 111 cases ($ns$ for the following correlations range from 102 to 120). The Liberal Feminist, Radical Feminist, and Women of Color subscales were found to correlate positively and significantly with the AWS: $r = .46$, $p < .001$; $r = .28$, $p = .002$; and $r = .23$, $p = .01$, respectively. The Conservative subscale was negatively correlated, $r = -.59$, $p < .001$. Additionally, both Femscore and Fembehave were positively correlated with the AWS, $r = .27$, $p = .006$, and $r = .28$, $p = .004$, respectively. The Socialist and Cultural Feminist subscales were not significantly correlated with the AWS, $r = .04$ and .08, respectively.

## Validity of Individual Subscales

One way to test specific subscale validity is to compare subscale means for those respondents professing different political identifications. We have already noted (in Tables 3 and 7) the positive correlation of the Conservative subscale and the negative correlations of other subscales with right-wing political identity. Repeated-measures multivariate analysis of variance of the six perspective subscale scores (as dependent variables) by political self-label categories revealed significant main effects for subscale, $F(5, 217) = 44.31$, $p < .001$, and political self-label, $F(4, 221) = 5.59$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction effect (Pillai's trace-based approximate, $F(20, 880) = 4.88$, $p < .001$).

Table 8 shows mean subscale scores associated with each political identification (self-label); there is general correspondence in the expected directions between political label and subscale scores, especially reading across by subscale. For example, the highest Conservative score was attained by those who chose "Extreme Right"; the highest Liberal Feminist score was made by those choosing the "Liberal" label (followed closely by the "Radical" label); and the highest Radical and Socialist Feminist scores were posted by those choosing the "Radical Left" label (as was the highest Women of Color score). The correspondence is not perfect, as may be seen reading down by political identification: it is especially compromised by the fact that all political categories, including "Extreme Right," scored highest on the Liberal Feminist subscale. Furthermore, no specific political labels are associated with the Cultural Feminist and Women of Color subscales.

## Table 8

Study 2: Mean Subscale Scores (Standard Deviations in Parentheses) by Political Self-Label

| | Political preference (self-label) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Subscale | Radical Left (n = 6–8) | | Liberal (n = 77–83) | | Moderate (n = 109–114) | | Conservative (n = 63–65) | | Extreme Right (n = 4) | |
| CO | 22.29 | (8.24) | 22.93 | (8.51) | 30.21 | (8.37) | 35.90 | (8.92) | 40.00 | (15.01) |
| LF | 56.00 | (7.59) | 56.25 | (7.25) | 51.35 | (6.68) | 47.02 | (7.69) | 47.75 | (9.14) |
| RF | 50.38 | (14.32) | 39.36 | (12.40) | 36.25 | (10.36) | 30.57 | (10.32) | 36.25 | (14.17) |
| SF | 47.50 | (12.15) | 36.38 | (10.29) | 34.59 | (9.23) | 29.78 | (9.31) | 34.75 | (15.97) |
| CU | 39.13 | (13.00) | 34.70 | (9.00) | 35.79 | (8.44) | 32.58 | (8.45) | 40.00 | (10.42) |
| WC | 53.50 | (11.58) | 47.40 | (9.74) | 45.96 | (8.15) | 41.98 | (7.50) | 40.75 | (4.92) |
| FemS | 245.70 | (52.51) | 212.20 | (39.51) | 204.50 | (35.13) | 184.67 | (34.14) | 199.50 | (44.29) |
| FemB | 69.14 | (11.36) | 64.47 | (9.16) | 61.41 | (9.42) | 57.85 | (7.66) | 54.50 | (11.12) |

*Note:* CO = Conservative; FemS = Femscore; FemB = Fembehave; other abbreviations are as in Table 2.

However, a means of validating the Women of Color subscale is to compare the scores of women of color respondents with those of other ethnic/gender groups on the Women of Color subscale. Females of color did score higher ($M = 48.42$) than all other ethnic/gender groupings (for males of color, $M = 47.77$; for females not of color, $M = 44.65$; for males not of color, $M = 42.13$). As noted earlier, however, the ethnicity by gender interaction was not significant for this subscale, although the ethnicity effect was.

Factor Analysis: Attitudinal Items

Analyses thus far have been based on theoretically distinguished perspectives, but it will be helpful to distinguish these individual perspectives empirically as well, using factor analysis. We wish to note in advance, however, that inconsistency of findings here may be attributable to the cultural assumptions on which each perspective is based, the specific pool of items used in creating the subscales, the population samples used, and so on. Such inconsistency of findings can shed light on possible areas of concern for future research.

To enlarge the sample size for factor analysis, 259 additional participants from other studies under way were added to those already described. All were students, mostly from the subject pool of the same university previously described, but 62 were from a psychology of women class at a small liberal arts college in California. The total $N$ for the completed factor analysis was 603 (336 females, 253 males, 14 gender unknown).

All factor analyses employed maximum likelihood as the method of estimation and promax rotations. Communality estimates were set to the squared multiple correlation of a variable to all other variables. The first factor analysis was performed on all the attitudinal items and employed a six-factor solution. We chose a six-factor solution because it is consistent with the theoretical assumption that each of the six subscales taps a specific perspective.

The hypothesis that each set of items would load on separate factors was partially supported in the first four factors. Radical Feminist and Socialist Feminist items tended to load together in the first factor. The second and third factors consisted primarily of Conservative and Women of Color items, respectively. The Cultural Feminist items tended to load on the first and fourth factors. Items within the Liberal Feminist subscale, on the other hand, did not cluster together consistently on any particular factor.

It is important to note that the above analysis resulted in nine factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. This finding was anticipated and attributed to the fact that, in addition to the items having been designed to tap various perspectives on feminism, the items across scales often tapped specific domains of issues relevant to women. In fact, exploring the nature of these additional factors suggested that they were indeed caused by the domain specificity of certain items. For example, when an eleven-factor solution was employed, the fifth factor tended to reflect issues related to sexual orientation, whereas the sixth factor tended to reflect issues related to degradation of women (e.g., rape, pornography, prostitution, and sexist language).

To enhance the factor structure of the four factors reflecting feminist perspectives, items found to force additional domain-specific factors were deleted, along with any item that did not load consistently with the other items in a particular scale cluster. This phase of the analysis resulted in the deletion of 21 items, including all the Liberal Feminist items and those Cultural Feminist items not loading on the fourth factor.

The first analysis was run on even-numbered participants only ($n = 301$) and supported the four-factor solution. A replication with odd-numbered participants ($n = 302$) produced factor structures that were identical in factor composition and order to the original one. Therefore these sets were combined, and the analysis was run on the full complement of participants. The eigenvalues for the first four factors in this solution were 14.76, 4.85, 1.85, and 1.80, respectively. The eigenvalues for additional factors were below .85. The proportions of variance accounted for by the first four factors were 60%, 20%, 8%, and 7%, respectively. As a good amount of variance was added by each of the first four factors, whereas the proportion of variance accounted for by the fifth factor dropped to 3%, four factors were retained.

The first factor had high factor loadings (>.3) for the 9 Radical Feminist and 6 Socialist Feminist items; its alpha reliability coefficient was .87. The 9 Conservative items loaded highly on the second factor, which had an alpha of .76. On the third factor, the 9 Women of Color items had high factor loadings; its alpha was also .76. The 6 Cultural Feminist items loaded highly on Factor 4, whose alpha was .66.[6]

Factor 1 (Radical/Socialist Feminist) was positively correlated with Factors 3 (Women of Color) and 4 (Cultural Feminist), $r = .55$ and .28, respectively. Factors 3 and 4 were likewise positively correlated, $r = .23$. Factor 2 (Conservative) was negatively correlated with Factors 2 and 3, $r = -.26$ and $-.38$, respectively, and uncorrelated with Factor 4, $r = -.07$.

A final pair of replications divided participants by gender. Although the factor content (items) remained the same and factor order remained the same for males, for females the order of Factors 2 and 3 were reversed: that is, the factor dominated by Women of Color items had a larger eigenvalue than that dominated by Conservative items.

## DISCUSSION

As previously stated, the primary goal of this research was the successful development of a scale that would include different perspectives on women and women's issues; a secondary goal was the development of separate subscales that could measure adherence to these different perspectives. Among other goals was the measurement of behaviors relating to women's issues; behavioral items, at first included as part of perspective subscales, became a separate measure over the course of the research. We will discuss attitudinal and behavioral measures separately.

### Attitudinal Measures

The first question for any new scale is whether it is reliable. Our results indicate that, as an overall measure of attitudes toward women and women's issues, the 50-item composite Femscore shows good reliability, both for internal consistency (.91)

and on test–retest (.86–.91). The 10-item perspective subscales were generally respectable: all showed good retest reliability (.72–.86), and five of the six yielded alphas of .70 or over (combined data), although the Liberal Feminist subscale alpha was only .58. Alpha coefficients computed separately by ethnicity (in a dichotomous division) showed in general good stability across ethnicity.

Determining acceptable levels of alpha is complex, especially because the coefficient is affected by such factors as number of scale items, item intercorrelation, and dimensionality (Cortina, 1993; Cronbach, 1951). Cortina stated that current convention accepts alpha of .70 or greater as adequate. Peterson (1994) found that the average reported alpha for measures of values and beliefs in behavioral research is .70. Beere (1990) declared that coefficients between .70 and .80 are acceptable in the early stages of scale development, but should be improved to .80 or higher (for both full and subscales) before much research is carried out with a scale (see also Nunnally, 1978). However, Thorndike, Cunningham, Thorndike, and Hagen (1991) showed that, for research on large groups (>100) as opposed to individuals, tests with lower reliabilities (even as low as .50) may still allow useful studies and accurate conclusions.

Readers will arrive at their own conclusions on this issue; however, we wish to note the contrasting pulls of full scale consistency and subscale independence and consistency. Because one of the goals in developing the FPS was to bring together items reflecting disparate perspectives, and some attempts were made to keep the subscales relatively distinct, overall consistency (i.e., of composite scores) is necessarily diminished.

The second question for a new scale is whether it measures what it intends to measure (i.e., validity). We have offered a variety of potential tests of validity in an attempt to make this assessment. Femscore was significantly related to respondents' gender, self-reported religiosity, degree of feminism, political identification, participation in women's studies courses, and the AWS, all in the expected directions. In addition, the individual subscales and Fembehave are significantly related in the expected directions to many of these items. Although finding validating correlates for the perspective subscales is more difficult, there is some validation for these in relationships of different subscales with ethnic identity, political self-label, and AWS scores.

The correlations of subscale perspectives with respondent's self-rated feminism, especially that with Femscore, were lower than one might expect for a relationship to self-rated feminism; this may be because, although many people hold beliefs and attitudes that would be termed "feminist," the label of "feminism" itself holds a negative meaning for them (Buschman & Lenart, 1996).

There were low to moderate, significant ($p \leq .01$) correlations of the AWS with the Conservative (negatively), Liberal and Radical Feminist, Women of Color, Femscore, and Fembehave subscales, but not with the Socialist or Cultural Feminist subscales. The low correlation of Femscore with AWS seems to raise questions about Femscore's validity as a general measure of feminist attitudes. Again, we wish to turn the tables slightly: the patterns of correlations may be seen to be in accord with our expectations that the AWS is most highly related to liberal feminist attitudes; its low relation to Socialist and Cultural Feminist attitudes lowers its potential relationship with Femscore. It is also interesting to see that the AWS is most highly (negatively) related to Conservative attitudes. Overall, the small to

moderate correlations suggest that the FPS measures attitudes are related to, but for the most part are different from, those measured by the AWS.

Validation by demonstration of a female–male respondent gap, although not completely straightforward with the FPS, supports the similarly complex expectations. First, on all but one of the feminist subscales, the gap between female and male respondents is highly significant and is in the expected direction. Second, there is a greater gender difference among European Americans than among people of other ethnicities. This closeness of women and men respondents of color is in keeping with the women of color philosophy of bonding with, not separating from, men of color. Third, for the Women of Color subscale, although the ethnicity effect is highly significant and in the expected direction, the gender effect does not appear (this is the only subscale for which the gender difference was not significant).

Because the gender difference has often been used to validate measures of attitudes toward women, are we to conclude that the Women of Color subscale is therefore not validated as a scale of such attitudes? Similarly, although previous measures of attitudes toward women have been found to correlate positively with age and year in school, FPS subscales for the most part did not correlate significantly with either. Does this finding question their validity? We believe rather that these differences between subscales illustrate exactly a point to be made in support of the development of such subscales. It is not true that all of women's and men's attitudes toward women's issues will be significantly different, or that demographic items will be related to all such attitudes in the same way. Such results suggest that qualifications should be added to the traditional findings about undifferentiated feminist beliefs.

As the previous discussion demonstrates, questions of validity and reliability bring us to the very nature of the attitudes we are attempting to measure and to fundamental questions of measurement. The same is true when we look at relations among subscales. In general, the different subscales correlate in the expected directions and magnitudes with each other. Although the subscale intercorrelations were lowered by the selection process from those found with the initial item pool, some of them, such as that between the Radical Feminist and Socialist Feminist subscales, are still undesirably high. Hard decisions come in here. Obviously further tinkering with the scale could eliminate this overlap, but as the original items were developed from the feminist theories the subscales were meant to represent, this overlap might be "true."

Factor analysis largely confirmed the perspective-oriented structure of the scale, although not totally so. With items not clustering on perspective-focused topics removed, a reasonably stable, replicable, four-factor solution emerged, with Radical and Socialist Feminist items fused in a single factor and separate factors for all other subscales except the Liberal Feminist. Intercorrelations of these factors further supported the expected relationships among the different perspectives.

There are various ways to interpret the factor analytic results. One could take the items loading on Factor 1 as reflecting a sort of "core feminism," especially as many of the Cultural Feminist and some of the Womanist items loaded on it as well as Radical and Socialist Feminist ones. Yet that conception would leave out Liberal Feminist items, surely part of feminism's core. Factor 1 may represent a more "serious" part of feminist beliefs, reflecting positions that go beyond liberal

feminism, which is widely accessible in academia and, to some extent, in the mass media. Perhaps radical and socialist feminist beliefs are both seen as extreme, too far out to be differentiated by most respondents. Alternatively, their loading on a single factor may be a true representation of the relationship of these philosophies, if one accepts that the subscales themselves are representative of each. Finding criterion groups on which to validate these subscales will be a difficult task for future research; in the meantime, readers may make a preliminary judgment based on the subscales' face validity, as well as the other validating information offered. The factor structure in general may, of course, be an artifact of the particular items used in all subscales.

In particular, the failure of the Liberal Feminist subscale to load on a single factor could be due to inappropriate items. On the other hand, several findings—the high scores made by all political, ethnic, and gender groups on the scale, its low internal consistency, its factor performance (all of which are related)—suggest other possible explanations. For one, we speculate that, as it is the most commonly known feminist position, especially among more highly educated respondents (as ours were, both student and nonstudent), its ideas are widely available and accepted and thus are less tied to a specific set of beliefs that might stabilize the position. For another, it may be a "baseline feminist" position, in that those who adhere to other brands of feminism may accept liberal feminist statements as well. We also note that, although alpha reliability was not high for the Liberal Feminist subscale, it did demonstrate good retest stability, indicating that responses to the items were not haphazard or evanescent.

Although some would consider that the empirical results should lead to another revision of the scale (e.g., dropping items or subscales that did not perform ideally), such a move would abandon the perspective and topic balance of the scale. We endorse the view that theory is as important a guide to scale construction as empirical results (Nunnally, 1978), and that the two may be balanced if major criteria for evaluating a scale are met. In the case of Femscore, where reliability and validity information are solid, the goal of broad-spectrum inclusiveness may be retained without damage to the scale.

## Behavioral Measure

The 15-item Fembehave performed poorly in internal consistency and on the first (2-week) retest but, with a larger sample and longer retest time, posted a reasonable retest correlation of .72. Fembehave had correlations in the right directions and of moderate magnitude with the perspective subscales and with Femscore, indicating that it contributes a separate but useful index of feminist behavior.

Individuals engage in different behaviors because of opportunities and proclivities as well as feminist perspectives, and just because they engage in some does not mean they engage in others. These facts would make internal consistency problematic for a scale. Clearly, the behavioral subscale cannot capture all activities associated with the attitudes expressed in the larger scale, but a larger total probably represents a greater tendency to behave in ways relating to those attitudes than a smaller total does. Because this total has shown some stability over time, we believe it has potential to be useful and offer it here in that spirit.

## CONCLUSION

The research reported herein attempted to develop a more inclusive measure of attitudes toward women and women's issues by incorporating feminist theoretical perspectives not systematically included in previous scales. Development of the items was systematic and painstaking, requiring familiarity with six specific philosophical positions on women, incorporating interviews to understand better how women actually think on these issues, and using a topic-by-perspective framework.

The particular perspectives chosen for inclusion, the specific items assigned to each perspective, and the wording of individual items may all be called into question. We offer the details of each level of development so that interested colleagues may evaluate the decisions made and draw their own conclusions. The decision to word all items positively (within the framework of each item's subscale perspective) may also be questioned. We believe the variance of the subscales and the variation of the variances indicate that this decision did not compromise the scale.

The primary goal—the development of a broad-spectrum measure—is met in the composite scale Femscore. This scale demonstrated a high coefficient alpha with a nonstudent as well as student sample and respondents of color as well as European American and a high test–retest correlation, leaving little doubt as to its stability. Various procedures supported its claim to be a valid measure of attitudes toward women and women's issues. We consider its development as a broad-spectrum, balanced scale of attitudes, especially feminist ones, to be successful.

The secondary goal was to provide empirical support for six theoretically derived perspectives on women's issues. Support for the subscales designed to measure these perspectives was variable, but generally good. All performed reasonably well on test–retest reliability, and all but the Liberal Feminist subscale showed generally acceptable internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha $\geq$ .70) in an ethnically diverse sample of students and nonstudents combined (by the Thorndike et al. [1991] criterion of .50 for large samples, all six subscales showed adequate internal consistency). Some validation for perspective subscales, including criterion groups for political label and ethnic/gender groups, was demonstrated, but such common methods of validation were not feasible for all subscales.

Support for the existence of the six perspectives as factors underlying participants' responses, as indicated by factor analysis, was only partial. Some evidence was found for Conservative, Women of Color, and Cultural Feminist factors and for a combined Radical and Socialist Feminist factor. Whether these two perspectives are really fused together as one or whether this finding was the result of the selected population of participants or items is not known. The only feminist perspective lacking factorial evidence was the Liberal Feminist perspective; possible reasons for this were offered.

The composite Fembehave scale that arose during the course of scale development showed poor internal consistency, but good stability in the larger retest study. Researchers should use this subscale, as well as the Liberal Feminist one, with caution, especially with small groups or a nonstudent population. Because the meanings and interrelatedness of scale items vary for different samples of respondents, reliability coefficients will vary by sample also, as was found in the studies reported here.

We believe that the studies reported here have resulted in a useful scale, the first that systematically includes and balances a variety of recognized feminist theoretical perspectives and the first to offer subscales to measure those perspectives individually. It is also the first such scale to attempt to measure behavioral tendencies related to women's issues, although that endeavor met with mixed success. The scale also showed highly similar results with ethnically diverse, student and nonstudent samples. At the same time, breaking broad feminist attitudes into specific perspectives gave us information not previously available on differences between political, gender, and ethnic groups in their approaches to women's issues. It is possible that many accepted relationships between measures of attitudes toward women and other variables may vary by subscale and therefore merit further exploration.

A major limitation of the studies reported is their geographic specificity; broader geographic testing with the scale would not only establish whether it applies to a broader sample than used here, but it may also give information on geographic variability in feminist perspectives. The use of diverse populations, with widely varying familiarity with the different perspectives, might be called a limitation as well as a strength. Other concerns associated with the scale are the suspicious popularity of the Women of Color perspective, whose items may be tapping socially desirable responses, and the possibility that, despite the authors' attempts to represent a diversity of thought, their own mostly European American backgrounds and narrower range of opinion may have affected the scale's development.

A limitation of the FPS itself is that Fembehave is at best a weak assessment of respondents' actual behaviors, relying as it does on self-report and, in many cases, behavioral intentions. However, daily life behaviors related to attitudes are difficult to measure; in the absence of good means and opportunities for measuring them, Fembehave may fill a gap for researchers wishing to have an approximation of a true behavioral measure.

We hope that the scale will be especially useful in allowing the expression of different feminisms, and that it proves to be a helpful antidote to the historic exclusion of those who do not fully agree with a mainstream, heavily liberal feminist perspective, but who nonetheless think of themselves as feminist.

## NOTES

1. In this article we use the terms "women of color perspective" and "womanism" interchangeably.
2. The term "radical" here does not mean radical feminists are necessarily more radical than feminists of other perspectives. Rather, as Hartmann (1981) points out, the term "has the specific meaning of this particular set of feminist beliefs or group of feminists" (p. 36).
3. The demographic questions in the studies reported here did not include a way for respondents to indicate multiethnic identities.
4. We wish to thank Andrew Comrey for his consultation and generous assistance in the use of response forms and scanning equipment for the Comrey Personality Scales (1980).
5. At the first session, 43 respondents also completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974); these data are not reported here. (A larger study with BSRI was reported by Mizrahi &

Henley, 1991.) In the second session, 46 of the retest respondents also completed the Comrey Personality Scales (Comrey, 1980) as part of another study; these results were reported in Aragon, Henley, Miller, and Gormaz (1991).

6. A complete table of standardized regression coefficients of the enhanced factor structure may be obtained by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the first author or may be found at the website http://www.psych.ucla.edu/Faculty/Henley.

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## APPENDIX

### FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES SCALE ITEMS, ARRANGED BY SUBSCALE

*Notice.* The Feminist Perspectives Scale, Copyright 1989, 1997 by Nancy M. Henley. Permission is given for its use, or use of any part of it, without charge, for research and educational purposes only. This scale is expressly *not* to be used for personnel screening (business, military, academic, or any other type). Anyone with knowledge of its use for such screening is urged to contact N. M. Henley, Psychology Department, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1563, giving date, user, and any other pertinent information known. This notice must appear on all copies of the scale reproduced.

*Note:* Numbers before items indicate order in full FPS; numbers following items in parentheses are item–subscale correlations (from Study 2).

Conservative Perspective

1. Given the way that men are, women have a responsibility not to arouse them by their dress and actions. (.37)

4. Women should not be direct participants in government because they are too emotional. (.30)

13. A man's first responsibility is to obtain economic success, while his wife should care for the family's needs. (.48)

17. Homosexuals need to be rehabilitated into normal members of society. (.53)

23. The breakdown of the traditional family structure is responsible for the evils in our society. (.28)

36. It is a man's right and duty to maintain order in his family by whatever means necessary. (.47)

38. The world is a more attractive place because women pay attention to their appearance and smiles. (.39)

47. Women should not be assertive like men because men are the natural leaders on earth. (.55)

53. Using "he" for "he or she" is convenient and harmless to men and women. (.26)

59. Heterosexuality is the only natural sexual preference. (.46)

Liberal Feminist Perspective

5. Whether one chooses a traditional or alternative family form should be a matter of personal choice. (.36)

6. People should define their marriage and family roles in ways that make them feel most comfortable. (.34)

7. The government is responsible for making sure that all women receive an equal chance at education and employment. (.18)

22. The availability of adequate child care is central to a woman's right to work outside the home. (.28)

24. Homosexuality is not a moral issue, but rather a question of liberty and freedom of expression. (.41)

27. Social change for sexual equality will best come about by acting through federal, state, and local government. (.19)

33. Legislation is the best means to ensure a woman's choice of whether or not to have an abortion. (.21)

42. Women should try to influence legislation in order to gain the right to make their own decisions and choices. (.28)

52. Women should have the freedom to sell their sexual services. (.18)

60. Men need to be liberated from oppressive sex role stereotypes as much as women do. (.27)

Radical Feminist Perspective

2. Pornography exploits female sexuality and degrades all women. (.27)

15. Using "man" to mean both men and women is one of many ways sexist language destroys women's existence. (.65)

16. Sex role stereotypes are only one symptom of the larger system of patriarchal power, which is the true source of women's subordination. (.57)

18. The workplace is organized around men's physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women. (.73)

19. Men's control over women forces women to be the primary caretakers of children. (.52)

29. Men use abortion laws and reproductive technology to control women's lives. (.58)

34. Men prevent women from becoming political leaders through their control of economic and political institutions. (.56)

46. Marriage is a perfect example of men's physical, economic, and sexual oppression of women. (.55)

48. Romantic love brainwashes women and forms the basis for their subordination. (.51)

55. Rape is ultimately a powerful tool that keeps women in their place, subservient to and terrorized by men. (.46)

### Socialist Feminist Perspective

10. Capitalism and sexism are primarily responsible for the increased divorce rate and general breakdown of families. (.41)
20. Making women economically dependent on men is capitalism's subtle way of encouraging heterosexual relationships. (.48)
25. A socialist restructuring of businesses and institutions is necessary for women and people of color to assume equal leadership with White men. (.35)
31. Romantic love supports capitalism by influencing women to place men's emotional and economic needs first. (.42)
39. The way to eliminate prostitution is to make women economically equal to men. (.54)
41. Capitalism hinders a poor woman's chance to obtain adequate prenatal medical care or an abortion. (.45)
45. It is the capitalist system which forces women to be responsible for child care. (.63)
54. All religion is like a drug to people and is used to pacify women and other oppressed groups. (.19)
56. Capitalism forces most women to wear feminine clothes to keep a job. (.59)
58. The personalities and behaviors of "women" and "men" in our society have developed to fit the needs of advanced capitalism. (.37)

### Cultural Feminist Perspective

9. Prostitution grows out of the male culture of violence and male values of social control. (.43)
11. Replacing the word "God" with "Goddess" will remind people that the deity is not male. (.08)
14. Men should follow women's lead in religious matters, because women have a higher regard for love and peace than men. (.41)
28. Putting women in positions of political power would bring about new systems of government that promote peace. (.47)
30. Traditional notions of romantic love should be replaced with ideas based on feminine values of kindness and concern for all people. (.42)
32. By not using sexist and violent language, we can encourage peaceful social change. (.26)
35. Beauty is feeling one's womanhood through peace, caring, and nonviolence. (.33)
37. Women's experience in life's realities of cleaning, feeding people, caring for babies, etc., makes their vision of reality clearer than men's. (.44)
44. Rape is best stopped by replacing the current male-oriented culture of violence with an alternative culture based on more gentle, womanly qualities. (.48)
50. Bringing more women into male-dominated professions would make the professions less cut-throat and competitive. (.32)

### Women of Color Perspective

3. In education and legislation to stop rape, ethnicity and race must be treated sensitively to ensure that women of color are protected equally. (.26)
8. Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment. (.43)
12. Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than White women have. (.54)
21. Women of color are oppressed by White standards of beauty. (.55)
26. Being put on a pedestal, which White women have protested, is a luxury that women of color have not had. (.43)
40. Antigay and racist prejudice act together to make it more difficult for gay male and lesbian people of color to maintain relationships. (.31)

43. In rape programs and workshops, not enough attention has been given to the special needs of women of color. (.49)
49. Discrimination in the workplace is worse for women of color than for all men and White women. (.50)
51. Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first. (.16)
57. The tradition of Afro-American women who are strong family leaders has strengthened the Afro-American community as a whole. (.26)

### Fembehave Subscale

*Note:* Items 61, 69, and 77, conceived as conservative behavior items, are not counted as part of the Fembehave scale, therefore item–subscale correlations are not included. Items 64, 67, and 74 are reverse-scored.

61. My wedding was, or will be, celebrated with a full traditional ceremony.
62. I try to work only with groups in which there is shared leadership rather than hierarchies. (.24)
63. I actively try to integrate a communal form of work with a communal form of family life. (.07)
64. I have spoken against someone for overly affectionate behavior toward a member of the same sex in a public place. (.06)
65. I have participated in rape counseling because it was sensitive to issues of women of color. (.19)
66. I attend a place of worship that has changed the language of its prayer books and hymnals to reflect the equality of men and women. (.21)
67. My partner and I have followed the phases of the moon as a natural birth control method. (−.08)
68. I have read nonexploitative erotica written from a woman's point of view. (.22)
69. I use the word "mankind" to refer to both men and women.
70. I use "she" rather than "he" generically, that is, to refer to an unknown person. (.26)
71. I take my child to a racially mixed child care center (or will when I have a child). (.23)
72. I try whenever I can to present an example of a nonviolent, noncompetitive alternative way of relating to people. (.30)
73. I often encourage women to take advantage of the many educational and legal opportunities available to them. (.28)
74. In my house we follow the religious rule that says that the wife should obey the husband. (.14)
75. I have participated in a protest against pornography. (.24)
76. I don't try to imitate or compete with the other sex either inside or outside the home. (−.02)
77. All of my close family and friends are heterosexual.
78. I have participated in prochoice rallies (supporting freedom to have an abortion). (.26)