

Attitudes toward Gender Equality: A Q Methodology Study

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Abstract: *Attitudes towards gender equality are usually dichotomized. Those who say they support (or oppose) gender equality, however, may actually have different opinions on gender equality. When using traditional methods such as surveys and interviews in which respondents are asked to select one choice from limited choices that were prepared by a researcher, various subjective attitudes towards gender equality may not be well identified. This article uses Q methodology to identifying five different attitudes towards gender equality. This diversity of attitudes towards gender equality suggests that conventional measures of attitudes towards gender equality can be improved. Future researchers could extend the research to additional groups of respondents, thereby gaining a better understanding of attitudes towards gender equality and of gender equality itself.*

Introduction

Attitudes towards gender equality are usually dichotomized between support for, and opposition to, gender equality. Some examples indicate the breadth of the literature:

- gender ideology is unfavorable to females (Connell, 1995; MacKinnon, 1987);
- people equate femininity with weak, ineffectual, and reactive personality and masculinity with strong, competent, and active personality (Ferguson, 1984);
- “benevolent sexism” describes a view in which men reinforce patriarchy, considering women as needing men for protection (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2000);
- men are disadvantaged by the liberation of the female because men’s conception of femininity and masculinity remains unchanged (Goldberg, 1976);
- culturally based beliefs about gender roles are not favorable to women, causing women to be sexually passive, while men are assertive (Moore, 2006);

- women seeking sexual independence are stymied by the sociocultural ideas that position men as sexual owners and by the cultural construction of “girls” as naturally less interested in sex than in emotions and less interested in sex than are men (Wilkins, 2004);
- cultural beliefs about gender function bias the behaviors, performances, and evaluations of otherwise similar men and women in systematic ways, which leads to consequences that cumulate over individuals’ lives and result in substantially different outcomes for men and women (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004);
- occupational gender segregation is related to the gender gap in workplace authority (Huffman & Cohen, 2004).

In these studies, and others like them, the possibility of personal variations among men and women is neglected—men are one way, women another. This type of dichotomization is also observed in classic essays on gender equality (see, for example, Baumli, 1985; Beauvoir, 1952; Bly, 1992; Dinnerstein, 1977; Farrell, 1974; Fasteau, 1974; Firestone, 1970; Friedan, 1977; Jardim & Hennig, 1977; Mill, 1970; Nichols, 1975; Rich, 1976).

Attitudes are a sum total of a person’s inclinations, prejudice, ideas, fears, and convictions about a topic (Thurstone, 1928). Thus, attitudes towards gender equality are not well captured with a simple dichotomized scheme. Some studies do recognize that attitudes towards gender equality can be subjective and susceptible to various personal settings. For example, Connell (1995) indicates that there is no masculine entity whose occurrence in all societies can be generalized about. Carr (1998) argues that gender identification does not necessarily follow assigned sex in any simple way. Recognizing that gender is a much more complex, nuanced, and fluid concept, Kennelly (2002) shows that the ways women define themselves have consequences for the shape of the system of gender and some women have the opportunity to break out of staid gender categories. In studying the influence of mass media on female perception of gender, Currie (1997) shows that women’s magazines play an important role in defining the meanings affixed to being women and in socializing girls into traditional womanhood. Analyzing feminist attitudes among African American women and men, Hunter and Sherrill (1998) show that various socio-economic factors produce diversity in attitudes towards gender equality. Lyons, et al., (2005) show that differences in value priorities are associated not only with gender but also with generation. In addition to these studies, the various ideological traditions found in the feminist movement such as Black feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, and liberal feminism evidence the presence of ideological diversity in individuals’ attitudes toward gender equality.

As Q methodologists appreciate, to identify diverse attitudes towards gender equality, one needs a method that can measure subjective attitudes. Identifying and explaining attitudes towards gender equality requires methods that are different from traditional research methods. In traditional methods, respondents are required to select between two choices such as "favor" or "oppose" or to choose among set multiple choices. Often, respondents are asked to rate the importance of survey items on a fixed scale that is provided by a researcher. No one, however, can know for sure whether two respondents mean exactly the same, for example, when they say that they strongly favor a topic or that an item is very important. Also, responses may be biased under the influence of various factors such as what respondents think researchers want to hear from them or what respondents think is generally preferred in the society. Press and Townsley (1998), for example, find the tendency to over-report housework contributions in surveys.

In an open-ended interview, respondents can freely express their opinions. However, when respondents are directly asked to express their opinions on gender equality, there is a possibility that the respondents may not honestly express their opinions. Also, it is the researcher who categorizes the collected data, thus possibly neglecting the underlying subjective diversities in the opinions.

There have been scholarly efforts to explore, with Q methodology, the subjectivity and diversity of gender-related attitudes. Kitzinger (1987) identifies various perspectives on lesbianism. Breinliner and Kelly (1994) analyze, in terms of social identity theory, women's responses to status inequality. Snelling (1999) discusses women's diverse perspectives on feminism such as radical, lesbian, antiracist, liberal, conservative, humanist, and post-feminist feminism.

The purpose of this article is not to offer an alternative version of categorized attitudes towards gender equality, but to evoke and interpret attitudes about gender equality that are identified among selected respondents.

Method

Participants

In Q studies that aim to identify diverse subjective attitudes, it is recommended to use a carefully selected small sample, rather than a large sample that is generally preferred in R studies (Stephenson, 1967; Kerlinger 1972). With this point in mind, this paper tried to keep balance in selecting participants in terms of various characteristics. Participants were graduate students or professors who were enrolled in a large American university. Some of them were known to the researcher. The others were subscribers to the Women's Studies Listserv at the University. They volunteered to participate in this study

after the chairperson of the University's Women's Studies Program encouraged their cooperation. Twenty-two valid Q sorts were collected. Participants were aged between 23 and 52 years (mean age 31); 55% were female; 55% were married; 55% were from U.S. and 45% were from other countries (China, German, India, Kazakhstan, Korea, and Russia); 32% grew up in a urban area, 32% in a suburban area, 14% both in a urban area and in a suburban area, 23% in a rural area. Participants claimed various ideological predispositions and religions.

Q Sample

Attitude towards gender equality is a broad topic under which various gender-related attitudes can be subsumed. As indicated, a vast literature in various disciplines discusses gender-related topics. Three groupings are used here: gender images (for example, Milkie, 2002; Taylor and Seymour, 1967; Tulviste & Koor, 2005; Wood, et al., 2005), gender differences (Conway, et al., 2003; Deaux, 1976; Eagly, 1987), and gender relationship (Hovland, et al., 2005; Kim & Lowry, 2005; Panayotova & Brayfield, 1997).

Sixty-seven statements reflecting image, difference and relationship were selected from books, articles, journals, and interviews. "Gender image" includes general impressions of the same or opposite sexes, not necessarily comparing women and men. The second set of statements discusses gender differences, directly comparing physical, mental, and intellectual characteristics of women and men. The third set of statements discusses gender relationships, how women and men connect with each other in reality.

The most obvious structural distinction in this sample is the distinction between sexist and feminist expressions. Thus, each of the three sets of statements is further divided into two subcategories (sexist and feminist expressions). In total, this study has 6 (2 x 3) categories, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Factorial Design of Q Sample

Main Effect	(a) Sexist	(b) Feminist	
Issue Area	(c) Gender Image	(d) Gender Difference	(e) Gender Relationship

"Feminist" has various meanings (see, for example, Jaggard & Rosenberg, 1993). Focusing on gender equality, some feminists oppose discrimination against women and men, or believe that gender roles and gender identity are social constructs, or seek cooperative solutions as to make things better for both women and men. Others think females are superior to men or propose the complete separation of men and women. Here, the latter views are classified as "sexist", reserving "feminist" for the former (Pollitt, 1995). Moreover, since this paper focuses on gender

equality, various feminist-linked perspectives, such as anti-racist, homosexual, Marxist, and multicultural perspectives are not included.

"Sexist" views those that explicitly favor either women or men. The Q sample balances statements evenly between those that favor women and those that favor men. Finally, in selecting statements, a balance was sought between moderate (or traditional) views and radical ones. The distribution of Q-sample is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of Q Sample

	Sexist View			Feminist View
	Male	Neutral	Female	
Image	5	4	3	4
Difference	2	2	3	3
Relationship	1	4	2	3

Procedure

The researcher separately contacted and asked each of the selected 22 respondents to sort the 36 statements in ascending order according to how characteristic each was of the respondent. After completing the sorting, respondents were invited to write down what they thought of the process and indicating why they selected particular items as the most characteristic or uncharacteristic of themselves.

Factors were extracted with the Centroid method and rotated using the Varimax method. For the analysis, PQMethod (version 2.11) was used. To determine defining factor loadings, a significance level of $p < 0.01$ was established. The respondents' factor loadings and some of their demographic characteristics are reported in Appendix A.

As shown in Appendix A, four factors have two or more defining respondents. This factor solution accounted for 65% of the variance. For interpretation, the separate Q sorts of the individuals who composed each of the four factors were merged to create a single Q sort representing each factor. The 36 statements and factor scores for each of the four factors are reported in the Appendix B.

Attitudes towards Gender Equality

Factor A: No Gender Difference, Equality for Men

Respondents who define this factor support gender equality. First, they deny traditional images of women and men and the ideas that are unfavorable to either women or men:

16. Both men and women have masculine and feminine characteristics. Each individual's characteristics are a certain mixture of the two types of characteristics that is formed under the influence of his/her own environment. (+5)

23. *Women are not adequate for social life. They are narrow-minded and selfish.* (-4)

24. *Traditional stereotypical images of men and women cannot be held in these days any longer.* (+ 3)

34. *Woman is goddess and owner of mythical power while man is a hero in this world.* (-2)

Secondly, respondents who define Factor A show weakly negative or indeterminate attitudes towards the ideas that women are more likely to be dependent than men and that women should fulfill traditional female roles in society. These attitudes differ from Factors C and D—which can be viewed as traditional or sexist attitudes (see below; in the article, all four factor scores are shown when a comparison is helpful to the interpretations offered:

4. *Women are more likely to be dependent, while men are more likely to be controlling.* (-1 -1 3 2)

30. *Female soldiers' roles in the military are nurses, cooks, telephone operators and so on, rather than participants in combat.* (-1 0 3 3)

Respondents who define this factor, however, seem to consider gender equality from a man's standpoint. First, they deny the ideas that men should be central and more responsible in the matters in which they are involved together with women:

6. *Some women can be more able than some men.* (+4)

13. *In social life, men should be central and women peripheral.* (-3)

27. *A sexual affair can exist when a woman accepts a man's request for it, but not vice versa.* (-3)

Secondly, respondents who define Factor A seem to think that traditional gender ideology is unfavorable to men—all factors identified in this study, except the traditional one (Factor C), give the same positive score to Statement 12. Other statements, however, lend somewhat different interpretations to the similar scores.

11. *A woman with greater traditional feminine characteristics is less likely to be attacked than is a woman with more manly characteristics.* (+2)

12. *Women can be corrupt and destructive just like men. They just have not had such opportunities so far.* (+3)

Statement 32, which Factor A agrees with more strongly than others demonstrates a focus on a negative aspect of gender equality for men:

32. *Traditional images of men are now just burdens on men, given the changing social circumstances.* (4 2 1 3)

Along with this statement, it is notable that this factor is represented by

the greatest number of male respondents. Also, this factor is one of the two factors in which female respondents have significant factor loadings. Four female respondents have significant factor loadings in Factor A. Three of them are subscribers to the women's studies network. These four female respondents also have significant loadings on Factor B (see below). These four female respondents seem to consider gender equality for both men and women.

In sum, Factor A represents those who do not accept the idea of gender differences and who think that traditional gender ideology is unfavorable to men. Those who define this factor are likely to argue that men should have an equal share with women in achieving gender equality because men are also victims of the traditional sexist society.

Factor B: Against Gender Discrimination, But Women Differ

At the first glance, this factor seems to share the same attitude with Factor A. It denies traditional images of men and women and the ideas that are unfavorable to either or both of men and women:

6. *Some women can be more able than some men.* (+4)

13. *In social life, men should be central and women peripheral.* (-4)

23. *Women are not adequate for social life. They are narrow-minded and selfish.* (-4)

24. *Traditional stereotypical images of men and women cannot be held in these days any longer.* (+3)

Factor B differs from Factor A in two ways. First, respondents who define Factor B consider gender equality from women's standpoint. They show firm attitudes against traditional roles of women. For example, they uniquely disapprove Statement 10 and approve Statement 14:

10. *Man should have good jobs so that he can take care of his wife and children, while woman needs to be a good wife and a good mother.* (0 -3 4 2)

14. *Motherhood is politically enforced under the patriarchy in order to limit women's role to child rearing.* (-1 2 -1 -1)

Secondly, respondents who define this factor seem to think that women differ from men, but not as traditionally held:

7. *The sense of responsibility and the sense of duty are observed more strongly among men than among women.* (-3)

28. *Women's involvement in social life will increase the quality of our society, i.e., by reducing wars, environmental destruction, class conflict, and so on.* (+2)

Along with these two responses, it is notable that Factor B is the only factor predominantly represented by females. All twelve female respondents have significant loadings on this factor.

For those who define Factor B in opposing gender discrimination, the idea that women differ from men may be understood in three different ways. First, it may indicate that female respondents who define this factor have the idea of women's moral superiority to men in their mind (Statements 28), although they are not willing to express the idea when they are directly asked about it, as they do not oppose the idea that women can be corrupt and destructive just like men (Statement 12, score +3).

Secondly, the idea that women differ from men may not be the same as the idea that women are morally superior to men, as respondents who define this factor approve Statement 12. Instead, the idea may indicate that respondents who define Factor B still tend to keep the traditional images of women to some extent, as they show a weakly positive or indeterminate attitude towards Statement 22, despite their attitudes against gender discrimination:

22. The types of women (good wife, manly women, and so on) are shaped by the requests from men. (+1)

The point that respondents who define Factor B may still keep the traditional images of women to some extent is supported by the excerpt from an interview with a female respondent who has a significant loading only on Factor B and who put Statement 22 as the most characteristic of herself:

The view that behaviors and/or traits are innate, rather than externally constructed, is dangerous. . . . I feel that, under the patriarchy, men's demands on women socially shape us and our behaviors. Therefore, our roles are culturally enforced, rather than natural.

Although this respondent does not accept the idea of gender difference, she still, albeit passively, accepts the traditional images of women. Another female respondent expressed a similar viewpoint:

I believe that male and female roles are at least 75% socially constructed, and 25% are genetic, based on thousands of years of evolution and adaptation to the environment.

Thirdly, those who define Factor B may accept the changing gender roles, as they strongly oppose the idea that men should be central and women peripheral in social life (Statement 13, -4) and the idea that women are not adequate for social life (Statement 24, -4). At the same time, however, they may still adhere to the idea of gender difference to some extent, as one of the two male respondents said:

Statements 13 and 23 are simply inaccurate observations based on a passive image of women, which is changing. I do not agree with them. I believe that men and women should have equal

opportunities, even though I believe, through observation, that there are differences between men and women.

In sum, those who define Factor B seem to hold traditional images of women—women who are passive and/or who are good-natured (peaceful, warmhearted, and impartial), even though they support gender equality and deny traditional images favorable to men. Such traditional images of women do not appear to be strong, however, perhaps because most of the respondents who define this factor, and who are subscribers to the Women's Studies Listserv, are likely to be different from traditional women. Also, the other respondents are graduate students who are likely to have interest in gender equality.

Factor C: A Traditional View or A Benevolent Sexism

This factor seems to represent traditional images of men and women. It is clearly different from Factors A and B. First, respondents who define Factor C uniquely show negative attitudes towards the views that men and women are not different, while they uniquely support a traditional view that men and women differ from each other:

16. *Both men and women have masculine and feminine characteristics. Each individual's characteristics are a certain mixture of the two types of characteristics that is formed under the influence of his/her own environment.* (5 5 -2 5)

25. *Sexual differences are found only in body structure and function and in genetic structure and hormones.* (2 1 -4 -2)

34. *Woman is goddess and owner of mythical power, while man is a hero in this world.* (-2 -1 2 -2)

Secondly, respondents who define Factor C support the traditional relationship between men and women, while those who define Factors A and B show weakly negative or indeterminate attitudes:

4. *Women are more likely to be dependent, while men are more likely to be controlling.* (+3)

21. *Men are those who protect and women are those who are protected.* (+3)

Thirdly, respondents who define this factor seem to support traditional division of work between men and women and, more broadly, the idea that men and women have their own separate worlds. They uniquely oppose Statement 19 and they support Statements 10 and 35 more strongly than those who define other factors. Also, different from Factors A and B that clearly support Statement 2, respondents who define Factor C shows a weakly negative or indeterminate attitude towards the idea:

2. *Men and women can contest with each other.* (3 3 -1 1)

10. *Man should have good jobs so that he can take care of his wife and children, while woman needs to be a good wife and a good mother. (0 -3 4 2)*

19. *There should be no distinction between husband and wife in housework, when both of them have jobs. (1 4 -2 0)*

35. *Motherly affection towards children is greater than fatherly affection towards children. (0 1 2 1)*

Nonetheless, respondents who define this factor do not oppose women's involvement in society:

13. *In social life, men should be central and women peripheral. (-3)*

23. *Women are not adequate for social life. They are narrow-minded and selfish. (-4)*

Interestingly, however, they uniquely oppose Statement 20:

20. *Women should prove their own abilities before they ask no discrimination in social success. (0 0 -2 0)*

Along with this response, Statements 28 and 30 are helpful in understanding this factor's attitude towards women's involvement in society:

28. *Women's involvement in social life will increase the quality of our society, i.e., by reducing wars, environmental destruction, class conflict, and so on. (+2)*

30. *Female soldiers' roles in the military are nurses, cooks, telephone operators and so on, rather than participants in combat. (+3)*

The responses to these three statements together seem to indicate that respondents who define Factor C think that women's roles in society should be limited to roles women have traditionally played. Since these respondents believe that men and women have separate worlds, they also do not seem to care about the possibility that women, as participants in society, would conflict with men (Statement 2, -1).

In sum, Factor C seems to represent a traditional view of men and women. All three respondents who have significant loadings in this factor are males who are from relatively more traditional parts of this world: South Asia, Middle Asia, and East Europe. The traditional view that is represented by Factor C may be named "benevolent sexism," following Glick and Fiske (1996, 2000), who explain the term. Respondents who define this factor prefer women of traditional images and accept the idea that men should protect women. Also, their attitudes towards women are "subjectively positive" in that they emphasize women's good nature (Statements 28, 31, and 35).

Factor C, however, presents a subtle difference from Glick and Fiske (1996, 2000)'s benevolent sexism. For example, the idea that women

should be protected by men (Statement 21) does not seem to be related to the idea that men are superior to women, as those who define this factor oppose the idea that women are narrow-minded (Statements 23, -4), incompetent, and wanting in decision-making ability (Statement 36, -3). In this respect, the traditional view that is represented by this factor may be close to the Confucian view of gender relationship, which holds that man and woman, respecting and cooperating with each other, divide their work.

Factor D: A Sexist View

Respondents who define this factor deny the idea that assigns masculine characteristics only to men and feminine characteristics only to women. They give the highest score to Statement 16, like those who define Factors A and B:

16. *Both men and women have masculine and feminine characteristics. Each individual's characteristics are a certain mixture of the two types of characteristics that is formed under the influence of his/her own environment. (+5)*

In addition, respondents who define Factor D uniquely oppose Statement 26:

26. *Feminine characteristics are tenderness and passiveness, while masculine characteristics are aggressiveness and activeness. (0 0 0 -2)*

These two statement scores appear to characterize people who support gender equality, or who are "feminists". Respondents who define Factor D, however, uniquely approve the idea that men should be central and women peripheral in social life (Statement 13, +2) and uniquely disapprove the idea that women's involvement in social life will increase the quality of our society (Statement 28, -3). Also, while respondents who define Factors A, B, and C strongly oppose the idea that women are not adequate for social life (Statement 23, -4), respondents who define Factor D shows a weakly negative or indeterminate attitude towards the idea (-1). According to these responses, such a characterization does not seem to be appropriate.

There are indications that respondents who define this factor do not have favorable attitudes towards women's involvement in society. It seems odd that those who do not accept the idea that men and women differ do not have favorable attitudes towards women's involvement in society. Two points seem to help us to understand this factor. First, those who define this factor uniquely deny the view that women have good nature:

31. *Women are more peace-oriented, more warm-hearted, and more impartial than are men. (-3)*

According to this factor's responses to this statement and to the idea that women's involvement in social life will increase the quality of our society (Statement 28, -3), the idea that men and women do not differ from each other may be closer to the idea that "women are no better than men" than to the idea that "men and women are equal."

Secondly, those who define this factor support the idea that men protect women:

4. Women are more likely to be dependent, while men are more likely to be controlling. (+2)

21. Men are those who protect and women are those who are protected. (+2)

If these two responses are considered together with this factor's response to the idea that men should be central and women peripheral in social life (Statement 13, +2), this factor may also be viewed as a traditional one. Respondents who define this factor seem to support the traditional way of living in which only men participate in society and protect women who remain at home. This interpretation is supported by the fact that respondents who define this factor support Statement 11 more strongly than do respondents who define the other factors:

11. A woman with greater traditional feminine characteristics is less likely to be attacked than is a woman with more manly characteristics. (2 0 1 4)

It is also noticeable that the two respondents who have significant loading on this factor are males who come from two still traditional countries, India and mainland China.

Respondents who define Factor D seem to prefer division of work between men and women. In this sense, this factor is similar to Factor C. Factor D, however, is different from Factor C in that respondents who define this factor show a negative attitude to women's involvement in society (Statement 13), possibly on the grounds that women are not better than men and thus, women's involvement will not improve our society anyway (Statement 28). Respondents who define Factor D also deny a traditional view that woman is a goddess and owner of mythical power while man is a hero in this world (Statement 34), while Factor C accepts it. Thus, to those who define this factor, the division of work between men and women does not seem to be based on mutual respect and cooperation. Instead, those who define Factor D seem to want to enforce, as protectors of women, the traditional division of works on women. In this respect, it seems to be appropriate to characterize this factor as a sexist that is closer to what Glick and Fiske (1996, 2000) define as hostile sexism.

The responses of Factor D to the following statements also indicate that it may not be appropriate to call those who define Factor D the traditional:

19. *There should be no distinction between husband and wife in housework, when both of them have jobs. (+4)*

27. *A sexual affair can exist when a woman accepts a man's request for it, but not vice versa. (-4)*

Contrary to those who define Factor C who seem to consider that home is the women's world, those who define Factor D accept the idea that, once women have jobs like men, men should also share housework. On the other hand, those who define Factor D strongly deny Statement 27, while those who define Factor C are indeterminate. Thus, Factor D's negative attitude towards women's involvement in society does not seem to be a traditional one. Since they are not traditional, those who define Factor D appear to feel more strongly that traditional images of men are now just burdens on men (Statement 32, +3) than do those who define Factor C (+1).

The Respondent on the Fifth Factor: I Am Ready—It Is Up to You

Two respondents do not have significant factor loadings on any of the four factors described above. One of the two respondents has a significant loading on a fifth factor. Caution is needed when interpreting this factor because, in Q-methodology, a factor needs to be composed of at least two Q sorts (see Brown, 1980). The respondent, however, seems to be worthy of note for the following reasons. First, the respondent is the only male among the nine subscribers to the Women's Studies Listserv who are included in this study. Secondly, he does not have a significant factor loading on any of the above four factors. As expected, according to his Q sort, his attitude towards gender equality shows some peculiarity. Since the purpose of this paper is to show diverse subjective attitudes towards gender equality, the peculiarity seems to be worthy of note.

As expected, this respondent seems to be already accustomed to the idea of gender equality and thus, he seems to be ready to accept new relationships with females and a new way of life that has been proposed by feminism. First, the respondent seems to dislike the idea that people tend to be more generous to women with greater traditional feminine characteristics (Statement 11, Q-sort value -2). The respondent, however, does not oppose the idea that women differ from men in terms of traditional feminine characteristics, as he strongly supports the idea that women are more peace-oriented, more warm-hearted, and more impartial than are men (Statement 31, Q-sort value +4).

Secondly, the respondent does not deny the possibility that women can be corrupt and destructive just like men (Statement 12, Q-sort value

+3), although he accepts the idea that women have a good nature (Statement 31).

Thirdly, the respondent rejects the idea that men are responsible for women and for the current situation of women, perhaps indicating that he thinks that men did not force women's traditional lives:

14. *Motherhood is politically enforced under the patriarchy in order to limit women's role to child rearing.* (-3)

18. *Through sexual relationship, men own female bodies, but not vice versa.* (-4)

27. *A sexual affair can exist when a woman accepts a man's request for it, but not vice versa.* (-3)

Fourthly, the respondent opposes such an idea that women are better than men in such traditional roles as child rearing and house keeping (Statement 35, -3). Also, he agrees that there should be no distinction between husband and wife in housework, when both of them have jobs (Statement 19, +4).

Finally, the respondent is not more favorable to men than to women:

6. *Some women can be more able than some men.* (+2)

13. *In social life, men should be central and women peripheral.* (-2)

17. *Group consciousness is stronger among men than among women.* (-2)

As a whole, the respondent is likely to consider that women are not better and more able than men, and vice versa. He is likely to be ready to accept gender equality and to fulfill what women have traditionally fulfilled. Then, what is required for gender equality? To the respondent, it seems to be women's own efforts, as he most strongly supports Statement 20:

20. *Women should prove their own abilities before they ask no discrimination in social success.* (+5)

No special consideration should be given to such efforts (Statements 11, -2) because women are as able as men (Statements 6, +2) and because women can be as corrupt and destructive as men (Statement 12, +3). Men are not responsible for women (Statement 14, -3) and women should stand on their own feet (Statement 20, +5). Since the respondent is ready for gender equality and for accompanying changes, different from those who define Factors A to D, he does not really care about the traditional images of men:

32. *Traditional images of men are now just burdens on men, given the changing social circumstances.* (0)

Summary and Discussion

Respondents who define Factors A and B basically agree with gender equality, but there are some differences between them. When thinking of gender equality, those who define Factor A tend to consider men's situation. Those who define Factor B oppose gender discrimination, but they think that women differ from men. Factor C is characterized as a traditional view or as a benevolent sexism. Factor D is characterized as a sexist view. The remaining one factor has only one significant loading. According to Q-sort values of the respondent who has a significant loading on this factor, he seems to be ready and willing to accept gender equality and thus, he seems to think that it is up to women to achieve gender equality.

Clearly, dichotomized attitudes towards gender equality cannot capture these multiple viewpoints. There may be situations in which a researcher should employ a categorized conceptualization of attitudes towards gender equality, for example, to explore the relationship between attitudes towards gender equality and some variables of interest (see, for example, Banaszak & Plutzer 1993; Cassidy & Warren 1996; Davis & Robinson 1991). Even in this case, however, the first step should be to conceptualize the diversity of attitudes towards gender equality more accurately. As the attitudes identified by this paper suggest, to capture the diverse attitudes towards gender equality with traditional research methods, one will need to ask multiple questions. For example, after a researcher asks whether a respondent supports gender equality, a question that asks whether the respondent thinks that gender equality is required for women or for men needs to follow. When a respondent opposes gender equality, it needs to be checked whether the respondent's view is favorable to women or to men, whether his/her view is sexist or traditional, and so on.

If researchers indirectly measure attitudes towards gender equality by asking opinions on related issues, they need to ask multiple questions because, asking only one question, researchers may misunderstand individual respondents' attitudes. For example, respondents who say that there should be no distinction between men and women in housework may not always support gender equality. On the other hand, respondents who say that women differ from men may support gender equality. Also, with questions in multiple domains of feminist concerns, researchers can elaborate their measurements of attitudes towards gender equality, for example, by checking consistency of responses to different questions or by building an index in which responses to different questions are integrated. Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) measure attitudes towards gender equality in four domains of feminist concerns. They, however, analyze each of these four domains separately

and thus, they assume, for example, that those who support abortion right or premarital sex also support gender equality, which may not be always the case. Glick and Fiske (2000), employing a self-report measure of sexist attitudes that is composed of separate 11-item hostile sexism and benevolent sexism subscales, appear to recognize the possibility that, asking only one question, they may not accurately identify individual respondents' attitudes towards gender equality.

There may be more attitudes that are not identified in this paper. This paper does not include people who have antagonistic attitudes towards the opposite sex and people who deny all the traditional virtues and images of men and women and the traditional relationships between them. Also, this paper does not include less-educated people whose attitudes towards gender equality may be different from respondents in this study. If this paper had included these types of respondents in the analysis, some new factors could have been identified. For example, if some radical feminists like Chodorow (1980) and Eisenstein (1984) had participated in this study, this study might have identified a factor that represents a view that strongly supports Statement 9, which denies traditional family system and motherhood as obstacles against women's liberation.

Although attitudes that were identified in this study may not be comprehensive, they are expected to serve as examples of diverse subjective attitudes towards gender equality. They are also expected to contribute to the better understanding of attitudes towards gender equality. More studies are expected to follow with various groups of respondents to identify more attitudes towards gender equality and thus, to improve our understanding of attitudes towards gender equality and of gender equality itself.

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Appendix A: Factor Loadings and Demographic Characteristics

	Factor Loadings					Demographic Characteristics*
	A	B	C	D	E	
1	65	28	-08	37	17	Asian, male, married, liberal, Buddhist
2	22	47	45	35	-10	Asian, male, married, M. Cons. Hindu
3	65	35	04	05	17	American, male, married, Mod. Protestant
4	34	66	10	34	17	American, male, married, Mod. Catholic
5	41	80	01	00	12	European, female, single, Liberal N/A
6	04	01	06	-06	29	Asian, male, married, N/A, N/A
7	36	78	13	-06	09	American, female, single, Liberal, N/A
8	65	21	44	09	13	European, male, single, Liberal Agnostic
9	57	59	16	28	-16	Asian, female, married, Liberal, Hindu
10	55	39	03	47	02	Asian, male, married, Liberal, Hindu
11	38	62	-10	33	10	Asian, female, single, Liberal, N/A
12	14	05	19	49	-12	Asian, male, married, Cons. N/A
13	05	-03	78	13	19	Asian, male, single, N/A N/A
14	67	51	05	37	-02	American, female, married, Cons. Episcopal
15	47	69	14	24	27	American, female, single, S. Lib. Wicca
16	21	77	-09	02	-05	American, female, single, S. Lib. Catholic
17	10	81	04	29	14	American, female, single, Liberal, N/A
18	13	72	37	05	01	American, female, married, Radical N/A
19	26	72	23	20	-20	American, female, married, S. Lib. Baptist
20	36	22	02	39	50	American, male, married,, Cons. Pentacost
21	19	66	-03	23	12	American, F, Single, S. Lib. N/A
22	48	64	-13	-06	-03	American, F, Married, S. Lib. Protestant

Factor loadings shown to two places, decimals omitted. Bold = significant at $p < 0.01$.

* "Cons." Is conservative, "M. Cons." is moderate conservative. "S. Lib." is strong liberal. "Mod" is moderate

Appendix B : Q-sort Statements and Factor Arrays

	Statement	Factor			
		A	B	C	D
1	It is natural that men help women more than women help men.	-1	-2	1	0
2	Men and women can contest with each other.	3	3	-1	1
3	Women are endowed with nonviolent nature. Women's weak muscles make them passive.	-2	-2	0	-1
4	Women are more likely to be dependent, while men are more likely to be controlling.	-1	0	3	2
5	Women tend to display emotion more frequently and more deeply than men do.	2	2	5	0
6	Some women can be more able than some men.	4	4	4	3
7	The sense of responsibility and the sense of duty are observed more strongly among men than among women.	-2	-3	-1	0
8	The nature has endowed women with the power to stimulate men's passion and men with the power to satisfy their own passion. The former is greater than the latter.	1	0	1	0
9	For women to be liberated, traditional family system should be destroyed and motherhood should be abandoned.	-4	-1	-3	0
10	Man should have good jobs so that he can take care of his wife and children, while woman needs to be a good wife and a good mother.	0	-3	4	2
11	A woman with greater traditional feminine characteristics is less likely to be attacked than is a woman with more manly characteristics.	2	0	1	4
12	Women can be corrupt and destructive just like men. They just have not had such opportunities so far.	3	3	0	1
13	In social life, men should be central and women peripheral.	-3	-4	-3	2

	<i>Statement</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
		<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>
14	Motherhood is politically enforced under the patriarchy in order to limit women's role to child rearing.	-1	2	-1	-1
15	Men tend to be more excellent in mathematical, analytical ability and creativity, while women tend to be better in verbal ability.	1	-2	-2	-2
16	Both men and women have masculine and feminine characteristics. Each individual's characteristics are a certain mixture of the two types of characteristics that is formed under the influence of his/her own environment.	5	5	-2	5
17	Group consciousness is stronger among men than among women.	1	0	2	-1
18	Through sexual relationship, men own female bodies, but not vice versa.	-3	-2	-1	-4
19	There should be no distinction between husband and wife in housework, when both of them have jobs.	1	4	-2	4
20	Women should prove their own abilities before they ask no discrimination in social success.	0	0	-2	0
21	Men are those who protect and women are those who are protected.	-1	-1	3	2
22	The types of women (good wife, manly women, and so on) is shaped by the requests from men.	0	1	-1	-3
23	Women are not adequate for social life. They are narrow-minded and selfish.	-4	-4	-4	-1
24	Traditional stereotypical images of men and women cannot be hold in these days any longer.	3	3	0	1
25	Sexual differences are found only in body structure and function and in genetic structure and hormones.	2	1	-4	-2
26	Feminine characteristics are tenderness and passiveness, while masculine characteristics are aggressiveness and activeness.	0	0	0	-2

	<i>Statement</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
		<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>
27	A sexual affair can exist when a woman accepts a man's request for it, but not vice versa.	-3	-1	0	-4
28	Women's involvement in social life will increase the quality of our society, i.e. by reducing wars, environmental destruction, class conflict, and so on.	1	2	2	-3
29	Violence is committed by both men and women against each other. It is usually understood as being committed by men alone just because women are more vocal and angry about violence committed by men against them while men do not pay enough attention to the violence committed by women against them.	2	1	0	0
30	Female soldiers' roles in the military are nurses, cooks, telephone operators and so on, rather than participation in combats.	-1	-1	3	3
31	Women are more peace-oriented, more warmhearted, and more impartial than men are.	0	1	1	-3
32	Traditional images of men are now just burdens on men, given the changing social circumstances.	4	2	1	3
33	Women are absolutely good while men are absolutely evil.	-5	-5	-5	-5
34	Woman is goddess and owner of mythical power while man is a hero in this world	-2	-1	2	-2
35	Motherly affection towards children is greater than fatherly affection towards children.	0	1	2	1
36	Men are independent, able, and self-confident while women are incompetent and wanting in decision.	-2	-3	-3	-1