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GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES WITHIN THE GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.A.

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jennifer Hillis Matternes

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband Matt,

Hugh B. Matternes.

ABSTRACT

This study presents a broad look at the gender role attitudes evident in Girl Scouting. The activities Girl Scouts engage in, the handbooks they use, and the behavior of Girl Scout leaders are all sources of potential influence on a young girl's gender role attitude development.

Various sources of information were used to learn about the Girl Scouts. Handbooks and other publications, proficiency badge sales data, and interviews with former Girl Scouts provided historical information about the attitudes of the national organization and how Girl Scouting was implemented at the troop level. Information about modern Girl Scouting was obtained through participant observation of local troops, interviews with Girl Scouts and Girl Scout leaders, and a survey of local Girl Scouts, their parents, and Girl Scout leaders.

The results of the study showed that Girl Scouting at the organizational level has presented differing focuses at different times in its history. In the beginning (1912) they had an outdoor orientation which reflected their Boy Scout origins. In the years after WWII Girl Scouting reflected

shifts in national attitudes and increased its focus on home oriented activities. In response to the second sexual revolution of the 1970s, Girl Scouting took on a consciously feminist slant. The focus turned to preparing Girl Scouts for the work force and their expanding roles in society.

This study revealed that while the national organization of GSUSA provides a framework and an ideal, the real force in Girl Scouting is the leader. The Girl Scout leader influences the activities that are engaged in and sets the tone for the troop. Girl Scout leaders are typically middle class women who have sufficient time and the inclination to volunteer their services. Often women of this sort are either homemakers or employed in traditional, secondary income jobs. However, the women who direct Girl Scouting at the local and national level are professionals with advanced degrees. They bring to the organization a thoroughly modern attitude. This among other things has led to a consistent discrepancy between the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A's program design and what Girl Scouts actually do.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

John and Beatrice Whiting (1987) suggested that the study of a child's learning environment was useful for understanding an adult's behavior styles and value priorities (1987). Girl Scouting is an aspect of some girls' learning environments that is independent of home and school.

The Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. has been an American institution since 1912. It was founded in Savannah, Georgia, by Juliette Gordon Low. Mrs. Low met Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts, in London and decided to start a similar organization for girls in the United States.

The size of membership has changed over the years. Early growth was explosive. Membership continued to rise until the 1970s when there was a dramatic decline. By 1989 membership levels had nearly recovered to their former level.

In this study, I will try to assess the role of Girl Scouting in shaping women's gender identities. There are three major questions that will be asked. First, has the Girl Scout program been presenting the traditional values and behaviors of the time, or more liberal ones? Second, how have Girl Scout activities changed over time? Third, how do Girl Scouts

compare to their leaders and parents in their gender role attitudes?

It is predicted that trends in the Girl Scout program's attitudes toward feminist ideals should correspond to trends in national attitudes towards feminism. This is predicted because one of the fundamental tenets of Girl Scouting is that it should "... help girls develop as happy resourceful individuals willing to share their abilities as citizens in their homes, their communities, their country, and the world" (Burek 1989:11306). Accepting those philosophies and behaviors that are considered normal and virtuous by society as a whole should make Girl Scouts happy to the extent that they will receive positive feedback from society.

Studies have shown that an individual's gender role attitude development can be influenced by adult role models (Fagot 1984, Steiger 1981, Whiting and Whiting 1975). This is particularly true if the influence is couched in a relaxed and voluntary setting (Richer 1988, Steiger 1981). The Girl Scouts place girls from an early age under the direction of leaders who conduct activities in a generally non-confrontational style. As such, it has great potential to influence the gender role attitudes of its members.

Dr. Cecily Selby, the National Executive Director of the Girl Scouts in 1987, stated that "Girl Scouting has been liberating American girls since 1912" (Howard 1987:51). In the context of feminist discussion, liberation means transcending

conventional role expectations and limitations. This is a testable statement. In order to determine the accuracy of this comment it is necessary to look at the Girl Scout movement historically.

The first phase of this study was to analyze the Girl Scout handbooks and leader's guides for the presence of traditional and non-traditional input. Suggested activities and merit badge availability and sales were evaluated. The number of pages in each volume devoted to traditional values and activities was compared to the number of pages devoted to non-traditional values and activities. The number of merit badges available for traditional activities was compared to the number of badges for non-traditional activities. Sales of these badges were also compared. Results of these comparisons were studied over time to look for changes in the ratio of traditional to non-traditional orientation in the Girl Scout literature and practice. In addition to quantitative comparisons in the handbooks and badges, specific qualitative changes in content and what these changes represent were reviewed.

The second phase of this study consisted of analyzing and interpreting data from participant observation of troops and informal interviews with Girl Scouts, Girl Scout leaders, and Girl Scout alumnae from the 1920s through the 1980s. A loosely structured, open-ended interview was used to elicit information about being a Girl Scout. What sorts of activities did they engage in and roughly how much time did they spend doing

traditional versus nontraditional activities? The activities of each modern troop were observed for several meetings in order to get a feel for how they operate and what they do.

The third phase of this study compared the gender role attitudes of modern Girl Scouts, their parents, and Girl Scout leaders. A survey was distributed containing a shortened version of Osmond and Martin's (1975) Sex-Role Attitude (SRA) scale. Responses to this survey were then tested for significant differences between groups. The survey also contained demographic questions and questions about attitudes towards Girl Scouting. The interviews, survey data, and participant observation are used to formulate a general description of what Girl Scouts did and how they felt about the program and their leaders at any given time.

The practical significance of this research is that in studying how Girl Scouts have evolved and adapted to the changing social environment, we can perhaps evaluate some of the reasons for their growth prior to 1970, their decline in popularity in the 1970s, and their recovery after reorganization in the 1980s. By studying how modern Girl Scouts compare to their parents and leaders we can test how another aspect of a child's learning environment (beyond parents and school) may influence gender role attitude development.

Chapter II provides highlights of anthropological, biological, and psychological explanations of gender role behavior. Chapter III presents a history of Girl Scouting and

feminism. The results of Osmond and Martin's Sex Role Attitude scale are presented in Chapter IV. Interview, survey, and participant observation data from current and former Girl Scouts, leaders, and parents are discussed in chapter V. General conclusions of this study are given in chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

> "There are two kinds of people - human beings and women. But when women start acting like human beings, they are accused of trying to be like men."
>
> Simone De Beauvoir (in Trudeau 1974:27)

Social roles are an integral part of one's identity. A social role can be defined as the behavior expected of a person in a given position or status. These roles are primarily learned through socialization. Brim (1960) defined socialization as a process through which an individual learns to meet the behavioral requirements laid down by other members of society. These requirements cover a range of status positions and associated roles (such as gender, economic, religious, and educational).

The focus of this study is gender role development. Gender is a multi-faceted status which is subject to change and variation (Ginsburg and Tsing 1990). The causes of gender role differences between men and women have been debated for many years. Conventional wisdom held that there were innate differences (nature). Women were child rearers and care-givers because that was the natural scheme of things. Traditional gender roles for women (behaviors related to homemaking and child rearing as opposed to occupationally oriented behavior)

gave men positions of greater power and prestige (Zey-Ferrell 1978). The argument was that human nature justified institutionalized inequality. Others claimed that role training experiences and power differences between the sexes (nurture), not innate behavior, underlie the mothering role ascribed to women (Meyer 1987). Several disciplines have attempted to solve the nature versus nurture debate on gender roles.

Anthropology

Anthropologists usually approach the nature-nurture debate by looking for cultural universals (Brown 1991, Frieze 1978, Munroe and Munroe 1975, Whiting and Edwards 1974). Their question is: "Given the inherent tendency for disparate peoples to develop disparate cultures, how on earth can some things be the same everywhere" (Brown 1991:88). The argument behind this approach is that if a behavior is found in all cultures, then it is most likely biologically determined. If behaviors differ between cultures then they would be more likely to be culturally determined.

John and Beatrice Whiting directed a study of gender differences in children from six different cultures (Whiting and Edwards 1974, Whiting and Whiting 1975). They were testing conventional wisdom about male and female personalities:

> FEMALES - "dependent, passive, compliant, nurturant, responsible, and sociable."
> MALES - "dominant, aggressive, and active."
> (Whiting and Edwards 1974:188)

Teams of observers studied children between the ages of three

and eleven in each culture and looked for stereotypic and counter-stereotypic behaviors.

They found differences between male and female children in all cultures. However, these differences were not consistent. It was concluded that most gender role behavior is influenced by socialization, particularly task assignment. Female children were usually given tasks which kept them close to home. They were also far more often engaged in childcare. These tasks tended to reinforce behaviors and attitudes that conventional wisdom assigns to females. Whiting and Edwards (1974) found that the only behavior that they felt had a strong biological basis was aggression.

Mead (1935) described the Tchambuli of Papua New Guinea as a society in which the gender roles were reversed. She found women were the dominant, controlling partners and breadwinners. Men were dependents who spent their time preening, bickering, and engaging in the arts. This study became an important argument against the concept of biologically determined gender roles. The results of Mead's study were brought into question when Deborah Gewertz studied the Tchambuli in 1974-75, however.

Gewertz found that among themselves the Tchambuli considered that men were aggressive and women were passive (1981). While women were the breadwinners, men had control over the results of their labor and political decision making. No society has been found in which women dominated men in the

public arena (Bamberger 1974).

In societies where there is less difference in task assignments (such as our own), there is also less difference in the gender role behavior of boys and girls. Whiting and Whiting concluded from their Six Cultures Project that children's behavior corresponds to the behavior that will be expected of them as adults (1975).

Other anthropologists emphasize reductionist explanations that physiological and/or psychological mechanisms are the root of given behaviors. D'Andrade (1974) stated that physical sex differences provide constraints which influence social roles. Men tend to be larger and stronger and therefore more capable of heavy physical labor. Women tend to exhibit less strength and the demands of childcare keep them closer to home. Since only women are capable of nursing infants the responsibility of childcare falls to them.

The Israeli kibbutz has been used to illustrate this point (D'Andrade 1974, Munroe and Munroe 1975). The kibbutz was developed as a communal living system in which a positive effort was made to eliminate social bias based on sex. Individual living areas were kept small and meals were communal so that personal housework could be kept to a minimum. Childcare was also handled communally so that parents would be free to do other work. In the beginning men and women shared the same jobs. Women were in the fields with men and men were in the kitchens with women.

Gradually life in the kibbutz changed. Residents discovered that certain jobs were too strenuous for most women. When pregnant and when nursing, women were even less able to do hard physical labor or jobs that took them far away from the nursery. Gradually many women took employment in service jobs, while men assumed their place in other occupations. Women found themselves performing domestic tasks but instead of doing a whole suite of tasks for their family, they were doing the same task every day for the group. Families who left the kibbutz usually cited the woman's dissatisfaction as the motivating factor.

The kibbutz experiment illustrates that trying to abolish the female role is ineffective. Male and female physical differences seem to lead to a natural division of labor. D'Andrade argues that:

> "Indeed, the very fact that some of the present biological sex differences exist may be due to selective factors operating as a result of cultural universals in the division of labor." (1974:37)

In other words, there might be a positive feedback loop between biology and culture. Initially, biology sets up constraints that limit the activities of women. Culture then responds with a division of labor. Individuals teach their children and each other to fit into those divisions. Selection operates in favor of those people who choose those behaviors best suited for the cultural environment (Wallace 1961). Traits are selected for that help people fit into their assigned niche. As a result, men and women become increasingly

more biologically and psychologically differentiated.

Bobbi Low (1989) tested cross-cultural data for a correspondence between an individual society's male and female reproductive patterns and the role training of its children. All societies trained boys to be more independent and brave than girls. Girls were universally taught to be more obedient, hard working, and responsible than boys. In societies where women have more control over resources and more power in the public sphere, girls are taught to be more aggressive and to strive to achieve. It would follow from Low's study, that as American women increasingly enter the public sphere, girls should be trained to be less submissive.

Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1982) determined that there were three ways that culture (in this instance gender roles) can be transmitted. Gender roles can be transmitted 'vertically' from parent to child. They can be transmitted 'obliquely' across generations by non-kin role models. And they can be transmitted 'horizontally' between peers. This work underscores the importance of socialization outside of the family in transmitting culturally patterned behaviors and fostering conformity in groups. Therefore, non-biological socializers (i.e. in this case, Girl Scout leaders) can have a significant impact on attitude development.

Monique Borgerhoff Mulder (1990) stated that the mode of transmission of a behavior was not the issue:

> "...if a particular pattern of behavior causes a person to leave more descendants than those who do

> not exhibit such behavior, it will come to predominate, or be naturally selected, irrespective of the mechanism of transmission from parents to offspring." (Borgerhoff Mulder 1990:54)

All societies contain gender role differences. The magnitude and direction of these differences are a product of the social structures of each society. Microenvironmental differences influence the manifestation of maleness and femaleness in each given society. Although the impact of socialization is clear, this should not lead us to dismiss the possibility of biological influences on gender roles and behavior.

Biology

Biologists look for explanations of behavior in the physical and chemical workings of the body. There are physical differences in mammals between males and females that influence their psychological development. The hypothalamus and hippocampus in the brain are influenced in their development by "male" hormones. The hypothalamus regulates the hormonal system. Studies have shown that damage to different parts of the hypothalamus can lead to abnormalities in activity level, feeding, drinking, fighting, sexual behavior, and temperature regulation. The hippocampus is a structure that is linked to the ability to recall events in the recent past. It has also been linked with the ability to abandon unproductive habitual behaviors and replace them with new ones (Kalat 1984).

In 1975 Pollak and Sachs published the results of a study

illustrating the impact of hormones on behavior. Female rats, 0-10 days old, were injected with androgens, which are male hormones. This dosage of androgens during a critical developmental period produced permanent changes in behavior. The androgenized females were more aggressive than normal females. They also mounted other females and engaged in male copulatory movements.

In a companion study, Pollak and Sachs (1975) castrated male rats 0-10 days old. This procedure removed a major source of androgens. These rats followed a female behavior pattern,where they were less aggressive and bent their backs to allow other rats to mount them.

James Kalat (1984) cites several studies which show structural differences between male and female rats in parts of the hypothalamus, hippocampus, spinal cord, and other areas (Table 1). The development of these areas is directly influenced by hormones. Studies on female rats show that when exposed to excessive levels of androgens during a critical developmental period, the female rat brain will develop along lines typical for males.

Studies have also demonstrated that aggression is more typical among males than females. Quadagno et al. (1977) cite a study where female monkeys were given androgens during their critical time of development. These females subsequently engaged in masculine behaviors. They attempted to copulate with other females, engaged in more "rough and tumble" play,

were more aggressive, and made more threatening facial gestures than normal females. These behaviors result from the androgens' influence on the development of the hypothalamus.

Table 1. Summary of the organizing effects of sex hormones on early mammalian development.

	Time of maturation	Development if no sex hormones	Role of estrogens	Role of androgens
Hypothalamus, external genitals, and sex behavior	Earlier	Female pattern	Usually bound to protein; can not affect development if present in normal amounts.	Converted to estrogen within cells estrogen thus formed masculinizes development.
Cerebral cortex	Later	Male pattern	No longer bound to protein; feminizes development.	Can not be converted to estrogens in cortex; no apparent effect.

International crime statistics show that males engage in more violence than females (Kalat 1984). In the United States, the highest incidence of violence is among men 15-25 years of age. This is also the age range when males carry the highest levels of androgens in their blood (Kalat 1984). Persky et al. (1971) gave 18 young men aged 18-28 a questionnaire designed to measure hostility. The subjects were then tested for testosterone level (an androgen). Testosterone level was highly correlated with hostility level.

Daly and Wilson (1989) use evolutionary theory to explain the higher prevalence of male violence. They believe that man has had a long history of polygyny. As with any other species, polygyny brings on competition (often aggressive) between males for mates. The more aggressive males got more mates. Therefore a predisposition for violence could have carried a selective advantage.

Diamond (1979) cites studies on both rats and humans. These studies show that for female rats and humans the cerebral cortex is relatively thicker on the left hemisphere. It is relatively thicker on the right hemisphere for males. Rat experiments have shown that the removal of the ovaries (estrogen) causes females to develop the male pattern. Castration of male rats produced no change. The form of the cerebral cortex is influenced by estrogen (Table 1).

Different parts of the cerebral cortex have different functions. The left frontal lobe (thicker in females) contains Broca's area, an area essential for language production. The left temporal lobe contains Wernicke's area, critical for language comprehension. The right hemisphere of the cortex (thicker in males) usually contains the areas which are specialized for complex visual or spatial tasks. These results correlate well with the results of aptitude tests. Women usually score higher on verbal tests. Men tend to score higher on visual or spatial tests.

Obviously, not everyone falls neatly into this general

pattern. How would we explain D.H. Lawrence or Madame Curie? The effects of handedness and hand position when writing serve to provide variations on this scheme. This left hemisphere dominance of the verbal areas is true for 95% of right handers and 60% of left handers. For the other 5% and 40%, respectively, these areas are located on the right side of the brain. Kalat (1984) reported studies that left handers who wrote with an inverted hand position had their language area in the left hemisphere. In left handers who wrote with a noninverted hand position the language area is located in the right hemisphere. Among the roughly 5% of right handers who have their language areas in the right side of the brain, all wrote with the right hand inverted.

For example, a man naturally has an enlarged right cerebral cortex. If he is left handed he has a 40% chance of having his language association areas located on that enlarged side. The chance is only 5% for right handers. This result may lend credibility to the cultural myths that left handed men tend to be more poetic and artistic.

Pseudohermaphroditism is a condition in which an individual is born with an incomplete set of both male and female sexual organs. These individuals have elevated levels of both androgens and estrogens. As children they are assigned an arbitrary sex (often female). Pseudohermaphrodites who are raised as female tend to be tomboyish. Perhaps this is linked to androgens (as in the monkey experiment). Most pseudo-

hermaphrodites (90-95%) are satisfied with their assigned sex as adults (Kalat 1984). This demonstrates some of the role that learning has on attitude development.

When looking at these data it is important to remember that these figures represent potential tendencies. These studies do not indicate that men and women are always a certain way, only that they may be predisposed toward certain behaviors. Hormones have been shown to influence structure and behavior. It is important to realize that just because these differences exist does not mean that they determine behavior.

Psychology

One way psychologists explain gender role development is through social learning theory. This is the belief that behaviors are acquired through modeling observed behaviors and receiving reinforcement (Frieze et al. 1978). Gender roles are already established in very young children. Larson (1988) reports studies which indicate that gender role stereotyping appeared at 3.5 years of age and increased with increasing age. Children's play reveals a very early pattern of gender differentiation (Fagot 1984).

The behavior of adults towards children and the toys children are given influence their conception of appropriate gender roles. Girls are given toys that call for learning rules and imitating behaviors (dolls, domestic toys) and are encouraged to stay near adults and seek help and guidance

(Fagot 1984). Boys are given toys that encourage them to develop their own ideas and to find out how the toys work. They are encouraged to do things away from their parents and are discouraged from seeking help (Fagot 1984).

Brinn (1984) states that children are more likely to adopt behaviors that they perceive as desired or preferred by others. Zey-Ferrell (1978) suggests that parental influences may be of major importance in assessing gender role attitudes. Dambrot (1984) supports this position in his findings of significant relationships between college girls and their mothers on gender role attitudes. Zey-Ferrell (1978), however, could not support this idea because she found that college girls were significantly more liberal in their gender role attitudes than their mothers. Zey-Ferrell suggests that parental gender role attitudes may be rejected because they are not adaptive to the current environment. She suggests that perhaps they acquired their attitudes from role models other than their parents, such as their peers (1978).

Beverly Fagot (1984) did a study on teacher and peer reactions to different play styles. She found that girls were encouraged to engage in noncompetitive, nonphysical, indoor activity. Boys, on the other hand, were encouraged to do competitive, physical, outdoor activities. In general, children choosing traditional gender role behaviors were given more positive responses than non-traditional children. Over the course of this study, non-traditional children became more

traditional. This illustrates that the behavior of others influences a child's behavior choice.

Stephen Richer (1988) evaluated a program in a Canadian high school. The class was designed to raise the student's consciousness about the range of appropriate behaviors for both sexes. The results of the program were less than positive. The students became even more traditional in their attitudes than they were before the program. Richer credited this to the confrontational atmosphere of school. The students rebelled against authority.

John Steiger (1981) did a study on a feminist consciousness raising class at a university. The attitudes of students in the consciousness raising class were compared to those of students in an introductory sociology class. Students in the latter group showed more change in their gender role attitudes than those in the former. This course was undertaken voluntarily: therefore, the students were more receptive to its content than the high school students were.

Television has been shown to be a major influence on gender role stereotyping. Bretl (1988) analyzed television commercials. He found that women were far more likely than men to be portrayed with no occupation, located in the home, and selling home products. He also reported that children in communities with television were more stereotyped in their gender role attitudes than children in towns without television. When television was introduced into towns formerly

without this service the gender role attitudes of the children became more stereotyped and differentiated.

Increased educational attainment has been correlated with an increase in the egalitarian view of gender roles. Brinn (1984) in her study of schoolchildren, found an increase in preference for "masculine" items with an increase in grade level. Dambrot (1984) observed that individuals with higher levels of education had higher liberal scores for gender roles.

Several tests using Likert-type scales have been developed in attempts to quantify gender role attitudes. Helmreich and Spence (1982) developed the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) in 1972 to test attitudes on vocational, educational, marital, and dating rights and role behaviors. The Meier's Feminine Social Equality Scale (FSE) was also developed in 1972 and tests attitudes concerning female occupational, political, and family roles (Zey-Ferrell 1978). The Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES) tests the level to which the subject will respond to another individual independent of that other individual's sex (King 1986). King compared the SRES to the AWS based on several personality traits and found that they closely parallel each other, except that AWS scores accounted uniquely for variance in "need for autonomy" and "succorance" and SRES scores accounted uniquely for variance in "achievement locus of control" (1986).

Osmond and Martin (1975) critiqued the use of the

equality (egalitarian) versus inequality (traditional) continuum in gender role studies. They suggested that this approach dealt only with the issue of the appropriateness of women working or staying home. It did not address male roles. Osmond and Martin proposed the use of a different continuum to describe their "traditional" and "modern" categories (i.e., sex differentiation and sex-typing versus no sex differentiation and no sex-typing). A traditional attitude would be one in which there are strong differences between the gender roles of men and women. Social roles would not be influenced by sex in the "modern" stance. Osmond and Martin developed the Sex-Role Attitude (SRA) Scale to test attitudes on familial and extra-familial roles, social change, and sexual stereotypes. Osmond and Martin administered their test to 480 college juniors and seniors (1975). Overall, they found males were more traditional than females. The familial roles category showed the highest level of traditionality. The largest area of disagreement between males and females was that of extrafamilial roles, in which males were significantly more traditional than females. The areas of least disagreement were familial roles and social change. Social change had the most modern responses. Women were slightly more modern than men on the stereotype category.

Psychologists have studied gender role attitudes along several lines: longitudinally; between the sexes; and between different age groups, races, education levels, economic

levels, familial structures, and religious affiliations. Cherlin and Walters (1981) noted that several studies had demonstrated a dramatic increase in egalitarian attitudes towards women's gender roles from the mid 1960s to the early 1970s. This was a time of Vietnam protests, the civil rights movement, an economic boom, and a revival of feminism. In the later 1970s the war was over, the economy was down, civil rights protests had slowed, and there were conservative protests over feminist issues. Cherlin and Walters (1981) predicted that the rise in gender role egalitarianism also slowed during this period.

They drew their data from the NORC General Social Survey. This is a governmentally run survey conducted once a year. The sample is drawn randomly each year from the total English speaking, noninstitutionalized, population of the United States aged eighteen and older. Cherlin and Walters looked at the results for 1972-1978. The average sample size was 1,520 individuals.

There are two questions that have been regularly asked since 1937:

1)"If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job?

2)"Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her? (Cherlin and Walters 1981:455).

Favorable response for the first question increased gradually between 1937 and the late 1950s. It stayed almost constant

between the late 1950s and the late 1960s. There was a sharp increase between 1969 and 1974. Between 1974 and 1978 the increase had returned to a gradual rate. The favorable response to the second question has shown a linear increase since 1937. Responses to these questions by black and white men and women during the 1970s were analyzed. For whites there was a significant increase in affirmative responses between 1972 and 1975 and no significant change between 1975 and 1978. For blacks there was no significant change between 1972 and 1978. Cherlin and Walters suggest that this lack of change may be explained by the fact that black women had long been active in the work force by 1972, while white women were still in the process of entering it. Black women scored as the most egalitarian in 1972. Unfortunately, the black sample was so small that Cherlin and Walters were unable to use it in the rest of their study.

For the white sample they found that men changed more than women in their response to these two questions. Men tended to be more against the issue of women working than women were in 1972. By 1978 men and women scored equally. Men and women were equally receptive to a female president in 1972. In 1978 men were more progressive on this issue than women. These results show a change from studies of the late 1960s and early 1970s where men displayed more resistence than women.

Cherlin and Walters also looked at how education level

influenced change in response to the working woman issue. Men and women with 12 years or less education showed a significant increase in receptivity to women working from 1972-1978. Women with more than 12 years of education did not show a significant increase. Their scores were comparatively high in 1972 and remained so.

Thornton and Freedman (1979) did a longitudinal study from 1962-1977 of four groups of white Detroit women. These groups were formed in 1962 from a random sample of the Detroit birth and marriage documents. The four groups were: women who had recently married, women who had recently given birth to their first child, women who had recently given birth to their second child, and women who had recently given birth to their fourth child. In 1962, 1,304 women were interviewed: 89% of them were interviewed again in 1977. The survey used a four question Likert scale test :

1) "Most of the important decisions in the life of the family should be made by the man of the house (Decisions)."
2) "It's perfectly all right for women to be very active in clubs, politics, and other outside activities before the children are grown up (Women Active)."
3) "A wife shouldn't expect her husband to help around the house after he's come home from a hard day's work (Housework)."
4) "There is some work that is men's and some that is women's, and they shouldn't be doing each other's (Men's/Women's Work)."

(Thornton and Freedman, 1979:834).

Between 1962 and 1970, responses for all items indicated increasingly progressive attitudes. The change was most pronounced for "decisions," followed by "men's/women's work".

According to Thornton and Freedman these data show more movement toward the rejection of the general principle of sex segregation than towards the rejection of specific kinds of segregation.

Dambrot, Papp, and Whitmore (1984) performed a comparative study of three generations of female family members. The subjects were students in an introductory psychology class who volunteered, and their mothers and grandmothers. The mean ages of these groups were 19 for the students, 43 for the mothers, and 69 for the grandmothers. Subjects were asked to fill out the AWS (Attitude Toward Women Scale) and other biographical questions. The AWS is a 55 item scale designed by Helmreich and Spence (1982) to measure degree of profeminist attitude. Forty-three usable sets of student, mother, and grandmother forms were returned.

Students were found to be the most liberal and grandmothers were the least liberal. Education was positively related to liberal attitudes. Increasing age was negatively related to liberal attitudes. While there was no such linkage between daughters and grandmothers, correlation analysis showed that mothers were equally linked in attitude with their mothers and their daughters.

Conclusion

From the research reviewed above, a basic model for the acquisition of gender role attitudes and behaviors can be

drawn. Sex hormones act upon the developing foetus, influencing the actual form of the brain and many other parts of the body. From the moment of birth the gender of the child influences the behavior of adults towards it.

The first way that children learn gender roles is "vertically" from parent to child (Cavalli-Sforza 1982). Children will strive to act in ways that will produce parental approval. Parents will tend to reinforce those behaviors which conform to their mental picture of how their son or daughter should act. The roles that parents themselves take on in and out of the household also serve as models for their children to emulate.

As children get older, other modes of cultural transmission gain influence. Children seek the interaction and approval of their peers and are thus subject to the horizontal transmission of attitudes and behaviors from them. Many attitudes are also transmitted obliquely, from non-family role models. Children learn norms from television, religious officials, teachers, and other adult role models.

Views on appropriate gender roles are subject to many external influences (economics, religion, population). When other aspects of society change, the gender role attitudes that they influence will be pressured to change as well.

Girl Scouting is an institution which provides an environment for the oblique transmission of gender role attitudes from leader to Girl Scout. Girl and Boy Scouting

reinforce sexual segregation in socialization - women to girls, men to boys, and through their programs and leaders provide objects of emulation for their members' destined role as adults.

Girl Scouting provides a new reference group for its members and at the same time generates a new norm to emulate. As an organization it is subject to environmental pressures on its structure and must adapt or perish. Chapter III will discuss the gender role attitudes presented by the Girl Scouts and how these attitudes have responded to changes in the nation's culture.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF GIRL SCOUTING AND FEMINISM

Studies have shown that an individual's gender role attitude development can be influenced by adult role models (Fagot 1984, Steiger 1981). This is particularly true if the influence is couched in a relaxed and voluntary setting (Richer 1988, Steiger 1981). The Girl Scouts place girls from an early age (as young as five) under the control of leaders who direct activities in a generally non-confrontational style. As such, it has great potential to influence the gender role attitudes of its members. Dr Cecily Selby, the National Executive Director of the Girl Scouts in 1987, asserted that "Girl Scouting has been liberating American girls since 1912" (Howard 1987). In order to assess the accuracy of this statement it is necessary to look at the Girl Scout movement through time.

Methods

This analysis will deal with three types of data. The first will be the official history of the Girl Scout movement as put forth by various Girl Scout and other publications. The second source of data will be the Girl Scout Handbooks and how

the proportion of "modern" and "traditional" handbook content has changed over the years. The third will show how Girl Scout merit badges available and those actually purchased reflect the relationship between the program's design and its implementation. Through these avenues of investigation one can identify the types of gender role messages the Girl Scouts have been projecting.

The two key terms that will be used in this analysis are:

> Modern (liberal) - Attitude that behavior is independent of sex, that women have the same abilities as men and any activity is equally appropriate for men and women.
>
> Traditional (conservative) - Attitude that appropriate activities for women are those related to homemaking and community service.

The Girl Scout Handbook is the major framework around which Girl Scouting is organized. These books describe the attitudes and behaviors a Girl Scout should adopt and activities in which it is appropriate to engage. These books have been revised several times since the first handbook was written in 1913. When discussing the sales of the 1964 editions, one book editor noted that:

> "Of the total crop of American girls between the ages of 7 and 17 a very sizable fraction will come, at one time or another, under the influence or at least within the range of these books... whatever American women are in the next couple of decades, these books will have had a fair part in making them."
>
> (Adams 1964:8)

Since the Girl Scout Handbooks have such a potential impact, it is important to know just what messages they have

conveyed. The number of pages devoted to traditional values and activities was compared to the number of pages devoted to non-traditional activities for each handbook (Table 2). The handbooks were also reviewed for other indications of changes in basic attitudes.

Table 2. Categories Used in the Analysis of Handbooks.

TRADITIONAL	NONTRADITIONAL
-cooking	-outdoor activities
-cleaning	-camping
-childcare	-canoeing
-sewing	-archery
-arts and crafts	-hiking
-community service	-sports
-music	-occupationally oriented activities
-dancing	-career discussion
	-internships
	-science and nature

Proficiency badges were used as an indicator of both what the Girl Scout organization intended to do and what Girl Scouts were actually doing. Proficiency badges have been earned by Girl Scouts since the beginning. Sales data are available from 1920 on. All badge availability and sales data were obtained from the Girl Scout Collector's Guide (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987). Badges can be divided into 11 categories based on the badge divisions of the 1938 through 1963 program (Table 3). Most of these categories are fairly straightforward except for Community Life. The Community Life category encompasses badges that deal with knowledge about the

society in which we live. Topics range from government, to technology, to careers.

Table 3. Girl Scout Proficiency Badge Categories.

GROUP	CATEGORY
TRADITIONAL	Arts and Crafts
	Health and Safety
	Homemaking
	Music and Dance
MODERN	Nature
	Out of Doors
	Sports and Games
	Community Life
	International Friendship
NEUTRAL	Agriculture
	Literature and Dramatics

I have further divided these categories into Traditional, Modern and Neutral groups. Traditional activities are those which relate to the home, childcare, nurturing behaviors, and feminine arts. Music and dance are included in the traditional category because they were considered obligatory feminine accomplishments for centuries. The Modern group are those badges which encourage outside activities, independence, a focus away from the home, and activities that are not typically done by girls. The Neutral category contains those badges which entail activities that fall neither into the traditional nor modern categories.

From these three sources of information (written histories, Girl Scout Handbooks, and badge data) an integrated history of Girl Scouting can be drawn.

History

Attitudes on appropriate gender roles for women have changed over time. Larson (1988) cites the industrial revolution as a major force in segregating women from men and putting women in a subordinate role in society. Increased urbanization made children a costly investment and birthrates began a decline (Harris 1981).

During the Victorian Era it was widely believed that women were innately different from men. Women were considered morally superior. They were more fair-minded, less in need of personal autonomy, gentler, and more virtuous (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978). The movement of upper middle class women from home-oriented to community service activities was facilitated, in part, by this mindset.

Obviously, most women were not middle class. In 1890, 17 percent of the paid labor force were women (Harris 1981). Of these the vast majority were single, divorced, or widowed. By 1900, there were five million female wage earners in the United States. This represented one-fifth of the nation's work force. Two million of these women were domestics. The majority of the rest worked in sex segregated jobs. Women earned only 1/3 to 1/2 as much as men and worked 10-12 hour days. Employers justified paying women less by saying that these women were just working for "pin money" (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978).

During the late nineteenth century there was a large

immigrant population in the United States. This made servants cheap and abundant. Technology provided many conveniences. The Victorian image of purity was a central theme. Women were supposed to be detached from sex. This detachment was probably real since the wearing of corsets caused changes in women's bodies that made intercourse painful (Davies 1982). Corsets also decreased middle and upper class women's ability to conceive and bear children. Men were considered to be of a baser quality in need of women to keep them from temptation. By the late nineteenth century it was widely held that couples should abolish sex altogether except when a child was wanted. Due to the Victorian attitudes on sex and corset wearing, women had fewer children. All of these developments conspired to leave upper and middle class women with time on their hands (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978).

Since middle class women at the turn of the century believed that they were innately moral and virtuous, many also believed that they had an obligation to spread this virtue. They turned to women's clubs to alleviate their boredom and in some cases to satisfy their perceived moral responsibility. During this period there were three kinds of women's clubs. There were local "self culture" clubs. These clubs featured lectures and community projects. There were also service oriented national organizations. Finally, there were women's reform agencies like the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Lindsey 1990).

The fight for women's suffrage was another reform issue that served to unite women. These women believed that once they had the vote they would continue to work together and have a powerful and positive effect on government (O'Neill 1969). It was while this mood of united struggle and positive feelings about women's capabilities held sway that the Girl Scouts of the USA was founded.

The Girl Scouts of the USA trace their roots to the Girl Guides of England. During the Boer War, General Sir Robert Baden-Powell established a corps of boy messengers. After the war this corps developed into the Boy Scouts. Many girls, who saw what the Boy Scouts were doing, wanted to join as well. At the first Boy Scout rally in London, a large group of girls came and joined in the parade. When Lord Baden-Powell asked them who they were, they replied that they were Girl Scouts. Lord Baden-Powell told them that there was no such thing as a Girl Scout. The girls responded that there must be, because there they were. Lord Baden-Powell placed these girls under the direction of his sister and they were named the Girl Guides (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987).

Juliette Gordon Low was an upper-middle class widow from Savannah and a product of the Victorian era. She met the Baden-Powells on an ocean voyage and befriended them. Juliette became enamored of the concept of scouting and eventually decided to bring it to the United States. In 1912, she

returned to Savannah and founded the first Girl Scout troop in America.

The Boy Scouts had come to America a few years before. When Juliette Gordon Low named her club the Girl Scouts, the Boy Scouts of America threatened to file suit (Flick 1983). The idea that the word "scout" was applicable to a girl offended the leaders of the Boy Scouts. Juliette Gordon Low advised her coworkers that they must ally themselves with powerful men so that they could combat this suit. This gesture demonstrated that women during this time felt the need for male championship. The suit was never filed.

Early growth was explosive (Figure 1). In 1912 the Savannah troop started out with eight members, by 1915 the national organization had 5,000 members, and in 1920, just eight years after their inception there were 42,000 Girl Scouts (Flick 1983).

The first Girl Scouts dared to wear bloomers and go camping. They studied unconventional things like tracking, Morse code, semaphore, knot tying, shooting, and archery. They were encouraged to contemplate careers other than that of being a housewife (Lyon 1981). The first handbook, published in 1913, described women who were doctors, aviators, scientists, and astronomers (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987).

War has traditionally served to break down the normal social boundaries of society. WWI expanded job opportunities for women. Having been placed in positions that were previ-

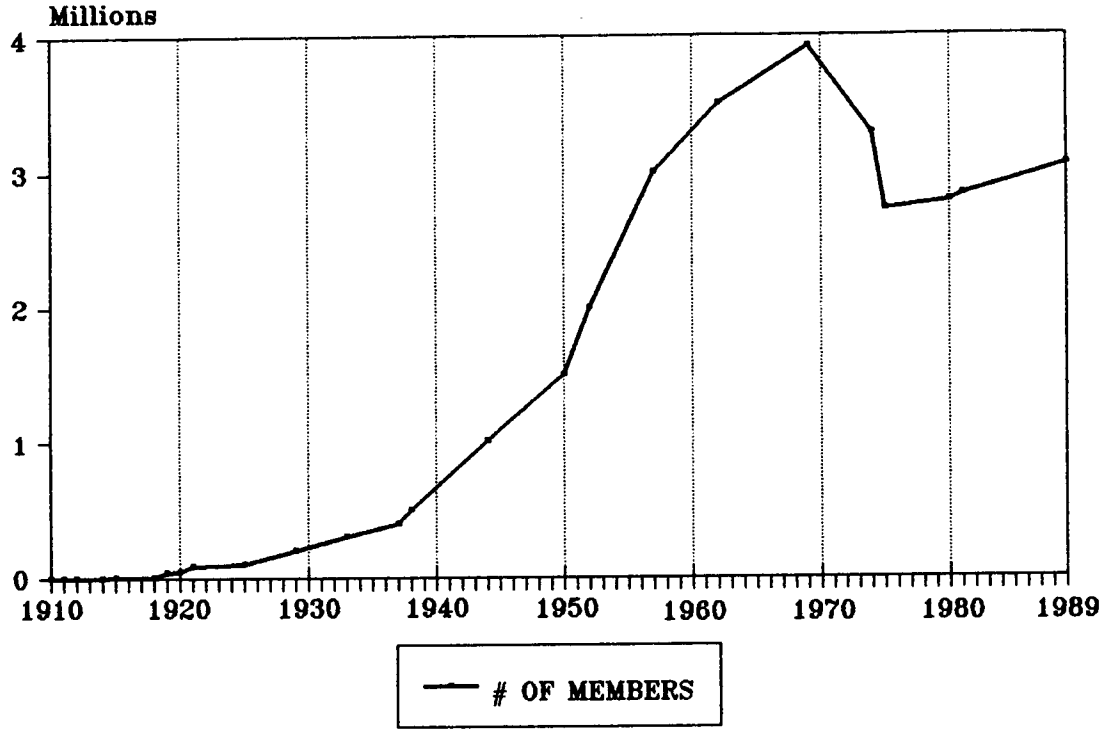


Figure 1. Membership trends in the GSUSA.

ously unknown to most women, they developed a new awareness of their own potential (Lindsey 1990). WWI is partially responsible for the early rapid growth in the Girl Scouts, as well. Girl Scouts were very involved in war-related community service. Among other things they assisted the Red Cross, planted vegetable gardens, and sold millions of Liberty Bonds--fairly tame activities when compared with the work of the Boy Scouts, some of whom helped the Coast Guard on patrols (Lyon 1981).

After the war, women were dismissed from their jobs to make room for returning soldiers. They were expected to return happily to domestic life. In 1920, the 19th Amendment was passed giving the right to vote to women. After its passage, the Women's Movement fell into disarray. The struggle that united them had ended. Without its influence, they splintered into differing factions. During these years, women discovered that winning the vote did not have the radical effects that were expected (O'Neill 1969). For the next forty years feminism as a movement fell into decline. Some authors trace the development of the feminine mystique to the period between the wars (Cowan 1976).

During the 1920s, the Girl Scouts' membership tripled (Lyon 1981). Camping grew more popular. Many girls earned badges for journalism, automobiles, economy, interpreting, and the telegraph. However, the Homemaking badges were the most

popular and would remain so for many decades (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987).

During the first phase of the Girl Scout movement, from 1920-1938, over half the badges available fit into the modern category (Figure 2). The Nature category contained the most badges. However, when the number of badges sold is examined (Figure 3), a very different picture emerges. For example, well over half the badges purchased fall into the traditional category. Homemaking was by far the most popular category, accounting for 1/3 of all sales.

By the 1930's Sigmund Freud's theories were in vogue. Freud believed that women considered themselves anatomically inferior to men because they lacked penises. According to his theories women could only be happy if they were wives and mothers (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978). A desire for other roles was considered abnormal. Helen Deutsch, a follower of Freud, in her book, The Psychology of Women (1944), suggested that women who viewed themselves as anything other than passive, suffered from masculinity complexes.

Despite prevailing Freudian attitudes in the rest of society, the Girl Scouts of the 1930s remained progressive. Juliette Gordon Low died in 1927. The Girl Scout Handbook of 1933 still reflects much of her influence. This handbook begins with a seven page chapter on famous women "trail makers." It gives a brief account of the lives of Sakajawea, Louisa Alcott, Anna Shaw, and Juliette Gordon Low. In a

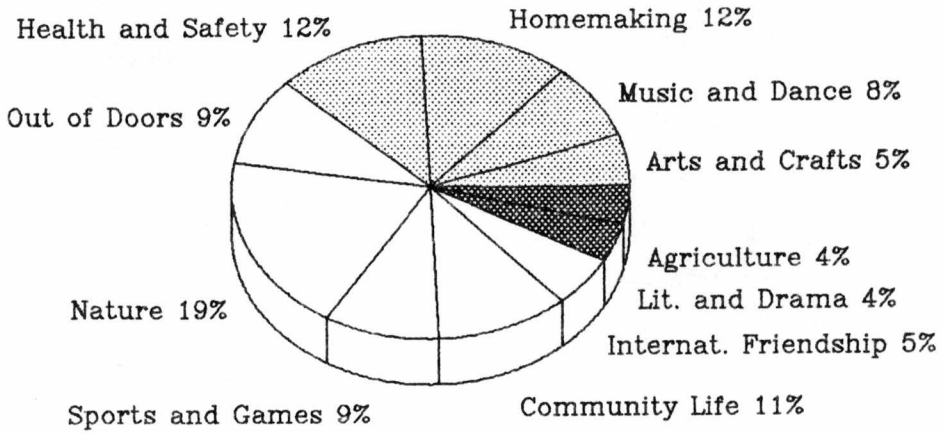


Figure 2. Proficiency badges available: 1920-1939.

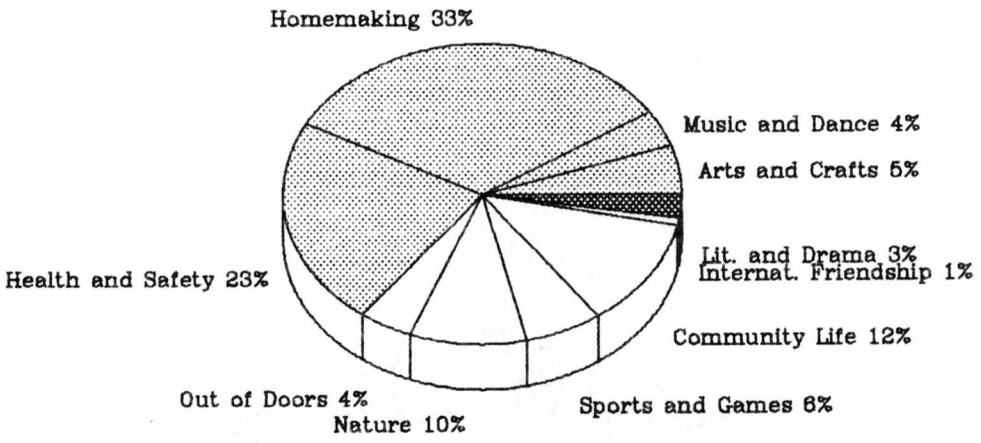


Figure 3. Proficiency badges sold: 1920-1938.

section titled "What is Girl Scouting?" a description of Girl Scout activity is given.

> "A Girl Scout learns how to live in the open and to have a good time there. She knows how to use a knife and an axe and to build a safe fire and cook a meal over it with little or no equipment. When she is on a hike or in camp a Girl Scout uses her eyes and discovers many of the secrets of the woods and fields. She learns to know and appreciate trees, flowers, and rocks; the ways of animals and birds. She gains a knowledge of trail signs and how to find the North Star. The ancient stories and legends about the starry giants are told around the camp fire and become familiar to her." (1933:20)

During the Great Depression, Girl Scouts were requested by Mrs. Herbert Hoover to help in the relief effort. They collected food and clothing, made toys and quilts, worked in hospitals and provided meals to poor children (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987). These Depression relief efforts gave girls the opportunity to be active in their communities, though in "nurturing" roles.

In 1933 Girl Scouting was divided up into five classes. These were Brownie, Tenderfoot, Second Class, First Class, and Senior Girl Scouts. Girls changed rank by reaching the required age and by demonstrating certain skills and knowledge. To reach the Tenderfoot rank, for instance, a girl needed five skills. These were:

1. To know the Girl Scout salute.
2. To know four trail signs.
3. To tell the story of a pet or wild animal.
4. To know how to whip the ends of a rope. Tie the square knot, the bowline, clove hitch, sheepshank, and sheet bend knots; demonstrate how each is used.
5. To give the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. Show how the Flag should be used.

(GSUSA 1933)

In the 1933 handbook there are almost identical numbers of pages describing traditional activities (homemaking, child-care, and the feminine arts) as pages describing modern activities (outdoor activities). The handbook from 1933 seems to support Dr Selby's claim that Girl Scouting is a liberating experience.

While membership continued to grow, there was a high dropout rate for first-year girls. In 1935 the Mariner Scout program was developed to provide water safety and boating experiences for older Girl Scouts. The next year the Girl Scouts had their first national cookie sale.

The Girl Scouts commissioned an external program evaluation in 1935 to assess organizational needs (GSUSA 1986). The results of this study led to major changes in the organization. In 1938, the Girl Scouts were divided into three age levels: Brownie Girl Scouts, ages 7-9; Intermediate Girl Scouts, ages 10-13; and Senior Girl Scouts, ages 14-17.

The second phase of the Girl Scout movement took place between 1938 and 1963. During this period only slightly more modern badges were available than traditional badges (Figure 4). Sales data showed that the traditional category continued to account for over half the badges sold and the Homemaking category continued to be the most popular by far (Figure 5).

The 1940s once again saw Girl Scouts engaged in war work. They sold war bonds and stamps, engaged in recycling drives, and sent relief products overseas. A Wing Scout program became

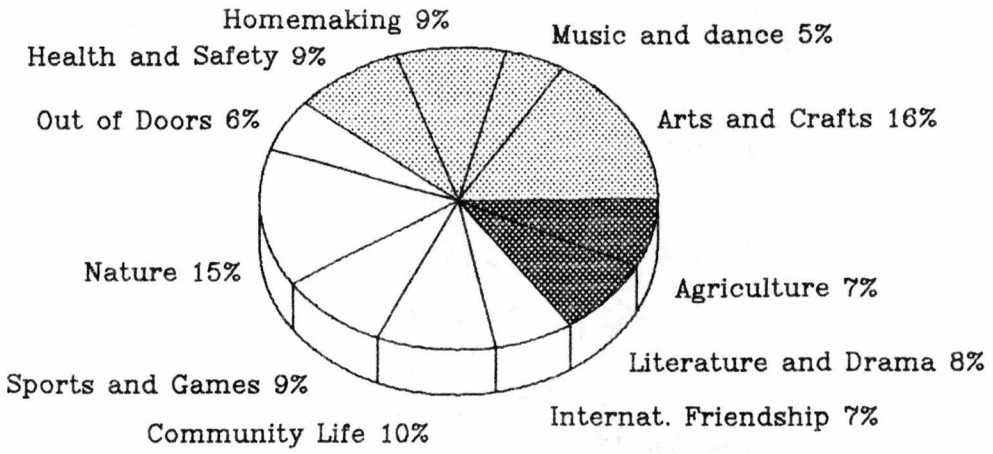


Figure 4. Proficiency badges available: 1938-1963.

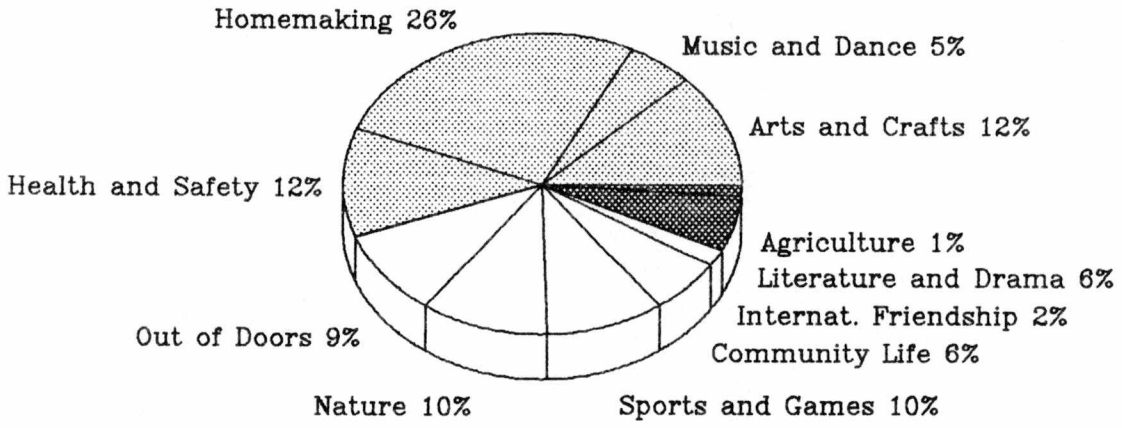


Figure 5. Proficiency badges sold: 1938-1963.

available for Senior Girl Scouts who wanted to learn about aviation. This became more popular as girls saw what WACs were doing for the war effort (Degenhardt and Kirsch 1987).

Camping was very popular during this decade. The summer of 1944 was the busiest Girl Scout camping season ever. By 1947, there was an effort in place to expand camping facilities and provide for year round camping (GSUSA 1986).

While Girl Scouting continued to provide opportunities for nontraditional experiences for girls, women joined the work force in record numbers during WWII (Hymowitz and Weisman 1978). They were placed in typical male jobs and demonstrated their ability to handle them. In 1940, 15 percent of married women worked outside the home (Harris 1981). The end of WWII and the resulting pressure for women to leave the workplace caused a dramatic rise in gender role differentiation in the 1950s, however, and a dramatic decline in women receiving a higher education (Lewin, 1987). Women who did work were once again relegated to traditional female jobs. The number of women in the work force has steadily increased since WWII (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978).

Despite women's war work, interest in the feminist cause was declining in the 1940s and 1950s (Harris 1981). In the Fifties a woman who wanted a career, but did not financially need one, was considered neurotic. In 1947, Marynia Farnham wrote that the desire for a woman to be anything other than a wife and mother was the desire for the impossible... the

desire to be a man (Hymowitz and Weissman 1978). Lynn White, the president of Mills College in California, stated that it was a waste of time for women to attend college (Friedan 1963:151-152). According to White, women were incapable of the complex reasoning needed for university study. He suggested that if women wished to study that they study cooking theory or something equally appropriate.

During these postwar years women were taught that they should only worry about looking pretty and being good wives and mothers. The mass media made glamorous the image of housewife and mother (Harris 1981). National advertizing campaigns created images of the ideal woman (Vinikas 1992). She was sweet smelling, beautifully coiffured and dressed, cheerful, and often engaged happily in some domestic task. Robert Coughlan, a psychiatrist of the day described women who wanted more from life as suffering from the "suburban syndrome":

> "If she avoids depression... her humiliation still seeks an outlet. This may take various forms: in destructive gossip about other women, or raising hell at the P.T.A., in becoming a dominating mother...or above all in dominating her husband."
> (Coughlan 1956:110)

Changes in the Girl Scout Handbooks between 1933 and 1953 reflect the transition toward more traditional gender role values. The seven page chapter on female "trail blazers" was reduced to a three page introduction. Girl Scouts now had a different description of themselves:

> "The Girl Scouts of today have great pride in their name. They, too, like to do things. They have fun and adventure. They hike, cook outdoors, and camp. They explore and learn about the wonders of nature. They dance and sing, play games and tell stories. They make friends with girls in their community. They write to girls in other countries. They put on plays. They have fun making things. They enjoy doing things to help others."
>
> (GSUSA 1953:2)

The requirements for the Intermediate rank also changed:

> 1. Learn the Girl Scout Promise, Laws, slogan, motto.
> 2. Learn the history of Girl Scouting.
> 3. Be able to give the Girl Scout salute, sign, handshake.
> 4. Learn how to display and use the flag...
> 5. Know about the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. Be able to explain the meaning of its pin.
> 6. Choose one activity from each of the following groups and show by the way you do them that you understand the Girl Scout Laws:
>   a. Homemaking
>   -Know how to set a table and do it at home
>   -Know how to make a bed and make your own bed.
>   -Make something useful for your home.
>   -Take care of a household pet.
>   b. Out-of-Doors
>   -Use a compass and make a rough sketch map of the way you go home from school and from school to troop meeting.
>   -Lay a trail for others to follow
>   -Use a jackknife to make shavings for a fire
>
> (GSUSA 1953:4)

There is a greater emphasis on the history of Girl Scouting and a deemphasis on nontraditional activities. In the 1953 handbook there are slightly over twice as many pages on traditional activities as there are on nontraditional activities. The 1953 handbook has a definite traditional slant.

During the 1950s, the Girl Scouts increased their focus on developing leadership skills. There was an effort to emphasize the girl/adult partnership (GSUSA 1986). In 1955 the

Girl Scouts conducted a nationwide survey of adolescent girls to direct program change. Based on this survey, a new program was introduced in 1963. It was divided into four age levels: Brownie, ages 6-8; Junior, 8-11; Cadette, 11-14; and Senior Girl Scouts, ages 14-17. In the 1960s the Girl Scout movement continued to grow and reached an all time high in 1969 (Flick 1983). After WWII, the resulting baby boom led to a boom in the number of Girl Scouts as well.

In 1964 the Civil Rights Act was passed which promised equality in educational and vocational opportunity. Increasing numbers of married women in the work force gave rise to the second feminist movement in the 1970s and marked a renewed interest in promoting equality between the sexes (Harris 1981). Feminists set out to investigate inequality. Zey-Ferrell (1978) discusses two forms of gender role inequality: inequality in the public sector (citizens, employees, consumers) and inequality in the private sector (family, friends). According to Figueira-McDonough (1985) the feminist effort took a three pronged approach: equal opportunity in the public sphere, equal rights in the private sphere, and equal self-valuation (1985).

The 1970s marked a dramatic decline in Girl Scout membership. In 1975 there were only 2,723,000 Girl Scouts (Flick 1983). This decline in membership can be attributed to several factors. There were fewer girls of the appropriate age than in the 1960s. The Girl Scouts stood for traditional

values and patriotism. The Girl Scouts were a very patriotic organization and the Vietnam era reduced the popularity of their kind of patriotism. Finally, the Girl Scouts were perceived as representing traditional values and those values were coming into question.

Between 1963 and 1980 there were slightly more modern badges available than traditional (Figure 6). Half the badges sold were in the traditional category, however (Figure 7). Homemaking was still the most popular category, but now the Out Doors category was a close second.

In response to the rise of the second sexual revolution in the 1970s, and the corresponding decline in membership, some Girl Scout troops adopted a relevance campaign to attract girls back to Scouting. This involved adding to the traditional regimen of camping, survival techniques, and arts and crafts a new group of activities reflecting the current trends in feminism. These included training programs, consciousness raising, values clarification, problem solving, sexism in school, women alone, and alternative lifestyles (Delatiner 1976). The national board conducted many surveys and as a result came out with a new handbook in 1980 designed to cater to their increasingly progressive membership.

In the 1970s, the Girl Scouts supported the women's movement. Program materials were introduced "to develop career awareness and to reduce sex stereotyping by girls in making their career choices. Through this project, Girl Scouts

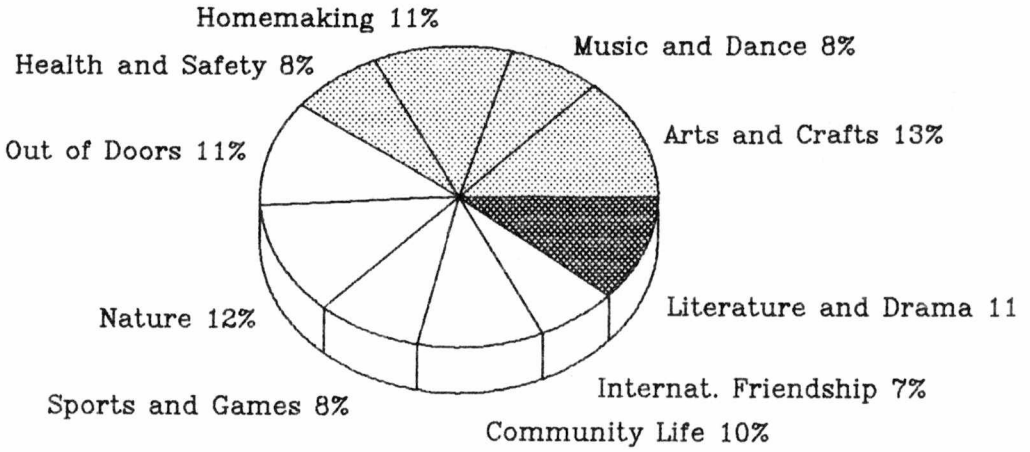


Figure 6. Proficiency badges available: 1963-1980.

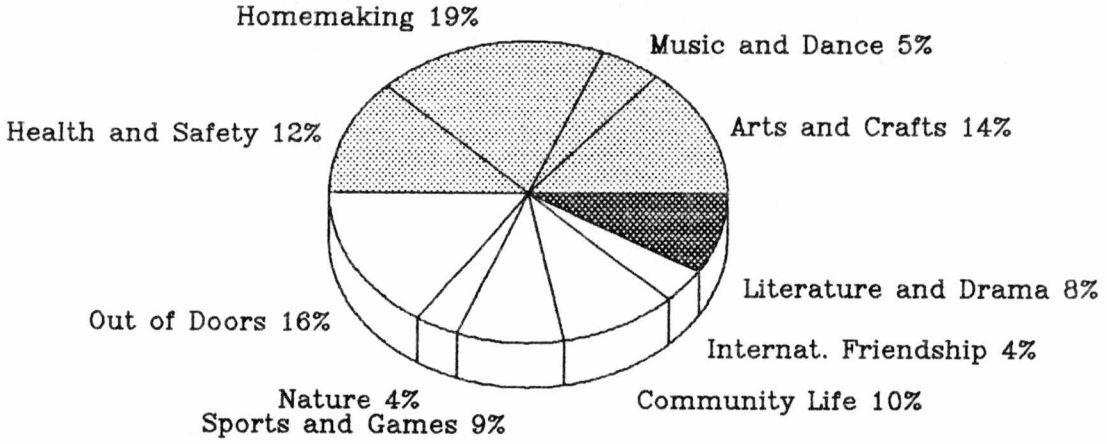


Figure 7. Proficiency badges sold: 1963-1980.

learned about a wide range of jobs from role models and on-the-job activities" (GSUSA 1986).

Membership began a steady increase in the 1980s. By 1989 membership levels had risen back to 3,051,956 (Burek 1989). This was attributable to a new Girl Scout level which was introduced for five year olds (Daisy Girl Scouts).

Between 1980 and 1985, 60% of the badges available fit into the modern category (Figure 8). The community life category contained the most badges. For the first time sales reflected more modern badges purchased than traditional ones (Figure 9). Community life became the most popular badges purchased, replacing homemaking. It is also interesting to note that there is no longer a glaring discrepancy between the types of badges being put out by the organization and the types of badges being purchased by its members. This can be attributed to two factors. First, Girl Scouts have reduced the number of homemaking badges they purchased. Second, there has been an increase in the number of badges available in the community life category and a decrease in the number of nature badges.

The Girl Scout handbooks of the 1980s are radically different from those of the past. There are over three times as many pages in the Junior Girl Scout Handbook (1986b) devoted to modern activities as compared to traditional activities. Much of this difference can be attributed to the addition of a chapter on planning one's future and career. The

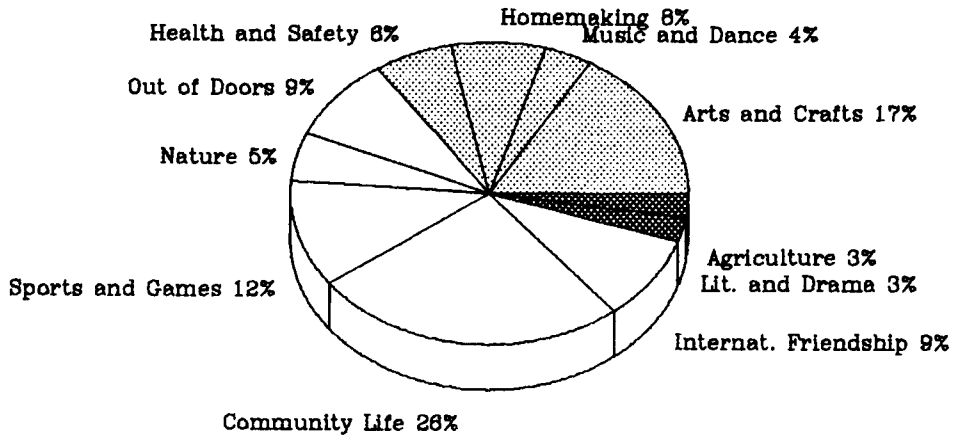


Figure 8. Proficiency badges available: 1980-1985.

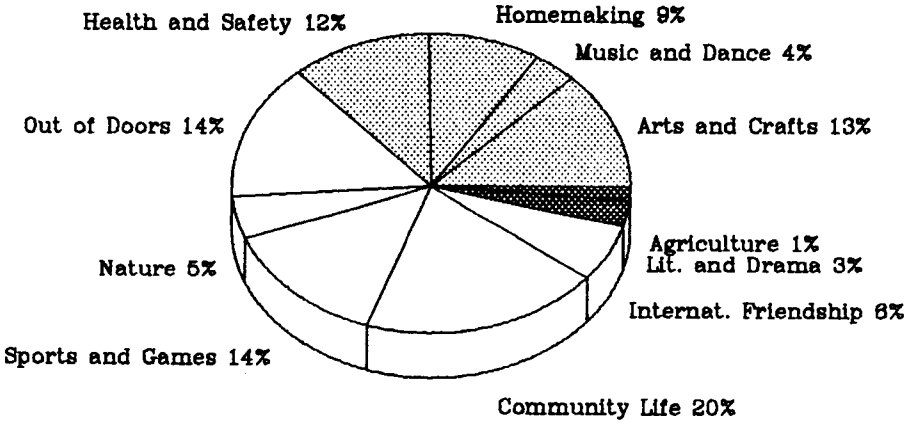


Figure 9. Proficiency badges sold: 1980-1985.

book presents many job possibilities that are non-traditional for women. Some of those included were stunt person, architect, carpenter, auto mechanic, electrician, pilot, and computer programmer (GSUSA 1986b). The book also discusses how to determine what jobs would suit the reader best and how to network to find out more about them.

One Girl Scout representative wrote:

> "Girl Scouting provides girls with opportunities to interact with women in leadership positions, and activities that expose them to fields of endeavor that have not traditionally been pursued by females. Girl Scouting provides career exploration to girls beginning at age five. These opportunities run counter to distressing research findings indicating that girls are dissuaded in school from pursuing certain fields of study--science and math, for example."
>
> (GSUSA 1986c)

Movement between ranks is now determined primarily by age and knowledge of the organization. To become a Junior Girl Scout today Brownies must complete seven 'bridging' steps:

1. Find out about Junior Girl Scouting.
2. Do a Junior Girl Scout activity.
3. Do something with a Junior Girl Scout.
4. Share what you learn about Junior Girl Scouting with Brownie or Daisy Girl Scouts.
5. Do Junior Girl Scout recognition activities. (Badge work)
6. Help plan your bridging (fly-up) ceremony.
7. Plan to do a Summer Girl Scout activity

(GSUSA 1986a:138-141)

There are no longer any skills requirements involved in becoming a mid-level Girl Scout.

Girl Scouts can engage in individual, troop, council, national, and even international activities. For example, the Museum of Florida History offers a program called "Girl Scout

History Mystery". It is designed to give Girl Scouts an archaeological experience (Smith 1991). The local Tennessee council offers many workshops ranging from camping and crafts to leadership and field trips.

Conclusion

Has Girl Scouting been liberating American girls since 1912? It has, in theory, always offered a program that allowed girls to grow and expand beyond traditional boundaries.

Over time there have always been more modern badges available than traditional (Figure 10). The difference has been greatest in the 1920-1938 and the 1980-1985 phases. Badges sold show a nice direct relationship between passage of time, decrease in traditional badges, and increase in modern badges sold (Figure 11).

Analysis of handbooks has demonstrated that Girl Scouting was originally fairly nontraditional. The 1933 handbook had approximately the same number of pages devoted to modern materials as to traditional, and outdoor skills were required to advance in rank. The 1953 handbook demonstrated a severe backswing toward traditionality. It contained twice as many traditional pages as modern. The two outdoor skills requirements were replaced by choosing one option each out of a homemaking category and an out-of-doors category. The 1986 Junior handbook was the most modern. It contained over three times as many modern pages as traditional.

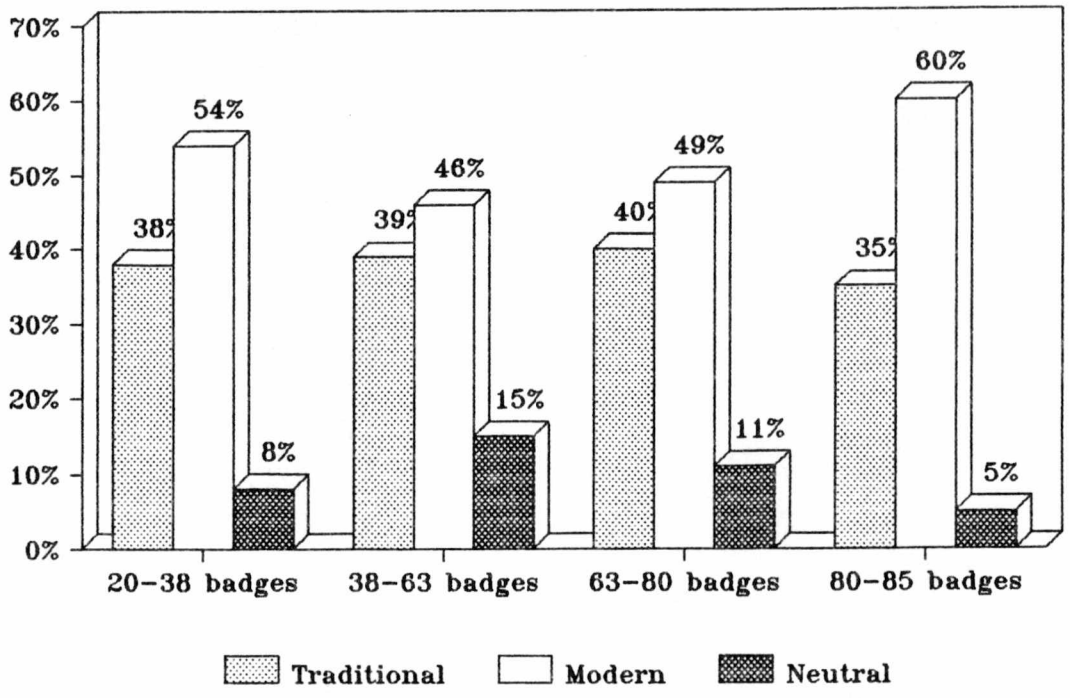


Figure 10. Trends in proficiency badge availability.

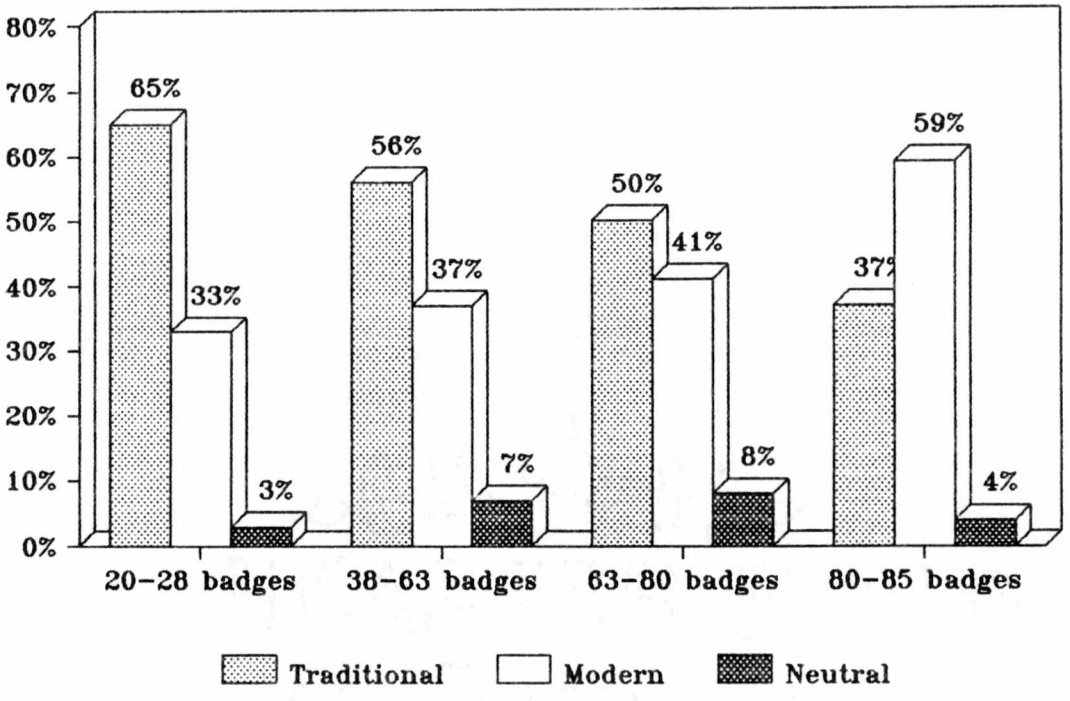


Figure 11. Trends in proficiency badge sales.

A review of the history of Girl Scouting has demonstrated that this organization has always been responsive to the social climate in which it operated. The Girl Scouts were founded during a time when many women were very vocal about their rights. It is quite understandable that they took a modern stance at this time. The large discrepancy between badge availability and badge sales during this time reflects that the organization itself was probably more modern than its members. During the 1950s the Girl Scouts responded to societal pressures for women to return to traditionality. This is clearly illustrated in the 1953 handbook. In the 1970s national sentiment on a woman's role changed and the Girl Scouts changed along with it. By the 1980s the Girl Scouts had adopted a thoroughly modern view. For the first time there were more modern badges sold than traditional. The difference between badges available and badges sold was negligible. This was the first time in their history when program design corresponded perfectly with program implementation.

In short, Girl Scouting is more liberal today than it was in the 1950s. It is not clear, however, if it is much more liberal now than it was in 1933. The difference is in the nature of that liberalism. In the 1930s the modern aspect of Girl Scouting focused more on nature and outdoor activity. Today the modern focus is on careers and community awareness. This change probably reflects two factors. First, demographic

shifts occasioned by increasing urbanization of the country may be a factor in deemphasizing out-of-door activities (and expanding the community life category). Second, women of all classes are now firmly entrenched in the workforce and Girl Scouting is now focusing on preparing young women for this future.

Has Girl Scouting been liberating American girls since 1912? The Girl Scouts have enjoyed success for decades because they are able to adapt to the times at hand. The gender roles which they espouse are those of the middle class women of their time. The Girl Scouts are in a position of great potential influence over their members. Nevertheless, this influence seems for the most part to be exerted as an attempt to mirror the social norms of the day.

CHAPTER IV

SURVEY (LIKERT PORTION)

This portion of the study was designed to provide data on the differential acceptance of gender role stereotypes by Girl Scouts, their leaders and their parents. These data were desired for two fundamental reasons. The first was to assess the potential influence Girl Scout leaders have on Girl Scouts. The second was to look for homogeneities and disparities between leaders and parents, men and women, and across generations on gender role issues.

Male and female gender identities are multi-faceted roles which change in different contexts (Ginsburg and Tsing 1990). A shortened form of Osmond and Martin's (1975) Sex-Role Attitude (SRA) Scale was selected for this survey. This scale is broken up into four sections. The first contains statements on male and female familial roles. The second section deals with male and female extrafamilial roles. The third section addresses stereotypes about men and women, and the fourth section concerns feelings on issues of social change. Response categories range from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

In Osmond and Martin's original study (1975), 480 college

juniors and seniors (225 males and 255 females) were randomly selected from all departments to participate in this study. They were asked to fill out a set of 81 questions dealing with: sex roles, sex role change, social issues, education, various values, attitudes, family, and other demographic variables. Included in this original questionnaire was the SRA, a 32 item Likert scale test.

In light of Osmond and Martin's (1975) findings (Chapter II), I expected that men in this study would be more traditional overall than women. The familial roles category should show the highest level of traditionality for all groups. Males should be significantly more traditional than females on issues of extrafamilial roles. The areas of least disagreement should be familial roles and social change.

Methods

Only Cadette and Senior Girl Scouts were used in this portion of the study. Cadettes are 11-14 years old (sixth through ninth grade). Seniors are 14-17 years old (ninth through twelfth grade) (GSUSA 1987). Scouts in these age groupings were selected over younger girls for two reasons. First, these groups should have the reading ability necessary to understand the survey. Second, these groups are more likely to contain girls who have been involved in Girl Scouting for many years and are therefore more likely to have had time to respond to its influence.

Girl Scout leaders are adult volunteers with special training who help the girls in their troop coordinate the program. Girl Scout leaders influence what goes on at meetings and what projects are engaged in. As an adult role model separate from home and school, the Girl Scout leader could have a profound influence on the social development of the girls in her troop. Therefore the gender role attitudes that Girl Scout leaders espouse are of interest.

For the purpose of this study parents were defined as any adult whom the Girl Scout considers in that social role. This could include natural and adoptive parents, step-parents, grandparents, etc. Parents were divided into 'mother' and 'father' categories in order to enable gender based comparisons.

Subjects for the survey portion of this study were drawn from the membership of the Tanasi Girl Scout Council in Knoxville, Tennessee. Surveys were sent to Girl Scout leaders, Cadette and Senior Girl Scouts, and their parents (or those assuming that social role). The Leader survey was distributed by being included in the Agenda, a large newsletter distributed to over 500 leaders (Appendix IV-1). Names and addresses of 253 Senior and Cadette Girl Scouts were provided by Brenda Bell, the Adult Education Director for the Tanasi council. Every girl listed was sent a packet which included two cover letters, a Girl Scout survey, two Parent surveys, and a return envelope (Appendix IV-2).

Analysis

Responses for returned SRA tests were entered into a PARADOX file along with demographic data on the subjects. SRA test responses could range from one to five, one being Agree Strongly and five being Disagree Strongly. Some responses were reflected so that "one" always meant a strongly modern response and "five" always meant a strongly traditional response.

When using likert tests it is important to look at the value of "three". On the SRA test and in this study, this is the default response that is chosen when there is a lack of opinion. Unfortunately this default response can sometimes have a profound influence on the mean. If a question is more ambiguous to one group of respondents than to another, the difference between samples may be an artifact of that ambiguity, not of difference in modern versus traditional attitude. Therefore, for this analysis responses of "three" were eliminated.

Each question was tested using The Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance. Responses between groups were compared using a Mann-Whitney U Test (Ott et al. 1983, Sokal 1981).

These tests were chosen for several reasons. They are designed to be used with ordinal data such as those used in the present analysis (Schlotzhauer and Littell 1987). The tests are nonparametric and since the data used here are not regularly distributed this is appropriate (Ott et al. 1983).

The Kruskal-Wallis is basically a nonparametric version of the ANOVA (Sokal 1981). The results of the Mann-Whitney U Test are roughly analogous to a two-sample t-test, that is they determine whether two groups are different from one another at a given significance level (Schlotzhauer and Littell 1987).

For every question, each group was compared to every other group and the probability of their sum ranks being significantly different was determined. The cut off for significance was set at 0.05. For a greater level of acuity pairwise tests (the Mann-Whitney U test) were also conducted. In order to get a 0.05 alpha level for these comparisons, a correction factor was included. According to Bonferroni's inequality, in order to get a "familywise" alpha-level of 0.05:

$$a = 1 - (1-a)\ 1/k$$

Where k is the number of test comparisons (in this case, 6 comparisons) (Miller 1966).

$$a = 1 - (1-.05)\ 1/6 = .008512$$

So, if out of any six comparisons, a product of $p < .009$ is achieved, then it is significant.

Results and Discussion

A total of 250 questionnaires were returned: 53 Girl Scout Leaders, 75 Girl Scouts (61 Cadettes and 14 Seniors), 77 mothers, and 45 fathers. The following discussions and associated tables reference questions in abbreviated form, but

the full text can be found in Appendix IV-1. Results of the abbreviated SRA test are presented on Table 4 and Table 5. Table 4 shows the mean scores of Girl Scouts, Girl Scout leaders, mothers, and fathers for each question. Table 5 lists the K-W and U test results for the comparisons shown.

Table 4. Mean scores for the SRA test.

Question	Girl Scout	Leader	Mother	Father
1. Grammar school children *	2.33	3.45	3.30	3.70
2. Achieve through husband *	2.35	1.38	1.57	2.28
3. Men free to cook	1.32	1.44	1.49	1.56
4. Man's self-esteem hurt *	2.63	2.54	2.61	1.92
5. Men re. home/children *	1.46	1.78	1.37	1.85
6. Husband make decisions *	1.48	1.14	1.32	1.65
7. Woman supervisor *	1.29	1.25	1.26	1.80
8. Female-male commitment *	1.53	2.25	2.18	2.11
9. Females plan career	1.32	1.50	1.32	1.58
10. Female-male: decisions	1.24	1.08	1.18	1.40
11. Male-female: leadership *	1.36	1.35	1.53	2.19
12. Male super-species	1.23	1.18	1.37	1.69
13. Females like dependence	1.57	1.54	1.67	1.97
14. Pamper men	1.81	1.26	1.49	1.78
15. Female sex appeal *	1.78	1.37	1.16	1.86
16. Females like to be male	1.47	1.28	1.27	1.56
17. Genetic make-up	1.89	1.95	1.66	1.55
18. Male dominance natural	1.29	1.33	1.31	1.48
19. Child care centers	1.60	1.24	1.36	1.68
20. Male liberation	2.04	1.55	1.76	1.85
21. Men's clubs/lodges *	3.09	3.90	3.11	3.81
22. Equal pay	1.16	1.10	1.15	1.24
23. Equal job opportunities	1.14	1.12	1.17	1.34
24. Women's clubs/lodges	3.33	4.05	3.68	3.64

* These questions yielded significant differences.

Table 5. Probability values for Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance and Mann-Whitney U pairings.

QUESTION	K-W	GS/MO	GS/LE	GS/FA	MO/FA	LE/FA	MO/LE
1	0.002*	0.007*	0.004*	0.000*	0.343	0.437	0.894
2	0.000*	0.004*	0.001*	0.957	0.013	0.002*	0.259
3	0.300	0.285	0.276	0.056	0.337	0.407	0.925
4	0.059	0.937	0.686	0.030	0.008*	0.064	0.568
5	0.015*	0.419	0.027	0.006*	0.026	0.617	0.095
6	0.037*	0.340	0.053	0.293	0.054	0.006*	0.264
7	0.001*	0.528	0.736	0.004*	0.001*	0.014	0.343
8	0.001*	0.000*	0.009	0.004*	0.720	0.971	0.674
9	0.334	0.787	0.250	0.231	0.156	0.902	0.165
10	0.640	0.421	0.773	0.571	0.207	0.442	0.656
11	0.002*	0.460	0.622	0.001*	0.008*	0.001*	0.244
12	0.055	0.792	0.224	0.072	0.115	0.009	0.159
13	0.206	0.746	0.758	0.049	0.087	0.104	1.000
14	0.094	0.028	0.046	0.579	0.185	0.120	0.372
15	0.001*	0.001*	0.066	0.671	0.000*	0.034	0.246
16	0.266	0.152	0.205	0.799	0.131	0.173	0.991
17	0.192	0.425	0.580	0.116	0.323	0.044	0.180
18	0.666	0.970	0.507	0.319	0.298	0.728	0.470
19	0.084	0.118	0.050	0.742	0.093	0.041	0.550
20	0.440	0.449	0.177	0.928	0.404	0.143	0.449
21	0.025*	0.016	0.025	0.014	0.563	0.557	0.973
22	0.383	0.698	0.682	0.269	0.144	0.173	0.954
23	0.176	0.748	0.940	0.062	0.115	0.106	0.825
24	0.198	0.173	0.035	0.179	0.757	0.788	0.418

* Indicates a significant difference.

Many differences proved significant. However, mothers and Girl Scout leaders failed to differentiate on any issue. This makes trying to separate their influence on Girl Scouts extremely difficult. Of the 77 mothers, 58 reported that they were either former Girl Scouts, Girl Scout leaders or both. No significant differences were found between mothers with Girl Scouting experience and those without it. This may either reflect a true sameness between the two groups or it may be an artifact of small sample size.

FAMILIAL ROLES

Many questions in this section yielded significant results. The first question dealt with women with grammar school children. The K-W test showed a significant difference between groups of p=0.002. Pairwise tests showed that Girl Scouts were more modern than fathers, mothers, and leaders on the issue of whether or not women with children in grammar school should work. Leaders, mothers, and fathers all tended towards the view that mothers with grammar school children should stay home. Leaders, mothers, and fathers all averaged within the traditional range. This high traditional score could be a product of the wish that many of these families have that, ideally, the mother would not have to work. It takes a fair amount of parental investment to have a child in Girl Scouting. Given that these are the sort of families willing to invest time in their daughters being Girl Scouts, it makes sense that these families would prefer to invest even more time in parenting if they could. Since they have these preferences themselves, it is natural that they think that it would be good if others shared these preferences.

Question 2 deals with a woman's ability to achieve through her husband. The K-W test revealed significant differences between groups (p=0.000). Pairwise tests showed leaders were significantly more modern than Girl Scouts and fathers. Mothers also scored significantly more modern than Girl Scouts. Mothers and leaders tended to be more modern in

their response to question 2. Fathers and Girl Scouts were more likely to agree that a woman could achieve through her husband.

On question 4, the Mann-Whitney U test revealed that mothers tended to be traditional in that they thought a man's self esteem would be injured if his wife made more money than he. Fathers did not hold this view. Men were less likely to agree with this statement. This result may be illuminated by another study. John Townsend (1989) found that men emphasized attractiveness in mate selection. Women were more concerned with socioeconomic status in men, preferring those who made more money than they. My results reflect this attitude among women.

Question 5 dealt with men taking the same household responsibilities as women. The K-W test showed a significant difference between groups ($p=0.015$). Girl Scouts were more modern than fathers and believed that men should take on household and parenting responsibilities.

The K-W test was also significant for the sixth question ($p=0.037$). Fathers were more likely than leaders to respond traditionally that the breadwinner should make family decisions.

EXTRAFAMILIAL ROLES

Question 7 dealt with having a female supervisor. The K-W test proved significant ($p=0.001$). Pairwise analysis revealed that fathers were more likely to be upset at the idea of a

female supervisor than mothers and Girl Scouts were.

Fathers, mothers and leaders were more inclined than Girl Scouts to take the traditional view that women are less able to make career commitments than men (question 8). The more modern response of Girl Scouts on the question of a woman's ability to make a career commitment might be explained by two factors. These girls have probably been told at least some time in their lives that a woman can do any job she wants. In an ad for Girl Scout Cookies, Tamara Jurnigan (an astronaut and former Girl Scout) supports this attitude (1993). Since Girl Scouts have never mixed career and family obligations, they lack the practical experience that adults have.

Question 11 also had a K-W test that revealed significant differences ($p=0.001$). Pairwise analysis showed that men were more likely than women to respond traditionally to the concept that men were more capable than women of assuming leadership.

STEREOTYPES

Only one stereotype question proved to be significant. Question 15 had a K-W test with a p value of 0.001. Girl Scouts and fathers were significantly more traditional than mothers on the issue of whether men should stop appraising women on the basis of sex appeal. Perhaps this attitude on the part of Girl Scouts is attributable to media and other sources (Bretl 1988), a daddy's little girl phenomenon, and a lack of experience with negative aspects of such appraisal.

SOCIAL CHANGE

The social change category also yielded only one question that produced a significant response. This was question 21 on whether men's clubs should admit women. The Kruskal-Wallis test revealed a significant difference between the groups at the $p=0.025$ level. Pairwise comparisons failed to find the source of this difference. All groups averaged within the traditional range. Protests of racially segregated clubs have been a vocal issue in Knoxville recently. Girl Scouting is a sexually segregated club. Perhaps this strikes a dissonant cord among some individuals.

Conclusion

Similarly to Osmond and Martin, I found that the familial roles category contained the most contention. Fathers were significantly more traditional on five out of the six questions than at least one female group. This category also contained more traditional responses than any other.

Three out of the five extrafamilial roles questions were significant. Fathers again were found to be significantly more traditional in each case.

Only one of the seven stereotype questions was significant. Mothers were found to be more modern than fathers and Girl Scouts in feeling that women should not be appraised on the basis of sex appeal. There was only one significant question in the social change category also. It was an

unatributable difference between groups on question 21. All groups averaged in the traditional range, saying that men's clubs should not be forced to admit women.

It is clear that a 'cultural lag' (Ogburn 1957) exists between attitudes on gender roles within the family and outside of the family.

> "A cultural lag occurs when one of two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously."
>
> (Ogburn 1957:167)

Osmond and Martin had similar results in 1975. Attitudes on family roles are more resistant to change than other gender roles. The family is more structurally conservative than other aspects of society.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF GIRL SCOUTING

Previous chapters have discussed traditional and modern sex role attitudes. They have been defined and their development in children has been presented. I have also described how the Girl Scouts of the USA as an organization has presented appropriate gender roles. From discrepancies between badge availability and badge sales came a strong indication that program design and program implementation have not always corresponded. This chapter explores program implementation at the troop and individual level.

Methods

The data in this chapter come from a combination of three avenues of investigation. The first, participant observation is valuable because it allows the researcher to obtain first hand knowledge, in this case, of Girl Scouts, their leaders, their programs and activities. In order to get more specific data from a wider range of subjects, interviews were conducted and surveys were also distributed.

Six troops were selected for participant observation: two Brownie, two Junior, and two Cadette. Troops were selected

from a list provided by the Council so that a variety of age levels could be observed. At least two (more often 4) meetings were observed per troop. I participated in the activities at the meetings and casually observed what the activities were, how the leaders and Girl Scouts interacted, and what was discussed. My observations were recorded after the meetings.

The second source of information was interviews. Approximately 25 current and former Girl Scouts and Leaders were interviewed at various lengths (Appendix V-1). This grab sample was taken from a list of willing interviewees provided by the local council, people I met at troop meetings, casual acquaintances, friends, and relatives. Subjects were chosen so that a broad temporal range could be covered. The third source of data was responses to open-ended questions distributed with the Likert survey discussed in Chapter IV (Appendices VI-1 and VI-2).

In discussing the responses to the surveys, participant observation, and interviews it may be useful to review what traditional gender role expectations are for girls. Traditionally, girls are expected to engage in noncompetitive, nonphysical, indoor activity. They are encouraged to be dependent, stay near adults, and seek help and guidance. They should be nurturant and responsible. They should have a strong sense of morality and a desire to help others. In sum, traditional activities for women are those related to homemaking, childcare, and community service. Interviews, surveys,

and participant observations were all content analyzed for these same kinds of indications.

Results

One of the things that parents said they liked about Girl Scouting was that it provided their children with opportunities that they would not have otherwise. One father said:

> "Girl Scouts give some girls a lot of chances to do, go, and see things that they normally would not. They also get to learn and participate in things that they would not do at home."

A current Girl Scout leader stated:

> "I don't do theme parks, that's something you could do with your family. I like to do things like go camping. Do things you wouldn't normally maybe do with your family. Because I had a great time when I was a Girl Scout and enjoyed it and got a lot out of it."

When asked what their favorite Girl Scout activity was, many Girl Scouts mentioned camping and other outdoor activities like hiking and sports. These were overwhelmingly the most popular Girl Scout activities according to the survey. These activities are also decidedly nontraditional.

One woman who was a Girl Scout in the 1920s described going to the first Girl Scout camp in Knox County. They slept on straw mattresses in tents.

> "Back when I was a Scout we had the tenderfoot (rank) and we tied knots ... and did the same things in line with what the Boy Scouts were doing... I think the thing I liked most about Scouting was camp. I loved the camping."

Another woman who was a Girl Scout in the 1930s told of

her camping experience. During the depression there only were funds for one girl from her troop to be sent to camp. She was tied with another girl to be sent. The leader couldn't break the tie:

> "...so she asked the local Boy Scout leader if he would try to break the tie and he did it on outdoor stuff... He had us measure the height of trees and distance, how far is this from here. And he couldn't break the tie so we both got to go to camp that summer."

Another former Girl Scout commented:

> "The thing I remember the most and liked the best was camping. We camped a lot. We camped at least once a year, sometimes twice. That was our big thing. It was what we looked forward to. That was it. That was the Scouting part of it."

Some Girls did not find troops that were as outdoor oriented as they would have liked. One former Girl Scout in the 1960s said "Our troop leader didn't like to camp, no one really did ... I had to get any kind of woodsy badge on my own." A Senior Girl Scout said:

> "When I moved to Oak Ridge almost six years ago I started looking for an outdoorsy type of troop because I thought that was what I had been looking for in a Girl Scout troop since starting Scouts. Sure enough I have been on many camping trips. When I tell people about these and other trips I have taken, they are amazed and concur with me and other members of the troop that we are not the stereotypical troop."

Girl Scouts on average seem to go camping about twice a year. Other outdoor activities also tend to be done infrequently. One leader commented that:

> "What's frustrating is when you're going on a trip and you send home three notes saying `I need three drivers or we can't go.' And then it's a week

> before and you only have two and you need another driver. So you sit down and have to make 17 phone calls to find another driver. That's not fair."

Leaders also told me that any excursion away from the standard meeting place required lots of paperwork and this made it logistically difficult. "I push as much paperwork in Girl Scouts as I do in my job. It's a big responsibility and you get inundated with paperwork." "Not only do you have permission slips but you have release forms." This is a response to our increasingly litigious society.

> "Gone are the days that when you were at a Girl Scout meeting, you got in the car, ran down to the corner, got ice cream and came back by the end of the meeting. You just can't do that."
>
> "It's sad that its gotten so caught up in the bureaucracy and the politics and insurance and paperwork that they forget what it's all about. It gets lost."

"Everybody is so afraid to do anything that nothing gets done." Since every outing involves dealing with a morass of paperwork and bureaucracy it is not surprising that these activities occur infrequently.

Despite their infrequency, the camping and outdoor activities provided by the Girl Scouts have had a modernizing impact on these girls. The fact that camping was most often named as a favorite activity serves as testimony to this. The majority of Girl Scouts I talked to and heard from liked camping. Girls are not traditionally supposed to like camping. Providing this outlet makes the Girl Scouts a liberating organization.

Another factor that parents said they liked about Girl Scouting was that it provided skills that would be helpful for their child's future career. One father commented that:

> "Scouting serves a useful purpose for All young children and adolescents. The programs that are implemented in Scouting are highly constructive in helping to form attitudes and approaches the adult will use in choosing and working in a career."

According to parents Girl Scouting has taught their daughters leadership, teamwork, organization, responsibility, and independence.

When asked about career discussions a former Girl Scout from the 1930s said:

> "I'm sure that we did ... not to the extent that we do now. I think more emphasis was placed on the ethics than anything else."

Another former Girl Scout said "we would talk about what you wanted to do." A leader in the 1950s stated:

> "I think the main thing is to say to the girls you can be anything you want to be. I think the badges have changed. They have become more career oriented."

Even in the 1950s there were some badges with a career orientation. A current Girl Scout leader told me:

> "We have talked about careers. Usually I try to get a professional to come in and talk to them. The first year I got a Secretary (one of the moms) because a lot of little girls are going to grow up to be secretaries. And we'll talk about questions like how is it for you to work and have kids and run a home. And last year we had a dental hygienist. So yes, we talk about careers and what they want to do and what its going to take for them to become that person."

Both of the women this leader had speak to her troop were

employed in traditionally female jobs. This suggests that while the handbooks discuss a wide range of possible careers, some leaders may be unconsciously reinforcing traditionally female career choices.

Many Girl Scouts told me that they planned to stay in Girl Scouting and that it would be good for college.

> "Hopefully I will remain one until I graduate as a Senior and earn my Gold award. Being a Girl Scout looks good on a college application."

The Gold award is roughly analogous to the Eagle Scout in Boy Scouting.

Another leader commented that Wider Opportunities were useful practice for a career. Wider Ops are special events and programs that Girl Scouts can participate in.

> "You have to fill out an application. You have to be interviewed. You have to agree to give a presentation when you get back. And these are skills you're going to need someday. You're going to have to fill out an application. You're going to have to be interviewed. You're going to have to give presentations. So its really good learning for the girls."

Leadership in Girl Scouting can be an ambiguous issue. Girl Scouts learn leadership by role playing, participating in troop government, making decisions about what activities the troop will engage in, and by helping younger Girl Scouts. One former Girl Scout stated:

> "A lot went along with leadership. They had a lot of leadership games. Something like If you were all in a bomb shelter and the bomb had gone off and now it was time to go out and see what happened. We had to get in a group and decide who was going to go first, and why, and that sort of thing."

One former leader in the 1950s described leadership.

> "The leaders ran the troop and yet the patrol leaders actually did the work ... it was so exciting to watch the older girls start to take charge of their own program. Which was what it was all about. To make leaders of them, even if they didn't start out. Because some leaders are born to it, but I think more can be trained to it."

Unfortunately, I cannot attest to how well troop government serves to teach girls leadership today. None of the troops I observed had a truly functional troop government. Leadership roles in these troops were fulfilled by the adult troop leaders. In no way should this be construed to suggest that no Girl Scout troops are governed and directed by their members, only that I had no opportunity to observe this.

In the troops that I observed, activities were selected by popular vote. The presentation of various activity options and voting were directed by the troop leader. While the troop leaders did not vote, their preference was made evident by how they described or failed to describe certain options. In one troop the voting came down to a tie between a fitness badge and an arts and crafts badge. The leader, who was obviously a sedentary woman, encouraged the girls to select the arts and crafts badge.

In another troop the leader evidently wanted to plan all the activities for the next year for her Brownies. She listed the names of every Brownie Try It on the black board and had the girls vote. She did not describe any of the activities involved or allow any discussion. She had the girls vote on

what they would like to do. The girls selected Try Its that had words like "fun" and "games" in their titles. The leader commented upon this fact with some amusement to a parent volunteer. This did not strike me as particularly fair since she had gone to no effort to give these girls anything to base their decision on except for the name of the Try It.

When Girl Scouts discuss leadership work they describe it as "helping younger age kids." The only leadership activities I directly observed were older Girl Scouts working with younger Girl Scouts. One of the requirements for moving between ranks is to talk to younger girls about the level of Girl Scouting you are leaving. For instance, Juniors who are becoming Cadettes are required to tell Brownies about Junior Girl Scouting. Certain badges also require that older Girl Scouts work with younger girls. These activities seem to walk a thin line between leadership and child care. Is teaching younger children a liberating exercise in leadership? Or is it a method for training girls to interact with younger children and therefore primarily a traditional activity?

Girl Scouts have a long tradition of community service. One former Girl Scout told me that in the 1950s "every badge had a service component." Another former Girl Scout who is now a troop leader told me "I think it's coming back to where it's ok to do nice things for other people." She feels that now there is more service than in the 1970s. According to her, this is because the Girl Scouts are now part of the United Way

and need to prove that they are a service organization. She told me:

> "You'll find a real, real wide diversity in what people do [at meetings]. Because it's all what you want to do. I try to mix it up because you want to do what makes them (your troop) happy, because you want to keep them interested and want them to get good things out of it. But at the same time you want them to do good things. And I always tell them 'you need to do it [service] and someday you're going to feel good that you've done this. I can remember doing things and feeling good about it. You may be grumbling about it now but one day you're going to be glad.'"

While it is clear that Girl Scouts do engage in nontraditional activities, much of what Girl Scouts do fits into the traditional category. Most of their time seems to be spent engaged in service work, crafts, and other traditional activities. Every meeting I observed except two fit solidly into the traditional category.

Two troops were working on activities for the "Looking Your Best" badge. They made hair accessories and did each others' hair. They had fashion shows. And they talked with younger girls about looking good. At other meetings I observed girls working on crafts. Some of these crafts were for themselves and others were for various charitable projects. They made origami Christmas tree ornaments for nursing homes. Christmas cards were also made for American soldiers in Operation Desert Storm. The girls brought in coloring books and crayons for children at a local abuse shelter.

Most Girl Scout meetings are held indoors at schools or churches. As we have discussed earlier, it is difficult for

Girl Scouts to go on excursions. Therefore, they must engage in activities that are compatible with an indoor setting and are entertaining. Craft activities fit this requirement. When asked what they disliked most about Girl Scouting, the most common response among Girl Scouts was `the meetings'. One girl said she did not like "the boring meetings where all you do is sit and talk." Another commented that she did not like "being cooped up inside doing work or service." Most Girl Scouts who reported that they were going to quit Girl Scouting soon, said that they were bored.

One of the premises of this study was that since Girl Scouting is couched in a relaxed and voluntary setting, it could have a powerful influence on role training. In order to ascertain whether this is in fact the case, it is necessary to look at how leaders interact with Girl Scouts.

The first troop I visited met at a church hall. It was made up of nine Juniors, seven Cadettes, and two leaders. I noted that the leaders sat away from their troop in a position where they could watch all the girls. The leaders chatted companionably together but addressed their girls differently. The girls were having a loud giddy time doing origami. One leader frowned often, repeatedly threatened to deprive them of cake, and moved one girl away from the others. The other leader also scolded them for being noisy, but smiled as she did so and then turned to wink at me. The two leaders were giving these girls mixed messages and so were generally

ignored. There was a clear dichotomy between leader and Girl Scout.

The second troop I visited was made up of 14 Juniors, one leader and different mother volunteers. They met at a school. The leader was cheerful and affectionate with her troop and took a parental role (two of her daughters were in the troop). Again there were clear lines drawn between the adults and Girl Scouts. The adults directed activities. In this instance, however, there was much less scolding and admonitions and a seemingly high level of enjoyment for all concerned.

The third troop I visited met at a Boys' and Girls' Club in a housing project. Knowing this, I had worn jeans and a sweat shirt. The troop leader wore a plaid pleated skirt, an oxford shirt, and a red sweater. She looked like a social worker among these children. There were 10 Cadettes in this troop. They met in a room along with Daisy, Brownie, and Junior Girl Scouts (52 Girl Scouts in all). I was told that this was an experimental program and was in its first year. The leader told me that they were trying to find leaders from within the community. She was in charge of everything and did not spend much time with her troop. They were supposed to plan activities they would like to do but most sat in disarray. Periodically someone would yell at the multitude to quiet down. The leader's only voluntary input to her troop was to tell them how much time they had left to make their decisions. The leader showed no affection for her troop and I suspect she

will be happy to be replaced.

The fourth troop I observed met at a school. There were 23 Brownies, one leader and various adult volunteers. This troop was very structured. They sat at desks and raised their hands when they wanted to speak. Again I saw the adults segregate themselves from the girls. It was just like being in school. The troop leader was very stiff in her interactions with her Brownies and seemed harried.

The last and best troop I observed were also Brownies. There were seven girls and two leaders. This allowed the leaders to interact individually with every girl. The leaders were not overly concerned with noise level and they and their girls all seemed to have a good time. Leaders have the ability to limit troop size and these ladies decided to have a small troop so that they could interact with the girls and enjoy themselves. This troop seemed to me to clearly be the most enjoyable for all concerned.

Conclusion

Girl Scouts are traditional in many ways. Most meetings involve noncompetitive, nonphysical, indoor activity directed by adults. Girl Scouts are encouraged to be nurturant and responsible. They are expected to have a strong sense of morality and a desire to help others.

Girl Scouts are non-traditional in other ways. They engage in outdoor activities. Girl Scouts are encouraged to

contemplate career choices and what it takes to do them. The organization strives to instill some measure of leadership skills and self-esteem in their members.

How the program is implemented is determined by the leader, who is herself influenced by the local environment. Knoxville is a fairly conservative, Bible Belt city. Most troops spend very little time actually engaged in the outdoor activities that were once the cornerstones of the organization. While troops do discuss careers, the careers which are considered are subject to the biases of the leaders. Leadership skills are often focused on traditionally gender-appropriate interactions with other girls and smaller children.

While the sample is admittedly small, the troops observed bring real doubt to the idea that Girl Scouting, as a whole, is a relaxed and voluntary setting. Some troops were far from relaxed and the leaders used coercion to get what they wanted. A number of Girl Scouts had little control over what they were doing and operated in a school-like atmosphere. As we have seen, school is not a place where role values are effectively transferred (Richer 1988). However, other troops did fit the relaxed, voluntary model and as such should be effective avenues for role training.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Has Girl Scouting been liberating American girls since 1912? They have, in theory, always offered a program that allowed girls to grow and expand beyond traditional boundaries.

From the data in Chapter II, we can conclude several things. First, while there are no universal gender role behaviors, there is a strong tendency for female children to be encouraged to learn childcare and homemaking. Constraints produced by childbirth and childcare lead to a nearly inevitable division of labor between the sexes. Second, some of who we are as men and women is biologically determined. Physical differences with direct behavioral implications exist between men and women. There is also considerable evidence that social interaction has a very profound influence on our attitudes. People strive to emulate the norm. This norm changes as other elements of society change.

In Chapter III, we saw how the history of feminism intertwined with the history of Girl Scouting. From the analysis of handbooks we saw that Girl Scouting was originally fairly modern. In the 1933 handbook, there were approximately

the same number of pages devoted to modern materials as to traditional. In the 1930s, outdoor skills were required to advance in rank. The 1953 handbook demonstrated a severe back swing toward traditionality. It contained twice as many traditional pages as modern. The two outdoor skills categories that were required were replaced by choosing one option each out of a homemaking category and an out-of-doors category. The 1986 handbook contained over three times as many modern pages as traditional. Over time there always were more modern badges available than traditional (Figure IV-10). The difference was greatest in the 1920-1938 and the 1980-1985 phases. The number of badges sold showed a nice direct relationship between passage of time, decrease during these periods in traditional badges and increase in modern badges sold (Figure IV-11).

In Chapter IV we discussed our use of Osmond and Martin's Sex Role Attitude scale. Mothers proved to be statistically indistinguishable from Girl Scout leaders. Similarly to Osmond and Martin, we found that the familial roles category contained the most contention. Fathers were significantly more traditional on five out of the six questions than at least one other female group. Three out of the five extrafamilial roles questions were significant. Fathers were again found to be significantly more traditional in each case. Only one of the seven stereotype questions was significant. Mothers were found to be more modern than fathers and Girl Scouts. The social change category also contained only one

significant question. There was an unattributable difference between groups on whether men's clubs should admit women.

Chapter V dealt with reminiscences of Girl Scouts and participant observation of Girl Scout troops. Girl Scouts were found to be traditional in many ways. Most meetings involved noncompetitive, nonphysical, indoor activity. Girl Scouts were encouraged to be nurturing and responsible. They were also expected to be moral and to have a strong desire to help others.

Girl Scouting can be non-traditional in many other ways. They may engage in outdoor activities like camping and hiking. Girl Scouts can investigate nontraditional career paths. They also encourage different kinds of leadership development.

How these aspects of Girl Scouting are implemented depends on the interests and orientations of the individual troop leader(s). Interviews and participant observations revealed disparities between program ideals and implementation. While they were very popular among Girl Scouts, outdoor activities occurred infrequently. Career discussions did take place, but they could be colored by the biases of the leader to reflect careers she felt were gender appropriate or gender typical. Leadership focused primarily on intrasex relationships and interaction with younger girls.

The history of Girl Scouting has demonstrated that they have always been very responsive to the times in which they were operating. The Girl Scouts were founded in 1912, a time when many women were very vocal about their rights and the

fight for suffrage. During this time they took a modern stance. The large discrepancy between badge availability and badge sales during this time reflected that the organization was more modern than its membership. In the 1950s the Girl Scouts responded to pressures from society for women to return to traditional roles. This was clearly illustrated in the 1953 handbook which was predominantly traditional. In the 1970s, society's view of a woman's place changed and the Girl Scouts changed along with it. The Girl Scouts had adopted a thoroughly modern view by the 1980s. For the first time there were more modern badges sold than traditional. The difference between badges available and badges sold was negligible. This was the first time in their history when program design corresponded perfectly with program implementation. This reflects both that the main stream of American women had become more modern and that the Girl Scouts had switched their modern focus.

Girl Scouting is more liberal today than it was in the 1950s. It is not clear, however, that it is much more liberal than it was in 1933. The difference is in the nature of that liberalism. In the beginning the modern aspect of Girl Scouting focused more on nature and outdoor activity. Today the modern focus is on careers and community awareness. This change is probably the result of two factors. The first is that due to increasing urbanization and our increasingly litigious society it is no longer as easy to engage in outdoor

activities. The second is that women of all classes are now firmly entrenched in the workforce and Girl Scouting is now focusing on preparing them for this future. Whether this preparation is for a future of accommodating longstanding gender segmentation in the labor market or one of breaking out of this pattern depends on the orientation of the leaders.

This study was conducted to assess the role that Girl Scouting plays in shaping women's gender roles. Girl Scouting provides an environment for the oblique transmission of attitudes by models other than parents. The SRA test was used to determine the gender role attitudes of Girl Scouts, parents, and Girl Scout leaders in order to test the potential impact of Girl Scout leaders on their troops. Since the attitudes of Girl Scout leaders and mothers were statistically indistinguishable, this test could not differentiate their influences in shaping Girl Scouts' gender role attitudes. Most mothers had been influenced by Girl Scouting themselves, either by being a Girl Scout or a leader or both. These women (mothers and leaders) have all chosen to remain affiliated with the Girl Scouts by having their daughters join and/or by leading a troop. In this way they form a cohort whose gender role attitudes are indistinguishable. It would follow from this that the attitudes leaders display to Girl Scouts would correspond to and reinforce those attitudes Girl Scouts get from their mothers.

Leaders overall scored well within the modern range for

most questions on the SRA scale. However, much of what went on at the meetings I observed did not wholly reflect modern attitudes. Most Girl Scouts were engaged in very gender stereotypic activities. This suggests that while leaders may hold or believe they hold modern gender role attitudes, these attitudes are not always manifested in what they do or say. Often gender stereotypic activities are the easiest to do in the settings within which Girl Scouts hold their meetings. Leaders select activities for their troops that will be simple to do and fun. They are usually unconscious of the gender role messages these activities send.

This study revealed that while the national organization of GSUSA provides a framework and an ideal, the real force in Girl Scouting is the leader. The Girl Scout leader influences the activities that are engaged in and sets the tone for the troop. Girl Scout leaders are middle class women who have sufficient time and the inclination to volunteer their services. Often women of this sort are either homemakers or employed in traditional, secondary income jobs. Therefore these women can bring to their troops the attitudes that put them where they are. However, the women who direct Girl Scouting at the local and national level are professionals with advanced degrees. They bring to the organization a thoroughly modern attitude. This is why there has always been some discrepancy between what Girl Scouts say and what they actually do.

Girl Scouting is an organization that has impacted the lives of millions of women and will impact millions more. Therefore the nature of this impact is important. Has Girl Scouting been liberating American girls since 1912? The Girl Scouts have been successful for decades because they are able to adapt to the times at hand. The gender roles which they espouse are those of the upper middle and middle class woman of the time. Girl Scouting has certainly always had a modern air but the emphases of Girl Scouting are fairly flexible within certain boundaries and adjust to the social environment, reconciling tradition with change.

There is a great deal more that can be learned about Girl Scouting. Follow up research could look at other changes in the Girl Scouts that are not related to gender roles to search for the reasons for their loss of popularity in the 1970s and rebound in the 1980s. Comparisons could be drawn between the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts with reference to badge, program, and membership trends. Modern leaders and administrators should be studied at greater length to see if they are significantly distinct and to test their social locations. Studies could examine parental roles in the administration of Girl Scouts and whether more nonworking mothers are leaders than working mothers. The impact of class and economic factors on Girl Scouting should be investigated. Another thing to study would be how peers' perceptions of Girl Scouting affect Girl Scouts and their impact on why girls leave scouting. The

gender role attitudes of Girl Scouts, non-Girl Scouts, and the parents of both groups should all be compared.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX IV-1. Packet sent to Girl Scouts.

Dear Girl Scout and Parents,

I am a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at U.T. As a part of my thesis research, I am asking you to fill out and return the attached questionnaires.

The purpose of this study is to determine some of your attitudes about Girl Scouting and life in general. The participants in this study are Girl Scouts (Junior, Cadette, and Senior), their leaders, and their parents. Please fill out and return these questionnaires in the return envelope. It is very important for this study that both Girl Scouts and parents fill out these forms.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your identity will be kept confidential. Troop identity will also be confidential. Only I will have access to the questionnaires. Please be as honest as possible as you fill them out. The results will increase our knowledge about modern attitudes. They can also be used to inform future Girl Scout programming decisions.

If you have any questions about this study please contact Jennifer Matternes or Dr Benita Howell at the Department of Anthropology, 252 S. Stadium Hall UTK, Knoxville TN 37996, or call 974-4408.

PARENTS SURVEY

Age _____ Sex _____ Are you a Girl Scout Leader _____

Relationship to Girl Scout _____ Race _____

Were you ever a Girl/Boy Scout _____

Occupation _____ Level of education _____

Religion _____ # and sexes of children _____

How many are/were Girl Scouts _____ Boy Scouts _____

How do you feel about Girl Scouting and what your children have gotten out of it? (Please use the back of this form.)

Circle the response which most closely resembles your true feelings. Please be as honest as possible and answer each question. Responses range from 1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree.

1. Women with children in grammar school should, if at all possible, stay at home rather than work. 1 2 3 4 5
2. It is possible for women to satisfy their needs for achievement through their husbands. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Men should have more freedom to do things such as cook and care for children, if they so desire. 1 2 3 4 5
4. A man's self-esteem is severely injured if his wife makes more money than he does. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Men should take the same amount of responsibility as women in caring for home and children. 1 2 3 4 5
6. A husband who is the breadwinner in the family should make all the important decisions. 1 2 3 4 5
7. I would feel uncomfortable if my immediate supervisor at work was a woman. 1 2 3 4 5
8. To a great extent, women are less able to make a career commitment than men are. 1 2 3 4 5
9. Females should be encouraged to plan for a career, not just a job. 1 2 3 4 5
10. Women are less capable of making important decisions than men are. 1 2 3 4 5
11. Men are more capable of assuming leadership than women are. 1 2 3 4 5
12. There is considerable evidence that men, in general, are a "superior species" to women. 1 2 3 4 5
13. Women really like being dependent on men. 1 2 3 4 5

14. Women should go ahead and pamper males-"Tell him how great he is"-because that is a useful way to get what they want. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Men should stop appraising women solely on the basis of appearance and sex appeal. 1 2 3 4 5
16. Either consciously or unconsciously, most women would like to be men. 1 2 3 4 5
17. The way men and women behave is more the result of their genetic make-up than of the way they were brought up. 1 2 3 4 5
18. Since men have a natural urge to dominate and lead, women who challenge this actually threaten the welfare of society. 1 2 3 4 5
19. There should be low-cost, high-quality child care centers for working women. 1 2 3 4 5
20. Men need liberation equally as much as women do. 1 2 3 4 5
21. Men's clubs and lodges should be required to admit women. 1 2 3 4 5
22. Women should get equal pay with men for doing the same jobs. 1 2 3 4 5
23. Women should have equal job opportunities with men. 1 2 3 4 5
24. Women's clubs and lodges should be required to admit men. 1 2 3 4 5

GIRL SCOUT SURVEY

Age _____ Rank _____

Number of years in Scouting _____

Troop #_____

What are your favorite activities in Girl Scouting?

What do you like the least?

Why did you join the Girl Scouts?

How long do you think you will remain a Girl Scout? Why?

Circle the response which most closely resembles your true feelings. Please be as honest as possible and answer each question. Responses range from 1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree.

1.	Women with children in grammar school should, if at all possible, stay at home rather than work.	1 2 3 4 5
2.	It is possible for women to satisfy their needs for achievement through their husbands.	1 2 3 4 5
3.	Men should have more freedom to do things such as cook and care for children, if they so desire.	1 2 3 4 5
4.	A man's self-esteem is severely injured if his wife makes more money than he does.	1 2 3 4 5
5.	Men should take the same amount of responsibility as women in caring for home and children.	1 2 3 4 5
6.	A husband who is the breadwinner in the family should make all the important decisions.	1 2 3 4 5
7.	I would feel uncomfortable if my immediate supervisor at work was a woman.	1 2 3 4 5
8.	To a great extent, women are less able to make a career commitment than men are.	1 2 3 4 5
9.	Females should be encouraged to plan for a career, not just a job.	1 2 3 4 5
10.	Women are less capable of making important decisions than men are.	1 2 3 4 5
11.	Men are more capable of assuming leadership than women are.	1 2 3 4 5

12. There is considerable evidence that men, in general, are a "superior species" to women. 1 2 3 4 5
13. Women really like being dependent on men. 1 2 3 4 5
14. Women should go ahead and pamper males-"Tell him how great he is"-because that is a useful way to get what they want. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Men should stop appraising women solely on the basis of appearance and sex appeal. 1 2 3 4 5
16. Either consciously or unconsciously, most women would like to be men. 1 2 3 4 5
17. The way men and women behave is more the result of their genetic make-up than of the way they were brought up. 1 2 3 4 5
18. Since men have a natural urge to dominate and lead, women who challenge this actually threaten the welfare of society. 1 2 3 4 5
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20. Men need liberation equally as much as women do. 1 2 3 4 5
21. Men's clubs and lodges should be required to admit women. 1 2 3 4 5
22. Women should get equal pay with men for doing the same jobs. 1 2 3 4 5
23. Women should have equal job opportunities with men. 1 2 3 4 5
24. Women's clubs and lodges should be required to admit men. 1 2 3 4 5

Appendix IV-2. Packet sent to Girl Scout leaders.

Dear Girl Scout Leader,

I am a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at U.T. As a part of my thesis research, I am asking you to fill out and return the attached questionnaire.

The purpose of this study is to determine some of your attitudes about Girl Scouting and life in general. The participants in this study are Girl Scouts (Junior, Cadette, and Senior), their leaders, and their parents. Please fill out and return this questionnaire. It is very important for this study that you completely fill out the survey.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your identity will be kept confidential. Troop identity will also be confidential. The Tanasi Girl Scout Council will only have access to aggregate results. Only I will have access to the questionnaires. Please be as honest as possible as you fill them out. The results will increase our knowledge about modern attitudes. They can also be used to inform future Girl Scout programming decisions.

If you have any questions about this study please contact Jennifer Matternes or Dr Benita Howell at the Department of Anthropology, 252 S. Stadium Hall UTK, Knoxville TN 37996, or call 974-4408.

Please fill out this survey and return it to the address on the back. It is for a study I am doing as part of my thesis in Cultural Anthropology.

LEADER'S SURVEY

Age ___ Sex ___ Race _____

# of years as a Leader _____

Marital status _____ # and sexes of children _____
# of children who are/were Girl Scouts _____

Was/is your daughter in your troop _____

Religion _____

Were you a Girl Scout ____ Highest rank attained _____

Kind of troop(s) you lead _____

# of girls in troop _____

Occupation _____ Comments:

Circle the response which most closely resembles your true feelings. Please be as honest as possible and answer each question. Responses range from 1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree.

1. Women with children in grammar school should, if at all possible, stay at home rather than work.	1 2 3 4 5
2. It is possible for women to satisfy their needs for achievement through their husbands.	1 2 3 4 5
3. Men should have more freedom to do things such as cook and care for children, if they so desire.	1 2 3 4 5
4. A man's self-esteem is severely injured if his wife makes more money than he does.	1 2 3 4 5
5. Men should take the same amount of responsibility as women in caring for home and children.	1 2 3 4 5
6. A husband who is the breadwinner in the family should make all the important decisions.	1 2 3 4 5
7. I would feel uncomfortable if my immediate supervisor at work was a woman.	1 2 3 4 5
8. To a great extent, women are less able to make a career commitment than men are.	1 2 3 4 5

9. Females should be encouraged to plan for a career, not just a job. 1 2 3 4 5
10. Women are less capable of making important decisions than men are. 1 2 3 4 5
11. Men are more capable of assuming leadership than women are. 1 2 3 4 5
12. There is considerable evidence that men, in general, are a "superior species" to women. 1 2 3 4 5
13. Women really like being dependent on men. 1 2 3 4 5
14. Women should go ahead and pamper males-"Tell him how great he is"-because that is a useful way to get what they want. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Men should stop appraising women solely on the basis of appearance and sex appeal. 1 2 3 4 5
16. Either consciously or unconsciously, most women would like to be men. 1 2 3 4 5
17. The way men and women behave is more the result of their genetic make-up than of the way they were brought up. 1 2 3 4 5
18. Since men have a natural urge to dominate and lead, women who challenge this actually threaten the welfare of society. 1 2 3 4 5
19. There should be low-cost, high-quality child care centers for working women. 1 2 3 4 5
20. Men need liberation equally as much as women do. 1 2 3 4 5
21. Men's clubs and lodges should be required to admit women. 1 2 3 4 5
22. Women should get equal pay with men for doing the same jobs. 1 2 3 4 5
23. Women should have equal job opportunities with men. 1 2 3 4 5
24. Women's clubs and lodges should be required to admit men. 1 2 3 4 5

Appendix V-1. Interview Questions.

Former Girl Scout Interview

1. When were you a Girl Scout?
2. How many years were you in Scouting?
3. What are the activities that you remember doing?
4. What sorts of activities did you do the most?
5. Which activities did you most enjoy/least enjoy?
6. What did you wish that you did more often/less often?
7. How many and what sort of merit badges did you earn?
8. Were there some merit badges that were more usual to get than others? What were they?
9. Do you still have your old uniform?
10. What sorts of things did you discuss at Girl Scout meetings?
11. What do you remember about your Leaders?
12. Was your mother a Leader?
13. Did you have a Leader that you particularly admired? Why?
14. Do you feel your Leaders influenced your attitudes about life?
15. How often and for how much time did you meet each month?
16. Did you enjoy being a Girl Scout?
17. How do you think other girls who were not Scouts felt about the Girl Scouts? Boys?
18. How do you think adults felt about Girl Scouts?
19. How old were you when you joined the Girl Scouts?
20. Why did you join?
21. How old were you when you left the Girl Scouts? Why?

Girl Scout Leader Interview

1. Were you a Girl Scout?
   (if yes then ask 1-21 of former Girl Scout interview.)
2. What prompted you to become a leader?
3. Do you have any children? Are they in Scouting?
4. What are your goals as a Leader?
5. What do you hope your troop will gain from your leadership?
6. How long have you been a Leader?
7. What do you find most rewarding about being a Leader?
8. What is most frustrating?

Girl Scout Interview

1. What is your rank?
2. How long have you been a Girl Scout?
3. How old are you?
4. Do you like being a Girl Scout?
5. What badges have you earned?
6. What sorts of things do you do as a Girl Scout?
7. What activities do you most enjoy? Least enjoy?
8. What sorts of things do you discuss at meetings?
9. How do you think other people feel about Girl Scouting?
10. Tell me about your Leader(s)?
11. Are there any things about Girl Scouting that you would change?

VITA

Jennifer Hillis Matternes was born in 1965 in West Palm Beach, Florida. She grew up in Southern Florida and graduated from Cardinal Newman High School in 1983. She received her Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1988 from the University of North Carolina - Greensboro, majoring in Biology with a Psychology minor. She currently resides with her husband in North Knoxville.