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SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, AND BEHAVIOR AND
ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMINISM; A CROSS-CULTURAL
STUDY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT
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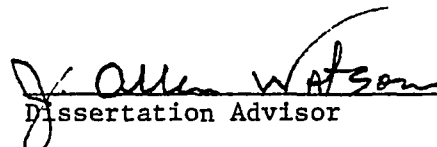
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Ried S. Raben

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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between feminism and sexuality from a cross-cultural perspective. It was hypothesized that women who had a liberal attitude toward feminism would have more knowledge about sexuality and have more liberal sexual attitudes with regard to (a) heterosexual relations, (b) sexual myths, (c) abortion, and (d) autoeroticism; and more liberal sexual behaviors with regard to (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity. It was also hypothesized that Israeli women would have more knowledge about sexuality and more liberal sexual attitudes and behaviors than American women on the above-named measures. It was further hypothesized that there would be no difference between American and Israeli women in their attitudes toward feminism.

The subjects were 90 American and 90 Israeli Jewish, female, social work students who were interested in cooperating in the study. Two self-administered questionnaires were used, the Sex Attitude and Knowledge Inventory and the Feminism Attitude Scale.

The data were analyzed using the Pearson product-moment correlation, analysis of variance and chi-square. The significance level was set at .05.

According to the findings for the total group, women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism were more knowledgeable about sexuality and had more liberal sexual attitudes than women who felt less strongly about feminism. There were no significant differences between women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism and those who did not on the three

measures of sexual behavior.

Differences between the two cultures were found on several of the variables tested although not in the anticipated direction. American women in comparison to Israeli women in this sample were more knowledgeable about sexuality, were rejecting of sexual myths and had more liberal sexual attitudes toward abortion and autoeroticism. Attitudes toward heterosexual relations and sexual behaviors involving coitus were similar for both cultures. With regard to sexual behaviors, no significant differences were found except in the practice of masturbatory activity. American women were more accepting of this practice than Israeli women. American women also had more liberal attitudes toward feminism than Israeli women.

Other related findings to the study showed a significant interaction effect for the total group between particular sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors. Women who had more liberal attitudes toward heterosexual relations also had coital experience more frequently and with more sexual partners than women who had less liberal attitudes toward heterosexuality. Women who had more liberal attitudes toward abortion and masturbation tended to have more sexual partners than women who had less liberal sexual attitudes on these scales. In comparing the two cultures it was found that Israeli women, despite the lack of coital experience, had more liberal attitudes toward heterosexual relations than American women who lacked coital experience. However, for those women who had coital experience, little differences between the respondents of both countries were found.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Cross-Cultural Research	5
American Women and Feminism	6
Israeli Women and Feminism	7
Conceptual Framework	9
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	13
American Culture and Feminism	13
Sexual Knowledge in America	17
Sexual Attitudes and Behavior in America	18
Cross-Cultural Studies	24
Israeli Culture and Feminism	25
Sexual Research in Israel	28
The Problem	32
Assumptions	33
Hypotheses	34
Definitions	36
Limitations	36
III. METHOD AND PROCEDURES	37
Sample Selection	37
Procedure	37
Research Instruments	39
IV. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA	48
Results	54
V. DISCUSSION	102
Sexual Knowledge	102

	Page
CHAPTER	
Sexual Attitudes	104
Sexual Behavior	110
Feminism	113
VI. CONCLUSIONS	117
Summary	118
Methodological Implications	119
Implications for Future Research	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY	121
APPENDIX A. Form Letters	132

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Age of Women in Terms of Frequency and Percentage	50
2. Father's Occupation in Terms of Frequency and Percentage	52
3. Frequency and Percentage of Mother's Occupations	53
4. Frequency and Percentage of Educational Status of Fathers and Mothers	55
5. Pearson Product-Moment Correlations for Sexual Attitudes, Knowledge and Feminism	56
6. Analysis of Variance on Feminism Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ..	59
6. (Continued) Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	60
7. Analysis of Variance on Feminism by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	61
7. (Continued) Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	62
8. Analysis of Variance on Feminism by Country and the Age at Which Masturbation First Began	63
8. (Continued) Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the Age at Which Masturbation First Began	64
9. Analysis of Variance on Heterosexuality Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	67
9. (Continued) Mean Scores on Heterosexuality by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ..	68
10. Analysis of Variance on Heterosexuality by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	69
10. (Continued) Mean Scores on Heterosexuality by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	70

Table	Page
11. Analysis of Variance on Abortion by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	71
11. (Continued) Mean Scores on Abortion by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	72
12. Analysis of Variance on Autoeroticism by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	73
12. (Continued) Mean Scores on Autoeroticism by Country and the Number of Sexual Partners	74
13. Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes, Sexual Knowledge and Feminism by Country	76
14. Analysis of Variance on Sexual Knowledge Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	77
14. (Continued) Mean Scores on Sexual Knowledge by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	78
15. Analysis of Variance on Sexual Myths Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	80
15. (Continued) Mean Scores on Sexual Myths by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ...	81
16. Analysis of Variance on Abortion Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ...	82
16. (Continued) Mean Scores on Abortion by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse	83
17. Analysis of Variance on Autoeroticism Scores by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ...	84
17. (Continued) Mean Scores on Autoeroticism by Country and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse ...	85
18. Mean Scores From Separate ANOVAS on Military Service and Sexual Attitudes, Sexual Knowledge	86
19. Mean Scores of Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and Sexual Knowledge and Having Lived on a Kibbutz	87

Table	Page
20. Chi-Square of Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse by Country	88
21. Chi-Square of Number of Sexual Partners by Country	89
22. Chi-Square of Age at First Masturbation by Country	90
23. Frequency Distribution in Terms of Percentages of Number of Children Desired	95
24. Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and Feminism and Value System Influenced by Religion	96
25. Analysis of Variance of Abortion and Value System Influenced by Religion and Country	97
26. Mean Scores From the Separate ANOVAS of Sexual Attitudes and Feminism by Value System Regarding Sex in Conflict with Parents' Values and Country	98
27. Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and Peer Group's Experience in Sex	99
28. Analysis of Variance of Heterosexuality and Self-Rating of Experience in Sex as Compared to Peer Group and Country	101

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Women's desire for equality and their concern for liberation are significant issues that relate to sexual attitudes and behavior. The decade of the 1960's represented a period of dramatic change for women in America. The demand for equality voiced then and continuing now is not only in the political, social and economic spheres of society, but also in the area of female sexual expression.

Shifts toward feminism have occurred to some extent in attitudes towards work, financial responsibility, and division of labor in the home (Parelius, 1975). Shifts toward liberalization of sexual attitudes and behavior have also occurred (Reiss, 1967; Christensen and Gregg, 1970; Packard, 1970; Bell and Chaskes, 1970).

There have been an enormous amount of change in the life of Americans in recent years. Surely these changes have had some influence on redefining sexual standards along equalitarian lines. The youth movement, the expansion of drug usage, the civil rights movement, the peace movement and the women's movement have contributed to these changes. The women's movement is now the focal point of current social change in the United States and changes in the status of women will affect not only the present social order, but the prescriptions for sexual conduct (Gagnon, 1975).

Although it is not true in all countries, the act of coitus outside marriage poses a threat to the family either by reducing the

desire to marry, by creating jealousies in the family because of extramarital affairs, or by generating tensions and rivalries as the result of incestuous relationships (Murdock, 1965). The regulation of coitus is also important in terms of its reproductive potential. Since sexual expression allows for the possible birth of a new member of society, it is important that this expression occur under conditions where there are possibilities for adequate care and socialization. Inadequate socialization can have negative effects on other societal members in their role performance and may prove disruptive to the societal system. Excessive reproduction can overtax the limited resources of society.

Premarital sexual behavior has been extensively studied because it has been traditionally considered to be deviant behavior which violates societal norms. There is an assumption that premarital coital rates are an indication of profound social change and are related to the maintenance of other social structures (Merton, 1957). There is some evidence to support the theory that permissive premarital sexual behavior will lead to permissive extramarital involvement (Athanasion and Sarkin, 1974; Bukstel, Roeder, Kilmann, Laughlin, and Sotile, 1978). Although adultery no longer has the negative sanctions to the extent that it once had, the possibility remains that extramarital relationships can threaten the stability of the marital relationship. With the rise in the number of women working, opportunities for extramarital relations may increase, particularly among those women who have had significant premarital sexual experience. Thus, the family as a social structure would be in a tenuous position, unless extramarital relations are condoned openly by society and become an acceptable norm. There are other

additional strains on the family. The increasing divorce rates and the declining birth rates are already in evidence. To what extent does the entrance of women into the market-place contribute to these statistics? It has been predicted that these changes will effect family life (Thornton, 1977). Women, free to pursue careers, may choose to have fewer children. Having fewer children or none implies easier accessibility to marriage dissolution.

Gagnon and Simon (1973) have stated that female sexual activity in American culture usually occurs for the sake of children, family and love. In order to achieve these ends, women have used their sexuality as a bargaining resource for male wealth and resources, attainable with the signing of the marriage contract (Collins, 1971). However, with the rise in the numbers of women joining the work force, women will be freed from total economic dependence on males. The ideology of virginity will decline with women's economic advancement (Berger and Wenger, 1973). With greater autonomy in the economic sphere, there is the possibility that women will strive for greater autonomy in the sexual sphere.

Feminists advocate the retirement of the double standard and look forward to sexual equality that is progressive and intelligent, unencumbered by religion and morality. The pressure of the Women's Liberation Movement has made it no longer fashionable for many women as well as men to express anti-female attitudes or denigrate women's potential for assuming roles other than homemaker. However, there is reason to believe that this pressure has served to intimidate women to express egalitarian attitudes and pay lip service to equality

(Teevan, 1972; Hough and Allen, 1975). Women who have been socialized from infancy to inhibit and repress their sexuality may find it difficult to negate life-long patterns and switch to uninhibited sexual pleasure as the changing culture dictates (Rubin, 1976). Liberalization of public attitudes may obscure the persistence of traditional patterns of childbearing which tended to impart negative aspects of sexual expression particularly among females. Studies have shown that women who had rebelled against the sexual Victorian philosophy with which they had been brought up were raising their daughters the same way (Schaefer, 1973; Wake, 1969). These women were unable to overcome their own feelings of shame and guilt concerning their own sexual feelings but at the same time, were afraid that granting approval of sexual expression to their own children would lead to promiscuity.

Undoubtedly there are complex connections between sexual norms and political, economic and religious change (Geiger, 1968; Rowbotham, 1972, Spiro, 1970; Carns, 1969; Kantner and Zelnick, 1972). These connections have been further complicated by changing demographic patterns, by advances in contraceptive information, and by the technological revolution. Whether or not the greater autonomy that women are gaining means greater sexual permissiveness in attitudes and behavior is not clear cut. Women are in a state of transition and there is much pain and tension for women who have internalized traditional values even though they may view these values as being injurious (Bardwick, 1973).

Where there are indications that changes in sexual behavior are occurring, there is a natural concern by society's members as to the

the meaning of this change and the implications this change may have for the future functioning of society. Where there is evidence that women's roles are changing and moving in the direction of a more egalitarian society, this too becomes a concern for society since feminism and sexuality appear to be interrelated.

Examination of female roles and female sexuality in cross-cultural contexts can provide useful information toward understanding the direction in which society is moving and the implications of such change.

Cross-Cultural Research

The study of cultures across space and time can make a descriptive, comparative and theoretical contribution to the study of society and its social institutions (Adams, 1974). "It brings together separate cultures or systems - not physically to be sure, but in the mind of the investigator; and not just to see them in juxtaposition but for the purpose of analysis" (Christensen, 1969). It has provided points of reference for better understanding of one's own culture, generated the concept of cultural relativism and discovered near universals. Cross-cultural research has contributed to the knowledge that we have of national sex normative systems and the sharp differences that exist (Christensen, 1960; 1966; Christensen and Carpenter, 1962; Christensen and Gregg, 1970; Luckey and Nass, 1969). They have also pointed out the differences that exist between normative prescriptions and actual behavior (Christensen and Carpenter, 1962; Christensen, 1966; Christensen and Gregg, 1970).

There has been a paucity of research nationally and cross-culturally addressed to the question of whether women who profess liberal attitudes and behavior relative to equality between the sexes adhere to this belief system in limited areas or perceive equality as being an essential part of their entire life style, including their sexual expression. Within this context, it is interesting to examine the differences between American and Israeli women in their search for equality.

American Women and Feminism

The struggle for equality among American women was evident as early as the 19th century when the radical ideologies of the feminist movement became more subdued as the momentum for women's rights shifted from comprehensive reform to the struggle over the franchise. The assumption was that once enfranchised, feminists could realize their other goals through the ballot box. However, the hopes for reforms did not materialize (Moulton, 1972). Women continued to be regarded as second-class citizens and their proper role was in the home, caring for husband and children. With the advent of World War II, some of the attitudes and policies barring women from certain occupations were altered. World War II acted as a catalyst in the incorporation of women into the labor force. It was assumed that when the war ended, women would return to their homes. However, many women remained in the labor force after the war. These women were demographically different from women who had been in the labor force in 1940; they were older, middle-class, and often married. With both husbands and wives

employed, traditional roles began to be questioned. The open challenge to these traditional roles came in the 1960's (Chafe, 1972).

In the past fifteen years, the movement for equality of women in American society has been growing in an unparalleled fashion. The WLM gained its impetus from the establishment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 under President Kennedy, the publication of Betty Friedan's book, "The Feminine Mystique", and the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex. Despite the public and legal advances toward equality, women have yet to achieve access to many of the traditional male strongholds such as banking and management (Gruchow, 1970; Loeffler, 1975; Smith and Borgers, 1974). The status of women continues to remain an area of controversy in America as evidenced by the difficulty in achieving passage of the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. There are external as well as internal pressures on women and men to reevaluate what it means to be a man or woman (Segers, 1970). This reevaluation is also occurring in Israel.

Israeli Women and Feminism

While American women were struggling for the franchise, in the early part of this century, Israeli women were struggling with institutionalizing sexual equality (Rabkin, 1976; Spiro, 1970; Talmon, 1972). Israeli women attempted to build a society free of sex-role differentiation and discouraged the bonding of men and women into small isolated family units. The rejection of their old, "bourgeois" life served as a primary source of values (Diamond, 1975). The bearing and rearing of children provided little opportunity for individual expression for

women. Equality of the sexes meant that women would not be limited in occupation to child rearing and homemaking but could work alongside men tilling the soil, which was work that carried the highest prestige. The kibbutz founders felt that physical labor, preferably farming, was the only way to escape their ghetto past. As the land became cultivated and work became more technical with the addition of factories, the concept of which work was important changed (Bettleheim, 1969). The harsh physical labor had taken its toll and many women chose to leave the physically demanding jobs in the fields to work almost exclusively in traditional feminine roles.

Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the elder pioneer women were a vital force in the Hebrew labor movement. After Israel became a state, they concentrated their efforts in the settling of other immigrants. As immigration began to subside and public and social services increased, some withdrawal became evident. The younger generation of Israeli women seemed to lack the impetus to participate in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. Today, few women are elected to the municipal councils or to the central committee of the labor union, the Histradut. Women do not serve in diplomatic posts nor are they active in the scientific sphere. Their influence is limited in trade unions and in economic and financial institutions (Katznelson, 1967). Feminists in Israel believe that the achievements of the early pioneers have eroded. Although women's rights have already been written into the law of the land, equality of the sexes has lost much of its original impetus and there has been a return to the traditional feminine role (Datan, 1973; Hazelton, 1977). The

decline of the Israeli feminist revolution parallels the decline of American feminism from 1920 until the 1960's. Bearing in mind that equality in sexual roles as well as in sexual attitudes and sexual behavior were part of early Israeli history, it is interesting to question whether the decline in feminism in Israel has also brought about more traditional attitudes towards sexuality. At the same time, will an increase in feminism in America lead to more open attitudes towards sexuality? The relationship between feminism and sexuality appears to be an area which can be fruitful for further investigation.

Conceptual Framework

According to Reiss (1967) and Christensen (1969), generalizations derived from empirical data when related to conceptual formulations can yield significant propositions. It is when the propositions became interrelated in the meaningful whole, that genuine theory can be said to exist.

Reiss (1967) presented a series of propositions based on his own research and although these propositions were concerned with premarital sexuality primarily, several of these propositions are pertinent to the present study under investigation.

Proposition Two: "The stronger the amount of general liberality in a group, the greater the likelihood that social forces will maintain high levels of sexual permissiveness."

A generally liberal group is seen as one that stresses individual rights and autonomy and gives less value to the importance of conformity and tradition. This kind of orientation would favor autonomy not only of the courtship system but feminism as well. There would be a greater

likelihood of maintaining a high level of permissiveness in a generally liberal setting.

Proposition Four: "The higher the overall level of permissiveness in a group, the greater the extent of equalitarianism within the abstinence and double-standard classifications."

This proposition implies either that permissiveness will promote equalitarianism or that female permissiveness must be increased if equalitarianism is to be achieved. No causality is being assumed but the proposition does suggest that there is a relationship between feminism and sexual permissiveness.

Reiss' attempts to formulate a theoretical understanding of premarital sexual behavior can be related to studies that have been done on reference group theory. Researchers who have turned their attention to the study of sex norms have found that the distribution of sex norms is strongly influenced by group context (Mirande, 1968; Reiss, 1960; 1969). There is evidence to suggest that the relative impact of peers increases while that of parents decreases (Newcomb, 1958). This tendency has also been found in regard to sexual attitudes and behavior (Mirande, 1968; Kaats and Davis, 1970; Walsh et al., 1976; Teevan, 1972; Reiss, 1967). Reference group theory in this context would also apply to attitudes toward feminism; women associating with other women who believe in the equality of sex roles would adopt this stance despite the more traditional attitudes toward sex roles of their parents.

Christensen (1969) attempted to construct a theory of premarital sexual behavior by utilizing the permissiveness and restrictiveness of sexual norms as his primary conceptual framework. He developed the following propositions which are also pertinent to the present study:

Proposition One: "Certain relationships among variables in the sexual realm verge upon universality, while others tend to be culture bound."

American and Israeli cultures may be alike in some respects but may vary in others. Cultural norms can operate in such a way as to alter behavior as well as the consequences of behavior. However, despite the importance of cultural relativity, some relationships may remain unchanged or they may change only in degree or in strength as a result of cultural variables.

There are many factors that enter into the development of sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. Certainly the increased autonomy of women with the elimination of the chaperonage system and the lessening of parental control over mate selection have contributed to sexual permissiveness in particular social and cultural settings (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976). Much of the early research on sexuality concerned itself with the attitudinal level (Reiss, 1960; 1969). However, with social forces like the WLM and growing pressures for egalitarianism in social, political and economic spheres of life, it appears necessary to explore whether there are any discrepancies between attitudes and behavior. With increasing autonomy for women, a state of cognitive dissonance has been created in that women have achieved some degree of freedom, but at the same time are told that to use this freedom in their sexual behavior would be undesirable. Dissonance is psychologically uncomfortable and will motivate a person to reduce the dissonance and achieve consonance (Festinger, 1957; Southwell and Merbaum, 1971). Cognitive dissonance can be seen as a motivator leading to responses made in order to decrease dissonance which can be aroused by

inconsistency between new information and already existing information. The route to dissonance reduction is to change the behavioral cognitive element so that it is consistent with one's knowledge of the environment. Another way is to add new elements that are consonant with existing ones. Women who identify with the principles of feminism, therefore, would experience cognitive dissonance unless their sexual attitudes and sexual behavior were not congruent with their attitudes toward feminism. These women would strive to alter any residue of conservatism towards sexuality to dispel dissonance.

Further support for the incorporation of these theoretical formulations will be presented in the review of the literature.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

American Culture and Feminism

The stereotype of the American women's liberation activist as being motivated by marital strife, neuroticism, or by rebellion against traditional values and attitudes espoused by her parents has not been borne out by research. Feminists do not exhibit deviant personality characteristics nor are they more maladjusted than women in the general population (O'Neill, 1975). According to Goldschmidt (1974) women activists are motivated by professional aspirations. The most active in the movement are talented women who have good reason to expect success under unbiased social conditions.

Dempewolff (1974) found supporters of feminism to have higher independence of judgement and higher modernism scores than opposers. Cherniss (1972) found women liberation members possessed a higher degree of autonomy, self-control, more activity and assertive behavior. Fowler and Van de Riet (1972) studied 18 feminists, 16 female undergraduates, 12 noninstitutionalized elderly women and 17 institutionalized elderly women. They found that the feminists were not significantly different from their contemporary peers. The feminists were more autonomous, aggressive and less deferent than elderly subjects. They were also more dominant, self-confident and less affiliative than the female undergraduates. Singer (1974) explored independence needs and attitudes towards women's liberation among undergraduates and also

found that positive attitudes toward autonomy were significantly correlated with positive attitudes to the women's movement. Pawlicki and Almquist (1973) administered attitudinal questions concerning women's liberation, demographic questions, the California F Scale, Rotter's Internal-External Control Scale, and the Rydell-Rosen Tolerance of Ambiguity Scale to 44 female undergraduates and 31 female members of a national women's organization from a noncollege population. They found that the women's liberation group differed significantly from the college subjects in that they reported more favorable attitudes toward the women's liberation movement, lower levels of authoritarianism, more control over their environment, and more tolerance of ambiguity. These findings were supported by Sanger and Alker (1972) who found that supporters of women's liberation were more internal in their sense of personal control.

Demographically, those who profess liberal attitudes toward feminism were found by Arnott (1973) to be younger, married to professionals and attending school to further their education. They had fewer children and found that motherhood did not interfere with their work. Stoloff (1973) explored the background and attitudinal differences between 22 female graduate students who were members of women's liberation groups and 22 matched controls. She found that women's liberation members were outgoing women from middle-or-upper-middle-class urban or suburban families who expressed political opinions. The values which characterized these women were humanitarianism and personal autonomy. In contrast, Bayer (1975) reviewed data collected by the American Council on Education in 1972 on 188,900 full-time freshman students

entering 373 nationally representative institutions. He found that students who supported a sexist position more likely came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and grew up in small towns or on a farm. Parents of sexist college students had an educational level substantially below that of the students. 56 percent of the sexist students reported a family income that was below the median.

Religion or the lack of it seems to be related to liberal attitudes toward feminism also. Bayer (1975) and Dempewolf (1974) found that students who claimed no religious background, and those reared in the Jewish faith, were least likely to take a sexist position. Those raised in other religious faiths, primarily fundamentalist Christian sects appeared more likely to report a sexist position. Arnott (1973) and Stolff (1973) found feminists to have lower religious interest than their female counterparts.

There is strong indication that liberal attitudes increases during the course of college years (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). College students become more liberal on political, economic and social issues including the role of women in society (Orcutt, 1975). Parelius (1975) found that although women had become more feminist over a four-year period in college, they still rated the male population as a whole conservative. They identified with the feminist answers more but thought that most men would not marry a feminist. The author concluded that feminism would cause a great strain as women continue to act in a way with which they feel men would disapprove.

Although much of the recent research has focused on the personality traits of women who identify with the ideology of the women's

liberation movement, there has been little research on whether the positive personality characteristics such as the desire for self-actualization, autonomy, and decision-making continue to be expressed in the area of sexuality. Certainly the proliferation of literature in the past few years which focuses on female sexuality is an indication that there is a wide market for such readings. One finds, however, that the image of female passivity continues to exist. Flora (1971) studied a sample of 202 examples of women's fiction of working-class and middle-class audiences in the United States and Latin America. Although there were significant cultural differences, an image of passivity in sexual expression was found. Latin American literature stressed passivity more than American literature and middle-class fiction stressed passivity more than the working-class fiction. Gordon and Shankweiler (1971) studied 18 bestselling marriage manuals of the past two decades and found that women are still assumed to have less sexual interest and experience than the male who is ascribed the instrumental role of cultivating his wife's sexuality. While greater female initiative and cooperation in sex is advocated, the male continues to be the dominant partner. Nevertheless, a significant number of American women are beginning to express their sexual desires openly and to engage in the sexual act as an active participant. Whitley and Poulsen (1975) examined the relationship between assertive personality traits and sexual satisfaction. They studied 45 employed professional women using the Allport Scale to measure assertiveness and a Likert Scale to measure sexual satisfaction. They found a positive correlation between assertiveness and reported sexual satisfaction; as assertiveness increased, so

did reports of more diverse sexual activity. This trend toward sexual assertiveness is particularly evident on American college campuses.

Sexual Knowledge in America

There have been some attempts to study the relationship between sexual knowledge and sexual attitudes and behavior. According to the findings of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1971), exposure to obscene or pornographic materials does not lead to increased sexual permissiveness. Fijita, Pion, and Wagner, (1973) studied a small sample of 40 males and 35 females whose average age was sixteen and who were all church affiliated. The results indicated that boys seemed to have more sexual knowledge than girls and that sexual knowledge and contraceptive information seemed to have little bearing on sexual activity. Spanier (1975) studied the effects of sexual socialization on premarital sexual behavior during high school and college. He used cross-sectional data collected by the Institute for Sex Research which had collected data from a national probability sample of 1177 college students from twelve colleges and universities throughout the United States in 1967. Spanier found that "...sex education in the public schools was found not to have any impact on premarital sexual behavior, regardless of the nature of the program, who taught it, when it was taught, or what material was covered." He concluded that although there are complex social and psychological variables which influence the individual's progression through sexual involvement, it is the present influences, the individual's current values, attitudes, pressures and influences from others which are most significant in premarital sexual permissiveness. Of secondary importance are past sexualizing influences and least

influential is formal sex education.

Sexual Attitudes and Behavior in America

Whereas earlier research on sexual behavior tended to focus on its relationship to marital happiness (Ehrmann, 1964; Cuber and Haroff, 1965), subsequent research became more theoretically oriented. The question as to whether women's attitudes and behavior toward sexuality have become more liberal appears to have been resolved. Reiss (1966) argued that there has not been any major change in premarital sexual behavior although he agreed that there have been changes in attitudes regarding sexual expression. What has been particularly significant is that there has been an increasing acceptance of premarital sexual behavior accompanied by a lessening of guilt.

When one looks at the period between 1929-1965, Reiss' stance is supported. Davis (1929), in her study of 1200 college women found that 11 percent of the women had had premarital coitus. In response to a question as to whether a young woman is ever justified in having sexual intercourse before marriage, 19.4 percent answered yes and 80.5 percent answered no. Kinsey (1953) found that slightly less than 20 percent of college females had by the age of 20 experienced premarital coitus. Ehrmann (1959) explored premarital sexual behavior among males and females who were college students enrolled in a large university during the period 1946-1953. He found that 13 percent of the 265 females who had returned questionnaires and 14 percent of the 50 females who were interviewed indicated that they had had premarital coitus. Christensen and Carpenter (1962) found this to be true for 20.7 percent of females

in a Midwestern college. Based on this data, Bell (1966) concluded that:

On the basis of available evidence, it appears that the greatest changes in premarital coitus for the American female occurred in the period around World War I and during the 1920's. There is no evidence that the rates since that period have undergone any significant change (p. 57).

The range, therefore, of women experiencing premarital coitus during this period of time seemed to remain somewhere between 10-20 percent, supporting Reiss that no major change had occurred. However, subsequent studies have pointed to a dramatic change in sexual attitudes and behavior among females. Davis (1971) found that 26.9 percent of the 193 female students at Kansas State University for the year 1967-1968 were no longer virgins and for girls aged 19 or over, this was true for 37 percent of the sample. Kaats and Davis (1970) found that the same was true for 41 and 44 percent of 222 and 97 females studied at the University of Colorado. These authors nevertheless felt that the double standard still existed and that there was a lack of societal support for the liberated female. Packard (1968), who studied the reported findings of over 40 studies included one of his own which elicited responses from 21 colleges in the United States and five from other countries, concluded that "...while coital experience of United States college males seemed comparable to that of males 15 or 20 years ago, the college females reported a quite significantly higher rate of experience" (p. 186). Bell and Chaskes (1970) reported data on college females for the year 1958 and 1968 and found that premarital coitus in a dating relationship increased from 10 percent in 1958 to 23 percent in 1968; in a going-steady relationship, it increased from 15 percent

to 23 percent, and for engagement, from 31 percent to 39 percent. The authors concluded that the commitment to engagement is less important to college females as a condition for coitus and that those who engage in premarital coitus are less likely to experience guilt. Ferrell, Tolone, and Walsh (1977) sought to examine maturational and societal changes in the sexual double-standard. They found that attitudinally, there was general support for a single-standard of sexual permissiveness with some evidence of a double-standard held more by males than by females. Behaviorally, however, there was evidence that a double-standard still exists.

Increases in female coital activity among college females have been reported by other researchers (Robinson et al., 1972; Bauman and Wilson, 1974; Ferrell et al., 1977) but there is also evidence to indicate that the liberalization of sexual attitudes and behavior has not been limited to the college population.

Premarital intercourse appears to be beginning at younger ages and its extent among teenagers is increasing. Kantner and Zelnik (1972) conducted a national survey in 1971 among 4611 women aged 15 to 19 of whom 92 percent were never married. They found that 46 percent were no longer virgins at age nineteen and this was true for 14 percent by age fifteen. Kinsey (1953), in contrast, found that 20 percent of the women in this sample had had coitus by age twenty, 3 percent by age fifteen. Vener, Stewart, and Hager (1972) obtained data from 4220 middle American students in communities of different economic statuses. They found no evidence of a major revolution of adolescent sexual behavior. However, Vener and Stewart (1974) resurveyed the same school

system using an identical measure of adolescent sexuality and found significant increases over a three year period in coitus for fourteen and fifteen year olds of both genders. These findings substantiate the findings of Kantner and Zelnik (1972) and indicate that there is an increasing likelihood that girls would experience premarital coitus at earlier ages. Udry, Bauman, and Morris (1975) examined trends in premarital coitus by cohort analysis of samples of white and black women living in 16 United States cities and found similar results. There had been increases in premarital coitus with the most rapid increase appearing for those between the ages of fifteen and nineteen in the late 1960's.

Religion

Research has shown that religious affiliation is not as important as far as sexual permissiveness is concerned but that the degree of religious commitment is (Ehrmann, 1964). Kinsey et al. (1953) found that religiosity was a better predictor of sexual behavior for the female than for the male. Reiss (1967; Kelley, 1978) found that low church attendance appeared to be associated with high sexual permissiveness. Glass (1972) studied a group of adolescents at a Methodist Youth Conference to find out how religion affects sexual relations. He found that those active in church activities believed in abstinence over permissiveness although they approved of petting with affection. Langston (1973) studied the relationship between sexual guilt and sexual behavior among college students and found that sex guilt was positively related to religious activity whereas sexual behavior and

religious activity were negatively related. Although females reported a higher level of sexual guilt than males, both sexes reported equal involvement in sexual behavior. Clayton (1969) conducted a survey of 887 single undergraduates at a small liberal arts college to test the hypothesis that high ideological orthodoxy is negatively correlated with premarital sexual activity and that low ideological orthodoxy is positively correlated. The hypothesis was supported for non-fraternity and non-sorority members. Kantner and Zelnick (1972) found that the highest rates of premarital sexual intercourse were found among women who reported that they subscribe to no religion. Joe and Kostyla (1975) suggest that students who are high on conservatism tend to avoid advanced sexual activity and exposure to sexually stimulating materials such as R- and X-rated movies in order to control and lessen their feelings of guilt. Larsen's study (1973) is particularly interesting in that he found that subjects who were positive toward premarital sex tended to be in favor of both family structure and religion. He suggests that the reason for these results may be found in the new sexual norms of young people. Expressions of love and tenderness need not be confined to marriage (Kirkendall and Libby, 1966).

Heltsley and Broderick (1969) attempted to test Reiss' first proposition regarding religiosity and sexual permissiveness. The data from their sample of 1435 college students from 13 colleges revealed support for Reiss' proposition for white students but not for blacks. As a result, the authors suggested that ". . . when sexual abstinence is emphasized by a church, religiosity will be related to sexual permissiveness, but when it is not stressed, the

two will be unrelated" (p. 443). Bayer (1977) found that college students who were of the Jewish faith or had no religious preference were more sexually permissive than students who were of the Catholic or Protestant faith. Apparently, American Jewish students have more liberal attitudes toward feminism and sexuality than students of other religious orientations.

Reference Group

There appears to be a relationship between sexual attitudes and behavior and the perceived reference group (Walsh, Ferrell, and Tolone, 1976; Teevan, 1972). Mirande (1968) found that sexual behavior is consistent with that of an individual's two best friends and with his/her reference group standards and that this relationship is more pronounced for females than for males. Mirande also found that conformity to peer expectations increase from freshmen to senior years in college.

Kaats and Davis (1970) found significant differences between virgins and nonvirgins in regard to the amount of disapproval they felt from close friends, fathers, brothers, and clergymen. They support Mirande's findings that there is a positive relationship between sexual behavior of an individual and the perceived permissiveness of their reference group. Davis (1971) found that females who thought coitus acceptable in a love relationship, who were highly involved in a dating relationship, and who thought that several of their girlfriends had had sexual relations were sexually permissive themselves. Although these studies indicate that peer orientation

is usually accompanied with a greater endorsement of premarital coitus than parent orientation, Libby, Gray, and White (1978) found only partial support for this theory. In a study of college students designed to test reference group theory, Libby and his associates found that about 50 percent of the variation in female permissiveness can be predicted according to the closeness to mother's sexual standards, one's church attendance, and one's perception of parents' liberality toward premarital intercourse. Their findings support Reiss' generalization that parents, particularly the mother, have a negative effect on permissiveness, while peers have a positive effect. However, Reiss' proposal that close friends have a positive influence beyond that of peers was not supported.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Cross-cultural studies have made a valuable contribution to the understanding of sexual attitudes and behavior. They have shown that many although not all sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors are relative to cultural norms. Christensen and Carpenter (1962b) reported considerable differences between Danish, midwestern and intermountain cultures with respect to the numbers of those who approved of premarital coitus. The Danish were found to be the least conservative, the midwest less so and the Mormons, the most conservative. The authors also found that the consequences of premarital coital behavior were severe in the more restricted culture (1962a). This research became the foundation for Christensen's later development of the "Theory of Relative Consequences" (1969) which sees negative affects adhering to

value-behavior discrepancy. Societies which are restrictive in nature show evidence of greater deviation from local standards and there are greater negative consequences attached to such deviation.

Luckey and Nass (1969) surveyed data which they had gathered regarding attitudes and behavior as related to sex role and courtship. Their sample included students from 21 colleges and universities in the United States covering a wide geographic area. In addition, a major university was selected in Canada, Germany, England and Norway. Their results indicate that North American women (Canadian and United States students) tend to be more conservative in sexual attitudes and behavior than Europeans. They preferred that their coital partners be their marriage partners and were skeptical of promiscuity. They also appeared to perpetuate the double standard more so than their European counterparts. In the dating relationship, North American women indicated that their dates were generally content with a moderate degree of petting and necking instead of being disappointed that the intimacy did not lead to intercourse. In contrast, English students seemed to operate on a single sex standard and participate more freely in a variety of sexual activities. Although female students in general were more conservative (even in liberated countries), English women held views and behaved similarly to English men. Female coital rates were highest in England, with Germany, Norway, United States and Canada ranking in descending order.

Israeli Culture and Feminism

According to Israeli feminists (Datan, 1973; Hazelton, 1977),

attitudes toward feminism have changed since the early pioneer days. There is some support that there has been a return to more traditional roles on the part of Israeli women. Mischel (1974) reported on three studies in which American and Israeli high school and college students were presented with a set of journal articles from diverse fields which varied according to (a) sex of the author; (b) male versus female association of the field in which the article was written (e.g., law versus primary education), and (c) the subjects sex and age. She found that the Israeli subjects did not show the same evaluative biases found in the American sample. They did, however, have the same stereotypes as the American subjects regarding sex associations of the various fields.

Perhaps a clear picture can emerge of Israeli attitudes toward feminism as we examine women's participation in the labor force. Padan-Eisenstark (1973) conducted a secondary analysis of surveys and studies conducted in Israel during the period of 1930-1971. Surprisingly, Israeli women have not achieved a higher degree of equality within the labor force than women in other industrial countries. According to the author, the concept of equality for women in Israel is a myth. Israeli women, like women in other western countries, are heavily underrepresented in professional and managerial occupations, medicine being the only exception. Here, women represent 26 percent of Israeli physicians, surgeons and dentists in the country. Shuval (1972) however, found that in relation to male dentists, female dentists treated more children and less educated and lower-class patients, worked fewer hours and carried a lighter patient load, were more

involved in general dental practice and less in a combination of general and specialized practice, read fewer journals and engaged in less professional interaction with colleagues.

Similar to female employment in other countries, Israeli women's employment is, to a large extent, part-time work, and represents a third of the female labor force. The percentage of working women among married women has increased from 23 percent to 28 percent in the past twenty years, a less dramatic increase than in the United States where the proportion of married women has almost doubled in this period of time. In Israel, as elsewhere, the level of education seems to be the most important factor influencing the participation of women in the labor force. About two-thirds of the women with higher education, as opposed to only one-third of those with elementary education participate in the Israeli labor force. There are ethnic variations in labor force participation due mainly to the differences in the educational levels between ethnic groups. Jewish women born in Islamic countries are more traditional and believe that a woman's place is in the home. Only 25 percent of the women born in Afro-Asian countries worked in Israel in 1968, as opposed to 33.3 percent of the women born in Europe and America and 36.6 percent of the women born in Israel.

This does not hold true for women on the kibbutz who, if they are able-bodied, are required to work a full schedule. Kibbutz women's participation in the labor force presents an interesting contrast to city women. In 1968, 87.1 percent of women members of the kibbutz were working as compared to 32.8 percent of women in Tel Aviv,

Israel's largest city.

Working patterns are different for different ethnic groups. Working in adolescence is a tradition among women originating from Islamic countries. This is related to the fact that many of these girls rarely continue to study beyond the age of 14. In 1968, 45.6 percent of girls born in Afro-Asian countries arriving in Israel up to 1954 were employed as contrasted to none of those born in Europe or America who had immigrated during the same period of time. Only 23.1 percent of women born in Afro-Asian countries aged 35-54 years who came to Israel up to 1954 were employed as opposed to 39.6 percent of those born in Europe or America who immigrated during the same period of time (Paden-Eisenstark, 1973). Undoubtedly, with the advent of the war in Israel in October, 1973, the number of women in the Israel labor increased because of the rampaging inflation that gripped the country. The need for additional income rather than the quest for equality was probably the motivating factor.

Sexual Research in Israel

There has been a paucity of research in human sexuality in Israel. It is only recently that sexuality has begun to be taught in the public schools and researchers have shown an interest in changes that have occurred in this area. Antonovsky et al. (1974) studied the relationship between premarital sexual attitudes and behavior among Israeli adolescents. Their findings were based on questionnaire data collected from a sample of 5462 Israeli adolescents in the 9th to 12th grades from various types of educational settings and different types of settlements all over the country excluding the religious schools. They found clear

discrepancies between expressed attitudes and behavior regarding sexual relations. There appeared to be a closer relationship between the attitudes and behavior of girls than of boys, and of the older adolescent than of the younger one. Boys who had sexual relations and boys who did not expressed more conservative attitudes about premarital sex of girls than of boys. There are indications that a double standard is still operating. Boys were found to be more permissive than girls in their general attitudes, and while the boys who have had sexual relations tend to be more permissive than those who have not, the difference within each age group was not that great. Girls who had had sexual relations were relatively more permissive in their attitudes than those who had not. The discrepancy between attitudes and behavior was evident among those girls who had had sexual relations. Although this was a small group, almost half of them felt that it is important to be a virgin at the time of marriage.

Lancet (1974) using the sample as above, found that the general levels of sex information are low, particularly in such areas as anatomy and physiology of sexual organs although a slightly higher level of knowledge is apparent in their knowledge of venereal diseases and contraceptive devices. Boys tended to know more than girls in most areas excluding the first symptoms of pregnancy and contraceptive devices and the older adolescent had a higher level of knowledge than the younger ones. Peers and books were mentioned as the most frequent source of sex information although about one fourth of the girls named their mothers as an important source of sex information. In the area of sexual behavior, boys were more active and started earlier than girls. Intercourse was reported by 5 percent (9th grade) and 16 percent (12th grade)

of the girls and by 33 percent (9th grade) and 41 percent (12th grade) of the boys. "Love" was the most frequent reason for intercourse for girls whereas for boys, it was sexual desire. More girls confine themselves to one partner than boys. Half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls did not use contraceptives.

In an earlier study done in 1954, Klausner (1973) interviewed 101 Israelis to determine differences in sexual behavior. All the interviewees were from the middle and upper class and had at least a high school education. They were about equally divided between native-born Israelis of Eastern European parentage and recent immigrants from Baghdad. Most of the subjects were in their twenties and thirties at the time of the interview. The author found that the total outlet of native-born Israeli males was about the same as that of the American males in Kinsey's data. They differed, however, in the sources of their orgasms in that for the Israeli male, spontaneous orgasm and masturbation accounted for most of the sexuality in adolescence. As the Israeli male approaches his twenties, solitary sexuality is replaced by social sexuality such as petting and intercourse. The unmarried American male essentially maintains his solitary patterns through his early twenties and petting and intercourse begin to assume greater importance by the late twenties. The total outlet of the native-born Israeli female is about the same as for the Israeli and American males. Masturbation, however, increases in importance with age, as does petting. During late adolescence, most American female activity is solitary while about half of that of the Israeli female is social. By the mid-twenties, both patterns become similar.

According to a study by Bar-Yosef and Mizrachi in 1971 (Hazelton, 1977), 14 percent of Hebrew University students opposed premarital sex. Of the students who approved of premarital sex, 50 percent felt that it was permissible only if the couple was in love; 13 percent only if the couple was engaged to be married; and 60 percent believed that sex could be satisfactory only if they were involved in a love relationship. Haim Shapiro, writing in the Jerusalem Post (1978) describes a study done by Dr. Mordechai Kaffman on the sex habits of the young. According to Dr. Kaffman, youngsters on the kibbutz are engaging in far more sexual activity than either the preceding generation or their counterparts who live in the city. Findings from a 1964 study indicated that 2/3 of the kibbutz seventeen-year-olds objected to sexual relations in their age group. Data from his 1978 study shows that 93 percent of the boys and 89 percent of the girls see nothing wrong with sexual relations between young people as long as there are emotional ties. In contrast to kibbutz teenagers, 30-40 percent of the city youngsters (excluding those who attend religious schools) object to sexual relations in their peer group. Although the girls were more permissive in their attitudes compared to the previous study, they were not promiscuous in that most of the girls had regular partners with whom there was an emotional involvement.

Summary

There have been dramatic changes in sexual knowledge, attitudes, behavior and in attitudes toward feminism nationally and internationally since the 1960's. It is suspected that political liberalization and sexual liberalization are interrelated. Equality in sexual roles and sexual behavior existed in the early years of Israel's development.

However, women in Israel now are concerned that feminism there is on the decline. If this is true, one would expect a return to a double standard of sexuality. The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between feminism and sexuality.

The Problem

There have been a number of studies which have explored feminism and sexuality. Several researchers have suggested that feminism, as a social force, has influenced sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. However, there has been a paucity of research as to whether feminism and sexuality are interrelated. The present study investigated the relationship between feminism and sexuality in a cross-cultural context. Seven research questions were asked?

1. What is the relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and knowledge about sexuality?
2. What is the relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes?
3. What is the relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual behavior?
4. Are there any significant differences between Israeli and American female students in their knowledge about sexuality?
5. Are there any significant differences between Israeli and American female students in their sexual attitudes?
6. Are there any significant differences between Israeli and American female students in their sexual behavior?
7. Are there any significant differences between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward feminism?

Other findings that are not specifically requested by the seven research questions but that are of research interest will be discussed. This additional information will assist in the explanation of primary findings and their implications.

Assumptions

The major assumptions of this study are that women who profess to having liberal attitudes toward feminism will also have more sexual knowledge, more liberal attitudes toward sexuality and more liberal sexual behavior. A liberal orientation toward one's entire lifestyle will be pervasive rather than compartmentalized despite prohibitions against sexuality that were received during the early childhood years. These assumptions are based on the theoretical formulations previously presented. Utilizing Reiss's theory (1967), women who identify with feminism and are seeking autonomy, will seek this autonomy politically, economically, socially and sexually. Since the injunction against female coitus for fear of unwanted pregnancy no longer appears applicable because of modern contraceptive devices, sexual permissiveness has become more tolerable socially and culturally. With regards to the population to be studied, it is assumed that college students would identify more with their peers (reference group theory) who tend to become more liberalized in their general attitudes as a result of the educational experience. Therefore, there would be a convergence between sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. It is also assumed that women who advocate equality solely in political, social and economic spheres would experience psychological discomfort (cognitive dissonance) if they did not practice this equality in all aspects of their lives.

In terms of American and Israeli subjects, it is assumed that there will be no significant difference in their attitudes toward feminism because Israeli women had achieved equality and American women are striving towards this end. Movement for egalitarianism on the part of the women has assumed universal proportions which are not culture bound (Christensen, 1969). However, in relation to differences between American and Israeli women in regard to sexual knowledge, attitudes and behavior, it is assumed that Israeli women will possess more knowledge about sexuality and have more liberal attitudes and behavior. This assumption is based on the early pioneer attitudes towards the liberalization of sexuality, the fact that Israeli women are subjected to military service which exposes them to an eroticized environment, and the fact that due to the constant pressure of living in a war environment, there is an attitude of living for today because of the uncertainties of tomorrow. Thus their sexual attitudes and sexual behavior will be congruent. Despite the societal norms of abstinence until marriage which is influenced by a significant minority of traditionally orthodox people, one might say that the majority position in Israeli society is that permissive sexual behavior is not necessarily condoned but is also not necessarily restricted. American Jewish women, on the other hand, will identify more with the existing standard of "permissiveness with affection" (Reiss, 1967).

Hypotheses

Based upon the support provided for the problem statements, the following seven hypotheses are presented:

- H₁ There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and knowledge about sexuality. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism will have more knowledge about sexuality.
- H₂ There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism will have liberal sexual attitudes.
- H₃ There will be a significant difference between women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism and those who do not in relation to (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.
- H₄ There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their knowledge of sexuality. Israeli women will be more knowledgeable about sexuality than American women.
- H₅ There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual attitudes. Israeli women will be more liberal in their sexual attitudes than American women.
- H₆ There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual behavior. Israeli women will be more liberal in (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.

- H₇ There will be no significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward feminism.

Definitions

For the purpose of this study, the term "liberal" is used to refer to a level of high permissiveness in sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. In the context of attitudes of feminism, "liberal" refers to a woman who is in favor of change rather than tradition; one who stresses the rights of every individual, male and female, to develop his/her own potential.

Limitations

Several limitations of the study are acknowledged. As is the case with most studies involving student samples, representativeness is a concern. Generalizations coming from the study will be restricted to populations similar to that which will form the sample for the study. Another important limitation is the possibility that other variables not included in the predictions could account for more unexplained variance in the sexual knowledge, attitudes, behavior and feminism variables.

An additional limitation is that it is not possible within the design of this study to take into consideration those who may refuse to participate in responding to the questionnaire. Other limitations include the small sample size, the inclusion in the sample of single and married women, the fact that it is a non-random sample, and the inability of the researcher to personally administer the tests in Israel.

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Sample Selection

The sample for this study was composed of 90 Israeli and 90 American female social work students who volunteered to participate in this study. The Israeli student sample came from the Hebrew University School of Social Work in Jerusalem, Israel. The American student sample came from the Wurzweiler School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Barry College School of Social Work, Miami, Fla., Hunter College School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Columbia School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Smith College School of Social Work, Boston, Mass., and the University of Southern California School of Social Work, Los Angeles, Cal. Only students of the Jewish faith were included in the sample.

Procedure

Initial contact for approval of the research study was made by contacting the Dean of each school. The questionnaires were administered by the researcher and by other individuals designated by the Deans.

For the Israeli students, the research instruments were translated into Hebrew and verified for accuracy of translation by two other individuals who were bilingual. Four additional questions were asked of the Israeli students that were not included in Richey's Feminism Attitude Scale (1972). These questions pertained to country or origin,

military service, length of time in Israel, and residence on a kibbutz.

Letters containing information on the nature and purposes of the study were sent to the Deans.

Before administering the questionnaires, the researcher or contact person designated by the Deans read the following instructions:

I am Ried Rabin, a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, N.C. in the Department of Child Development and Family Relations. I am interested in studying female attitudes towards the rights of women and their role in society. I am also interested in studying female attitudes and behavior in the area of human sexuality. I am conducting a cross-cultural study of American and Israeli female social work students to see what cultural differences there are between Jewish women of two different nationalities who possess the same religious heritage.

There are two questionnaires which can be filled out by you and will take approximately 45 minutes to one hour to complete. The Feminism Attitude Scale gives you an opportunity to express your personal way of thinking and feeling toward the role and rights of women. Your answers to the questions are to be put directly on the questionnaire. The Sex Knowledge and Attitude Test has been developed to assess knowledge and attitudes concerning sex, marriage and family living. The four parts of the test cover attitudes, factual knowledge, biographical information and personal levels of experience. Your answers to these questions must be recorded on the separate answer sheet provided.

Opinions differ and your view is important, so please answer the questions as honestly as you can. The SKAT answer sheet, question number one, requires that you indicate your social security number or student identity number. You need not list these numbers if you choose not to. You may make up a number. However, I want to assure you of complete confidentiality so that you feel comfortable in making your responses.

The tests will be passed out now. Please do not discuss or compare ideas until both questionnaires have been completed and collected. Before you begin, please put the exact same number that you have put on the SKAT answer sheet on the upper right hand side of the Feminism Attitude Scale questionnaire. Are there any questions? Raise your hand if a question arises and I will come to you.

After the questionnaires were passed out, the students were reminded to put identity numbers on both questionnaires before beginning. These numbers were verified when the data was collected. The subjects were thanked for their cooperation and informed that the results would be forwarded to the Dean of their school. At the completion of the research, letters were sent to the respective Deans thanking them for their cooperation. (Appendix A).

Research Instruments

The research instruments consisted of two self-administered questionnaires. The Sex Knowledge and Attitude Test (SKAT) was developed by Harold I. Lief and David M. Reed of the Division of Family Study, Department of Psychiatry, University of Pennsylvania Medical School. The SKAT is designed to gather information about sexual knowledge, attitudes, and behavior as well as biographical information. The instrument is divided into four sections and contains the following items:

A. Part I - Attitudes (35 items)

Topic Areas

- a. Sexual activities outside marriage
- b. Sexual activities within marriage
- c. Sexual activities before marriage
- d. Sexual variance, causative agents and remedial or punitive actions
- e. Group distinctions - social class, male/female
- f. Abortion: medical-legal aspects, personal freedom

B. Part II - Knowledge (71 items)

Topic Areas

- a. Physiological aspects
- b. Psychological aspects
- c. Social aspects

C. Part III - Basic information (12 items)

Topic AreasI. Basic information

- | | |
|--------|-------------------|
| a. Age | c. Race |
| b. Sex | d. Marital Status |

II. Personal Background

- a. Father's occupation
- b. Parents' education status
- c. Religious affiliation
- d. Earliest sex education

D. Part IV - Frequency of Sexual Encounters (31 items)

Topic Areas

- a. Heterosexual encounters
- b. Dating - etc.
- c. Autoerotic activities

SKAT contains 149 multiple choice questions. Part I (Attitudes) is composed of 35 five-alternative Likert-type items; Part II (Knowledge) contains 71 true-false items; and in Parts III and IV, the number of response alternatives per item ranges from two through ten. All responses are recorded on a separate answer sheet. Approximately 30 minutes, on the average, are required for completing the instrument.

The Feminism Attitude Scale was developed by Richey (1972). It is a Likert-type scale which incorporates some of the items used in the Kirkpatrick Scale (1936). Directions for completing the questionnaire and a biographical data sheet are attached to the scale. The Feminism Attitude Scale contains five or more options in the response categories to indicate variations in the degree of agreement or disagreement. The scale contains 60 items grouped into five categories: employment, education, personal rights and freedom, sex role, and public affairs-legal

status. There are twelve items in each category for a total of sixty statements. Items are grouped according to sixteen factors: worldly position, sex role stereotypes, life options without sex barriers, autonomy, employment rights, personal dignity, double standard for moral behavior, feminine role, feminine role in courtship, assumption of responsibility, role assignments, two unnamed factors, evaluation of abilities, under-employment and personal freedom.

The SKAT was administered to 850 freshmen through senior medical students in 16 medical schools throughout the United States. Subjects within this group were randomly assigned to either experimental or cross-validation samples. The data from the experimental group was subjected to an oblique solution to the factor analysis, using the simplest criterion for determining the factors to rotate. Scale scores were calculated for each of the four scale scores for all members of the experimental sample, and internal consistency reliability estimates (coefficient-alpha) were computed. These results were then verified upon the cross-validation sample.

Individual Score Reliability Estimates for SKAT
Attitudinal Scales

<u>Scale Designation</u>	<u>Reliability Estimates</u>	
	(1)	(2)
Heterosexual Relations	.86	.86
Sexual Myths	.71	.68
Abortion	.80	.77
Autoeroticism	.81	.84

The figures in column 1 above are those obtained from a sample of 425 medical students in 16 medical schools throughout the United States. It was upon this sample of medical students that the final item composition of the four scales was determined. The figures in column 2 represent the reliabilities obtained on a separate sample of 425 medical students tested during the fall of 1971 and the spring of 1972. The stability of the four SKAT attitudinal scales is attested to by the negligible or non-existent shrinkage in reliability upon cross-validation. The raw correct score mean of the fifty-item knowledge test is considered to have face and content validity, including correct psychometric properties (Lief and Reed, 1972).

Definition of Scales of SKAT

(HR) The Heterosexual Relations Scale deals with an individual's general attitude toward premarital and extra marital heterosexual encounters. Individuals with high HR scores regard premarital intercourse as acceptable (or even desirable for both men and women) and view extramarital relations as potentially benefitting rather than harming the marital relationships of the persons involved. Low scores imply a conservative or disapproving attitude toward premarital and extramarital relations.

(SM) The Sexual Myths Scale deals with an individual's acceptance or rejection of commonly held sexual misconceptions. High SM scores indicate a rejection of misconceptions, (e.g., Lower class men and women have higher sex drives and sexual responsivity than other individuals, the possession of contraceptive information is often an incitement to promiscuity, etc.). Low scores indicate an acceptance of these misconceptions.

(M) Autoeroticism Scale deals with general attitudes toward the permissibility of masturbatory activities. Individuals with high scores view autoerotic stimulation as a healthy means of relieving tension and attaining sensory pleasure. Further, high scores imply the feeling that neither boys nor girls should be prohibited by their parents from masturbating as an unhealthy practice which should be prohibited by parents.

(A) The Abortion Scale deals with an individual's general social, medical, and legal feelings about abortion. High scores imply an orientation which sees abortion as an acceptable form of birth control

which should be permitted whenever desired by the mother. Low scores suggest an orientation which sees abortion as a form of murder which should be kept under strict medical supervision (Lief and Reed, 1972).

In the Feminism Attitude Scale, sixty statements were presented to five judges who were considered experts in the development of attitude measurement scales. The judges were instructed to consider the validity of each statement to measure attitudes toward feminism. Criterion for accepting a statement was that three of five judges were required to place a statement in the same category. Fifty-five of the 60 statements met the criterion of a majority of three or more of the judges placing the statement in the same categories. Interjudge agreement was used to establish the validity of the scale. To strengthen the validity of the scale, a factor analysis was used to identify the variables which yielded 16 factors in which the eigen value was greater than one. On the rotated factor matrix, the statements were grouped using .4 as the minimum factor loading.

To test for reliability, the questionnaire was administered to two undergraduate classes at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Only those subjects who responded to every statement were included in the study. A corrected odd-even split-half reliability score was calculated for each class. Group A of 78 subjects had a reliability score of +.88 and Group B with 49 subjects had a reliability score of +.92. The scale was thus considered to have an acceptable level of reliability (Richey, 1972).

Richey (1972) administered the questionnaire to a group of 215 undergraduate, female college students and a non college female group of 262 who represented various organizations, clubs and special interest

groups. The responses to the Feminism Attitude Scale were analyzed using a factor analysis to identify the underlying factors contained within the scale. An analysis of variance was used to compute the relationship between the feminism scores and factors from the biographical data. The analysis of variance of the differences in mean feminism scores was significant at the $p .0001$ level which supported the scale's ability to differentiate between feminist and non feminist attitudes.

Data Analysis

Items on the Sex Knowledge and Attitude Test and the Feminism Attitude Scale were numerically coded according to the predetermined scheme. Data were punched on I.B.M. data cards directly from the questionnaires and verified against the original data. The data were computer analyzed by the Statistical Analysis System (Barr and Goodnight, 1976). The main types of analysis were the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, Analysis of Variance, and Chi-square Analysis.

The analysis of the data is now presented according to the hypotheses tested.

- H_1 There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and knowledge about sexuality. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism will have more knowledge about sexuality.
- H_2 There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism will have liberal sexual attitudes.

The two above-mentioned hypotheses were tested by the Pearson product-moment correlation. The r and its associated level of significance were determined to estimate the direction and the degree of the relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and sexual knowledge and sexual attitudes. The Pearson correlation coefficient was chosen because it is able to determine whether change in one set of measurements is associated with change in another. The hypothesis was accepted when there was a P value of .05 or lower and rejected when the level of significance was larger than .05.

H_3 There will be a significant difference between women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism and those who do not in relation to (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.

H_4 There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their knowledge about sexuality. Israeli women will be more knowledgeable about sexuality than American women.

H_5 There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward sexual expression. Israeli women will be more liberal in their sexual attitudes than American women.

H_7 There will be no significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward feminism.

The four above-mentioned hypotheses were tested by an analysis of variance utilizing the GLM procedure of the SAS. Six univariate

ANOVAS were done to determine whether or not there was a difference on each of the six dependent measures of sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes and feminism with country and sexual behaviors as the independent variable. The hypotheses were accepted when there was a P value of .05 or lower and rejected if the level of significance was larger than .05.

H₆ There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual behavior. Israeli women will be more liberal in (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.

This hypothesis was tested by means of a chi-square analysis. Three separate chi-square analyses were executed on the aforementioned aspects of sexual behavior to determine differences between the two cultures. The hypothesis was accepted when the chi-square was significant at .05 or beyond the level of significance and rejected when the chi-square was larger than .05.

CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter reports findings from the testing of the nine hypotheses of the investigation and related information supportive of the discussion section of Chapter V.

The data were obtained from 90 American and 90 Israeli female, Jewish social work students who volunteered to participate in this study. The American student sample came from the Wurzweiler School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Barry College School of Social Work, Miami, Florida, Hunter College School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Columbia University School of Social Work, New York, N.Y., Smith College School of Social Work, Northampton, Mass., and University of Southern California School of Social Work, Los Angeles, California. The Israeli student sample came from the Hebrew University School of Social Work in Jerusalem, Israel. Several factors were used to control the population sample. These were as follows: (1) Jewish students were chosen to be studied since past research has indicated that these women have more liberal attitudes toward feminism and sexuality than other religious denominations (Bayer, 1975; 1977; Dempewolf, 1974), (2) Social work students were used since their professional orientation advocates individual rights and autonomy, a stance supported by feminists.

Demographic Data

As a total group, 72 percent of the respondents fell between the ages of 20-25. However, when examining the ages of American and Israeli respondents separately, marked differences in ages were observed. Of the Israelis, 97 percent were between the ages of 20-25 whereas only 48 percent of the Americans fell into this category. The remainder of the American women, 52 percent, were 26 years or older (Table 1). When the research was undertaken, it was known that there would be an age discrepancy although a discrepancy of this magnitude was not anticipated. In Israel, social work is an undergraduate two-year program; in America, Schools of Social Work are master's level programs undertaken after completion of a four-year college program. Apparently many older American women are returning to school for advanced degrees.

Several assumptions were made about the age discrepancy which should be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings of the research. It was assumed that the age differences would not necessarily be significant inasmuch as many Israeli women are required to participate in the military service for two years after high school graduation. This kind of experience would potentially cancel out the additional number of years of experience and education the American women received. In terms of the large number of older women in the American sample, it is possible that by virtue of the fact that they have returned to school for academic advancement, they possess the qualities of autonomy and self-motivation found to be characteristic of feminists. This would, of course, influence the feminism scores.

Table 1

Age of Women in Terms of Frequency and Percentage

Age	Americans		Israeli.		Total Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
20-21	1	1.11	40	44.94	22.91
22-23	22	24.44	43	48.32	36.31
24-25	20	22.22	3	3.37	12.85
26-27	11	12.22	2	2.25	7.26
28-30	10	11.11	-	-	5.59
31-35	11	12.22	-	-	6.15
36 or over	15	16.68	1	1.12	8.94
	N=90		N=89		

However, there may have been other factors which motivated these women to return to school which might be completely unrelated to feminism. These factors might be separation or divorce or the need for additional income for their family. In terms of their age influencing the questions dealing with sexuality, again there is the possibility of the scores being biased for there are some indications that women who have had premarital sexual relations become more conservative in their sexual attitudes when they have teen-age daughters (Wake, 1969). Herein it was assumed that an older woman in an academic atmosphere would perceive her fellow students as her reference group and identify to some extent with their sexual attitudes and behavior. Although the age discrepancy is a consideration, the author felt that professional orientation and religion were sufficient controlling variables to lend some credence to the findings.

According to the data on family background, father's occupation was somewhat similar for both groups. Of the American fathers, 38 out of a total of 90 were in the professional category which included physicians, lawyers, teachers, and other professionals; 35 were in executive and clerical/sales positions; and 17 were in manual positions. Among the Israeli fathers, 47 out of a total of 86 were in the professional category; 23 were in executive and clerical/sales positions; and 15 were in manual positions (Table 2).

The data on mother's occupation is presented in Table 3. Of the American mothers, 45 percent were housewives as compared to 39 percent of the Israeli mothers. Of those mothers who worked, 24 percent of the American mothers were housewives with secondary jobs as opposed to 35 percent of the Israeli mothers; 31 percent of the American mothers

Table 2

Father's Occupation in Terms of Frequency and Percentage

Father's Occupation	American		Israeli		Total Percentage
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Physician	7	7.78	6	6.98	7.39
Clergyman	-	-	1	1.16	0.57
Lawyer	7	7.78	-	-	3.98
Teacher	3	3.33	4	4.65	3.98
Other Professional	21	23.33	37	43.02	32.96
Executive	23	25.56	7	8.14	17.06
Clerical/Sales	12	13.33	16	18.61	15.91
Skilled Manual	6	6.68	13	15.12	10.80
Semi-Skilled	5	5.56	-	-	2.84
Unskilled	6	6.67	2	2.33	4.55
	N=90		N=86		

Table 3

Frequency and Percentage of Mothers' Occupations

Mother's Occupation	American		Israeli		Total Percentage
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Housewife	40	44.94	34	38.64	41.81
Housewife and Secondary Job	21	23.60	31	35.23	29.38
Career Woman and Housewife	28	31.46	23	26.14	28.81
	N=89		N=82		

were career women and housewives as compared to 26 percent of the Israeli mothers.

Differences were noted in relation to the amount of education by the fathers of the respondents (Table 4). Of the American fathers, 62 percent had some form of higher education beyond the high school level in contrast to only 32 percent of the Israeli fathers. American mothers also had more education than Israeli mothers (Table 4).

Results

Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis was tested by the Pearson product-moment correlation statistic.

H₁ There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and knowledge about sexuality. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism will have more knowledge about sexuality.

The results are presented in Table 5. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was .53. The correlation was found to be statistically significant beyond the $p < .001$ level of significance. These results support H₁: There was a significant relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and knowledge about sexuality. Women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism had more knowledge about sexuality.

Hypothesis II

The second hypothesis of the investigation was tested by the Pearson product-moment correlation statistic.

Table 4

Frequency and Percentage of Educational Status of Fathers and Mothers

Educational Status	Fathers					Mothers				
	American F	P	Israeli F	P	TP	American F	P	Israeli F	P	TP
Non-High School Graduate	17	18.89	25	28.74	23.73	16	17.98	22	26.83	22.22
High School Graduate	17	18.89	34	39.08	28.81	26	29.21	37	45.12	36.84
Attended College	12	13.33	2	2.30	7.91	18	20.23	3	3.66	12.28
College Graduate	10	11.11	10	11.49	11.30	13	14.61	13	15.85	15.21
Attended Graduate School	1	1.11	2	2.30	1.70	1	1.12	2	2.44	1.75
Graduate Degree	33	36.67	14	16.09	26.55	15	16.85	4	4.88	11.11
	N=90		N=87			N=89		N=81		

F = Frequency

P = Percent

T = Total

Table 5

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations for Sexual Attitudes,
Knowledge and Feminism

Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Heterosexuality	.40*	.52*	.51*	.77*	.12	.30*
2. Sexual Myths		.45*	.58*	.77*	.42*	.57*
3. Abortion			.51*	.77*	.37*	.50*
4. Autoeroticism				.83*	.39*	.46*
5. Total Attitudes					.41*	.58*
6. Sexual Knowledge						.53*
7. Total Feminism						

* $p < .0001$

H₂ There will be a significant positive relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes. Women who have liberal attitudes towards feminism will have liberal sexual attitudes.

Four separate scales were used to determine Total Attitudes toward sexuality. The Heterosexual Relations Scale (HR) deals with an individual's general attitude toward premarital and extramarital heterosexual encounters. The Sexual Myths Scale (SM) deals with an individual's acceptance or rejection of misconceptions about sexuality. The Abortion Scale deals with an individual's general social, medical, and legal feelings about abortion. The Autoeroticism Scale (M) deals with general attitudes toward the permissibility of masturbatory activities. On all four scales, high scores are an indication of liberality and low scores suggest a more conservative attitude. The scales are regarded as ordinal measures; that is, scale scores serve to order groups of students in higher-than or lower-than relationships on the dimensions measured by the scales.

The results are presented in Table 5. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was .58. This was found to be statistically significant beyond the $p < .001$ level of significance. These results support H₂: There was a significant relationship between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes.

Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis was tested by an analysis of variance. Measures of sexual behavior were based on three single items with F test as criterion for the determinant of significance. The following questions were used:

Table 6

Analysis of Variance on Feminism Scores by Country and
the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: Fem Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	32997.06	6599.41	18.03	0.0001*
Error	166	60747.50	365.95		
Corrected Total	171	93744.53			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	4932.39	13.48	0.0003*
Number of Times	2	633.87	0.87	0.4225
Country x Number of Times	2	1694.02	2.31	0.1020

*p<.001

Table 6 (Continued).

Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the Number
of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	Fem Means
America	85	243.61
Israel	87	216.80

Number of Times	N	Fem Means
Never	17	221.76
Two-Five	14	228.07
Over Five	141	231.25

Country	Number of Times	N	Fem Means
America	Never	6	230.67
America	Two-Five	5	235.20
America	Over Five	74	245.23
Israel	Never	11	216.91
Israel	Two-Five	9	224.11
Israel	Over Five	67	215.81

Table 7

Analysis of Variance on Feminism by Country and
the Number of Sexual Partners

Dependent Variable: Fem Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	7	33130.92	4732.99	12.89	0.0001*
Error	161	59106.70	367.12		
Corrected Total	168	92237.61			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	16694.08	45.47	0.0001*
Number of People	3	311.59	0.28	0.8388
Country x Number of People	3	3718.04	3.38	0.0197**

* $p < .001$

** $p < .05$

Table 7 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and
the Number of Sexual Partners

Country	N	Fem Means
America	86	243.22
Israel	83	216.92

Number of People	N	Fem Means
None	22	226.77
One	29	225.79
Two-Five	49	229.90
Over Five	69	233.61

Country	Number of People	N	Fem Means
America	None	8	234.75
America	One	12	235.92
America	Two-Five	22	242.32
America	Over Five	44	247.20
Israel	None	14	222.21
Israel	One	17	218.65
Israel	Two-Five	27	219.78
Israel	Over Five	25	209.68

Table 8

Analysis of Variance on Feminism by Country and
the Age at Which Masturbation First Began

Dependent Variable: Fem Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	11	31105.07	2827.73	7.56	0.0001
Error	156	58365.41	374.14		
Corrected Total	167	89470.48			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	14207.88	37.98	0.0001*
Age at First Masturbation	5	1977.63	1.06	0.3867
Country x Age at First Masturbation	5	2369.47	1.27	0.2804

*p < .001

Table 8 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the
Age at Which Masturbation First Began

Country	Age at First Masturbation	N	Fem Means
America	Never	6	233.00
America	Under 10	18	246.94
America	10-12	17	244.47
America	13-15	9	245.11
America	16-18	12	242.50
America	19 or over	23	242.83
Israel	Never	47	219.23
Israel	Under 10	7	222.14
Israel	10-12	6	207.50
Israel	13-15	16	217.13
Israel	16-18	2	232.50
Israel	19 or over	5	205.00

Table 8 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Feminism by Country and the
Age at Which Masturbation First Began

Country	N	Fem Means
America	85	243.53
Israel	83	217.69

Age at First Masturbation	N	Fem Means
Never	53	220.79
Under 10	25	240.00
10-12	23	234.83
13-15	25	227.20
16-18	14	241.07
19 or over	28	236.07

than those who did not. Although there is some indication that women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism also have liberal sexual behavior, the relationship was not significant. For H_3 : There was no significant difference between women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism and those who did not in relation to (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.

There was a significant interaction effect between specific sexual attitudes and sexual behaviors indicating some convergence between sexual attitudes and sexual behavior (Table 9, Table 10, Table 11 and Table 12). Women who had higher scores on the Heterosexual Relations scale also had sexual intercourse more frequently and with more sexual partners than women who had low heterosexual relations scores. These differences were significant at $p < .01$ level of significance. Women who had higher scores on the Abortion scale and the Masturbation scale tended to have significantly more sexual partners than women who had lower scores on these scales. These differences were significant at $p < .01$ level of significance. No significant differences were found in relation to the Sexual Myths scale or in relation to the practice of masturbation.

Hypothesis IV

The fourth hypothesis was tested by an analysis of variance.

H_4 There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their knowledge about

Table 9

Analysis of Variance on Heterosexuality Scores by Country
and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: HR					
Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	2503.22	500.64	6.52	0.0001**
Error	166	12736.96	76.73		
Corrected Total	171	15240.18			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	316.56	4.13	0.0438*
Number of Times	2	2340.14	15.25	0.0001**
Country x Number of Times	2	469.92	3.06	0.0494*

*p<.05

**p<.001

Table 9 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Heterosexuality by Country and the
Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	HR Means
America	85	55.42
Israel	87	55.39

Number of Times	N	HR Means
Never	17	45.07
Two-Five	14	57.03
Over Five	141	56.49

Country	Number of Times	N	HR Means
America	Never	6	38.52
America	Two-Five	5	54.17
America	Over Five	74	56.88
Israel	Never	11	48.64
Israel	Two-Five	9	58.62
Israel	Over Five	67	56.06

Table 10

Analysis of Variance on Heterosexuality by Country
and the Number of Sexual Partners

Dependent Variable: HR Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	7	2917.73	416.82	5.22	0.0001**
Error	161	12856.47	79.85		
Corrected Total	168	15774.20			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	517.64	6.48	0.0118*
Number of People	3	1697.58	7.09	0.0002**
Country x Number of People	3	1324.92	5.53	0.0013***

*p<.05

**p<.001

***p<.01

Table 10 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Heterosexuality by Country and
the Number of Sexual Partners

Country	N	HR Means
America	86	55.10
Israel	83	55.53

Number of People	N	HR Means
None	22	49.19
One	29	52.37
Two-Five	49	56.73
Over Five	69	57.49

Country	Number of People	N	HR Means
America	None	8	43.09
America	One	12	47.07
America	Two-Five	22	55.75
America	Over Five	44	59.15
Israel	None	14	52.68
Israel	One	17	56.11
Israel	Two-Five	27	57.52
Israel	Over Five	25	54.57

Table 11

Analysis of Variance on Abortion by Country
and the Number of Sexual Partners

Dependent Variable: A Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	7	2542.76	363.25	6.28	0.0001**
Error	161	9316.92	57.87		
Corrected Total	168	11859.68			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	639.08	11.04	0.0011*
Number of People	3	765.41	4.41	0.0054*
Country x Number of People	3	214.03	1.23	0.2992

*p<.01

**p<.001

Table 11 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Abortion by Country and
the Number of Sexual Partners

Country	N	A Means
America	86	54.04
Israel	83	48.20

Number of People	N	A Means
None	22	45.95
One	29	49.61
Two-Five	49	50.10
Over Five	69	54.25

Country	Number of People	N	A Means
America	None	8	49.46
America	One	12	50.44
America	Two-Five	22	51.91
America	Over Five	44	56.91
Israel	None	14	43.94
Israel	One	17	49.02
Israel	Two-Five	27	48.62
Israel	Over Five	25	49.56

Table 12

Analysis of Variance on Autoeroticism by Country
and the Number of Sexual Partners

Dependent Variable: M Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	7	3769.27	538.47	6.21	0.0001**
Error	161	13965.57	86.74		
Corrected Total	168	17734.84			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	902.21	10.40	0.0015*
Number of People	3	1325.48	5.09	0.0023*
Country x Number of People	3	237.52	0.91	0.4381

* $p < .01$

** $p < .001$

Table 12 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Autoeroticism by Country and
the Number of Sexual Partners

Country	N	M Means
America	86	58.09
Israel	83	51.01

Number of People	N	M Means
None	22	47.23
One	29	52.51
Two-Five	49	54.45
Over Five	69	57.97

Country	Number of People	N	M Means
America	None	8	49.46
America	One	12	55.21
America	Two-Five	22	56.58
America	Over Five	44	61.20
Israel	None	14	45.95
Israel	One	17	50.61
Israel	Two-Five	27	52.72
Israel	Over Five	25	52.28

sexuality. Israeli women will be more knowledgeable about sexuality than American women.

The results are presented in Table 13. The analysis of variance was found to be significant beyond the $p < .001$ level of significance. These results support H_4 : There is a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their knowledge about sexuality. Examination of the mean scores indicate that these differences were not in the expected direction. American women are more knowledgeable about sexuality than Israeli women. However, lack of sexual knowledge for Israeli women is not a deterrent to participating in specific sexual behaviors such as coitus (Table 14). Israeli women who had sexual relations over five times had similar mean scores on sexual knowledge to those of women who never had sexual relations.

Hypothesis V

The fifth hypothesis was tested by analysis of variance.

H_5 There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual attitudes than American women.

Separate ANOVAS were performed on each of the four dependent variables of the Sexual Attitude scales. The results of the ANOVA on the four scales are shown in Table 13. No statistical significance was found between Israelis and Americans in their attitudes toward Heterosexual Relations. Significances beyond the $p < .001$ level were found on the Sexual Myths scale, the Abortion scale and the Autoeroticism scale. Israeli women are similar to American women in their attitudes toward heterosexual relations. However, American women are

Table 13

Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes,
Sexual Knowledge and Feminism by Country

Country	N	HR	SM*	A*	M*	Sex K*	Fem*
America	88	54.83	60.12	54.03	58.01	55.22	243.32
Israel	88	55.53	53.49	48.11	51.24	37.98	217.15
		HR	df=1	F Value	0.23	PR>F	0.6309
		SM*	df=1	F Value	24.25	PR>F	0.0001
		A*	df=1	F Value	25.48	PR>F	0.0001
		M*	df=1	F Value	21.92	PR>F	0.0001
		Sex K*	df=1	F Value	227.50	PR>F	0.0001
		Fem*	df=1	F Value	80.76	PR>F	0.0001

*p<.001

Table 14

Analysis of Variance on Sexual Knowledge Scores by Country and
the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: Sex K Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	13108.66	2621.73	45.38	0.0001*
Error	166	9591.18	57.78		
Corrected Total	171	22699.84			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	4583.70	79.33	0.0001*
Number of Times	2	77.12	0.67	0.5144
Country x Number of Times	2	18.72	0.16	0.8506

*p<.001

Table 14. (Continued)

Mean Scores on Sexual Knowledge by Country and the Number
of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	Sex K Means
America	85	55.27
Israel	87	37.89

Number of Times	N	Sex K Means
Never	17	45.12
Two-Five	14	41.63
Over Five	141	47.13

Country	Number of Times	N	Sex K Means
America	Never	6	55.39
America	Two-Five	5	53.93
America	Over Five	74	55.35
Israel	Never	11	39.51
Israel	Two-Five	9	34.79
Israel	Over Five	67	38.05

more likely to reject sexual myths than Israeli women and are more liberal in their attitudes toward abortion and autoeroticism. These results partially support H_5 : There is a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual attitudes. However, these differences are only in relation to sexual myths, abortion and autoeroticism. With regards to heterosexual relations, American and Israeli women are similar in their attitudes (Table 15, Table 16 and Table 17).

Military service was found to be significant in relation to heterosexual relations for Israeli women (Table 18). Women who had served in the military had significantly more liberal attitudes towards heterosexual relations than those who had not. Military had no effect on the other three attitude scales. The variable "kibbutz" also had a significant effect on autoeroticism (Table 19). Women who had lived on a kibbutz had significantly more liberal attitudes toward masturbation than those who had not.

Hypothesis VI

The sixth hypothesis was tested by means of a chi-square analysis.

H_6 There will be a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual behavior. Israeli women will be more liberal in (a) the number of times having had sexual intercourse, (b) the number of sexual partners, and (c) participation in masturbatory activity.

The results are presented in Table 20, Table 21 and Table 22. There were no significant differences between Israelis and Americans in the number of times having had sexual intercourse. The differences between the two cultures in relation to the number of sexual partners

Table 15

Analysis of Variance on Sexual Myths Scores by Country
and the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: .SM					
Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	2284.77	456.95	5.66	0.0001*
Error	166	13409.90	80.78		
Corrected Total	171	15694.67			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	301.97	3.74	0.0549
Number of Times	2	282.09	1.75	0.1777
Country x Number of Times	2	95.13	0.59	0.5561

*p < .001

Table 15. (Continued)

Mean Scores on Sexual Myths by Country and the Number
of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	SM Means
America	85	60.18
Israel	87	53.45

Number of Times	N	SM Means
Never	17	52.24
Two-Five	14	56.07
Over Five	141	57.39

Country	Number of Times	N	SM Means
America	Never	6	54.41
America	Two-Five	5	57.95
America	Over Five	74	60.79
Israel	Never	11	51.05
Israel	Two-Five	9	55.03
Israel	Over Five	67	53.63

Table 16

Analysis of Variance on Abortion Scores by Country and
the Number of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: A Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	2193.75	438.75	7.47	0.0001*
Error	166	9746.99	58.72		
Corrected Total	171	11940.73			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	515.18	8.77	0.0035**
Number of Times	2	563.16	4.80	0.0094**
Country x Number of Times	2	10.78	0.09	0.9123

* $p < .001$

** $p < .01$

Table 16 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Abortion by Country and the Number
of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	A Means
America	85	54.20
Israel	87	48.08

Number of Times	N	A Means
Never	17	44.77
Two-Five	14	50.42
Over Five	141	51.94

Country	Number of Times	N	A Means
America	Never	6	47.78
America	Two-Five	5	55.01
America	Over Five	74	54.66
Israel	Never	11	43.12
Israel	Two-Five	9	47.87
Israel	Over Five	67	48.92

Table 17

Analysis of Variance on Autoeroticism Scores by Country
and the Number of Times Having Has Sexual Intercourse

Dependent Variable: M Source	DF	SS	MS	F Value	PR>F
Model	5	3631.99	726.40	8.53	0.0001*
Error	166	14137.99	85.17		
Corrected Total	171	17769.98			

Source	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Country	1	213.72	2.51	0.1151
Number of Times	2	1241.29	7.29	0.0009*
Country x Number of Times	2	480.47	2.82	0.0624

*p<.001

Table 17 (Continued)

Mean Scores on Autoeroticism by Country and the Number
of Times Having Had Sexual Intercourse

Country	N	M Means
America	85	58.25
Israel	87	51.07

Number of Times	N	M Means
Never	17	46.63
Two-Five	14	53.74
Over Five	141	55.67

Country	Number of Times	N	M Means
America	Never	6	44.11
America	Two-Five	5	58.48
America	Over Five	74	59.38
Israel	Never	11	48.00
Israel	Two-Five	9	51.10
Israel	Over Five	67	51.56

Table 18

Mean Scores From Separate ANOVAS on Military Service and Sexual Attitudes, Sexual Knowledge

Military Service	N	HR*	SM	A	M	Sex K
Yes	77	56.86	53.66	48.67	51.27	37.79
No	11	46.20	52.32	44.19	51.08	39.34
	HR*	df=1	F Value	14.04		PR F>0.0003
	SM	df=1	F Value	.18		PR F>0.6707
	A	df=1	F Value	3.29		PR F>0.0730
	M	df=1	F Value	0.00		PR F>0.9507
	Sex K	df=1	F Value	0.32		PR F>0.5734

*p<.001

Table 19

Mean Scores of Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and
Sexual Knowledge and Having Lived on a Kibbutz

Lived on a Kibbutz	N	HR	SM	A	M*	Sex K
Yes	34	55.74	54.51	48.77	53.89	37.85
No	54	55.40	52.85	47.69	49.58	38.07
	HR	df=1	F Value	0.03	PR F	>0.8679
	SM	df=1	F Value	0.60	PR F	>0.4390
	A	df=1	F Value	0.40	PR F	>0.5268
	M*	df=1	F Value	4.57	PR F	>0.0355
	Sex K	df=1	F Value	0.01	PR F	>0.9075

*p < .05

Table 20

Chi-Square of Number of Times Having Had
Sexual Intercourse by Country

Frequency Percent Row Percent Column Percent			
	America	Israel	
Never	6	11	17
	3.41	6.25	9.66
	35.20	64.71	
	6.90	12.36	
Two-Five	6	9	15
	3.41	5.11	8.52
	40.00	60.00	
	6.90	10.11	
Over Five	75	69	144
	42.61	39.20	81.82
	52.08	47.92	
	86.21	77.53	
Total	87	89	176
	49.43	50.57	100.00

Chi-Square 2.298 DF=2 Prob.=0.3169

Table 21

Chi-Square of Number of Sexual Partners by Country

Frequency Percent Row Percent Column Percent	America	Israel	Total
	None	8 4.62 36.36 9.09	14 8.09 63.64 16.47
One	12 6.94 40.00 13.64	18 10.40 60.00 21.18	30 17.34
Two-Five	24 13.87 47.06 27.27	27 15.61 52.94 31.76	51 29.48
Over Five	44 25.43 62.86 50.00	26 15.03 37.14 30.59	70 40.46
TOTAL	88 50.87	85 49.13	173 100.00

Chi-Square 7.592 DF=3 Prob.=0.0552

Table 22

Chi-Square of Age at First Masturbation by Country

Frequency Percent Row Percent Column Percent	America	Israel	Total
Never Masturbated	6	49	55
	3.49	28.49	31.98
	10.91	89.09	
	6.90	57.65	
Under 10	19	7	26
	11.05	4.07	15.12
	73.08	26.92	
	21.84	8.24	
10-12	17	6	23
	9.88	3.49	13.37
	73.91	26.09	
	19.54	7.06	
13-15	9	16	25
	5.23	9.30	14.53
	36.00	64.00	
	10.34	18.82	

Table 22 (Continued)

Chi-Square of Age at First Masturbation by Country

Frequency Percent Row Percent Column Percent	America	Israel	Total
16-18	12	2	14
	6.98	1.16	8.14
	85.71	14.29	
	13.79	2.35	
19 or over	24	5	29
	13.95	2.91	16.86
	82.76	17.24	
	27.59	5.88	
TOTAL	87	85	172
	50.58	49.42	100.00

Chi-Square 65.954 DF=5 Prob.=.001

was at $p < .06$ level and is not acceptable for the criteria of significance established for this investigation. However these findings suggest that American women have more sexual partners than Israeli women. The findings of the chi-square on masturbation were significant beyond the $p < .01$ level of significance. Examination of the responses indicates that 49 out of a total of 85 Israeli women who responded to this question had never masturbated. This is in contrast to 6 out of the total of 87 American women who never masturbated.

Kinsey, et al. (1953) reported that the cumulative incidence of masturbation was 62 percent for females. Miller and Lief (1976) found that masturbation was practiced by 78 percent of their female sample which included high-school, college and graduate or medical school students. Cotton (1975) reported that among female college students, 61 percent were currently masturbating. According to the findings of the present research, 93 percent of the American respondents reported masturbating in contrast to 42 percent of the Israelis.

These results partially support H_6 : There is a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their sexual behavior. Whereas Israeli and American women are similar in the frequency of coital behavior, American women are somewhat more permissive in the number of sexual partners and significantly more accepting of masturbatory activity.

Significant differences between Israeli and American female students in the interaction effect between sexual attitudes with regard to heterosexual relations and sexual behavior with regard to the number of times having had sexual intercourse and the number of sexual partners

were found. These differences were significant at $p < .05$ and $p < .01$ respectively. Israeli women who had no coital experience had more liberal attitudes toward heterosexual relations than American women. However, for those women who had coital experience, there appeared to be little difference between countries. Both Israeli and American women demonstrated a convergence between sexual attitudes and sexual behavior.

Hypothesis VII

The seventh hypothesis was tested by an analysis of variance.

H₇ There will be no significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward feminism.

The results of the findings are presented in Table 13. Significant differences were found beyond the $p < .001$ level of significance. H₇ is not supported by the data: There is a significant difference between Israeli and American female students in their attitudes toward feminism. Examination of the mean scores indicate that American women had significantly more liberal attitudes toward feminism than Israeli women. These results are further supported by findings in response to other questions about feminism. When asked about the strength of support for the Women's Liberation Movement, 55 percent of the American women indicated strong support in contrast to 10 percent of the Israeli women. In response to the question as to whether the students held beliefs that women are discriminated against, 57 percent of the American women felt strongly that they were discriminated against while only 7 percent of the Israeli women felt so. Another interesting difference was found between American and Israeli women in terms of the number of children

desired. As seen in Table 23, American women prefer to limit the size of their family by having two children or less. Israeli women, on the other hand, expressed a preference for three children or more.

Other Variables

When other variables were examined such as country of origin of parents, occupation of parents or marital status, no significant differences were found. Religion, however, was found to be significant as it related to sexual attitudes and feminism. Women who felt that their value system with regard to sex was not influenced by religion had significantly more liberal attitudes toward sexuality and feminism than women whose value system was influenced by religion (Table 24).

Despite the fact that the Americans and Israelis in this study are of the same religion, significant differences were found between the two cultures in regard to their attitudes toward abortion. Although more Israeli women than American women felt that their value system with regard to sex is not influenced by religion, they nevertheless had less liberal attitudes toward abortion than American women had (Table 25).

Significant differences were found between Israelis and Americans in response to the question as to whether their value system regarding sex was in conflict with their parents. American women appear to be more in conflict with their parents than Israeli women in regards to sexual myths and abortion (Table 26).

Students were asked to compare themselves to their peers in relation to sexual experience. According to the data (Table 27), women who rated themselves as being far less experienced than their peers had significantly lower mean scores on the Heterosexual Relations and Autoeroticism

Table 23

Frequency Distribution in Terms of Percentages
of Number of Children Desired

Number	American		Israeli		Total Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
0	3	5.36	-	-	2.29
1	8	14.29	-	-	6.11
2	29	51.79	5	6.67	25.95
3	11	19.64	27	36.00	29.01
4	2	3.57	32	42.67	25.95
5	2	3.57	8	10.67	7.63
6	1	1.79	2	2.67	2.30
7	-	-	1	1.33	.76
		N=56		N=75	N=131

Table 24

Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and
Feminism and Value System Influenced by Religion

Value System Influenced by Religion	N	HR*	SM*	A*	M*	Fem**
Not at all	119	57.24	57.86	52.29	55.54	231.74
Somewhat	37	55.16	55.99	50.17	54.86	226.84
Definitely	9	48.18	52.03	48.62	52.45	229.89
Very definitely	8	32.65	51.04	41.05	42.50	219.88

F Values for Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes and Feminism
and Value System Influenced by Religion

HR*	df=3	F Value	16.44	PR F>0.0001
SM*	df=3	F Value	5.84	PR F>0.0009
A*	df=3	F Value	11.87	PR F>0.0001
M*	df=3	F Value	6.75	PR F>0.0003
Fem**	df=3	F Value	3.97	PR F>0.0092

*p<.001

**p<.01

Table 25

Analysis of Variance of Abortion and Value System
Influenced by Religion and Country

Dependent Variable: A	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Error	165			
Source				
Country	1	851.20	17.08	0.0001*
Value System	3	1774.86	11.87	0.0001*
Country x Value System	3	439.60	2.94	0.0343**
* <u>p</u> <.001				
** <u>p</u> <.05				

Mean Scores on Country by Value System by A.

Country	Value System	N	A
America	Not at all	52	56.15
America	Somewhat	21	53.98
America	Definitely	7	48.38
America	Very Definitely	7	44.30
Israel	Not at all	67	49.30
Israel	Somewhat	16	45.16
Israel	Definitely	2	49.47
Israel	Very Definitely	1	18.37

A=Abortion

Table 26

Mean Scores From the Separate ANOVAS of Sexual Attitudes and Feminism by Value System Regarding Sex in Conflict with Parents' Values and Country

Value system in conflict with parents	N America	HR	SM*	A*	M	Fem
Not at all	7	54.67	61.56	60.63	58.41	240.71
Somewhat	39	53.33	59.07	52.50	58.20	240.74
Definitely	21	58.56	60.91	55.50	59.10	243.62
Very definitely	20	54.35	60.99	53.24	56.66	248.55
Israel						
Not at all	22	52.83	52.59	46.79	50.20	209.69
Somewhat	40	56.15	56.14	49.00	52.36	222.05
Definitely	16	56.80	47.87	46.94	48.85	208.06
Very definitely	9	55.72	53.53	49.18	51.37	226.44
	HR	df=3	F Value 0.63	PR>F 0.5976		
	SM*	df=3	F Value 2.89	PR>F 0.0365		
	A*	df=3	F Value 2.95	PR>F 0.0337		
	M	df=3	F Value 0.53	PR>F 0.6672		
	Fem	df=3	F Value 1.92	PR>F 0.1272		

*p<.05

Table 27

Means From the Separate ANOVAS on Sexual Attitudes
and Peer Group's Experience in Sex

Experience in Sex	N	HR*	SM	A	M**
Far less experienced	13	49.63	53.92	49.40	46.96
Less experienced	36	53.62	54.77	49.00	52.45
As experienced	90	55.97	57.69	51.33	55.43
More experienced	31	56.48	57.32	51.98	56.24
Far more experienced	4	58.52	60.43	62.07	66.10

F Values From Separate ANOVAS for the
Factor Peer Group's Experience in Sex

HR*	df=4	F Value	2.97	PR F > 0.0210
M**	df=4	F Value	3.79	PR F > 0.0057

*p < .05

**p < .01

scales than women who rated themselves as more experienced. Israeli women who rate themselves as having far less experience than their peers have a more liberal attitude toward heterosexual relations than American women who rate themselves as less experienced (Table 28). Examination of the mean scores show a consistency in responses on the part of American women with lower scores indicating less liberality and liberality increasing with sexual experience. The Israeli scores are difficult to understand as there is no definitive pattern in responses. Israeli women who had far less experience than their peers had more liberal attitudes toward heterosexual relations than Israeli women who were more experienced.

The findings and analysis of the data in this chapter are followed by a discussion and summary of the results. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made for further research.

Table 28

Analysis of Variance of Heterosexuality and Self-Rating of
Experience in Sex as Compared to Peer Group and Country

Dependent Variable: HR	DF	Type IV SS	F Value	PR>F
Error	164			
Source				
Country	1	46.48	0.56	0.4557
Experience in Sex	4	988.53	2.97	0.0210
Country x Experience	4	1893.28	5.69	0.0003*

*p<.001

Mean Scores on Country by Experience in Sex by HR

Country	Experience in Sex	N	HR
America	Far less experienced	5	35.39
America	Less experienced	15	55.45
America	As experienced	47	55.32
America	More experienced	17	58.16
America	Far more experienced	3	60.55
Israel	Far less experienced	8	58.52
Israel	Less experienced	21	52.32
Israel	As experienced	43	56.68
Israel	More experienced	14	54.44
Israel	Far more experienced	1	52.43

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Cultural relativity is an important consideration in attempting to determine universalities about sexuality. Although attitudes and behaviors between cultures may be similar, they may be influenced by particular variables which pertain to the given culture.

These data provide substantial support for Reiss' propositions concerning the relationship between general liberality and sexual permissiveness but only in relation to American women. Equalitarian attitudes have influenced American women in their acquisition of sexual knowledge and in their liberalization of sexual attitudes. Feminism will be discussed in relation to the variables on sexuality which were studied.

Sexual Knowledge

As a total group, women who had more liberal attitudes toward feminism also had more knowledge about sexuality. However, this positive relationship did not exist for Israeli women. Israeli women in this sample may have liberal attitudes toward feminism but their knowledge about sexuality is limited.

The lack of sexual knowledge is understandable considering that the subject of sex education, still controversial in the United States, is even more volatile in Israel where the political power of the religious establishment has grown through the years and remains steadfast. Its influence on the secular Ministry of Education continues to

be a matter of public debate. This author provided consultation to the Ministry of Education in 1974 to aid them in establishing a curriculum in sex education for the country's highly centralized public school system. The program was experimental in nature and was oriented toward providing 5th and 6th grade teachers with enough skills so that they could present sex education as part of their regular curriculum. This meager beginning was severely restricted when the National Religious Party gained control of the Ministry of Education after the May, 1977 elections. Whatever sex education remains usually covers facts about reproduction, contraception, and venereal disease with little education for other aspects of sexuality. The gap in sexual knowledge is somewhat lessened for some women who enter the army where sex education becomes part of their basic training, although the women in this study learned little about sexuality in the army (Table 19). Apparently sex education in the military is limited and adds little to the information previously received in the public schools. It also does not educate the women on how to cope with the strong sexual pressures and the erotic environment which exists under the constant presence of male soldiers (Hazelton, 1977; Kohn, 1978). The military environment has been instrumental to the extent that it has altered attitudes toward heterosexual relations toward a more liberal direction.

Whereas sex education in Israel is a matter of public policy, this is not true of the United States where sex education is largely determined by local school boards. Nor is sex education occurring in the home. In a recent study by Roberts (1978) of 1,400 households in the Cleveland area, it was found that most parents are reluctant to discuss sex with their children regardless of education and financial standing.

Sex education is apparently lacking in both countries. It is suggested, then, that the difference in sexual knowledge between Israeli and American women is related to feminism. Supporters of the WLM have admonished women for their ignorance about their own bodies (The Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1971; Sherfey, 1972). Popular literature (Masters and Johnson, 1972; Reuben, 1969; Belliveau and Richter, 1970) and self-help groups have raised the consciousness of American women, informing them not only about sexual dysfunction and the normal variations in the sexual response cycle but also extending permission to pursue sexual pleasure. Whereas feminists appear to have taken the responsibility for acquiring knowledge about sexuality, those who have more traditional attitudes toward the role of women have made little effort to do so. American women, more liberal in their attitudes toward feminism than Israeli women, are more knowledgeable about sex because they perceive these issues as interrelated. Israeli women may look upon feminism more in terms of its being a political or economic issue separate and apart from sexuality. The necessity for accumulating knowledge about male and female sexuality is not associated with their rights as women.

Sexual Attitudes

According to the findings, feminism has also influenced sexual attitudes and some aspects of sexual behavior. The positive correlation between liberal attitudes toward feminism and liberal sexual attitudes for the total group is an indication that women who favor equality favor liberal sexual attitudes. Their attitudes and behavior are congruent in that they perceive equality as part of their entire lives

rather than an issue that is related to economic opportunity or sexual roles alone. The influence that feminism has had on sexual attitudes is even more apparent when the differences between Israeli and American cultures are examined.

No statistical significance was found between Americans and Israelis in their attitudes toward heterosexual relations. However, significant differences were found in interaction between variables. Examination of the mean scores sheds little light on how to interpret these data. For example, in Table 9, Americans had a higher heterosexual relations mean score, 55.42, as opposed to Israeli, 55.39. The $P < .05$ level could be interpreted as Americans being more liberal in their heterosexual attitudes.

Yet, examination of the means showing interaction effects between heterosexuality and the number of times having had sexual intercourse by country indicates that Israelis who had no sexual experience had higher mean scores than Americans. This would mean that Israeli women who had never had sexual intercourse have more liberal attitudes toward heterosexuality than Americans despite their lack of coital experience.

Further confusion is noted in Table 10. Here Israeli women had slightly higher mean scores on heterosexuality, 55.53 as opposed to the American mean scores of 55.10. This too was significant at $p < .05$. Observation of the means showing interaction effects between heterosexuality and the number of partners by country indicates that Israeli women who had never had sexual intercourse or had sexual intercourse with only one partner were more liberal in their attitudes toward heterosexuality than American women. These findings are rather confusing and

difficult to interpret. There are several possibilities which may account for these ambiguous findings. Israeli women who lack coital experience may indeed perceive heterosexual relations in a more liberal way than American women, and it is perhaps the lack of opportunity because of their youthfulness rather than more conservative attitudes that have prevented them from coital experience. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this research, the findings on the Heterosexual Relations scale of no significance (Table 13) were accepted as they express a more general attitude of the total population studied.

Israeli women were found to be more accepting of sexual myths than American women and in relation to abortion and autoeroticism, Israeli women were more conservative. Israeli women appear to favor sexual expression when it involves coitus and reject other aspects of sexuality when there is no male involvement. It is suggested that attitudes toward feminism influenced the differences between these two cultures.

Despite the open attitudes toward sexuality which existed in the early days of pioneer settlement, Israeli women have grown more conservative in their sexual attitudes. According to Hazelton (1977), the changes have to do with the Israeli male's attitude toward women as it is today for it is from this vantage that Israeli women's attitudes have developed. Hazelton (1977) has written about Israeli women and their status in Israeli society. Although this was not a scientific study, she conducted interviews with Israeli men and women in order to achieve a consensus of present attitudes toward sexuality and sexual roles. She included findings of research studies conducted in Israel which were published in Hebrew. Since these sources are not attainable,

Hazelton's reporting of the results of the studies will be used to explain some of the findings of this research. Hazelton feels that present day Israeli men view women as sexual objects to be used for their own gratification. This attitude is more prevalent among those refugees who sought asylum in Israel from European and Arab countries after the state was founded than among the descendants of the pioneers. Not only did these refugees have little interest in the status of women, but they also brought with them traditional European and Arabic attitudes about the function of women. Hazelton feels that the Israeli males' identity as Israelis is intertwined with their identity as men. Israeli men attempt to assert their masculinity whenever feasible despite the injunctions of traditional Judaism. According to the Shulhan Aruch, the code of Jewish law which regulates every day behavior (Ganzfried 1927), man should try to disassociate himself mentally from the physical act of sexual intercourse and think of the holy scriptures. Woman's sexual needs are considered to be a threat to man's attainment of purity of soul and at the same time, something which the male is obliged to satisfy in order to keep her in her place. Woman is a necessary evil, vital to the performance of the divine ordinance to be fruitful and multiply. This attitude toward women has changed little from the medieval days. For Israeli men, women are vehicles by which the male can assert his dominance and reinforce his identity as an Israeli. Virility, the measurement of a man, is determined by quantity, whether it be the number of women or the number of orgasms. Ironically, despite the semblance of freedom, Israeli males continue to follow the dictates of the Shulham Aruch by using the missionary position

exclusively, by not participating in oral sex, and by regarding masturbation as sinful or a neurotic substitute for sexual intercourse. Many Israeli men have little awareness of female anatomy or the fact that women have orgasms.

If what Hazelton says is true, how has this affected Israeli women? According to Naomi Abramovich, an American psychotherapist who now resides in Israel (Hazelton, 1977, p. 124), the middle-class Israeli woman's attitude toward sexuality is compartmentalized.

"There's a value system based on the belief that women are equal and not exploited sexually. And yet women are very exploited sexually. They believe they are liberated and don't need to consider sexual patterns anymore, and so deny what the picture of sexual behavior really is. This kind of denial is pervasive in Israel: we are really living with a dual set of behavior, one for the country we think we would like to have, and one for the country we really have."

The findings of this research support Abramovich's stance that Israeli women have compartmentalized their attitudes about sexuality. In regard to heterosexual relations, Israeli women have liberal attitudes. However, they are more conservative on sexual issues which do not involve the opposite sex. Religion cannot be a factor since both cultures were of the same religion and particularly because significantly more Israeli women than American women stated that their value system toward sex was not influenced by religion. The lower scores on the SM scale can perhaps be explained by the lack of sexual knowledge. Adherence to beliefs in sexual myths is understandable if one does not have accurate information. The Israeli women's attitude toward abortion is illogical considering that abortion appears to be one of the primary methods of contraception in Israel. Approximately 60,000 abortions are

performed in Israel each year (Zycher, 1976; Namir, 1977). Friedlander (1973) in his study of family planning in Israel found that 43 percent of married couples used no contraception whatsoever and of these, 35 percent definitely did not want any more children. The fact that up until 1978, abortions were both expensive and illegal did not deter Israeli women from using abortion as a means of contraception. To add to the ambiguity, even though Israeli women expressed a desire for three or more children, the national fertility rate in 1974 was 2.52 (Berman, 1974).

These discrepancies in attitude and behavior may in part be explained by the natality policy which the Israeli government instituted in 1967 which intended to encourage and stimulate childbirth and its desirability for the survival of Israel. The destruction of six million Jews during the Holocaust entered into this decision as well as the political situation of being surrounded by hostile neighbors. The government fostered the concept of four or five children as the optimum average per family. The results of this policy was that those who chose to have smaller families were usually of European origin, affluent, of higher education and less religious. Poorer families, many of Afro-Asian origin and less educated, who had little access to birth control methods continued to have large families. By encouraging larger families for national purposes, a higher rate of social problems occurred. The natality policy has not been abandoned despite these social problems. Israel's position is ambiguous; trying to encourage a higher birth rate for survival and security reasons why trying to overcome the problems frequently encountered by larger families (Berman, 1974).

Sexual Behavior

It was assumed that supporters of feminism would have liberal sexual behavior since the feminist ideology is supportive of equality in all areas of one's life. Women who advocate opportunities to achieve one's potential would also advocate the demise of the double standard. If women who are feminists are reticent about expressing their sexuality, they would experience cognitive dissonance. Although no significant differences were found between supporters and non supporters of feminism and the three measures of sexual behavior, the findings of this study do show a trend toward convergence between a belief in sexual equality and sexual behavior. Supporters of feminism may still be having difficulty expressing behaviorally that which they advocate cognitively. Early childhood conditioning concerning proper female sexual behavior may be operating, preventing women from exploring their sexuality as men have done. Another factor in explaining these findings is that women who identify with the WLM may be perceiving feminism as more of a stand of equal job opportunity or equality in sexual roles, rather than in terms of equality in sexual behavior. There is also the possibility that other questions concerning specific sexual behaviors and specific attitudes toward feminism, as in Kelley's study (1978) would have yielded different results.

Kelley stated that attitudes toward women's liberation have no appreciable effect on sexual attitudes or behavior. In his efforts to present a theory of human sexuality, he extrapolated the variable "For women's careers". He found that for women, the prediction that people who favor women's careers will be more sexually permissive was

significant. When other variables were controlled, there was no direct effect on behavior.

It is possible that feminism is perceived differently not only between cultures but within cultures as well. Observations of the differences between Israeli and American women show inconsistencies that are difficult to explain. Generally speaking, the responses of American women show a pattern; the higher the feminism scores, the more frequent the number of times having had sexual intercourse and the greater number of partners. However, among Israeli women, those who had never had sexual intercourse had similar feminism scores to those who had intercourse frequently. What is more confusing is that Israeli women who had no sexual partners had higher feminism scores than those who had several partners. Where American women who had never masturbated had low feminism scores as was expected, Israeli women who never masturbated had higher feminism scores than some of those who did. Israeli women may be perceiving feminism differently than American women. Although Israeli women have intercourse almost at the same rate as American women, they have fewer partners. Age may be a factor here in that Israeli women, because of their younger ages may not have had the opportunity to accumulate partners. On the other hand, male companionship is in abundance in the military. Quite possibly, Israeli women may adhere to the concept of "permissiveness with affection" more so than American women.

It is still maintained that liberal attitudes toward feminism contribute to liberal sexual attitudes and liberal sexual behavior. Kelley (1978) suggested that people who greatly value marriage would be

more permissive than those who favor small families or women's careers since they have more to gain by the potential marriage. Sexual involvement with one or several partners would make the possibilities of marriage more likely. This factor may be operating for Israeli women who value marriage and children, a factor which to them provides a sense of security in an environment fraught with uncertainty. Despite the similarity in attitudes toward heterosexual relations, the motivation may be different for both cultures. Israeli women may favor heterosexual permissiveness because of its potential for a husband. American women may favor permissiveness because of its part in their general philosophy concerning sexual equality.

Other Variables

Reiss (1967) stated that the potential for permissiveness is dependent on the values established within the home. Despite the fact that more Israeli women than American women feel that there is little conflict with their parents, they nevertheless are more accepting of sexual myths and have more conservative attitudes toward abortion than American women. Israeli women may experience less generational conflict because their traditional attitudes are similar to that of their parents. Their lower scores on feminism and their desire for a large number of children are further support for this supposition.

As mentioned in Chapter I, conformity to peer expectations seems to be an important variable in understanding premarital sexual attitudes and behavior. If the reference group is conservative, the student will be conservative and if the reference group is permissive, the student will be permissive (Teevan, 1972). The findings of this study do not

support Teevan. For the total group, students who perceived their peer groups as more liberal than they are in sexual experience maintain a more conservative attitude in relation to some aspects of sexuality. They may not be influenced by the more permissive sexual behavior of their peers. When we look at the two cultures, other differences emerge. Despite the fact that some Israeli women rate themselves as having less experience than their peers, they have a much more liberal attitude toward heterosexual relations than American women who are less experienced.

Feminism

The movement toward a more conservative attitude toward feminism on the part of Israeli women is interesting considering their concern for equality in the past. Although there are laws in Israel which guarantee women political and social rights, discrimination against women exists in many areas, including work benefits, pension rights and wages, and in family life. According to an interim report of the Prime Minister's Committee on the Status of Women, women in Israel, on the average, earn only 80 percent of what males earn per hour, despite the country's "liberal" law which requires equal pay for equal work. Arrangements for working mothers such as shorter hours and maternity leave often impair a woman's chances for advancement. Although 68 percent of the country's teachers in elementary and secondary schools are women, only 7 percent of them are in supervisory positions. Textbooks tend to divide professions according to traditional masculine and feminine occupations. Family planning facilities are inadequate. In the political arena, despite the fact that Israel had a female prime minister, there are no

women in the Cabinet; less than 3 percent are in leadership positions in the local authorities (Jerusalem Post, 1976). These inequalities are similar to those faced by American women. Israeli women have the additional burden of inequality according to Jewish law where all matters of marriage and divorce fall under the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical courts. Under Jewish law, a woman whose husband is declared insane may not divorce him until he has recovered, no matter how long it takes. If a woman remarries after her missing husband has been declared legally dead and he returns, she must divorce both men. A woman cannot marry a man she was involved with while legally married; if such a liaison is discovered, she may not return to her husband (Jerusalem Post, 1977). With these additional burdens, it is a mystery why Israeli women are not campaigning for equality as American women are. Whereas some American women are advocating an increase in childcare facilities, kibbutz women are advocating larger living quarters so their children may live with them and not in a communal children's house. Whereas some American women are seeking to alter traditional family roles, Israeli women are seeking to maintain them. Whereas some American women are choosing the single life as a viable alternative to marriage, in Israel, to be single, whether never married, divorced or widowed is considered to be a great misfortune. Kibbutz women are striving for familism and traditional roles despite the possibility of financial independence and freedom from domesticity (Tiger and Shepherd, 1975). The findings of this study indicate that Israeli women in general may be similar to kibbutz women.

These findings raise the possibility that American women, after achieving equality, may revert to their traditional roles. Tiger and

Shepher, who believe that "biology is destiny", feel that the women on the kibbutz have resumed traditional sex roles because of their basic feminine nature. Women cannot escape their biological heritage as nurturers. Schlesinger (1977) disputes this conclusion and feels that the reversion to traditional sex roles is due to the basic structural factors inherent in the kibbutz society. Equality was not possible when the division of labor was often dictated by physical strength. Additional factors such as the force of tradition, lack of commitment to equality by new members, and the current ideology of individualism and personal satisfaction prevented the achievement of equality. Equality does not exist on the kibbutz nor does it exist in the public sector as well.

It is necessary to question Schlesinger's rationalization as to the importance of tradition in preventing the concept of equality from becoming established on the kibbutz, and further, in Israel at large. A possible explanation for Israeli women's reluctance to champion feminism is that traditional roles represent security and normalcy, feeling states that have been lacking in their lives after many years of living in a war environment. Demands for equality may appear to be unimportant and a threat to the country's unity. It will be interesting to see whether Israeli women will become more active feminists should there be peace in the Middle East. Israelis are influenced by Western culture and are not immune to the feminist movement which is sweeping American society. If there are no external forces such as war on which to focus, the achievement of individual potential politically, socially, economically and sexually will probably become an issue which Israeli women will address themselves to. If, on the other hand, Tiger and

Shepher are correct, then Israeli women, once again, could be described as innovators having experimented with equality and rejected it in favor of traditional roles.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

This investigation was concerned with seven areas of inquiry. Three of the areas dealt with the relationship between feminism and sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. Three other areas included exploration of the differences between Americans and Israelis on sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. The final question dealt with differences between Americans and Israelis in their attitudes toward feminism. The research findings gave the following answers to the research questions:

1. Women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism had significantly more knowledge about sexuality.
2. Women who had liberal attitudes toward feminism had significantly more liberal sexual attitudes.
3. A liberal attitude toward feminism did not contribute to liberal sexual behavior although there is a trend in this direction.
4. American women had significantly more knowledge about sexuality than Israeli women.
5. American women rejected sexual myths significantly more often and had significantly more liberal attitudes toward abortion and autoeroticism than Israeli women. Both cultures were similar in their attitudes toward heterosexual relations.
6. Significantly more American women than Israeli women use

autoeroticism for sexual gratification. No significant differences were found on the frequency of sexual intercourse or the number of sexual partners.

7. American women have significantly more liberal attitudes toward feminism than Israeli women.

Summary

Findings from this study indicate that feminism has a significant influence on female sexuality. Women who have liberal attitudes toward feminism are more knowledgeable about sexuality and have more liberal sexual attitudes than women who feel less strongly about sexual equality. There is evidence that attitude/behavior discrepancy continues to exist although there is an indication that female sexuality is moving toward a single standard of sexual expression. Nonacceptance of feminism does not imply the absence of sexual permissiveness. Although Israeli women appear to have reverted back to more traditional roles since their pioneer days, their attitudes toward coitus are similar to those of Americans. They are, however, less accepting of American feminists' positions favoring abortion and autoeroticism.

This study points out that despite similarities in sexual attitudes and behavior among cultures, the motivations for these attitudes and behaviors may differ thus making it more difficult to arrive at universalities.

This research has attempted to analyze the subject of feminism and sexuality from a cross-cultural perspective. Although the primary concern has been the influence of feminism as a social force which would have pervasive effects on sexuality and thus on American society as a

whole, the cross-cultural data have contributed toward a better understanding of these phenomena.

Methodological Implications

Results from this investigation have several implications for future research in feminism and sexuality.

1. Future research should be planned to pursue systematic, multivariate approaches in attempts to isolate salient variables associated with feminism and sexuality. These approaches should take into account the "casual ordering" of the variables of interest so that intervening effects can be carefully controlled and spurious results avoided.

2. Further multivariate studies should be planned to utilize large representative groups of women in order to increase the applicability of generalizations.

3. Further research studies should be planned to control the age of respondents so that the same social time frame exists for all research subjects.

4. Further studies should be planned to extrapolate specific questions on feminism and on sexual behavior. There may be some aspects of feminism and sexual behavior that are more acceptable than others which would yield different results.

Some of these implications evolved from the weaknesses in the research. Hopefull, future research will take these implications into account.

Implications for Future Research

Based upon the procedures, findings and conclusions of this study, the following implications for future research are suggested:

1. Research should be conducted on women in non academic milieus to determine the extent of representativeness of the college population and their influence on establishing trends.

2. Future studies should take into account not only social and cultural factors, but political and economic factors as well. For example, an important research question would be the effect of an economic depression or a state of war on attitudes toward feminism and sexual behavior.

3. In focusing on the subcultures of Jewish, female, social work students, no pretense is being made to generalize the findings toward American and Israeli populations. Further studies should be conducted on other populations to determine whether the findings herein have universal properties.

4. More research is needed on the effects of feminism on males in our society and in our cultures. Of particular interest is the effect of feminism on male sexual attitudes and behavior.

5. Longitudinal studies should be pursued to determine whether attitudes toward feminism and sexuality change over time to a more conservative or more liberal orientation. Such variables as having children and the sex of these children might alter one's attitudes toward feminism and sexuality.

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APPENDIX A
Form Letters

Form Letter: Initial Letter to Deans

(Date)

Name
Address

Dear Dean:

I am a doctoral student at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N.C. in the School of Home Economics, Department of Child Development and Family Relations. I have an MSW and for my doctoral dissertation, I am planning to conduct a study of female social work students. The title of my dissertation is "Sexual Knowledge, Attitudes, and Behavior and Attitudes Toward Feminism: A Cross-Cultural Study". The two cultures that I am planning to study are America and Israel.

I would, therefore, appreciate any assistance that you can give me in obtaining students willing to participate in this study. I am particularly interested in Jewish, female social work students. There are two questionnaires that I would like to have them respond to which takes about thirty to forty-five minutes to complete.

I hope that you will be able to honor this request. Perhaps in some way this study will be able to add to the body of social work research. I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Ried S. Raben

Form Letter: Follow up to Deans

(Date)

Name
Address

Dear Dean:

The recent participation of the students in your school contributed very much to my study of feminism and sexuality. Your students were most cooperative. Thank you for your interest and assistance in a study which I hope will add important information to our current knowledge of the above-named areas. I look forward to sharing the results of the research with you and your students when the data are analyzed.

Sincerely,

Ried S. Raben