

## **THE POLLS—TRENDS**

### **SUPPORT FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT**

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LEONIE HUDDY  
FRANCIS K. NEELY  
MARILYN R. LAFAY

As we reflect on where we have been and where we are headed at the beginning of a new century, the massive changes that have occurred in women's roles in the United States and elsewhere over the last 3–4 decades emerge as perhaps one of the twentieth century's most enduring and basic legacies. A fundamental and profound shift in public expectations of women's roles at work and at home has been well documented (Public Perspective 1993; Simon and Landis 1989; Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983). Despite minor misgivings over the fate of preschool children and the relative importance of a husband's and a wife's career, Americans seem generally sanguine about the broadening of women's roles from the home to the workplace and beyond.

There is less consensus, however, on the need for a continued women's movement despite its acknowledged role in changing society's expectations about women over the last several decades (Sigel 1996). While the women's movement that emerged in the mid-1960s placed the spotlight on gender discrimination in the workplace, pay inequities, and unequal hiring practices, it also aroused opposition from women and men who were uneasy with changes in women's traditional roles as wives and mothers. Some of this uneasiness lingers in the present era, perhaps in somewhat different form, as pundits and social commentators question whether the women's movement has outlived its usefulness. The movement's contemporary detractors accuse it of ignoring women who place greater emphasis on a family than a career, failing to accommodate women of diverse backgrounds, and losing touch with

LEONIE HUDDY, FRANCIS K. NEELY, and MARILYN R. LAFAY are at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY 11794-4392, Leonie.Huddy@sunysb.edu. This research was supported by grant SBR-9805892 from the National Science Foundation. An earlier version of this article was presented at a roundtable in honor of Roberta Sigel at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15–18, 1999. We wish to thank Jennifer Jackman of the Feminist Majority Fund for assistance with several gender analyses included in this manuscript.

ordinary men and women (Hewlett [1986]; Paglia [1992]; see Ryan [1992] for an overview of these criticisms).

But what do American women and men really think about this? Has there been any decline in support for the movement since the late 1960s and early 1970s? Do younger women fail to see the need for an organized movement, as has been widely proclaimed (Keene 1991)? And has “feminist” really become the pejorative term implied by the much-quoted phrase “I’m not a feminist, but . . .”? We review the available public opinion data on the women’s movement to answer these questions.

As is clear in the following tables, poll questions about the women’s movement have been more likely to appear in specialized polls devoted to the women’s movement than as regular items in omnibus surveys. This results in an incomplete time series for some of the questions included in this summary. Exceptions include feelings toward the women’s movement and feeling close to feminists, questions that have been regularly included in the American National Election Study (ANES) feeling thermometer battery and the group closeness series. The Virginia Slims surveys, first conducted by Louis Harris and Associates and later by the Roper organization, have routinely included a question about support for efforts to strengthen women’s status. Other questions have been repeated with sufficient regularity to be included in limited time series.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the early years of the women’s movement—the late 1960s and early 1970s—are barely represented here. If it were not for the early Virginia Slims polls, we would know very little about how Americans reacted at that time to the emergence of the women’s movement. In contrast, a number of special polls have been devoted to the women’s movement since the early 1980s, a trend that has intensified through the 1990s. We draw heavily from several special polls conducted in the 1980s and 1990s by CBS/NYT (1983, 1989, 1997), Gallup (GALLUP/NEWS 1986, 1992), Yankelovich (YANK/TIME/CNN 1989, 1992; YP/TIME/CNN, 1998), NORC/GSS (special modules in 1983 and 1996), and Peter Y. Harris (PYH/FMF 1995). One major advantage of polls devoted to a special topic is that they allow for in-depth analysis. Our hope is that the ensuing poll review will stimulate greater use of these data, which have been underutilized to date in academic analyses of gender-related attitudes.

1. A minor caution is necessary here concerning gender-of-interviewer effects. Our past research and that of others has demonstrated that questions on the women’s movement are especially susceptible to gender-of-interviewer effects (Huddy et al. 1997; Kane and Macaulay 1993). Most of the survey data included in this review are based on telephone interviews that are typically collected by both male and female interviewers. But both the NES and GSS studies are based on face-to-face interviews that are typically conducted by women and may, thus, overstate support for the women’s movement among both male and female respondents.

## Support for the Women's Movement

As is clear in the tables presented in Section A of this report, the American public shifted from opposition to support of the women's movement in the early 1970s and has continued to support the movement ever since. The women's liberation movement was rated negatively in 1972 (table A1) and more men and women were unsympathetic than sympathetic with "efforts of the women's liberation groups" in 1971 (table A3). However, only a few years later in 1974 men and women rated the women's liberation movement positively (above 50 degrees; table A1), and by 1978 most men and women said they were "completely for" or "more for than against" women's liberation (table A4). This increase in support for the movement was accompanied by increasing support for efforts to "strengthen and change women's status" as seen in table A7. In 1970, 40 percent of women and 44 percent of men favored such efforts. By 1974, this had increased to 57 percent of women and 64 percent of men. The women's liberation movement was rated increasingly positively on the NES feeling thermometer through the late 1970s and early 1980s, and the women's movement elicited slightly higher levels of support again in the 1990s. Anywhere from two-thirds to three-quarters of men and women reported "very" or "mostly favorable" opinions of the women's movement in the late 1980s and 1990s, a percentage that seems to have increased slightly since the mid-1980s (table A5).

Feminists receive more mixed reviews than the movement as a whole. While American men and women rate feminists positively on the NES feeling thermometer, women rated feminists roughly 10 degrees cooler than they rated the movement as a whole in 1992 when the ANES included both groups in their feeling thermometer series; men rated feminists roughly 6–7 degrees cooler in the same study (table A1; similar findings are reported by Buschman and Lenart [1996]; Cook and Wilcox [1992]; Keene [1991]; Weisberg, Haynes, and Krosnick [1995]). When asked point blank to describe their feelings for feminists as favorable or unfavorable, more men and women report unfavorable feelings (table A8). An increasing minority of Americans view the term "feminist" as an insult, although most still regard it as a neutral term (table A9).

Despite extensive discussion of younger Americans turning away from the women's movement or viewing it as irrelevant (see Buschman and Lenart 1996; Keene 1991), younger men and women remain some of the movement's staunchest supporters, as seen in table A2. Women and men between the ages of 18 and 29 consistently rate the women's movement more positively than do older individuals of the same gender. This age difference is most pronounced among women, resulting in a 14-point gap in feelings for the women's movement between the youngest (18–29) and oldest (65 and over) women in the 1994 NES and somewhat smaller age gaps in 1992 (9 points) and 1996 (8 points) (table A2).

### Meaning of the Movement

Questions that touch on the meaning of words like “feminist,” “women’s liberation,” and the “women’s movement” provide some insight into the mild distaste elicited by feminists. Women’s liberation, the women’s movement, and feminists commonly elicit thoughts and comments about gender equality—especially “equal rights” and “equal pay” (tables B1–B3). But feminists seem to evoke more negative thoughts than the women’s movement as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Just over a third of men and women think feminists dislike men, and just under 50 percent think feminists do not respect women who stay at home with their children (table B3). In contrast, fewer men and women make spontaneous negative comments about the women’s movement (table B1).

This disparity in support for the movement and support for feminists is similar to an observed discrepancy between modest support for the movement and much stronger support for its stated objectives (first observed by Welch [1975]). These findings suggest caution in the creation of indices to tap “feminist consciousness.” Some researchers use beliefs such as support for equal gender roles and perceived gender inequality to tap feminist identity and feminist consciousness (Banaszak and Plutzer 1993; Buschman and Lenart 1996; Kalmuss, Gurin, and Townsend 1981; Plutzer 1988). Other researchers include support for feminists as a measure of feminist identity in combination with support for equal gender roles (Conover and Sapiro 1993; Cook 1989, 1993; Cook and Wilcox 1991; Sapiro and Conover 1997). Still other researchers focus more narrowly on attitudes toward feminists, combining positive feelings for feminists or the women’s liberation movement with feeling close to women (Rhodebeck 1996). But only a handful of researchers have assessed feminist identity by asking only about feminists (Conover [1988]; Dolan and Ford [1995]; see also Huddy [2001], for further discussion on the distinction between political values and identity). Given greater public misgivings about feminists than the movement as a whole, it seems wise to distinguish between attitudes toward feminists and other aspects of the movement when analyzing gender-related attitudes.

### Self-Identification and Feminist Identity

Unwavering support of the women’s movement does not mean, however, that this support is especially strong. In numerous respects, the data reviewed earlier in this manuscript suggest that support for the women’s movement is persistent but lukewarm. Americans overwhelmingly report “mostly” not “very favorable” feelings toward the movement (table A5). Average feeling

2. Comparisons between responses to questions about the meaning of feminists and the women’s movement should be treated with caution since the data for feminists are based on a series of close-ended questions, while data for the women’s movement derive from open-ended responses.

thermometer scores for the movement are in the high 50s (men) or mid-60s (women), hardly a ringing endorsement (table A1). Identity, a gauge of more central movement support, is weaker again. While a persistent quarter to a third of American women call themselves feminists (variation that can be found even in a given year, as seen for 1992), most do not (table C1). Moreover, young women identify themselves as feminists at about the same rate as older generations. Lower levels of feminist identity among young men provide the only evidence that younger Americans may be less supportive of the movement than older generations (table C3). Not surprisingly, women who identify as feminists primarily mention their support of women's equal rights as a reason for their identification (table C4).

Relatively few women and even fewer men report feminists as one of the political or sociodemographic groups to which they feel particularly close (table C6). A somewhat higher percentage of men and women consider themselves supporters of the women's movement, although still not a majority (table C7).

When shades of feminist identity or movement support are allowed, a greater number of men and women are willing to internalize support for the women's movement. In the mid-1990s, feminist identity increased from around 26 percent or 27 percent to over 50 percent among women and from the mid to high teens to 30 percent among men when a distinction was drawn between being a "strong" and "not so strong" feminist (compare tables C1 and C2).<sup>3</sup> This suggests that women and men are reluctant to identify as feminist if it implies strong movement support. The same trend holds for willingness to identify oneself as a supporter of the women's movement. More women and men are willing to call themselves a movement supporter when they can describe themselves as somewhat of a supporter than as a pure supporter (compare tables C7 and C8).

## Public Involvement

This pattern of pervasive but weak movement support is further reinforced by relatively low levels of reported movement participation. Roughly 5–14 percent of women have joined an organization, written a letter, or given money to a women's rights organization (table D1). While most women and men see the women's rights issue as personally important, only a small percentage rate it as "very important" (table D3). Only slightly higher percentages say they pay a lot of attention to the women's movement (table D4). And while

3. Responses to the 1986 Gallup question on feminist identity, the first archived instance of this question, were used by Faludi (1991) to argue that levels of feminist identity had dropped in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In retrospect, it is clear that almost 50 percent of American women called themselves feminists in this 1986 poll because they were offered a distinction between being a strong feminist and a feminist, as seen in table C2.

almost 50 percent of women and men see feminism as relevant to most women today, just over a quarter of women view it as relevant to them personally (table D5).

### **Current State of the Movement**

This lukewarm support for the movement may mask considerable division among Americans with pockets of strong support balanced against sources of staunch opposition. There is some support for this view in tables that document the persistent third of all Americans who do not think the movement is necessary (table E3), view it as too powerful (table E5), and believe it is out of touch with most women (tables E11 and E12). There is widespread agreement that Democrats such as Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton are closely aligned with the movement, a view that may further contribute to politically polarized movement support (see tables E6–E10).

On the other hand, Americans remain truly ambivalent about the need for women to organize in order to bring about change (see also Sigel 1996). The Virginia Slims series on support for efforts to strengthen women's status, reported earlier, documents increased public support for such efforts through the 1970s that continued at a slower pace through the 1980s and 1990s. By 1994, 78 percent of women and 71 percent of men were in favor of such efforts (table A7). Americans are less obviously enthusiastic, however, about collective action as a means by which to achieve this goal (Sigel 1996). When asked if women should work on their own or organize to effect change, most men and women chose individual effort (table E1). But this picture changes if the question is whether women should act individually or work together without any explicit reference to women organizing. Then views are more mixed with a preference for women working together (table E2).

### **Is the Movement a Threat?**

Further evidence that lukewarm movement support connotes widespread ambivalence emerges from data in tables F1–F3, which suggest that relatively small numbers of Americans see the movement as deeply dangerous or disruptive. A handful of men and women in the 1970s viewed women's liberation as a threat to American society (table F1), and, not surprisingly, only a small number in the 1990s endorsed the view that feminism is the work of the devil (table F3). Most Americans who feel unfavorable toward the women's movement feel "mostly" not "very unfavorable" as noted earlier (table A5). And most nonfeminists in the 1995 Peter Y. Harris poll do not think of themselves as antifeminists (only 5 percent of women and 11 percent of men) but simply as nonfeminists (in additional analysis of data in table C2 not shown).

### **Social Impact**

The perceived impact of the women's movement provides further evidence of Americans' ambivalence. Most men and women agree that the women's movement has made life better *and* more difficult for women (compare tables G2 and G3). More specifically, men and women talk about the positive effects of the movement on women's job opportunities and feelings about themselves (tables G4 and G5). At the same time, women's relations with men and their husbands top the list as things that have worsened as a consequence of the movement (table G4). There is a general perception that the movement has not benefited men (table G7), and, indeed, between a quarter and a third of all Americans think that men's lives are worse in terms of their jobs, feelings about themselves, and relations with women (table G8). The view that the movement has had a negative impact on children and families is even more pervasive (tables G9–G11); in 1989, over three-quarters of men and women said the movement had made it harder for marriages to be successful and for parents to raise children (table G11).

Ambivalence toward the women's movement is also reflected in the widespread view that the movement has improved the lives of some women but not others. Professional women, working women, and working-class women (who appear to be confused with working women) are widely seen to have benefited; but others, such as homemakers and poor women, are seen as having been affected adversely or left untouched by the movement (table G12).

### **Few Gender Differences**

Perhaps one of the most striking findings across the full set of tables is the absence of a clear gender gap on most questions related to the women's movement. Men and women shared similar views of women's liberation at the movement's outset and continued to support the movement at roughly similar levels until the early 1990s when a slight but inconsistent gap emerged in movement support. By the early to mid-1990s women expressed slightly more positive feelings about the women's movement than men in NES surveys (table A1) but were equally favorable toward the movement in a 1998 survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates (table A5). Nor is there a gender gap on a slew of other questions that touch on support for efforts to strengthen women's status (table A7), what the movement means (tables B1–B3), or its general and specific effects (tables G3, G7, G9–G12). Meager gender differences on the women's movement parallel past reports of few gender differences in public support for the ERA, gender equality, and related public policy issues (Public Opinion 1982; Sapiro 1991; Sears and Huddy 1990). In a few instances it is difficult to evaluate the existence of a gender gap because an entire poll or specific questions were asked only of women.

Almost all of the questions on which there is a gender gap tap into deeper levels of involvement with the movement, suggesting that women are among the most committed and involved movement supporters. Thus, women are almost twice as likely as men to identify as a feminist (table C1), a difference that is most pronounced among young men and women. Just under 30 percent (28 percent) of women ages 18–29—but only 8 percent of men in the same age group—called themselves a feminist in 1996 (table C3). Women are also more likely to feel close to feminists, a gap that has grown since the mid-1980s. Some 14 percent of women but only 6 percent of men named feminists as one of the groups to which they felt close in 1996 (table C6). Women are also increasingly more likely than men to view the movement as having had a positive impact on their own lives (table G14). There are no comparable gender differences, however, in calling oneself a supporter of the women’s movement (table C7 and C8).

These gender differences in feminist identity and feeling close to feminists may reflect a greater antipathy toward feminists among men, although findings are mixed on this point. Women and men report feeling mildly positive toward feminists in the 1988 and 1992 NES thermometer series (table A1) and express similar levels of favorable and unfavorable feelings toward feminists in 1998 (table A8). Yet, in the late 1990s more men than women viewed feminist as an insult (table A9) and regarded feminists as having too much political influence (table E5). There is also a gender difference in perceptions of Hillary Rodham Clinton as too strong a feminist, with more men than women endorsing this view in 1993 (table E10).

When it comes to action, women are clearly more involved in the women’s movement than men and are more supportive of collective action. Women are twice as likely as men to get involved in movement activities—join an organization, write a letter, or give money—although the number of women involved in such activities remains small (table D1). Women are also somewhat more likely than men to view the movement as “very important” (table D3), although men and women report paying about the same amount of attention to it (table D4). This difference in involvement goes with a gender gap in support of collective action that emerged in the 1980s (tables E1 and E2). By the late 1980s, more women than men endorsed the idea that women need to organize and work together to achieve real change, and this difference persisted through the early 1990s.

## Conclusion

These data lead to several conclusions about American support for the women’s movement. First, movement support shows no sign of diminishing in the 1990s, and there is no evidence that generational replacement will alter this picture in the near future. Young people remain staunch movement sup-

porters. Indeed, young women identify as feminists at about the same rate as women now in their 40s despite extensive media discussion in the late 1980s and early 1990s of younger women's rejection of the movement. Second, support for the women's movement is not particularly strong. Americans feel moderately positive about the women's movement but are less supportive of feminists. This discrepancy may arise, in part, because feminists are more likely to be associated with the negative aspects of the movement—organized action, a disrespect for homemakers, an overemphasis on the concerns of professional women, and a dislike of men. Indeed, both feminists and the movement as a whole are viewed as having had both positive and negative consequences. Third, men and women largely agree in their assessment of the movement. Nonetheless women are more committed movement supporters than are men; they remain stronger feminists, are more supportive of collective action, and are more likely to have participated in movement-related events.

## Appendix

### SOURCES

The data were collected from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research's on-line Public Opinion Location Library (POLL) and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). Several additional gender cross tabulations were provided by the Roper Center, the Feminist Majority Foundation, and Zogby International. Other gender cross tabulations were obtained by direct analysis of data from the American National Election Studies, the NORC General Social Surveys, the 1970 and 1971 Virginia Slims polls (obtained from the Louis Harris data center at the University of North Carolina), the 1977 CBS/*New York Times* poll (10/77; ICPSR 7818), the 1983 *New York Times* national survey (11/83; ICPSR 08366), the 1986 ABC/*Washington Post* poll (9/86; ICPSR 08637), and the CBS News monthly poll (9/97; ICPSR 2308). All survey results are based on representative national samples of adults unless otherwise noted in the tables. Following Roper Center policy, all results are weighted to be consistent with the data reported in the POLL database. Weights were used to compensate for panel attrition and maturation in relevant National Election Studies (1974, 1976, 1992, 1994, and 1996). Further information about these data can be obtained from the Roper Center, the ICPSR, and the specific survey organizations listed below.

### ABBREVIATIONS

ABC/WP: ABC News/*Washington Post*

BR/PGSI: Belden & Russonello/Pew Global Stewardship Initiative

CBS: CBS News

CBS/NYT: CBS News/*New York Times*

GALLUP/CNN/USA: Gallup Organization for CNN/*USA Today*

GALLUP/NEWS: Gallup Organization for *Newsweek*  
 GALLUP/USNEWS: Gallup Organization/*USNews*  
 GL/MS: Greenberg-Lake/Ms. Foundation for Women, Center for Policy Alternatives  
 HARRIS: Louis Harris and Associates  
 HARRIS/VS: Harris for Virginia Slims  
 H&T/NBC/WSJ: Hart and Teeter Research Companies for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*  
 LAT: *Los Angeles Times*  
 ML/MMLIC/FVS: Mellman and Lazarus Incorporated for Mass Mutual Life Insurance Company/Family Values Survey  
 NBPS: National Black Politics Study  
 NES: National Election Studies, Center for Political Studies  
 NORC/GSS: National Opinion Research Center/General Social Survey  
 NYT: *New York Times*  
 PSRA/PEW: Princeton Survey Research Associates for Pew Research Center  
 PSRA/TM: Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Times Mirror*  
 PSRA/NEWS: Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*  
 PYH/FMF: Peter Y. Harris/The Feminist Majority Foundation  
 ROPER: Roper Organization  
 ROPER/VS: Roper Organization for Virginia Slims  
 R&F/CMLIC: Research and Forecasts Inc., Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance  
 TARR/MLL/USN: Tarrance Group/Mellman, Lazarus and Lake for *US News and World Report*  
 YANK/TIME/CNN: Yankelovich/*Time*/CNN  
 YP/TIME/CNN: Yankelovich Partners/*Time*/CNN  
 YSK/ACLI: Yankelovich, Skelly and White for American Council of Life Insurance  
 ZOGBY: Zogby International

## A. Movement Support

### FEELING THERMOMETER

*A1. Feelings toward Women's Liberation, Feminists, the Women's Movement.*  
 NES: (I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I will use something we call the feeling thermometer and here is how it works: I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't care too much for the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't have to rate the person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. And, still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following?) . . . The women's liberation movement . . . Feminists . . . The women's movement.

	<i>Women</i>			<i>Men</i>		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Don't Know (%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Don't Know (%)</i>	<i>N</i>
Women's liberation:						
1972	45	9	1,252	46	6	939
1974	53	8	1,470	53	6	1,053
1976	53	10	1,412	51	5	991
1980	54	6	793	53	5	615
1984	59	9	1,115	57	5	874
Feminists:						
1988	53	9	1,009	52	8	766
1992	54	9	1,220	52	7	1,038
Women's movement:						
1992	65	4	1,220	59	3	1,038
1994	64	2	961	58	3	834
1996	66	3	849	59	3	682

A2. Feelings toward the Women's Movement by Age.

<i>Age</i>	<i>Women</i>			<i>Men</i>		
	<i>1992 (NES)</i>	<i>1994 (NES)</i>	<i>1996 (NES)</i>	<i>1992 (NES)</i>	<i>1994 (NES)</i>	<i>1996 (NES)</i>
18-29	70 (229)	72 (161)	72 (125)	62 (221)	62 (158)	62 ( 89)
30-39	65 (317)	65 (246)	66 (219)	56 (275)	58 (217)	58 (163)
40-49	65 (191)	66 (153)	67 (141)	59 (194)	56 (172)	57 (163)
50-64	61 (200)	61 (172)	61 (160)	59 (193)	58 (143)	61 (137)
65 +	61 (282)	58 (229)	64 (204)	62 (154)	56 (144)	61 (130)
<i>N</i>	1,219	961	849	1,037	834	682

NOTE.—Entries are mean feeling thermometer scores on a 0-100 scale. *Ns* for each age group are in parentheses.

FAVORABLE TOWARD MOVEMENT

A3. Sympathetic to Women's Liberation. HARRIS/VS (1971): In general, would you say you are sympathetic or unsympathetic with efforts of the women's liberation groups?

	<i>Women (%)</i>	<i>Men (%)</i>
Sympathetic	41	38
Unsympathetic	47	47
Not sure	13	15
<i>N</i>	2,791	911

A4. *For or Against Women's Liberation. YSK/ACLI (1978)*: (Many changes have taken place in this country over the last ten years. These changes have frequently resulted from social movements of various kinds. Some of the movements, and the issues raised by them, have received wide support from the public. Others have been less popular. We are interested in your own opinions. For each of these movements and/or issues I mention, tell me whether you are completely for it, more for it than against it, more against it than for it, or completely against it.) . . . Women's liberation.

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
	(%)	(%)
Completely for	24	26
More for than against	36	34
More against than for	20	15
Completely against	12	16
No opinion	9	8
<i>N</i>	768	740

A5. *Favorable toward Women's Movement. PSRA/TM (1985)*: (I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from the list, please tell me which category on this card best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Probably there will be some people and organizations on the list that you have never heard of.) How would you describe your opinion of the women's movement?

*PSRA/TM (1991)*: I'd like your opinion of some people and organizations. As I read from a list please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. Would you describe your opinion of . . . the women's movement . . . as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

*PSRA/TM (1994) PSRA/PEW (1998)*: Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. Would you say your overall opinion of the women's movement is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

*PYH/FMF (1995)*: Now let me ask you for each of several types of groups and organizations in America, if your feeling is very favorable, mostly favorable, or very unfavorable? The women's movement.

	<i>Men and Women</i>					<i>N</i>
	<i>Very Favorable</i>	<i>Mostly Favorable</i>	<i>Mostly Unfavorable</i>	<i>Very Unfavorable</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>	
<i>Year</i>	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1985 (PSRA/TM)	19	44	19	11	7	2,104
1991 (PSRA/TM)	19	52	16	6	7	2,020

**Poll Trends: The Women's Movement**

**321**

1994 (PSRA/TM)	20	48	19	9	4	3,800
1995 (PYH/FMF)	26	43	13	6	11	1,364
1998 (PSRA/PEW)	16	51	15	9	9	1,206

*Women*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Mostly</i>	<i>Mostly</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Don't</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Know</i>	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1991 (PSRA/TM)	21	51	16	5	7	1,007
1995 (PYH/FMF)	30	41	11	5	13	955
1998 (PSRA/PEW)	16	51	16	9	8	604

*Men*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Mostly</i>	<i>Mostly</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Don't</i>	<i>N</i>
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Know</i>	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1991 (PSRA/TM)	15	53	17	7	8	1,013
1995 (PYH/FMF)	22	45	15	8	10	409
1998 (PSRA/PEW)	16	50	15	8	10	602

A6. *Favorable toward NOW. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989):* In general do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the National Organization of Women, also known as NOW?

*Women*

	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>N</i>
	(%)	(%)	<i>Sure</i>	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1989 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	45	21	34	1,000

SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO CHANGE WOMEN'S STATUS

A7. *Efforts to Strengthen Women's Status. HARRIS/VS (1970, 1971):* [1971: All in all . . . ] Do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

*ROPER/VS (1974, 1979, 1985, 1989, 1994):* There has been much talk lately about changing women's status in society today. On the whole, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?

<i>Women</i>				
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Don't</i>	
<i>Year</i>	(%)	(%)	<i>Know</i>	<i>N</i>
			(%)	
1970 (HARRIS/VS)	40	42	18	2,972
1971 (HARRIS/VS)	48	36	16	3,000
1974 (ROPER/VS)	57	26	18	2,922
1979 (ROPER/VS)	65	25	11	2,960
1985 (ROPER/VS)	73	17	10	3,000
1989 (ROPER/VS)	77	12	11	3,000
1994 (ROPER/VS)	78	10	12	2,970

  

<i>Men</i>				
	<i>Favor</i>	<i>Oppose</i>	<i>Don't</i>	
<i>Year</i>	(%)	(%)	<i>Know</i>	<i>N</i>
			(%)	
1970 (HARRIS/VS)	44	39	17	1,012
1971 (HARRIS/VS)	49	36	15	1,000
1974 (ROPER/VS)	64	20	17	958
1979 (ROPER/VS)	64	23	13	984
1985 (ROPER/VS)	69	17	14	1,000
1989 (ROPER/VS)	74	14	12	1,000
1994 (ROPER/VS)	71	11	18	1,032

## FAVORABLE TOWARD FEMINISTS

A8. *Favorable toward Feminists. YP/TIME/CNN (1998)*: In general do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of feminists?

	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>	<i>Don't</i>	
	(%)	(%)		(%)	(%)	<i>Know</i>	<i>N</i>
						(%)	
Women:							
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	32	12		43	14		721
Men:							
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	37	8		42	13		513

A9. *Feminist an Insult. YANK/TIME/CNN (1992); CBS (1997)*: Do you consider calling someone a feminist to be a compliment, an insult, or a neutral description?

<i>Year</i>	<i>Compliment (%)</i>	<i>Neutral (%)</i>	<i>Insult (%)</i>	<i>Don't Know (%)</i>	<i>N</i>
Women:					
1992 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	18	54	16	12	654
1997 (CBS)	10	60	22	8	580
Men:					
1997 (CBS)	7	52	31	10	471

**B. Meaning of Movement**

*B1. Meaning of Women's Liberation. HARRIS/VS (August 1970, October 1971):* When you hear the phrase "Women's Liberation," what comes to mind? Anything else?

	<i>Women (%)</i>		<i>Men (%)</i>	
	<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>
Positive:				
Equality/jobs:				
Women working for equal rights — opportunities — equality with men	29	22	30	25
Women wanting better jobs — pay — equal jobs — pay with men	11	20	9	15
Freedom for women	5	7	6	4
Right to vote — women voting	3	1	4	1
Family/domestic roles:				
Liberation from housework — child rearing	3	3	3	3
General positive:				
Good movement — important	2	3	1	2
Negative:				
Roles:				
Women want to take over men's role — speaking out against men	4	7	3	8
Women trying to do — get into things they don't belong in first place — women's place is in home	11	10	9	6
Women trying to get freedom they already have — already liberated — can do/say whatever they want	8	3	11	5

Women who don't know a good thing when they have it	3	2	...	1
Aggressive activists:				
Radical, militaristic, revolutionary aggressive, etc. group of women	5	8	6	10
Bunch of frustrated, insecure, ugly, hysterical, masculine type women	12	8	9	6
Marching women with picket signs — trying to get a lot of attention	6	5	8	4
Women who don't have anything to do — causing trouble	4	2	3	2
Women trying to run the country	...	1	...	2
General negative:				
It's silly, foolish, a bunch of baloney	8	7	6	4
Don't like	...	5	...	3
Other	1	3	1	2
Don't know	15	11	17	15
<i>N</i>	2,972	3,000	1,012	1,000

NOTE.—Adds to more than 100 percent due to multiple responses.

*B2. Meaning of Women's Movement. NYT (1983):* What do you think of when you hear the phrase "the women's movement"?

	<i>Women</i> (%)	<i>Men</i> (%)
Equality/jobs:		
Equal rights/opportunity	23	27
Equal pay/jobs	8	8
General:		
General positive comments	11	13
Organizations/individuals	1	2
Negative comments:		
Specific hostile comments	16	16
General hostile comments (e.g., disgust, I hate it, etc.)	14	11
Other	3	2
Don't know	23	21
<i>N</i>	927	382

*B3. Meaning of Feminist. YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* I'm going to read you a number of words or phrases. As I read please tell me whether, in your view, that description describes or does not describe feminists. . . . Work for equal rights . . . Work for equal pay for women . . . Work against sexual harassment . . . Support abortion rights . . . Work for affordable daycare . . . Don't respect married women who stay home and take care of families . . . Don't like most men . . . Are too preoccupied with sex . . . Are often lesbians.

	<i>Women (%)</i>			<i>Men (%)</i>		
	<i>Does Describes</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>Sure</i>	<i>Does Describes</i>	<i>Not</i>	<i>Sure</i>
Equal rights:						
Work for equal rights	85	10	5	86	11	2
Work for equal pay for women	85	10	5	84	13	4
Workplace, reproductive policy:						
Work against sexual harassment	81	12	7	78	16	5
Support abortion rights	72	17	11	69	20	12
Work for affordable day care	65	23	11	66	23	12
Family/sexual roles:						
Don't respect married women who stay home and take care of families	44	47	10	45	49	7
Don't like most men	37	52	11	35	52	13
Are too preoccupied with sex	27	61	12	25	64	11
Are often lesbians	22	61	17	23	61	15
<i>N</i>	721	...	...	513	...	...

**C. Self-Identification**

FEMINIST IDENTITY

*C1. Feminist Identity. CBS (September 1997):* Do you consider yourself to be a feminist or not?

*NORC/GSS (February–May 1996):* Do you consider yourself to be a feminist?

*NES (1992); GALLUP/NEWS (December 1992):* Do you consider yourself a feminist or not?

*YANK/TIME/CNN (October 1989, February, August 1992); YP/TIME/CNN (May 1998):* Do you consider yourself a feminist?

GALLUP/USA (February 1999): Would you consider yourself a feminist or not?

Date	Women			N
	Feminist (%)	Not a Feminist (%)	Don't Know (%)	
10/89 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	33	58	9	1,000
02/92 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	29	63	8	625
08/92 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	31	63	6	700
11/92 (NES)	26	63	11 <sup>a</sup>	1,220
12/92 (GALLUP/NEWS)	33	61	7	750
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	27	67	5	821
09/97 (CBS)	27	69	5	580
05/98 (YP/TIME/CNN)	26	65	8	721
02/99 (GALLUP/USA)	26	67	8	923

  

Date	Men			N
	Feminist (%)	Not a Feminist (%)	Don't Know (%)	
11/92 (NES)	17	75	8 <sup>a</sup>	1,038
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	12	83	5	639
09/97(CBS)	14	78	8	471

<sup>a</sup> Total composed of those responding either "Don't think in those terms" or "Don't know."

*C2. Feminist Identity with Gradations and an Explicit Definition of Feminism.* GALLUP/NEWS (1986); PYH/FMF (1995a): Do you consider yourself to be a strong feminist, a feminist, not a feminist, or an anti-feminist?

PYH/FMF (1995b): The dictionary definition of feminism is "someone who supports political, economic, and social equality for women." As you think about that definition, do you feel you are a strong feminist, a feminist, not a feminist, or anti-feminist?

Year	Women				N
	Strong Feminist (%)	Feminist/Not Strong (%)	Not/Anti-Feminist (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1986 (GALLUP/NEWS)	10	46	32	13	1,009 <sup>a</sup>
1995a (PYH/FMF)	14	37	35	13	955
With definition: 1995b (PYH/FMF)	25	48	23	5	955

<sup>a</sup> Women between the ages of 18 and 44 only.

Year	Men				N
	Strong Feminist (%)	Feminist/Not Strong (%)	Not/Anti-Feminist (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1995a (PYH/FMF)	8	22	50	20	409
With definition: 1995b (PYH/FMF)	18	43	31	7	409

C3. *Feminist Identity by Age. NES (1992):* Do you consider yourself a feminist or not?

*NORC/GSS (1996):* Do you consider yourself to be a feminist?

*YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* Do you consider yourself a feminist?

Age	Women			Men	
	1992 (NES) (%)	1996 (NORC/GSS) (%)	1998 (YP/TIME/CNN) (%)	1992 (NES) (%)	1996 (NORC/GSS) (%)
18-29	28 (229)	28 (169)	29 (149)	14 (221)	8 (131)
30-39	25 (317)	21 (193)	18 (168)	14 (275)	9 (146)
40-49	31 (191)	30 (171)	30 (160)	22 (194)	17 (133)
50-64	26 (200)	30 (144)	27 (152)	12 (193)	14 (145)
65 +	24 (282)	27 (139)	27 (116)	25 (154)	11 (84)
N	1,219	816	721	1,037	639

NOTE.—Ns for each age group, including those who did not identify as feminist, are in parentheses.

C4. *Reason for Adopting Feminist Identity. YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* Why do

you consider yourself a feminist? (Asked of the 26 percent who identified themselves as feminists in table C1).

*Only Women Who Are Feminists*

	(%)
Pro-women:	
I'm female	13
I'm pro-woman	3
Women deserve respect	4
Independence:	
I'm independent, self-sufficient	16
Women should be free to do what they want	4
Pro-equality:	
Believe in equal rights for women	53
Women aren't treated equally	11
Other	7
Not sure, no reason	14
<i>N</i>	187

NOTE.—Adds to more than 100 percent due to multiple responses.

*C5. Share Values with Feminists. YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* In general, do you think that feminists share your values or do not share your values?

	<i>Women</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>Share</i> (%)	<i>Do Not Share</i> (%)	<i>Not Sure</i> (%)	
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	41	43	16	721

CLOSE TO FEMINISTS

*C6. Feel Close to Feminists. NES (1984, 1988, 1992, 1996):* Here is a list of groups. Please read over the list and tell me the letter for those groups you feel particularly close to—people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things. . . Feminists.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Women</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>Yes</i> (%)	<i>No</i> (%)	<i>N.A.</i> (%)	
1984	19	77	4	1,115
1988	9	90	1	1,009

**Poll Trends: The Women's Movement**

1992	14	86	1	1,110
1996	14	86	1	846

*Men*

	<hr/>			
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	
<i>Year</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>
1984	17	81	2	874
1988	7	92	1	766
1992	9	90	1	955
1996	6	93	2	688

SUPPORTER OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

*C7. Supporter of the Women's Movement: Yes or No. H&T/NBC/WSJ (1995):* For each of the following descriptions I read, please tell me if this applies to you personally. A supporter of the women's movement, does that apply to you or doesn't it?

	<i>Supporter/ Applies (%)</i>	<i>Not a Supporter/ Does Not Apply (%)</i>	<i>Don't Know (%)</i>	<i>N</i>
Women:				
1995 (H&T/NBC/WSJ)	42	52	5	1,023
Men:				
1995 (H&T/NBC/WSJ)	42	52	6	984

*C8. Qualified Supporter of the Women's Movement. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989, 1992):* How would you describe yourself—as a strong supporter of the women's movement, somewhat of a supporter, not a supporter, not sure?

*Women*

	<hr/>				
	<i>Strong Supporter (%)</i>	<i>Somewhat of a Supporter (%)</i>	<i>Not a Supporter (%)</i>	<i>Not Sure (%)</i>	
<i>Year</i>					<i>N</i>
1989 (YANK/ TIME/ CNN)	18	60	19	3	1,000

1992

(YANK/  
TIME/  
CNN)

20

58

19

3

654

## D. Movement Involvement

### PARTICIPATION

*D1. Action on Women's Rights Issue. NORC/GSS (1983):* Have you ever joined an organization concerned with women's rights?

*PYH/FMF (1995):* Do you belong to any group that concerns itself with women's rights and interests, or not?

*NORC/GSS (1983):* Have you ever given money to an organization concerned with this [women's rights] issue?

*GALLUP/NEWS (1992):* (Please tell me whether or not you have done each of the following in the past twelve months) . . . Given money to a feminist group or a group dealing with women's problems.

*NORC/GSS (1983):* Have you ever written a letter to a public official expressing your views on women's rights?

Year	Women				Men			
	Yes (%)	No (%)	N.A. (%)	N	Yes (%)	No (%)	N.A. (%)	N
Join organization:								
1983 (NORC/GSS)	5	94	<1	594	2	97	2	201
1995 (PYH/FMF)	7	93	<1	709	...	...	...	...
Give money:								
1983 (NORC/GSS)	13	87	<1	594	7	92	2	201
1992 (GALLUP/NEWS)	14	86	...	750	...	...	...	...
Write letter:								
1983 (NORC/GSS)	8	91	<1	594	4	95	2	201

*D2. Hypothetical Action. GL/MS (1992):* I am going to describe some different organizations. For each one, please tell me how likely you would be to participate by giving time or money—would definitely participate, very likely, somewhat, not very likely, or not at all likely? . . . A Feminist group that is

working to increase job and educational opportunities for women and supports equal pay and equal rights for women?

	<i>Women</i> (%)
Definitely join	7
Very likely	17
Somewhat likely	30
Not very likely	23
Not at all likely	21
Don't know	2
<i>N</i>	800

IMPORTANCE

*D3. Importance of Women's Rights Issue. NORC/GSS (1996):* How important is the women's rights issue to you—would you say it is one of the most important, important, not very important, or not important at all?

	<i>Women</i> (%)	<i>Men</i> (%)
Very important	15	6
Important	51	53
Not very important	24	26
Not important at all	7	13
Don't know	1	2
<i>N</i>	821	639

ATTENTION

*D4. Attention to Women's Movement. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989, 1992):* Turning to the women's movement, would you say you pay a lot of attention to the women's movement, not very much attention, or no attention at all?

	<i>Women</i>	
	<i>1989</i> (%)	<i>1992</i> (%)
A lot	23	28
Not very much	59	55
No attention	17	16
Don't know/not sure	1	1
<i>N</i>	1,000	654

D5. *Personal Relevance of Feminism. YP/TIME/CNN (1998)*: Do you think that feminism today is relevant or not relevant to *most women*?

*YP/TIME/CNN (1998)*: Do you think that feminism today is relevant or not relevant to *you personally*?

Year	Women			N
	Relevant (%)	Not Relevant (%)	Not Sure (%)	
Most women:				
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	48	41	11	721
You personally:				
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	28	65	7	721

Year	Men			N
	Relevant (%)	Not Relevant (%)	Not Sure (%)	
Most women:				
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	49	40	12	513

## E. Current State and Future of Movement

### SUPPORT FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION

E1. *Individual Training versus Women Organize. NES (1972, 1976)*: The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each woman to make sure she gets the *best training* possible for what she wants to do *or* Only if women *organize* and work together can anything really be done about discrimination.

*NORC/GSS (1987)*: Some people think the best way for women to improve their position is through *women's rights groups*, they would be at point 1 on the scale. Other people think the best way for women to improve their position is for each individual women [*sic*] to become *better trained and more qualified*. They would be located at point 7. And other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

*ROPER/VS (1989)*: As we prepare to enter the 1990s, do you think there is a need for a strong and *organized women's movement* to work for further changes for women, or do you think changes will occur as a *matter of course* without any organized effort on the part of women?

Year	Individual Effort (%)	Women Organize (%)	Neutral (%)	Don't Know (%)	N
Women:					
1972 (NES)	76	20	...	4	1,252
1976 (NES)	74	21	...	5	1,412
1987 (GSS)	68 (5-7) <sup>a</sup>	12 (1-3) <sup>a</sup>	18 (4) <sup>a</sup>	2	1,041
1989 (ROPER/VS)	58	37	...	5	3,000

<sup>a</sup> Numbers in parentheses indicate the values of the original scale included in this category.

Year	Individual Effort (%)	Women Organize (%)	Don't Know (%)	N
Men:				
1972 (NES)	74	21	5	939
1976 (NES)	74	21	5	991
1989 (ROPER/VS)	68	25	7	1,000

E2. *Individual versus Women Work Together.* NES (1972, 1976): Women can best overcome discrimination by pursuing their *individual career goals* in as feminine a way as possible *or* It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must *work together* to change laws and customs that are unfair to all women.

NES (1992): Some people think that the best way for women to improve their position is for each woman to become *better trained and more qualified*, and do the best she can as an individual. Others think that while individual effort is important, the best way for women to really improve their position is if they *work together*.

Year	Individual Effort (%)	Work Together (%)	Don't Know (%)	N
Women:				
1972 (NES)	56	41	3	1,252
1976 (NES)	45	50	6	1,412
1992 (NES)	35	62	3	1,220
Men:				
1972 (NES)	55	41	4	939
1976 (NES)	45	51	4	991
1992 (NES)	45	51	4	1,038

*E3. Movement Still Needed. YANK/TIME/CNN (October 1989, February 1992):* Do you think there is still a need for a strong women's movement or do you think that most of the goals of the women's movement have been met?

	Women			N
	Yes, Need (%)	No, Do Not Need (%)	Don't Know (%)	
Year				
1989 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	59	32	9	1,000
1992 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	57	35	8	625

*E4. Goals for Women's Movement. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989):* Here are some possible goals for the women's movement. Please tell me which one you think is the most important.

	Women
Work:	
Promoting equality for women at work	12
Work and family:	
Helping women balance work and family	32
Getting government funding for programs such as child care and maternity leave	26
Family:	
Improving the situation for women who are staying home and caring for a family	13
Abortion:	
Protecting women's right to an abortion	12
None	1
Not sure	4
N	1,000

#### POWER AND INFLUENCE

*E5. Women's Liberation, Feminists Have Too Much Influence. NES (1976):* People think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while other people feel that certain groups don't have as much influence as they deserve. Here are three statements about how much influence a group might have. For each group I read to you, just tell me the number of the statement that best says how you feel. . . . *Women's liberation movement.* Do they have too much influence, just about the right amount of influence or too little influence?

*ZOGBY (1998)*: (How much influence do these groups have?) *Feminist groups*. . . too much influence, correct amount of influence, not enough influence?

	<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>	
	<i>1976 (NES)</i> <i>Women's</i> <i>Lib</i> (%)	<i>1998</i> <i>(ZOGBY)</i> <i>Feminists</i> (%)	<i>1976 (NES)</i> <i>Women's</i> <i>Lib</i> (%)	<i>1998</i> <i>(ZOGBY)</i> <i>Feminists</i> (%)
Too much	26	30	22	37
About right/ correct amount	43	32	53	29
Too little/ not enough	15	25	13	23
Don't know	17	13	12	11
<i>N</i>	1,412	493	991	454

*E6. Carter and Clinton's Ties to Movement. HARRIS (1977)*: Do you feel President Carter is pro or anti— Leaders of the women's movement?

*PSRA/TM (1993)*: Usually, when there is a new president certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence . . . as I read from a list, tell me if you think these groups will gain influence, lose influence or not be affected by Bill Clinton's taking office? . . . Feminists.

	<i>Women and Men</i>	
	<i>06/77 (HARRIS):</i> <i>Carter</i> (%)	<i>01/93 (PSRA/TM):</i> <i>Clinton</i> (%)
Pro/gain	49	66
Anti/lose	8	6
Neither/not affected	13	18
Not sure	30	10
<i>N</i>	1,625	1,216

*E7. Impact of Lewinsky Scandal on Clinton's Ties to Movement. PSRA/NEWS (1998)*: President (Bill) Clinton has described himself as a strong supporter of women's rights. Has what you've seen or heard about the Monica Lewinsky matter made you more likely or less likely to see Clinton in this way, or has it not made much difference?

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
	(%)	(%)
More	8	9
Less	18	20
No difference	69	68
Don't know	5	4
<i>N</i>	396	357

*E8. Feminist Criticism of Clinton. YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* As you may know, after the allegations about Bill Clinton's personal conduct were made known, many prominent feminists and leaders of women's organizations did not speak out publicly to criticize him. In your opinion, should prominent feminists have spoken out in criticism of Clinton's personal conduct or don't you think they should have done this?

	<i>Women and Men</i>
	(%)
Should have spoken	33
No, should not have spoken	59
Not sure	8
<i>N</i>	1,234

*E9. Hillary Rodham Clinton as a Feminist. GALLUP (1993):* I'm going to read off some personal characteristics and qualities. As I read each one, tell me if you think it strongly applies to Hillary Clinton, somewhat applies, or doesn't apply) . . . A feminist.

	<i>Women and Men</i>
	(%)
Applies strongly	40
Applies somewhat	36
Does not apply	16
Don't know	8
<i>N</i>	1,001

*E10. Hillary Rodham Clinton as Too Strong a Feminist. GALLUP/CNN/USA (1993):* (Next, please tell me whether you strongly agree, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements about Hillary Clinton.) . . . She is too strong a feminist.

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
	(%)	(%)
Strongly agree	20	24
Moderately agree	17	21

Moderately disagree	33	36
Strongly disagree	25	15
Don't know	5	5
<i>N</i>	381	370

**MOVEMENT OUT OF TOUCH**

*E11. Women's Movement, Feminists in Tune with Women. ROPER/VS (1985):* Do you think the women's movement today is in tune with the needs of most working women, or do you think the women's movement is out of touch with the needs of most working women?

*NYT (1989):* Is the women's movement today in touch with the needs of most working women, or is it out of touch with the needs of most working women?

*YANK/TIME/CNN (1989); YP/TIME/CNN (1998):* (Please tell me whether you think each of these groups is generally in touch or out of touch with the average American woman) . . . Feminists.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Women</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>In Touch</i> (%)	<i>Out of Touch</i> (%)	<i>Not Sure</i> (%)	
1985 (ROPER/VS)	59	25	16	3,000
1989 (NYT)	54	29	17	1,025
1989 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	55	23	22	1,000
1998 (YP/TIME/CNN)	53	36	11	721

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>			<i>N</i>
	<i>In Touch</i> (%)	<i>Out of Touch</i> (%)	<i>Not Sure</i> (%)	
1985 (ROPER/VS)	54	28	18	1,000
1989 (NYT)	46	33	21	472

*E12. Effects of Rush Limbaugh on View That Feminists Are in Touch with Women. TARR/MLL/USN (1993):* Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. . . Those at the forefront of the feminist movement do not represent the average

woman. Their world view is radical and completely out of touch with the majority of women.

*TARR/MLL/USN (1993)*: Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements *made by Rush Limbaugh (talk show host)* . . . Those at the forefront of the feminist movement do not represent the average woman. Their world view is radical and completely out of touch with the majority of women.

	<i>Men and Women</i>	
	<i>View NOT ATTRIBUTED TO RUSH (%)</i>	<i>View ATTRIBUTED TO RUSH (%)</i>
Strongly disagree	8	10
Disagree	26	20
Agree	35	29
Strongly agree	20	22
Don't know	11	19
<i>N</i>	1,000	1,000

## F. Threat Posed by Movement

*F1. Threat Posed by Women's Liberation. ROPER (1974, 1978)*: Looking now to the future, over the next twenty or thirty years, which of these movements, if any, do you think are likely to be threats to our society and to life as we know it in the United States?

	<i>Women and Men</i>	
	<i>1974</i>	<i>1978</i>
Communism	50	46
Big government	44	35
Big business	44	32
Big labor	33	29
Godlessness	31	25
Sexual permissiveness	25	21
Homosexuality	13	17
Civil rights	17	15
Anarchy	10	8
Fascism	10	7
Women's liberation	9	14

**Poll Trends: The Women's Movement**

None	5	4
Don't know	8	5
<i>N</i>	1,997	2,002

NOTE.— Adds to more than 100 percent due to multiple responses.

*F2. Danger Posed by Conservative and Liberal Groups, Including Feminists. LAT (1993, 1995):* Which would you say is a greater danger to American society these days: conservative religious and political groups such as the Christian Coalition, or liberal groups like feminists and gay activists, or do neither pose a danger to American society?

	<i>Men and Women</i>	
	<i>6/93</i>	<i>4/95</i>
Conservatives	14	19
Feminists/gays	29	31
Neither	35	32
Both equally	13	11
Not sure, refused	9	7
<i>N</i>	1,474	1,032

*F3. Feminism as Work of Devil. PSRA/NEWS (1995):* Which of the following, if any, do you think of as the work of the Devil? Do you think of . . . Feminism . . . as the work of the Devil?

	<i>Women (%)</i>	<i>Men (%)</i>
Yes, work of the Devil	13	10
No	50	49
Don't believe in Devil	32	38
Don't know	6	3
<i>N</i>	385	367

## G. Perceived Impact of the Movement

### GENERAL IMPACT ON COUNTRY

*G1. Good or Bad Effect on Country. ABC/WP (1986):* Overall, would you say the women's movement has had a good effect on American life, bad effect, or no real effect one way or the other?

*PSRA/TM (1992):* I'd like your opinion of some groups in the United States. For each that I name tell me if you think they are having mainly a good influence on the way things are going in this country or mainly a bad influence on the way things are going in this country. . . . The women's movement.

*PSRA/TM (1994):* I'd like your opinion of some groups in the United States. For each that I name tell me if you think they are having mainly a good influence on the way things are going in this country or mainly a bad influence on the way things are going in this country. . . . The women's movement/feminists.

Year	Women and Men				N
	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Neither/Both (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1986 (ABC/WP)	69	12	17	2	1,504
1992 (PSRA/TM)	68	21	5	6	3,517
1994 (PSRA/TM)	59	28	7	6	1,494

### IMPACT ON WOMEN

*G2. Better or Worse for Women. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989):* Since the women's movement got started in the 1960s, has it made things better for women, worse for women, or hasn't it made any difference?

*GL/MS (1992):* Since the women's movement got started in the 1960s, has it made things much better for women, somewhat better, somewhat worse for women, much worse, or hasn't it made much difference?

Year	Women				N
	Better (%)	Little Difference (%)	Worse (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1989 (YANK/TIME/CNN)	77	8	10	5	1,000
1992 (GL/MS)	69 <sup>a</sup>	17	11 <sup>b</sup>	4	800

<sup>a</sup> Includes responses "much better" and "somewhat better."

<sup>b</sup> Includes responses "somewhat worse" and "much worse."

*G3. Women's Lives Easier or Harder. GALLUP (1989); GALLUP/CNN/USA (1993): Do you think the changes brought about by the women's movement have made women's lives easier or harder than they were 20 years ago?*

	<i>Easier</i> (%)	<i>Little</i> <i>Difference</i> (%)	<i>Harder</i> (%)	<i>Don't</i> <i>Know</i> (%)	<i>N</i>
Women:					
1989 (GALLUP)	36	15	43	6	617
1993 (GALLUP/ CNN/USA)	47	3	48	3	534
Men:					
1989 (GALLUP)	35	15	42	7	617
1993 (GALLUP/ CNN/USA)	54	1	41	3	531

*G4. Nature of Impact on Women. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989): In your view did the women's movement make things better for women, worse for women, or unchanged . . . with respect to job opportunities for women? Women's feelings about themselves? Equal pay for women? Women's relations with other women? Women's relations with their husbands? Women's relations with men?*

	<i>Men and Women</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Better</i> (%)	<i>Worse</i> (%)	<i>Unchanged</i> (%)	<i>Don't</i> <i>Know</i> (%)	
Job opportunities	79	3	14	4	1,000
Feelings about themselves	76	6	12	7	1,000
Equal pay	65	3	26	6	1,000
Relations with women	46	12	29	14	1,000
Relations with husband	43	23	22	13	1,000
Relations with men	40	23	25	12	1,000

*G5. Specific Positive Impact. GL/MS (1992): What, if anything, do you think the women's movement has done to make things better [for women]? (Asked of women responding much/somewhat better [69 percent of 800] to "Since the women's movement got started in the 1960s, has it made things much*

better for women, somewhat better, somewhat worse for women, much worse, or hasn't it made much difference?" in table G2.)

	<i>Women</i> (%)
Equality:	
Created more equality/fairness	9
Heightened people's awareness of inequality/women's rights	20
Jobs:	
Fight for women in workplace	4
More jobs available/more job opportunities	24
Make equal to men in jobs that were traditionally men's	7
Better pay advancement/pay more equal	7
Proven women capable in the workforce/gave women a chance	3
General:	
General—more choice/opportunity/freedom	8
Other/miscellaneous	6
Don't know	12
<i>N</i>	552

*G6. Specific Negative Impact. GL/MS (1992):* What, if anything, do you think the women's movement has done to make things worse for women? (Asked of women responding much/somewhat worse [11 percent of 800] to "Since the women's movement got started in the 1960s, has it made things much better for women, somewhat better, somewhat worse for women, much worse, or hasn't it made much difference?" in table G2.)

	<i>Women</i> (%)
Family:	
Not at home to raise children/children placed in child care centers	17
Break down of values/morals	10
Break up of family	2
Jobs:	
Low pay even if both working	5
Take jobs from men	5
Too much stress for women/too many roles to juggle	20
Men:	
Made women less feminine	2
Hurt relationship with men	12
General:	
Like things way used to be	5
Women not as happy	2

Other	12
Nothing	2
Don't know	10
<i>N</i>	88

**IMPACT ON MEN**

*G7. Men's Lives Easier or Harder. GALLUP (1989):* Do you think the changes brought about by the women's movement have made men's lives easier or harder than they were 20 years ago?

*GALLUP/CNN/USA (1993):* Do you think the changes brought about by the women's movement have made men's lives easier or harder than they were 20 years ago?

*NORC/GSS (1996):* (We'd like to hear your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group I name, please tell me whether you think the women's movement has improved their lives, made their lives worse, or had no effect on their lives.) . . . Men.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Women</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Easier/Improved</i>	<i>No Change/No Effect</i>	<i>Harder/Worse</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1989 (GALLUP)	36	15	43	6	617
1993 (GALLUP/CNN/USA)	30	6	59	4	534
1996 (NORC/GSS)	29	29	33	8	821

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Easier/Improved</i>	<i>No Change/No Effect</i>	<i>Harder/Worse</i>	<i>Don't Know</i>	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	
1989 (GALLUP/USNEWS)	35	15	42	7	617
1993 (GALLUP/CNN/USA)	36	10	47	6	531
1996 (NORC/GSS)	30	38	25	7	639

*G8. Specific Impact on Men. YANK/TIME/CNN (1989):* In your view did the women's movement make things better for men, worse for men, or unchanged

. . . with respect to men's relations with their wives? Men's relations with women? Men's relations with other men? Men's feelings about themselves? Equal pay for men? Job opportunities for men?

	<i>Women Only</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Better</i> (%)	<i>Worse</i> (%)	<i>Unchanged</i> (%)	<i>Don't Know</i> (%)	
Relations with wives	39	22	29	10	1,000
Relations with women	34	28	27	11	1,000
Relations with men	23	7	52	19	1,000
Feelings about self	23	29	35	13	1,000
Equal pay	20	10	62	8	1,000
Job opportunities	14	30	50	6	1,000

#### IMPACT ON FAMILIES

*G9. Family Breakdown or Better Family Structure. CBS (1977):* What impact do you think the women's movement has had on family life? Has it been a major cause of family breakdown, has it created a better family structure, or hasn't it made any difference?

	<i>Breakdown</i> (%)	<i>No Difference</i> (%)	<i>Better Structure</i> (%)	<i>Don't Know</i> (%)	<i>N</i>
Women:					
1977 (CBS)	43	29	19	10	725
Men:					
1977 (CBS)	37	42	15	7	878

*G10. Impact on Children. NORC/GSS (1996):* (We'd like your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group I name, please tell me whether you think the women's movement has improved their lives, made their lives worse, or had no effect on their lives.) . . . Children.

	<i>Improved</i> (%)	<i>No Effect</i> (%)	<i>Worse</i> (%)	<i>Don't Know</i> (%)	<i>N</i>
Women	40	22	26	12	821
Men	38	21	33	8	639

*G11. Specific Impact on Families. GALLUP (1989):* For each or the following

aspects of life, please tell me whether you think the women's movement has made things easier or harder for people in this country. . . . For families to earn a comfortable living? For marriages to be successful? For parents to raise children?

	<i>Women</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Easier</i> (%)	<i>No Change</i> (%)	<i>Harder</i> (%)	<i>No Opinion</i> (%)	
Families earn comfortable living	40	2	56	2	617
For marriages to be successful	16	4	75	6	617
For parents to raise children	15	2	81	2	617

  

	<i>Men</i>				<i>N</i>
	<i>Easier</i> (%)	<i>No Change</i> (%)	<i>Harder</i> (%)	<i>No Opinion</i> (%)	
Families earn comfortable living	54	3	43	1	617
For marriages to be successful	14	4	78	4	617
For parents to raise children	14	3	82	1	617

*G12. Impact on Subgroups of Women. GALLUP/NEWS (1986):* We'd like your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group that I read, tell me if you think the women's movement has done very well, fairly well, or not well in improving their lives . . . *Working class women . . . Poor women . . . Professional women.*

*ROPER/VS (1985):* And what effect do you think the women's movement has had on homemakers (over the past twenty years or so)—do you think it has helped *homemakers*, or made little difference to them, or hurt them?

*ROPER/VS (1985):* There are working women and there are homemakers. Over the past twenty years or so, do you think the women's movement has helped *working women*, or made little difference to them, or hurt them?

*NORC/GSS (1996):* (We'd like your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group I name, please tell me whether you think the women's movement has improved their lives, made their lives

worse, or had no effect on their lives.) . . . *Full-time homemaker*. . . *Women with working-class jobs*. . . *Women with management or professional jobs*.

*GALLUP/NEWS (1992)*: We'd like your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group that I read, tell me if you think the women's movement has done very well, fairly well, or not well in improving their lives. . . . *Professional women*. . . . *Working Class women*.

	Women				N
	<i>Helped/ Very and Fairly Well/ Improved (%)</i>	<i>Made Little Difference/ No Effect (%)</i>	<i>Hurt/ Not Well/ Worse (%)</i>	<i>No Opinion/ Don't Know (%)</i>	
Professional women:					
02/86 (GALLUP/ NEWS)	92	...	5	3	1,009 <sup>a</sup>
02/92 (GALLUP/ NEWS)	85	...	9	6	750
02/96b (NORC/GSS)	82	7	3	8	821
Working women:					
03/85 (ROPER/VS)	73	16	7	4	3,000
Working-class women:					
02/86 (GALLUP/ NEWS)	78	...	19	3	1,009 <sup>a</sup>
02/92 (GALLUP/ NEWS)	78	...	19	3	750
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	74	14	5	8	821
Homemakers:					
03/85 (ROPER/VS)	33	42	20	6	3,000
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	39	32	22	8	821
Poor women:					
02/86 (GALLUP/ NEWS) <sup>a</sup>	30	...	61	9	1,009
12/92 (GALLUP/ NEWS)	37	...	55	9	750

<sup>a</sup> Women 18-44 only.

<i>Men Only</i>					
	<i>Helped/ Improved (%)</i>	<i>Made Little Difference/ No Effect (%)</i>	<i>Hurt/ Worse (%)</i>	<i>No Opinion/ Don't Know (%)</i>	<i>N</i>
Professional women:					
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	81	8	6	6	639
Working women:					
03/85 (ROPER/VS)	71	16	9	4	1,000
Working-class women:					
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	76	13	7	5	639
Homemakers:					
03/85 (ROPER/VS)	32	42	21	5	1,000
02/96 (NORC/GSS)	40	35	19	7	639

IMPACT ON AFRICAN-AMERICANS

*G13. Impact of Black Feminist Groups on Black Community. NBPS (November 1993– February 1994): (Which statement do you agree with) Black feminist groups help the black community by working to advance the cause of black women. Or black feminist groups just divide the black community?*

<i>African-American Men and Women</i>	
	<i>(%)</i>
Help the black community	65
Divide the black community	29
Don't know	6
<i>N</i>	1,206

IMPACT OF MOVEMENT ON YOUR LIFE

*G14. Impact on Your Life. NYT (1983); CBS (1997): Has the women's movement achieved anything that's made your life better?*

*YANK/TIME/CNN (1992): Would you say the women's movement has improved your own life, made it worse, or hasn't had any effect on your life?*

*NORC/GSS (1996): (We'd like your views on how the women's movement has affected certain groups. For each group I name, please tell me whether you think the women's movement has improved their lives, made their lives worse, or had no effect on their lives.) . . . You, yourself.*

Year	Women				N
	Yes/ Improved (%)	No/ Effect (%)	Worse (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1983 (NYT)	25	65	0	10	927
1992 (YANK/ TIME/CNN)	39	54	5	2	625
1996 (NORC/GSS)	46	47	4	3	821
1997 (CBS)	45	47	<.2	8	580

Year	Men				N
	Yes/ Improved (%)	No/ Effect (%)	Worse (%)	Don't Know (%)	
1983 (NYT)	28	63	1	8	382
1996 (NORC/GSS)	27	63	6	3	639
1997 (CBS)	28	59	<.2	13	471

G15. *Nature of Impact on Your Life. NYT (1983):* (Asked of those who said that women's movement achieved something that made their life better or worse.) What was that?

	Women (%)	Men (%)
Equality/jobs/power:		
Jobs/pay	42	27
Advancement of women	19	7
Vote/political clout	8	3
Equal rights	8	3
Other benefits:		
Respect/image	15	20
Sexual freedom	...	3
Negative comments	...	7
Other	...	13
Don't know	8	17
N	232	111
	(25% of 927)	(29% of 382)

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