Changes in Canadian Identity Attitudes Over a Twenty Year Period: 1981-2001

by

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

This project examines attitude change between 1981 and 2001 for a population of young, well educated Canadians, employing evaluation, potency and activity (EPA) semantic differential ratings of approximately 800 social identities. This comprises my larger data set. I also employ a smaller subset of 102 social identities drawn from the larger data set to explore changes across three points in time (1981, 1995, and 2001) for 102 social identities, supplementing my analysis across two points in time (1981 and 2001) for 800 social identities.

The objectives for this dissertation are: (1) to assess stability of attitudes for social identities over time; (2) to identify and describe patterns of change in identity attitudes and to connect observed changes in identity attitudes to historical events, and to social and cultural change in Canadian society; (3) to explore the extent to which identities that cluster together in EPA space define social institutions; and (4) to explore how changes in identity attitudes affect role expectations over time.

Despite significant shifts in attitudes for a number of identities, approximately 80% of identity attitudes remained stable over time, confirming findings from past research that cultural sentiments are slow to change. Observed changes could be connected to social and cultural structure. Specifically, dramatic changes occurred for religious and sexual preference/orientation identities. Numerous religious identities decreased on evaluation for male respondents between 1981 and 1995 and then were restored to earlier levels by 2001. Female respondents were not as forgiving and 1995 decreases in evaluation were sustained. These changes are connected to increased secularization and earlier sexual scandals in religious institutions. Sexual preference/orientation identities increased significantly on evaluation for both males and

females. However, increases for females were more dramatic and occurred across all three points in time while changes in attitudes for males occurred between 1981 and 1995 and then changed little between 1995 and 2001. These changes can be connected to numerous factors, including the increased visibility of gay/lesbian culture in mainstream media and the absence of a strong anti-gay counter movement.

Although social identities clustered in interesting ways, cluster analysis was not very successful in defining social institutions.

Computer simulations revealed how role and behaviour expectations change with changes in identity attitudes. For example, there is obvious increase in evaluation between 1981 and 2001 for the behavior of a *police officer* toward a *homosexual*.

This dissertation concludes by addressing methodological issues such as sample size and generalizability. It is suggested that the corpus of identities should be continually updated to include identities that are emerging from pop culture.   Finally, four areas of future research are suggested: (1) a continual monitoring of cultural sentiments; (2) a more detailed focus on individual social institutions; (3) a confirmation of computer predictions with qualitative interview data; and (4) identifying the implications of this research for trend analysis. Practical implications of this dissertation research include the use of computer simulations of identity-role processes in the areas of education and policy research.

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I am feeling overwhelmed as this journey comes to a close. Despite much relief and excitement that I can move on to other things, I will miss (just a little) playing my favorite role of "perpetual student".

For my mum and dad, who have always supported me in my academic pursuits.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Background

In 1995, I assisted on a research project that examined changes in attitudes towards 102 identities drawn from a much larger dictionary that included the same identities (MacKinnon and Luke, 2002). This dictionary of Canadian cultural identities, behaviours, emotions, traits, and settings was established in the early 80's and data were collected on these identities at that time. Our comparatively small study of 102 identities in 1995 was an attempt to see if a larger, more detailed study was warranted. The study was designed to answer the following questions: Had attitudes remained stable over a 10 year period? Which institutional identities demonstrated change? Results from our 1995 study and subsequent paper suggested that a study employing all of the identities, traits, modifiers, settings, behaviours, and emotion terms from the original Canadian dictionary should be collected and analyzed 20 years following the original collection (MacKinnon and Luke 2002). Our findings at that time suggested that although approximately 80% of attitudes for social identities remained stable nearly 20% demonstrated significant changes.

The major purpose of this project is to examine attitude change between 1981 and 2000 cohorts from a population of young, well educated Canadians. I employ attitude data that consists of evaluation, potency and activity (EPA) semantic differential ratings of approximately 800 social identities drawn from a broad range of institutional settings, as well as EPA ratings of traits, behaviours, emotions, status characteristics and settings.

Drawing from our 2002 paper, the objectives of my proposed dissertation are: (1) to assess stability of attitudes for social identities over time; (2) to identify and describe patterns of

change in identity attitudes in relation to historical events, and to social and cultural change in Canadian society; (3) to conduct cluster analysis in an effort to determine whether identities that "hang" together in EPA space define social institutions; and (4) to do simulations using program INTERACT to explore how role and behaviour expectations have changed over time.

In general, the past century in North America has experienced increasing social change (Goyder, 2009). From a decline in farming, to a shift and reliance on an industrial economy that peaked mid-century, to the emergence of what some refer to as a post-industrial or post-modern society, Canada and the United States have witnessed massive shifts in employment, the economy, and technology just to name a few. Despite a century of massive change, the final quarter of the 20th century was "qualitatively distinct from events between mid-century and the three quarter mark" (Goyder, 2009). The emergence of a different and unique era was apparent in the writing of several people. Toffler (1981) spoke of the Third Wave, Bell (1973) introduced the idea of the post-industrial state, Giddens referred to the "late modern society" (1991), and some introduced the concept of a post-modern society.

Late 20th century society saw the rise of an educated workforce, the increase of women into the workforce and the introduction of technology into the workplace. These factors would alter the very fabric of society. Between 1970 and 2000, people enrolled in colleges and universities in Canada more than doubled (Goyder, 2009; Clark, 2000). The trend of women entering the workforce reached maturity during this period as well. Between 1975 and 1980, the participation of women in the workforce exceeded 50% and by 2000 it reached 60% (Williams, 2000). New defining technologies and the arrival of the microelectronic chip altered the job/employment landscape forever. This period in time saw the earlier permanence of careers disintegrate while at the same time, starting salaries in some of the technical fields reached an all

time high. It was also argued that computerization made workplaces more level, flattening old

hierarchies (Goyder, 2009; Lyon 1999). The introduction of e-mail alone made people at the top

of the pyramid a mere key stroke on the keyboard away. Previously inaccessible executives

could now be reached from all levels within an organization. The mass availability of the

Internet has also resulted in a feeling that we can all be experts. Information is now accessible to

everyone and anyone who has a computer providing the "average" Canadian with a belief, real or

imagined, of expertise on a range of issues from health to home renovation. Examples can be

seen in areas such as academia with a move away from the lecture to the seminar where the

professor acts as facilitator instead of expert, an increase in civic engagement, and the

introduction of lay ministries into churches hence displacing the ultimate power and authority of

priests and ministers (Lyon, 1999).Overall, this shift leads to a loss of faith in traditional

authority (Gregg, 2001). As a result of this flattening out of society, lifestyles became more

homogeneous (Caplow et al, 1982). A disadvantage to this new information age is the rise of

globalization and the shift of jobs to cheaper labour markets as well as job deskilling. Factory

jobs have since been replaced by low-paying, unskilled retail jobs as well as jobs in the service

and information sectors.

The economy also experienced many shifts over this time period. The 80's were

welcomed in with an economic downturn that resulted in real spending on consumer goods and

services decreasing by 2% and cuts to social programs (Williams, 2000). With the end of the

downturn, Canadians resumed their spending habits in full force, creating the image of the 80's

as a decade of excess. This is exemplified by personal spending on consumer goods and services

increasing to 18% (Williams, 2000).

The 90's were turbulent as well with another economic downturn and further cuts made to social programs. In real terms, incomes remained flat with individual incomes falling by more than 2% in the first half of the 90's. Despite the squeeze, spending continued to increase by almost 12% between 1990 and 1999. Unfortunately, most of this was financed by credit and consumer debt (Williams, 2000).

Goyder (2009), in his latest book *The Prestige Squeeze*, talks of a fragmentation of social structure over this time period. Class fractions have intensified while actual lines between social classes have blurred and become fuzzy. Aronowitz (1992) argues that class is actually displaced by other bases of identification. In 1982, Caplow et al already saw the blurring across class lines as many differences between business class families and working class families eroded away. Higher education is no longer a privilege of the elite. There is also an introduction of new groups: the highly educated symbolic analysts and the creative class. Unfortunately, not everyone is able to find a place within this newly organized and fractured society. According to Goyder (2009) those that did not find their place in this new technocratic global economy turn inward and take refuge in the self.

By 2000, many argue that we have entered a post-modern society which brings about ideological fragmentation, cultural pluralism, and the ethos of individualism (Goyder, 2009). Life becomes more anomic and less structured. According to Lyon (1999) deindustrialization turned cities into "centres of consumption-hence mega-malls and museums" (p. 74). This focus on consumption in the post-modern society changes how the self is articulated. The self has become a pursuit of goods and styles as everything becomes a consumer item (Lyon 1999). According to Ferudi (2004), identities have become fragile entities, hooked on self-esteem.

Alongside the portrait of pervasive change presented above, there is a counter portrait of society and culture as stable entities, resistant to sudden change. Comparing culture to a merry go round, Heise (2007) argues that behind all of the music, lights, laughing children, and moving colours, little actually changes in real substantive terms. Much like historical presentism and its preoccupation with the present age when engaging in historical interpretation, researchers may over-interpret the uniqueness and pace of social change. Although demographic and technological changes since the 1980's are unmistakable, our attempt to assess them in terms of changes to social and cultural structure may be protracted. A presence of stability or a lack of change in identity attitudes may be a result of Ogburn's (1922) notion of cultural lag. Suggesting that a period of maladjustment occurs when non-material culture attempts to adapt to new material conditions, cultural lag may help in an understanding as to how the changes described above would not translate into changes in identity attitudes. Mindful of both the amount of social change along some dimensions and the affect control principle that cultural sentiments tend to remain stable over time, I predict that most cultural sentiments will remain stable between 1981 and 2001.

As detailed in MacKinnon and Luke (2002), the decade under investigation was one of social and political upheaval. We found notable shifts in attitudes for institutional identities in the areas of politics, religion and sex. The evaluation (E), potency (P), and activity (A) towards specific identities (e.g. *clergy*, *lesbian*, *member of parliament*) were related to changes in social and cultural structure, relying primarily on media sources as a reference point. As revealed by detailed analysis of media reports, the decade in question was a time of religious upheaval, increasing secularization, and numerous sex scandal crises in the church. The political arena had also fallen victim to growing apathy and an increased distrust and dislike of political figures.

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Attitudes toward sexual identities encountered enormous shifts as sexually "deviant" identities of the early 80's (gay and lesbian) increased on the evaluation scale from a negative to a more neutral, slightly positive evaluation. It is these changes that suggested a need to continue the work. The research reported in this dissertation will look further at the effects of social and cultural change on identity attitudes.

Trend analysis, as discussed by Hill (1981) and Kiecolt (1988), typically relies on more data points in time and larger sample sizes, exploring the direct relationship of attitudes to the behaviour of collectivities or to the social structural location of respondents, and the measurement of social issues (MacKinnon and Luke 2002). Hill (1981) reviews previous research that attempted to find a correlation between attitudes and behaviour relying on traditional survey methods. Specifically, he looks at attitudes toward sex roles and race relations and his conclusions are tentatively optimistic although he argues that "further testing requires more precise, valid, and frequent measurements of both the attitudes of our population and relevant macro-level behavioural indices" (p.373). Kiecolt (1988) also presents a thorough review of previous research focusing on the link between attitudes and social structure by way of numerous factors: aspects of social structure, smaller structures, and psychological processes. Researching attitudes towards occupational gender roles, in particular, her conclusions argue for a more comprehensive conceptualization of attitudes and an understanding that the relationship between attitudes and social structure is reciprocal.

In contrast, the survey reported here does not contain items pertaining to observed behaviour, and, aside from sex, social demographic data is unmeasured or constant (all respondents are Canadian university students). The attitude objects being studied are identities such as *doctor*, *mother*, and *drug addict* as opposed to issues. Finally, unlike traditional trend

studies that employ national probability samples, this study consists of nonprobability samples from cohorts of a geographically localized population. Although trend analysis has a methodological edge, it lacks in theoretical depth (MacKinnon and Luke 2002). This major problem is best articulated by House (1981) in that "many reports of survey research have consisted almost entirely of bivariate and multivariate analysis of the relationship of…social demographic variables…to individual personality [including attitudes] and behaviour." (p.527). As a result, we know very little about "how and why these differences occur" (p.540) and a great deal about a multitude of social demographic variables. The only way to correct this deficit is to "specify the psychological processes through which the micro processes of social interaction and communication produced by macro-social structures influence individual personality and behaviour" (MacKinnon and Luke 2002, p. 301).

   The study proposed here is grounded in Affect Control Theory (Heise, 1979, 1999, 2001, 2007; Smith-Lovin and Heise, 1988; MacKinnon ,1994; MacKinnon and Heise, 2010; Schneider and Heise, 1995; Heise and Weir, 1999). Affect Control Theory is a mathematical formalization and theoretical expansion of classical identity theory (McCall and Simmon, 1978; Stryker, 1968, 1980) and the generalized symbolic interactionist framework articulated by Stryker (1968, 1980). For the purposes of this project, I will not draw on the mathematical models; rather, I rely on the theory to explain the mechanisms through which change in identity attitudes reflects social and cultural change (MacKinnon and Luke, 2002). What this study will show is a "concern with social change at a macro or societal level, and the use of attitudinal data in an effort to monitor or assess such change" (Hill, 1981:367).

Social versus Cultural Explanations of Attitude Change

House (1981) urges researchers to be precise when examining the macro-social side of this relationship, specifically that we differentiate between social and cultural structure and between social and cultural explanations of social attitudes and behaviours. For my purposes, I rely on the distinction articulated in House (1981) and Wallace (1983). According to House, social structure refers to a "persisting and bounded pattern of social relationships" (p.542) and cultural structure refers to "shared cognitive and evaluative beliefs…about what is or ought to be" (p.542). According to Wallace, one needs to determine if one is dealing with "physical" or "psychical" phenomena. Social structure therefore refers to "people doing things together" while cultural structure is "people perceiving, thinking, or feeling things together" (1983:29). At the macrosociological level, the intersection of social structure and cultural structure define social institutions. At the microsociological level, role behaviour and role expectations represent social structure and cultural structure, respectively, (Wallace 1983), and their intersection defines social roles, the basic structural unit of social institutions (Parsons and Shils 1951). A cultural approach examines the importance of shared values and beliefs for behaviour while a social structural approach emphasizes the influence that behaviour has on shared beliefs and values (House 1981). In order to examine changes in identity attitudes, I will utilize both cultural and social/structural explanations.

Plan of this dissertation

In the remainder of this chapter, I will present a description of Affect Control Theory, followed by a description of the methods employed in this dissertation. Chapter 2 presents my findings for changes in attitudes for 102 identities across three points in time (1981, 1995, and 2001). Changes in the two larger data sets (1981 and 2001) which include approximately 800

identities will be discussed as they pertain to findings based upon my analysis of 102 identities across three points in time. I include my interpretation of findings in this chapter for the convenience of the reader.

Chapter 3 presents my cluster analysis. In this chapter I present findings and analysis as to whether or not identities hang together in a meaningful way when grouped according to cluster means. I present a more detailed discussion of cluster analysis in this chapter as well.

Chapter 4 comprises INTERACT simulations. Program INTERACT is discussed more thoroughly at this point and an analysis of predicted behaviours based on changes in attitudes toward identities is presented.

I present my conclusion and discussion in chapter 5. This chapter reflects on my analysis in an effort to determine what was discovered, what could be improved upon, and suggestions for further research.

Identity and Identity Attitudes

That we all live in a symbolic environment is a basic premise of symbolic interactionism. Further, this environment consists of classifications and meanings, made possible by our capacity for language (Mead 1934; Blumer 1967; Stryker 1968, 1980). In this symbolic environment, terms used to locate people within organized social activity are very important. Identities such as *party animal*, *mother*, or *gangster* provide both the bearer and others a reference point for social activity and social character (Stryker 1980).

These terms are also responsible for conveying expectations for behaviour. In classical role theory, behavioural expectations are termed roles (Gross et al. 1958). This term has also been adopted by identity theory (Stryker 1968; 1980). Role expectations can be generated for others or for self. These reflexively applied positional designations are termed identities (Stryker

1968; 1980) or role-identities (McCall and Simmons 1978) by identity theorists. In psychological social psychology, social identity theorists (Tafjel 1974; 1978; 1982; Tafjel and Turner 1979; Turner 1982) also use the term identity but apply it strictly to broad social categories such as sex, ethnic status, and social class. They are not as interested in occupational or other social structural roles (Hogg et al. 1995). For the purpose of this project, I will employ identities based upon both broad social categories (social identity theory) and social structural positions (classic identity theory).

Traditionally, Mead and symbolic interactionism have focused on identities as cognitive responses to oneself (Stryker 1980). Identity salience, from Stryker's (1968) identity theory, refers to the identities that a person is more likely to draw upon in a given situation. Identity prominence, a similar concept found in McCall and Simmons' (1966) version of identity theory, refers to a hierarchy of identities central to a person's self-concept and esteem. Among other things, only identities with social support will be drawn upon in specific situations where numerous identities could be invoked. Although identity theorists such as Stryker and McCall and Simmons have flirted with the affective and motivational sides of identities, identity theory has essentially remained a cognitive approach. This is what has distinguished affect control theory from identity theory and symbolic interactionism.

Affect Control Theory

Affect Control Theory (ACT) accepts that identities are cognitive responses to self and others. However, the theory also argues that all cognitions evoke affective associations (MacKinnon and Heise 1993; MacKinnon 1994). This means that "people do not only think identities, they also feel them" (MacKinnon and Luke 2002). Given that attitude is defined as

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the affective response to the cognition of objects (MacKinnon and Bowlby 2000), the term, identity attitudes, will be used to refer to the affective meaning of identities.

ACT is based on the proposition that people wish to confirm their definition of the situation. This is accomplished by creating and maintaining events in an effort to maintain these meanings (Smith-Lovin 1990). When people enter into a social situation, they occupy certain identities such as *student*, *professor*, *lawyer*, *client*, *parent*, *child*, *lover*. Some of these identities are heavily supported by institutions and their physical settings. Settings help define the situation and define for the actor what behaviour may or may not be appropriate. Examples include a doctor's office, a classroom, or a playgroup with other children. While some identities are quite formal, others are less formal and do not require a specific setting, for instance lovers on a date in a restaurant, on a sidewalk, or in a shopping mall. Through certain actions or physical props, actors can also change the definition of the situation for others. A normal bank setting with *tellers* and *customers* can become a robbery with *robbers* and *hostages* by a person with a gun (Smith-Lovin 1990). Social events are therefore recognized within a specific definition of the situation. "The interpretation of behaviour (i.e. its cognitive categorization or label) determines its affective impact" (Smith-Lovin 1990, p. 239). Witnessing a mother disciplining a child is defined as acceptable and would arouse little emotional discomfort, while a mother who abuses her child is not acceptable and would arouse a great deal of emotional discomfort.

Important information is contained in the labels we choose to use to characterize self, other, and social actions. This information includes fundamental sentiments- persistent affective meanings attached to specific entities that in turn serves as a reference for assessing the transient sentiments for self, other, and social actions produced by events (Heise 2007). Fundamental

sentiments tell us how good, powerful, and lively people and behaviours are outside the context of actual events.

Despite varying backgrounds, most people in a given society tend to agree on the affective meanings associated with social identities and behaviours (Smith-Lovin 1990). For the most part, we agree that *mothers* are nicer than *gangsters*, that *doctors* are more powerful than *patients*, and that *children* are more lively than their *grandparents*. There are obvious exceptions. Subcultures, such as gay church communities, will develop unique meanings for identities central to their group (Smith-Lovin and Douglas 1992).

Measuring Sentiments: Evaluation, Potency, and Activity

Prior to the development of the semantic differential scale, Wilhelm Wundt, the 19th century father of experimental psychology, argued that affective states, or feelings, could be characterized by adjective opposites along a bipolar span (Heise 2010). He argued that there was an almost infinite number of possible affective states and contrasts for characterizing them. Despite this, three basic directions could be distinguished: pleasurable/unpleasurable feelings; arousing/subduing or exciting/depressing feelings; and strain/relaxation feelings (Heise 2010). The mid-point between the extreme ends of these adjectives represents an absence of intensity. Conversely, extreme intensities become emotions. Wundt then assigned dimensional labels to his adjective pairs, and settled on: an evaluative dimension characterized by the adjectives pleasurable and unpleasurable; an activation dimension of arousing and subduing; and finally, a muscularity dimension characterized by strain and relaxation. Drawing on all three dimensions, there are eight possible combinations. Given that each feeling has a level of intensity on each dimension, and some feelings may even fall in the neutral point on one or more dimensions, we quickly see that the number of distinguishable affective states is enormous.

Following Wundt's work, William McDougall promoted the notion of a sentiment as a "system in which a cognitive disposition is linked with one or more emotional or affective conative dispositions to form a structural unit that functions as one configuration or Gestalt" (McDougall, 1908, p.437). McDougall saw sentiments as the basis of human action. This conceptualization of sentiment further expanded how we thought about affective association beyond Wundt's earlier work (Heise, 2010).

If the ideas of Wundt and McDougall had been put together, we would have seen a perspective on affect and cognition similar to that which we see now in numerous research programs in the twenty first century. According to Heise (2010), a combined perspective would have argued that

> Namely, cultural entities are internalized in people's minds not only with   cognitive meaning schemes, but also with affective associations that vary along three bipolar dimensions: goodness versus badness, weakness versus powerfulness, and quiescence versus activation; and the affectivity of cognitive concepts is the foundation of individual motivations in interpersonal and institutional activities (p.24).

Instead of a synthesis of these two ideas, researchers turned their attention to the idea of attitudes. Focusing strictly on the dimension of evaluation, attitudes refer to a cognitive, affective, and behavioural complex. Thurstone (1928) was the first to publish an article that demonstrated the ability to measure attitudes. Relying on an assortment of verbal expressions of attitude (opinions) along a continuum, he was able to measure attitudes by the acceptance or rejection of certain opinions on a variety of topics. Later, the development of numerous new scales supplanted this method.

What started as research into synesthesia, "a psychological phenomenon in which sensations in one sense domain cause sensations in a different sense domain" (Heise, 2010), turned into a research program on the dimensionality of meaning that then occupied much of

Osgood's later career. Osgood's (1953) work on meaning rested on 3 basic assumptions: 1) a process of description which is defined as the "allocation of a concept to an experiential continuum defined by a pair of polar terms" (p.713); 2) the ways in which meanings vary are essentially the same and may be represented "by a single dimension making the development of a quantitative measuring instrument feasible" (p.713); and, 3) "a limited number of such continua can be used to define a semantic space within which the meaning of any concept may be specified" (p.713).

Using bipolar adjectives, Osgood allocated concepts into semantic space in order to assess meanings. Ratings of concepts were conducted on a series of bipolar scales that produced quantitative profiles allowing them to be differentiated from one another (Heise, 2010). Osgood proved his assumptions about meanings by obtaining ratings of multiple concepts on multiple scales. Then, relying on factor analysis, he demonstrated that much of the variance in the ratings could be accounted for by a few latent axes. Subsequent analyses found that only three factors were statistically trustworthy: evaluation, potency and activity (Heise, 2010).

These results were published as *The Measurement of Meaning* (Osgood et al., 1957). Receiving a mixture of praise and criticisms, Osgood published a response addressing his critiques and acknowledging that the semantic differential actually corresponded to Wundt's earlier conceptualizations of affective dimensions (Heise, 2010). Osgood then ventured on a massive cross-cultural project to address other complaints regarding The Measurement of Meaning, specifically that the number of rated concepts in the factorial studies was too small and that relying on translation of scales into other languages was not a valid way to measure affective meaning across a variety of cultures (Heise, 2010).

In his subsequent work, Cross-Cultural Universals of Affective Meaning (Osgood et al., 1975), Osgood reported their research that had been conducted in 21 different culture/language venues. This mammoth cross-cultural and cross-national project "was designed to test the hypothesis that regardless of language or culture, human beings utilize the same qualifying (descriptive) framework in allocating affective meanings of concepts" (Osgood et al., 1975, p.6). This daunting task was accomplished by replicating cross-culturally the kinds of studies reported in the 1957 book, without relying on direct translation of scales from English to other languages. In order to accomplish this, each language and culture group was required to determine their own descriptive scales, in their own respective languages. The process was also standardized in order to allow for intercultural comparisons (Heise, 2010).

The researchers used young, high school aged males from urban centres as respondents in their study. A multistep procedure was then applied to derive bipolar scales indigenously. To accomplish this, 100 stimulus words were elicited from 100 indigenes resulting in the collection of 10,000 qualifiers. These were then submitted to a panel of 10 sophisticated speakers of the indigenous language. Qualifiers were then assigned opposite words and 50 pairs were selected. Qualifier pairs were converted to bipolar scales which, in turn, were judged by 200 new indigenous subjects drawn from each language/culture area being studied (Heise, 2010). This pan-cultural analysis incorporated data from 21 language/culture communities and the results were irrefutable. "The first factor…was Evaluation, with scales from every culture-language venue contributing to definition of the factor. The second factor was recognizable as Potency, and the third factor was Activity, and again scales from all venues contributed to these factors" (Heise, 2010).

ACT uses E, P, and A (evaluation, potency, and activity) scales of the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum 1957) to measure the affective meaning of concepts. It has also been demonstrated that while EPA ratings of concepts vary cross-culturally, the EPA structure of meaning is universal (Osgood, May and Miron 1975).

ACT estimates collective attitudes for particular concepts. These estimates are derived from the aggregation of EPA scores across respondents. These collective attitudes are a part of culture and consequently termed cultural sentiments in ACT. ACT research has demonstrated empirically that there is little variation among individuals from the same culture or subculture in cultural sentiments for most identities, assuming that individuals studied are "competent bearers of the culture" (Thomas and Heise 1995; p. 425).

Connecting Identity Attitudes to Social and Cultural Structure

Recalling that cultural structure refers to people thinking things and feeling things together, E, P, and A profiles code a tremendous amount of information about a society's culture. This information includes role expectations and other kinds of cognitive information and beliefs. Furthermore, role expectations are predictive of role behaviour which in turn binds identity attitudes, as measured by E, P, and A, to social structure or people doing things together. Therefore, as stated above, my proposed study will examine changes in identity attitudes utilizing both cultural and structural/social explanations.

The Role of the Media

The media is the undeniable favored source of information on news, events, people, entertainment, and, cultural attitudes in our society. Although not the only juncture where the symbolic environment intersects with attitudes and behaviour (Beniger, 1985), it is an important one and is therefore a primary source for documenting social and cultural change in my analysis.

Given that my hypothesis focuses on changes in identity attitudes as reflected by social and cultural change, I would be remiss to not address the role that the media plays in this process. According to Beniger (1985), the "symbolic environment" is "the external context in which society's attitudes and behaviour are established and changed" (p.483). He offers us a useful model of "subjective social change" which suggests that media coverage of events and trends in the "symbolic environment" mediates or filters their effect on individual attitudes and behavious. As such, the mass media creates a "refracted image" of reality for its inhabitants (Lang and Lang 1981). Stressing that this is not a direct effect, Beniger (1985) also examines other factors that play a role in how the media is interpreted. Examining several social demographic variables, Beniger (1985) argues that education plays the greatest role as a filter of mass media. Education not only has a direct effect on attitudes, he also reports larger effects for the better educated (Lang and Lang 1981). Of particular importance is that the relationship between media coverage and attitudes is found to be reciprocal. A reciprocal relationship is also found to exist between attitudes and behaviours.

In our study, education will not be a factor as it is constant because we survey only university students. We do, however, incorporate sex as a social structural variable. Like education in Beniger's model, we suggest that sex of respondents may have both direct and moderating effects on attitudes. This approach is consistent with established practices in affect control theory research.

Simulations and Program INTERACT

Program INTERACT allows researchers to set up social interactions by specifying hypothetical people with specific identities. INTERACT will then generate the likely behaviors that might occur, what emotions people might feel, how salient identities of self or other may be

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altered over the course of a social interaction, and how changes in social settings affect behavior (URL: www.indiana.edu/~socpsy/ACT/interact.htm).

INTERACT is a user-friendly microcomputer program containing the equations and cultural data of ACT. INTERACT requires the researcher to specify the identities of the actor (A) and object-person (O) of an ABO (actor—behaviour—object) event. With this information, the program generates role expectations for the situational identities of event participants; the emotional consequences of events; and, if desired, the reidentification of interactants through either labeling or trait attribution processes. Hence, program INTERACT enables the researcher to simulate interactional processes as an alternative to direct observation.

I will employ INTERACT to carry out simulations to predict role expectations utilizing the 1981, 1995, and 2001 dictionaries. As such, I can compare role expectations across time. Given the changes that we reported in our 2002 paper, I do expect to see interesting changes in a number of institutional settings. Specifically, I predict that social identities that experienced significant attitude change will also experience a significant shift in predicted behaviour. The change in predicted behaviour can occur for the social identity in question or it can be a change in how others behave toward the social identity in question. For example, given the dramatic change in attitudes for *homosexual* for both males and females, I should see both a shift in how a *homosexual* might behave as an actor in an actor-behaviour-object event as well as a shift in how others such as a *policeman* might behave toward a *homosexual*.

Methodology

Sampling

In 1981, as part of a large Canadian study in affect control theory (ACT), EPA semantic differential data for nearly 800 social identities from various social institutions, such as

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behaviours, settings, traits, modifiers and emotion terms, were collected. This project was funded by The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (MacKinnon 1980). The research employed convenience samples of 25-35 social science undergraduates from a medium size Ontario University. Survey instruments were administered to classes of social science (mostly sociology) students. An equal number of male and female students born and/or raised in Canada were used for this research.

In 2001, funded by The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, a replication of the 1981 study was carried out and EPA semantic differentials were again collected for an even larger number of social identities, and about the same number of behaviours, settings, traits, modifiers, and emotion terms. Again, convenience samples of 25-35 social science students were used from the same Ontario university. This was done for both males and females. Unlike previous ACT research, this data set was collected using computer technology in a lab as opposed to the traditional paper and pencil method employed with intact classes of students.

In 1995, EPA measures for a smaller subset of 102 identities drawn from the original 1981 dictionary of identities were collected. Also funded by The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (MacKinnon 1993), this smaller data set was collected in the same manner, relying on convenience samples of 25-35 university students with equal numbers of male and female students from social science classes. Like the original 1981 study, paper and pencil survey instruments were used. Relying on the same 102 identities, it was then possible to pull out the same 102 identities from the larger 1981 data set and the larger 2001 data set. This provided me with manageable data sets that spanned three points in time.

In ACT research, mean EPA ratings of social identities are computed separately by sex of respondent because the cultural sentiments of males and females for particular concepts sometimes differ. Additional information on the socio-demographic background of respondents was not collected because ACT focuses on mean EPA representing cultural sentiments rather than on individual differences in EPA scores. Past research has found little variation in mean EPA ratings across socio-demographic or other groups from the same culture.

Measurement

As discussed above, ACT researchers measure the affective meaning of social identities with scales representing the EPA (evaluation, potency, and activity) dimensions of the semantic differential (Osgood et al. 1957; Osgood 1969; Osgood et al. 1975). Employing measurement procedures established in affect control research, the *evaluation* scale was anchored by "bad, awful" to "good, nice"; the *potency* scale, by "small, weak, powerless" to "big, strong, powerful"; and the *activity* scale, by "slow, old, quiet" to "fast, young, noisy". Calibrated from -4 to +4, each scale represents a wide range, from infinitely "bad, awful" to infinitely "good, nice". Actual values generally fall between -3 and +3, with -2 and +2 considered a large value in absolute terms.

Survey Instruments

Original survey instruments consisted of a cover page providing a general introduction, instructions to respondents, and questions to determine respondents' sex and country in which they were born/raised. The body of the survey consisted of 10 pages of word stimuli each of which was followed by the EPA semantic differential scales. Word stimuli were randomly distributed across the multiple survey booklets, ensuring that particular institutional contexts (family, political, and so on) were also randomly distributed.

The instrument used in 2000 was identical to that in previous research but was presented to respondents on a computer, and respondents used the keyboard to enter their responses. Social science students were assigned scheduled times. Using program *Attitude* (Heise 1982), it was possible to present identities to respondents on computers in a university computer lab. As with the paper surveys, stimuli were presented with three rating scales: evaluation, potency and activity. The rating scales found in program *Attitude* offered respondents more rating positions than paper questionnaires, and the randomization of the identities eliminated various kinds of measurement biases (Heise 2001).

Units of Analysis

The units of analysis for my research are social identities rather than individual respondents because our data consists of mean EPA ratings across respondents.

Analysis

The stability of identity attitudes over time is assessed using SPSS regression analysis. I will regress 2001 mean EPA values on 1981 values as well as 2001 mean EPA values on 1995 values, one dimension at a time. Regressions will be run separately for each sex of respondent. It is not necessary to regress 1995 EPA values on 1981 values as this was done during an earlier study and reported in MacKinnon and Luke (2002) although r2 will still be reported.

In order to assess change over time, I will use simple differences in mean EPA ratings and t-tests of these differences. This is the most simple and informative way to communicate findings on attitude change. As noted earlier, EPA scores of 2.00 or greater in absolute value are considered empirically large. Therefore, as a rule of thumb, I judge differences between 1981 and 2000 mean EPA ratings of .40 or greater in either direction as substantively noteworthy.

I will rely on conventional levels of significance but I will also consider results at the .10 level of significance as well, particularly when they contribute to a pattern of observed differences. These findings will be referred to as marginally significant.

To assess how different identities hang together in institutional clusters, I will employ SPSS k-means cluster analysis. This will enable me to identify clusters of identities that are to be as distinct as possible. I will examine the means for each cluster on each dimension to assess how distinct these clusters are. Ideally, very different means for different clusters will be found, given that clusters have been set up to maximize differences among cases in other clusters. I will rely on the F-test for heuristic purposes only, since the sampling methodology of the research does not conform to that required for tests of significance.

To explore changes over time in role expectations, I will employ program INTERACT and run a number of simulations using 1980 data and then replicate these simulations using the 2000 data. I can then examine how changes in cultural sentiments result in changes in behavioural expectations.

CHAPTER 2

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION FOR CHANGES OVER TIME

Description of Data Sets

As discussed above, in 1981, EPA semantic differential data for nearly 800 social identities representing a variety of social institutions were collected as part of a large Canadian study in affect control theory. This study was replicated in 2001. The data from these two studies comprise my two large data sets.

In 1995, a smaller subset of the original 1981 dictionary comprising 102 identities representing the same social institutions from the original data set were collected in an effort to see if a full replication would be necessary. It was then possible to pull out the same small subset of identities from both the 1981 and 2001 larger data sets giving me three smaller data sets spanning three points in time: 1981, 1995, and 2001.

The smaller data sets from three points in time are analyzed initially to see what trends are present. I then refer to my two larger data sets from the two points in time in an effort to flesh out or reinforce findings from the smaller data sets.

Many of the observed changes in evaluation, potency, and activity are statistically significant. I report changes at the conventional levels of 0.05 to 0.001 and at the marginal level of 0.10 when it reinforces a trend. For males, marginal significance was achieved for 24% of cases and conventional levels of significance occurred for 16% of cases on the evaluation dimension. On the potency dimension, marginal significance was achieved for 21% of cases and conventional significance was achieved for 12% of cases. On the activity dimension, marginal significance was achieved for 34% of cases and conventional significance was achieved

for 25% of cases. Females report higher numbers of significant changes over time. On evaluation, marginal significance was achieved for 29% of cases and conventional significance was achieved for 21% of cases. On potency, marginal significance was achieved for 25% of cases and conventional significance was achieved for 18% of cases. Finally, on activity, marginal significance was achieved for 39% of cases and conventional significance was achieved for 31% of cases.

Findings of Regression Analysis

Overall, 1981 EPA values explain between 64% and 82% of the variance of 2001 EPA values for males and between 67% and 85% of the variance for females. Specifically, for male respondents, the dimension *evaluation* explains 82% of the variance ($r^2 = .823$; F=3642.638; p=.000), potency explains 80% of the variance ($r^2=.802$; F=3186.709; p=.000), and activity explains 64% of the variance ($r^2=.642$; F=1411.458; p=.000). Female respondents report similar values. Evaluation explains 85% of the variance ($r^2=.847$; F=4388.795; p=.000), potency explains 91% of the variance ($r^2=.907$; F=3639.608; p=.000), and activity explains 67% of the variance ($r^2=.674$; F=1623.516; p=.000).

1995 EPA values explain between 68% and 87% of the variance of 2001 EPA values for males and between 75% and 90% for females. Specifically, for male respondents, the dimension *evaluation* explains 75% of the variance ($r^2 = .750$; F=302.291; p=.000), *potency* explains 87% of the valiance ($r^2=.871$; F=683.439; p=.000), and *activity* explains 68% of the variance ($r^2=.679$; F=213.250; p=.000). Female respondents report the following values: *evaluation* explains 84% of the variance ($r^2=.844$; F=544.441; p=.000), *potency* explains 90% of the variance ($r^2=.896$; F=869.587; p=.000), and *activity* explains 75% of the variance ($r^2=.748$; F=299.783; p=.000).

1981 values explain between 78% and 80% of the variance of 1995 EPA values for males and between 75% and 84% for females. Specifically, for male respondents, the dimension *evaluation* explains 80% of the variance ($r^2 = .795$; F=387.31; p=.000), *potency* explains 78% of the valiance (r^2=.780; F=354.34; p=.000), and *activity* explains 78% of the variance (r^2=.778; F=350.91; p=.000). Female respondents report the following values: *evaluation* explains 84% of the variance (r^2=.839; F=520.63; p=.000), *potency* explains 83% of the variance (r^2=.830; F=486.80; p=.000), and *activity* explains 75% of the variance (r^2=.749; F=298.50; p=.000).

Presentation of Findings

Presentation of findings for three points in time is broken down into three sections covering each dimension: evaluation, potency, and activity. Within each dimension, results are further broken down according to the time period in question, specifically: 1981-1995; 1995-2001; and 1981-2001. Data from two points in time are presented in a similar fashion. Changes in evaluation, potency, and activity are between 1981 and 2001.

Religious Identities

Evaluation

Generally, religious identities experience a decline in evaluation over time, although previous status level are almost entirely restored for males in 2001 (Tables 2.1a, 2.1b and Figure 2.1a, 2.2a).

In 1995, religious identities presented some of the most interesting shifts in attitudes over the 14 year period that spanned the 1981 and 1995 data collection points. Between 1981 and 1995, *clergy*, *evangelist*, and *God* dropped significantly on evaluation for both males and females (*clergy*: males 1.82 to 0.93, females 2.32 to 1.13; *evangelist*: males -0.39 to -1.28, females 0.11 to -0.76; *God*: males 2.38 to 1.26; females 3.00 to 2.18). These changes were significant at the

conventional level, with the exception of *clergy* which was significant at the marginal level. For female respondents only, *The Devil* decreased significantly and *sinner* increased significantly, albeit at only a marginal level of significance (*The Devil*: -2.36 to -2.91; and, *sinner*: -1.87 to -1.31).

Between 1995 and 2001, significant increases for *clergy*, *evangelist*, and *God* occurred for males*,* restoring status to previous levels for these identities (*clergy*: 0.93 to 1.80; *evangelist*: -1.28 to -0.17; and, *God*: 1.26 to 2.47). Although the change in *clergy* was again only marginal, it definitely is part of an observable trend. There were no significant shifts for females with these three identities suggesting that females are less forgiving of transgressions by church figures in the past. Significant decreases, however, occurred for females for *The Devil* and *sinner* (*The Devil*: -2.91 to -3.61; and, *sinner*: -1.31 to -1.94).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *The Devil* decreases significantly at the conventional level for females, and only marginally for males (females -2.36 to -3.61, males-2.29 to-3.20). *Clergy* decreases significantly for females only (2.32 to 1.17).

Potency

Overall, few significant changes occurred on the potency dimension despite some interesting shifts in 1995 (Tables 2.1a, 2.1b, and Figure 2.1b, 2.2b).

Clergy and *God* also experience a significant decrease on the potency dimension for male and female respondents between 1981 and 1995 (*clergy*: males 1.36 to -0.03, females 1.68 to 0.76; *God*: males 3.14 to 2.03, females 3.48 to 2.03). *The Devil* increases significantly for males and females on power (*The Devil*: males 1.36 to 2.43, females 1.41 to 2.28).

Between 1995 and 2001, *clergy* (-0.03 to 0.89) significantly regains lost power for males while significant increases occurred for females on power for *God* (2.03 to 3.01) and *The Devil* (2.28 to 3.21).

Between 1981 and 2001, *The Devil* increased on power for males and females, although only at a marginally significant level for males (*The Devil*: males 1.36 to 2.40; females 1.41 to 3.21). *Clergy* also decreased significantly for females (1.68 to 0.80).

Activity

There were no apparent trends on the activity dimension for males and females (Tables 2.1a, 2.1b, and Figure 2.1c, 2.2c).

There were no significant shifts on the activity dimension between 1981 and 1995 for either males or females.

There was a significant change on the activity dimension between 1995 and 2001. S*inner* decreased significantly for males and females (males 0.77 to 0.01, females 0.97 to -0.05). *Evangelist* and *The Devil* decreased significantly for males and *clergy* decreased significantly for females (*evangelist*: males 0.52 to -0.78; *The Devil*: males 1.43 to -1.03; and, *clergy*: females -0.97 to -1.61).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, the activity rating of *sinner* decreased significantly for males and females (*sinner*: males 0.75 to 0.01, females 0.63 to -0.05). Significant decreases for *The Devil* and *evangelist* also occurred for males (*The Devil*: 1.79 to -1.03; and, *evangelist*: 0.68 to -0.78).

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

Findings from the two larger data sets (1981 and 2001) reinforce these findings with the exception of a marginally significant increase on activity for males for *puritan* (-1.07 to -0.32)

(Appendix Table 1a and 1b). *Christian* decreased on evaluation and *church deacon* decreased on potency for females while *Hutterite* and *Mennonite* decreased on potency for males at a marginally significant level between 1981 and 2001(*Christian*: females 1.79 to 0.75; *church deacon*: females 1.65 to 0.77; *Hutterite*: males -0.37 to -1.04; and, *Mennonite*: males -0.29 to -0.89). These changes add to the downward attitude trend that suggests a loss in confidence for religious identities.

Discussion

In *Restless Gods*, Reginald Bibby (2002) stresses that, although the secularization thesis was a dominant belief in sociological circles a quarter of a century ago, it has since been reworked if not abandoned. Rodney Stark (1994), an original proponent of the thesis now suggests that what has changed with religion is not the demand side, which remains high, but rather the supply side. It is this approach that offers a more coherent understanding of recent census data that suggest that Canadians have not ceased to be religious or to identify themselves as believers but rather they are not attending their old religious institutions. Bibby (2002) explores 3 myths regarding religion in Canada: (1) people are switching; (2) people are dropping out; and (3) people are not receptive. Not only are Canadians not joining new religious groups or dropping out completely, but his data suggests that many Canadians are also receptive to more involvement. Nationally, 55% of adults and 39% of teens who attend religious services less than monthly are receptive to greater involvement (Bibby, 2002), supporting Starks' (1994) notion that the religion problem is not a demand issue but rather a supply one.

Surveys conducted around 2000 and more recently confirm that Canadians were, in fact, not "leaving" the church, rather they simply weren't coming anymore. Although attendance has remained low- only 25% of Canadians attend church at least once a week in 2005 (Clark and

Schellenberg 2006) - 85% of Canadians in 2000 identified as religious (Bibby, 2002). These findings are reflected with data that suggests little change over time (between 1981 and 2001) for male respondents on religious identities.

Interestingly though, the data from 1995 suggests a very different picture. Here, as noted in earlier work (MacKinnon and Luke, 2002), significant decreases on evaluation for *clergy*, *God* and *evangelist* occurred for males. These shifts were likely due to the upheaval in religious institutions in the early 90's caused by numerous sex scandals combined with a perceived growing secularization. These massive shifts, though, appear not to reflect a sustained change in attitude toward religious identities over time. According to Heise (2007) cultural sentiments are generally stable over time. Sometimes massive shifts can occur, but original sentiments are restored following a period of brief instability. This appears to be the case here. Following a dramatic and significant shift in attitudes for male respondents in 1995, attitudes were restored to previous levels in 2001. Although church attendance has decreased since the 80's, it has leveled off and religion continues to remain an important fixture on the Canadian landscape and within the Canadian psyche.

Females, on the other hand, appear not to be as forgiving as their male counterparts. Like males, significant drops for religious identities occurred for females on evaluation between 1981 and 1995, and although marginal increases occurred between 1995 and 2001, these shifts were not significant. Rather these shifts were just enough to eliminate any significant overall change between 1981 and 2001. Even with the drop on evaluation that occurred in 1995, females still rate *clergy* as a good identity with an E value of 1.17 in 2001 and *God* as very good with a value of 2.25, again reflecting other survey data that suggest that Canadians are still a religious/spiritual people although not a practicing one.

For both males and females, *The Devil*, remains a highly salient identity that is both extremely bad and very powerful. These findings reinforce the prevalence of religion in our society as *The Devil* is a powerful identity with religious groups. This may be better understood by the more recent finding that 40% of teens in 2005 referred to themselves as born again (Gregg 2005). Although mainstream churches remain stagnant forces in Canada, evangelical and fundamentalist ones are experiencing rejuvenation.

The potency dimension reflected similar findings. Significant decreases occurred for males for *clergy* and *God* in 1995, but these drops in power were restored almost to earlier levels between 1995 and 2001. Females, again, reflect a similar significant drop between 1981 and 1995 for *clergy* and *God*, but, previous potency values are not restored in 2001. *Clergy* remains a powerful identity, albeit not as powerful as previously believed in 1981. *God* is almost restored to its previous strength following a dramatic drop in 1995. Again, *The Devil* became a far more potent identity for both males and females overall between 1981 and 2001, perhaps reflecting a rise in fundamentalist religion.

Sexual Identities

Sexual identities also experienced dramatic shifts in 1995. The most interesting and dramatic movement occurred with sexual orientation or sexual preference identities on evaluation for both males and females.

Evaluation

A general upward trend occurred for most sexual identities during this time period (Tables 2.2a, 2.2b, and Figure 2.3a, 2.4a).

For both males and females, evaluation increased significantly between 1981 and 1995 for *bisexual*, *homosexual*, *lesbian* and *slut*, although these findings were only marginally

significant for *bisexual* and *slut* with male respondents (*bisexual*: males -0.41 to 0.39, females -0.88 to 0.00; *homosexual*: males -0.85 to 0.57, females -0.59 to 0.94; *lesbian*: males -0.45 to 0.61, females -0.58 to 0.26; and, *slut*: males -1.25 to -0.45, females -2.38 to-1.53). *Lecher* also increased significantly for males (-2.22 to -1.25).

There were no significant changes for males between 1995 and 2001. Females, on the other hand, sustain this upward trend with continued significant increases for *bisexual*, *homosexual*, and *lesbian* (*bisexual*: 0.00 to 1.37; *homosexual*: 0.94 to 1.64; and, *lesbian*: 0.26 to 1.28).

Between 1981 and 2001, overall increases occurred for both females and males for *bisexual*, *homosexual*, and *lesbian* (*bisexual*: males -0.41 to 0.39; females -0.88 to 1.37; *homosexual*: males -0.85 to 0.35; females -0.59 to1.64; and, *lesbian*: -0.45 to 0.64; females-0.58 to 1.28). *Lecher* (-2.22 to -0.53) also increases significantly for males only. These changes are all at the conventional level of significance with the exception of *bisexual* for males. Whereas increases on the status of these identities shift upward to slightly good for males, increases for females shift to good and very good.

Potency

Despite considerable upward shifts in evaluation, potency levels changed little for males and females over these time periods (Tables 2.2a, 2.2b, and Figure 2.3b, 2.4b).

Adulterer (0.76 to -0.11) dropped significantly for males and *homosexual* (-1.14 to -0.63) increased marginally for females between 1981 and 1995.

Between 1995 and 2001, *bisexual* (0.10 to -0.38) dropped significantly for males between 1995 and 2001 while no significant changes occurred for females over this time period.

For females, only *homosexual* (-1.14 to -0.42) experienced a significant increase and for males, *adulterer* (0.76 to -0.04) experienced a significant decrease between 1981 and 2001.

Activity

Some significant shifts on activity occurred for both males and females over these three data sets (Tables 2.2a, 2.2b, and Figure 2.3c, 2.4c).

Between 1981 and 1995, *homosexual* saw a significant change on the activity dimension for males and females (males 0.44 to 1.17; females 0.41 to 1.03). Significant increases for *bisexual* and *slut* also occurred for females, although *bisexual* was only marginally significant (*bisexual*: 0.68 to 1.31; and, *slut*: 1.86 to 2.50).

Bisexual (0.77 to 1.33) increased significantly and *lesbian* (1.03 to 0.42) and *adulterer* (0.86 to 0.09) decreased significantly for males between 1995 and 2001. A significant drop occurred for females between 1995 and 2001 for *slut* (2.50 to 1.86) resulting in a return to its 1981 value.

Between 1981 and 2001, *bisexual* and *homosexual* increased significantly for both males and females becoming active identities, although the increases for *bisexual* for females and *homosexual* for males were only marginal (*bisexual*: males 0.45 to 1.33; females 0.68 to 1.31; and, *homosexual*: males 0.44 to 0.83; females 0.41 to 1.05). Significant decreases also occurred for males for *adulterer* and *lesbian* (*adulterer*: 0.90 to 0.09; and, *lesbian*: 1.14 to 0.42).

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

Generally speaking, comparisons based on the larger data sets of 1981 and 2001 reinforce earlier trends (Appendix Table 2a and 2.b). All of the sexual preference identities increased significantly on the evaluation dimension at either conventional or marginal levels for both males and females. Additional identities included in the larger data set are *queer*, *dike*, *fag*, and *homo*

(*queer*: males-1.09 to 0.35, females -0.32 to 0.93; *dike*: males -0.50 to 0.26, females -0.63 to

0.47; *fag*: males -0.87 to -0.16, females -0.58 to 0.50; and, *homo*: males -0.81 to -0.04; females

-0.74 to 1.18). Increases for *dike* and *fag* are only at the marginal level of significance for males,

but are included here because these findings contribute to a trend of increased tolerance for

gay/lesbian identities.

The larger data sets also include identities pertaining to male/female labels or

designations and identities pertaining to behaviour. A few significant changes on evaluation

occurred with these identities although nothing that would suggest a trend. For example,

significant increases occurred for males on evaluation for two behaviour identities: *flirt* (-0.50 to

0.94) and *vixen* (-0.18 to 1.50). *Wench* (0.19 to -0.96) decreased significantly for males.

Significant increases on evaluation for *flirt* and *tease* and significant decreases for *bigamist* and

whore occurred for females (*flirt*: -0.73 to 0.18; *tease*: -1.10 to -0.37; *bigamist*: -2.24 to -3.24;

and, *whore* -1.17 to -2.66).

Many designation terms (for example *darling*, *female*, *maiden,* and *sweetheart*) increased

significantly on evaluation for either males or females, although many were only at the marginal

level (*darling*: females 2.00 to 2.59; *female*: males 1.36 to 2.09; *maiden*: males 1.45 to 2.04,

females 1.71 to 2.34; and, *sweetheart*: males 2.43 to 3.06). Generally, these are pleasing

identities that either refers to males and females or they are terms of endearment.

With reference to sexual preference identities, only *queer* (males -1.59 to -0.64; females -

1.24 to -0.37) increased significantly on the potency dimension for male and female respondents.

A significant increase for *heterosexual* also occurred for females and a significant increase for

homo and a marginal increase for *fag* occurred for males (*heterosexual*: females -0.09 to 0.97;

homo: males -1.08 to -0.45; and, *fag*: -1.35 to -0.78).

Identities pertaining to behaviour present no visible trends on the potency dimension. Significant increases occurred with *flirt* (0.03 to 1.22) and *vamp* (-0.52 to 0.79) for females and *swinger* (-0.07 to 0.50) for males. *Whore* (males -0.26 to -1.51; females -1.22 to -2.00) decreased significantly for both males and females and *ladykiller* (1.45 to 0.33) also decreased but for males only.

Terms of endearment identities saw few shifts on potency. An increase for *babe* occurred for males and females (males -1.56 to 0.44; females -1.07 to 0.93), and decreases for *guy* (2.08 to 1.17) and *boyfriend* (1.95 to 1.28) occurred for females only.

On the activity dimension, most identities experience an upward shift for both male and female respondents. With respect to sexual preference identities, this could be due to activism around same-sex rights. Significant decreases on activity for both males and females occurred with derogatory identities such as: *bigamist*, *hussy*, *swinger*, *tease*, and *wench* (*bigamist*: males 0.92 to -0.45, females 0.48 to -1.52; *hussy*: males 1.63 to 0.66, females 2.34 to 1.14; *swinger*: males 2.15 to 1.43; *tease*: females 2.48 to 1.60; and, *wench*: males 0.95 to -0.69, females 0.88 to -0.70).

Discussion

On average, identities pertaining to sexual preference, *bisexual*, *homosexual*, *lesbian*, *dike*, *fag*, *homo*, and *queer* have become less stigmatized since 1981. Dramatic increases continue for females with shifts on evaluation increasing from slightly bad to good and very good ones. Males are not quite as generous although massive shifts were present as well by 1995 and then little to no significant change occurred in 2001. These findings are supported by Herek (2002) who concludes that females express more favorable opinions toward gay people than do males. For males, these identities improved from slightly bad to slightly good identities. Unlike

religious identities where massive, dramatic changes in 1995 were restored back to original cultural sentiment values in 2001, these changes appear to be more than short term shifts in the Canadian psyche. Rather, the time period in question has witnessed a significant and permanent cultural shift in attitudes towards the evaluation of gay and lesbian identities.

These findings are reflected in numerous other studies that have observed the continual improvement in attitudes toward gay and lesbians. Starting in the 80's, Rayside and Bowler (1988) reported a growing liberalization of Canadian attitudes regarding the decriminalization of homosexual behaviour and the extension of rights to gays and lesbians. In 1992, Bibby (2001) reported 72% of teens supported the notion that homosexuals are entitled to the same rights as other Canadians. By 2000, 75% of teens supported the same notion (up from 67% in 1984) (Bibby 2001). In a Maclean's year end poll in 2000 (Sheppard 2000-2001), 40% of all Canadians strongly or somewhat agreed with the recognition of gay marriage and by 2003, the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that it was discriminatory to deny same-sex couples access to marriage.

Obviously, the growing support and shift in Canadian attitudes toward gays and lesbians has been well documented over the final two decades of the past century: "Heterosexual attitudes and behaviours today are pretty much what they were in the 1980's; what has changed is attitudes relating to homosexuality" (Bibby, 2001). Anderson and Fletner (2008) present findings that reinforce these shifts in cultural sentiments. They argue that the AIDS epidemic and an increase in visibility of gay and lesbian characters in television and movies, along with the absence of a strong counter gay rights movement (which existed in the United States), made it possible for these cultural shifts to take place in Canada.

Unfortunately, destigmatization (increases on evaluation) has not led to the empowerment for gays and lesbians (increases on potency). Activity levels have increased for both males and females for bisexual and homosexual reflecting activism associated with the fight for the extension of marriage rights as well as increased agency and autonomy.

Although promiscuity appears not to have increased since the early 80's (Bibby, 2001), identities like *slut* and *lecher* have shifted upwards on evaluation. This may be a result of a shift in language rather than a shift in attitudes as well as more relaxed attitudes and empowerment around female sexuality. Finally, the decrease on potency for males for the identity *adulterer* suggests that this behaviour is not as acceptable among males as it once was. This too is reflected in Bibby's (2001) survey of young people that suggests a slight decrease (12% to 9%) in support of the notion that it is acceptable for a married person to have sex with someone else other than the person to whom they are married.

Criminal Justice Identities

Criminal justice identities shifted primarily on the potency and activity dimensions, although some significant changes occurred with evaluation.

Evaluation

Changes on evaluation are mixed for crime and justice identities (Tables 2.3a, 2.3b, and Figure 2.5a, 2.6a).

On evaluation, a significant increase for *victim* occurred for males and females between 1981 and 1995 (males 0.76 to 1.69; females 0.57 to 1.41). Females report a significant decrease for *prosecuting attorney* (0.30 to -0.28).

Between 1995 and 2001, a significant decrease on evaluation for *victim* occurred for both males and females returning this identity to a neutral or slightly bad status (males 1.69 to -0.33;

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females 1.41 to 0.03). *Prosecuting attorney* also increases significantly on evaluation for males, while significant increases for *judge*, *juror*, and *witness* occurred for females (*prosecuting attorney*: males -0.07 to 0.75; *judge*: females 0.87 to 1.56; *juror*: females 0.56 to 1.15; and, *witness*: females 0.59 to 1.73).

Overall, *witness* increased significantly for females between 1981 and 2001 (*witness*: 0.93 to 1.73). A marginally significant increase for *prosecuting attorney*, a significant increase for *detective*, and a significant decrease for *victim* occurred for males across the twenty year period (*prosecuting attorney*: 0.04 to 0.75; *detective*: 0.64 to 1.49; and, *victim*: 0.76 to -0.33).

Potency

Early downward trends are reversed resulting in few changes overall between 1981 and 2001 on potency (Tables 2.3a, 2.3b, and Figure 2.5b, 2.6b).

Between 1981 and 1995, criminal justice identities experienced a downward trend on potency. Significant decreases in potency for *criminal*, *victim*, and *witness* occurred for both males and females (*criminal*: males 0.85 to -0.06, females 1.36 to 0.13; *victim*: males -2.14 to -2.74, females -2.10 to -3.00; and, *witness*: males 1.20 to 0.00, females 1.83 to 0.54). *Mountie* and *prosecuting attorney* also decreased significantly in potency for males, although only marginally so for *Mountie* (*Mountie*: 2.00 to 1.45; and, *prosecuting attorney*: 1.96 to 1.32). *Detective*, *juror*, and *policeman* decreased significantly for females (*detective*: 2.16 to 1.47; *juror*: 1.74 to 1.13; and, *policeman*: 2.45 to 1.97). Decreases for *juror* and *policeman* are only at the marginal level, but are included as they contribute to an overall trend. A significant increase for *accused* also occurred for females (-1.72 to -0.67).

Between 1995 and 2001, we see a reversal of the earlier trend from 1981 to 1995, with marginally significant and significant increases in potency for *judge* and *Mountie* occurring for

males and females (*judge*: males 2.45 to 2.93, females 2.64 to 3.29; and, *Mountie*: males 1.45 to 2.00, females 1.41 to 2.19). A significant increase for *victim* also occurred for males and significant increases for *juror*, *policeman*, *witness*, and *prosecuting attorney* also occurred for females, although this change was only marginally significant for *prosecuting attorney* (*victim*: males -2.74 to -2.07; *juror*: females 1.13 to 1.98; *policeman*: females 1.97 to 2.85; *witness*: females 0.54 to 1.42; and, *prosecuting attorney*: females 2.05 to 2.50). The only significant decreases on potency during this period occurred with *accused* (-0.67 to -1.51) and *convict* (0.38 to -0.92) for female respondents.

Overall, *criminal* decreased at a marginal level on power for males and females between 1981 and 2001(males 0.85 to 0.06, females 1.36 to 0.55). *Victim* (-2.10 to -3.20) and *convict* (0.13 to -0.92) also decreased significantly for females while *judge* (2.10 to 2.93) increased significantly for males and *Mountie* (1.62 to 2.19) increased significantly at a marginal level for females.

Activity

Few changes occurred for males on the activity dimension between 1981 and 1995 although, overall, identities declined on activity (Tables 2.3a, 2.3b, and Figure 2.5c, 2.6c).

Marginally significant increases on activity occurred for males and females for *victim* (males -1.10 to -0.46; females -0.97 to -0.41). *Prosecuting attorney* (0.46 to 1.19) increased significantly for males and *accused* increased at a marginally significant level for females (0.31 to 0.97). Significant drops in activity for *judge*, *Mountie*, and *policeman* also occurred for females (*judge*: -0.59 to -1.62; *Mountie*: 1.45 to 0.69; and, *policeman*: 1.64 to 0.67).

Trends between 1995 and 2001 are more consistent across gender with a decline in activity across most identities. *Accused*, *convict*, *criminal* and *prosecuting attorney* decreased

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significantly on activity for both males and females (*accused*: males 0.65 to 0.12, females 0.97 to

0.12; *convict*: males 1.31 to 0.41, females 1.50 to 0.32; *criminal*: males 1.31 to 0.54; females

1.38 to 0.71; and, *prosecuting attorney*: males 1.19 to 0.24; females 1.33 to 0.58). *Detective*

(0.66 to -0.16) also decreased at a marginally significant level for males.

Between 1981 and 2001, overall trends suggest that criminal identities and justice and

law enforcement identities all experienced a decrease in activity during this time frame,

specifically *convict* and *criminal* for both genders, as well as *detective* for males and *judge* and

policeman for females (*convict*: males 1.28 to 0.41, females 1.87 to 0.32; *criminal*: males 1.38 to

0.54, females 1.61 to 0.71; *detective*: males 1.23 to -0.16; *judge*: females -0.59 to -1.64; and,

policeman: females 1.64 to 0.66). *Victim* increased significantly for males and females, as did

witness for males and *juror* for females (*victim*: males -1.10 to -0.15, females -0.97 to -0.19;

witness: males -0.16 to 0.41; and, *juror*: females -0.77 to -0.07). These findings suggest that

victims exhibit more agency and are more lively identities while law enforcement and

criminal/convict identities have lost agency and liveliness.

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

There are additional identities from the two larger data sets that experience significant

shifts in attitude between 1981 and 2001 (Appendix Table 3a and 3b). Overall, significant

increases occurred for both females and males on evaluation for *bailiff* (females -0.10 to 0.73,

males -0.03 to 0.79). A significant increase also occurred for *bystander* for females (0.07 to

0.66) and significant decreases occurred for females for *attorney*, *defendant*, *fugitive*, *lawyer*, *spy*

and *warden* (*attorney*: 1.17 to 0.20; *defendant*: 0.39 to -0.14; *lawyer*: 1.13 to 0.35; *fugitive*: -

1.12 to -1.74; *spy*: -0.29 to -1.05; and, *warden*: 0.21 to -0.86). *Bodyguard* (0.08 to 1.30) and

district attorney (0.11 to 1.04) increased significantly for males.

As with changes on the potency dimension from the smaller data sets, results from my two larger data sets support earlier findings that a decrease in the powerfulness of the justice system in 1995 is reversed. Significant increases occurred for females for *Chief Justice of Supreme Court*, *cop*, *lawyer*, and *Mountie*, although *Mountie* increases at a marginal level only (*Chief Justice of Supreme Court*: 2.97 to 3.44; *cop*: 2.21 to 2.84; *lawyer*: 1.87 to 2.48; *Mountie*: 1.62 to 2.19). Only *cop* (1.79 to 2.38) increased at a marginally significant level for male respondents.

As with earlier findings, significant decreases occurred on potency for females for criminal related identities, including: *captive*, *lawbreaker*, *defendant*, *minor*, and *prisoner* (*captive*: -2.32 to -3.43; *lawbreaker*: 0.48 to -0.79; *defendant*: 0.06 to -1.00; *minor*: -0.97 to -1.62; and, *prisoner*: -1.13 to -2.34). *Felon* (0.50 to -0.63) and *culprit* (0.36 to -0.26) decreased on potency for males although culprit decreased at a marginal level only.

The only law enforcement identities that experienced a significant decrease were *plainclothesman* (males 1.46 to -0.15; females 1.23 to -0.50) for both males and females and *patrolman* (1.90 to 1.01) for males only.

With the activity dimension, results are similar to those found with the smaller data set. Specifically, powerful positions within the legal system, such as *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court* decreased significantly on activity as well as law enforcement identities such as *plainclothesman*, and criminal identities such as *culprit* (*Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*: males -1.62 to -2.32, females -1.42 to -2.29; *plainclthesman*: males 0.81 to 0.00, females 0.94 to -0.59; and, *culprit*: males 1.61 to 0.53; females 1.16 to 0.54). Significant increases occurred for youthful identities such as *rookie cop* (males 1.35 to 2.22; females 1.39 to 2.18). These findings were consistent across sex.

Discussion

These findings indicate, as stated earlier, that any loss of faith in the criminal justice system, as suggested primarily by findings from my 1995 data set, were reversed, for the most part, by 2001. Female respondents, as with religious identities, continue to present some residual animosity toward the criminal justice system. As with religious identities, specific incidents such as the numerous and highly publicized "falsely-accused" or "wrongfully-convicted" cases that came to light between 1981 and 1995 contributed to a loss of public confidence in our justice system. During the same time, the justice system came under attack for its failure to charge and prosecute those involved with the Mount Cashell Orphanage sex scandal. Following 1995, we have witnessed numerous inquiries into these destabilizing events. Combined with the replacement of the Young Offenders Act with something aimed at reducing violent crime by young people (CBC News online, 2000) people may be feeling enough positive change to appease earlier concerns with the criminal justice system.

The public seems to experience a continual sense of fear that violent crime in on the rise even when data suggests otherwise (Tanner, 2001). This suggests perhaps that our justice system will be always in a state of flux as it attempts to respond and adapt to both the realities of crime and the public perceptions of crime committed in our communities. As society becomes a bit more conservative and perhaps follows in the footsteps of our neighbors to the south, Canadians will want law enforcement to have more power ensuring that criminals have less. Research by Karkinen and Colavecchia (1999) suggests that people from higher social class groups tend to think that the justice system does not support the victim. This is reflected by a dramatic increase on evaluation for *victim* between 1981 and 1995 and an overall increase on activity for *victim*. This, in turn, leads to a sentiment that the justice system needs to be tougher on criminals.

Respondents used for my study would definitely fit into this group as most university students come from middle-upper income groups.

Justice Minister Anne McLennan's change to the Young Offender's Act tackled many of these concerns, resulting perhaps in increased confidence in the criminal justice system as reflected by increases on the potency dimension for the identities in question.

Criminal Deviant Identities

Evaluation

There are some interesting gender differences with criminal deviant identities (Tables 2.4a, 2.4b, and Figure 2.7a, 2.8a).

Between 1981 and 1995, marginally significant increases on evaluation for *mobster* and *pusher* occurred for males (*mobster*: males -2.70 to -2.23; and, *pusher*: males -2.59 to -2.00) while significant increases for *dropout*, *drug addict* and *pusher* occurred for females (*dropout*: females -1.35 to -0.33; *drug addict*: females -2.55 to -1.63; and, *pusher*: females -2.97 to -2.24). Also included in the male findings are significant decreases on evaluation at the marginal level for *drunk* (-0.36 to -1.17) and *hooker* (-0.57 to -1.17), and at the conventional level for *runaway* (0.08 to -0.42).

Again, between 1995 and 2001, *mobster* (-2.23 to -1.49) and *pusher* (-2.00 to -1.28) increased significantly for males at both the conventional and marginal levels respectively. *Mobster* (-2.59 to -1.98) and *runaway* (-0.44 to 0.32) increased significantly for females. *Dropout* decreased significantly for females and at a marginal level for males during this time period (females -0.33 to -1.39, males -0.42 to -1.03).

The overall picture, as presented between 1981 and 2001, is one where *mobster* and *pusher* sustain their upward shift for males while *drunk* sustains an overall decrease in status

although at a marginally significant level (*mobster*: -2.70 to -1.49; *pusher*: -2.59 to -1.28; and, *drunk*: -0.36 to -1.23). A significant increase for *pusher*, *drug addict*, *drunk*, and *runaway* also occurred for females (*pusher*: -2.97 to -1.88; *drug addict*: -2.55 to -1.63; *drunk*: -2.20 to -1.27; and, *runaway*: -0.61 to 0.32). Note that even with these findings of significant increases, criminal deviant identities remain stigmatized identities that range from bad to very bad. The only exceptions are *runaway*, which is a slightly good identity for females, and *hooker*, which is a slightly bad identity for males.

Potency

With the exception of *mobster*, which exhibited a significant increase on potency for both males and females, most criminal deviance identities either maintained power levels or lost power (Tables 2.4a, 2.4b, and Figure 2.7b, 2.8b).

Between 1981 and 1995, *hooker* decreased significantly for males and at a marginal level for females (males 0.22 to -2.00, females -1.29 to -2.13). *Dropout* and *drug addict* decreased at the marginal level for males only (*dropout*: -1.23 to -1.82; and, *drug addict*: -1.77 to -2.34). *Mobster* (2.00 to 2.51) was the only identity to experience a significant increase during this time period and it occurred for males only.

Between 1995 and 2001 there were no significant changes on potency for males. *Dropout* (-1.62 to -2.52) and *runaway* (-1.56 to -2.31) decreased significantly for females while *mobster* (2.13 to 2.85) increased for females at a marginal level during this time.

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *dropout* decreased significantly on power for both genders along with *runaway* for females and *hooker* for males (*dropout*: males -1.23 to -1.91, females -1.59 to -2.52; *runaway*: females -1.45 to -2.31; and, *hooker*: males 0.22 to -1.35).

Mobster increased significantly for both males and females (males 2.00 to 2.52; females 2.14 to 2.85).

Activity

Early findings on activity are mixed, but the overall trend is one where criminal/deviant identities decrease on the activity dimension (Tables 2.4a, 2.4b, and Figure 2.7c, 2.8c).

Between 1981 and 1995, a significant decrease on activity occurred for males and females for *mobster* and a significant increase for *dropout* (*mobster*: males 0.74 to -0.20, females 1.61 to 0.69; and, *dropout*: males 0.77 to 1.49; females 0.64 to 1.69). A marginal increase for *hooker* (1.43 to 2.03) occurred for male respondents. Increases during this time period appear to be episodic.

Between 1995 and 2001, there is a consistent downward trend for both males and females on the activity dimension. *Dropout*, *drug addict*, and *pusher*, all decrease significantly on activity, along with *mobster* for females only (*dropout*: males 1.49 to 0.52, females 1.69 to 0.19; *drug addict*: males 1.51 to 0.67, females 1.75 to -0.05; *pusher*: males 1.65 to 0.91, females 1.85 to 0.87; and, *mobster*: females 0.69 to -0.46). A decrease also occurred for males for *drunk* (-0.09 to -1.07) at a marginal level only.

The same trend is observed on activity overall between 1981 and 2001 for both genders with significant decreases for *pusher* and *mobster* (*pusher*: males 1.62 to 0.91, females 1.67 to 0.87; and, *mobster*: males 0.74 to -0.34, females 1.61 to -0.46). Significant decreases also occurred with *drunk* (0.23 to -1.07) for males and with *drug addict* (1.27 to -0.05) for females.

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

A broader look at criminal/deviant identities relying on the two larger data sets (1981 and 2001) presents overall significant increases (Appendix Table 4a, and Table 4b). Many increases

on evaluation for female respondents occurred for alcohol/drug related identities, specifically: *junkie*, *pothead*, and *wino* (*junkie*: -2.37 to -1.67; *pothead*: -1.43 to 0.17; and, *wino*: -1.60 to -0.73). Other than *pothead* which actually shifts upward from a bad identity to a positive, albeit almost neutral, identity on evaluation, all other identities remain in the bad to very bad range. Males do not share female respondents' sentiments that these identities are less bad. *Pusher* is the only drug/alcohol related identity that increased significantly on evaluation and it only shifted from a very bad to a bad identity. The only other identity from this category that experienced a shift was *drunk* with a significant decrease.

A number of mobster/gangster related identities increased significantly on evaluation for both males and females between 1981 and 2001. Identities such as *racketeer*, *gangster*, and *loanshark* increased significantly on evaluation although remain bad and very bad identities (*racketeer*: males -1.86 to -0.62; *gangster*: females -2.55 to -1.80; and, *loanshark*: males -2.58 to -1.04, females -2.43 to -1.61).

Mafioso also increased significantly on potency, although only at a marginal level, for both males and females (males 1.54 to 2.35; females 1.74 to 2.47). Otherwise, most criminal/deviant identities experienced a significant decrease on potency across both sexes.

As with identities from three points in time, criminal/deviant identities from the two larger data sets decreased on activity.

Discussion

These findings may suggest the beginning of a shift towards greater tolerance towards drugs, drug users, and dealers. Bibby (2006) reported that attitudes regarding the legislation of marijuana, especially for medical use, have shifted towards acceptance.

Shifts in attitudes toward Mafioso and mobster related identities could be in part due to the plethora of entertainment about gangster and mobster subculture. Despite its criminal association, this world has always held mass appeal. Between 1980 and 2000, numerous films about the underworld of gangsters, mobsters and organized crime were released: *Scarface*, *The Untouchables*, *Reservoir Dogs*, *Goodfellas*, *Donnie Brasco*, *Pulp Fiction*, and *Jackie Brown*. The HBO critically acclaimed made for television series *The Sopranos* started in 2000 and ran for 7 seasons. Although these films and series often depict in graphic detail the violence associated with this subculture, it remains a societal fascination.

Political Identities

Evaluation

Despite an initial decline in status, political identities experience an overall increase in evaluation over time (Tables 2.5a, 2.5b, and Figure 2.9a, 2.10a).

Although there is a general decline in the evaluation of political identities between 1981 and 1995, only *MPP* is significant for both males and females (males -0.18 to -0.91; females 0.28 to -0.84). *Premier* and *Parti Quebecois* significantly declined for females as well, although *Parti Quebecois* decreased at a marginal level only (*premier*: 0.66 to -0.16; and, *Parti Quebecois*: -0.14 to -1.00).

This decline on evaluation is reversed between 1995 and 2001 with an upward trend for most identities. *Liberal*, *MP*, *MPP*, *New Democrat*, and *prime minister* increased for both males and females and *premier,*, *senator* and *Parti Quebecois* increased for males only (*Liberal*: males 0.26 to 1.14, females 0.23 to 1.09; *MP*: males -0.46 to 0.59, females -0.22 to 0.34; *MPP*: -0.91 to 0.84, females -0.84 to 0.00; *New Democrat*: -0.45 to 0.68, females -0.14 to 0.73; *prime minister*: 0.13 to 1.31, females 0.28 to 1.35; *premier*: males -0.50 to 0.53; *senator*: males -0.18

to 0.55; and, *Parti Quebecois*: males -1.29 to -0.18). Although a few of these shifts are at the

marginal level only, they contribute to a distinctive trend of upward movement and increased

status for political figures during this time period.

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, political identities reflect a general increase on

evaluation. Specifically, significance is achieved for *Liberal*, *New Democrat* and *prime minister*

across both genders (*Liberal*: males 0.17 to 1.14, females 0.30 to 1.09; *New Democrat*: males -

0.04 to 0.68, females 0.00 to 0.73; and, *Prime Minister*: males -0.21 to 1.31; females 0.59 to

1.35). *MPP* also increased significantly for males (*MPP*: -0.18 to 0.84). Again, a couple of

these changes are marginally significant, but they contribute to a general trend and are therefore

important. The only significant decrease occurred for females with *PC (Progressive*

Conservative) (0.36 to -0.44). *PC* also decreased for males although it was not significant.

Potency

Despite significant decreases at the marginal and conventional levels on potency for

prime minister (males 2.32 to 1.45) and *senator* (females 2.19 to 1.47) between 1981 and 1995,

the overall trend across all time periods is one that reflects an increase in power for political

identities (Tables 2.5a, 2.5b, and Figure 2.9b, 2.10b). These changes are primarily at the

conventional level, although a few are only at the marginal level. Between 1981 and 1995,

significant increases for *MPP* and *premier* occurred for males (*MPP*: 0.77 to 1.89; and, *premier*:

1.44 to 2.24).

Between 1995 and 2001, *Liberal*, *prime minister*, and *senator* all increase significantly

for both genders (*Liberal*: males 0.48 to 1.12, females 0.69 to 1.27; *prime minister*: males 1.45 to

2.79, females 2.15 to 3.12; and, *senator*: males 1.41 to 2.32; females 1.47 to 2.44). *MPP*,

premier, and *The Queen* increased significantly on potency for female respondents as well during this time period (*MPP*: 1.63 to 2.36; *premier*: 1.94 to 2.64; and, *The Queen*: 1.69 to 2.54).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *MPP* and *premier* increased for both males and females (*MPP*: males 0.77 to 1.75, females 0.80 to 2.36; and, *premier*: males1.44 to 2.72, females 2.07 to 2.64). *Senator* also increases for males, while *Liberal*, *New Democrat* and *prime minister* increase for females (*senator*: males 1.41 to 2.32; *Liberal*: females 0.61 to 1.27; *New Democrat*: females 0.03 to 0.89; and, *prime minister*: females 1.94 to 3.12).

Activity

Generally, most identities experience a general decline on activity, perhaps reflecting a feeling that our political figures are not as active in our communities anymore (Tables 2.5a, 2.5b, and Figure 2.9c, 2.10c). Often, identities that are high on potency are also low on activity levels. It could also reflect a general sentiment that political figures have less agency than they once did suggesting that they are controlled/manipulated by external powerful interests.

Between 1981 and 1995, *The Queen* dropped significantly on activity for both males and females (males -1.31 to -2.89; females-0.85 to -2.50). *MPP*, *premier*, and *Parti Quebecois* also decreased significantly for males and *MP* and *senator* decreased significantly for females although *MPP* and *MP* decreased at marginal levels only (*MPP*: males -0.45 to -1.26; *premier*: males 0.07 to -1.00; *Parti Quebecois*: males 1.00 to -0.03; *MP*: females -0.13 to -0.78; and, *senator*: females -0.55 to -1.47).

Little movement occurred between 1995 and 2001on activity. *The Queen* (-2.89 to -2.18) increased significantly for males and *prime minister* and *Parti Quebecois* decreased significantly for females (*prime minister*: females -0.26 to -1.30; and, *Parti Quebecois*: females 0.51 to -0.69).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, significant decreases occurred for both males and females in activity for *prime minister*, *The Queen*, and *Parti Quebecois* (*The Queen*: males -1.31 to -2.18, females -0.85 to -2.34; *prime minister*: males -0.11 to -1.07, females -0.03 to -1.30; and, *Parti Quebecois*: males 1.00 to -0.49; females 0.76 to -0.69). A marginally significant decrease for *MPP* (-0.45 to -1.15) occurred for males, and marginally significant decreases for *MP* (-0.13 to -0.93) and *senator* (-0.55 to -1.16), and a significant decrease for *PC (Progressive Conservative)* (0.07 to -0.75) occurred for females during this time period.

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

Generally, changes from the smaller data sets are reinforced in the larger data sets (Appendix Table 5a and Table 5b).

The observed decreases on evaluation in 1995 and its reversal by 2001 from the smaller data sets is reiterated in the larger data set (1981 and 2001) with significant increases occurring on evaluation for additional identities *federal cabinet minister* for males (-0.73 to 0.72) and *parliamentary secretary* (males 0.18 to 1.12; females 0.43 to 1.29) for both sexes.

On potency, overall increases are also present for males and females in the larger data set (between 1981 and 2001) for many identities including *attorney general*, *Solicitor General*, *mayor*, *provincial cabinet minister* and *Lieutenant Governor* (*provincial cabinet minister*: males 0.89 to 1.89, females 1.80 to 2.39; *mayor*: males 1.00 to 2.11, females 1.59 to 2.12; *Solicitor General*: males 1.44 to 2.11, females 1.45 to 2.70; *attorney general*: males 2.26 to 2.80, females 2.14 to 2.86; and, *Lieutenant Governor*: males 0.73 to 1.67; females 0.36 to 2.19). These changes were only at the marginal level for *Solicitor General* and *Lieutenant Governor* for males and *provincial cabinet minister* for females. In addition to this list of increases on potency are *Auditor General*, *federal cabinet minister* and *Speaker of the House of Commons* for females

and *Governor General* for males (*Auditor General*: females 1.40 to 2.27; *federal cabinet minister*: females 1.80 to 2.46; *Speaker of the House of Commons*: females 0.79 to 2.11; and, *Governor General*: males 1.15 to 2.30). A marginally significant decrease for *Parliamentary Secretary* also occurred for males (0.21 to -0.66).

Unlike the overall upward trend for evaluation and potency, the activity dimension reflects an overall decrease for both male and female respondents. A significant decrease for *provincial cabinet minister* occurred for both males and females, although this change is only marginally significant for males (males -0.46 to -1.15; females-0.40 to -1.41). Female respondents also include in this list *federal cabinet minister* (-0.32 to -1.53) and *minister without portfolio* (-0.11 to -1.20). The only marginal increase occurred for males with *backbencher* (-1.00 to -0.22).

Discussion

In 1994, Peter C. Newman observed that Canadians were "determined to inflict havoc on the politicians" (1994: 29). This sentiment is reiterated by pollster Allan Gregg when he states that "today, more people believe Elvis is still alive than hold positive views of elected officials" (2001: 1). This decline in confidence with politicians was most readily observed in our 1995 findings. By 2001, however, things appeared to be experiencing a reversal, with the exception of the activity dimension.

These seemingly disparate findings could be attributed to a differentiation between attitudes towards specific pieces of legislation and specific politicians or political parties and the political institution as a whole. According to the Canadian Study of Parliament Group: "public dissatisfaction with Parliament has little to do with the workings of the institution and more to do with unpopular deeds by governments" (1991). There were few scandals around the time of our

data collection in 2001. The federal election of 2000 left Canadians with another Liberal majority government. The big losers in the election were the NDP and the Progressive Conservatives. Provincially, Mike Harris was still in power with a conservative majority government. The economy was doing well and Canadians were yet to hear the words "sponsorship scandal." "Rae Days" were behind Ontarians and the fact that the provincial NDP had been in power was a distant memory. Overall, opinions of our political officials appear to have improved.

Educational Identities

Evaluation

Educational identities experience a general increase (1981, 1995 and 2001) across all dimensions for both male and female respondents, although more significant shifts occurred for females across a greater number of identities (Tables 2.6a, 2.6b, and Figure 2.11a, 2.12a).

Initially, little to no significant change occurred on evaluation between 1981 and 1995. The only decrease was at the marginally significant level and it occurred for females with *student* (1.52 to 0.97).

Between 1995 and 2001, educational identities experience a large and significant increase in status. *Professor*, *student*, and *undergraduate* increased significantly for both males and females, although *professor* and *undergraduate* increased only at a marginal level for male respondents (*professor*: males 1.23 to 1.75, females 0.64 to 1.49; *student*: males 1.07 to 1.96, females 0.97 to 2.25; and, *undergraduate*: males 0.97 to 1.51; females 1.08 to 2.14). Significant increases for *graduate student* (1.16 to 2.00) and *teacher* (1.22 to 2.71) occurred for females.

The overall picture between 1981 and 2001 is one where educational identities experience a general and significant increase in evaluation for both males and females. Increases

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for female respondents are more intense and across more identities. *Student* and *teacher* increase

significantly for both genders, and *undergraduate* and *professor* increased at the conventional

and marginal levels, respectively, for females only (*student*: males 1.08 to 1.96, females 1.52 to

2.25; *teacher*: males 1.37 to 2.08, females 1.39 to 2.71; *undergraduate*: females 1.28 to 2.14;

and, *professor*: females 0.93 to 1.49).

Potency

Generally, educational identities increased on potency over time (Tables 2.6a, 2.6b, and

Figure 2.11b, 2.12b).

With the exception of a significant decrease occurring for males for *student* (0.13 to -

0.84), educational identities between 1981 and 1995 remained stable on the potency dimension.

Between 1995 and 2001, *teacher* and *undergraduate* increased significantly for both

males and females, although only *teacher* for females increased at a conventional level of

significance (*teacher*: males 1.06 to 1.60, females1.34 to 2.36; and, *undergraduate*: males -0.48

to 0.10, females -0.82 to -0.18). *Student* also increased for males and *professor* increased

significantly for females (*student*: males -0.84 to 0.37; and, *professor*: females 1.46 to 2.36).

This increase in potency is reflected in the overall findings between 1981 and 2001.

Teacher increased significantly for both genders, although only at a marginal level for males

(males 1.07 to 1.60; females 1.35 to 2.36). *Undergraduate* also increased marginally for males

and *professor* increased significantly for females (*undergraduate*: males -0.64 to 0.10; and,

professor: females 1.50 to 2.36).

Activity

Between 1981 and 1995, there is little movement on the activity dimension (Tables 2.6a,

2.6b, and Figure 2.11c, 2.12c). *Graduate student* increased significantly across both genders,

although only marginally for females and *principal* decreased significantly for males (males 0.65 to 1.60; females 1.16 to 1.72).

Graduate student (1.60 to 1.01) experiences a marginally significant drop in activity for males only between 1995 and 2001, essentially restoring this identity to earlier activity levels. Significant increases for *student* and *teacher* occurred for females although *teacher* increased at a marginal level of significance only (*student*: 2.03 to 2.57; and, *teacher*: 0.00 to 0.76).

No significant changes overall occurred for males between 1981 and 2001 while several shifts occurred for females. *Student* (2.00 to 2.57), *teacher* (-0.17 to 0.76), and *undergraduate* (1.68 to 2.24) increase significantly while *professor* (-0.33 to -1.13) decreases significantly.

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

Similar trends are observed in my larger data set as were observed in my smaller data set (Appendix Table 6a and Table 6b). More significant changes occurred for females than for male respondents. On evaluation, for both males and females, educational identities experienced a general increase. *School teacher* and *tutor* increased significantly for both sexes while only *scholar* increased for males and *elementary school teacher*, *schoolboy*, and *schoolgirl* increased for females (*school teacher*: males 1.11 to 1.82, females 1.13 to 2.76; *tutor*: males 1.27 to 2.25, females 1.47 to 2.26; *scholar*: males 0.87 to 1.79; *elementary school teacher*: females 1.71 to 2.63; *schoolboy*: females 0.83 to 1.84; and, schoolgirl: females 1.30 to 2.23).

On potency, a significant decrease for *proctor* occurred for males and a significant decrease for *freshman* occurred for females (*proctor*: males 0.79 to -0.14; and, *freshman*: females -0.44 to -1.35). *Schoolteacher* increased significantly for females (1.26 to 2.18).

Numerous identities experienced a significant increase on the activity dimension, especially for female respondents. *Elementary school teacher*, *schoolgirl*, and *tutor* increased

significantly for both males and females, although *tutor* increased at the marginal level only for females (*elementary school teacher*: males -0.13 to 0.61, females 0.58 to 1.44; *schoolgirl*: males 1.20 to 2.49, females 1.09 to 3.09; and, *tutor*: males -0.36 to 0.65; females 0.00 to 0.71). *Freshman*, *pupil*, *schoolmate*, and *school teacher* increased significantly for females only, although *freshman* increased at a marginal level (*freshman*: 2.20 to 2.81; *pupil*: 1.40 to 2.11; *schoolmate*: 1.21 to 1.84; and, *school teacher*: -0.70 to 1.47). A significant decrease for *alumnus* also occurred for females (-0.12 to -1.37).

Discussion

Generally, shifts in attitudes toward educational identities do not represent changes that can be explained clearly in terms of social and cultural change. All identities that experience a significant increase for both males and females shift from a good position to a very good position reflecting nothing more than the fact that the moral worthiness of educational identities continues to be high.

Shifts on the potency dimension are similar in that teachers are generally given more potency, increasing from powerful to very powerful identities. Decreases on potency were also not noteworthy. Shifts stayed around the neutral to slightly powerful range and decreased just to the negative side of neutral or slightly powerless.

Activity shifts were slightly more interesting. Most identities increased for females from active to very active with the exception of teaching identities that started as slightly inactive identities and increased to active or very active identities. Fewer changes occurred for males with changes ranging from slightly inactive, neutral and active to slightly active and active. Changes may reflect increased confidence in our education system and those who work within it,

but assertions such as this are difficult to make as I cannot link these changes to social or cultural changes during this time period.

Medical/ Health Identities

Evaluation

Generally, medical/health identities increased on evaluation for females (Tables 2.7a, 2.7b, and Figure 2.13a, 2.14a). Few significant changes on evaluation occurred for males.

A significant increase for *dentist* occurred for both males and females between 1981 and 1995 (males 0.48 to 1.40; females 0.48 to 1.34). *Patient* and *crippled person* increase for females, although *crippled person* increases at a marginal level only, while *psychiatrist* increases at a marginal level for males (*crippled person*: females 0.24 to 0.77; *patient*: females 0.14 to 0.62; and, *psychiatrist*: males 0.62 to 1.36).

Between 1995 and 2001, *psychiatrist* dropped at a marginal level of significance for males returning this identity to its original status (1.36 to 0.79). *Crippled person*, *doctor* and *nurse* increased at a marginal level for females (*crippled person*: 0.77 to 1.76; *doctor*: 1.78 to 2.55; and, *nurse*: 1.67 to 2.12).

Between 1981 and 2001, there were no significant changes for males indicating that identities did not change over the two decades in question, or any changes in 1995 were consequently cancelled out in 2001. For example, *psychiatrist* increased for males between 1981 and 1995 and then decreased between 2001, subsequently nullifying any change. The same occurred for *dentist* for male respondents with a significant increase between 1981 and 1995 followed by a decrease, although not significant, between 1995 and 200. The decrease is enough to negate any overall change in the identity over time. *Crippled person* and *patient* maintain

their significant overall increases on evaluation for females (*crippled person*: 0.24 to 1.76) (*patient*: 0.14 to 1.10).

Potency

There are some similarities between males and females on the potency dimension (Tables 2.7a, 2.7b, and Figure 2.13b, 2.13b). Between 1981 and 1995, *nurse* decreased significantly for both genders (males 0.83 to 0.13; females 1.14 to 0.28). *Doctor* increased significantly for males and *patient* increased significantly for females although only at a marginal level (*doctor*: males 0.89 to 1.80; and, *patient*: males -1.90 to -1.44). *Dentist* decreased significantly for females (1.86 to 1.19).

Between 1995 and 2001, only *nurse* increased significantly for males and females, although only at a marginal level of significance for males (males 0.13 to 0.69; females 0.28 to 1.04). *Doctor* and *psychiatrist* increased significantly for females (*doctor*: 1.94 to 2.65; and, *psychiatrist*: 1.44 to 2.11).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, a significant increase occurred for males and females on power for *doctor* (males 0.89 to 2.18; females 1.87 to 2.65). A significant overall increase also occurred for females on power for *patient*, although only at a marginal level of significance (-1.90 to -1.30).

Activity

Results are mixed for males and females on the activity dimension (Tables 2.7a, 2.7b, and Figure 2.13c, 2.14c). In terms of activity being related to agency, some of these shifts over time perhaps reflect the way in which people feel that they are active participants in their health care or within the health care system. Between 1981 and 1995, *patient* significantly decreases on activity for both males and females (males -0.92 to -1.52; females -0.86 to -1.49).

This drop is then followed by a significant increase between 1995 and 2001 on activity for *patient* by both genders, restoring it approximately to earlier levels (males -1.52 to -0.53; females -1.49 to -0.30). Other changes between 1995 and 2001 include a significant increase for *psychiatrist* and *nurse* and a marginally significant decrease for *crippled person* for males only (*psychiatrist*: -1.23 to -0.10; *nurse*: 0.23 to 0.86; and, *crippled person*: -0.97 to -1.53). A significant decrease for psychiatrist also occurred for females (-0.62 to -1.31).

Overall, changes between 1981 and 2001 include a significant decrease for *psychiatrist* and dentist for females and a significant decrease for *crippled person* for males (*psychiatrist*: females -0.38 to -1.31; *dentist*: females 0.24 to -0.91; and, *crippled person*: males -0.68 to -1.53). Increases occurred for *doctor*, at the marginal level, and *psychiatrist* for males (*doctor*: -0.71 to 0.00; and, *psychiatrist*: -0.88 to -0.10). A marginally significant increase also occurred for *patient* for females (-0.86 to -0.30).

Additional Identities from 1981 to 2001

Overall, results from the larger data set are inconsistent across males and females for most identities (Appendix Table 7a and Table 7b). For example, on the evaluation dimension, a marginally significant decrease for *cripple* and *disabled person* occurred for males while a significant increase for *crippled person* occurred for females (*cripple*: males 0.59 to -0.15; *disabled person*: males 0.80 to 0.13; and, *crippled person*: females 0.24 to 1.76). Significant increases also occur with *practical nurse* for females while significant decreases occurred for males for *invalid*, *medic*, and *nursemaid* (*practical nurse*: females 1.38 to 2.17; *invalid*: males 0.48 to -0.65; *medic*: males 2.24 to 1.44; and, *nursemaid*: males 1.96 to 1.04). Only *shut-in* decreased significantly for females (0.23 to -0.75).

Potency saw few changes and no similarities across sex. *Medic* increased significantly for females shifting from a powerful identity to a very powerful one (1.23 to 2.10). Significant increases for *chiropractor* and *disabled person*, and a significant decrease for *practical nurse* occurred for male respondents (*chiropractor*: 0.32 to 1.23; *disabled person*: -1.88 to -1.20; and, *practical nurse*: 0.93 to 0.25).

Although there is a great deal more movement on the activity dimension for both males and females, there is little consistency across sex. Only *handicapped person* decreased significantly for both males (at a marginal level) and females (at the conventional level) (males -0.46 to -1.01; females 0.00 to -0.59). A decrease for *psychoanalyst* also occurred for females (-0.10 to-0.84). Marginally significant increases for *dental assistant*, *dental hygienist*, *nursemaid*, and *outpatient* occurred for males (*dental assistant*: 0.35 to 1.02; *dental hygienist*: 0.31 to 0.87; *nursemaid*: -0.63 to 0.13; and, *outpatient*: -0.77 to -0.12). Increases at the conventional level of significance also occurred for males for *disabled person* and *registered nurse* (*disabled person*: -1.16 to -0.53; and, *registered nurse*: 0.04 to 1.13). Note that some identities have shifted in opposite directions on activity for males and females (e.g. *psychiatrist*).

Discussion

Interpretation of these findings is difficult. Despite past cuts in federal health transfers to provinces, doctor and nurse shortages, long wait lists, and a focus on health care during election time, results are inconsistent across sex and do not reflect any identifiable trends.

Sports and Entertainment

Trends for identities in the sports and entertainment category are difficult to pin down because the identities are very general and do not capture the differences, for example, between minor and recreational sport athletes and professional or Olympic athletes.

Evaluation

Early decreases are negated by later increases in evaluation, resulting in few overall changes (Tables 2.8a, 2.8b, and Figure 2.15a, 2.16a).

That aside, a significant decrease for *celebrity* occurred for males and females between 1981 and 1995, although this shift is only significant at the marginal level for males (males 0.85 to 0.26; females 0.96 to 0.39). *Referee* decreased significantly for males and *spectator* decreased significantly for females during this time period as well (*referee*: males 1.07 to 0.09; and, *spectator*: females 0.81 to 0.23).

Between 1995 and 2001, most identities experience a significant upward shift on evaluation. Significant increases for *athlete*, *celebrity*, and *referee* occurred for both males and females (*athlete*: males 0.57 to 1.56; females 1.03 to 1.75; *celebrity*: males 0.26 to 0.76; females 0.39 to 1.28; and, *referee*: males 0.09 to 0.98; females 0.59 to 1.11). These upward shifts are significant at the marginal level for males on *celebrity* and females with *referee*. S*pectator* also increased significantly for females (0.23 to 1.23).

Despite these shifts, only *athlete* increased significantly at a marginal level for males between 1981 and 2001 (1.00 to 1.56).

Potency

There are several interesting changes that occurred on the potency dimension across these three data sets (Tables 2.8a, 2.8b, and Figure 2.15b, 2.16b).

No significant shifts on potency occurred for males between 1981 and 1995 while significant decreases occurred for females for *athlete*, *coach*, and *referee* (*athlete*: 1.85 to 1.13; *coach*: 2.14 to 1.50; and, *referee*: 2.19 to 1.56).

Between 1995 and 2001, *star* significantly increases for both males and females, though this is only significant at a marginal level for females (males 1.63 to 2.44; females 2.13 to 2.69). *Athlete* increased at a marginal level, and *celebrity* and *coach* significantly increased on potency for female respondents as well (*athlete*: 1.13 to 1.72; *celebrity*: 1.97 to 2.92; and, *coach*: 1.50 to 2.26). *Spectator* decreased significantly at a marginal level for males (-0.26 to -0.90).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *star* increased across both genders, at a marginal level for males and a conventional level for females (males 1.84 to 2.44; females 1.75 to 2.69). A significant increase also occurred for females for *celebrity* and a significant decrease occurred for males for *spectator* (*celebrity*: females 1.52 to 2.92; and, *spectator*: males -0.04 to -0.90).

Activity

There was more movement on the activity dimension (Tables 2.8a, 2.8b, and Figure 2.15c, 2.16c). Between 1981 and 1995 *athlete* and *celebrity* increased significantly for both males and females, although *athlete* was significant for females at a marginal level only (*athlete*: males 2.04 to 2.63, females 2.09 to 2.54; and, *celebrity*: males 0.77 to 1.45, females 1.04 to 1.69). *Spectator* and *star* also increased significantly for females although *spectator* increased at a marginal level of significance only (*spectator*: 0.47 to 1.05; and, *star*: 1.03 to 2.06). A significant decrease for *coach* occurred for males and a marginally significant decrease occurred for females for *fan* (*coach*: males 1.12 to 0.23; and, *fan*: females 2.23 to 1.64).

There is little change between 1995 and 2001. Only *spectator* decreased at marginally significant level and for males only (1.10 to 0.46).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *star* increased at a marginally significant level across both genders (males 1.05 to 1.95; females 1.03 to 1.76). *Athlete* and *celebrity* also increased significantly for female respondents while *coach*, *fan*, and *referee* significantly decreased for

male respondents (*athlete*: females 2.09 to 2.70; *celebrity*: females 1.04 to 1.82; *coach*: males 1.12 to -0.15; *fan*: males 1.72 to 1.00; and, *referee*: males 0.86 to 0.08).

Additional Identities from 1981 to 2001

Numerous changes occurred in the larger data set (1981 to 2001) although findings were generally inconsistent across sex (Appendix Table 8a and Table 8b).

Findings from the larger data set report a large number of significant upward shifts on evaluation for male respondents. These shifts occur with sport related identities, and specifically identities related to football or hockey positions. *Center* and *guard* increased significantly for both males and females, although this increase was only marginally significant with *center* for males only (males 0.68 to 1.32, females 0.17 to 1.53; and, males 0.23 to 1.02, females 0.19 to 0.88). Marginally significant increases for *boxer* and *lineman* and significant increases for *end*, *fullback*, *linebacker*, *quarterback*, *tackle*, and *teammate* also occurred for male respondents (*boxer*: 0.12 to 0.67; *lineman*: 0.46 to 1.14; *end*: 0.38 to 1.52; *fullback*: 0.28 to 1.27; *linebacker*: 0.09 to 1.19; *quarterback*: 0.79 to 1.83; *tackle*: 0.38 to 1.52; and, *teammate*: 1.27 to 2.13). The following entertainment related identities also increased significantly for males: *cheerleader*, *porno star*, and *stripper*, although *stripper* is significant at a marginal level only (*cheerleader*: 0.77 to 1.51; *porno star*: -0.73 to 0.43; and, *stripper*: -0.19 to 0.62). A significant increase for *stripper* and a significant decrease for *clown* also occurred for females (*stripper*: -1.58 to -0.79; and, *clown*: 2.18 to 1.04). Generally, these identities shifted from good to very good. While *porno star* and *stripper* shifted to slightly good identities for males, however, *stripper* only increased to slightly bad for females. *Porno star* and *topless dancer* remain bad and slightly bad identities for female respondents.

There is some similarity across sexes with potency. A significant increase for *center* and *teammate* occurred for both males and females (males 0.86 to 1.97; females 0.33 to 2.17; and, males 0.81 to 1.49; females 0.91 to 1.44). An increase for *starlet* occurred for males and an increase for *superstar* occurred for females (*starlet*: males -0.57 to 0.38; and, *superstar*: females 1.41 to 2.01). *Star* shifted from a very powerful to extremely powerful identity. *Celebrity* and *superstar* increased with similar intensity for females. Significant decreases for *clown* and *guard* also occurred for females (*clown*: 0.40 to -0.52; and, *guard*: 2.68 to 2.05).

There are many shifts with activity for both males and females. *Center* and *topless dancer* increase significantly for both males and females (*center*: males 1.23 to 2.25, females 0.93 to 2.59; and, *topless dancer*: males 1.37 to 2.47, females 1.41 to 2.88). Significant increases also occurred for females on *linebacker*, *lineman*, *musician*, *porno star*, *tackle*, and *topless dancer*, although *linebacker* increased at a marginal level only (*linebacker*: 1.86 to 2.43; *lineman*: 0.79 to 1.77; *musician*: 0.54 to 1.40; *porno star*: 1.64 to 2.54; *tackle*: 1.53 to 2.56; and, *topless dancer*: 1.41 to 2.88). A significant increase for *halfback* and a marginally significant increase for *teammate* occurred for males (*halfback*: 2.03 to 2.64; and, *teammate*: 1.58 to 2.03).

Discussion

Findings for sports/entertainment identities present some interesting shifts in social and cultural structure. In the mid 1990's, a new clothing line called PornStar Clothing started and eventually grew into a multi million dollar business selling rude and provocative clothing items to teens. By the time that our data were collected in 2001, this clothing line was expected to be making upwards of $20 million per annum and had become very popular all over North America and Europe (Entrepreneur Magazine 1999). The rise in the popularity of this line might reflect

the increase in evaluation for identities relating to adult entertainment, especially with young men.

The rise of the INTERNET is also a probable explanation for the increase in evaluation of adult entertainment identities. In 1998, Forrester research conducted a study that revealed that the market for online porn was close to US$1 billion annually (Maich 2006). Between 1998 and 2003, Internet Filter Review reported that the number of pornographic pages on the World Wide Web rose from 14 to 260 million (Maich 2006). Porn on the Internet is a massive industry, only trumped by gambling sites. The Internet provides easy and anonymous access to material that otherwise may never have been viewed. Not only does it mirror human values and behaviour, it encourages and increases certain behaviour by providing a safe and anonymous place to engage in certain types of behaviour. "There are reasons, however, to suspect that the Internet isn't just reflecting social values but also helping to shape them. How many people do things online that they otherwise wouldn't because it's anonymous and consequence-free? Simply put -- the easier it gets to be bad, the worse we get". (Maich 2006).

Over the past 30 years, the growth of the celebrity sports star has been unprecedented with the assistance of a 24 hour news cycle, the Internet, television entertainment shows, tabloids, and huge endorsement programs that catapult some sports figures into the realm of superstar (Rowe 2004, Whannel, 2002). Examples include personalities such as Wayne Gretzky, Dennis Rodman, Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods, and David Beckham. According to Whannel (2002), the "links being forged between media corporations and sporting organizations... illustrate a growing integration of sport into the mainstream of capitalism and of sport stars into the system of image production" (p.38). Increases on evaluation for sports identities and celebrity and star identities therefore make sense within this social and cultural context.

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Work Related Identities

Evaluation

Most identities increased on evaluation, although most changes occurred after 1995 (Tables 2.9a, 2.9b, and Figure 2.17a, 2.18a).

Few changes occurred for males and females on evaluation for work related identities between 1981 and 1995. *Boss* decreased significantly for males and at a marginal level for females (males 0.41 to -0.29; females 0.32 to -0.23). A marginally significant decrease occurred for females for *employee* and a significant increase for *client* (*employee*: 1.21 to 0.77; and, *client*: 0.40 to 0.91).

Between 1995 and 2001, most work-related identities increased in status. *Boss* and *customer* increased at a marginally significant level for males and *client* and *employee* increased significantly for females, along with a marginally significant increase for *executive* (*boss*: males -0.29 to 0.34; *customer*: males 0.45 to 0.96; *client*: females 0.91 to 1.59; *employee*: females 0.77 to 1.60; *executive*: females 0.08 to 0.60). *Employer* increased significantly for males and at a marginal level for females (males 0.14 to 0.88; females 0.44 to 1.04).

Between 1981 and 2001, work related identities increase on evaluation. *Customer* and *employee* increased for males and *client* and *worker* for females, although this change was only marginally significant for *customer* with male respondents *customer*: males 0.33 to 0.96; *employee*: males 0.46 to 1.19; *client*: females 0.40 to 1.59; and, *worker*: females 0.90 to 1.45).

Potency

Despite an early decrease on potency for males and females, most work-related identities increased over these three data sets (Tables 2.9a, 2.9b, and Figure 2.17b, 2.18b).

Between 1981 and 1995, only *worker* experienced a significant decrease in potency for both males and females (males 0.48 to -0.69; females 0.13 to -0.75).

Between 1995 and 2001, *worker* increased significantly on potency, almost restoring its power levels close to 1981 levels for both males and females, although this increase was only at a marginal level for males (males -0.69 to 0.04; females -0.75 to 0.05). A marginally significant increase for *boss* and a significant increase for *employee* also occurred for males (*boss*: 2.03 to 2.45; and, *employee*: -0.71 to 0.03).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, there were no significant changes for female respondents while *boss* and *employee* increased significantly for male respondents (*boss*: 1.56 to 2.45; and, *employee*: -0.96 to 0.03).

Activity

Findings are mixed and inconsistent across sex on activity (Tables 2.9a, 2.9b, and Figure 2.17c, 2.18c).

On activity, only *client* increased significantly at a marginal level for males between 1981 and 1995 (-0.28 to 0.17).

There are more shifts in attitude between 1995 and 2001, with a significant increase for *customer* although this change is only marginally significant for females (males 0.03 to 0.47; females 0.18 to 0.65). *Employer* decreased significantly for females along with a marginally significant decrease for *boss* (*employer*: -0.31 to -1.11; and, *boss*: -0.13 to -0.72). Marginally significant decrease for *executive* and marginally significant increases for *employee* and *employer* occurred for males (*executive*: 0.40 to -0.37; *employee*: 0.42 to 0.87; and *employer*: -0.94 to -0.32).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *customer* increased significantly across both genders, although only at a marginal level for males, as well as significant increases for *client* and *employee* for males (*customer*: males -0.04 to 0.47, females -0.04 to 0.65; *client*: males -0.28 to 0.36; and, *employee*: males 0.12 to 0.87). *Executive* also decreased significantly for males and *employer* decreased significantly for females (*executive*: 0.56 to -0.37; and, *employer*: -0.04 to -1.11).

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

With the exception of a few additional identities, results from the larger data set for work related identities add little new insight to findings from the smaller data set (Appendix Table 9a and Table 9b).. Significant increases occurred for females on evaluation for *assistant*, *client*, and *worker* (*assistant*: 0.60 to 1.77; *client*: 0.40 to 1.59; and, *worker*: 0.90 to 1.45).

More movement took place on the potency dimension. *Applicant* and *clerk* increased significantly for females, although *clerk* is only significant at the marginal level (*applicant*: -1.97 to -1.16; and, *clerk*: -1.17 to -0.53). *Boss* and *superior* increased significantly for males (*boss*: 1.56 to 2.45; and, *superior*: 1.63 to 2.51). Significant decreases occur for *intern* and *workman*, although this decrease is only marginally significant for *workman* for females (males 0.83 to -0.79, females 1.48 to -0.56; and, males 1.24 to 0.14, females 0.83 to 0.18).

The larger data set offers some new additions on the activity dimension to earlier findings. *Applicant* increased significantly for both sexes, although only at a marginal level for females (males 0.24 to 0.88; females 0.58 to 1.16). Increases for *apprentice* and *assistant* also occurred for females while *intern* increased significantly for males along with a marginal increase for *specialist* (*apprentice*: females 0.93 to 1.67; *assistant*: females 0.63 to 1.48; *intern*:

males 1.04 to 1.77; and, *specialist*: males -0.34 to 0.27).   A significant decrease occurred for *workman* for females (0.62 to -0.40).

Discussion

Decreases on evaluation and potency for identities such as *boss* and *worker* in 1995 most likely reflect the downsizing and restructuring that took place in the Canadian economy during the early 1990's. These shifts in evaluation and potency appear to have been restored as the economy improved through the later part of the 1990's. Most overall shifts in attitude from the larger data set are increases, with the exception of identities such as *workman* and *intern*. *Workman* is an ambiguous term and could mean different things to different people. This downward shift on potency could reflect attitudes towards trade related identities which will be discussed in the following section dealing with occupational identities.

Occupational Identities

Evaluation

No trends were apparent for occupational identities (Tables 2.10a, 2.10b, and Figure 2.19a, 2.20a).

. Findings on evaluation were mixed for males and females for the period between 1981 and 1995 although significance occurred in more instances for females than for males. *Bank teller* increased significantly for both males and females, although only at a marginal level for females, and *lawyer* decreased significantly for both (*bank teller*: males 0.74 to 1.37, females 0.83 to 1.34; and, *lawyer*: males 0.68 to -0.33, females 1.13 to -0.05). A significant increase for *construction laborer* also occurred for males along with a marginally significant increase for *cashier* (*construction labourer*: 0.00 to 0.71; and, *cashier*: 0.58 to 1.03). A significant decrease

for *truck driver* and a marginally significant decrease for *bill collector* occurred for female respondents (*truck driver*: 0.59 to -0.21; and, *bill collector*: -0.79 to -1.31).

Between 1995 and 2001, *computer programmer* increased significantly for both males and females (males 0.13 to 1.12; females 0.33 to 1.37).   A marginally significant increase for *social worker* and a significant decrease for *miner* occurred for males (*social worker*: 1.55 to 2.03; and, *miner*: 1.06 to 0.41). *Author*, *construction labourer*, *librarian*, and *truck driver* also increased significantly for females (*author*: 0.74 to 1.79; *construction labourer*: 0.26 to 1.12; *librarian*: 0.82 to 1.67; and, *truck driver*: -0.21 to 0.73).

Overall between 1981 and 2001, only *author*, *computer programmer*, and *social worker* increased significantly in evaluation for both males and females, although *social worker* increased only at a marginal level for males (*author*: males 0.77 to 1.64, females 1.09 to 1.79; *computer programmer*: males 0.46 to 1.12, females 0.65 to 1.37; and, *social worker*: males 1.30 to 2.03; females 1.52 to 2.16). A significant increase for *construction labourer* and marginally significant increases for *bank teller*, *cashier*, and *librarian* also occurred for females (*construction labourer*: 0.29 to 1.12; *bank teller*: 0.83 to 1.27; *cashier*: 0.76 to 1.40; and, *librarian*: 1.09 to 1.67). *Bill collector* and *lawyer* decreased significantly for females (*bill collector*: -0.79 to -1.42; and, *lawyer*: 1.13 to 0.35).

Potency

Generally, occupational identities decreased on potency in the earlier data set and then increased in the later set. Overall though, the picture presented is one where more professional, higher skilled jobs increased on potency while no skill or semi-skill jobs decreased on potency (Tables 2.10a, 2.10b, and Figure 2.19b, 2.20b).

Between 1981 and 1995 on the potency dimension, most identities decreased for males and females. *Cashier*, *miner*, and *veterinarian* decreased significantly across both genders, although *veterinarian* only decreased at a marginal level for male respondents (*cashier*: males -0.81 to -2.20, females -0.15 to -1.84; *miner*: 0.43 to -0.60, females 0.42 to -0.47; and, *veterinarian*: males 1.32 to 0.69; females 1.81 to 1.09). Significant decreases for *chemist*, *farm labourer*, and *truck driver* also occurred for females (*chemist*: 1.58 to 0.84; *farm labourer*: 0.60 to -0.33; and, *truck driver*: 1.00 to 0.15).

Between 1995 and 2001, declines in potency from 1995 are reversed with numerous upward shifts. Significant increases for *cashier*, *lawyer*, and *veterinarian* occurred for both males and females, although *veterinarian* for males and *lawyer* for females were at a marginal level only (*cashier*: males -2.20 to -1.44, females -1.84 to -0.75; *lawyer*: males 1.23 to 2.09, females 2.10 to 2.48; and, *veterinarian*: males 0.69 to 1.21, females 1.09 to 1.84). Only one significant decrease occurred for males with *truck driver* (0.87 to -0.25). As with evaluation, more significant increases occurred for females on potency than males, adding to the list: *engineer*, *social worker*, and *stenographer* (*engineer*: 1.06 to 1.91; *social worker*: 0.39 to 1.13; and, *stenographer*: -1.00 to 0.41). *Farm labourer* and *computer programmer* increased at marginal levels of significance for females (*farm labourer*: -0.33 to 0.38; and, *computer programmer*: 1.05 to 1.59).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, findings are mixed because some increases in potency in 1995 were substantial enough to negate dramatic decreases between 1981 and 1995. Decreases for *cashier* and *truck driver* occurred for males and females, although both identities are only marginally significant for female respondents (*cashier*: males -0.81 to -1.44, females -0.15 to -0.75; and, *truck driver*: males 0.83 to-0.25, females 1.00 to 0.31). *Librarian* decreased

significantly and *bank teller* increased at a marginally significant level for males (*librarian*: -0.38 to -1.17; and, *bank teller*: -0.70 to -0.07). A marginally significant decrease for *chemist* also occurred for females along with significant increases for *computer programmer*, *lawyer*, and *stenographer* and marginally significant increases for *engineer* and *author* (*chemist*: 1.58 to 1.05; *computer programmer*: 1.03 to 1.59; *lawyer*: 1.87 to 2.48; *stenographer*: -0.77 to 0.41; *engineer*: 1.44 to 1.91; and, *author*: 0.83 to 1.49).

Activity

Despite a few exceptions, most occupational identities decreased on activity across three points in time (Tables 2.10a, 2.10b, and Figure 2.19c, 2.20c).

For the activity dimension between 1981 and 1995, *cashier* and *lawyer* increased in liveliness, although only *cashier* increased significantly for males (*cashier*: males 0.15 to 0.86; females 0.38 to 0.97; and, *lawyer*: males 0.18 to 0.80; females 0.46 to 0.56). *Farm labourer* decreased significantly for both males and females (males 0.92 to 0.29; females 1.30 to -0.28). *Veterinarian* increased significantly for females along with numerous significant decreases for males including, *bill collector*, *miner*, and *welder*, although *welder* decreased at a marginal level only (*veterinarian*: females 0.12 to 0.78; *bill collector*: males 0.50 to -0.31; *miner*: males 0.75 to -0.23; and, *welder*: males 0.19 to -0.31).

Between 1995 and 2001, *cashier*, *librarian*, and *truck driver* decreased significantly on activity for males and females, although this decrease was only at a marginal level for *cashier* (both males and females) and *librarian* (males only) (*cashier*: males 0.86 to 0.15, females 0.97 to 0.31; *librarian*: males -1.58 to -2.26, females -1.59 to -2.22; and, *truck river*: males 0.42 to -0.74; females 0.00 -0.91). *Lawyer* also decreased significantly for males and *social worker* increased significantly, although only at a marginal level for males (*lawyer*: 0.80 to 0.12; and, *social*

worker: -0.03 to 0.59). *Construction labourer*, *engineer*, *miner*, and *welder* decreased

significantly for females although *welder* decreased only at a marginal level (*construction*

labourer: 1.31 to 0.42; *engineer*: 0.97 to 0.26; *miner*: 0.56 to -0.49; and, *welder*: 0.03 to -0.56).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, significant decreases on activity for *bill collector*,

librarian, *miner*, and *truck driver* occurred for males and females (*bill collector*: males 0.50 to -

0.24, females -0.06 to -0.69; *librarian*: males -1.08 to -2.26, females -1.24 to -2.22; *miner*: males

0.75 to -0.45, females 0.17 to -0.49; and, *truck driver*: males 0.07 to -0.74; females 0.52 to -

0.91). *Bill collector* and *miner* only decreased at marginal levels for female respondents.

Construction labourer and *farm labourer* both decreased significantly while *welder* decreased at

a marginal level for males (*construction labourer*: 1.52 to 0.42; *farm labourer*: 1.30 to -0.42;

and, *welder*: 0.19 to -0.29). *Engineer* decreased at a marginal level for females (0.88 to 0.26).

The only significant increase to occur overall was *computer programmer* for male respondents (-

0.08 to 0.80). *Social worker* and *veterinarian* also increased for males, but only at a marginal

level (*social worker*: -0.11 to 0.59; and, *veterinarian*: -0.37 to 0.37).

Additional Identities from 1981 to 2001

With 115 occupational identities in the larger data set, an identity by identity breakdown

would be lengthy and uninformative (Appendix Tables 10a and 10b). I will therefore highlight

only occupations that experience significant change in an effort to give the reader an overall

picture of the general shifts that have taken place. There was also a problem with the manner in

which identities were grouped into their respective social institutions. A number of identities, for

example *doctor*, *lawyer, teacher*, *police officer* etc., appear in other institutional groups such as

medical/health, education, and criminal justice social institutions. In order to compare changes

over time across professional and non-professional occupations, I decided to pull other

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occupational identities out from other sections of my findings and create a new table

incorporating all occupational identities from my entire large data set. This increased my

occupational institutions grouping to 200 identities. Non-professional identities comprise all no

skill, low skill and skilled trades, along with service industry jobs (retail, hospitality, and food),

sporting jobs and jobs related to the entertainment industry, and arts and culture (Appendix

Tables 10c and 10d).

Overall, the majority of significant shifts on evaluation for both professional and non-

professional occupations were upward for both male and female respondents. Professional

identities that experienced a significant increase represent a variety of social institutions,

specifically: education (teacher identities), medical/health (nurse and counselor type identities),

political, criminal justice (lawyer identities), and some other professions. Examples of identities

to experience a significant increase on evaluation for male and/or female respondents include:

schoolteacher, *teacher*, *dietitian*, *social worker*, *federal cabinet minister*, *MPP*, *parliament*

secretary, and *prime minister*, *district attorney*, *architect*, *civil servant*, and *computer*

programmer (*schoolteacher*: males 1.11 to 1.82, females 1.13 to 2.76; *teacher*: males 1.37 to

2.08, females 1.39 to 2.71; *dietitian*: females 1.10 to 1.89; *social worker*: females 1.52 to 2.16;

federal cabinet minister: males -0.73 to 0.72; *MPP*: males -0.18 to 0.84; *parliament secretary*:

males 0.18 to 1.12, females 0.43 to 1.29; *prime minister*: males -0.21 to 1.31; *district attorney*:

males 0.11 to 1.04; *architect*: males 0.59 to 1.56, females 1.06 to 1.62; *civil servant*: males -0.24

to 1.37, females 0.41 to 1.44; *computer programmer*: males 0.46 to 1.12, females 0.65 to 1.37).

In most cases, shifts increased from negative values (slightly bad) or slightly good to good and

very good or extremely good (females). *Clergy*, *attorney*, and *auditor* were the only

professional identities to experience a significant decrease in evaluation (*clergy*: females 2.32 to 1.17; *attorney*: females 1.17 to 0.20; and, *auditor*: males -0.11 to -0.97).

Increases in evaluation occurred for males and females for numerous non-professional occupational identities, including identities related to sales and retail, the adult entertainment industry, law and order, and occupations related to the trades, arts and culture, the food industry, and numerous other low-skill and semi-skill jobs. Increases occurred at the conventional and marginal levels of significance and include: *real estate agent*, *saleslady*, *porno star*, *stripper*, *detective*, *bailiff*, *bodyguard*, *bulldozer operator*, *construction labourer*, *tv repairman*, *longshoreman*, *author*, *cook*, *bartender*, and *waitress* (*real estate agent*: males -0.23 to 0.46, females 0.12 to 0.79; *saleslady*: males 0.41 to 0.86, females 0.40 to 0.98; *porno star*: males -0.73 to 0.43; *stripper*: males -0.19 to 0.62, females -1.58 to -0.79; *detective*: males 0.64 to 1.49; *bailiff*: males -0.03 to 0.79, females -0.10 to 0.73; *bodyguard*: males 0.08 to 1.30, females 1.00 to 1.60; *bulldozer operator*: females 0.09 to 0.95; *construction labourer*: females 0.29 to 1.12; *tv repairman*: males 0.41 to 0.98; *longshoreman*: males 0.05 to 0.78; *author*: males 0.77 to 1.64, females 1.09 to 1.79; *cook*: females 1.07 to 2.10; *bartender*: females 0.91 to 1.61; and, *waitress*: males 0.79 to 1.48). Note that females reported several more trade related occupations with significant increases on evaluation than did males. Significant decreases on evaluation were not common, although there were a few, namely: *scoutmaster*, *warden*, *clown*, *bill collector*, *nursemaid*, and *medic* (*scoutmaster*: males 1.95 to 1.42, females 2.28 to 1.43; *warden*: females 0.21 to -0.86; *clown*: females 2.28 to 1.04; *bill collector*: females -0.79 to -1.42; *nursemaid*: males 1.96 to 1.04; and, *medic*: males 2.24 to 1.44).

Substantially more significant shifts occurred for female respondents with professional occupations on potency than with male respondents. Political identities experienced many

increases at either the marginal or conventional level of significance for both sexes, for instance: *MPP*, *prime minister*, *premier*, *federal cabinet minister*, and *provincial cabinet minister* (*MPP*: males 0.77 to 1.75, females 0.80 to 2.36; *prime minister*: females 1.94 to 3.12; *premier*: males 1.44 to 2.72, females 2.07 to 2.64; *federal cabinet minister*: females 1.80 to 2.46; and, *provincial cabinet minister*: males 0.89 to 1.89, females 1.80 to 2.39).

Other occupations such as *statistician*, *doctor*, *judge*, *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*, *airline pilot*, and *Governor General* also increased on potency (*statistician*: males -0.45 to 0.26, females 0.21 to 0.98; *doctor*: males 0.89 to 2.18, females 1.87 to 2.65; *judge*: males 2.10 to 2.93; *Chief Justice of the Supreme Court*: females 2.97 to 3.44; *airline pilot*: females 1.84 to 2.45; and, *Governor General*: males 1.15 to 2.30). Only female respondents reported increases for some education identities, for example: *teacher* (females 1.35 to 2.36) and *professor* (1.50 to 2.36). Only a few significant decreases were reported, namely religious occupations for females and *banker* and *librarian* for males (*banker*: 1.91 to 1.04; and, *librarian*: -0.38 to -1.17).

There were no identifiable trends on potency with non-professional occupations for females. Half of all significant shifts were increases and the other half were decreases. Of note, *fireman*, *cop*, and *actor* increased significantly for females on potency while a couple of the skilled trades decreased, namely *blacksmith* and *truck driver* (*fireman*: 1.94 to 2.57; *cop*: 2.21 to 2.84; *actor*: 0.82 to 1.76; *blacksmith*: 0.87 to 0.02; and, *truck driver*: 1.00 to 0.31). Changes for non-professional occupations were not as evenly divided for males as they were with females. Males also reported more shifts than females did in this category. Most significant shifts were downward. Trade related occupations experienced significant decreases for males with *bulldozer operator*, *plumber*, *truck driver*, *fisherman*, and *longshoreman* (*bulldozer operator*: 1.10 to 0.24; *plumber*: 0.78 to -0.07; *truck driver*: 0.83 to -0.25; *fisherman*: 0.41 to -0.41; and, *longshoreman*:

1.19 to 0.14). Service industry related occupations such as *cashier* and *hostess* also experienced

a decrease as well as a couple of law and order related occupations, such as *patrolman* (*cashier*:

males -0.81 to -1.44; *hostess*: males 0.59 to 0.05; and, *patrolman*: males 1.90 to 1.01). There

were a few significant increases for males on potency in the areas of retail and sales and a few

other miscellaneous occupations. Identities such as *bank teller*, *insurance agent*, *sales clerk*,

cop, *textile worker*, and *embalmer* increased at either the marginal level or conventional level of

significance for male respondents (*bank teller*: -0.70 to -0.07; *insurance agent*: 0.15 to 0.98;

sales clerk: -0.55 to -0.04; *cop*: 1.79 to 2.38; *textile worker*: -1.11 to -0.40; *embalmer*: -0.45 to

0.44).

  Many significant changes for both professional and non-professional occupations

occurred for males and females on the activity dimension. Significant increases for professional

identities occurred for "busy" professionals such as *elementary school teacher*, *registered nurse*,

computer programmer, *dietitian* and *doctor* (*elementary school teacher*: males -0.13 to 0.61,

females 0.58 to 1.44; *registered nurse*: males 0.04 to 1.13; *computer programmer*: males -0.08 to

0.80; *dietitian*: males -0.08 to 0.50, females 0.17 to 1.00; and, *doctor*: males -0.71 to 0.00).

Decreases at both the conventional and marginal levels of significance occurred for many

powerful political occupations, including, *MPP*, *MP*, and *prime minister* (*MPP*: males -0.45 to -

1.15; *MP*: females -0.13 to -0.93; and, *prime minister*: males -0.11 to -1.07, females -0.03 to -

1.30). A few miscellaneous occupations, both powerful and powerless also experienced

decreases on activity, including: *librarian, executive*, *statistician*, *professor*, and *airline pilot*

(*librarian*: males -1.08 to -2.26, females -1.24 to -2.22; *executive*: males 0.56 to -0.37;

statistician: females -0.14 to -0.99; *professor*: females -0.33 to -1.13; and, *airline pilot*: males

0.68 to -0.02).

Most shifts on activity for non-professional occupations were upward for males. Significant and marginally significant increases occurred for sales and retail occupations, service industry occupations, semi-skilled medical/health occupations, law and order occupations, and a few miscellaneous occupations. Changes for males on non-professional occupational identities occurred for the following identities: *salesgirl*, *bookkeeper*, *headwaiter*, *bartender*, *dental hygienist*, *nursemaid*, *dental assistant*, *cop*, *rookie cop*, *carpenter*, *tutor*, and *companion* (*salesgirl*: 1.08 to 1.59; *bookkeeper*: -1.44 to -0.92; *headwaiter*: 0.20 to 0.92; *bartender*: 0.55 to 1.23; *dental hygienist*: 0.31 to 0.87; *nursemaid*: -0.63 to 0.13; *dental assistant*: 0.35 to 1.02; *cop*: 0.46 to 1.12; *rookie cop*: 1.35 to 2.22; *carpenter*: -0.68 to 0.31; *tutor*: -0.36 to 0.65; and, *companion*: 0.48 to 1.48). Fewer increases on activity occurred for female respondents. Identities that experienced a significant increase were drawn from sales and retail occupations, hospitality occupations, medical/health occupations, adult entertainment occupations, and some miscellaneous occupations. Examples for females, include: *salesgirl*, *flight attendant*, *bartender*, *waiter*, *medic*, *topless dancer*, *fireman*, *babysitter*, and *tutor* (*salesgirl*: 0.67 to 2.41; *flight attendant*: 1.47 to 2.20; *bartender*: 0.21 to 1.79; *waiter*: 0.88 to 1.88; *medic*: females 0.71 to 1.77; *topless dancer*: 1.41 to 2.88; *fireman*: 1.55 to 2.20; *babysitter*: 0.26 to 2.36; and, *tutor*: 0.00 to 0.71)

Significant decreases occurred for both males and females on activity at both the marginal and conventional levels for trade related occupations, although many more decreases occurred for females than for males. *Bulldozer operator*, *truck driver*, *miner*, and *longshoreman* decreased for both sexes(*bulldozer operator*: males 0.33 to -0.26, females 0.18 to -0.85; *truck driver*: males 0.07 to -0.74, females 0.52 to -0.91; *miner*: males 0.75 to -0.45, females 0.17 to -0.49; and, *longshoreman*: males 0.90 to -0.41; females 0.41 to -0.94). Included on this list for

females are several trade related identities: *auto mechanic*, *blacksmith*, *construction foreman*, *electrician*, and *plumber* (*auto mechanic*: 0.67 to -0.42; *blacksmith*: 0.10 to -1.40; *construction foreman*: 0.50 to -0.58; *electrician*: 0.03 to -0.85; and, *plumber*: -0.21 to -1.00). Decreases also occurred for food, hospitality, and sales related occupations, such as, *real estate agent*, *baker*, *maid*, and *salesman*, law and order occupations, such as, *detective*, *deputy*, and *plainclothesman*, and a couple of sport related occupations, such as *coach* (*real estate agent*: males 1.00 to 0.26; *baker*: females -0.87 to -1.41; *maid*: females 0.33 to -0.45; *salesman*: females 1.29 to 0.16; *detective*: males 1.23 to -0.16; *deputy*: males 0.96 to 0.28; females 0.86 to -0.16; *plainclothesman*: males 0.81 to 0.00, females 0.94 to -0.59; and, *coach*: males 1.12 to -0.15).

Discussion

As noted above, the period under study was one of great upheaval. As Goyder (2005) points out, the qualitatively distinct changes that occurred between 1975 and 2000 suggest shifts in occupational prestige. Given that E, P, and A are related, both directly and indirectly, to occupational prestige scores (MacKinnon and Langford, 1994), similar changes should be experienced with attitudes to occupational identities. Goyder (2005) hypothesizes that, as a consequence of new technologies such as the microelectronic chip, less job permanence, higher starting salaries in some technical fields, some leveling out of workplaces as a result of computerization, the introduction of women into the workplace, a growing shortage of skilled trades, a deskilling and upgrading due to the introduction of technology, and finally, the sense that everyone can be an "expert" as a result of the Internet, the trades may experience an upward swing in occupational prestige while some professions may drop on occupational prestige. Supporting this hypothesis, Goyder found a reshuffling of the occupational prestige ladder had

occurred and that inequality decreased, as indicated by reduced standard deviations and Gini coefficients.

Although, an identity by identity comparison between Goyder's (2005) changes in occupational prestige scores with attitude changes based on E, P, and A scores is difficult, I am able to discuss some general trends and how they match up with Goyder's findings. Shifts on attitudes toward occupational identities were sorted into professional and non-professional occupations (includes all trades, retail, sales, hospitality and services, arts and culture and other occupations), and my data allows me to determine if there are differences between male and female respondents.

Like Goyder (2005), I also found numerous shifts in attitudes towards occupational identities. Specifically, significant changes occurred for approximately 20-30% of occupational identities across E, P, and A for both males and females. Given that cultural sentiments are typically stable over time (MacKinnon and Luke 2002; Heise 2007), changes of this magnitude are noteworthy, concurring with Goyder's prediction that shifts would occur as a result of dramatic upheavals in the economy and workplace during the final quarter of the last century. *Fireman*, *babysitter*, *mailman/mailcarrier*, *textile worker*, *registered nurse*, *bartender*, *elementary school teacher*, *file clerk*, *salesgirl*, *saleslady*, *salesclerk*, *waitress*, *bookkeeper*, and *teacher*/*schoolteacher* all experienced significant changes of some sort (E, P, and/or A) for either male or female respondents and also increased their score on the occupational prestige ladder (Goyder 2005).

Like Goyder's (2005) findings concerning occupational prestige, many trades in the service/hospitality industry, and occupations in education and health fields have increased on cultural sentiments during the same time period. The only notable difference is that Goyder

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(2005) also found traditional trades (such as *plumber, carpenter*, and *farm laborer*) increased on

occupational prestige and yet I found little evidence of that trend in my findings. Most increases

for non-professional occupations for both males and females fell into the sales, retail, hospitality,

and entertainment sectors. There were some trade related identities (for instance *bulldozer*

operator, *construction laborer*, *longshoreman*) that experienced significant increases on

evaluation or potency, but there was no obvious trend. I focus here on evaluation and potency

because evaluation has been shown to reflect moral worthiness in occupational prestige scores,

primarily for low and middle levels of education and income, while potency mediates the total

effect of income on occupational prestige (MacKinnon and Langford 1994). It should be noted

that the breakdown of my results by gender may present some interesting findings not available

in occupational prestige work. Unlike Goyder (2005), I did not find that professional identities

lost significant amounts of evaluation or potency.

Family Identities

Evaluation

Identities within institution of the family experienced several interesting changes (Tables 2.11a,

2.11b, and Figure 2.21a, 2.22a).

. Between 1981 and 1995, there were no significant changes on evaluation for males

while a significant decrease for *brother* (2.07 to 1.19) occurred for females.

Between 1995 and 2001, *wife* increased significantly for both males and females (males

1.65 to 2.38; females 1.49 to 2.27). *Father* decreased at a marginal level of significance and

husband decreased significantly for males while *brother*, *son*, and *sister* increased significantly

for females although *sister* increased at a marginal level of significance (*father*: males 2.51 to

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1.84; *husband*: males 1.91 to 1.15; *brother*: females 1.19 to 2.20; *son*: females 0.69 to 1.81; and, *sister*: females 1.78 to 2.38).

Overall, only *son* increased significantly on evaluation between 1981 and 2001 across both genders (males 1.04 to 1.76; females 1.03 to 1.81). *Wife* also increased significantly for females overall (1.62 to 2.27).

Potency

With early decreases followed by later increases, there are few overall changes on potency (Tables 2.11a, 2.11b, and Figure 2.21b, 2.22b).

Between 1981 and 1995, *father* decreased significantly on potency for both males and females (males 2.41 to 1.69; females 2.36 to 1.63). Significant decreases also occurred for males for *daughter* and *wife* (*daughter*: -0.27 to -1.17; *wife*: 1.23 to 0.39).

Between 1995 and 2001, most identities experienced an increase in potency. *Mother* increased marginally for both males and females and *sister* increased marginally for males and significantly for females (*mother*: males 1.06 to 1.75; females 1.22 to 2.04; and, *sister*: males -0.26 to 0.47; females 0.50 to 1.18). *Daughter* increased significantly for males only and *father* and *wife* increased significantly for females only, although *wife* increased at a marginal level only (*daughter*: males -1.17 to -0.01; *father*: females 1.63 to 2.29; and, *wife*: females 0.23 to 0.92).

Overall between 1981 and 2001, there was no significant change for females while for males *mother* increased marginally and *father* decreased marginally (*mother*: males 0.96 to 1.75; and, *father*: males 2.41 to 1.78). These changes suggest that most people today believe that power and decision making should be shared in the home. Note that both parents now have equal power, according to male respondents.

Activity

On activity, the identities of children and siblings along with *wife* continue to be high on activity (Tables 2.11a, 2.11b, and Figure 2.21c, 2.22c).

Between 1981 and 1995, *brother* and *daughter* increased significantly for both males and females, although *brother* increased at a marginal level only for female respondents (*brother*: males 1.04 to 1.69, females 1.63 to 2.13; and, *daughter*: males 1.18 to 2.03, females 1.28 to 2.16). *Sister* (0.85 to 1.77) and *son* (1.15 to 1.97) also increased significantly for males and *husband* (0.73 to 1.63) increased significantly for females.

Between 1995 and 2001, the activity *wife* increased significantly for males and females (males 0.39 to 1.22; females 0.31 to 1.32). *Father* and *mother* also increased significantly for males while *husband* decreased marginally for females, returning to its earlier level (*father*: males -0.77 to 0.02; *mother*: males -0.66 to 0.32; and, *husband*: females 1.63 to 0.92).

Between 1981 and 2001, only *daughter* increased significantly across both genders (males 1.18 to 1.92; females 1.28 to 2.16). *Sister* increased significantly for males and *wife* increased significantly for females during this time (*sister*: males 0.85 to 1.54; and, *wife*: females 0.47 to 1.32).

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

The larger data set includes many extra identities outside of the nuclear family including in-law, step family, grandparent and grand child, as well as generic terms for children and marital status (Appendix Tables 11a and 11b).

On the evaluation dimension, most significant shifts were upward for both males and females, and more significant changes occurred for females than males. *Baby*, *sibling*, and *son* increased significantly for both sexes (*baby*: males 1.32 to 2.40, females 2.25 to 3.21; *sibling*:

males 1.04 to 1.81, females 1.30 to 2.09; and, *son*: males 1.04 to 1.76; females 1.03 to 1.81).

Significant increases for *aunt*, *auntie*, *firstborn*, *granddaughter*, *grandson*, *infant*, *kid*, *my mother*

and *wife* also occurred for females (*aunt*: 1.44 to 2.24; *auntie*: 1.95 to 2.68; *firstborn*: 0.91 to

2.06; *granddaughter*: 1.50 to 2.48; *grandson*: 1.14 to 2.13; *infant*: 1.93 to 3.02; *kid*: 0.79 to 1.85;

my mother: 2.35 to 3.05; and, *wife*: 1.62 to 2.27). *Niece* increased at a marginal level of

significance for females (1.56 to 2.20). *Stepsister* and *stepson* also increased significantly for

males while *grandfather* and *relation* increased marginally (*stepsister*: 0.07 to 1.00; *stepson*:

0.19 to 0.85; *grandfather*: 2.04 to 2.61; and, *relation*: 1.07 to 1.59). *Divorcee* and *widower*

decreased significantly for males and *stepbrother* decreased significantly for females (*divorcee*:

males 0.26 to -0.52; *widower*: males 0.95 to 0.09; and, *stepbrother*: females 1.45 to 0.59).

Brother-in-law and *stepfather* decreased at a marginal level of significance for females as well

(*brother-in-law*: 1.91 to 1.31; and, *stepfather*: 0.92 to 0.38).

There were a couple of interesting findings on the potency dimension, specifically the

marginally significant increase of *mother* and the marginally significant decrease of *father* for

male respondents only (*mother*: 0.96 to 1.75; and, *father*: 2.41 to 1.78). A significant decrease

for *relation* and a marginally significant decrease for *granddaughter* also occurred for males

(*relation*: 0.36 to 1.03; and, *granddaughter*: -1.19 to -0.47). *Aunt*, *brother-in-law*, *father-in-law*,

grandparent, *granny*, and *sister-in-law* increased significantly for females, although *sister-in-law*

increased at a marginal level of significance only (*aunt*: 0.16 to 0.92; *brother-in-law*: 0.17 to

0.78; *father-in-law*: 0.65 to 1.37; *grandparent*: 0.75 to 1.82; *granny*: -1.04 to 0.42; and, *sister-in-

law*: 0.00 to 0.41). Significant increases for *auntie* and *sibling* occurred for both males and

females, although *auntie* increased only marginally for males (*auntie*: males -0.69 to -0.02,

females -0.27 to 0.71; and, *sibling*: males -0.73 to 0.48, females -0.30 to 0.64). *Grandparent* and

kid decreased at a marginally significant level for males (along with *father*) and *divorcee*, *stepson*, and *widow* decreased significantly for females (g*randparent*: males 0.96 to .25; *kid*: males -0.63 to -1.40; *divorcee*: females -0.31 to -1.11; *stepson*: females 0.20 to -0.56; and, *widow*: females -0.84 to -1.50). *Orphan* decreased significantly for females and marginally for males (males -1.63 to -2.21; females -2.13 to -2.98).

There were many shifts on the activity dimension. Significant increases occurred for both males and females for *baby*, *daughter*, *daughter-in-law*, *half brother*, *my brother*, *orphan*, *son-in-law*, *stepsister*, and *stepson* (*baby*: males 1.55 to 2.58; females 1.71 to 2.50; *daughter*: males 1.18 to 1.92; females 1.28 to 2.16; *daughter-in-law*: males 0.59 to 1.13; females 0.81 to 1.78; *half brother*: males 0.50 to 1.09; females 0.46 to 1.00; *my brother*: males 0.74 to 1.67; females 1.63 to 2.33; *orphan*: males 0.64 to 1.55; females 0.61 to 1.65; *son-in-law*: males 0.65 to 1.58; females 0.67 to 1.46; *stepsister*: males 0.22 to 0.84; females 0.53 to 1.18; and, *stepson*: males 0.30 to 1.44; females 0.70 to 1.83). *Baby* (females), *daughter-in-law* (males), and *stepsister* (males) increased at only marginal levels of significance. *Grandchild*, *relation*, *sister*, *sister-in-law*, *stepdaughter*, and *stepbrother* also increased significantly for males, although *stepbrother* increased at a marginal level of significance only (*grandchild*: 1.61 to 2.60; *relation*: -0.14 to 0.56; *sister*: 0.85 to 1.54; *sister-in-law*: 0.48 to 1.14; *stepdaughter*: 0.78 to 1.48; and, *stepbrother*: 0.24 to 0.84). *Firstborn*, *granddaughter*, *infant*, *nephew*, and *wife* increased significantly for females (*firstborn*: 0.55 to 1.97; *granddaughter*: 1.74 to 2.52; *infant*: 1.23 to 2.81; *nephew*: 1.47 to 2.16; *wife*: 0.47 to 1.32). *Niece* also increased but at a marginal level only (1.47 to 2.08). *Grandfather* and *widow* decreased significantly for both males and females, although the decrease for *widow* was only at a marginal level of significance (*grandfather*: males -2.00 to -2.74, females -1.97 to -2.74; and, *widow*: males -1.34 to -1.91; females -1.48 to -2.16).

Marginally significant decreases for *divorcee* and *grandparent* also occurred for males and significant decreases also occurred for females for *widower* (*divorcee*: males 0.22 to -0.18; *grandparent*: males -2.07 to -2.72; and, *widower*: females -1.13 to -1.84).

Discussion

Perhaps the most interesting finding is the increase on potency for *mother* and the decrease on potency for *father*. These two shifts result in the convergence of potency values for these two identities. In 1981, potency values of 2.41 for *father* and 0.96 for *mother* occurred for males. In 2001, the values had changed to 1.78 and 1.75 respectively. This shift is not surprising given the increased participation of fathers at home over the past two decades (Dubeau 2002). As women enter the workforce in increasing numbers their potency is expected to rise as they contribute to family finances. Given that income has been shown to be a predicter of occupational potency, this finding is not unexpected (MacKinnon and Langford 1994). The increase in lone parent families headed by women over the past twenty years may have also contributed to the increased potency for *mother*. This type of family increased from approximately 11% of all families in 1981 to 16% of all families in 2001 (Canadian Social Trends 2003).

Regional Identities

Attitudes toward regional identities are difficult to assess given that my data were collected in Ontario and may reflect only cultural sentiments of Ontarians as opposed to all Canadians.

Evaluation

There were no apparent trends on the evaluation dimension (Tables 2.12a, 2.12b, and Figure 2.23a, 2.24a).

For male and female respondents between 1981 and 1995, *Maritimer* increased significantly on evaluation while *Native Canadian* decreased significantly for males only (*Maritimer*: males 0.65 to 1.36, females 0.78 to 1.51; and, *Native Canadian*: males 1.44 to 0.43).

Between 1995 and 2001, *Western Canadian* increased significantly for both males and females, while *Maritimer* decreases marginally for males, returning to its original evaluation strength (*Western Canadian*: males 0.64 to 1.47, females 1.11 to 1.85; and, *Maritimer*: males 1.36 to 0.76). *French Canadian* also increased significantly, but for females only (0.21 to 1.04).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *Western Canadian* increased significantly across both genders. *Maritimer* also increased significantly but only for females (0.78 to 1.58).

Potency

Like evaluation, findings were mixed on potency (Tables 2.12a, 2.12b, and Figure 2.23b, 2.24b).

French Canadian increased significantly on potency between 1981 and 1995 for female respondents (-0.43 to 0.67). This was the only increase that occurred over this time period. Significant decreases for *Eastern Canadian* and *Maritimer* occurred for males while marginally significant decreases for *English Canadian* and *Native Canadian* occurred for females on the potency dimension (*Eastern Canadian*: males 0.19 to -0.67; *Maritimer*: males 0.23 to -0.46; *English Canadian*: females 1.52 to 0.92; and, *Native Canadian*: females -0.03 to -0.75).

Between 1995 and 2001, *Eastern Canadian* increased marginally for males and females, while *French Canadian* reversed its earlier increase with a significant drop for female respondents (*Eastern Canadian*: males -0.67 to -0.08, females -0.41 to 0.01; and, *French Canadian*: female 0.67 to -0.04).

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, a marginally significant decrease for *Maritimer* occurred for males while a significant increase for *Maritmer* occurred for females, resulting in similar potency levels in 2001 for this identity (*Maritimer*: males 0.23 to -0.32; and, *Maritimer*: females -0.65 to -0.01). *Western Canadian* decreased marginally for males as well, and *Eastern Canadian* increased marginally for females (*Western Canadian*: males 0.74 to 0.25; and, *Eastern Canadian*: females -0.42 to 0.01).

Activity

Mixed findings occurred for activity (Tables 2.12a, 2.12b, and Figure 2.23c, 2.24c).

On the activity dimension between 1981 and 1995, *English Canadian* increased significantly for both males and females (males -0.18 to 0.36; females 1.52 to 0.92). *Western Canadian* decreased significantly for males and *Native Canadian* decreased significantly for females (*Western Canadian*: males 0.81 to 0.00; and, *Native Canadian*: females 0.45 to -0.41).

Between 1995 and 2001, *English Canadian* increased marginally for males continuing its upward trend from 1981 (0.36 to 0.84). Marginally significant increases for *Eastern Canadian* and *Maritimer* (*Eastern Canadian*: -0.36 to 0.17; and, *Maritimer*: -0.69 to -0.07) also occurred for females.

Overall, between 1981 and 2001, *English Canadian* increased significantly for male respondents (-0.18 to 0.84). A marginally significant increase for *Maritimer* (-0.74 to -0.07) occurred for females. *Native Canadian* decreased for males and females, although this decrease was only significant for males (males 0.44 to -0.12; females 0.45 to -0.13). *French Canadian* (0.57 to 0.04) also decreased at a marginally significant level for females during this time period.

Additional Identities from 1981 and 2001

My larger data set from the 2001 survey expands my list of regional identities by only three identities (Appendix Tables 12a and 12b). Therefore, there are only a few additional changes between 1981 and 2001 to report. These include a marginally significant decrease for *Eskimo* (1.28 to 0.79) on evaluation for male respondents and significant decreases for *Inuit* (-0.28 to -0.87) and *Metis* (0.50 to -0.31) on activity for female respondents.

Discussion

The twenty year period in question was one of tremendous political upheaval. Events surrounding the defeat of The Meech Lake Accord and The Charlottetown Accord, the rise of the Reform Party under Preston Manning in the west, the decimation of the Progressive Conservatives, the rise of the Bloc Quebecois under Lucien Bouchard, the small victory of federalists over separatists during the sovereignty referendum of 1995, the collapse of the cod fishery in the Maritimes and Atlantic provinces, and the general economic downturn of the early 90's highlight this tumultuous time.

Although *Western Canadian* decreased significantly on potency for males only, it experienced significant increases on evaluation for both males and females, perhaps as a result of the rise of the Reform party and the decline of support for the Progressive Conservatives.

The rise of political correctness and the increasing awareness surrounding appropriate language may account for the significant decrease on evaluation for *Eskimo* with male respondents. Seen as a pejorative label for Inuit people (thefreedictionary.com) this decrease may reflect appropriate language use as opposed to an actual decrease in the "goodness" of Canada's northern aboriginal peoples.

Males and females differ on attitudes towards *Maritimer* on the potency dimension, with decreases occurring for males and increases occurring for females. I do not know whether this is

an actual sex specific difference, I will not attempt to interpret this finding further. The significant decrease on potency for males does support the notion that the Maritimes are continually viewed as a depressed, a have not region with little political or economic power.

The increase on potency for *Eastern Canadian* by females possibly reflects the mass movement that took hold around the sovereignty referendum in Quebec. Mass demonstrations of support for a Canada that included Quebec were prevalent prior to the referendum, perhaps tipping the balance in favour of federalism.

The significant decrease for aboriginal related identities on activity for both males and females is perplexing. The Oka crisis was in the news and discussed by many in Ontario where my data was collected. Apparently, increased visibility through militant protest and activism has not increased the agency of native peoples in a positive way. Although no significant change was reported on evaluation for *Native Canadian*, this identity did experience a significant decrease on evaluation for males between 1981 and 1995. Despite a slight, albeit not significant, increase between 1995 and 2001, this increase did not restore *Native Canadian* to its earlier levels. This is perhaps another indication that the evaluation of *Native Canadian* has suffered the effects of a tumultuous period.

Ethnic Identities

Evaluation

A few significant changes occurred in the area of ethnic identities (Tables 2.13a, 2.13b, and Figure 2.25a, 2.26a).

A marginally significant decrease for *Jamaican* and a significant increase for *Jew* occurred for males on evaluation between 1981 and 1995 (*Jamaican*: 0.92 to 0.29; and, *Jew*: 0.36 to 1.31). No significant shifts occurred for females during this time period.

Between 1995 and 2001, *Chinese* decreased significantly for males, while *Jew* decreased marginally losing some of its previously achieved status (*Chinese*: 0.91 to 0.30; and, *Jew*: 1.31 to 0.81). On the other hand, *Jew* increased marginally for females during this same time period (0.75 to 1.39). *Black* also increased significantly for females (0.74 to 1.80). *Jamaican* increased significantly for both males and females during this time period, although only at a marginal level for males, reversing its status drop in 1995 with male respondents (males 0.29 to 0.83, females 0.36 to 1.24).

Between 1981 and 2001, no overall significant changes in attitude occurred for males on evaluation. Significant increases for *Black*, *Jamaican*, and *Pakistani* occurred for females (*Black*: 0.90 to 1.80; *Jamaican*: 0.60 to 1.24; and, *Pakistani*: 0.17 to 0.81).

Potency

A continuing trend for *Jamaican* and *Black* is present with the findings in potency (Tables 2.13a, 2.13b, and Figure 2.25b, 2.26b).

On the potency dimension between 1981 and 1995, *Chinese* and *Japanese* increased significantly for males, while *Russian* decreased marginally for females (*Chinese*: males -0.41 to 0.34; *Japanese*: males -0.07 to 0.80; and, *Russian*: females 0.75 to 0.07).

Between 1995 and 2001, *Japanese* (males 0.80 to 0.15; females 0.66 to -0.01) decreased significantly for males and females, reversing earlier upward shifts on potency for males. Females also report increases on potency for *Black* and *Jamaican*, although the increase for *Black* is at a marginal level only (*Black*: 0.10 to 0.68; and, *Jamaican*: -0.31 to 0.37).

Between 1981 and 2001, no overall significant changes occurred for males on potency, while a marginally significant increase for *Black* and a significant increase for *Jamaican*

occurred for females (*Black*: 0.10 to 0.68; and, *Jamaican*: -0.40 to 0.37). The only significant decrease occurred for *Jew* (0.52 to -0.19).

Activity

There is little movement on the activity dimension (Tables 2.13a, 2.13b, and Figure 2.25c, 2.26c).

On the activity dimension, both males and females report a significant decrease for *Russian* between 1981 and 1995, although this is at a marginal level for males (males -0.15 to -0.71, females 0.04 to -0.58).

This decrease is then restored for males between 1995 and 2001 with a significant increase for *Russian* (-0.71 to -0.01). *Chinese* also decreased significantly for males on activity and *Black* increased significantly for females (*Chinese*: males 0.66 to -0.05; and, *Black*: females 0.49 to 1.05).

Overall, only *Japanese* increases significantly on activity between 1981 and 2001 on activity for males (-0.14 to 0.44). There were no significant changes for females during this time period.

Additional identities from 1981 and 2001

Although numerous significant shifts occurred for the additional identities from the larger data sets, there were no apparent trends with ethnic identities (Appendix Tables 13a and 13b). Fewer significant changes occurred for males than for females, for whom there was only one significant increase on evaluation - for *African* (0.27 to 1.23). Increases for black ethnic identities (including *Jamaican* from the smaller data set), Middle Eastern and European identities occurred for female respondents. Specifically, increases occurred for *Dane*, *Icelander*, *Lebanese* and *West Indian*, although only *Dane* increased significantly (*Dane*: females 0.41 to 1.27;

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Icelander: females 0.43 to 0.98; *Lebanese*: females 0.04 to 0.68; and, *West Indian*: females 0.33

to 0.90). Significant decreases on evaluation for Eastern and Northern European identities

occurred for males, specifically, *Lithuanian*, *Swede*, and *Slovakian* (*Lithuanian*: 0.76 to 0.25;

Swede: 1.24 to 0.70; *Slovakian*: 0.65 to 0.18). Only *Slovakian* decreased at a significant level for

male respondents. Only *Briton* decreased at a marginal level for female respondents (1.12 to

0.47).

Again, there is little congruency between males and females with respect to potency

ratings. *East Indian* increased for both males and females although only at a marginal level of

significance for females (males -0.79 to 0.15; females 0.02 to 0.54). Significant increases for

Hungarian (-0.03 to 0.50), *Pole* (0.04 to 0.65) and *West Indian* (-0.29 to 0.17) also occurred for

males, although these increases were at a marginal level of significance for *Pole* and *West*

Indian. Significant decreases of several European identities occurred for females with

Hungarian, *Norwegian*, and *Yugoslavian* (*Hungarian*: 0.40 to -0.07; *Norwegian*: 0.40 to -0.12;

and, *Yugoslavian*: 0.23 to -0.37). There were no significant decreases for males.

The greatest number of significant shifts occurred on the activity dimension for both

males and females. Significant decreases for *Italian* and *Lebanese* occurred for both males and

females (*Italian*: males 1.04 to 0.28, females 0.87 to -0.15; and, *Lebanese*: males 0.70 to 0.16,

females 0.61 to -0.08). Numerous significant decreases occurred for females, primarily with

European identities and one Middle Eastern identity, including: *Belgian*, *Dutchman,* and

Norwegian (*Belgian*: 0.67 to -0.21; *Dutchman*: 0.17 to -0.45; and, *Norwegian*: 0.50 to 0.00).

Decreases at a marginal level of significance occurred for females with *Czech*, *Dane*, *German*,

Romanian, and *Slovakian* (*Czech*: 0.00 to -0.45; *Dane*: 0.50 to -0.40; *German*: 0.45 to -0.28;

Romanian: 0.07 to -0.38; and, *Slovakian*: 0.27 to -0.12). The only significant increase for

female respondents was for *New Zealander* (0.00 to 0.56). Increases for European and Asian identities and decreases for Western European and Middle Eastern identities occurred for males. A significant decrease occurred for *Syrian*, and marginally significant decreases occurred for *Irishman*, *Scot*, and *Welshman* (*Syrian*: 0.79 to -0.25; *Irishman*: 0.59 to 0.06; *Scot*: 0.43 to -0.16; and, *Welshman*: 0.31 to -0.21). Significant increases occurred for males with *Dane*, *Lithuanian*, and *Swiss*, although only the change for *Dane* is significant (*Dane*: 0.00 to 0.66; *Lithuanian*: -0.13 to 0.24; and, *Swiss*: -0.04 to 0.51).

Discussion

Significant increases for *Jamaican* are interesting given the significant decrease on evaluation they suffered from male respondents between 1981 and 1995. The initial drop is most likely a result of media coverage regarding violent criminal activity, especially surrounding The Just Desserts shooting in 1994. When it was released that the shooters were Jamaican there was a public outcry for tougher immigration laws (www.wikipedia.org) which likely led to a decrease on evaluation for *Jamaican*. A significant increase occurred for males on evaluation between 1995 and 2001, restoring *Jamaican* to its original status and thus nullifying any significant change between 1981 and 2001.

Given that Canadians usually rank those from Western European countries at the top of immigrant preference, followed by Eastern European and then followed by all non-whites, (Montreuil and Bourhis 2004; Berry 2006) it is interesting that no such order was found with these ethnic identities. When sorted into order according to their 2001 evaluation or potency value, no such order was apparent. This could be explained by the fact that university students tend to be more liberal and typically interact with numerous international students from a wide variety of countries. These interactions typically occur in settings that are more egalitarian that

those found in the outside community where immigrants can be ghettoized and portrayed in stereotypical ways in the media.

Conclusion

For the sake of simplicity, I incorporated a presentation of my findings with a discussion and interpretation as to what those findings represent. As a result, this chapter has covered a great deal of material. Overall, my findings have suggested that cultural sentiments, generally, are stable over time with the exception of some intriguing shifts. Specifically, attitude shifts in the areas of religious identities and sexual (preference) identities suggest that cultural sentiments can be altered as a result of dramatic events that occur at the social and cultural level. Many other changes found in my data (for example: criminal justice, ethnic, work related) will be episodic, and will probably return to earlier levels, while a few (sexual preference identities) have been shown to be more enduring, reflecting a real shift in respondents' attitudes over time. While some shifts reflected a dramatic change in direction regarding certain identities - bad identities becoming less bad or good (for example sexual preference and some criminal deviant identities)- other changes, even substantial ones, may reflect an increased intensity of goodness or badness, powerfulness or powerlessness (for example some teaching identities). It should also be noted that, on average, a higher number of significant changes occurred for females over time than for males. Sports/entertainment was the only social institution where male respondents reported more significant changes than female respondents. Consistent with MacKinnon and Luke (2002), between 15% and 30% of all identities from the large data set (789 identities) experienced a significant shift (t-value>=+/-1.96) between 1981 and 2001. Conversely, 70% to 85% of all identities remained stable, reinforcing the fact that cultural sentiments are stable entities and are resistant to change.

Trends of Identity Change over 1981,1995, 2001
Female and Male Data Figures 2.1a-2.26c
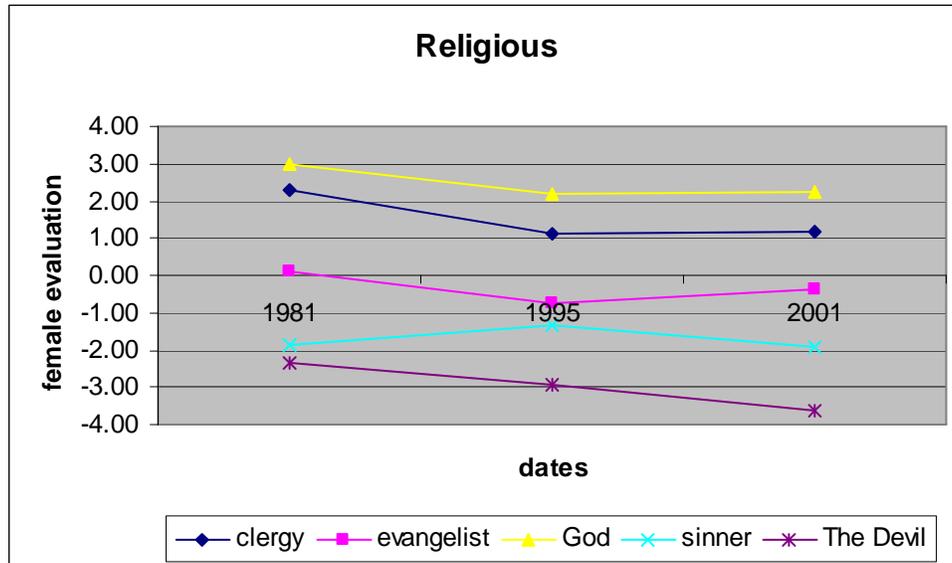
Figure 2.1a: Changes in Evaluation for Religious Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
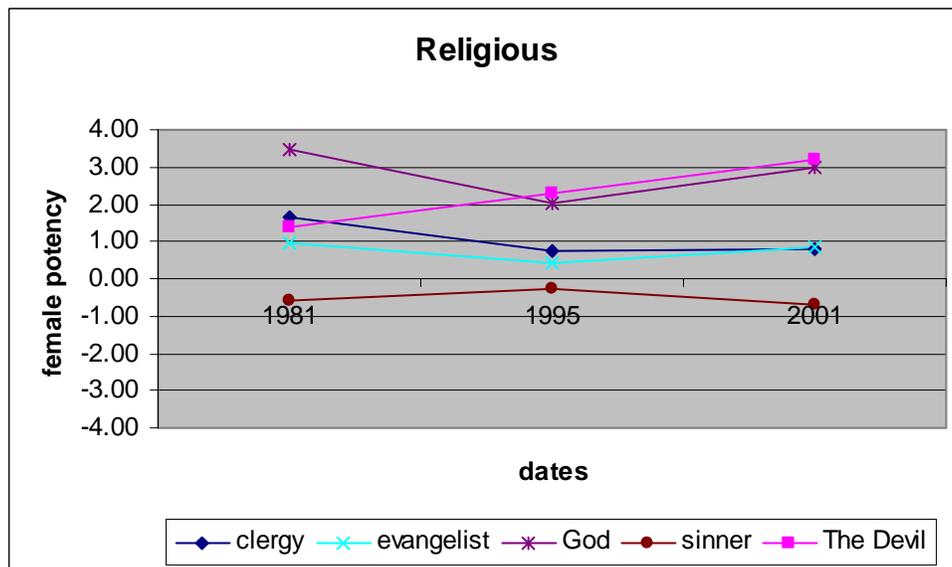
Figure 2.1b: Changes in Potency for Religious Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
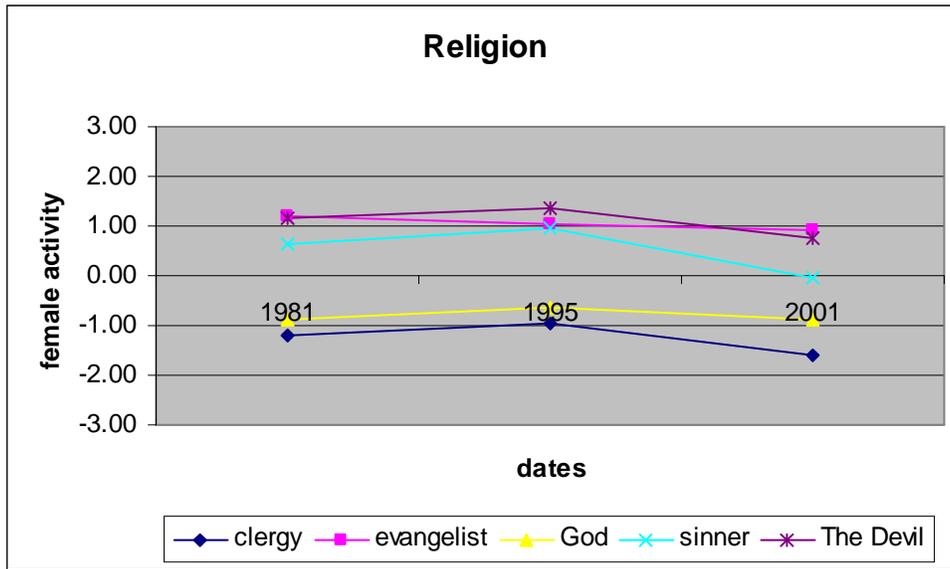
Figure 2.1c: Changes in Activity for Religious Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
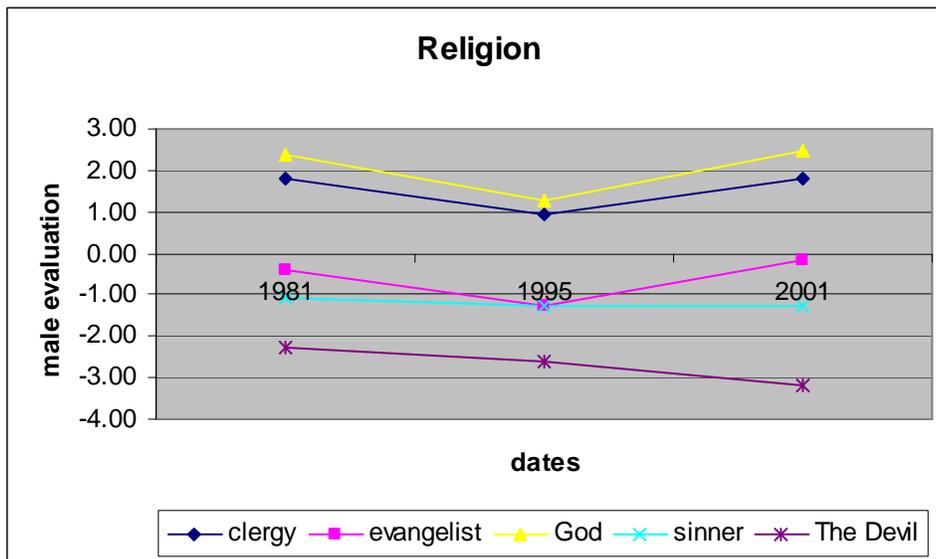
Figure 2.2a: Changes in Evaluation for Religious Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
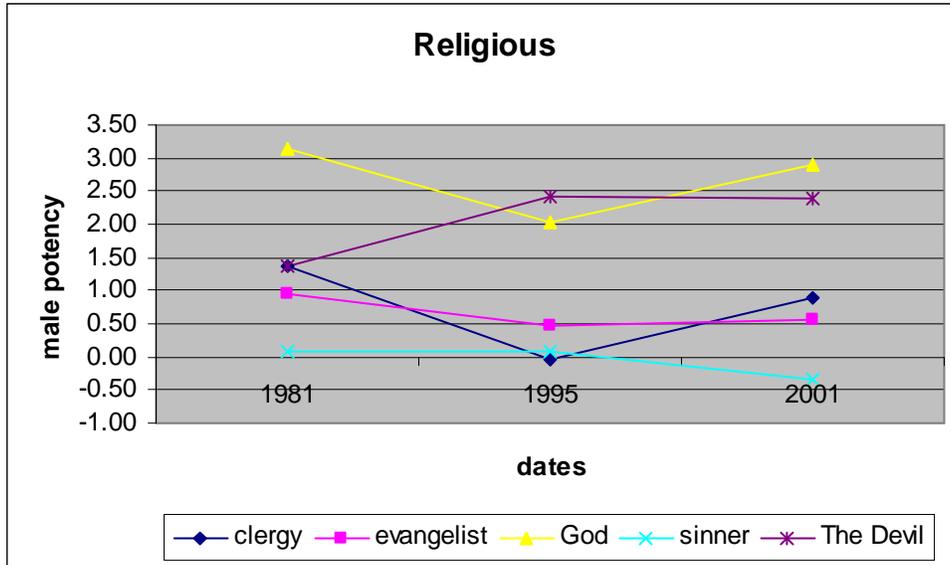
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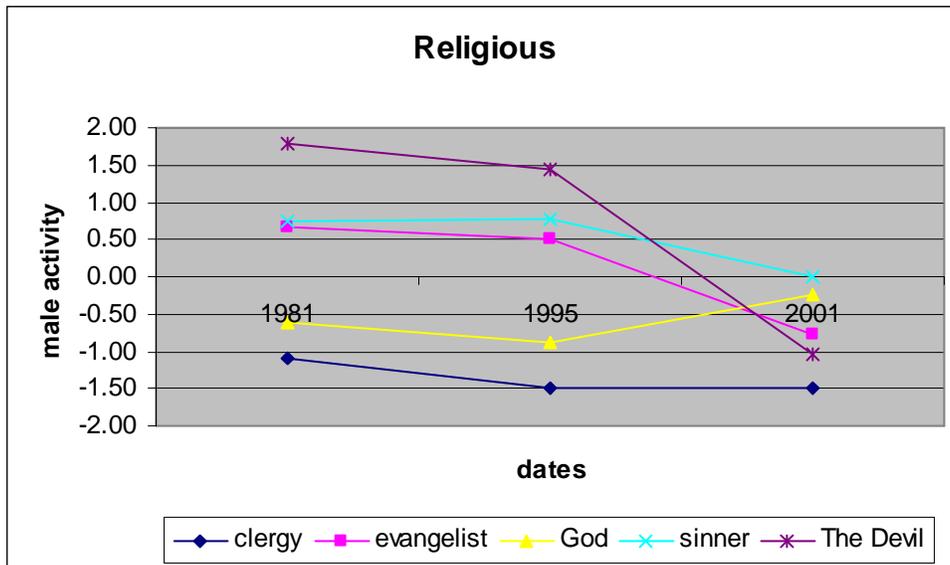
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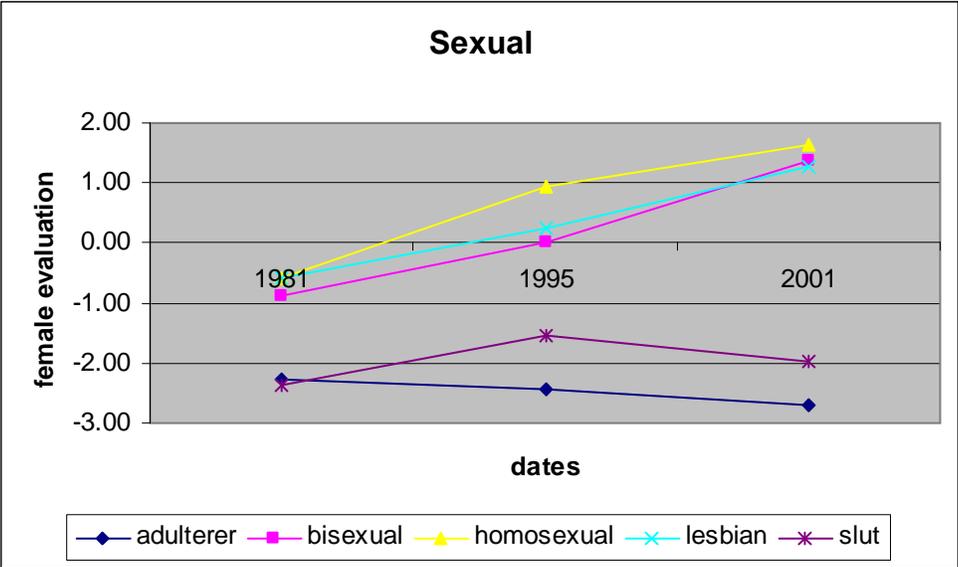
Figure 2.3a: Changes in Evaluation for Sexual Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
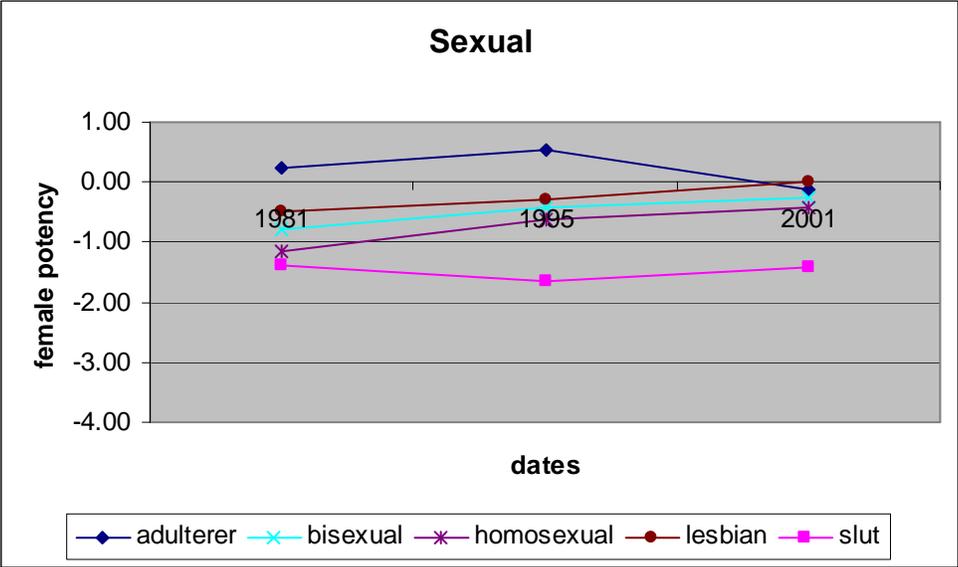
Figure 2.3b: Changes in Potency for Sexual Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
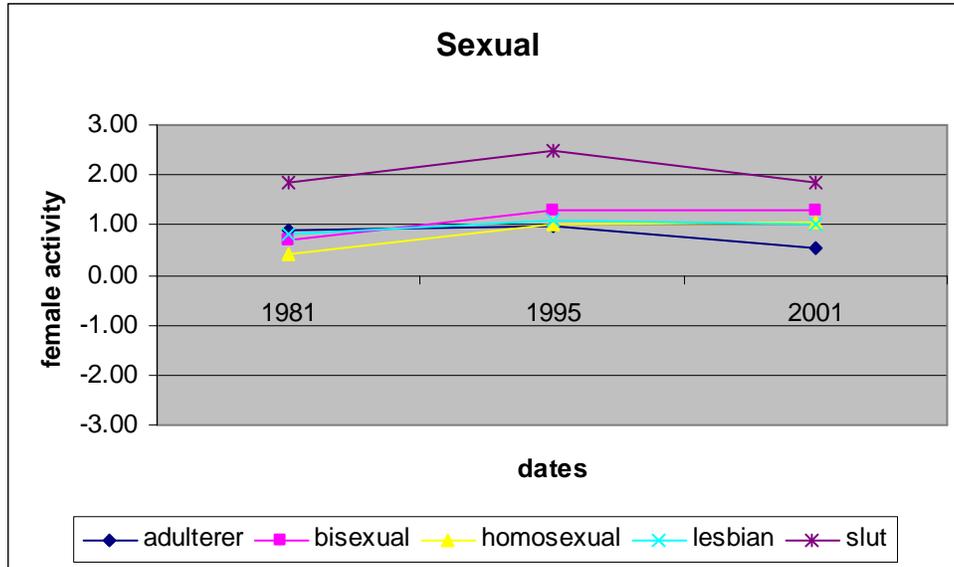
Figure 2.3c: Changes in Activity for Sexual Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
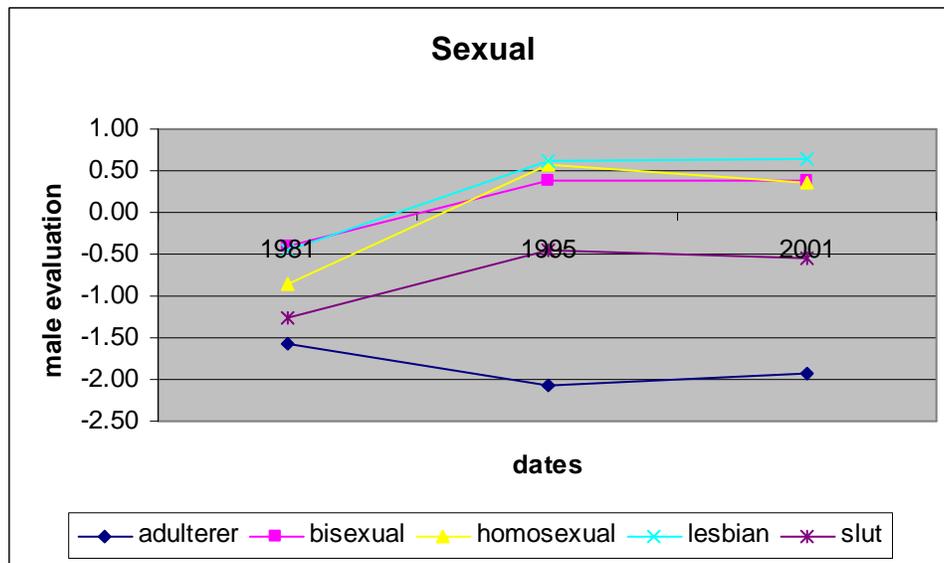
Figure 2.4a: Changes in Evaluation for Sexual Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
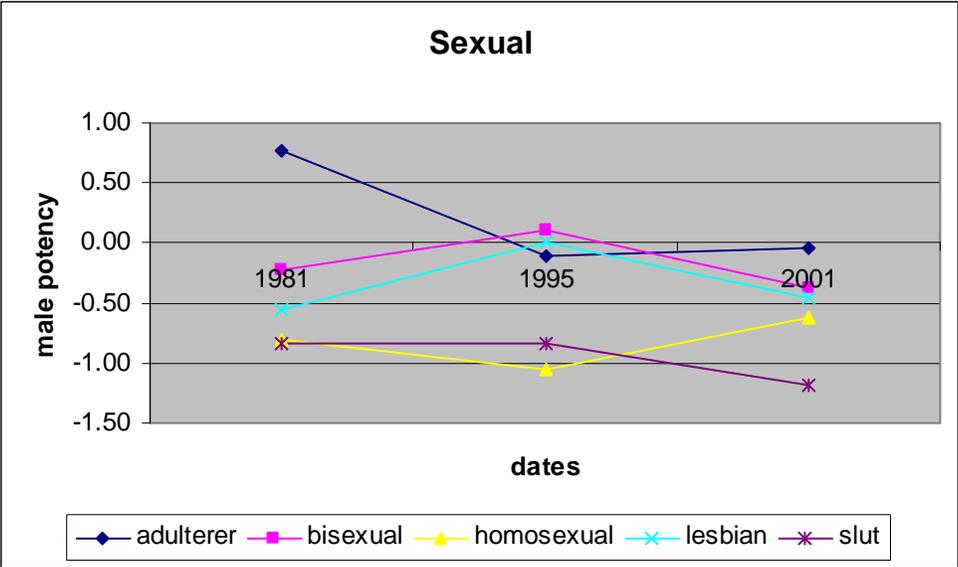
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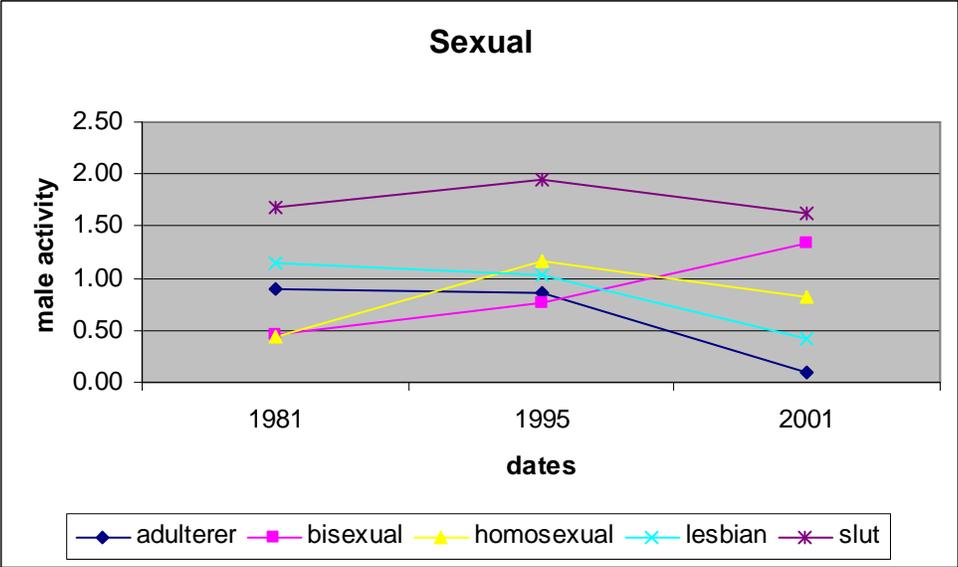
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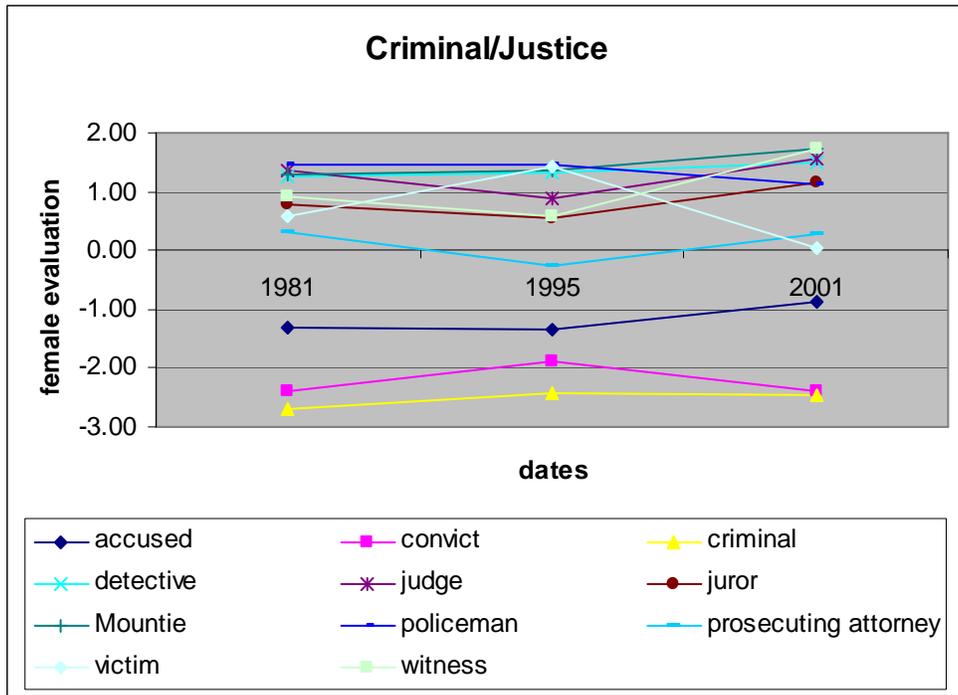
Figure 2.5a: Changes in Evaluation for Criminal Justice Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
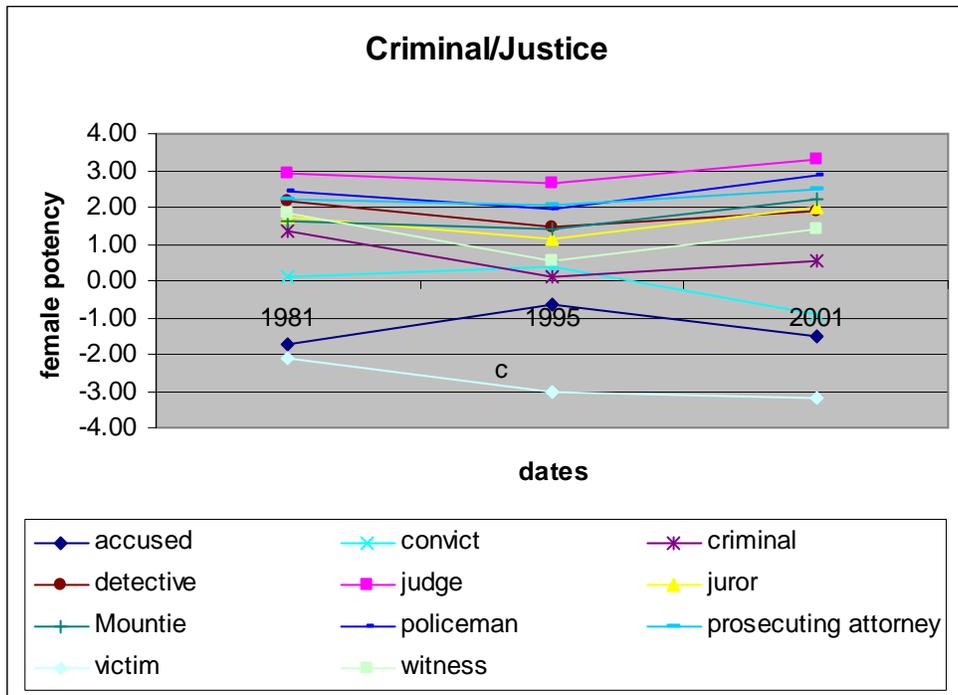
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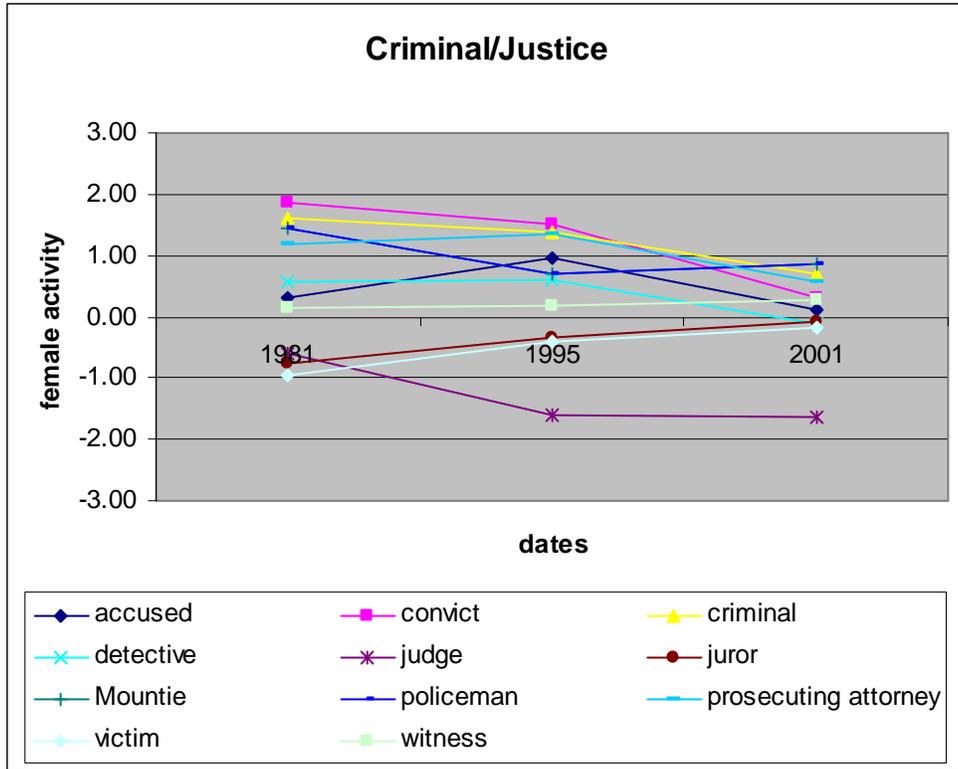
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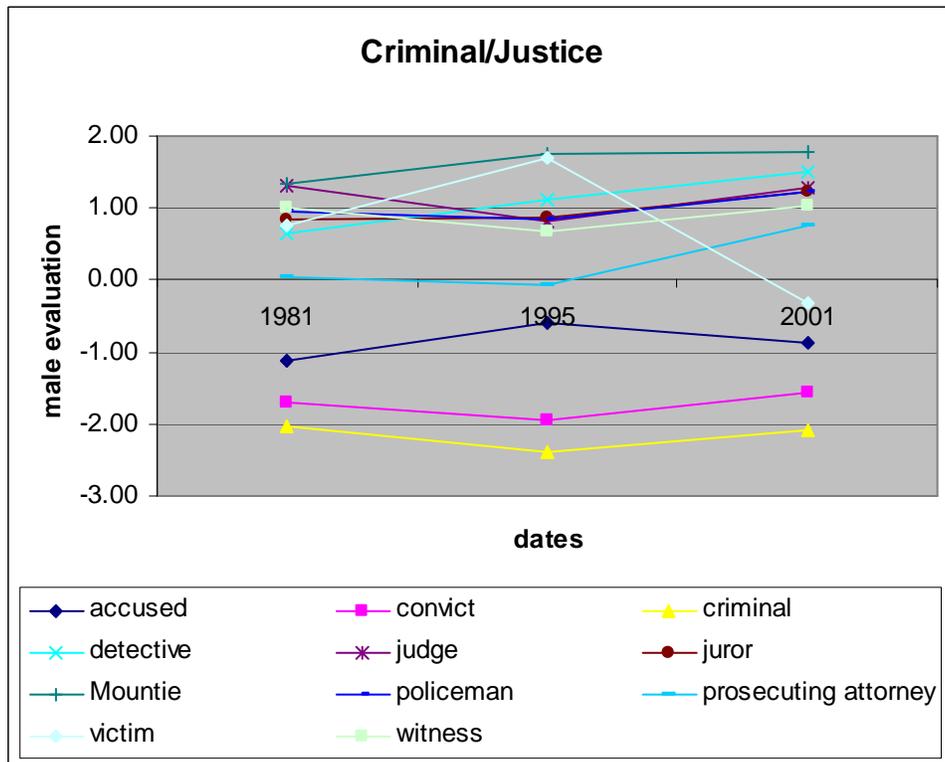
Figure 2.6a: Changes in Evaluation for Criminal Justice Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Male

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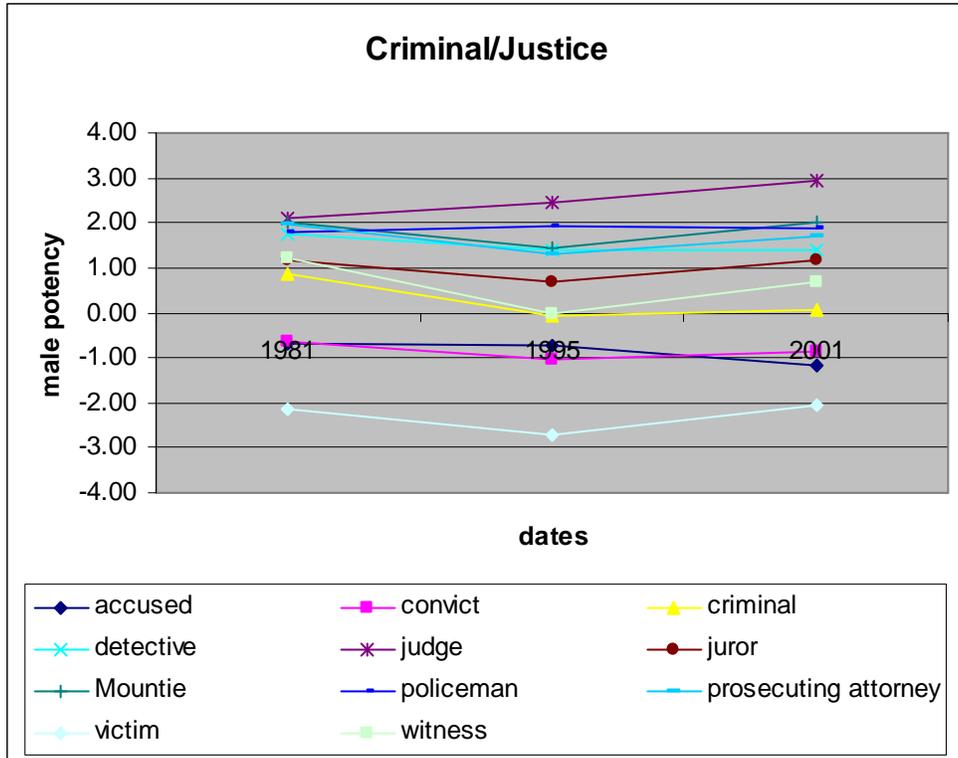
Figure 2.6b: Changes in Potency for Criminal Justice Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
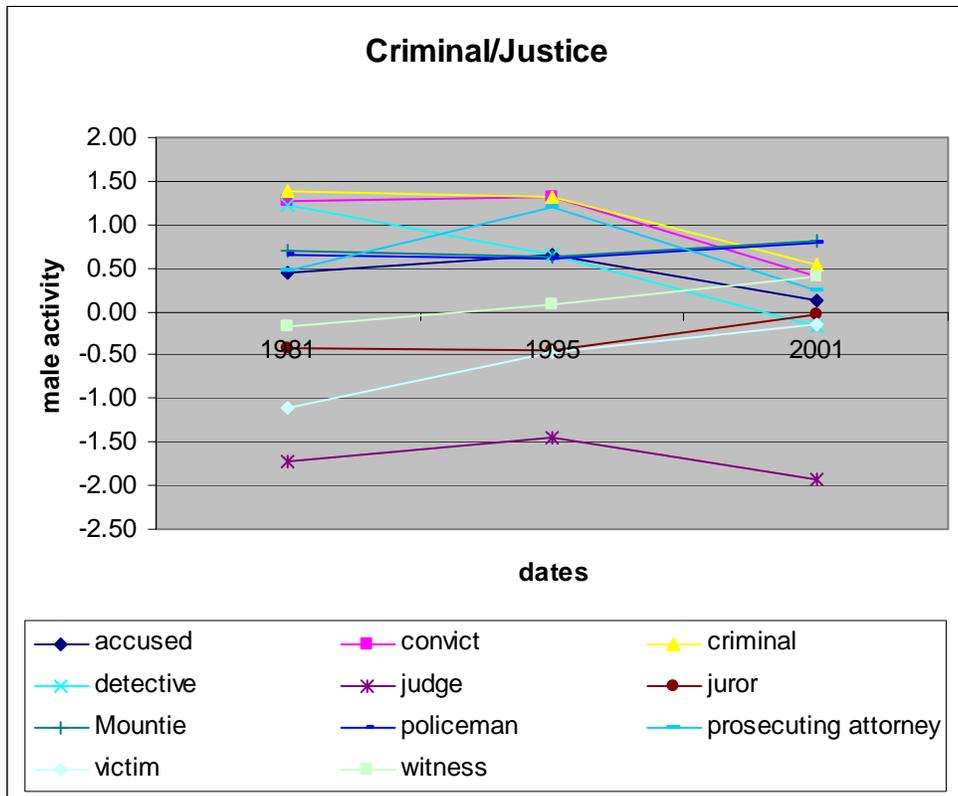
Figure 2.6c: Changes in Activity for Criminal Justice Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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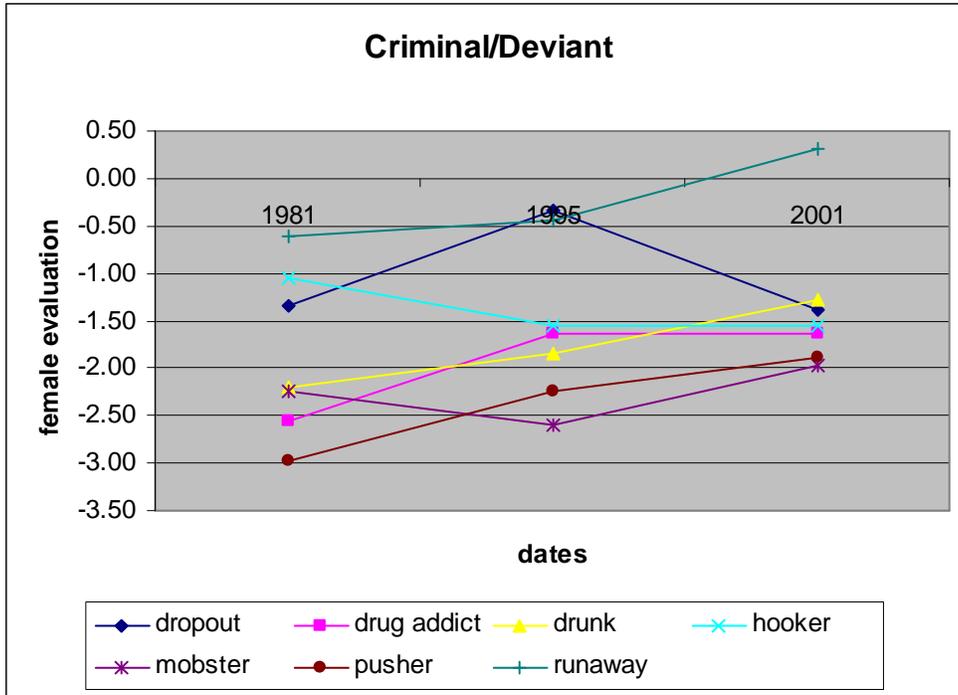
Figure 2.7a: Changes in Evaluation for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
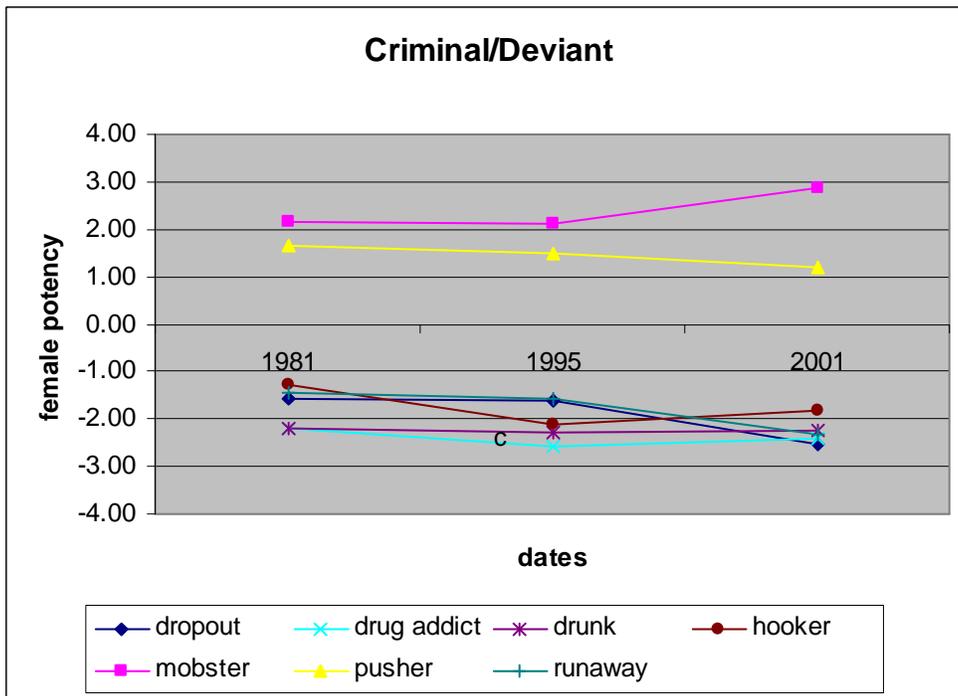
Figure 2.7b: Changes in Potency for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females

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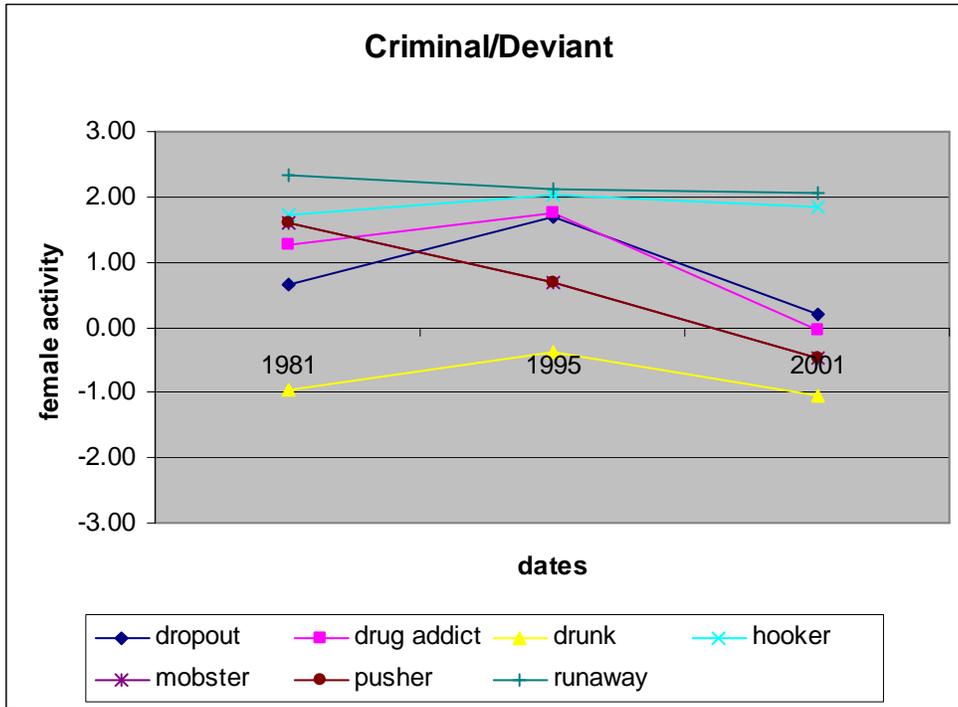
Figure 2.7c: Changes in Activity for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
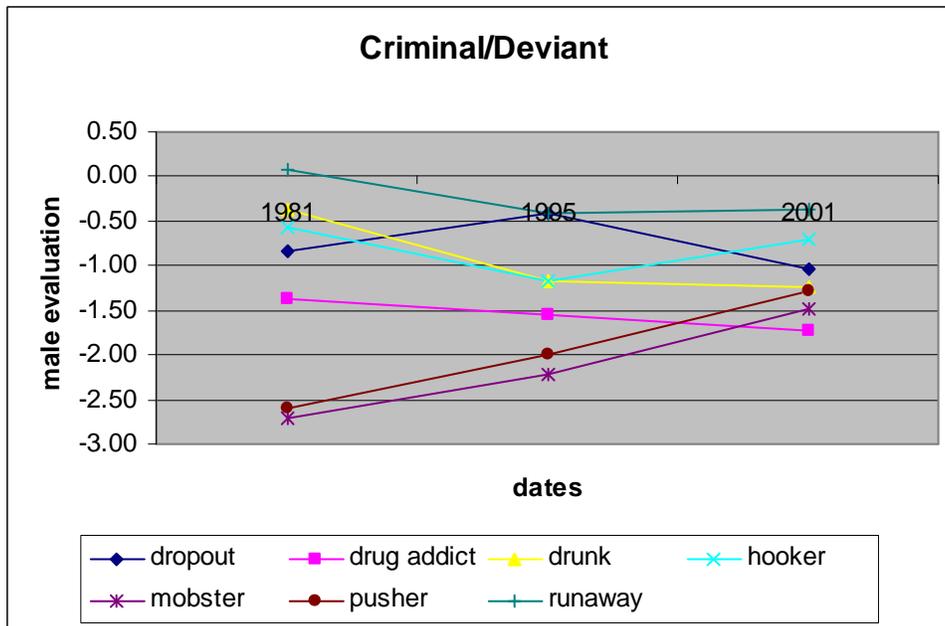
Figure 2.8a: Changes in Evaluation for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
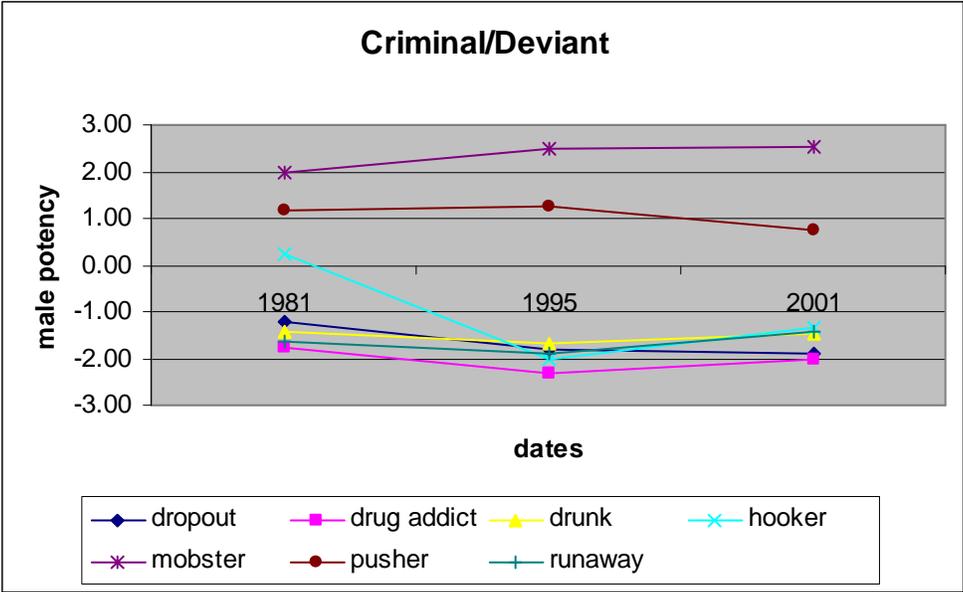
Figure 2.8b: Changes in Potency for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
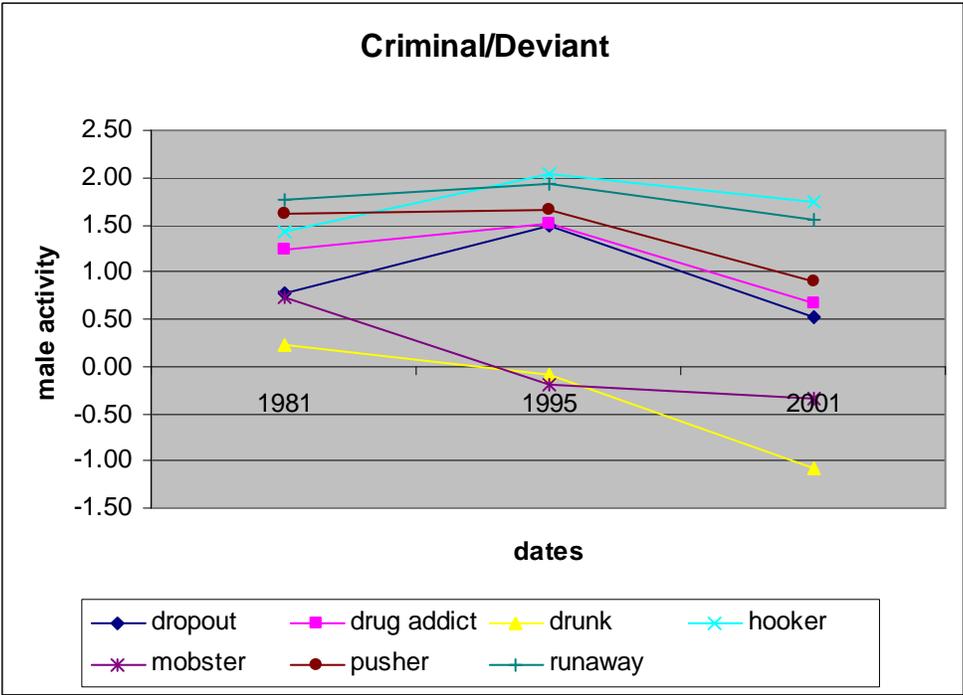
Figure 2.8c: Changes in Activity for Criminal/Deviant Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

Political

female evaluation

dates

- Liberal
- MP (Member of Parliament)
- MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)
- New Democrat
- PC (Progressive Conservative)
- premier
- prime minister
- senator
- The Queen
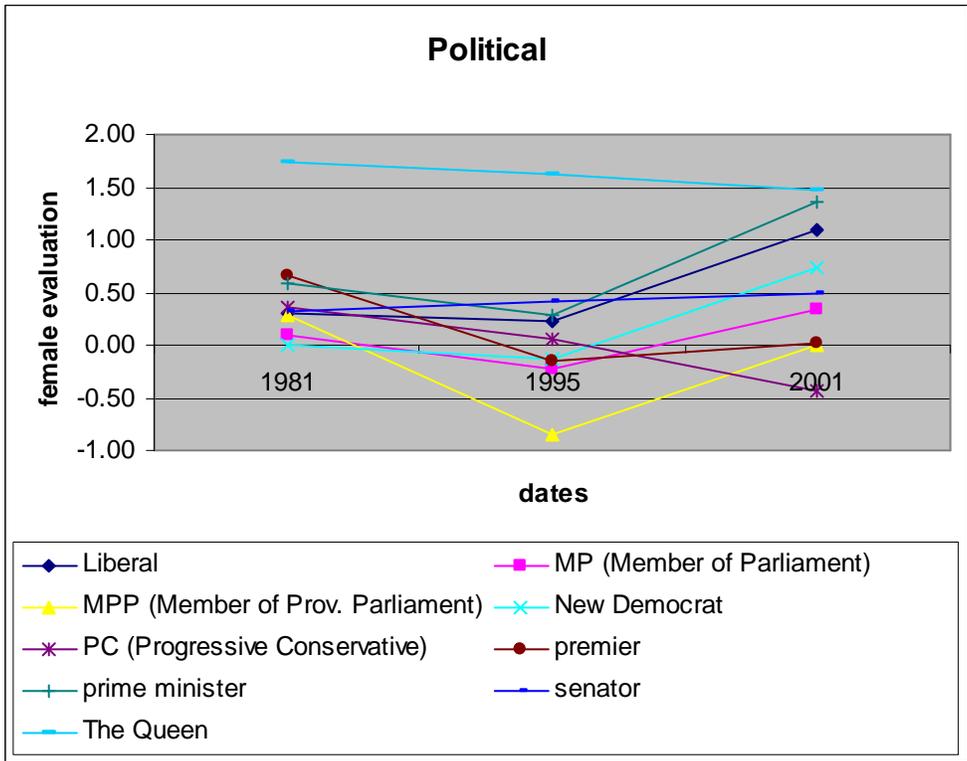
Figure 2.9a: Changes in Evaluation for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
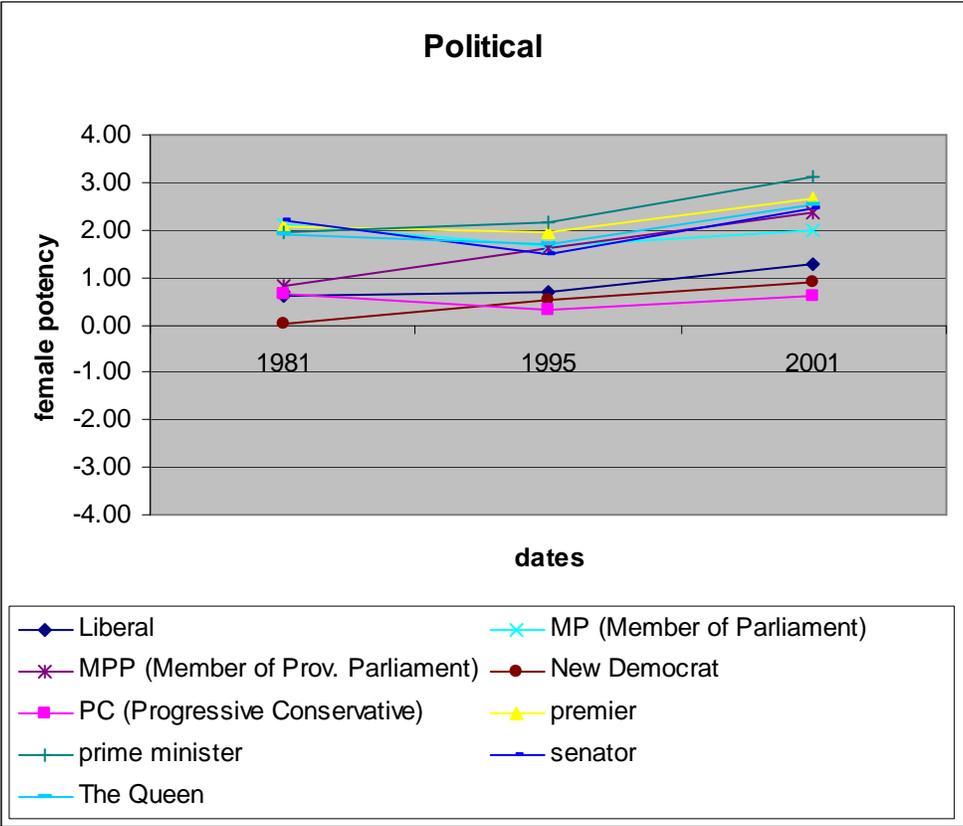
Figure 2.9b: Changes in Potency for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
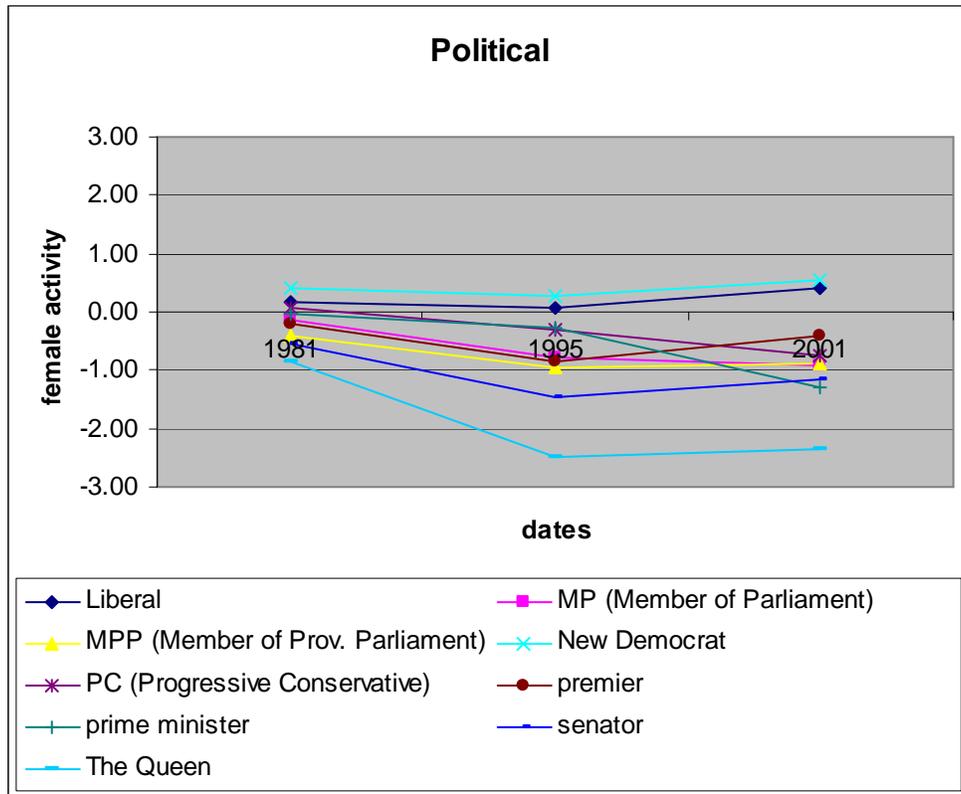
Figure 2.9c: Changes in Activity for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females

Political

male evaluation

- Liberal
- MP (Member of Parliament)
- MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)
- New Democrat
- PC (Progressive Conservative)
- premier
- prime minister
- senator
- The Queen
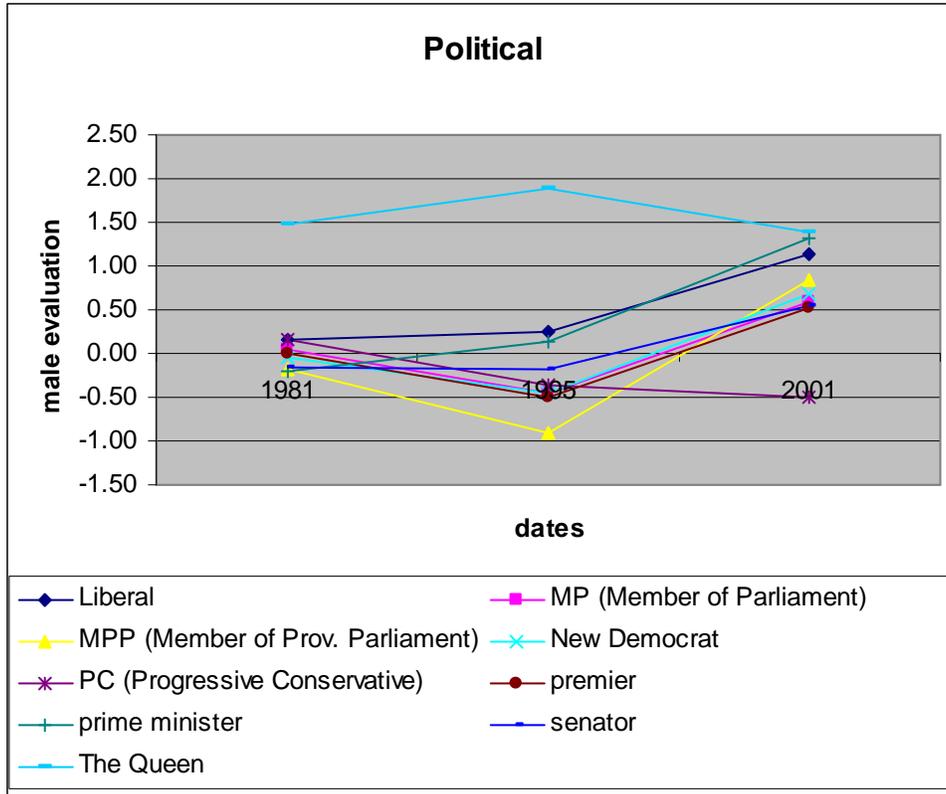
Figure 2.10a: Changes in Evaluation for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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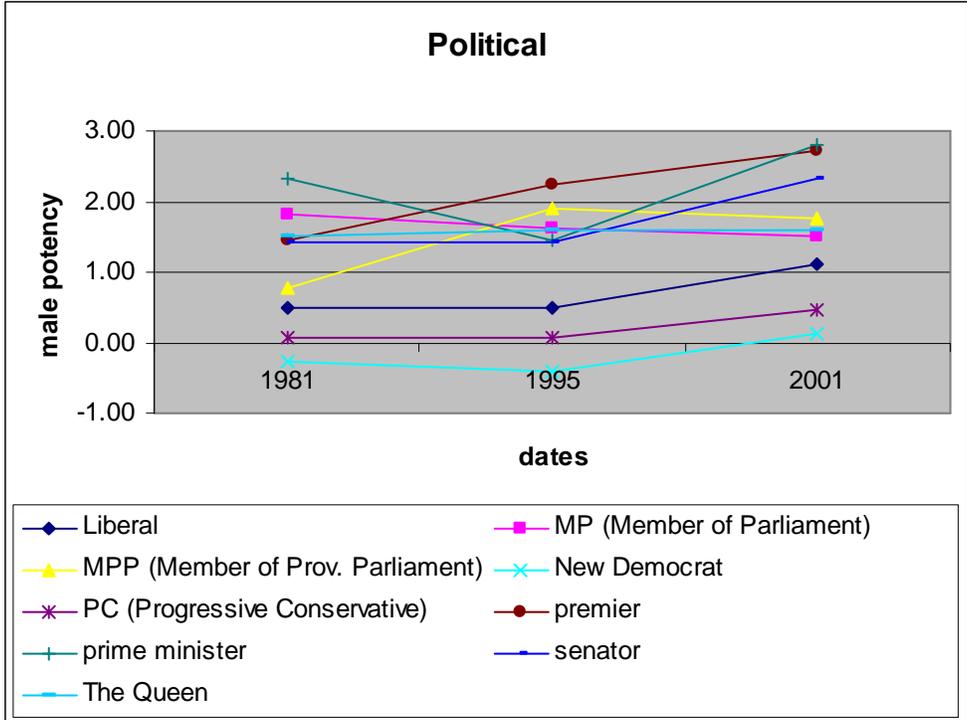
Figure 2.10b: Changes in Potency for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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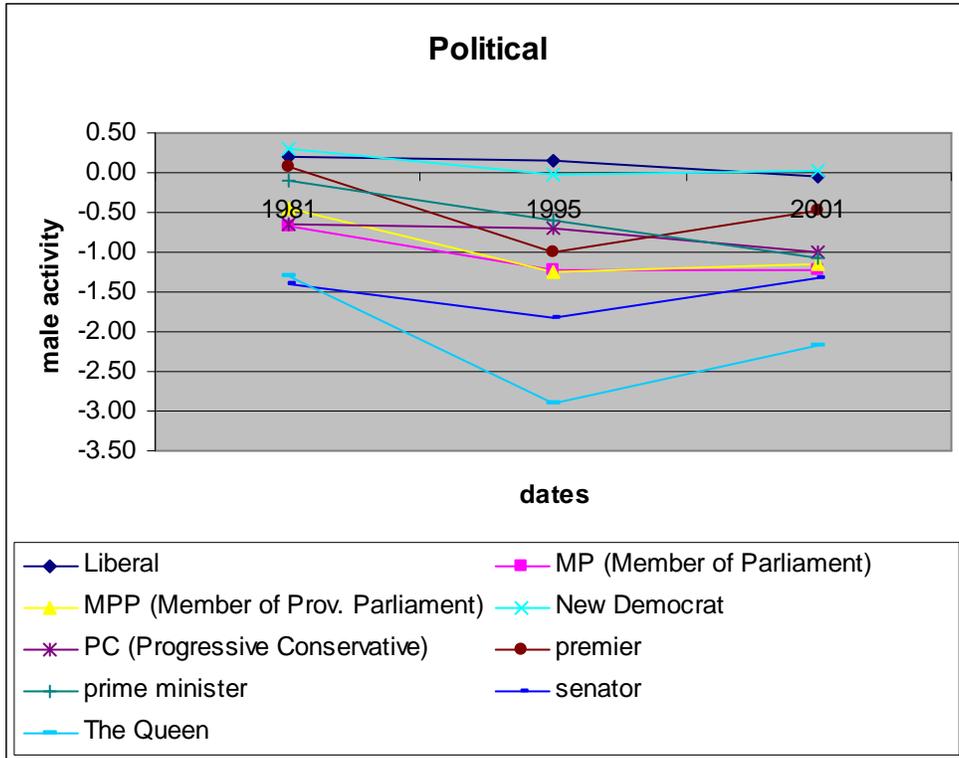
Political

Figure 2.10c: Changes in Activity for Political Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
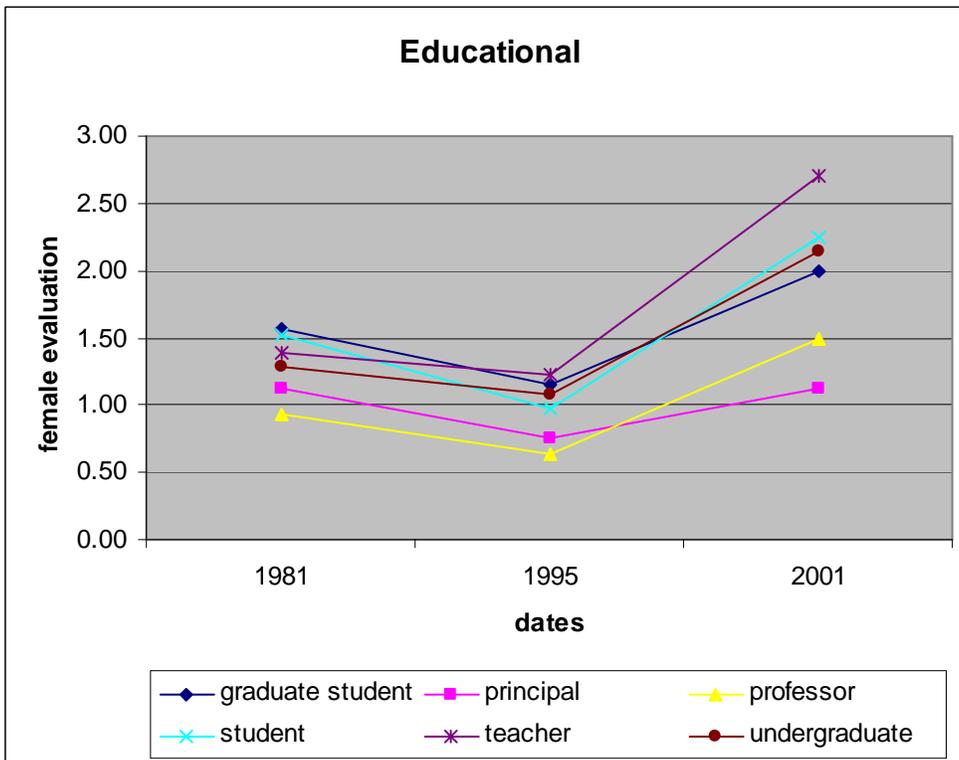
Educational

Figure 2.11a: Changes in Evaluation for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
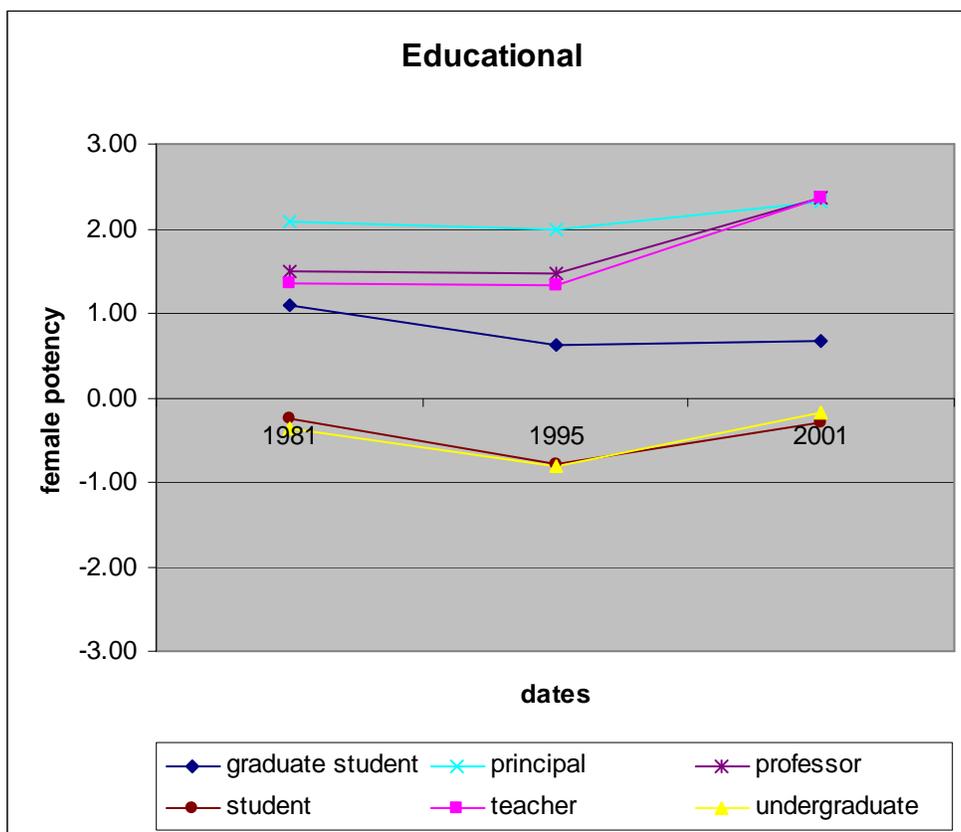
Figure 2.11b: Changes in Potency for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
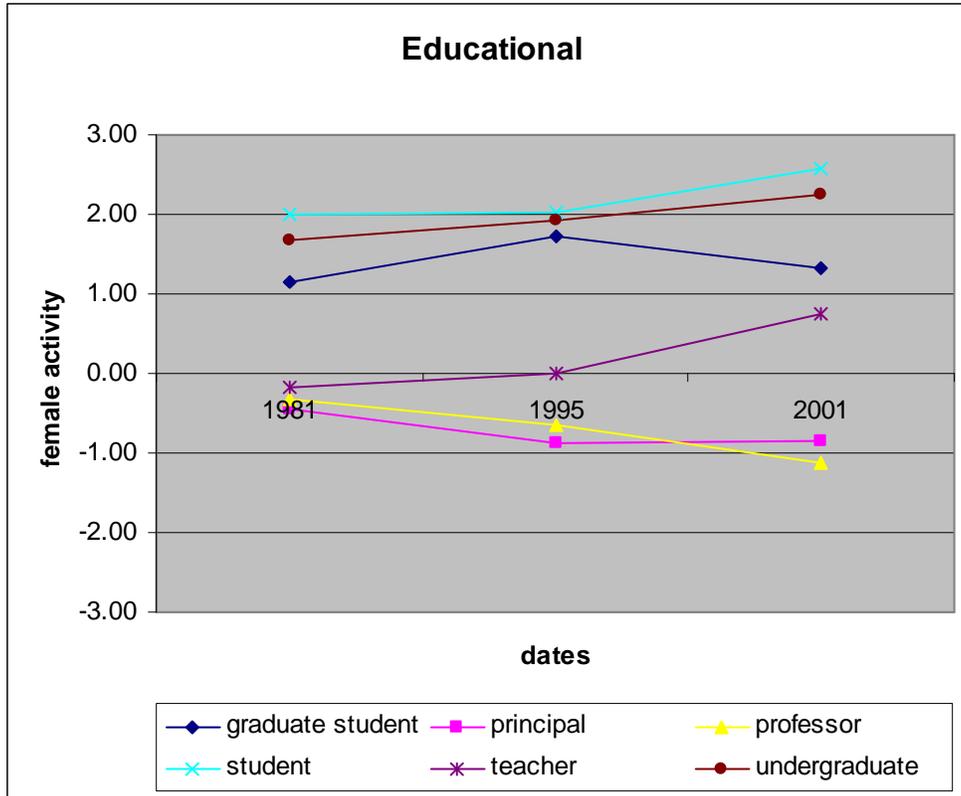
Figure 2.11c: Changes in Activity for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
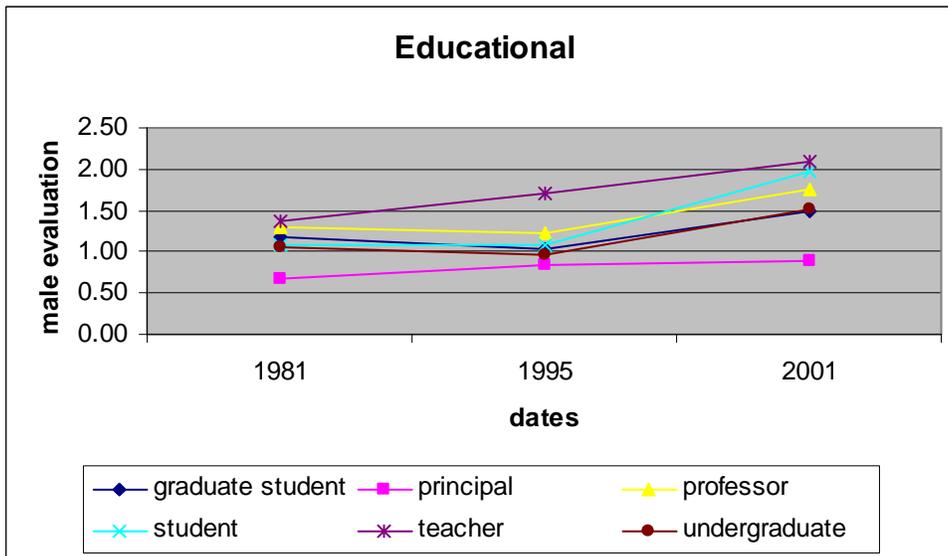
Figure 2.12a: Changes in Evaluation for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
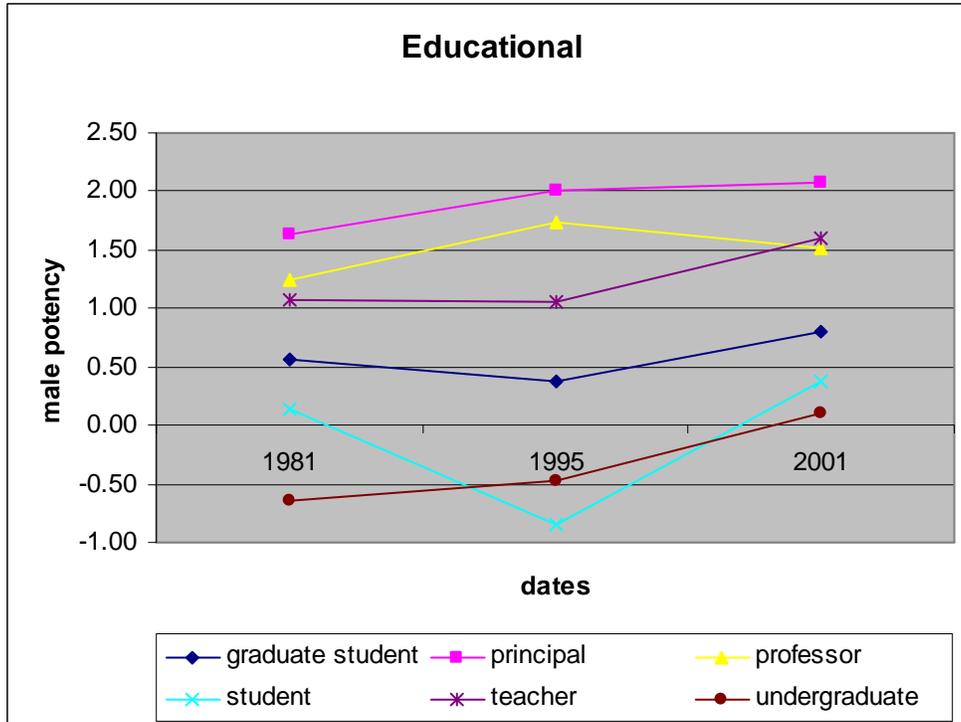
Figure 2.12b: Changes in Potency for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
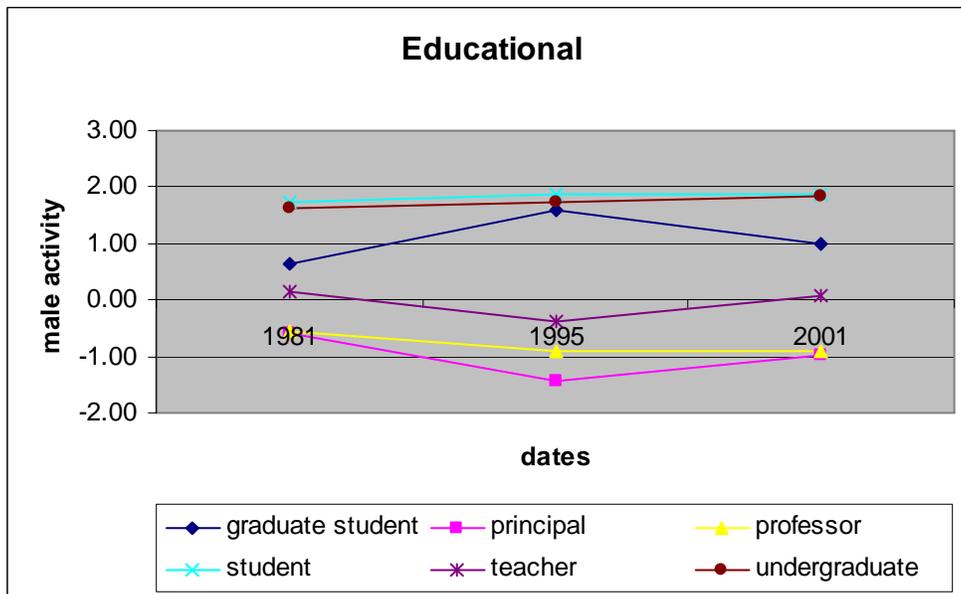
Figure 2.12c: Changes in Activity for Education Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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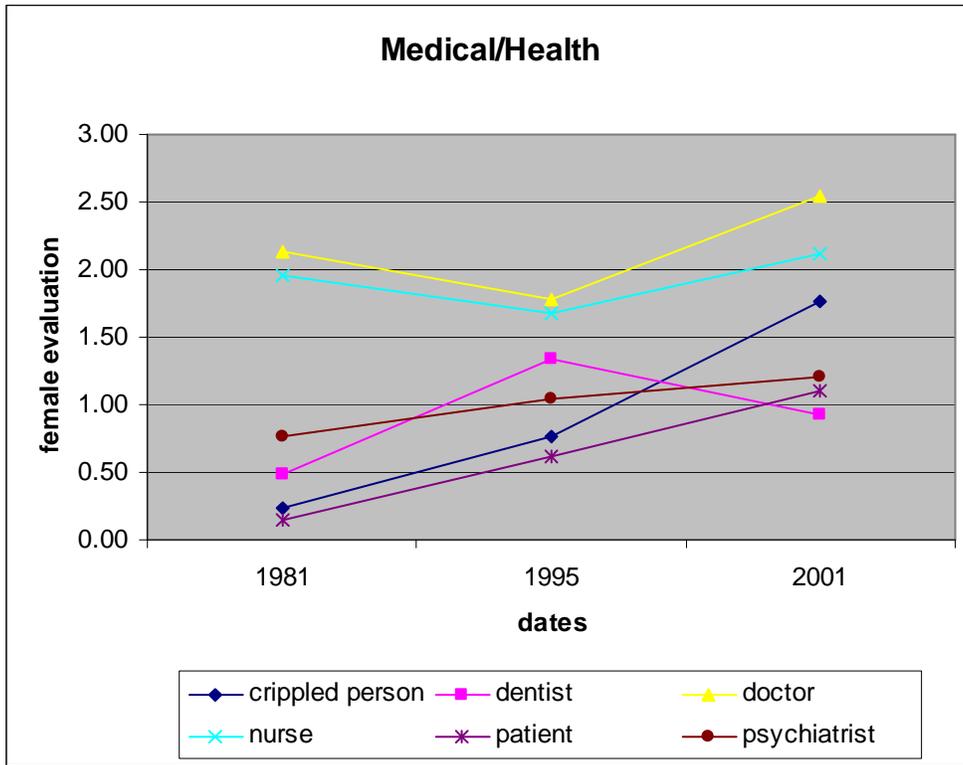
Figure 2.13a: Changes in Evaluation for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Female
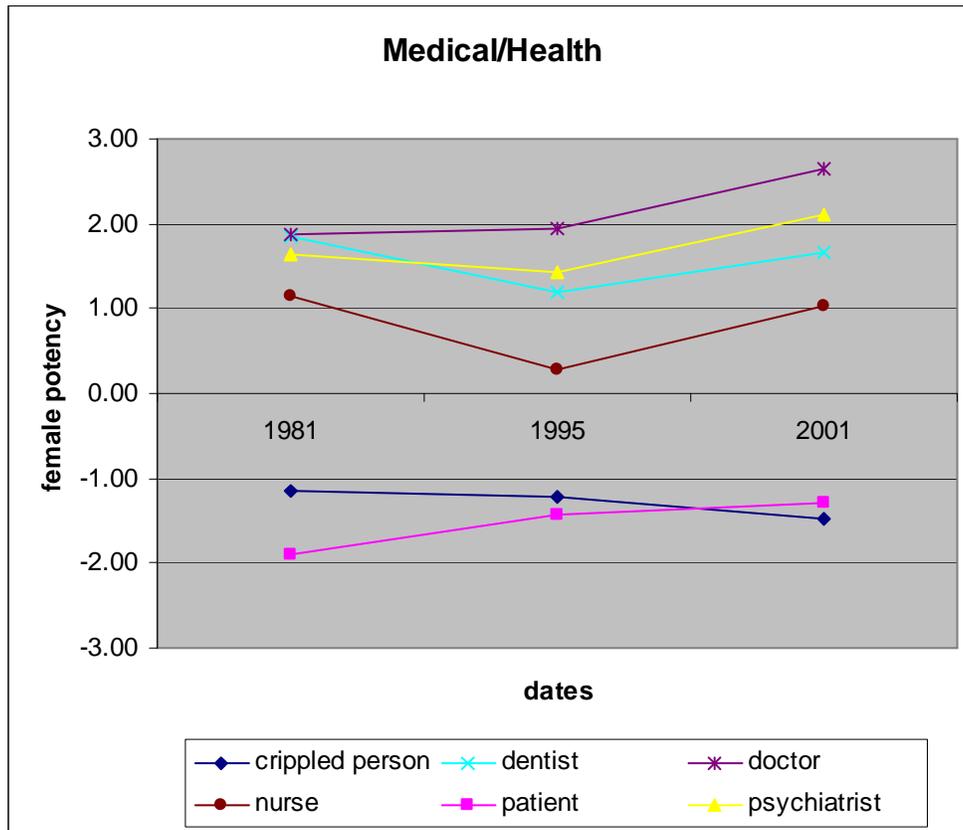
Figure 2.13b: Changes in Potency for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
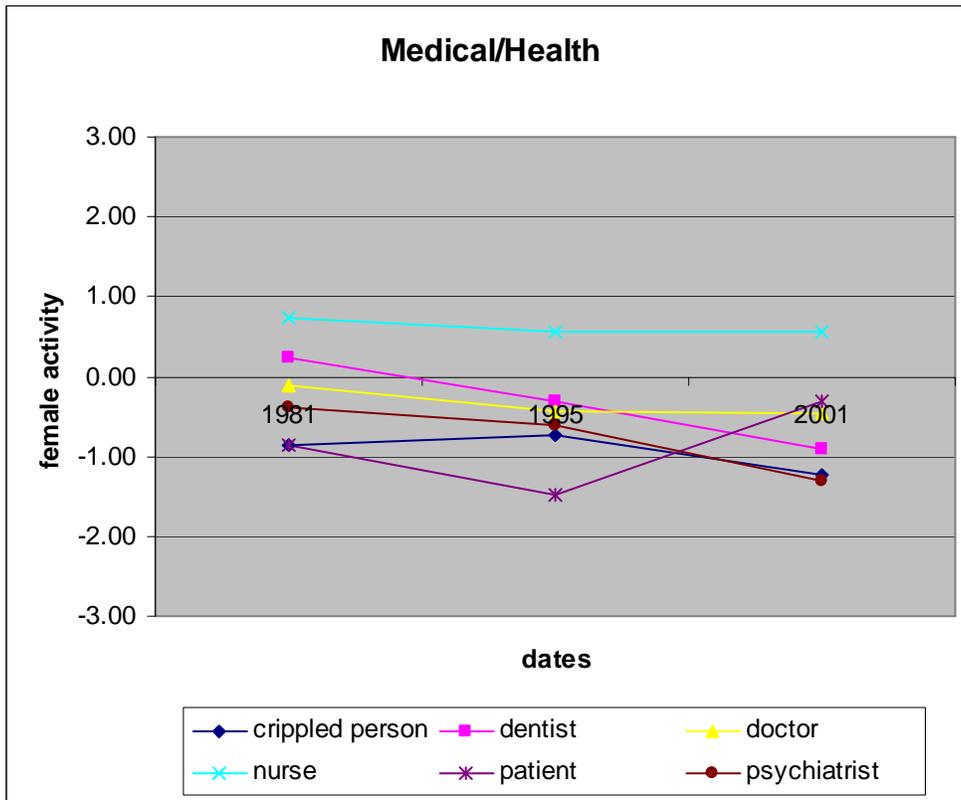
Figure 2.13c: Changes in Activity for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
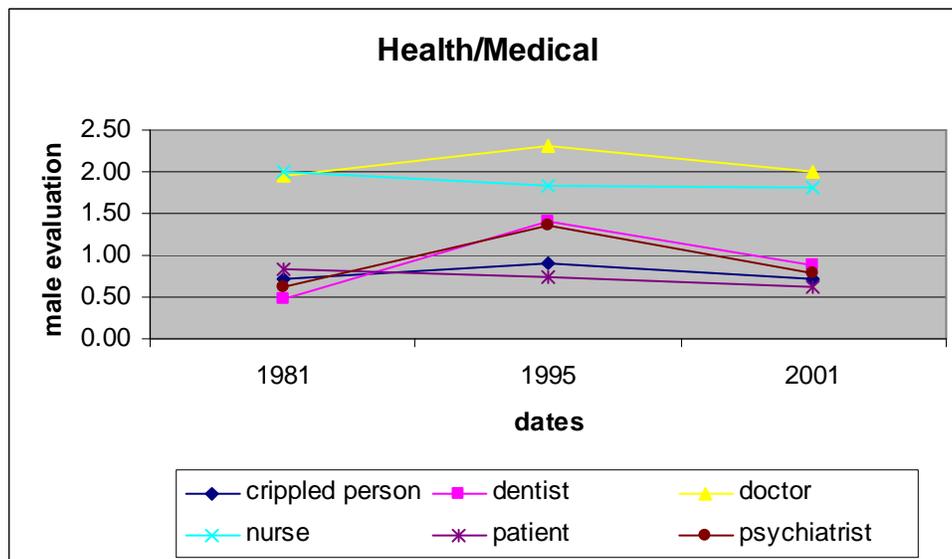
Figure 2.14a: Changes in Evaluation for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
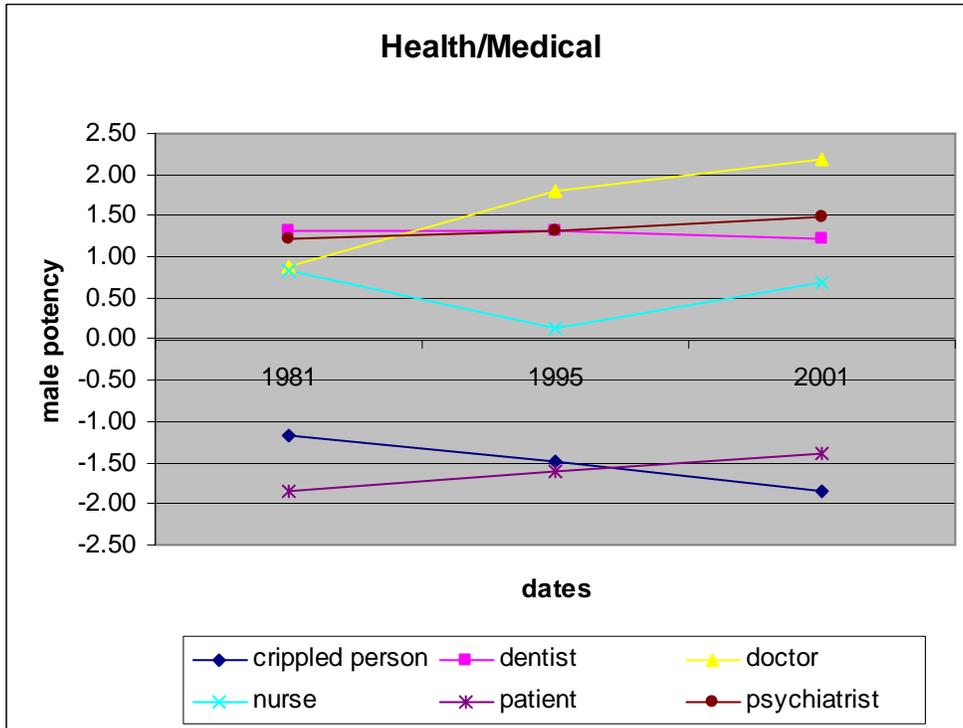
Figure 2.14b: Changes in Potency for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
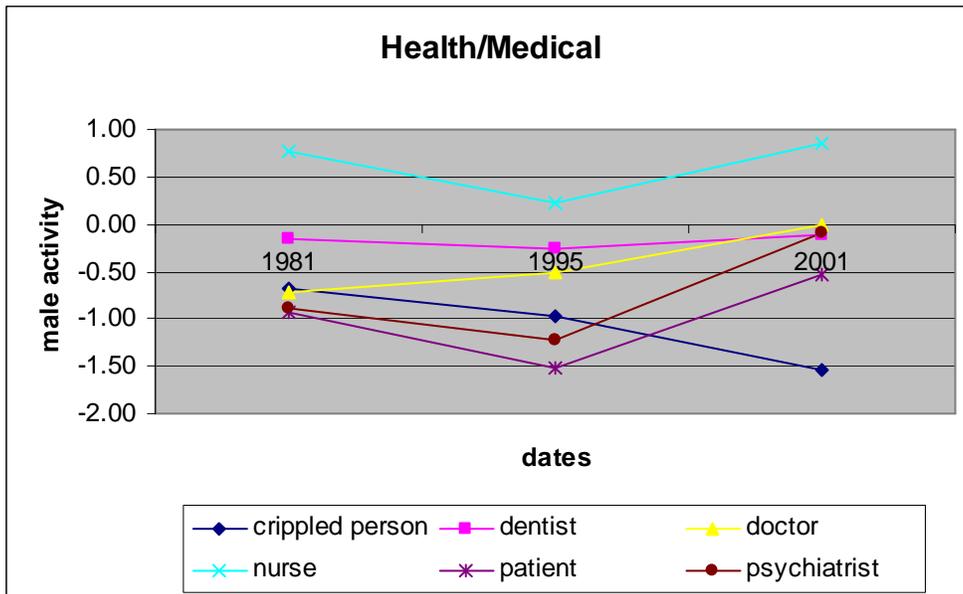
Figure 2.14c: Changes in Activity for Medical/Health Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
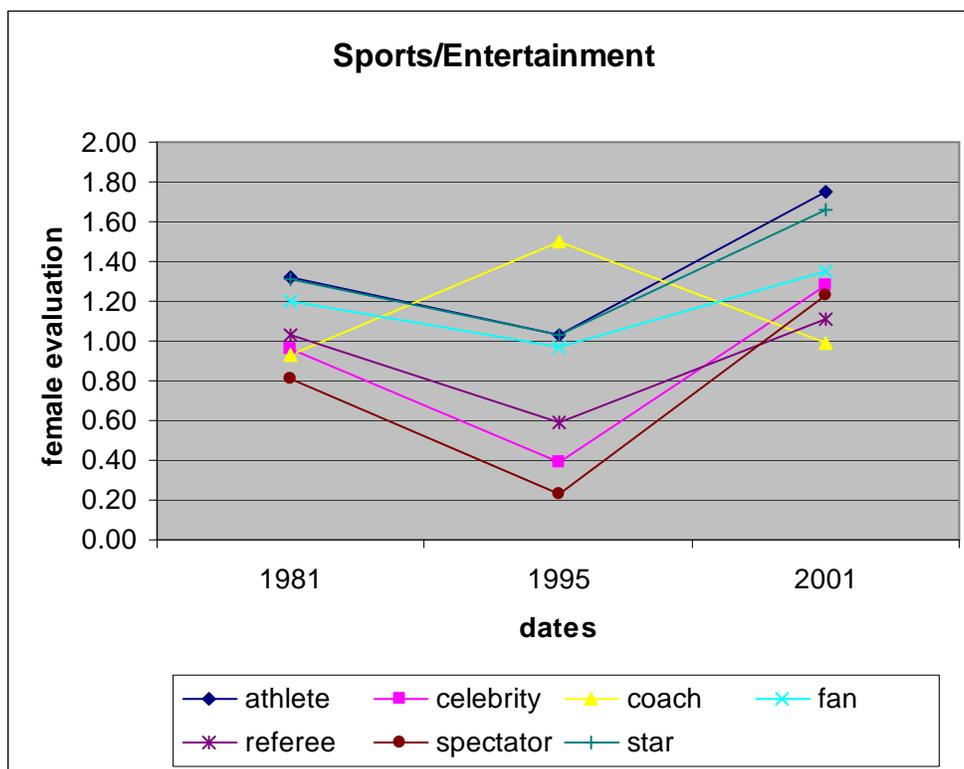
Figure 2.15a: Changes in Evaluation for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
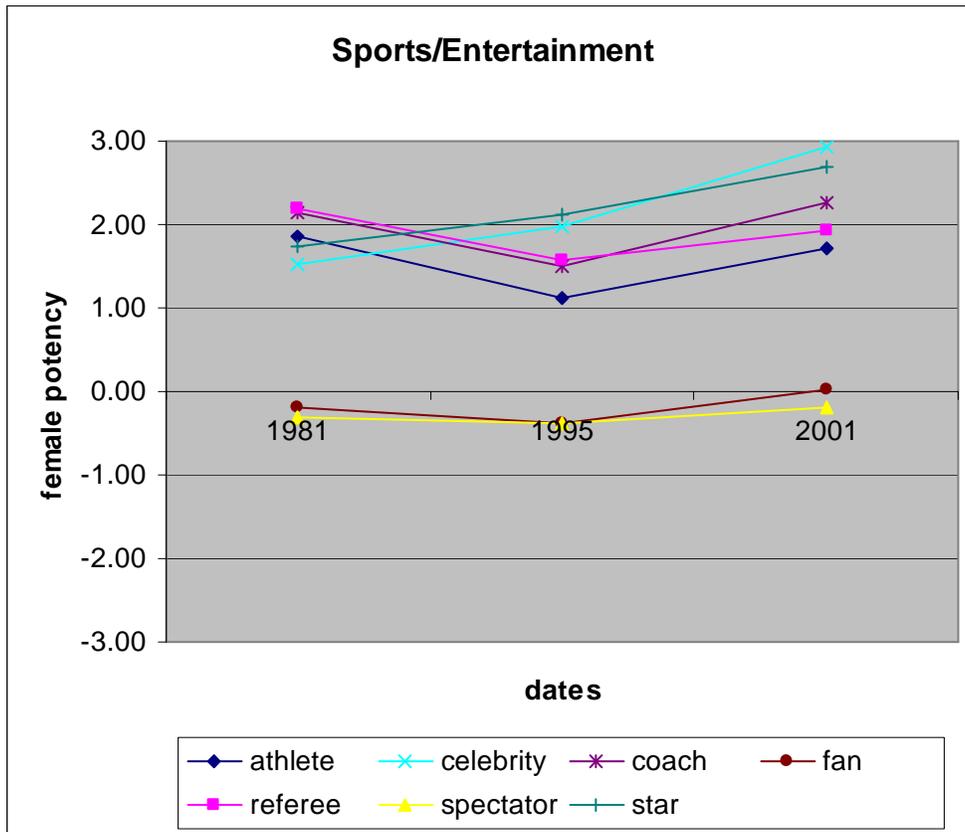
Figure 2.15b: Changes in Potency for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
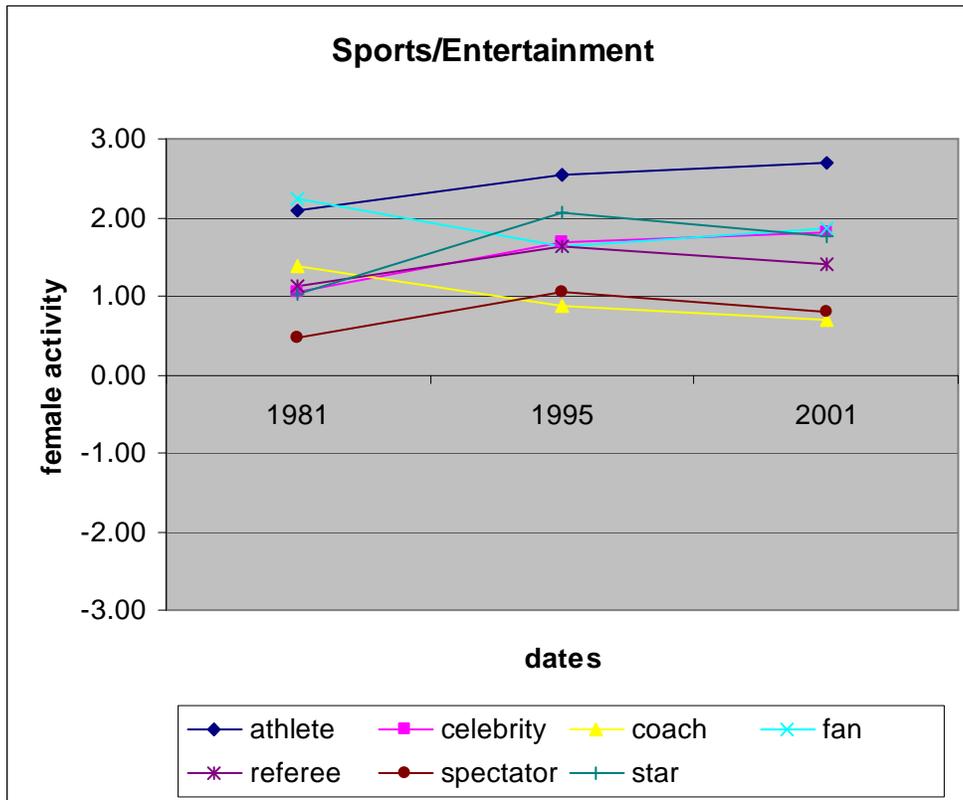
Figure 2.15c: Changes in Activity for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
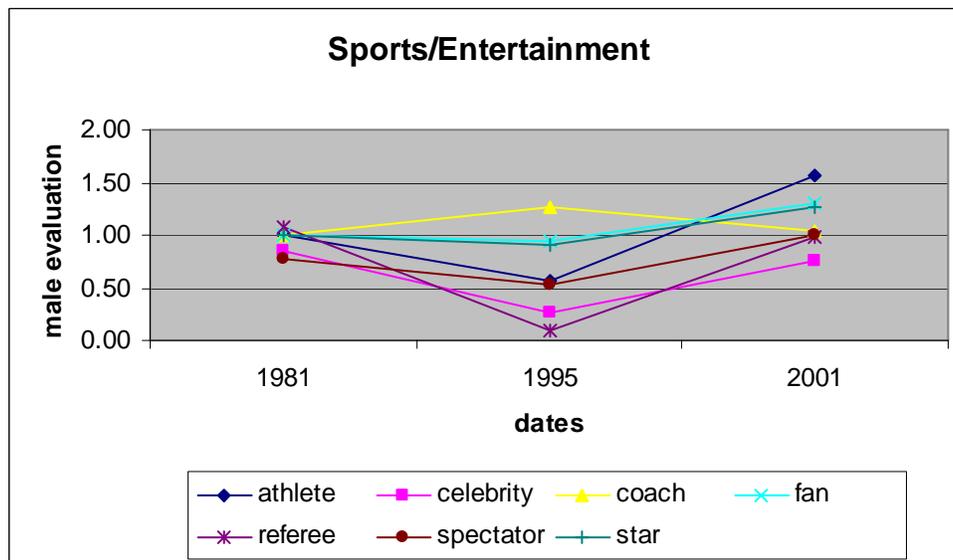
Figure 2.16a: Changes in Evaluation for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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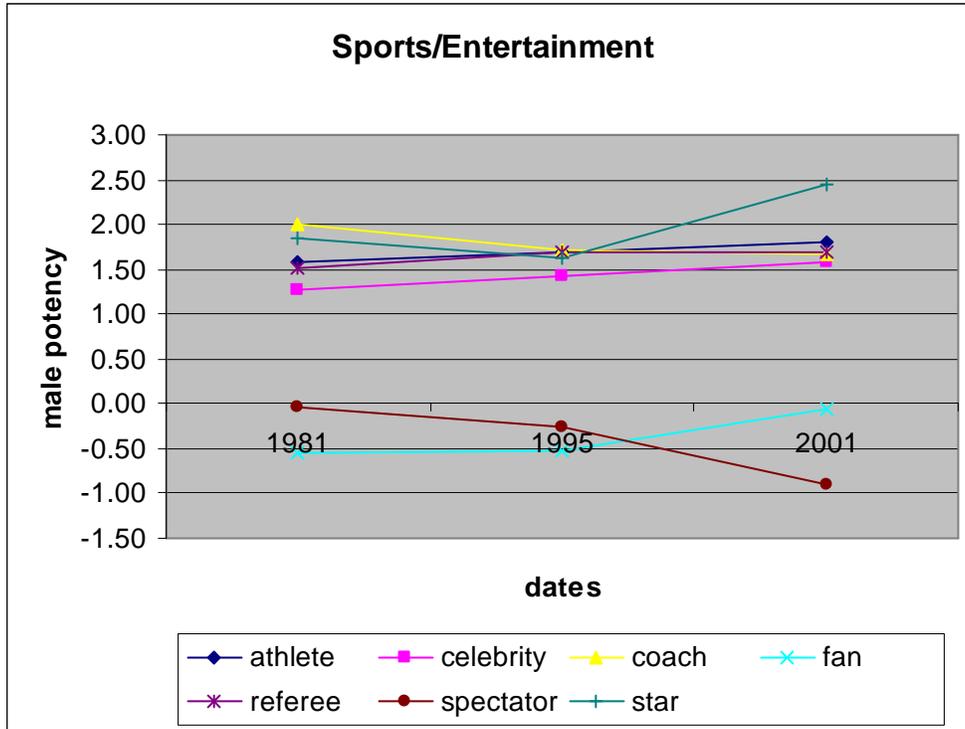
Figure 2.16b: Changes in Potency for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
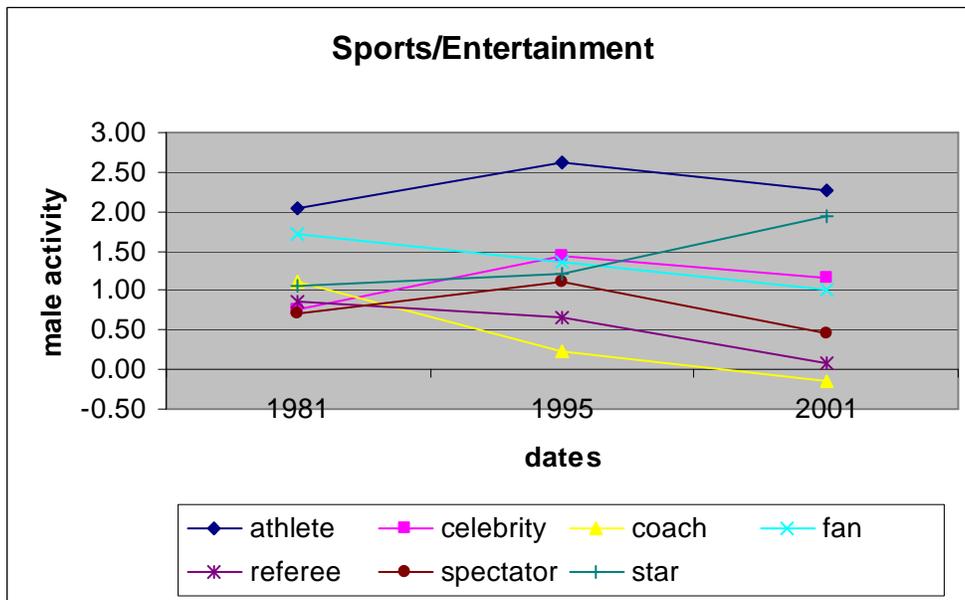
Figure 2.16c: Changes in Activity for Sports/Entertain. Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
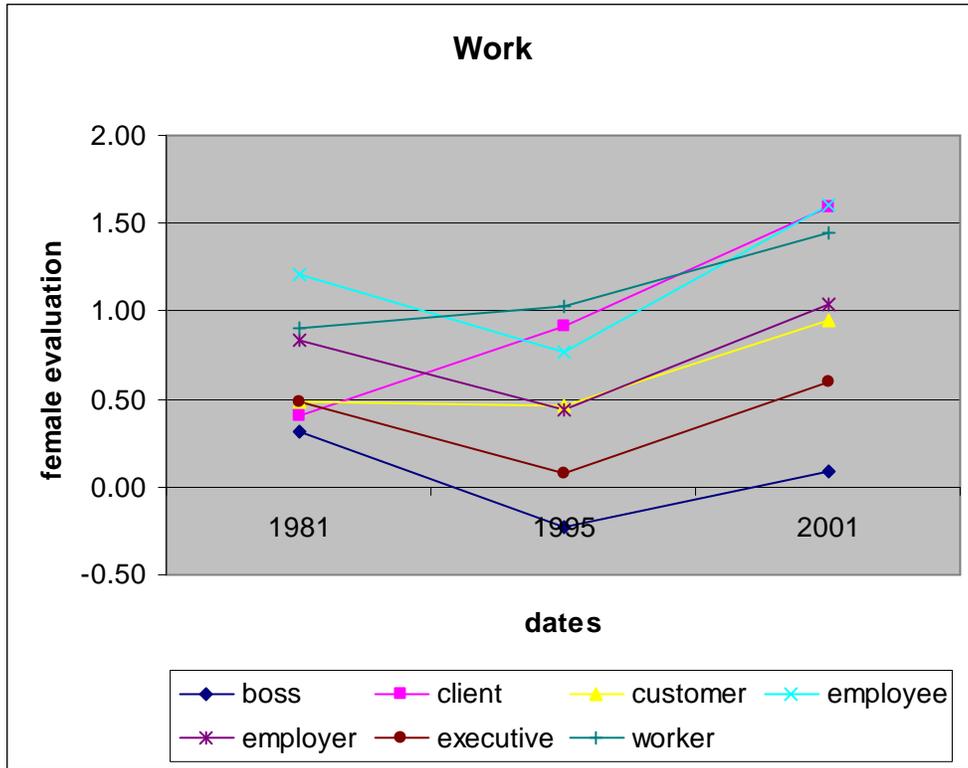
Figure 2.17a: Changes in Evaluation for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
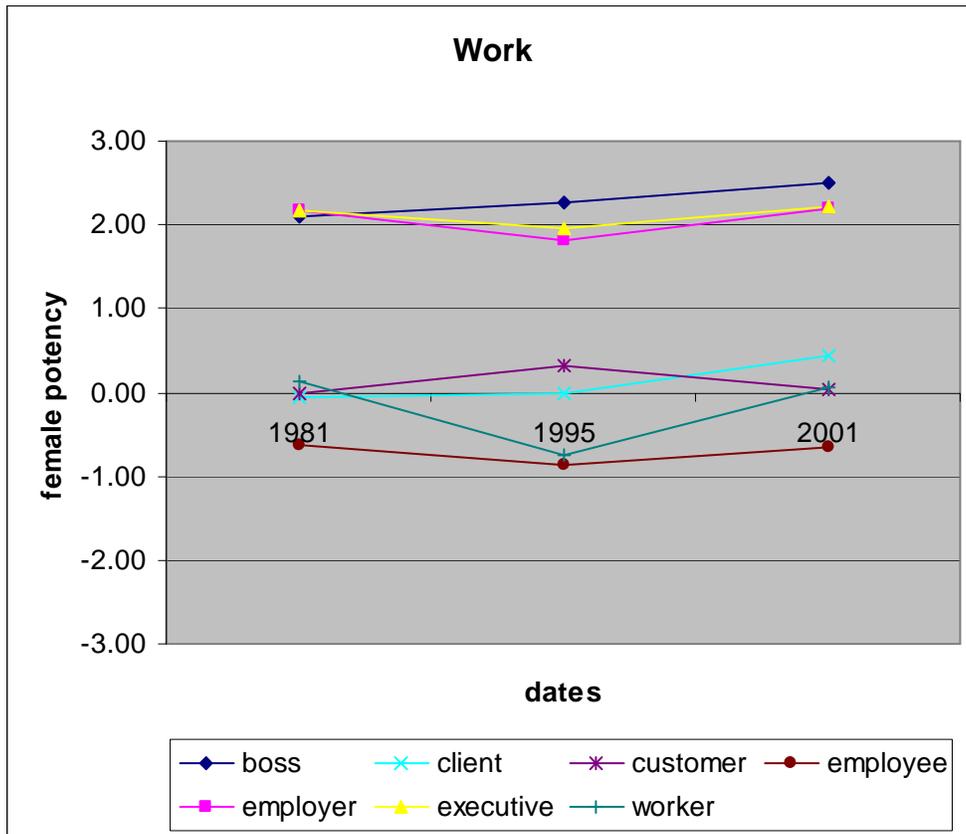
Figure 2.17b: Changes in Potency for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
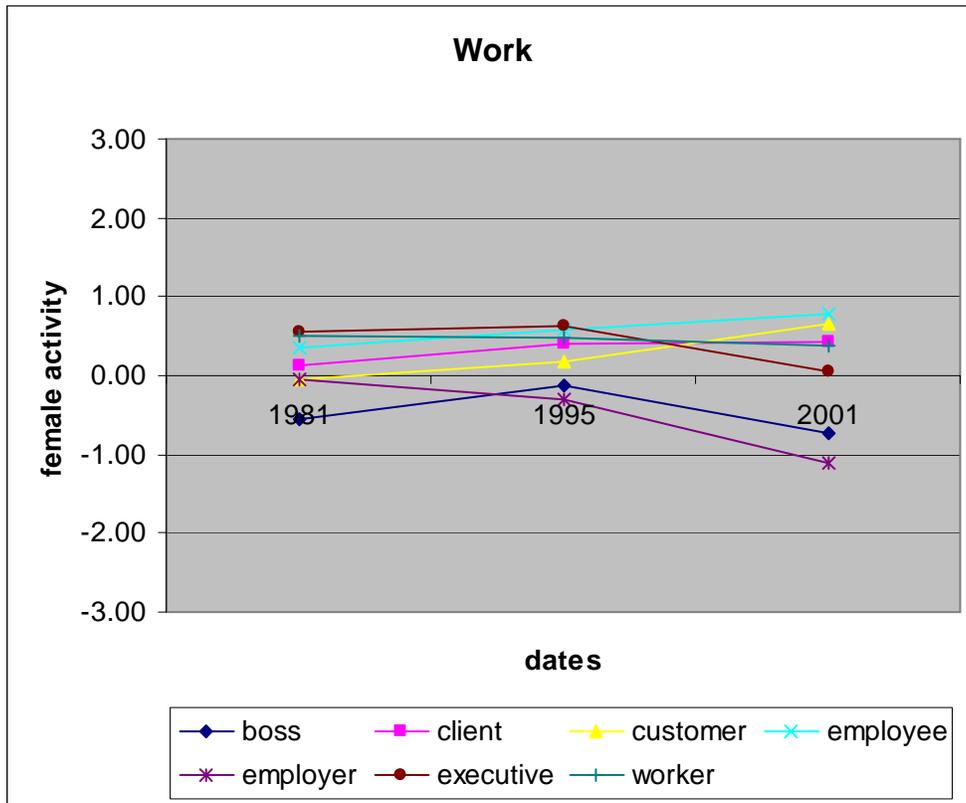
Figure 2.17c: Changes in Activity for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
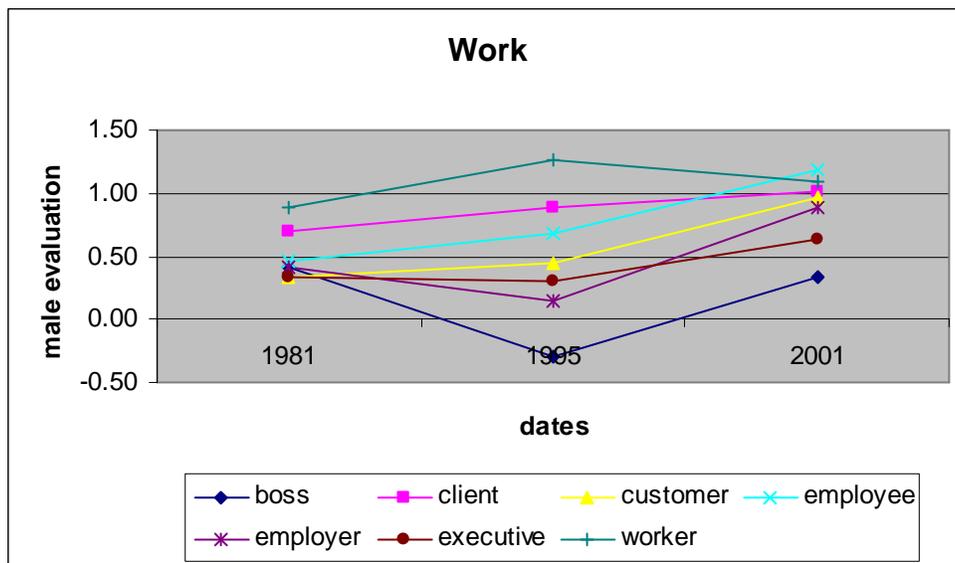
Figure 2.18a: Changes in Evaluation for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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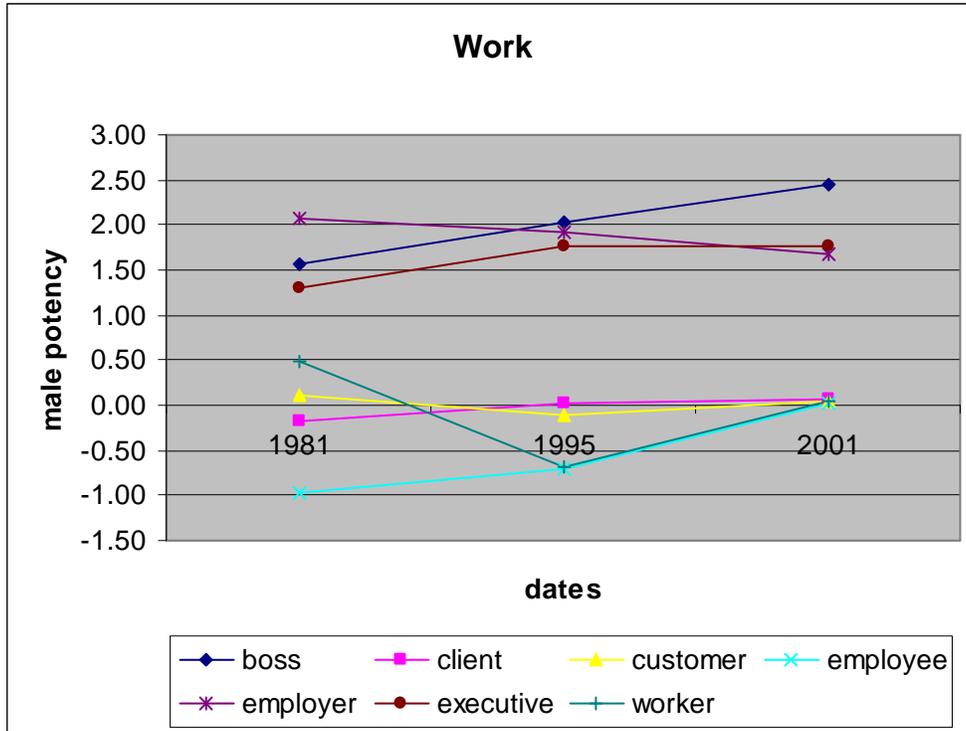
Figure 2.18b: Changes in Potency for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
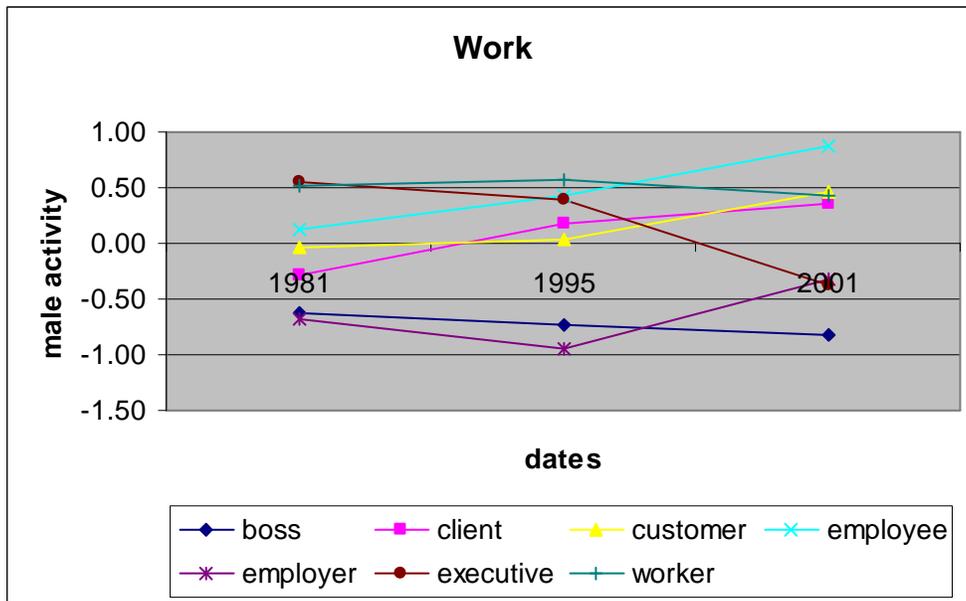
Figure 2.18c: Changes in Activity for Work Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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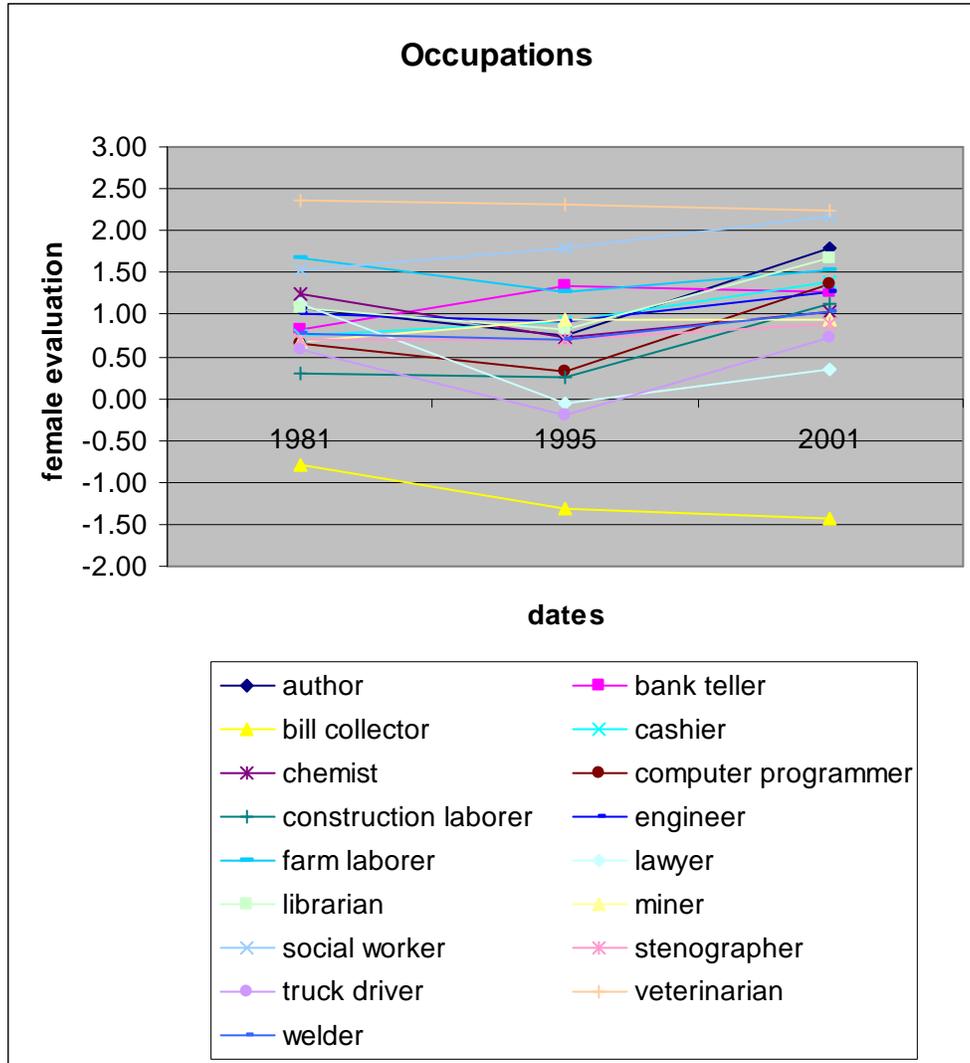
Occupations

Figure 2.19a: Changes in Evaluation for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
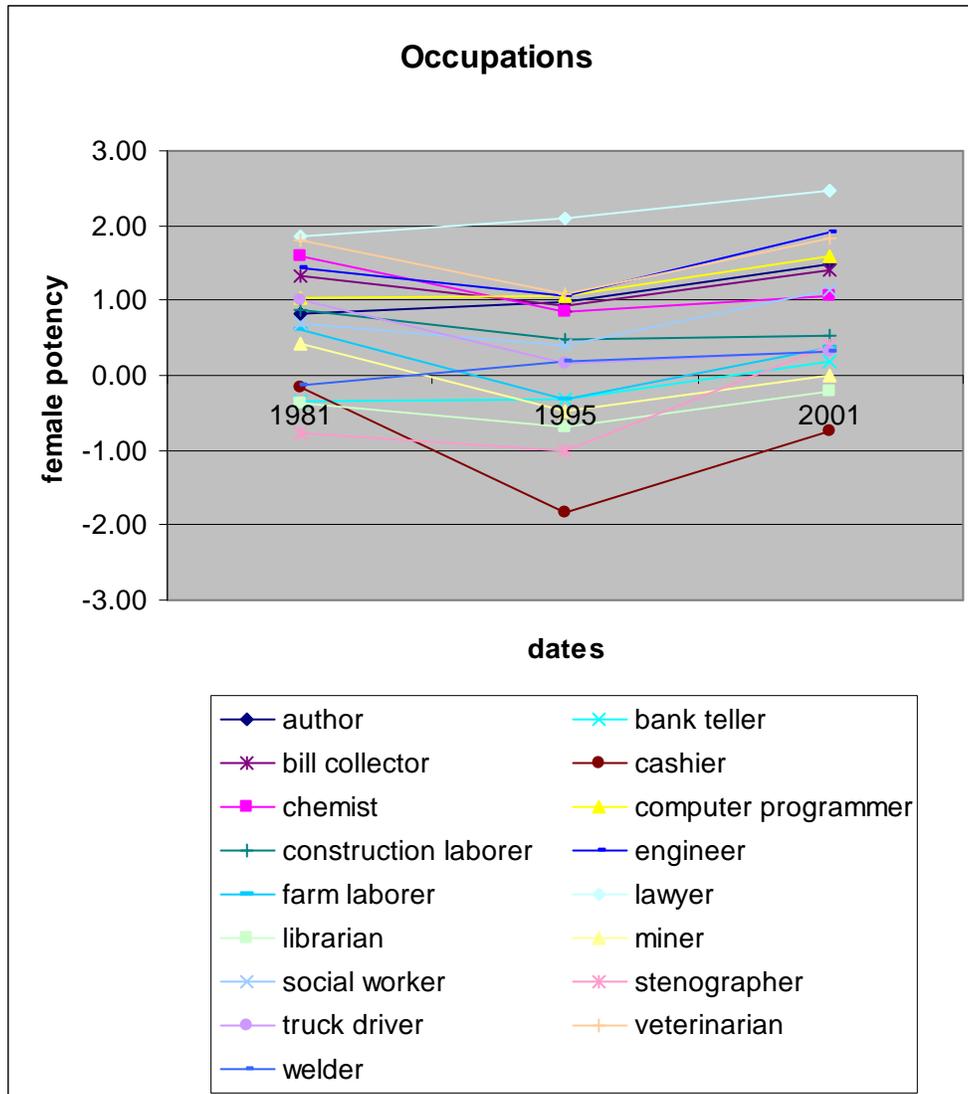
Occupations

Figure 2.19b: Changes in Potency for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
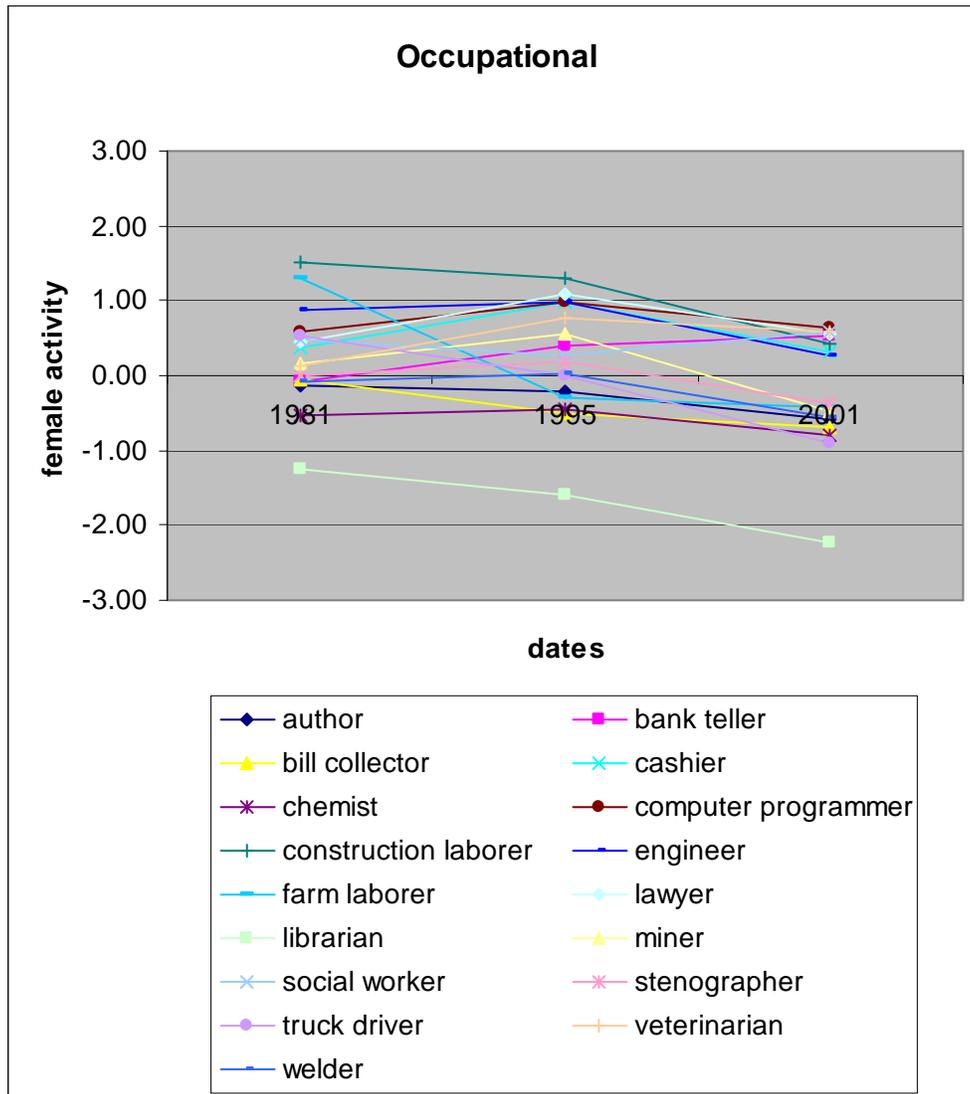
Figure 2.19c: Changes in Activity for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
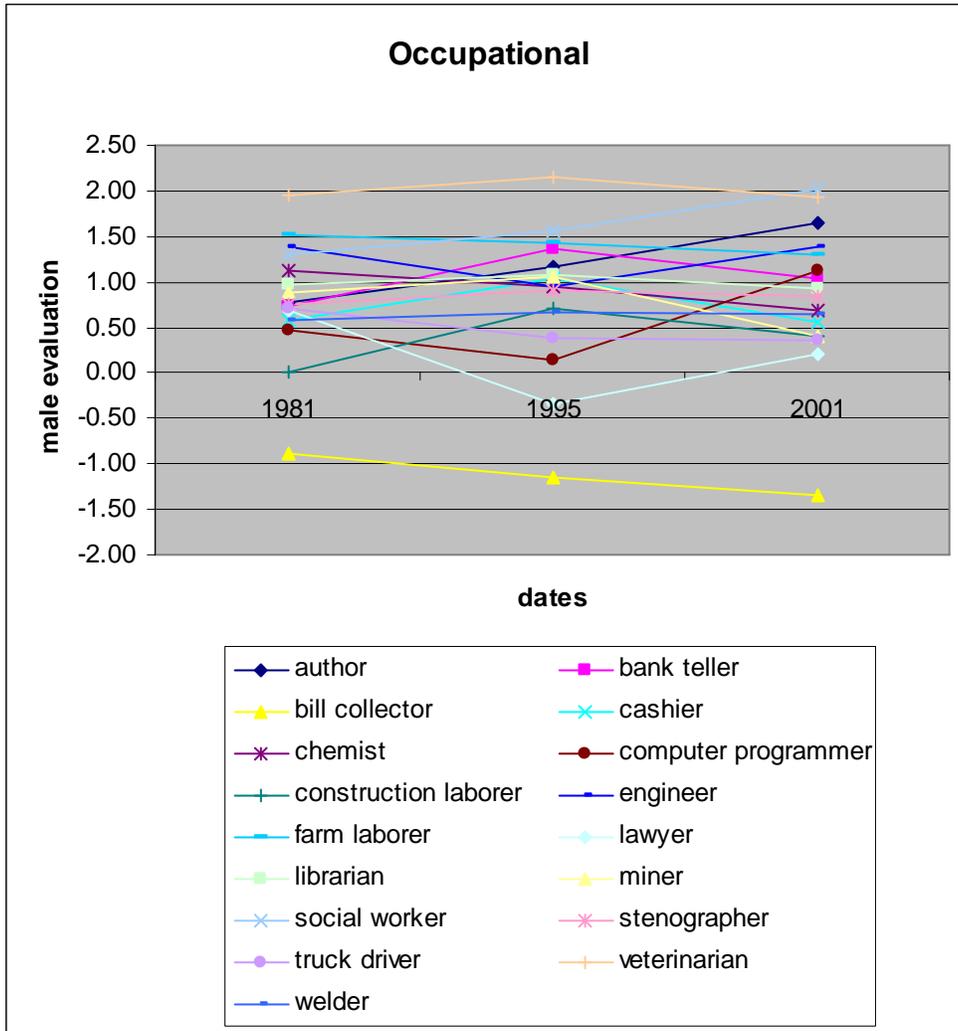
Occupational

Figure 2.20a: Changes in Evaluation for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
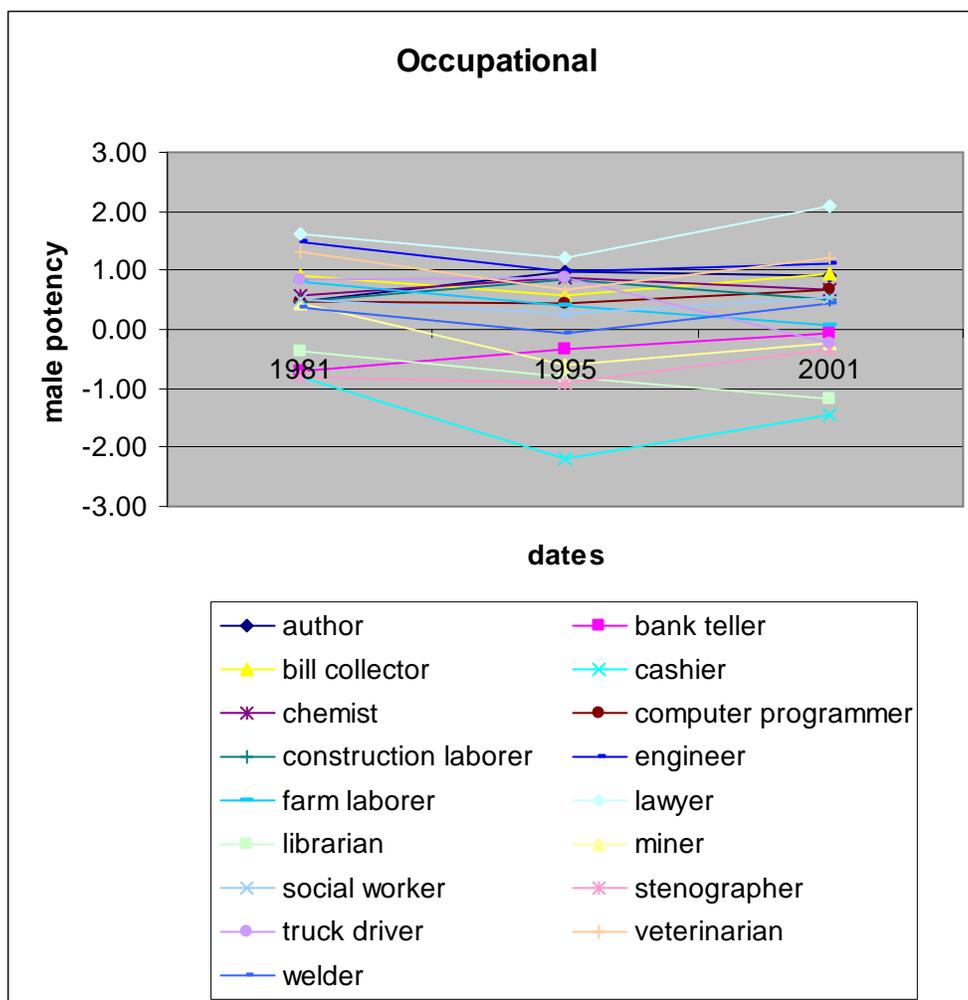
Figure 2.20b: Changes in Potency for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
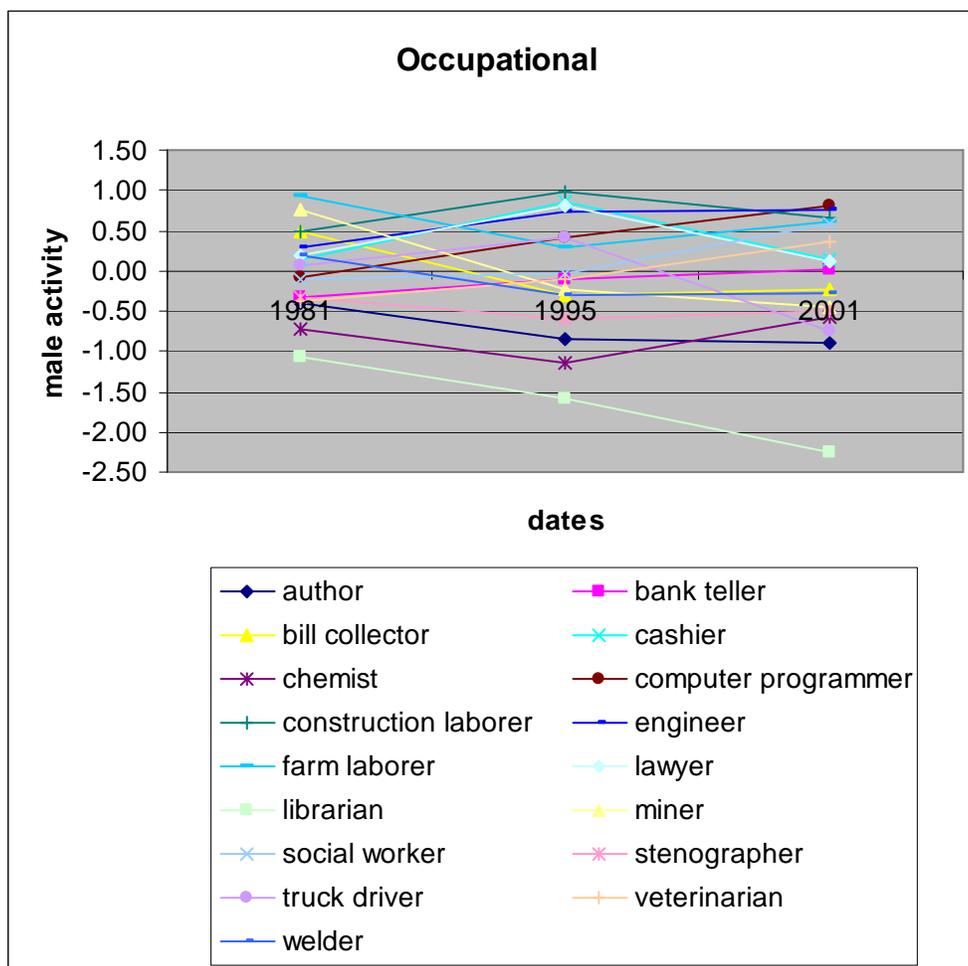
Figure 2.20c: Changes in Activity for Occupation Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
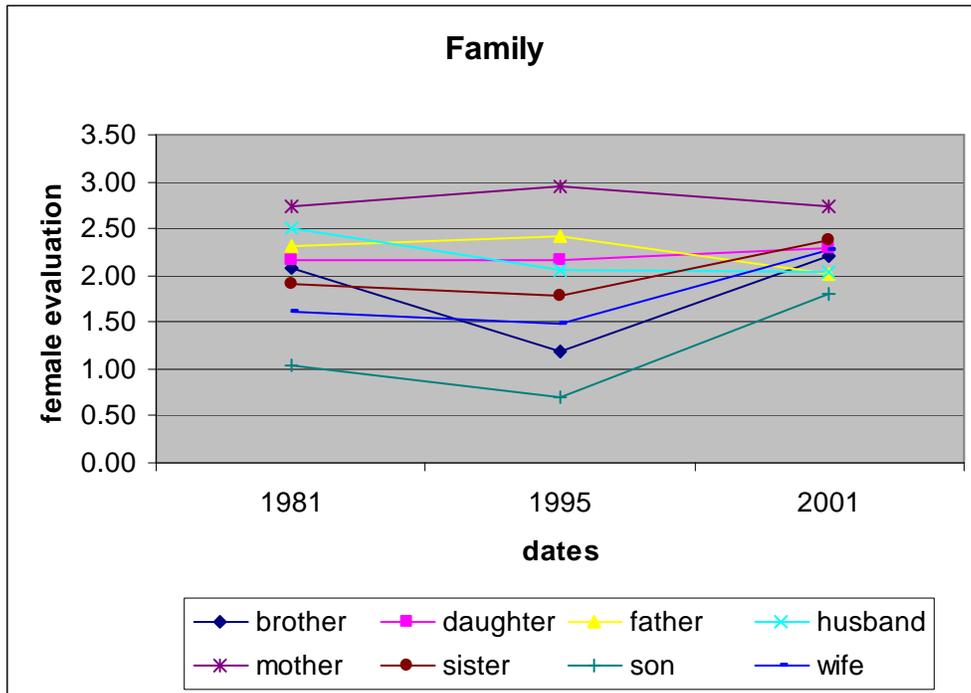
Figure 2.21a: Changes in Evaluation for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
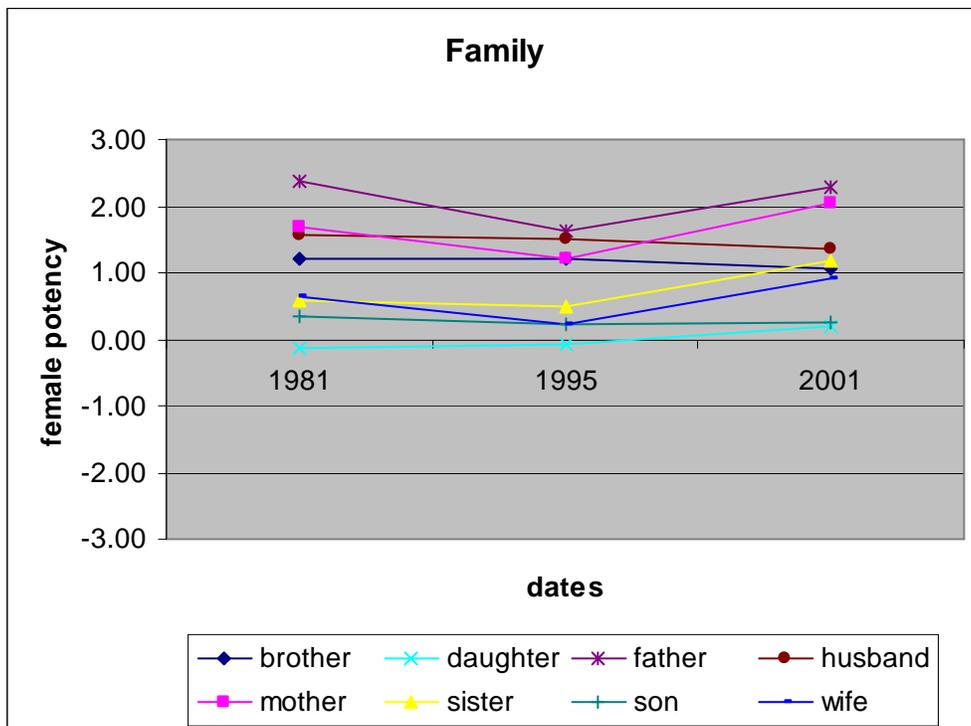
Figure 2.21b: Changes in Potency for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Female
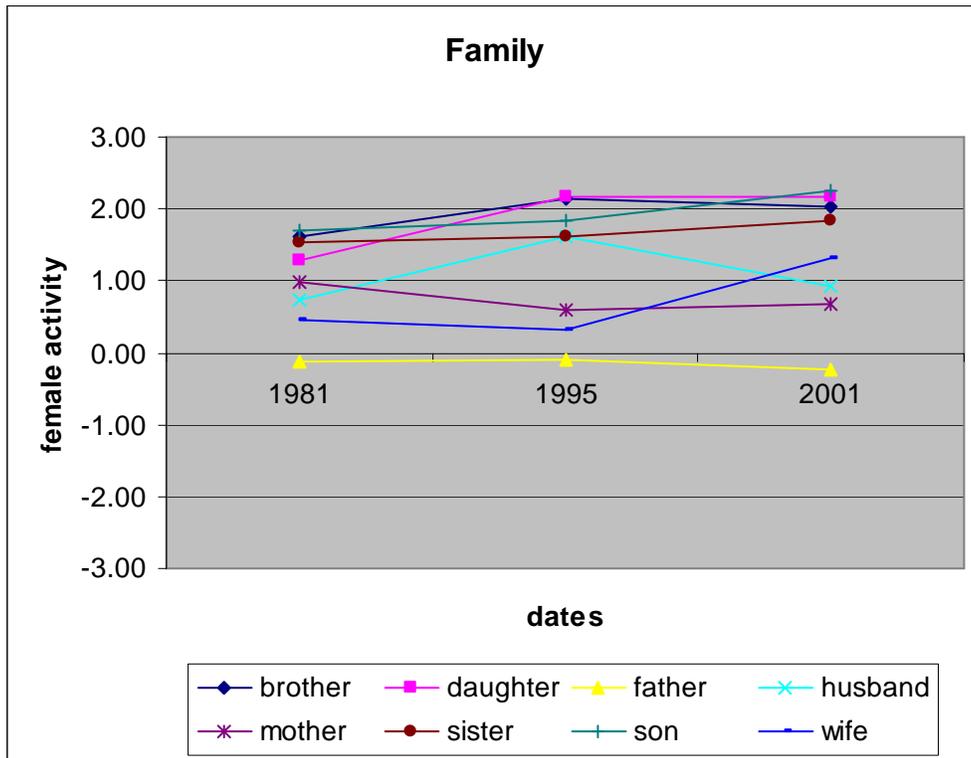
Figure 2.21c: Changes in Activity for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
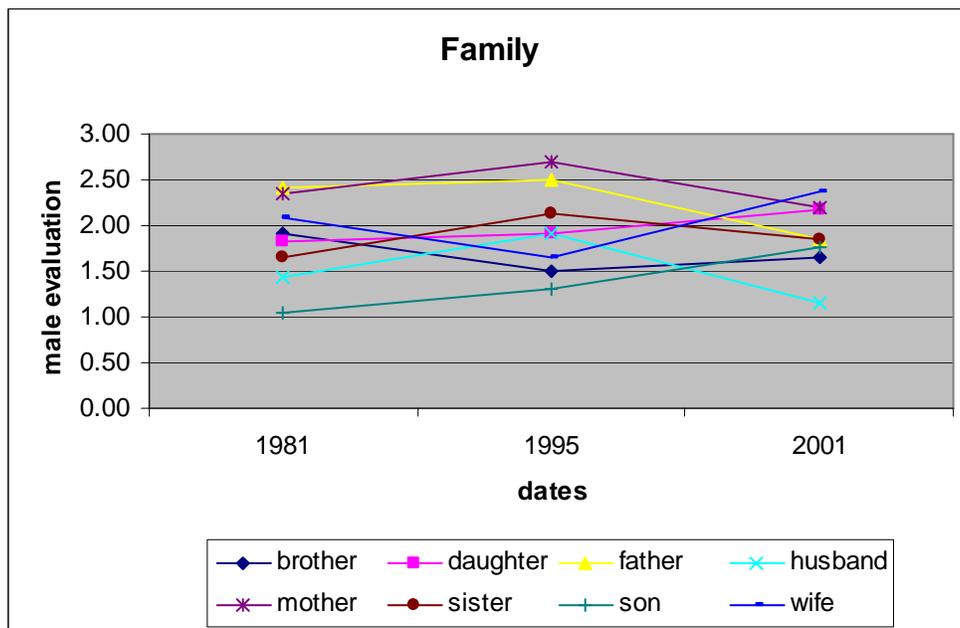
Figure 2.22a: Changes in Evaluation for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
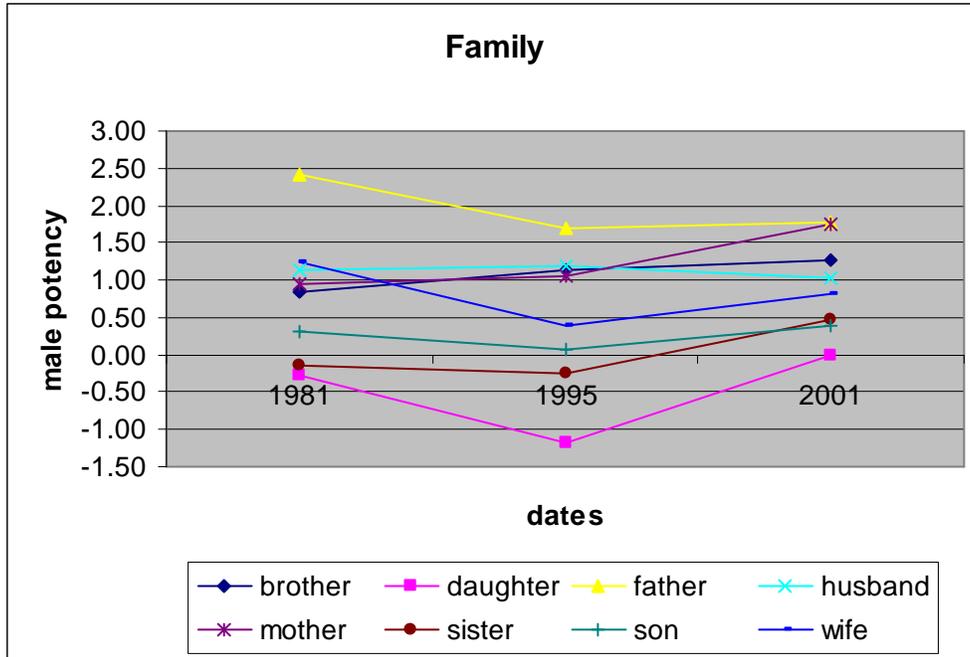
Figure 2.22b: Changes in Potency for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
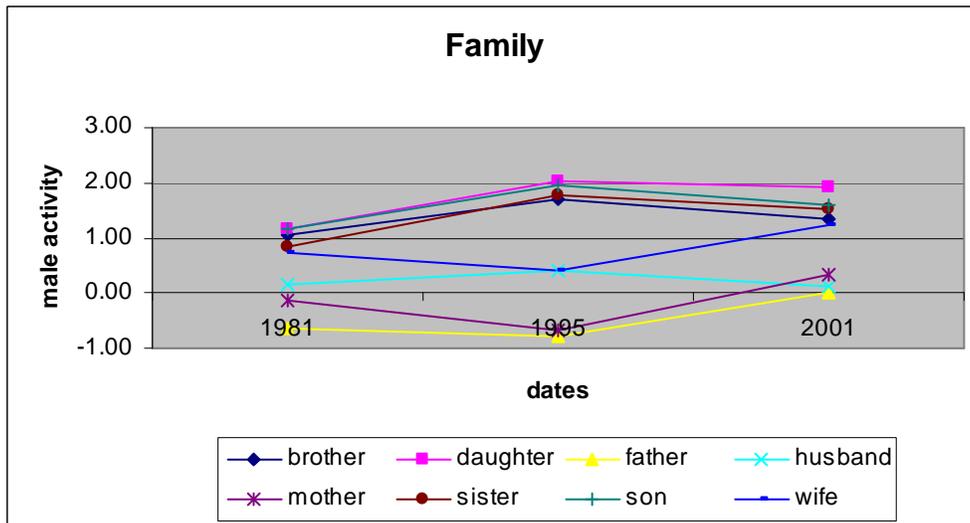
Figure 2.22c: Changes in Activity for Family Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
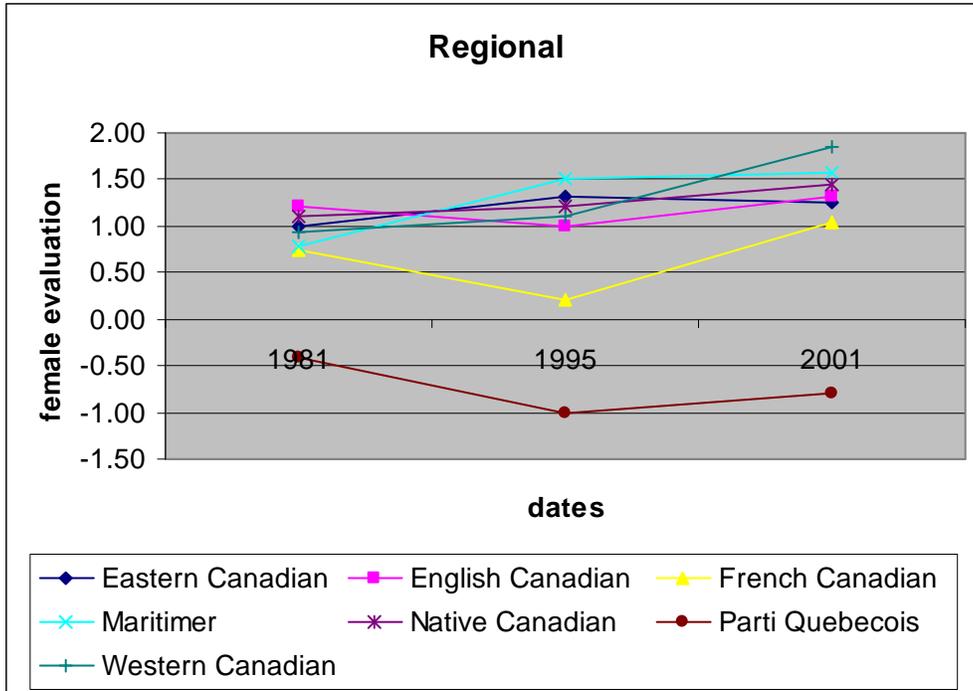
Figure 2.23a: Changes in Evaluation for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
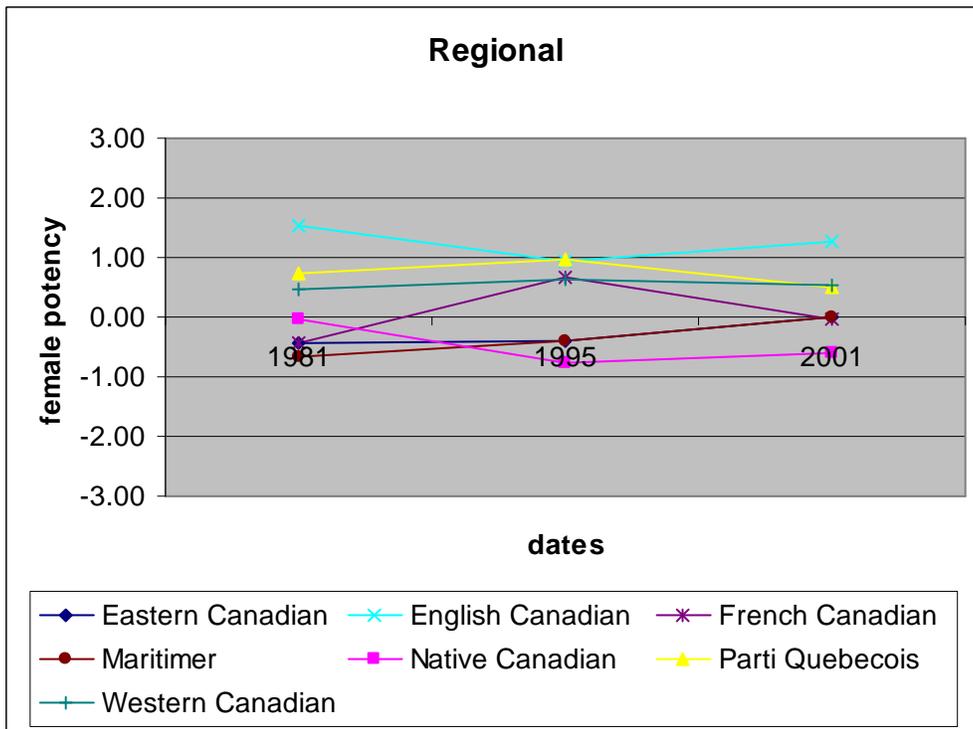
Figure 2.23b: Changes in Potency for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females

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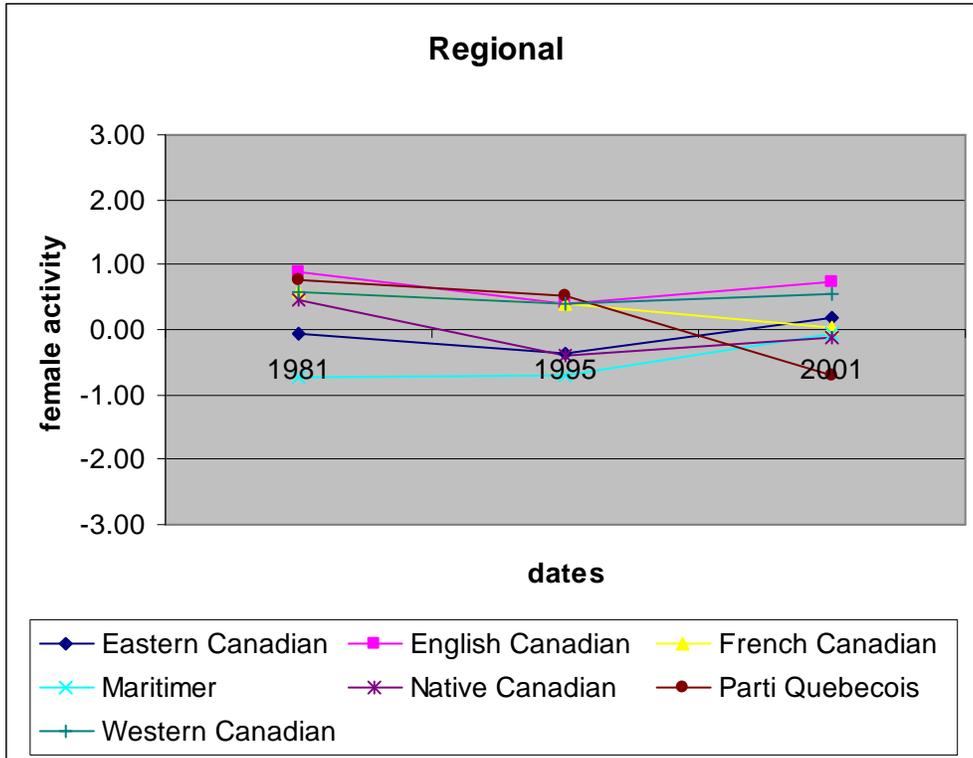
Figure 2.23c: Changes in Activity for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
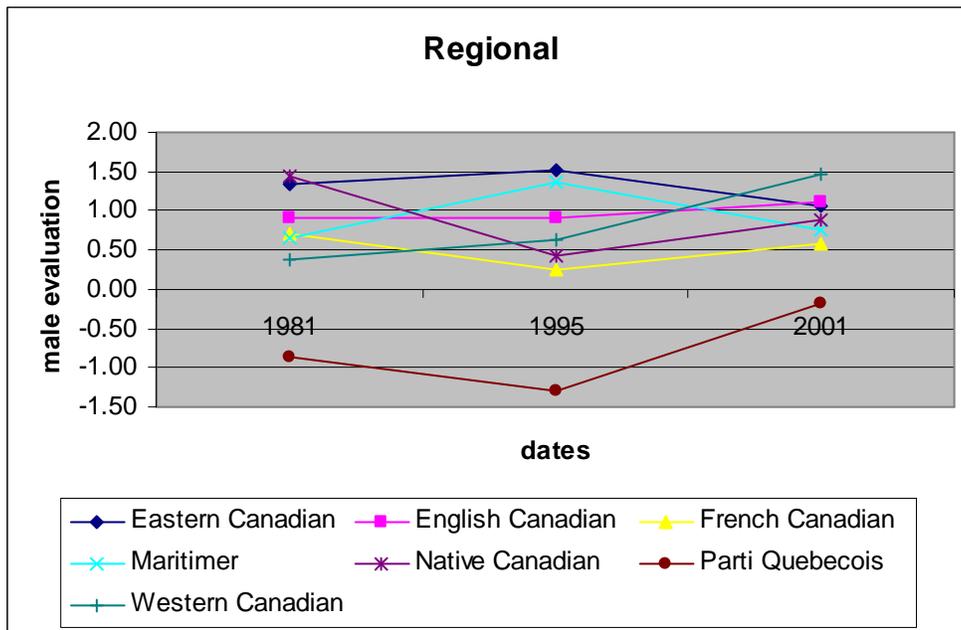
Figure 2.24a: Changes in Evaluation for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
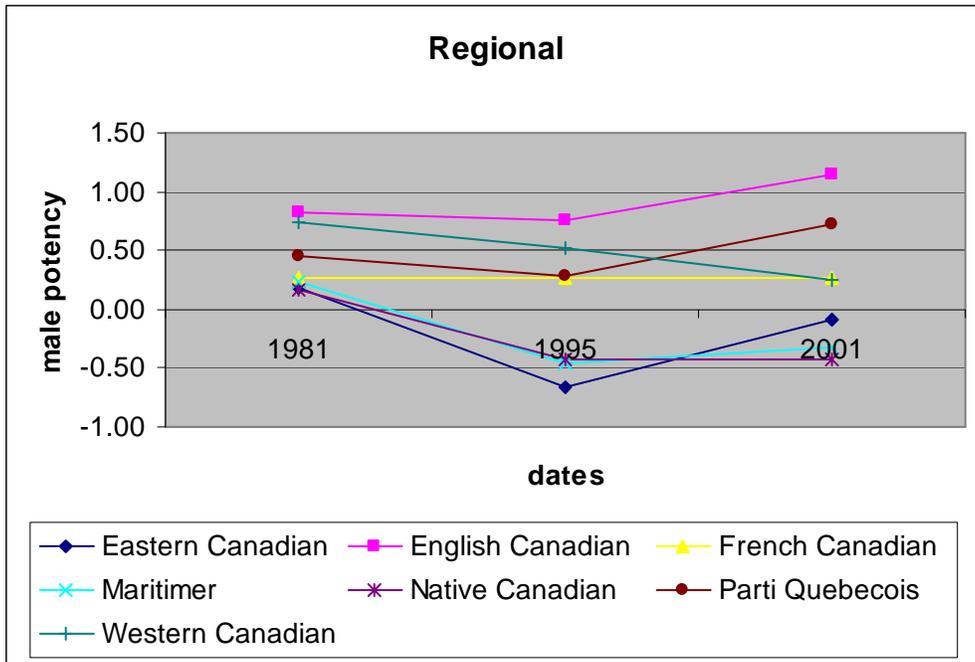
Figure 2.24b: Changes in Potency for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
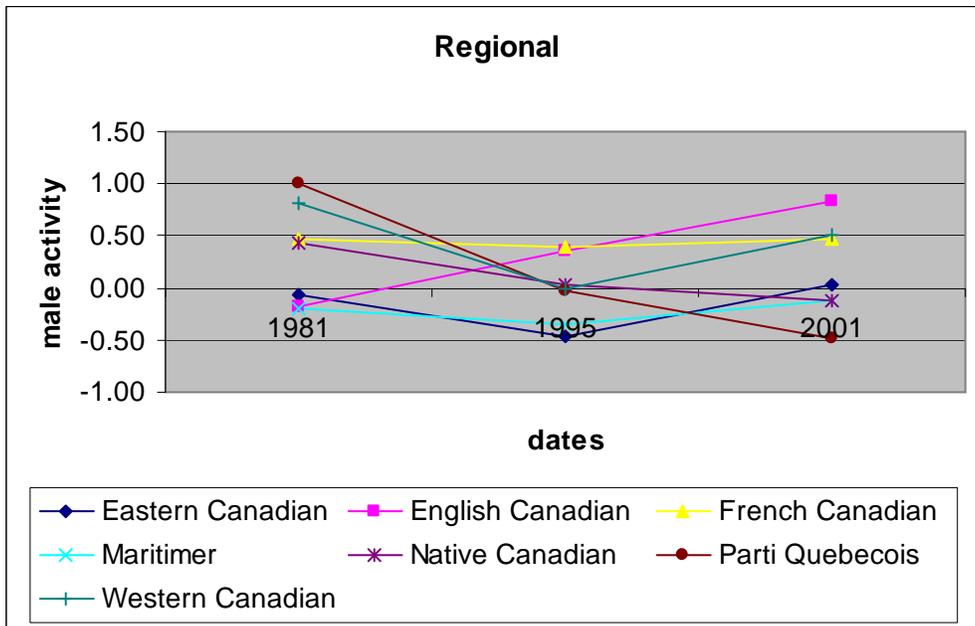
Figure 2.24c: Changes in Activity for Regional Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
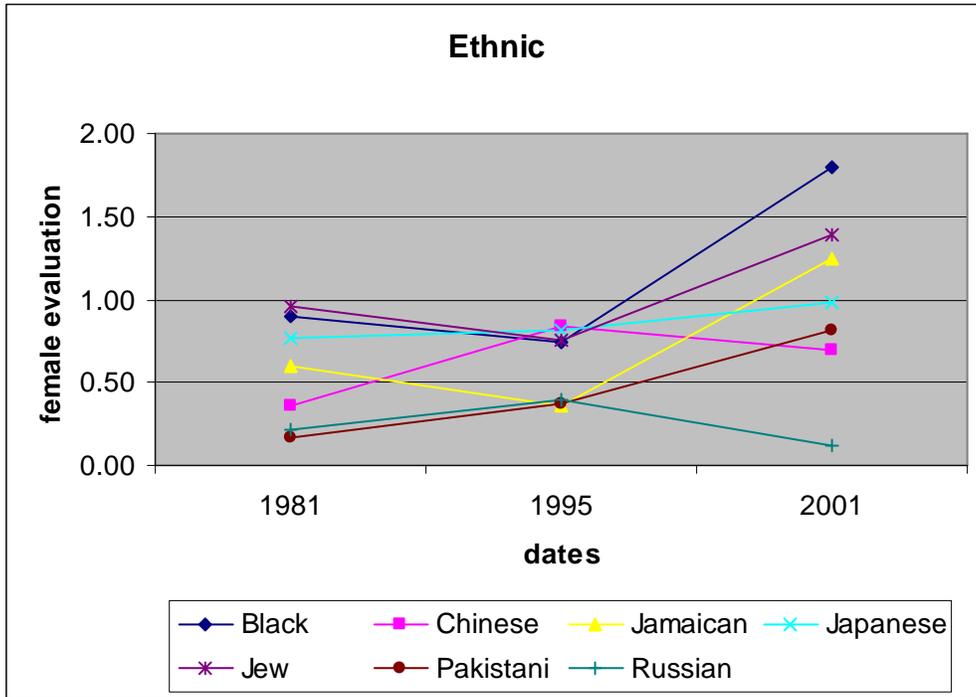
Figure 2.25a: Changes in Evaluation for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
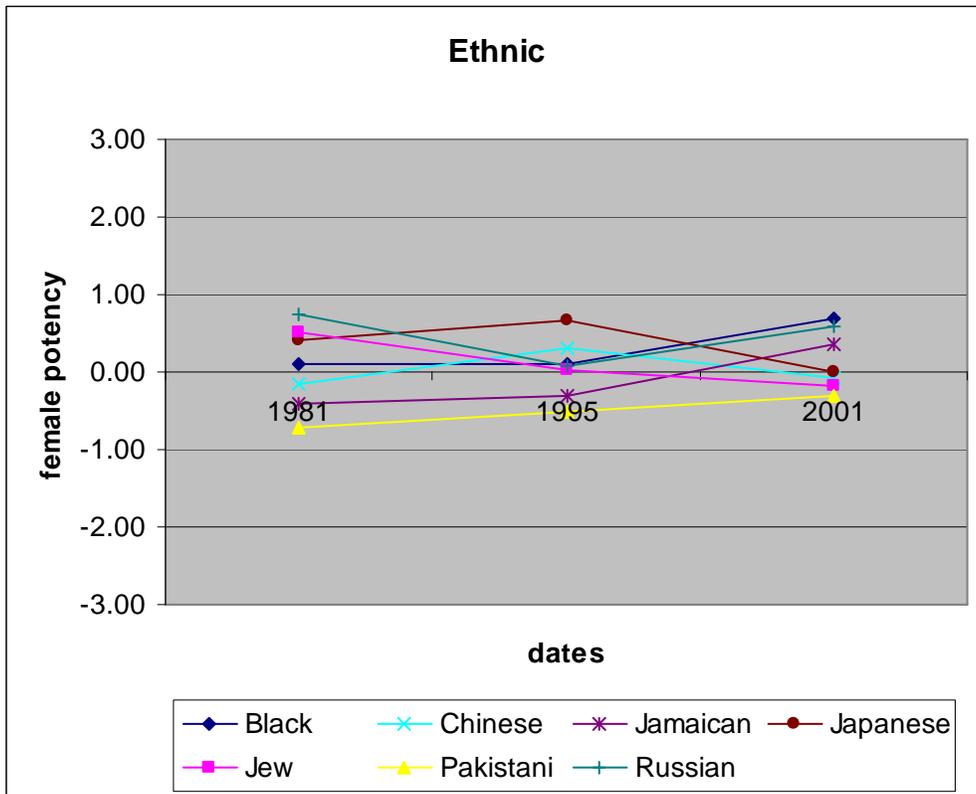
Figure 2.25b: Changes in Potency for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
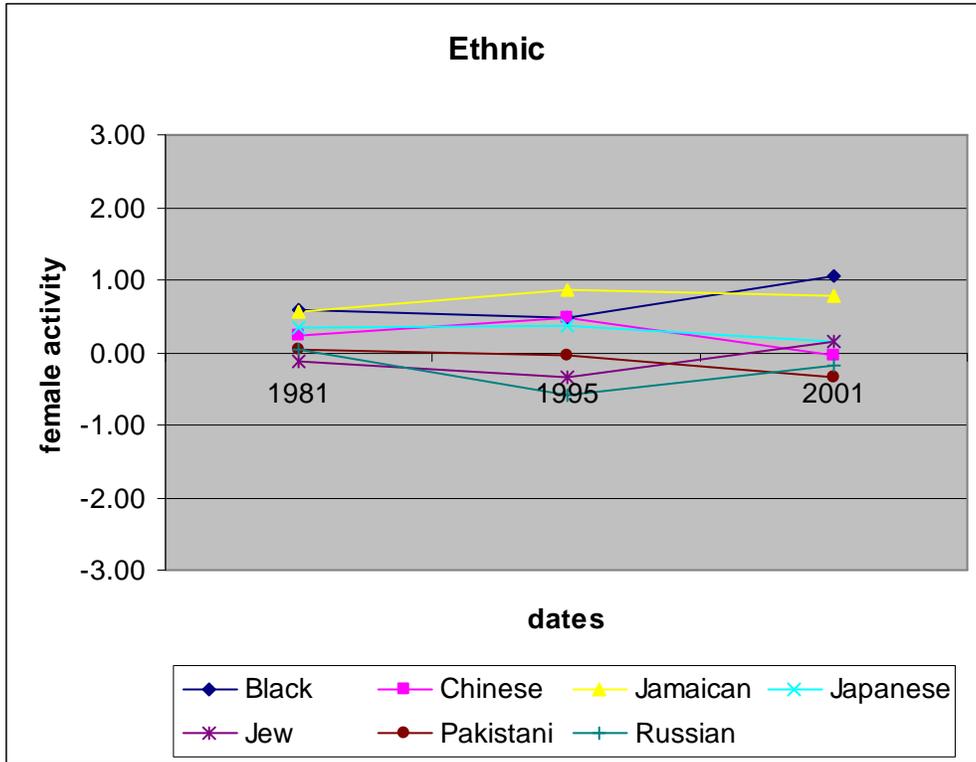
Figure 2.25c: Changes in Activity for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Females
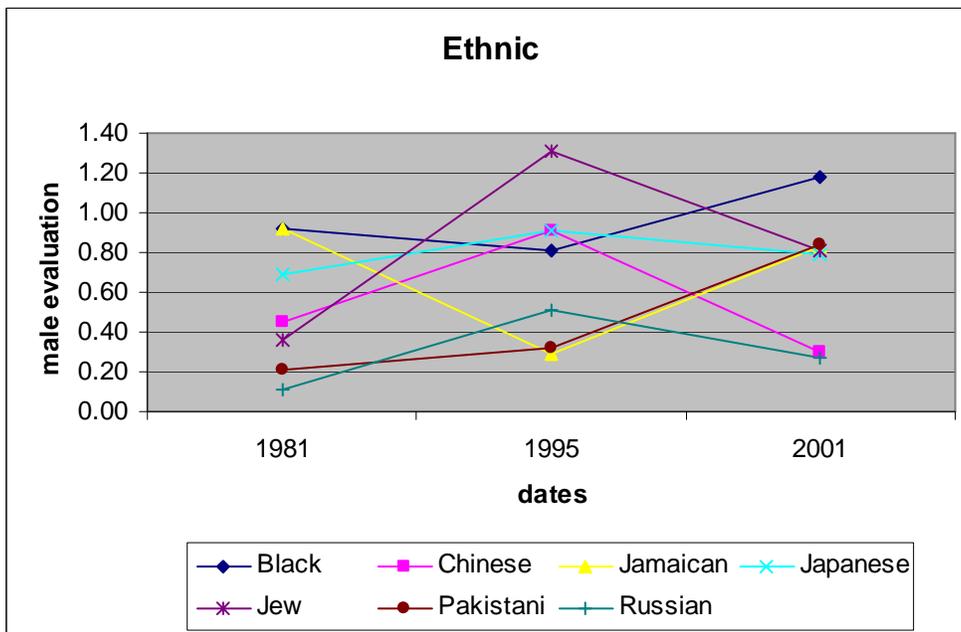
Figure 2.26a: Changes in Potency for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

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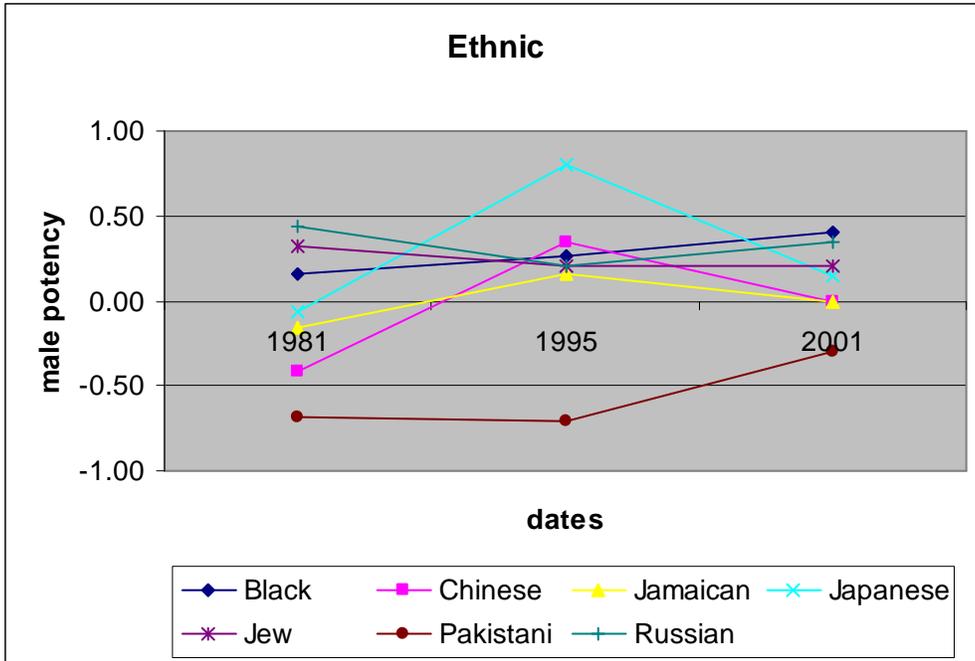
Figure 2.26b: Changes in Potency for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males
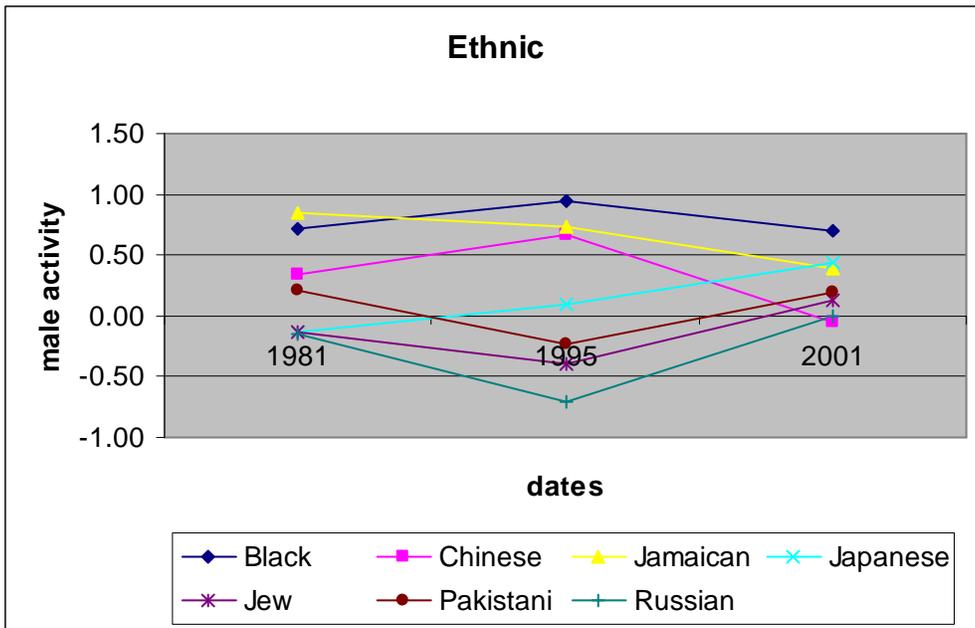
Figure 2.26c: Changes in Activity for Ethnic Identities 1981, 1995, 2001 for Males

Trends of Identity Change over 1981, 1995, 2001
Male and Female Data Tables 2.1a-2.13b

Table 2.1a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Religious Identities over time (males)

Identity (religion)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Clergy	1.82	0.93	1.80	-0.04	-1.88$^\Delta$	1.91$^\Delta$
evangelist	-0.39	-1.28	-0.17	0.40	-1.97*	2.33*
God	2.38	1.26	2.47	0.15	-2.33*	2.17*
Sinner	-1.09	-1.26	-1.28	-0.44	-0.46	-0.05
The Devil	-2.29	-2.63	-3.20	-1.91$^\Delta$	-0.76	-1.28
	Potency					
Clergy	1.36	-0.03	0.89	-1.21	-3.27**	2.02*
evangelist	0.96	0.48	0.56	-0.83	-0.95	0.17
God	3.14	2.03	2.89	-0.43	-2.87**	1.42
Sinner	0.09	0.07	-0.33	-1.04	-0.05	-1.10
The Devil	1.36	2.43	2.40	1.78$^\Delta$	2.67**	-0.06
	Activity					
Clergy	-1.09	-1.48	-1.49	-1.00	-0.99	-0.03
evangelist	0.68	0.52	-0.78	-2.81**	-0.34	-2.49*
God	-0.62	-0.87	-0.25	0.51	-0.53	0.97
Sinner	0.75	0.77	0.01	-2.27*	0.06	-2.79**
The Devil	1.79	1.43	-1.03	-5.16***	-0.88	-4.42***

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.1b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Religious Identities over time (females)

Identity (religion)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t (3-1)	t (2-1)	t (3-2)
			Evaluation			
Clergy	2.32	1.13	1.17	-2.66**	-4.16***	0.09
evangelist	0.11	-0.76	-0.38	-1.09	-2.29*	0.93
God	3.00	2.18	2.25	-1.34	-2.09*	0.14
Sinner	-1.87	-1.31	-1.94	-0.19	1.74$^\Delta$	-1.96*
The Devil	-2.36	-2.91	-3.61	-3.69***	-1.89$^\Delta$	-2.06*
			Potency			
clergy	1.68	0.76	0.80	-1.97*	-3.17**	0.09
evangelist	0.96	0.45	0.85	-0.30	-1.34	1.18
God	3.48	2.03	3.01	-1.02	-5.34***	1.98*
sinner	-0.60	-0.26	-0.70	-0.22	0.86	-1.23
The Devil	1.41	2.28	3.21	4.91***	2.29*	2.48*
			Activity			
clergy	-1.20	-0.97	-1.61	-1.10	0.62	-2.00*
evangelist	1.22	1.03	0.92	-0.70	-0.49	-0.29
God	-0.86	-0.64	-0.88	-0.03	0.48	-0.48
sinner	0.63	0.97	-0.05	-2.30*	1.30	-3.70***
The Devil	1.15	1.38	0.77	-0.70	0.57	-1.01

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.2a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Sexual Identities over time (males)

Identity (sexual)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
				Evaluation		
adulterer	-1.57	-2.06	-1.93	-0.89	-1.26	0.34
bisexual	-0.41	0.39	0.39	1.94$^\Delta$	1.91$^\Delta$	0.00
homosexual	-0.85	0.57	0.35	2.99**	3.46***	-0.60
lesbian	-0.45	0.61	0.64	2.93**	2.86**	0.10
lecher	-2.22	-1.25	-0.53	3.81***	2.34*	1.37
slut	-1.25	-0.45	-0.55	1.54	1.81$^\Delta$	-0.20
				Potency		
adulterer	0.76	-0.11	-0.04	-2.20*	-2.27*	0.19
bisexual	-0.23	0.10	-0.38	-0.50	1.12	-2.32*
homosexual	-0.81	-1.06	-0.62	0.61	-0.77	1.41
lesbian	-0.55	0.00	-0.45	0.27	1.58	-1.55
lecher	-0.83	-0.60	-0.39	0.92	0.44	0.41
slut	-0.83	-0.84	-1.18	-0.93	-0.02	-0.81
				Activity		
adulterer	0.90	0.86	0.09	-2.04*	-0.10	-2.32*
bisexual	0.45	0.77	1.33	2.48*	0.92	2.04*
homosexual	0.44	1.17	0.83	1.69$^\Delta$	2.66**	-1.26
lesbian	1.14	1.03	0.42	-2.42*	-0.33	-1.96*
lecher	-0.04	0.15	-0.48	-1.00	0.42	-1.20
slut	1.67	1.94	1.63	-0.12	0.77	-0.87

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.2b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Sexual Identities over time (females)

Identity (sexual)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t (3-1)	t (2-1)	t (3-2)
				Evaluation		
adulterer	-2.28	-2.45	-2.71	-1.12	-0.53	-0.79
bisexual	-0.88	0.00	1.37	6.38***	2.55*	4.16***
homosexual	-0.59	0.94	1.64	5.23***	3.64***	1.97*
lesbian	-0.58	0.26	1.28	5.54***	2.61**	3.24**
lecher	-2.36	-1.58	-1.95	1.21	1.56	-0.67
slut	-2.38	-1.53	-1.99	1.17	3.44***	-1.34
				Potency		
adulterer	0.24	0.52	-0.14	-0.78	0.64	-1.28
bisexual	-0.80	-0.44	-0.27	1.53	1.18	0.60
homosexual	-1.14	-0.63	-0.42	2.19*	1.71$^\Delta$	0.72
lesbian	-0.48	-0.28	0.01	1.41	0.71	0.91
lecher	-0.64	-1.17	-0.42	0.36	-0.89	1.12
slut	-1.38	-1.66	-1.43	-0.11	-0.70	0.54
				Activity		
adulterer	0.88	0.97	0.53	-0.87	0.26	-1.03
bisexual	0.68	1.31	1.31	1.76$^\Delta$	1.75$^\Delta$	0.00
homosexual	0.41	1.03	1.05	2.21*	2.24*	0.06
lesbian	0.82	1.10	1.02	0.69	1.10	-0.25
lecher	0.36	0.67	-0.32	-1.04	0.47	-1.19
slut	1.86	2.50	1.86	0.00	2.50*	-2.44*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.3a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Criminal Justice Identities over time (males)

Identity (Criminal Justice)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
				Evaluation		
accused	-1.12	-0.61	-0.88	0.73	1.82$^\Delta$	-1.00
convict	-1.69	-1.94	-1.55	0.40	-0.88	1.25
criminal	-2.04	-2.40	-2.10	-0.15	-1.39	0.85
detective	0.64	1.11	1.49	2.47*	1.55	1.12
judge	1.30	0.81	1.28	-0.04	-1.17	1.17
juror	0.83	0.87	1.24	1.52	0.16	1.45
Mountie	1.33	1.76	1.77	1.27	1.23	0.03
policeman	0.96	0.84	1.23	0.70	-0.30	1.05
prosecuting attorney	0.04	-0.07	0.75	1.87$^\Delta$	-0.32	2.34*
victim	0.76	1.69	-0.33	-3.09**	3.45***	-5.25***
witness	1.00	0.68	1.04	0.13	-1.18	1.52
				Potency		
accused	-0.68	-0.74	-1.16	-1.13	-0.15	-1.25
convict	-0.62	-1.03	-0.87	-0.57	-0.91	0.36
criminal	0.85	-0.06	0.06	-1.84$^\Delta$	-2.25*	0.29
detective	1.73	1.40	1.38	-0.93	-1.07	-0.06
judge	2.10	2.45	2.93	2.26*	0.88	1.74$^\Delta$
juror	1.17	0.68	1.17	0.00	-1.24	1.32
Mountie	2.00	1.45	2.00	0.00	-1.83$^\Delta$	1.66$^\Delta$
policeman	1.81	1.94	1.87	0.18	0.39	-0.22
prosecuting attorney	1.96	1.32	1.69	-0.79	-2.32*	1.01
victim	-2.14	-2.74	-2.07	0.20	-2.37*	2.45*
witness	1.20	0.00	0.69	-1.21	-3.22**	1.55
				Activity		
accused	0.44	0.65	0.12	-0.86	0.58	-2.26*
convict	1.28	1.31	0.41	-2.65**	0.10	-2.63**
criminal	1.38	1.31	0.54	-2.47*	-0.23	-2.49*
detective	1.23	0.66	-0.16	-3.14**	-1.62	-1.87$^\Delta$
judge	-1.73	-1.45	-1.92	-0.48	0.67	-1.23
juror	-0.43	-0.45	-0.04	1.24	-0.07	1.61
Mountie	0.70	0.62	0.82	0.36	-0.22	0.60
policeman	0.65	0.61	0.78	0.39	-0.12	0.51
prosecuting attorney	0.46	1.19	0.24	-0.62	2.25*	-2.89**
victim	-1.10	-0.46	-0.15	3.29***	1.85$^\Delta$	0.93
witness	-0.16	0.07	0.41	2.07*	1.14	1.43

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.3b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Criminal Justice Identities over time (females)

Identity (Criminal Justice)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
accused	-1.31	-1.36	-0.87	1.32	-0.19	1.66$^\Delta$
convict	-2.40	-1.88	-2.40	0.00	1.50	-1.51
criminal	-2.70	-2.41	-2.46	0.97	1.25	-0.17
detective	1.24	1.34	1.51	0.86	0.34	0.53
judge	1.36	0.87	1.56	0.55	-1.60	2.26*
juror	0.77	0.56	1.15	1.33	-0.81	2.39*
Mountie	1.28	1.36	1.74	1.22	0.23	1.34
policeman	1.45	1.46	1.13	-0.84	0.04	-0.94
prosecuting attorney	0.30	-0.28	0.27	-0.08	-2.06*	1.49
victim	0.57	1.41	0.03	-1.04	2.19*	-2.97**
witness	0.93	0.59	1.73	2.93**	-1.30	4.80***
	Potency					
accused	-1.72	-0.67	-1.51	0.50	3.24**	-2.28*
convict	0.13	0.38	-0.92	-2.06*	0.46	-2.43*
criminal	1.36	0.13	0.55	-1.83$^\Delta$	-2.46*	0.83
detective	2.16	1.47	1.91	-0.82	-2.90**	1.53
judge	2.91	2.64	3.29	1.18	-0.90	3.72***
juror	1.74	1.13	1.98	0.67	-1.84$^\Delta$	2.64**
Mountie	1.62	1.41	2.19	1.67$^\Delta$	-0.65	2.44*
policeman	2.45	1.97	2.85	1.45	-1.83$^\Delta$	4.43***
prosecuting attorney	2.24	2.05	2.50	0.93	-0.71	1.72$^\Delta$
victim	-2.10	-3.00	-3.20	-3.62***	-3.25**	-0.90
witness	1.83	0.54	1.42	-1.07	-4.27***	2.27*
	Activity					
accused	0.31	0.97	0.12	-0.47	1.85$^\Delta$	-2.83**
convict	1.87	1.50	0.32	-4.42***	-1.21	-3.32***
criminal	1.61	1.38	0.71	-2.75**	-0.71	-2.00*
detective	0.56	0.59	-0.12	-1.47	0.07	-1.57
judge	-0.59	-1.62	-1.64	-2.99**	-3.07**	-0.07
juror	-0.77	-0.33	-0.07	2.50*	1.63	1.00
Mountie	1.45	0.69	0.87	-1.63	-2.79**	0.49
policeman	1.64	0.67	0.66	-2.57*	-3.41**	-0.03
prosecuting attorney	1.18	1.33	0.58	-1.61	0.51	-2.10*
victim	-0.97	-0.41	-0.19	2.35*	1.69$^\Delta$	0.66
witness	0.14	0.18	0.26	0.44	0.18	0.36

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.4a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Criminal Deviance Identities over time (males)

Identity (Criminal Deviance)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	$t_{(3-1)}$	$t_{(2-1)}$	$t_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
dropout	-0.83	-0.42	-1.03	-0.53	1.20	-1.75$^\Delta$
drug addict	-1.38	-1.54	-1.72	-0.83	-0.43	-0.51
drunk	-0.36	-1.17	-1.23	-1.73$^\Delta$	-1.82$^\Delta$	-0.16
hooker	-0.57	-1.17	-0.71	-0.32	-1.69$^\Delta$	1.11
mobster	-2.70	-2.23	-1.49	3.75***	1.94$^\Delta$	2.29*
pusher	-2.59	-2.00	-1.28	3.16**	1.86$^\Delta$	1.69$^\Delta$
runaway	0.08	-0.42	-0.36	-1.28	-2.15*	0.16
	Potency					
dropout	-1.23	-1.82	-1.91	-2.12*	-1.80$^\Delta$	-0.32
drug addict	-1.77	-2.34	-2.02	-0.61	-1.75$^\Delta$	0.91
drunk	-1.41	-1.69	-1.46	-0.11	-0.66	0.52
hooker	0.22	-2.00	-1.35	-3.45***	-6.43***	1.62
mobster	2.00	2.51	2.52	1.74$^\Delta$	2.22*	0.04
pusher	1.17	1.26	0.73	-1.04	0.21	-1.32
runaway	-1.62	-1.88	-1.42	0.59	-0.92	1.31
	Activity					
dropout	0.77	1.49	0.52	-0.57	1.74$^\Delta$	-2.51*
drug addict	1.23	1.51	0.67	-1.53	0.77	-2.34*
drunk	0.23	-0.09	-1.07	-2.48*	-0.62	-1.83$^\Delta$
hooker	1.43	2.03	1.74	0.99	1.84$^\Delta$	-0.93
mobster	0.74	-0.20	-0.34	-2.61**	-2.27*	-0.33
pusher	1.62	1.65	0.91	-2.14*	0.09	-2.14*
runaway	1.77	1.94	1.56	-0.55	0.50	-1.15

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.4b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Criminal Deviance Identities over time (females)

Identity (Criminal Deviance)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
dropout	-1.35	-0.33	-1.39	-0.10	3.43***	-2.94**
drug addict	-2.55	-1.63	-1.63	2.98**	3.33***	0.00
drunk	-2.20	-1.84	-1.27	2.16*	1.25	1.43
hooker	-1.04	-1.56	-1.56	-1.17	-1.35	0.00
mobster	-2.25	-2.59	-1.98	0.76	-1.16	2.00*
pusher	-2.97	-2.24	-1.88	3.87***	3.25**	1.24
runaway	-0.61	-0.44	0.32	2.84**	0.66	2.27*
	Potency					
dropout	-1.59	-1.62	-2.52	-2.32*	-0.07	-3.56***
drug addict	-2.21	-2.59	-2.40	-0.55	-1.35	0.63
drunk	-2.20	-2.28	-2.25	-0.11	-0.19	0.08
hooker	-1.29	-2.13	-1.82	-1.04	-1.95$^{\Delta}$	0.67
mobster	2.14	2.13	2.85	2.17*	-0.02	1.80$^{\Delta}$
pusher	1.67	1.47	1.20	-1.20	-0.51	-0.78
runaway	-1.45	-1.56	-2.31	-2.66**	-0.33	-2.55*
	Activity					
dropout	0.64	1.69	0.19	-0.83	2.23*	-3.84***
drug addict	1.27	1.75	-0.05	-2.98**	1.34	-4.21***
drunk	-0.96	-0.38	-1.04	-0.16	1.28	-1.33
hooker	1.71	2.03	1.85	0.38	0.98	-0.56
mobster	1.61	0.69	-0.46	-4.58***	-2.19*	-2.26*
pusher	1.67	1.85	0.87	-2.16*	0.52	-2.94**
runaway	2.33	2.13	2.07	-0.87	-0.82	-0.23

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.5a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Political Identities over time (males)

Identity (political)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Liberal	0.17	0.26	1.14	2.46[*]	0.25	2.45[*]
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.04	-0.46	0.59	1.28	-1.12	2.61[**]
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	-0.18	-0.91	0.84	3.03[**]	-2.20[*]	5.08[***]
New Democrat	-0.04	-0.45	0.68	1.95[Δ]	-1.14	2.63[**]
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.15	-0.36	-0.50	-1.55	-1.55	-0.31
Parti Quebecois	-0.87	-1.29	-0.18	1.40	-1.03	2.59[**]
premier	0.00	-0.50	0.53	1.03	-1.25	1.93[Δ]
prime minister	-0.21	0.13	1.31	3.12[**]	0.68	2.87[**]
senator	-0.15	-0.18	0.55	1.63	-0.07	1.69[Δ]
The Queen	1.48	1.89	1.38	-0.24	1.04	-1.35
	Potency					
Liberal	0.48	0.48	1.12	1.54	0.00	1.69[Δ]
MP (Member of Parliament)	1.81	1.63	1.51	-0.71	-0.54	-0.29
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.77	1.89	1.75	2.22[*]	2.61[**]	-0.47
New Democrat	-0.27	-0.42	0.13	1.16	-0.50	1.53
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.08	0.07	0.46	0.91	-0.03	0.90
Parti Quebecois	0.46	0.29	0.72	0.51	-0.38	1.06
premier	1.44	2.24	2.72	3.27[**]	2.12[*]	1.59
prime minister	2.32	1.45	2.79	1.12	-1.69[Δ]	2.79[**]
senator	1.41	1.41	2.32	2.27[*]	0.00	2.56[*]
The Queen	1.52	1.60	1.59	0.14	0.19	-0.02
	Activity					
Liberal	0.21	0.16	-0.06	-0.67	-0.14	-0.57
MP (Member of Parliament)	-0.67	-1.23	-1.23	-1.52	-1.44	0.00
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	-0.45	-1.26	-1.15	-1.66[Δ]	-1.78[Δ]	0.30
New Democrat	0.31	-0.03	0.03	-0.73	-0.93	0.14
PC (Progressive Conservative)	-0.65	-0.71	-1.00	-0.74	-0.18	-0.61
Parti Quebecois	1.00	-0.03	-0.49	-2.84[**]	-2.30[*]	-1.02
premier	0.07	-1.00	-0.48	-1.10	-2.99[**]	1.07
prime minister	-0.11	-0.61	-1.07	-2.38[*]	-1.18	-1.32
senator	-1.41	-1.82	-1.32	0.20	-0.93	1.35
The Queen	-1.31	-2.89	-2.18	-2.50[*]	-7.03[***]	2.45[*]

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.5b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Political Identities over time (females)

Identity (political)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Liberal	0.30	0.23	1.09	2.12*	-0.23	2.80**
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.10	-0.22	0.34	0.67	-0.97	1.68$^\Delta$
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.28	-0.84	0.00	-0.82	-3.13**	2.65**
New Democrat	0.00	-0.14	0.73	1.75$^\Delta$	-0.39	2.31*
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.36	0.05	-0.44	-2.09*	-1.03	-1.40
Parti Quebecois	-0.41	-1.00	-0.80	-1.09	-1.85$^\Delta$	0.69
premier	0.66	-0.16	0.01	-1.44	-2.13*	0.45
prime minister	0.59	0.28	1.35	1.76$^\Delta$	-0.84	2.98**
senator	0.32	0.41	0.49	0.44	0.28	0.22
The Queen	1.73	1.63	1.48	-0.55	-0.25	-0.29
	Potency					
Liberal	0.61	0.69	1.27	1.85$^\Delta$	0.25	1.95$^\Delta$
MP (Member of Parliament)	2.10	1.66	2.00	-0.32	-1.48	1.13
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.80	1.63	2.36	3.05**	1.52	2.02*
New Democrat	0.03	0.52	0.89	2.11*	1.37	1.02
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.64	0.32	0.62	-0.05	-0.92	0.86
Parti Quebecois	0.72	0.97	0.51	-0.54	0.75	-1.30
premier	2.07	1.94	2.64	1.65$^\Delta$	-0.44	2.16*
prime minister	1.94	2.15	3.12	3.35***	0.57	3.26**
senator	2.19	1.47	2.44	0.88	-2.11*	2.93**
The Queen	1.91	1.69	2.54	1.40	-0.50	1.82$^\Delta$
	Activity					
Liberal	0.18	0.08	0.40	0.60	-0.48	0.94
MP (Member of Parliament)	-0.13	-0.78	-0.93	-1.83$^\Delta$	-1.72$^\Delta$	-0.39
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	-0.40	-0.94	-0.90	-1.19	-1.32	0.11
New Democrat	0.42	0.28	0.55	0.34	-0.42	0.73
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.07	-0.29	-0.75	-2.27*	-1.05	-1.31
Parti Quebecois	0.76	0.51	-0.69	-3.45***	-0.81	-3.14**
premier	-0.21	-0.84	-0.42	-0.51	-1.56	1.08
prime minister	-0.03	-0.26	-1.30	-3.36***	-0.75	-2.66**
senator	-0.55	-1.47	-1.16	-1.79$^\Delta$	-2.23*	0.85
The Queen	-0.85	-2.50	-2.34	-4.42***	-5.52***	0.61

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.6a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Education Identities over time (males)

Identity (education)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
graduate student	1.17	1.03	1.48	0.83	-0.42	1.29
principal	0.68	0.83	0.88	0.48	0.32	0.13
professor	1.31	1.23	1.75	1.29	-0.25	1.82$^{\Delta}$
student	1.08	1.07	1.96	2.56*	-0.03	3.57***
teacher	1.37	1.71	2.08	2.26*	1.28	1.16
undergraduate	1.05	0.97	1.51	1.37	-0.28	1.69$^{\Delta}$
	Potency					
graduate student	0.57	0.37	0.80	0.59	-0.55	1.27
principal	1.64	2.00	2.08	1.08	0.89	0.37
professor	1.24	1.74	1.51	0.77	1.46	-0.86
student	0.13	-0.84	0.37	0.53	-2.62**	3.18**
teacher	1.07	1.06	1.60	1.72$^{\Delta}$	-0.04	1.83$^{\Delta}$
undergraduate	-0.64	-0.48	0.10	1.83$^{\Delta}$	0.47	1.82$^{\Delta}$
	Activity					
graduate student	0.65	1.60	1.01	0.92	2.94**	-1.92$^{\Delta}$
principal	-0.59	-1.43	-0.99	-1.14	-2.99**	1.49
professor	-0.55	-0.90	-0.90	-0.96	-1.15	0.00
student	1.72	1.87	1.88	0.51	0.50	0.03
teacher	0.15	-0.37	0.07	-0.21	-1.36	1.03
undergraduate	1.64	1.74	1.85	0.65	0.32	0.36

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.6b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Education Identities over time (females)

Identity (education)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t (3-1)	t (2-1)	t (3-2)
	Evaluation					
graduate student	1.56	1.16	2.00	1.49	-1.31	2.88**
principal	1.13	0.75	1.12	-0.03	-0.95	0.96
professor	0.93	0.64	1.49	1.81△	-1.00	3.00**
student	1.52	0.97	2.25	2.17*	-1.73△	4.42***
teacher	1.39	1.22	2.71	5.23***	-0.45	4.22***
undergraduate	1.28	1.08	2.14	2.38*	-0.65	3.56***
	Potency					
graduate student	1.09	0.63	0.66	-1.23	-1.48	0.09
principal	2.08	2.00	2.32	0.90	-0.29	1.12
professor	1.50	1.46	2.36	2.59**	-0.12	3.58***
student	-0.24	-0.80	-0.29	-0.11	-1.56	1.37
teacher	1.35	1.34	2.36	3.85***	-0.04	3.55***
undergraduate	-0.36	-0.82	-0.18	0.46	-1.23	1.91△
	Activity					
graduate student	1.16	1.72	1.33	0.47	1.77△	-1.09
principal	-0.46	-0.88	-0.86	-0.96	-1.11	0.05
professor	-0.33	-0.64	-1.13	-2.23*	-1.10	-1.47
student	2.00	2.03	2.57	2.19*	0.12	2.27*
teacher	-0.17	0.00	0.76	2.77**	0.52	1.87△
undergraduate	1.68	1.92	2.24	2.06*	1.09	1.11

△p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.7a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Medical/Health Identities over time (males)

Identity (medical/health)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	$t_{(3-1)}$	$t_{(2-1)}$	$t_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
crippled person	0.71	0.90	0.72	0.03	0.63	-0.49
dentist	0.48	1.40	0.88	0.93	2.54[*]	-1.34
doctor	1.96	2.31	2.00	0.11	1.26	-1.09
nurse	2.00	1.84	1.80	-0.63	-0.52	-0.13
patient	0.84	0.74	0.63	-0.66	-0.32	-0.33
psychiatrist	0.62	1.36	0.79	0.37	1.77[Δ]	-1.86[Δ]
	Potency					
crippled person	-1.18	-1.48	-1.84	-1.62	-0.83	-1.04
dentist	1.32	1.31	1.21	-0.34	-0.03	-0.35
doctor	0.89	1.80	2.18	3.35[***]	2.45[*]	1.33
nurse	0.83	0.13	0.69	-0.45	-2.06[*]	1.71[Δ]
patient	-1.85	-1.61	-1.40	1.42	0.85	0.70
psychiatrist	1.23	1.32	1.49	0.65	0.26	0.52
	Activity					
crippled person	-0.68	-0.97	-1.53	-2.37[*]	-0.86	-1.65[Δ]
dentist	-0.16	-0.26	-0.12	0.11	-0.28	0.38
doctor	-0.71	-0.51	0.00	1.70[Δ]	0.48	1.14
nurse	0.77	0.23	0.86	0.26	-1.57	1.98[*]
patient	-0.92	-1.52	-0.53	1.34	-2.12[*]	3.63[***]
psychiatrist	-0.88	-1.23	-0.10	2.41[*]	-1.24	3.58[***]

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.7b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Medical/Health Identities over time (females)

Identity (health/medical)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
crippled person	0.24	0.77	1.76	4.19***	1.69$^\Delta$	2.85**
dentist	0.48	1.34	0.92	1.05	2.08*	-1.10
doctor	2.13	1.78	2.55	1.50	-1.07	2.24*
nurse	1.96	1.67	2.12	0.47	-0.87	1.83$^\Delta$
patient	0.14	0.62	1.10	3.16**	2.76**	1.46
psychiatrist	0.77	1.05	1.21	1.43	1.00	0.54
	Potency					
crippled person	-1.15	-1.23	-1.48	-0.84	-0.23	-0.71
dentist	1.86	1.19	1.66	-0.86	-2.37*	1.61
doctor	1.87	1.94	2.65	2.43*	0.25	2.43*
nurse	1.14	0.28	1.04	-0.27	-2.39*	2.48*
patient	-1.90	-1.44	-1.30	1.92$^\Delta$	1.92$^\Delta$	0.48
psychiatrist	1.65	1.44	2.11	1.47	-0.73	2.86**
	Activity					
crippled person	-0.85	-0.74	-1.23	-1.10	0.37	-1.50
dentist	0.24	-0.31	-0.91	-2.72**	-1.32	-1.57
doctor	-0.10	-0.44	-0.46	-0.96	-1.03	-0.05
nurse	0.73	0.56	0.55	-0.43	-0.47	-0.03
patient	-0.86	-1.49	-0.30	1.92$^\Delta$	-2.31*	4.74***
psychiatrist	-0.38	-0.62	-1.31	-2.67**	-0.77	-2.57*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.8a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Sports/Entertainment Identities over time (males)

Identity (sport/entertainment)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	$t_{(3-1)}$	$t_{(2-1)}$	$t_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
athlete	1.00	0.57	1.56	1.90$^\Delta$	-1.31	3.17**
celebrity	0.85	0.26	0.76	-0.32	-1.94$^\Delta$	1.75$^\Delta$
coach	1.00	1.26	1.04	0.12	0.71	-0.67
fan	1.00	0.94	1.30	1.05	-0.20	1.11
referee	1.07	0.09	0.98	-0.27	-2.98**	2.61**
spectator	0.78	0.52	1.00	0.66	-0.85	1.60
star	1.00	0.91	1.26	0.57	-0.26	0.80
	Potency					
athlete	1.58	1.70	1.80	0.74	0.39	0.37
celebrity	1.26	1.42	1.58	0.94	0.43	0.46
coach	2.00	1.71	1.67	-1.18	-1.00	-0.14
fan	-0.54	-0.52	-0.07	1.20	0.05	1.26
referee	1.52	1.69	1.70	0.65	0.62	0.04
spectator	-0.04	-0.26	-0.90	-2.28*	-0.52	-1.93$^\Delta$
star	1.84	1.63	2.44	1.83$^\Delta$	-0.62	2.22*
	Activity					
athlete	2.04	2.63	2.26	0.79	2.40*	-1.55
celebrity	0.77	1.45	1.15	1.30	2.17*	-1.06
coach	1.12	0.23	-0.15	-3.05**	-2.04*	-1.05
fan	1.72	1.36	1.00	-2.39*	-1.03	-0.96
referee	0.86	0.66	0.08	-2.15*	-0.60	-1.52
spectator	0.70	1.10	0.46	-0.59	1.05	-1.75$^\Delta$
star	1.05	1.20	1.95	1.78$^\Delta$	0.34	1.43

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.8b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Sports/Entertainment Identities over time (females)

Identity (sports/entertainment)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	$t_{(3\text{-}1)}$	$t_{(2\text{-}1)}$	$t_{(3\text{-}2)}$
	Evaluation					
spectator	1.32	1.03	1.75	1.38	-1.08	2.45*
star	0.96	0.39	1.28	1.01	-2.11*	2.66**
athlete	0.93	1.50	0.99	0.14	1.60	-1.26
celebrity	1.20	0.97	1.35	0.38	-0.74	1.10
coach	1.03	0.59	1.11	0.31	-1.31	1.66$^{\Delta}$
fan	0.81	0.23	1.23	1.58	-2.48*	3.71***
referee	1.31	1.03	1.66	1.04	-0.87	1.64
	Potency					
spectator	-0.31	-0.39	-0.18	0.36	-0.24	0.58
star	1.75	2.13	2.69	3.27***	1.12	1.93$^{\Delta}$
athlete	1.85	1.13	1.72	-0.44	-2.50*	1.76$^{\Delta}$
celebrity	1.52	1.97	2.92	5.02***	1.63	4.03***
coach	2.14	1.50	2.26	0.47	-1.97*	2.87**
fan	-0.20	-0.39	0.03	0.43	-0.41	0.98
referee	2.19	1.56	1.93	-1.07	-2.20*	1.30
	Activity					
athlete	2.09	2.54	2.70	1.98*	1.72$^{\Delta}$	0.65
celebrity	1.04	1.69	1.82	2.48*	2.40*	0.45
coach	1.38	0.88	0.70	-1.45	-1.42	-0.38
fan	2.23	1.64	1.85	-1.13	-1.82$^{\Delta}$	0.64
referee	1.13	1.63	1.41	0.87	1.52	-0.73
spectator	0.47	1.05	0.80	0.90	1.66$^{\Delta}$	-0.72
star	1.03	2.06	1.76	1.68$^{\Delta}$	2.81**	-0.69

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.9a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Work Identities over time (males)

Identity (work related)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
boss	0.41	-0.29	0.34	-0.22	-2.23[*]	1.73[Δ]
client	0.69	0.89	1.01	1.17	0.76	0.41
customer	0.33	0.45	0.96	1.76[Δ]	0.36	1.83[Δ]
employee	0.46	0.68	1.19	2.72[**]	0.86	1.63
employer	0.42	0.14	0.88	1.38	-0.84	2.03[*]
executive	0.33	0.30	0.64	0.94	-0.09	1.00
worker	0.88	1.26	1.09	0.75	1.27	-0.64
	Potency					
boss	1.56	2.03	2.45	3.01[**]	1.54	1.90[Δ]
client	-0.17	0.03	0.06	0.69	0.53	0.09
customer	0.11	-0.10	0.04	-0.21	-0.64	0.42
employee	-0.96	-0.71	0.03	3.05[**]	0.94	2.18[*]
employer	2.08	1.91	1.68	-1.34	-0.55	-0.64
executive	1.30	1.77	1.76	1.12	1.20	-0.02
worker	0.48	-0.69	0.04	-1.17	-3.28[**]	1.89[Δ]
	Activity					
boss	-0.63	-0.74	-0.82	-0.55	-0.33	-0.23
client	-0.28	0.17	0.36	2.57[*]	1.75[Δ]	0.68
customer	-0.04	0.03	0.47	1.72[Δ]	0.25	1.98[*]
employee	0.12	0.42	0.87	2.97[**]	1.57	1.75[Δ]
employer	-0.67	-0.94	-0.32	0.90	-0.86	1.65[Δ]
executive	0.56	0.40	-0.37	-2.50[*]	-0.39	-1.84[Δ]
worker	0.52	0.57	0.43	-0.36	0.22	-0.52

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.9b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Work Identities over time (females)

Identity (work related)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
boss	0.32	-0.23	0.09	-0.66	-1.85$^\Delta$	0.88
client	0.40	0.91	1.59	4.83***	2.05*	2.54*
customer	0.48	0.46	0.95	1.51	-0.08	1.56
employee	1.21	0.77	1.60	1.37	-1.67$^\Delta$	3.17**
employer	0.83	0.44	1.04	0.57	-1.05	1.86$^\Delta$
executive	0.48	0.08	0.60	0.36	-1.50	1.86$^\Delta$
worker	0.90	1.03	1.45	2.03*	0.48	1.55
	Potency					
boss	2.10	2.26	2.51	1.49	0.62	1.29
client	-0.07	0.00	0.43	1.27	0.18	0.96
customer	0.00	0.31	0.04	0.10	0.85	-0.79
employee	-0.64	-0.87	-0.66	-0.05	-0.67	0.56
employer	2.17	1.81	2.20	0.09	-1.10	1.06
executive	2.16	1.95	2.22	0.24	-0.86	1.20
worker	0.13	-0.75	0.05	-0.21	-2.15*	2.22*
	Activity					
boss	-0.55	-0.13	-0.72	-0.48	1.39	-1.75$^\Delta$
client	0.13	0.41	0.42	1.11	0.99	0.03
customer	-0.04	0.18	0.65	2.57*	1.00	1.93$^\Delta$
employee	0.36	0.59	0.79	1.43	0.87	0.80
employer	-0.04	-0.31	-1.11	-2.56*	-0.61	-2.02*
executive	0.55	0.64	0.05	-1.19	0.26	-1.37
worker	0.50	0.47	0.37	-0.40	-0.10	-0.34

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.10a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Occupational Identities over time (males)

Identity (occupations)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t (3-1)	t (2-1)	t (3-2)
			Evaluation			
author	0.77	1.16	1.64	2.65**	1.36	1.58
bank teller	0.74	1.37	1.04	0.87	2.06*	-1.00
bill collector	-0.88	-1.14	-1.34	-1.29	-0.92	-0.56
cashier	0.58	1.03	0.55	-0.10	1.81Δ	-1.44
chemist	1.12	0.94	0.68	-1.38	-0.71	-0.82
computer programmer	0.46	0.13	1.12	2.42*	-1.10	3.25**
construction laborer	0.00	0.71	0.40	1.08	2.88**	-0.90
engineer	1.39	0.94	1.39	0.00	-1.39	1.40
farm laborer	1.52	1.42	1.30	-0.68	-0.35	-0.36
lawyer	0.68	-0.33	0.21	-1.02	-2.35*	1.17
librarian	0.96	1.07	0.93	-0.08	0.34	-0.37
miner	0.89	1.06	0.41	-1.56	0.59	-2.12*
social worker	1.30	1.55	2.03	1.88Δ	0.69	1.73Δ
stenographer	0.75	0.91	0.83	0.26	0.52	-0.23
truck driver	0.70	0.39	0.37	-1.11	-1.00	-0.07
veterinarian	1.95	2.14	1.93	-0.06	0.69	-0.77
welder	0.58	0.66	0.64	0.19	0.33	-0.06
			Potency			
author	0.46	0.97	0.90	1.49	1.56	-0.21
bank teller	-0.70	-0.34	-0.07	1.94Δ	1.10	0.81
bill collector	0.92	0.57	0.95	0.09	-1.01	1.02
cashier	-0.81	-2.20	-1.44	-2.06*	-5.30***	2.70**
chemist	0.56	0.86	0.67	0.36	1.01	-0.57
computer programmer	0.46	0.45	0.66	0.52	-0.03	0.54
construction laborer	0.48	0.84	0.52	0.09	0.86	-0.69
engineer	1.50	0.97	1.12	-1.06	-1.47	0.42
farm laborer	0.80	0.42	0.08	-1.32	-0.75	-0.67
lawyer	1.61	1.23	2.09	1.32	-0.94	3.07**
librarian	-0.38	-0.81	-1.17	-2.01*	-1.19	-1.08
miner	0.43	-0.60	-0.23	-1.52	-2.22*	0.80
social worker	0.52	0.27	0.55	0.09	-0.81	0.80
stenographer	-0.80	-0.91	-0.33	1.34	-0.31	1.46
truck driver	0.83	0.87	-0.25	-2.64**	0.12	-2.74**
veterinarian	1.32	0.69	1.21	-0.33	-1.88Δ	1.91Δ
welder	0.37	-0.06	0.44	0.20	-1.49	1.31

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.10a (continued)

Identity (occupations)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Activity					
author	-0.40	-0.84	-0.90	-1.56	-1.22	-0.17
bank teller	-0.33	-0.11	0.03	1.01	0.63	0.40
bill collector	0.50	-0.31	-0.24	-1.96[*]	-1.96[*]	0.18
cashier	0.15	0.86	0.15	0.00	2.22[*]	-1.93[Δ]
chemist	-0.72	-1.14	-0.58	0.38	-1.22	1.51
computer programmer	-0.08	0.42	0.80	2.39[*]	1.38	1.02
construction laborer	0.48	0.97	0.65	0.42	1.60	-0.84
engineer	0.29	0.74	0.75	1.13	1.15	0.03
farm laborer	0.92	0.29	0.60	-0.95	-1.81[Δ]	0.79
lawyer	0.18	0.80	0.12	-0.17	1.95[Δ]	-1.96[*]
librarian	-1.08	-1.58	-2.26	-3.74[***]	-1.25	-1.92[Δ]
miner	0.75	-0.23	-0.45	-3.39[***]	-2.80[**]	-0.57
social worker	-0.11	-0.03	0.59	1.84[Δ]	0.26	1.88[Δ]
stenographer	-0.33	-0.61	-0.50	-0.45	-0.82	0.27
truck driver	0.07	0.42	-0.74	-2.46[*]	1.17	-3.62[***]
veterinarian	-0.37	-0.11	0.37	1.89[Δ]	0.73	1.28
welder	0.19	-0.31	-0.29	-1.73[Δ]	-1.87[Δ]	0.07

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.10b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Occupational Identities over time (females)

Identity (occupations)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
author	1.09	0.74	1.79	3.42***	-1.52	5.37***
bank teller	0.83	1.34	1.27	1.68$^\Delta$	1.87$^\Delta$	-0.23
bill collector	-0.79	-1.31	-1.42	-2.10*	-1.74$^\Delta$	-0.30
cashier	0.76	0.91	1.40	1.89$^\Delta$	0.51	1.34
chemist	1.25	0.72	1.04	-0.67	-1.60	1.10
computer programmer	0.65	0.33	1.37	2.94**	-1.58	4.65***
construction laborer	0.29	0.26	1.12	2.89**	-0.11	3.49***
engineer	1.00	0.91	1.26	0.81	-0.30	1.14
farm laborer	1.67	1.26	1.54	-0.40	-1.62	0.87
lawyer	1.13	-0.05	0.35	-2.14*	-3.65***	1.12
librarian	1.09	0.82	1.67	1.71$^\Delta$	-0.95	2.79**
miner	0.68	0.94	0.93	1.01	1.04	-0.04
social worker	1.52	1.80	2.16	2.16*	1.05	1.24
stenographer	0.69	0.71	0.89	0.49	0.06	0.42
truck driver	0.59	-0.21	0.73	0.43	-2.84**	3.14**
veterinarian	2.37	2.31	2.24	-0.50	-0.22	-0.25
welder	0.77	0.69	1.04	0.91	-0.32	1.25
	Potency					
author	0.83	0.97	1.49	1.88$^\Delta$	0.45	1.58
bank teller	-0.34	-0.31	0.19	1.45	0.08	1.46
bill collector	1.32	0.94	1.41	0.30	-1.18	1.34
cashier	-0.15	-1.84	-0.75	-1.86$^\Delta$	-6.69***	3.14**
chemist	1.58	0.84	1.05	-1.67$^\Delta$	-2.07*	0.54
computer programmer	1.03	1.05	1.59	2.24*	0.07	1.92$^\Delta$
construction laborer	0.87	0.49	0.52	-1.01	-1.07	0.09
engineer	1.44	1.06	1.91	1.71$^\Delta$	-1.21	3.26**
farm laborer	0.60	-0.33	0.38	-0.44	-2.28*	1.76$^\Delta$
lawyer	1.87	2.10	2.48	2.30*	0.94	1.88$^\Delta$
librarian	-0.36	-0.69	-0.20	0.41	-0.96	1.49
miner	0.42	-0.47	0.00	-1.19	-2.11*	1.08
social worker	0.69	0.39	1.13	1.29	-0.87	2.06*
stenographer	-0.77	-1.00	0.41	2.78**	-0.51	3.15**
truck driver	1.00	0.15	0.31	-1.74$^\Delta$	-2.14*	0.51
veterinarian	1.81	1.09	1.84	0.11	-2.31*	2.15*
welder	-0.14	0.19	0.31	1.24	0.87	0.33

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.10b (continued)

Identity (occupations)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Activity					
author	-0.13	-0.21	-0.59	-1.47	-0.33	-1.42
bank teller	-0.07	0.41	0.53	1.34	1.19	0.32
bill collector	-0.06	-0.50	-0.69	-1.84$^{\Delta}$	-1.11	-0.54
cashier	0.38	0.97	0.31	-0.21	1.81$^{\Delta}$	-1.74$^{\Delta}$
chemist	-0.54	-0.44	-0.79	-0.61	0.23	-0.85
computer programmer	0.59	0.97	0.64	0.13	1.42	-0.87
construction laborer	1.52	1.31	0.42	-3.68***	-0.77	-3.26**
engineer	0.88	0.97	0.26	-1.74$^{\Delta}$	0.26	-2.05*
farm laborer	1.30	-0.28	-0.42	-3.91***	-4.61***	-0.32
lawyer	0.46	1.08	0.56	0.24	1.92$^{\Delta}$	-1.27
librarian	-1.24	-1.59	-2.22	-3.02**	-1.06	-2.32*
miner	0.17	0.56	-0.49	-1.83$^{\Delta}$	1.09	-2.64**
social worker	0.48	0.26	0.58	0.26	-0.72	1.01
stenographer	0.00	0.19	-0.36	-0.77	0.47	-1.17
truck driver	0.52	0.00	-0.91	-4.17***	-1.58	-3.38***
veterinarian	0.12	0.78	0.58	1.19	2.31*	-0.53
welder	-0.09	0.03	-0.56	-1.43	0.43	-1.82$^{\Delta}$

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.11a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Family Identities over time (males)

Identity (family)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
brother	1.92	1.49	1.66	-0.64	-1.10	0.39
daughter	1.82	1.91	2.18	0.96	0.28	0.78
father	2.41	2.51	1.84	-1.29	0.30	-1.91$^\Delta$
husband	1.43	1.91	1.15	-0.77	1.55	-2.27*
mother	2.35	2.69	2.19	-0.40	1.45	-1.37
sister	1.65	2.14	1.84	0.50	1.62	-0.82
son	1.04	1.30	1.76	2.16*	0.91	1.41
wife	2.08	1.65	2.38	0.76	-1.28	2.15*
	Potency					
brother	0.84	1.14	1.28	1.15	0.91	0.33
daughter	-0.27	-1.17	-0.01	0.57	-2.58**	2.86**
father	2.41	1.69	1.78	-1.70$^\Delta$	-2.25*	0.25
husband	1.13	1.20	1.04	-0.26	0.26	-0.49
mother	0.96	1.06	1.75	1.88$^\Delta$	0.32	1.85$^\Delta$
sister	-0.15	-0.26	0.47	1.57	-0.31	1.86$^\Delta$
son	0.32	0.07	0.39	0.17	-0.90	0.80
wife	1.23	0.39	0.81	-0.91	-2.18*	1.01
	Activity					
brother	1.04	1.69	1.35	0.87	2.14*	-0.90
daughter	1.18	2.03	1.92	2.25*	2.86**	-0.41
father	-0.64	-0.77	0.02	1.54	-0.39	2.29*
husband	0.17	0.40	0.10	-0.23	0.67	-0.90
mother	-0.15	-0.66	0.32	1.05	-1.47	2.18*
sister	0.85	1.77	1.54	2.30*	3.41***	-0.87
son	1.15	1.97	1.61	1.31	2.70**	-1.02
wife	0.73	0.39	1.22	1.25	-1.15	2.25*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 2.11b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Family Identities over time (females)

Identity (family)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
brother	2.07	1.19	2.20	0.34	-2.49*	2.45*
daughter	2.16	2.16	2.30	0.40	0.00	0.49
father	2.32	2.41	2.01	-0.77	0.28	-1.10
husband	2.50	2.06	2.03	-1.35	-1.25	-0.07
mother	2.73	2.94	2.74	0.03	1.07	-0.72
sister	1.91	1.78	2.38	1.53	-0.40	1.83$^\Delta$
son	1.03	0.69	1.81	2.32*	-1.04	3.74***
wife	1.62	1.49	2.27	2.23*	-0.44	2.72**
	Potency					
brother	1.20	1.22	1.07	-0.40	0.06	-0.42
daughter	-0.12	-0.06	0.20	0.82	0.16	0.61
father	2.36	1.63	2.29	-0.26	-2.49*	2.19*
husband	1.57	1.50	1.35	-0.59	-0.21	-0.48
mother	1.70	1.22	2.04	0.95	-1.32	1.88$^\Delta$
sister	0.59	0.50	1.18	1.48	-0.28	2.01*
son	0.33	0.23	0.26	-0.18	-0.32	0.08
wife	0.65	0.23	0.92	0.74	-1.32	1.77$^\Delta$
	Activity					
brother	1.63	2.13	2.03	1.18	1.67$^\Delta$	-0.30
daughter	1.28	2.16	2.16	2.39*	2.41*	0.00
father	-0.12	-0.09	-0.23	-0.24	0.08	-0.34
husband	0.73	1.63	0.92	0.44	2.60**	-1.74$^\Delta$
mother	0.97	0.59	0.67	-0.72	-1.07	0.18
sister	1.53	1.63	1.85	0.97	0.30	0.62
son	1.70	1.85	2.24	1.56	0.48	1.27
wife	0.47	0.31	1.32	3.09**	-0.62	3.49***

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.12a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Regional Identities over time (males)

Identity (regional)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Eastern Canadian	1.33	1.52	1.06	-0.63	0.52	-1.30
English Canadian	0.91	0.91	1.12	0.51	0.00	0.66
French Canadian	0.70	0.24	0.58	-0.33	-1.35	0.89
Maritimer	0.65	1.36	0.76	0.35	2.58[**]	-1.85[Δ]
Native Canadian	1.44	0.43	0.88	-1.64	-2.70[**]	1.40
Western Canadian	0.37	0.64	1.47	3.60[***]	0.97	2.65[**]
	Potency					
Eastern Canadian	0.19	-0.67	-0.08	-0.63	-2.42[*]	1.74[Δ]
English Canadian	0.82	0.76	1.15	0.97	-0.19	1.13
French Canadian	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.00	0.04	-0.03
Maritimer	0.23	-0.46	-0.32	-1.94[Δ]	-2.59[**]	0.50
Native Canadian	0.16	-0.43	-0.42	-1.38	-1.29	0.02
Western Canadian	0.74	0.52	0.25	-1.77[Δ]	-0.84	-1.01
	Activity					
Eastern Canadian	-0.07	-0.46	0.04	0.24	-1.03	1.44
English Canadian	-0.18	0.36	0.84	3.67	2.14[*]	1.70[Δ]
French Canadian	0.46	0.39	0.47	0.04	-0.27	0.26
Maritimer	-0.19	-0.36	-0.12	0.21	-0.50	0.85
Native Canadian	0.44	0.03	-0.12	-2.07[*]	-1.20	-0.46
Western Canadian	0.81	0.00	0.51	-0.89	-3.28[**]	1.51

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.12b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Regional Identities over time (females)

Identity (regional)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Eastern Canadian	1.00	1.31	1.25	0.75	1.19	-0.18
English Canadian	1.20	1.00	1.31	0.26	-0.54	1.04
French Canadian	0.74	0.21	1.04	0.73	-1.49	2.34*
Maritimer	0.78	1.51	1.58	2.07*	2.59**	0.19
Native Canadian	1.10	1.22	1.45	0.94	0.38	0.64
Western Canadian	0.93	1.11	1.85	3.01**	0.72	2.53*
	Potency					
Eastern Canadian	-0.42	-0.41	0.01	1.70$^{\Delta}$	0.04	1.67$^{\Delta}$
English Canadian	1.52	0.92	1.26	-0.76	-1.87$^{\Delta}$	1.06
French Canadian	-0.43	0.67	-0.04	1.11	3.41***	-2.51*
Maritimer	-0.65	-0.41	-0.01	1.98*	0.77	1.58
Native Canadian	-0.03	-0.75	-0.59	-1.28	-1.87$^{\Delta}$	0.37
Western Canadian	0.46	0.63	0.55	0.29	0.68	-0.28
	Activity					
Eastern Canadian	-0.06	-0.36	0.17	0.76	-1.08	1.88$^{\Delta}$
English Canadian	0.88	0.39	0.73	-0.53	-1.88$^{\Delta}$	1.42
French Canadian	0.57	0.41	0.04	-1.71$^{\Delta}$	-0.48	-1.36
Maritimer	-0.74	-0.69	-0.07	1.70$^{\Delta}$	0.15	1.80$^{\Delta}$
Native Canadian	0.45	-0.41	-0.13	-1.73$^{\Delta}$	-2.92**	0.97
Western Canadian	0.57	0.40	0.56	-0.03	-0.62	0.57

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.13a: Changes in cultural sentiments for Ethnic Identities over time (males)

Identity (ethnic)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t (3-1)	t (2-1)	t (3-2)
	Evaluation					
Black	0.92	0.81	1.18	0.73	-0.37	1.00
Chinese	0.45	0.91	0.30	-0.51	1.53	-2.17*
Jamaican	0.92	0.29	0.83	-0.27	-1.84$^\Delta$	1.67$^\Delta$
Japanese	0.69	0.91	0.79	0.37	0.89	-0.45
Jew	0.36	1.31	0.81	1.45	3.13**	-1.73$^\Delta$
Pakistani	0.21	0.32	0.84	1.53	0.32	1.33
Russian	0.11	0.51	0.27	0.69	1.41	-0.97
	Potency					
Black	0.16	0.26	0.40	0.70	0.38	0.42
Chinese	-0.41	0.34	-0.01	1.36	2.55*	-1.09
Jamaican	-0.16	0.16	-0.01	0.51	1.08	-0.72
Japanese	-0.07	0.80	0.15	0.80	3.18**	-2.06*
Jew	0.32	0.20	0.20	-0.42	-0.43	0.00
Pakistani	-0.68	-0.71	-0.30	1.06	-0.10	1.20
Russian	0.44	0.20	0.34	-0.32	-0.76	0.45
	Activity					
Black	0.71	0.94	0.70	-0.03	0.82	-0.75
Chinese	0.34	0.66	-0.05	-1.35	0.99	-2.30*
Jamaican	0.84	0.74	0.39	-1.54	-0.34	-1.10
Japanese	-0.14	0.09	0.44	2.21*	0.69	1.12
Jew	-0.14	-0.40	0.12	0.85	-0.78	1.62
Pakistani	0.21	-0.23	0.19	-0.06	-1.39	1.28
Russian	-0.15	-0.71	-0.01	0.53	-1.91$^\Delta$	2.16*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2.13b: Changes in cultural sentiments for Ethnic Identities over time (females)

Identity (ethnic)	1981 (1)	1995 (2)	2001 (3)	t $_{(3-1)}$	t $_{(2-1)}$	t $_{(3-2)}$
	Evaluation					
Black	0.90	0.74	1.80	2.49*	-0.55	3.08**
Chinese	0.36	0.84	0.70	1.16	1.61	-0.47
Jamaican	0.60	0.36	1.24	2.06*	-0.90	2.80**
Japanese	0.77	0.81	0.98	0.63	0.13	0.61
Jew	0.96	0.75	1.39	1.12	-0.60	1.87$^\Delta$
Pakistani	0.17	0.37	0.81	2.23*	0.87	1.52
Russian	0.21	0.39	0.12	-0.28	0.65	-0.85
	Potency					
Black	0.10	0.10	0.68	1.73$^\Delta$	0.00	1.68$^\Delta$
Chinese	-0.15	0.31	-0.08	0.25	1.42	-1.22
Jamaican	-0.40	-0.31	0.37	3.38***	0.40	2.73**
Japanese	0.40	0.66	-0.01	-1.37	0.74	-2.28*
Jew	0.52	0.03	-0.19	-2.11*	-1.51	-0.69
Pakistani	-0.73	-0.50	-0.31	1.39	0.83	0.72
Russian	0.75	0.07	0.59	-0.48	-1.92$^\Delta$	1.53
	Activity					
Black	0.60	0.49	1.05	1.54	-0.48	1.99*
Chinese	0.24	0.47	-0.04	-1.01	0.69	-1.46
Jamaican	0.57	0.85	0.77	0.68	1.08	-0.29
Japanese	0.33	0.38	0.14	-0.56	0.15	-0.62
Jew	-0.12	-0.34	0.15	0.74	-0.66	1.51
Pakistani	0.03	-0.05	-0.35	-1.38	-0.35	-1.14
Russian	0.04	-0.58	-0.17	-0.77	-1.98*	1.24

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

CHAPTER 3

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter explores whether identities cluster into meaningful institutional groupings and determines how these identities hang together in EPA space. Distinct clusters based on their respective EPA ratings will cross social institutional lines and place identities together that are similar due to their status, power, and expressivity. For example, I should see youthful and good identities together, old and inactive identities together, pathetic identities together, and nasty, powerful identities together.

Relying on cluster analysis, I will compare clusters of identities to see if they represent meaningful institutions. I will also compare and contrast differences and similarities between male and female clusters.

Primarily a tool in marketing and psychology that originated in the 1930's, cluster analysis has since been used in many other disciplines, including medical research, management, geography, economics, psychiatry, and sociology (Schneider and Roberts 2005). In the general area of sociology, cluster analysis is a useful tool when organizing cases into groups based on a variety of social characteristics. For example, Schneider (1999b, 1999c, 2004) used cluster analysis to sort social identities for cross cultural comparison.

Schneider (1999b) relies on cluster analysis to determine the difference between American youth and German youth and their sentiments towards sexual erotic identities. Data were collected from German and American respondents and then clustered to determine how clusters differed. Germans differentiate quite clearly between sexual erotic and violent identities, while American respondents mix the two together suggesting that Americans associate feelings

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of shame and rage with these identities where Germans associate feelings of excitement.

Schneider (1999c) relies on the same data again to establish a criteria for determining how role-identities that share one denotation indicate social structure. In this paper, his basic assumption is that when E, P, A profiles are similar, "corresponding role-identities share one denotation. The implication is that thresholds for similarity implicitly create boundaries of meaning. Thus, cluster analysis of EPA profiles may be used inductively to investigate the possibility that role-identities, measured on their EPA profiles, form clusters of denotative meaning" (Schneider 1999c, p. 6).

In 2004, Schneider established an ideal type of authority through the use of comparing comparable clusters of denotative meaning across the United States and Germany. Letwin (2001) used cluster analysis to determine network types among an elderly population while Klemmack et al (2007) grouped older adults across measures of religiosity in an effort to determine how groups differed according to numerous sociodemographic characteristics, namely physical and mental health scores. Gough (2001) found cluster analysis to be very useful in his effort to sort countries into social assistance regimes. Alternatively, he had "forced" countries into groups but concluded that cluster analysis provided him with a better and more meaningful classification scheme (2001).

Schneider's work (1999b, 1999c, 2004) is of particular interest as he utilizes cluster analysis to sort identities according to E, P, and A ratings. When gathering and sorting through a large data set of identities and their respective E, P, and A values, I typically group identities into social institutions as a way of making sense of what would otherwise be a meaningless set of seemingly unrelated identities. Identities are therefore organized and grouped, based on common sense into a number of social institutions: family, criminal/deviance, political, educational,

sexual, medical/health, sports/entertainment, work, religious, ethnic, regional, and criminal justice.

Methodology

Cluster analysis is an exploratory tool that allows researchers to "identify groups of individuals or objects that are similar to each other but different from individuals in other groups" (Norusis 2008, p.361). Cluster analysis allows the researcher to see how social identities hang together in E (evaluation), P (potency), and A (activity) space. Distinct clusters of denotative meaning are determined presenting the researcher with a picture of how the cultural sentiments from identities reflect social structure (Schneider 2004; Schneider and Roberts 2005). Denotative meaning, as opposed to affective or connotative meaning, refers to the "rules for applying a concept to an entity" (Heise 2007). The number of clusters selected reflects the level of abstraction of the cluster.

Assessing distance measures both within groups and between groups of social identities drawn from a number of institutions, cluster analysis provides me with a way to determine if identities cluster into social institutions. Of the three types of cluster analysis, I chose to utilize *k*-means.

Hierarchical cluster analysis is used with small data sets as it requires a distance of similarity matrix between all pairs of cases. This matrix can become enormous if you have tens of thousands of cases captured in your data file.

Two-step cluster analysis works with very large data sets (>1000) and can also accommodate categorical and continuous variables. The only requirement is that the researcher must know a proiri the number of clusters required. "The algorithm iteratively estimates the

cluster means and assigns each case to the cluster for which its distance to the cluster mean is the smallest" (Norusis 2008, p. 362).

K-means cluster analysis will therefore produce the exact number of clusters specified, (k), with the greatest possible distinction (Statsoft, 2007). The algorithm used in k-means, where k is the number of clusters the researcher chooses, centers around finding the means for each cluster. The analysis involves the reassignment of the same cases between clusters. Specifically, the algorithm starts with an initial set of means (these can be set by the researcher, although this is not necessary) and then classifies cases based on distances to their centers. Cluster means are then computed again using the cases assigned to each cluster. Cases are again reclassified based on these new means. This step is repeated until the cluster means change minimally between successive steps. Finally, permanent clusters are formed using the final cluster means. SPSS output provides both initial cluster means and final cluster means (Norusis 2008).

 For the purpose of this exploratory analysis it works well with moderate sized data sets, and unlike hierarchical, does not require the computation of all possible distances between case means (Norusis 2008).

Distance measures reflect fit of identity within a specific cluster. I decided to use Euclidean distance, the default option in SPSS. In terms of E, P, A space, Euclidean distance is computed using the following equation: $D = \{\Sigma(E_1 - E_2)^2 + (P_1 - P_2)^2 + (A_1 - A_2)^2\}^{1/2}$ where D is distance, 1 and 2 represent a pair of identities, and E, P, and A represent their corresponding evaluation, potency and activity values. The lower the distance measure, the better the fit, while the higher the distance the worse the fit. It should be noted though that a higher distance measure may simply mean that the identity in question did not fit on one dimension (evaluation, potency or activity). This is due to the fact that cluster analysis will draw on evaluation, potency,

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or activity when determining where best to place a given identity. Given that the distance measure used is based on the E, P, and A scale (3 to -3 where 3 is extremely good/powerful/active and -3 is extremely bad/powerless/inactive), I believe a distance measure of <0.8 is reasonable for within cluster membership. High distance measures from cluster means (>0.9) reflect identities that were mismatched based on either evaluation, potency or activity and yet did not "fit" into any other cluster. SPSS output also provides distance measures that reflect the distance between clusters. Given that within cluster distance measures should be small, between cluster distances should be large. These values can be found in output tables provided by SPSS.

I rely on data from my large 2001 data set for the cluster analysis. As described in chapter 2, this data set comprises of approximately 800 identities collected from convenience samples of 25-35 male and female students in introductory sociology courses at a mid-size Southern Ontario University. I aggregated individual cases to obtain mean EPA ratings of social identities separately by sex of respondent. Affect Control Research traditionally collects data separately for males and females. As will be discussed later, this is useful because some sex differences in cultural sentiments occur for some identities. Sex specific data is also required for program INTERACT.

I sorted data into social institutions along with a few miscellaneous groups, namely: religion, sexual, crime and deviance, criminal justice, education, family, medical and health, politics, sports and entertainment, work related, occupations, regional, ethnic, and traits. MacKinnon and Heise (2010) delineate several social institutions that a person would likely encounter in everyday life. The family is broken down into marriage identities, caregiving identities, and children related identities. Sexuality forms its own social institution. Although

matters of sexual attraction, sexual activity, and sexual pleasuring were once part of the family social institution, legitimation of gay and lesbian identities along with a variety of other sexual preference identities has resulted in the formation of a new and separate social institution (MacKinnon and Heise 2010).

The third institution is comprised of business related activities, specifically people working at business, in offices, organizations or within companies in a variety of roles. Business also comprises the entire commercial aspect of work, namely shops, retail, service, and food industries.

Religion forms the fourth institution. Identities are divided into ecclesiastic (clergy, priest, etc…) and divinity (identities of supernatural beings such as God and Devil). Education is the fifth institution and comprises all students at colleges, universities, and schools along with all of the teachers and staff that are required to run these institutions.

The sixth institution is medical and comprises of all patients, staff, and professionals.

The legal social institution is divided into law and police and the political institution is divided into executive and electoral.

These 8 groupings represent the main social institutions that most of us would encounter regularly. MacKinnon and Heise (2010) also includes two more groupings that do not necessarily impinge on everyone: (1) traveling and entertainment and (2) military and science. The social institutions I employ in this chapter are based on those outlined by MacKinnon and Heise (2010) except that rather than incorporating deviant identities into separate institutions, I decided to treat them as constituting a separate institution in combination with other criminal identities. Relying on these groupings of social institutions, I decided to eliminate all traits,

ethnic, and regional identities from my data because my focus is on the clustering of identities into institutions.

I employed identities from the following social institutions: religious, sexual, criminal/deviant, criminal justice, education, medical/health, sports/entertainment, family, political, work, and occupations. The total number of identities included in the cluster analysis was 488. I started with 10 clusters and sampled a variety of solutions, including solutions with 18, 20 and 25 clusters. I settled on 15 clusters. This number represents 11 social institutions and 4 extra clusters to account for subcategories that exist within social institutions. For example, I discovered that sexual identities can be further sorted by preference, terms of endearment, and sex/gender classification.

I attempted to pair male clusters with female clusters by cluster mean. Clusters that were too difficult to pair were left unpaired. I present cluster pairings in numerous tables, along with distances from centroid mean for identities shared between clusters and distances from centroid mean for identities unique to clusters. Separate tables present cluster data from clusters difficult to pair.

Findings

Attached tables display paired clusters, first with shared identities and their distances from the cluster mean (tables labelled "a"), then with identities unique to paired clusters with cluster means (tables labeled "b").

There are four clusters in the first grouping. Three are positive across all dimensions (evaluation, potency, and activity), and the fourth is very close with positive neutral or negative neutral on the activity dimension. Cluster 15, with a centroid mean of (1.7, 0.50, 1.56) is very similar to cluster 11 for females with a centroid mean of (2.24, 1.25, 1.8) (see Tables 3.1a and

3.1b). Both of these clusters group identities that are very good, slightly powerful or powerful, and very active. In cluster 15 (male), there are identities drawn from a number of institutions, namely: family, sexual, occupations, entertainment, health, and education. The prototype for this cluster is *sister*. Cluster 11 (female) reflects identities drawn from almost identical institutions. The prototype for this cluster is also *sister*. The identities of *myself as others see me* and *myself as I really am* are found in both of these clusters, suggesting that males and females rate themselves in a similar way. Here, female mean scores are more intense, particularly on evaluation and potency.

The second pairing of clusters that reflect identities that are positive on all dimensions are clusters 5 (female) with a mean of (0.72, 2.04, 1.9) and 13 (male) with a mean of (1.3, 1.88, 1.65) (see Tables 3.2a and 3.2b). These two clusters represent good, very powerful and very active identities. Many of the identities come from sports and entertainment, criminal justice, sexual, family, and occupational institutions. Identities such as *lineman*, *guard*, and *superstar* are all represented in these clusters. The prototypes for cluster 5 (female) are *football guard* and *end (football)* while for cluster 13 (male) they are *lineman* and *linebacker*. Interestingly, male respondents have a higher evaluation value for this cluster while females have a higher potency value.

Clusters 6 (male) with a mean of (1.1, 0.13, 0.72) and 8 (female) with a cluster mean of (1.19, 0.10, 1.1) are the third pairing of clusters that are positive across all dimensions (see Tables 3.3a and 3.3b). These clusters are good, essentially neutral on potency and slightly active. Both clusters in this pair contain many identities from family, work, occupations, and sexual institutions. The major difference is that *homosexual*, *lesbian*, and *queer* are included within the female cluster (#8), but they do not appear in the male cluster. This can be explained

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by the fact that females rate these identities consistently much more positively on evaluation than do male respondents. Prototypes are therefore quite different for each cluster. Cluster 6 (male) reports *saleswoman*, *workman*, and *employee* as prototypical identities while cluster 8 (female) reports *lesbian*, *half brother*, and *decorator* as prototypical identities. Generally, with the exception of sexual reference identities included only in the female cluster, both clusters have very similar means.

Although cluster 11 (male) and 13 (female), are not positive on all three dimensions, they come very close. Specifically, cluster 11 has a centroid mean of (1.4, 1.45, -0.07) and cluster 13 has a mean of (1.64, 1.61, 0.2) (see Tables 3.4a and 3.4b). Although the male cluster mean has an activity rating of -0.07, this value is only just below 0 and is not far from cluster 13's activity mean value of 0.2. These two clusters represent identities that are good to very good, powerful to very powerful, and neutral on activity. These are large clusters, both containing upwards of 60 identities drawn from a variety of social institutions, including criminal justice, occupations, education, political, medical, family, work, sexual, and entertainment. Prototypes for cluster 11 are: *detective*, *chiropractor*, *juror*, *architect*, and *instructor*. Prototypes for cluster 13 are *scholar*, *academic*, *instructor*, *witness*, *man*, and *magician*. *Liberal* is also found in both clusters.

Three pairings of clusters are positive on evaluation and potency, while negative on activity. Cluster 12 (male) with a mean of (2.1, 0.16, -1.80) and cluster 4 (female) with a mean of (2.38, 0.61, -2.0) contain similar identities across sex (see Tables 3.5a and 3.5b). These two clusters contain identities that are generally very good, neutral to slightly powerful, and very inactive. These clusters are both small and draw from familial, religious, and occupational identities. Prototypes for males are *auntie* and *grandmother*; for females, *grandmother* and

church deacon. In this instance, the female cluster mean is higher on evaluation and potency, although the difference is more substantial for potency.

The second pairing in this group reflects identities that are good, very powerful, and inactive. Cluster 4 (male) with a mean of (0.8, 2.21, -1.23) and cluster 6 (female) with a mean of (0.88, 2.33, -1.2) (see Tables 3.6a and 3.6b) are comprised of identities drawn from political, work, criminal justice, religious, medical/health, and educational institutions. Cluster 6 (female) is larger than cluster 4 (male). Prototypes for the male cluster are *federal cabinet minister*, *principal*, *senator*, and *mayor*. Female prototypes are *employer*, *Speaker of the House of Commons*, *Lieutenant Governor*, and *sheriff*. Both clusters are extremely close on mean values across evaluation, potency and activity.

Clusters 8 (male) has a mean of (0.5, 0.46, -.48) and cluster 12 (female) has a mean of (1.01, 0.08, -1.0) (see Tables 3.7a and 3.7b). Cluster 8 represents identities that are slightly good, slightly powerful, and slightly inactive while cluster 12 represents identities that are good, neutral, and inactive. Although far from a perfect match, both clusters contain identities from occupational, political, family, religious, medical/health, and criminal justice institutions. Identities clustered around the centroid mean for both clusters results in similar prototypes for both groups. Females place *plumber*, *longshoreman*, *welder*, and *bulldozer operator* in the top 10 prototypical identities. Males place *welder*, *chemist*, *bulldozer operator,* and *longshoreman* in their top 10 prototypical identities. These are large clusters, each containing between 50 and 60 identities. They are also clusters that draw in unobtrusive identities that do not really evoke strong emotions which is why these clusters contain many occupations. Interestingly, the male cluster includes political party identities - *New Democrat*, *Parti Quebecois*, and *PC*-, but these identities are absent from the female cluster.

Cluster 14 (male) with a mean of (-0.9, -1.78, -0.61) and cluster 14 (female) with a mean of (-0.60, -2.08, -0.90) have similar cluster means although the female cluster is higher on E while the male cluster is higher on potency and activity. They are the only two clusters that contain identities that are negative on all three dimensions (see Tables 3.8a and 3.8b). Identities in these clusters are typically slightly bad or bad, very powerless, and inactive, and drawn from criminal deviant, criminal justice, medical and sexual institutions. Prototypes for the male cluster are: *wench*, *pansy, vagrant*, *shut-in*, and *drunk*. Prototypes for the female cluster are similar: *wino*, *shut-in*, *drunk*, and *invalid*.

Cluster 7 (male) and cluster 2 (female) contain identities that are good or very good, slightly powerless, and very active. The cluster means for males and females are (1.2, -0.88, 1.91) and (1.79, -0.66, 2.4), respectively (see Tables 3.9a and 3.9b). The difference between cluster means is quite striking here as the female cluster has much higher evaluation and activity values than the male cluster. These two clusters are very similar. Both contain identities from institutions where one finds youthful, energetic, but powerless identities, such as: family, education, and some occupations. The male cluster also includes sexual identities that are not found in the female cluster, including *topless dancer* and *stripper*. The only sexual identities found in the female cluster refer to names or labels used to refer to women, such as *chick*, *gal*, and *doll*. Females also included *rookie cop* which does not appear in the male cluster. The prototypes for the male cluster are: *intern*, *boy*, *adolescent*, *waitress*, *pupil*, and *schoolboy*. Prototypes for the female cluster are: *nephew*, *salesgirl*, *schoolboy*, *grandson*, and *boy scout*.

Identities that are bad or very bad, slightly powerless, and slightly active or active are found in clusters 10 for both males and females. Cluster 10 (male) has a cluster mean of (-1.6, -0.77, 0.78) and cluster 10 (female) has a cluster mean of (-1.40, -0.71, 1.8) (see Tables 3.10a and

3.10b). Female identities are more active than male identities as noted by the difference between their respective activity means. These were difficult clusters to pair, only matching on 7 identities. Criminal deviant and sexual deviant identities are represented in these groups. The prototypes for males are: *felon*, *bitch*, *convict*, *law-breaker*, and *culprit*. The prototypes for females are: *mistress*, *hoodlum*, *call girl*, *delinquent*, and *harlot*.

Two groups of clusters draw on identities that are negative on evaluation, and positive on potency and activity. The first in this pairing are cluster 3 (male) and cluster 9 (female) with means of (-0.2, 0.7, 0.99) and (-0.57, 1.34, 0) respectively (see Table 3.11). The female cluster was higher on evaluation, substantially higher on potency, and much lower on activity than the male cluster. Identities found in these clusters are neutral to slightly bad, slightly powerful to powerful, and neutral to active. Note the difference on activity. The male cluster represents identities that are active on the activity dimension while the female cluster represents identities that are neutral on the activity dimension.   These clusters draw identities from a diverse group of social institutions. The male cluster is comprised of identities from criminal justice, criminal deviance, sexual, and occupational institutions. The female cluster is comprised of identities from the same institutions as well as family, political, and religious institutions. Prototypes for these clusters were *informer*, *accomplice*, *pickup*, and *informant* for males and *critic*, *bookie*, *racketeer*, and *auditor* for females. More occupational identities found their way into the female cluster. This reflects the fact that some occupational identities evoke little emotion, given that they are neutral on the evaluation dimension. This, again, was a difficult pair to establish as noted by the fact that only 10 identities were found in both clusters.

The second pairing in this group are cluster 9 (male) with a mean of (-1.9, 0.76, 0.99) and cluster 3 (female) with a mean of (-2.54, 1.40, 1.1) (see Tables 3.12a and 3.12b). Again, I

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observed that the female cluster mean is substantially lower on evaluation and higher on potency

values. These identities are very bad, slightly powerful or powerful, and active. Both clusters

draw primarily on identities from the criminal deviance institution. Females also include two

sexual identities and one religious identity in this cluster as well. Prototypes for males are

bandit, *thief*, *pimp*, *thug* and *pusher*. Prototypes for females are *ladykiller*, *villain*, *gunman*,

mugger, and *pusher*. There is much agreement between clusters with this pairing.

The remaining three male and three female clusters were difficult to pair. Two clusters I

attempt to pair, while the remainder I will discuss separately. Cluster 1 (male) and 15 (female)

are similar enough that I chose to discuss them together, although only 11 identities were shared

between clusters. Cluster 1 has a centroid mean of (0.7, -0.79, -0.66) and represents identities

that are slightly good, slightly powerless, and slightly inactive. Cluster 15, with a centroid mean

of (0.93, -1.23, 0.3), represents identities that are good, powerless, and neutral to slightly active

(see Table 3.13a and 3.13b). The major difference between these two groups is the activity

rating, but otherwise these clusters represent primarily occupational identities with the occasional

sexual, medical, work, criminal justice, and criminal deviant identities. Despite this difference

on activity, these two clusters appear similar in types of identities assigned to each one although

they do not share many of the same identities. Prototypes for cluster 1 are: *taxi driver*, *library*

assistant, *dressmaker*, and *parliament secretary*. Prototypes for cluster 15 are: *dishwasher*,

chambermaid, *gas station attendant*, and *homo*.

I discuss cluster 2 (male) separately. It has a mean of (0.1, -0.74, 0.63) and represents

identities that are neutral (neither good nor bad), slightly powerless, and slightly active (see

Table 3.14). Identities in this cluster are drawn primarily from sexual, criminal deviance and

some occupation social institutions. Whereas females rate sexual preference identities

(*homosexual*, *queer*, and *lesbian*) more positively on evaluation putting them in a different cluster, males are not as generous in their evaluation. Although they are not stigmatized identities any more (as noted in earlier presentation of findings regarding changes over time), neither are they good identities. Occupational identities in this cluster come from the dirty job category, namely *garbage collector* and *dishwasher*. Prototypes are: *fag*, *fruit*, *hussy*, *streetwalker*, *queer*, *homo*, and *homosexual*.

Also discussed separately, cluster 1 (female) has a centroid mean of (-2.36, 0.02, 0.3) representing identities that are very bad and essentially neutral on power and activity (see Table 3.15). This cluster is made up of mostly sexual and criminal deviant identities whose prototypes are *madman*, *culprit*, *felon*, *adulterer*, and *traitor*.

Cluster 5 is the final male cluster. Again, I discuss this cluster separately. It has a cluster mean of (-1.4, 1.84, -0.52) and represents identities that are bad, very powerful, and slightly active (see Table 3.16). It is a very small cluster made up primarily of criminal deviant, occupational, and religious identities. Prototypes are *loan shark*, *auditor*, *mobster*, and *Mafioso*. The religious identity included in this cluster is *The Devil*.

The final female cluster is 7 and has a cluster mean of (-1.30, -1.61, 0.4) (see Table 3.17). Presented separately, this cluster represents identities that are bad, very powerless, and neutral to slightly active. This cluster contains identities from sexual, criminal deviant, criminal justice and medical health social institutions. Prototypes are: *lush*, *accused*, *hypochondriac*, *neurotic*, and *acid head*.

Discussion

K-means cluster analysis has proven useful in that it demonstrates how identities can be grouped based on their respective E, P, and A values as opposed to grouping according to social institutions. I started with 11 social institutions and/or groupings: religious, sexual, criminal deviant, criminal justice, political, sports/entertainment, medical/health, education, family, work, and occupations, and settled on 15 final clusters that represent a variety of variations on intensity levels of evaluation, potency and activity.

Ranging from sexual terms of endearment, to good occupational identities that require some training, to powerful sports and entertainment identities, to high skill, professional identities, these clusters (15 male and 11 female; 13 male and 5 female; 6 male and 8 female; and, 11 male and 13 female) express all the good, powerful, and active identities that we come into contact with on a fairly regular occurrence (see Tables 3.1a, 3.1b, 3.2a, 3.2b, 3.3a, 3.3b, and, 3.4a, 3.4b). Females also include sexual preference identities (*lesbian* and *homosexual*) in these groupings. In total, there were nine pairings of clusters and one single cluster that contained identities that were positive on evaluation while four of these pairings were positive on all three dimensions differing only on the intensity expressed for each of evaluation, potency and activity

Child and youthful identities, along with a few sexual identities referring to occupations in the male cluster, reflect the very positively evaluated, young, very active and powerless identities reflected in the pairing presented in Table 3.9a and 3.9b of cluster 7 male and 2 female. These are fun and busy identities. The male inclusion of sexual occupation identities (*stripper*, *porno star*, and *topless dancer*) in this cluster suggests that males do not rate these identities in a derogatory way as do female respondents. These same identities can be found in the female

cluster 10 with a mean E value of -1.40, significantly worse than the male E mean of 1.20 from cluster 7.

Older family members, political figures and innocuous occupational identities can be found in the following set of clusters: 12 male and 4 female; 4 male and 6 female; and, 8 male and 12 female (see Tables 3.5a, 3.5b, 3.6a, 3.6b, and, 3.7a, 3.7b). In total, three pairs of clusters and one unpaired cluster were positive on evaluation and potency while negative on activity. Again, intensity for the different dimensions is what separates these clusters from each other. These large occupational groupings are often identities that do not evoke any strong emotions, resulting in clusters with centroid means that remain in the slightly good/bad, slightly powerful/powerless and slightly active/inactive range. In essence, many of these identities are in the neutral range. Occupations represent the largest group of identities in my data set and occupy the largest number of clusters. Although cluster membership for occupational clusters (especially the more neutral occupations) is not identical across sex, occupations were grouped together in a meaningful way. Males and females express nuanced differences in their ratings of occupational identities, but these differences do not appear to reflect some sort of pattern. Rather, I would argue that the more neutral or bland occupational identities are difficult to rate as they evoke little affective response.

Low- skilled and semi-skilled occupational identities can be found in one cluster pair (1 male and 15 female). Reflecting identities that are positive on evaluation and negative or neutral on potency and activity, these are identities that did not evoke strong affective responses from respondents (see Table 3.13a, 3.13b).

The single cluster, 2 male, that reflects another grouping of emotionally bland identities is slightly more negative in its overall sentiment and draws primarily on some "dirty-work" occupational identities (*dishwasher* and *garbage collector*), sexually deviant identities (*street walker* and *harlot*), criminal deviant identities (*pothead* and *look-out*), and sexual preference identities (*homosexual*, *lesbian*, and *bisexual*) (see Table 3.14). This single male cluster was only marginally positive on evaluation representing a rating of neither good nor bad and a rating of slightly powerless and slightly active on the other two dimensions. These are all slightly derogatory yet innocuous identities. Recall that females placed sexual preference identities in a cluster that was positive on all dimensions.

A final pair of clusters includes a few occupational identities, but primarily criminal justice identities (3 male and 9 female; see Table 3.11a, and 3.11b). These are identities that are negative on evaluation while positive on potency and activity. Identities included in this pairing of clusters range from *nark* to *informant* to *salesman.*

Like occupational identities, criminal/deviant identities are a fairly large group, represented across several clusters depending on the intensity of E, P, and A. All are bad, but some are powerful while others are weak. Some are active while others have low expressivity. Violent criminal deviant identities are clustered together representing ratings that are bad, powerful and active (9 male and 3 female; see Table 3.12a, 3.12b). Cluster 1 female reflects negative, general criminal identities that are very bad but almost neutral on the other two dimensions (see Table 3.15). A separate cluster, 7 female, reflects sexually deviant or pathetic identities as opposed to strong and violent ones. These identities are negative on evaluation and potency and positive on activity (see Table 3.17). Alcohol related identities and medical invalid identities are only slightly bad but very powerless and inactive. This was the only pair of

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clusters (14 male and 14 female) that was negative across all three dimensions (see Table 3.8a, 3.8b). Finally, the worst in the criminal underworld, the identities found in cluster 5 male are bad and very powerful while inactive as these characters orchestrate crime rather than execute it (see Table 3.16). Within the female clusters, these same identities were placed into another cluster. The distance from the female cluster mean for these identities (*mobster* and *Mafioso*) were high indicating that they did not "fit" into the cluster were they were placed (cluster 9 female, see Table 3.11a, 3.11b).

Although pairings were possible for the most part, some interesting differences between males and females emerged. As noted in Dunphy and MacKinnon (2002), females often rate identities more intensely, especially on the evaluation dimension. This was evident for many of the clusters containing very good identities and very bad identities. Specifically, the female cluster 11 (found in Table 3.1a, 3.1b) has a much higher E value than the male cluster 15. Although both males and females rate these identities as very good, the female cluster reflects a more intense rating. This pattern applies to cluster 4 female found in tables 3.5a and 3.5b, cluster 12 female found in tables 3.7a and 3.7b, and cluster 2 female found in tables 3.9a and 3.9b. In each of these cases, except cluster 12 female, the clusters with more intense ratings are very good, representing family members (old and young), terms of endearment, and youthful identities. Cluster 12 female is interesting in that it represents primarily good, solid, although not powerful, occupational identities, but again the cluster mean reflects a much higher E value for the female cluster. Cluster 14 female found in Table 3.8a and 3.8b, reflects social identities that are pathetic and weak. Here, a higher E value occurs within the female cluster, suggesting perhaps that female respondents do not take such a harsh view on these types of identities.

However, this pattern is reversed with clusters 9 female and 3 female, found in tables 3.11a, 3.11b and 3.12a and 3.12b respectively, cluster pairs containing identities that are very nasty.

Consistent with the intensity argument, females respond more negatively than male respondents. The only example where a male cluster scores substantially higher on mean evaluation is with the male cluster13 male. This cluster pairing represents primarily sports/entertainment identities and the cluster mean for E is much higher than that for females, reflecting perhaps the cultural stereotype that men love their sporting events.

Other sex differences were found with sexual preference identities. Identities such as *homosexual*, *lesbian*, and *bisexual* are found in cluster 8 for females with a cluster mean that is good, neutral on power and active, whereas these same identities are found in cluster 2 for males, which is neutral on evaluation, powerless and slightly active. As noted previously with how fundamental sentiments towards social identities have changed over time, both males and females increased their evaluation rating over a twenty year period. This finding is reinforced with Bibby (2006) and his finding that Canadians are more accepting of same sex relationships. But, as noted here, the male increase was not as intense as the female increase in evaluation for identities that refer to one's sexual preference.

Generally speaking, cluster analysis was not successful in combining identities into meaningful institutional clusters. However, cluster analysis was modestly successful as a tool for sorting some identities into meaningful clusters that could be useful for other research purposes, such as Schneider's interesting work on attitudes toward sexual erotic identities (1999b). Clustering identities according to different intensities and combinations of evaluation, potency, and activity provides an alternative way to assess changes in identities. Occupational identities,

in particular, did benefit from this sorting method as cluster analysis successfully grouped occupational identities according to characteristics such as skill level, potency level and status level.

Alternatively, MacKinnon and Heise (2010) have discovered an interesting method for delineating various social institutions based on a cognitive approach that relies on lexical data on the meanings of certain identities. They show that "meanings of identities, by referencing one another, generate confluences of meaning" (p. 17). This is a more practical method for discerning institutions as opposed to trying to abstract it from field observations. This is because "an institution's embodied identities, performed actions, settings, and instruments are widely dispersed geographically and temporally" (p.74). Relying on dictionary definitions of identities, MacKinnon and Heise (2010) assembled lexical data, analyzed the data as a semantic network, and then showed that clusters of identity concepts within the network correspond to the role compositions of social institutions. This approach is unique and innovative as a method for determining how social institutions hang together.

In conclusion, this chapter presented findings from cluster analysis. In an effort to explore whether or not *k*-means cluster analysis could successfully cluster identities drawn from my 2001 data set into social institutions, I determined that this method was no better than manually sorting identities into social institutions.

Table 3.1a: Identities shared between clusters 15M and 11F with distances. Cluster 15 M (male) mean (1.7, 0.50, 1.56); Cluster 11 F (female) mean (2.24, 1.25, 1.8).

Shared Identities	Distance from cluster mean	
	Cluster 15 male	Cluster 11 female
sister	0.115	0.171
sibling	0.169	0.656
female	0.392	0.551
comedian	0.430	0.522
hostess	0.479	0.771
bartender	0.492	0.863
my sister	0.496	0.453
myself as i really am	0.535	0.703
darling	0.566	1.330
woman	0.587	0.942
firstborn	0.601	0.401
babysitter	0.619	0.936
flight attendant	0.637	0.922
graduate student	0.672	0.771
boyfriend	0.734	0.875
wife	0.795	0.555
spouse	0.821	0.590
medic	0.906	0.886
companion	0.969	0.619
myself as other	1.097	0.667
lover	1.321	1.361
babe (female)	1.428	1.100
sweetheart	1.486	0.872

Table 3.1b: Identities unique to clusters 15M and 11F with distances

cluster 15 male	Distance	cluster 11 female	Distance
son	0.126	brother	0.317
barkeeper	0.413	teammate	0.662
schoolmate	0.416	musician	0.691
student	0.417	my brother	0.721
colleague	0.476	elementary school teacher	0.723
undergraduate	0.543	photographer	0.809
my brother	0.547	champion	0.818
lady	0.589	husband	0.882
coed	0.621	guy	0.937
vixen	0.627	starlet	0.943
son-in-law	0.627	dietitian	0.957
bachelor	0.682	schoolteacher	1.109
nurse	0.726	athlete	1.156
girl	0.738	my mother	1.213
daughter	0.771	fireman	1.438
virgin	0.772	truelove	1.887
registered nurse	0.863		
flirt	1.000		
sexpot	1.031		
tutor	1.163		
rookie cop	1.267		

Table 3.2a: Identities shared between clusters 13M and 5F with distances.
Cluster 13M mean (1.3, 1.88, 1.65); Cluster 5F mean (0.72, 2.02, 1.9).

Shared Identities	Distance from Cluster Means	
	Cluster 13 male	Cluster 5 female
lineman	0.282	0.749
linebacker (football)	0.316	0.697
guard (football)	0.325	0.312
fullback (football)	0.442	0.522
end (football)	0.452	0.316
superstar	0.477	0.518
bodyguard	0.523	1.101
center (hockey)	0.612	1.104
tackle (football)	0.615	0.798
star	0.638	1.148
boxer	0.709	0.443
provincial policeman	0.710	1.129
celebrity	0.782	1.044
reporter	0.918	0.534
cop	0.919	1.141
halfback (football)	1.044	1.064
quarterback	1.129	0.572
jock	1.150	0.838

Table 3.2b: Identities unique to clusters 13M and 5F with distances

Cluster 13 male	Distance	Cluster 5 female	Distance
champion	0.398	referee	0.603
fireman	0.559	actor	0.645
athlete	0.678	bouncer	0.843
brother	0.767	flirt	1.025
policeman	0.867	attorney	1.109
state trooper	0.927	lawyer	1.415
Mountie	0.965	prosecuting attorney	1.426
teammate	1.007	tease	1.603
truelove	1.510	playboy	1.639

Table 3.3a: Identities shared between cluster 6M and 8F with distances.
Cluster 6M mean (1.1, 0.13, 0.72); Cluster 8F mean (1.19, 0.10, 1.1).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
	Cluster 6 male	Cluster 8 female
saleswoman	0.146	0.260
employee	0.192	0.904
dental hygienist	0.269	0.348
worker	0.304	0.729
customer	0.312	0.472
consumer	0.315	0.436
stepsister	0.372	0.629
client	0.383	0.814
fan	0.386	0.819
half brother	0.402	0.215
decorator	0.409	0.230
co-worker	0.416	0.548
cousin	0.423	0.850
brother-in-law	0.426	0.689
salesclerk	0.431	0.655
saleslady	0.443	0.556
classmate	0.455	0.874
stepbrother	0.503	0.774
sister-in-law	0.537	0.594
receptionist	0.540	0.970
headwaiter	0.542	0.948
half sister	0.548	0.450
mailman	0.638	1.124
dame	0.649	0.454
auctioneer	0.651	0.761
daughter-in-law	0.664	0.814
housewife	0.669	1.176
mail carrier	0.685	1.087
bank teller	0.721	0.533
blind date	0.761	1.083
wage earner	0.789	0.776
clown	0.848	0.913

Table 3.3b: Identities unique to cluster 6M and 8F with distances

Cluster 6 male	Distance	Cluster 8 female	Distance
workman	0.168	lesbian	0.132
farm laborer	0.216	dental hygienist	0.304
dental assistant	0.328	lass	0.365
miss	0.462	spectator	0.380
dietitian	0.501	coed	0.426
starlet	0.505	bisexual	0.488
gal	0.518	son-in-law	0.509
musician	0.537	queer	0.545
computer programmer	0.538	firebug	0.677
secretary	0.550	homosexual	0.689
practical nurse	0.555	look-out	0.690
nursemaid	0.603	construction laborer	0.759
photographer	0.604	straight	0.779
actor	0.622	colleague	0.786
technician	0.629	virgin	0.821
witness	0.646	barmaid	0.900
cook	0.647	dike	0.923
waiter	0.679	schoolmate	0.928
broad	0.695	barkeeper	0.947
heterosexual	0.696	stepdaughter	0.966
typist	0.701	bystander	0.972
eyewitness	0.704	swinger	1.008
assistant	0.716	bachelor	1.009
doll	0.748	pickup	1.023
scoutmaster	0.783	New Democrat	1.040
civil servant	0.840	stepson	1.104
elementary school teacher	0.870		
guy	0.885		
patrolman	0.969		
social worker	1.005		
street musician	1.010		

Table 3.4a: Identities shared between 11M and 13F with distances.
Cluster 11M mean (1.4, 1.45, -0.07); Cluster 13F mean (1.64, 1.61, 0.2).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
		Cluster 13
	Cluster 11 male	female
detective	0.164	0.424
chiropractor	0.291	0.549
juror	0.306	0.651
architect	0.306	0.582
instructor	0.369	0.750
advisor	0.385	0.562
grown-up	0.393	0.663
Liberal	0.398	0.692
airline pilot	0.398	0.999
coach	0.403	1.067
inspector	0.421	0.750
specialist	0.452	0.550
expert	0.477	0.922
magician	0.526	0.335
adult	0.555	0.499
scholar	0.562	0.135
deputy	0.575	0.658
physician	0.583	0.841
father	0.587	0.863
academic	0.591	0.193
anesthetist	0.735	1.009
teacher	0.744	1.440
veterinarian	0.756	0.772
probation officer	0.777	0.739
my father	0.791	1.242
relation	0.792	0.984
man	0.807	0.318
surgeon	0.817	1.257
executive	0.844	1.207
chef	0.870	0.792
engineer	0.887	0.493
counselor	0.889	0.711
district attorney	0.918	1.096
mother	0.962	1.290
doctor	0.972	1.511
author	1.027	0.769
gentleman	1.106	0.873
parent	1.298	1.320

Table 3.4b: Identities unique to 11M and 13M with distances

Cluster 11 male	Distance	Cluster 13 female	Distance
justice of the peace	0.457	witness	0.238
referee	0.487	computer programmer	0.556
husband	0.493	patrolman	0.594
schoolteacher	0.512	scoutmaster	0.601
dentist	0.543	eyewitness	0.650
psychiatrist	0.578	psychologist	0.714
employer	0.593	practical nurse	0.762
carpenter	0.637	storyteller	0.825
manager	0.650	social worker	0.829
father-in-law	0.686	tutor	0.841
uncle	0.715	nurse	0.847
prosecuting attorney	0.734	cook	0.870
sheriff	0.770	manager	0.918
supervisor	0.803	Mountie	0.926
Receiver General	0.889	heterosexual	0.940
professor	0.912	registered nurse	0.942
farmer	1.015	parliament secretary	1.024
attorney	1.091	aunt	1.061
lawyer	1.337	state trooper	1.070
my mother	1.442	real estate agent	1.091
God	1.825	banker	1.103
		accountant	1.156
		lady	1.157
		nursemaid	1.167
		policeman	1.430

Table 3.5a: Identities shared between clusters 12M and 4F with distances.
Cluster 12M mean (2.1, 0.16, -1.80); Cluster 4F mean (2.38, 0.61, -2.0).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster mean	
	Cluster 12 male	Cluster 4 female
auntie	0.414	1.372
grandmother	0.802	0.894
church deacon	1.069	0.897
grandfather	1.105	1.308
grandparent	1.124	1.670
senior	1.188	1.153
granny	1.332	0.970

Table 3.5b: Identities unique to clusters 12M and 4F with distances

Cluster 12 male	Distance	Cluster 4 female	Distance
funeral director	0.838	baker	0.974
clergy	0.845	farmer	1.013
aunt	0.888	librarian	1.100
minister (religious)	1.135		

Table 3.6a: Identities shared between clusters 4M and 6F with distances.
Cluster 4M mean (0.8, 2.21, -1.23); Cluster 6F mean (0.88, 2.33, -1.2).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
		Cluster 6
	Cluster 4 male	female
federal cabinet minister	0.274	0.846
principal	0.285	0.383
senator	0.290	0.402
mayor	0.375	0.519
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.465	0.915
provincial cabinet minister	0.503	0.418
Governor General	0.505	0.313
Speaker of the House of Commons	0.522	0.231
Auditor General	0.576	0.551
Solicitor General	0.579	0.376
Attorney General	0.623	0.759
superior	0.653	1.064
boss	0.667	0.918
Lietenant Govenor	0.703	0.239
justice of the Supreme Court	0.718	1.027
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.727	0.672
prime minister	0.791	0.928
premier	0.952	1.179
construction foreman	0.974	0.752
judge	1.106	1.270
The Queen	1.268	1.344
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	1.498	1.618

Table 3.6b: Identities unique to clusters 4M and 6F with distances

Cluster 4 male	Distance	Cluster 6 female	Distance
warden	0.843	employer	0.215
		sheriff	0.286
		psychiatrist	0.429
		justice of the peace	0.491
		Receiver General	0.553
		professor	0.613
		dentist	0.719
		minister (religious)	0.806
		psychoanalyst	0.834
		bailiff	0.919
		father-in-law	1.029
		landlady	1.145
		God	1.554

Table 3.7a: shared identities between clusters 8M and 12F Cluster .
Cluster 8M mean (0.5, 0.46, -0.48); Cluster 12F mean (1.01, 0.08, -1.0).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
	Cluster 8 male	Cluster 12 female
welder	0.217	0.522
chemist	0.267	0.998
statistician	0.297	1.008
bulldozer operator	0.346	0.533
in-law	0.382	1.049
longshoreman	0.404	0.300
jeweler	0.422	0.604
postmaster	0.430	0.634
butcher	0.473	0.410
coroner	0.486	0.823
bailsman	0.496	0.659
nightwatchman	0.505	0.675
electrician	0.507	0.711
stepfather	0.525	1.069
alderman	0.535	0.797
watchman	0.542	0.725
puritan	0.570	0.599
rail conductor	0.570	0.922
saloon keeper	0.603	0.664
bookkeeper	0.666	0.582
embalmer	0.694	0.841
proctor	0.696	1.121
minister without portfolio	0.698	0.560
Christian	0.721	0.360
blacksmith	0.722	0.688
auto mechanic	0.732	0.727
plumber	0.744	0.259
alumnus	0.774	0.800
undertaker	0.797	1.006
plainclothesman	0.798	0.771

Table 3.7b: Unique identities for clusters 8M and 12F

cluster 8 male	Distance	cluster 12 female	Distance
stepmother	0.432	TV repairman	0.338
accountant	0.436	bus driver	0.370
bailiff	0.502	truck driver	0.377
probationer	0.581	miner	0.549
New Democrat	0.626	floorwalker	0.604
spinster	0.626	funeral director	0.654
banker	0.635	fisherman	0.654
real estate agent	0.764	carpenter	0.687
Parti Quebecois	0.770	workman	0.743
evangelist	0.780	stenographer	0.753
straight	0.807	taxi driver	0.775
insurance agent	0.812	Mennonite	0.810
critic	0.848	telephone operator	0.850
psychoanalyst	0.849	farm laborer	0.863
storyteller	0.857	clergy	0.940
psychologist	0.917	doorkeeper	0.946
backbencher	0.921	tailor	0.951
pawnbroker	1.006	palm reader	0.977
landlord	1.076	doorman	1.007
landlady	1.146	library assistant	1.021
PC (Progressive Conservative)	1.165	shoe repairman	1.022
		uncle	1.048
		civil servant	1.071
		technician	1.083
		dressmaker	1.125
		parking attendant	1.228
		housekeeper	1.347
		spinster	1.518
		widower	1.609
		janitor	1.639
		crippled person	1.746
		widow	1.970

Table 3.8a: Shared identities between clusters 14M and 14F with distances. Cluster 14M mean (-0.9, -1.78, -0.61); Cluster 14F mean (-0.60, -2.08, -0.90).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
	Cluster 14 male	Cluster 14 female
Pansy	0.468	1.016
Vagrant	0.506	0.865
shut-in	0.588	0.622
Drunk	0.638	0.701
Wino	0.671	0.205
Drunkard	0.710	1.185
Beggar	0.774	1.076
Invalid	0.794	0.744
Victim	0.805	1.475
Alcoholic	0.845	1.139
Captive	0.847	1.685
Cripple	0.866	1.239
Hostage	0.901	1.422
Lifer	0.979	0.752
Hag	1.774	2.074

Table 3.8b: Unique identities to clusters 14M and 14F.

cluster 14 male	Distance	cluster 14 female	Distance
wench	0.321	stool pigeon	1.010
addict	0.829		
lush	0.930		
accused	0.956		
junkie	1.098		
dropout	1.141		

Table 3.9a: Identities shared between clusters 7M and 2F with distances.
Cluster 7M mean (1.2, -0.88, 1.91); Cluster 2F mean (1.79, -0.66, 2.4).

Shared identity	Distance from cluster mean	
	Cluster 7 male	Cluster 2 female
Intern	0.195	0.454
Boy	0.274	0.937
Adolescent	0.370	0.790
Waitress	0.439	0.588
Pupil	0.448	0.533
Schoolboy	0.448	0.337
boy scout	0.472	0.365
Nephew	0.495	0.201
Lad	0.510	0.643
girl scout	0.532	0.418
Youngster	0.545	0.813
apprentice	0.602	0.783
youth	0.606	0.431
kid	0.666	0.904
sophomore	0.667	0.829
stewardess	0.681	0.542
salesgirl	0.696	0.319
minor	0.702	1.763
niece	0.757	0.492
newsboy	0.788	0.672
grandson	0.827	0.345
freshman	0.873	1.007
cheerleader	0.877	1.173
busboy	0.892	1.188
granddaughter	0.913	1.038
schoolgirl	0.979	0.977
tot	1.021	0.431
grandchild	1.100	1.175
maiden	1.119	1.088
child	1.283	1.603
infant	1.340	2.113
baby	1.959	1.854

Table 3.9b: Identities unique to clusters 7M and 2F with distances.

Cluster 7 male	Distance	Cluster 2 female	Distance
trainee	0.509	chick	0.512
barmaid	0.544	gal	0.594
topless dancer	0.628	undergraduate	0.603
amateur	0.636	miss	0.606
lass	0.657	student	0.627
stepdaughter	0.662	rookie cop	0.659
stepson	0.664	waiter	0.788
chick	0.776	girl	0.868
stripper	0.839	assistant	0.876
porno star	1.006	doll	0.908
orphan	1.486	son	0.928
juvenile	0.939	daughter	1.017

Table 3.10a: Identities Shared between Clusters 10M and 10F with distances.
Cluster 10M mean (-1.6, -0.77, 0.78); Cluster 10F mean (-1.40, -0.71, 1.8).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
	Cluster 10 male	Cluster 10 female
law-breaker	0.429	1.023
fugitive	0.602	0.846
delinquent	0.897	0.514
shoplifter	0.917	0.800
vandal	1.027	1.120
hoodlum	1.090	0.303
pickpocket	1.489	1.303

Table 3.10b: Identities Unique to Clusters 10M and 10F.

Cluster 10 male	Distance	Cluster 10 female	Distance
felon	0.157	mistress	0.270
bitch	0.328	call girl	0.470
convict	0.399	harlot	0.598
culprit	0.571	hussy	0.744
lunatic	0.575	porno star	0.843
adulteress	0.630	maniac	0.924
inmate	0.667	slut	0.932
psychotic	0.790	stripper	1.017
traitor	0.830	hooker	1.124
whore	0.834	topless dancer	1.495
psychopath	0.877	sexpot	1.517
prisoner	0.886	juvenile	1.534
peeping tom	0.920	gigolo	1.622
sinner	0.961		
truant	1.028		
madman	1.040		
adulterer	1.045		
drug addict	1.259		
hooker	1.459		
prostitute	1.534		
bigamist	1.545		

Table 3.11a: Identities shared between clusters 3M and 9F with distances.
Cluster 3M mean (-0.2, 0.7, 0.99); Cluster 9F mean (-0.57, 1.34, 0).

Shared identities	Distance from cluster means	
	Cluster 3 male	Cluster 9 female
informer	0.324	1.193
informant	0.464	0.841
spy	0.671	1.144
courtesan	0.680	1.160
salesman	0.763	1.250
safecracker	0.765	0.697
nark	0.814	0.893
vigilante	0.842	1.069
controller	0.913	0.732
racketeer	1.117	0.595

Table 3.11b: Identities unique to clusters 3M and 9F

Cluster 3 male	Distance	Cluster 9 female	Distance
accomplice	0.329	critic	0.314
pickup	0.397	bookie	0.590
construction laborer	0.682	auditor	0.658
outlaw	0.756	insurance agent	0.707
tease	0.847	stepmother	0.846
swinger	0.887	probationer	0.882
gigolo	1.041	vixen	0.982
henchman	1.059	PC (Progressive Conservative)	1.020
playboy	1.159	landlord	1.022
mistress	1.258	pawnbroker	1.055
bouncer	1.297	bill collector	1.074
		Parti Quebecois	1.078
		evangelist	1.089
		supervisor	1.130
		loan shark	1.252
		Mafioso	1.636
		warden	1.709
		mobster	2.111

Table 3.12a: Identities Shared Between Clusters 9M and 3F with distances.
Cluster 9M mean (-1.9, 0.76, 0.99); Cluster 3F mean (-2.54, 1.40, 1.1).

Shared Identities	Distance to Cluster Means	
	Cluster 9 male	Cluster 3 female
bandit	0.427	0.992
thief	0.432	0.865
pimp	0.471	1.005
pusher	0.628	0.741
ladykiller	0.648	0.321
burglar	0.691	0.820
mugger	0.831	0.543
assailant	0.898	0.756
gunman	0.960	0.392
villain	1.008	0.331
gangster	1.135	1.259
assassin	1.381	1.334

Table 3.12b: Identities Unique to Clusters 9M and 3F

Cluster 9 male	Distance	Cluster 3 female	Distance
thug	0.586	bitch	0.915
maniac	0.641	outlaw	1.085
crook	0.812	The Devil	2.130
criminal	0.851		

Table 3.13a: Identities shared between clusters 1M and 15F with distances.
Cluster 1M mean (0.7, -0.79, -0.66); Cluster 15F mean (0.93, -1.23, 0.3).

Shared identity	Distances from cluster means	
	Cluster 1 male	Cluster 15 female
textile worker	0.572	0.671
maid	0.596	0.965
file clerk	0.617	0.785
patient	0.631	0.624
outpatient	0.646	1.005
clerk	0.679	0.764
housemaid	0.718	0.797
disabled person	0.750	1.121
chambermaid	0.907	0.268
handicapped person	1.140	1.194
servant	1.361	1.482

Table 3.13b: Identities unique to clusters 1 and 15 with distances

Cluster 1 male	Distance	Cluster 15 female	Distance
taxi driver	0.248	dishwasher	0.187
library assistant	0.324	gas station attendant	0.339
stenographer	0.496	homo	0.505
bus driver	0.499	typist	0.518
tailor	0.510	divorcee	0.536
Mennonite	0.526	garbage collector	0.635
parking attendant	0.565	bellhop	0.653
fisherman	0.613	cashier	0.670
TV repairman	0.629	fruit	0.765
telephone operator	0.631	pothead	0.821
truck driver	0.666	backbencher	0.867
housekeeper	0.679	applicant	0.867
doorman	0.683	fag	0.884
miner	0.688	secretary	0.900
bystander	0.707	subordinate	1.038
baker	0.749	trainee	1.103
widower	0.755	defendant	1.106
janitor	0.979	amateur	1.146
shoe repairman	0.989	street musician	1.223
palm reader	1.285	runaway	2.167
crippled person	1.363	orphan	2.216
librarian	1.657		
widow	1.351		
dressmaker	0.406		
parliament secretary	0.413		
doorkeeper	0.456		

Table 3.14: Identities from cluster 2M with distances.
Cluster 2 M mean (0.1, -0.74, 0.63).

Cluster 2 male	Distance
fag	0.231
fruit	0.252
hussy	0.301
streetwalker	0.302
queer	0.309
homo	0.363
homosexual	0.374
defendant	0.374
neurotic	0.380
subordinate	0.526
garbage collector	0.570
pothead	0.581
gambler	0.598
suspect	0.606
firebug	0.611
dike	0.673
lesbian	0.683
floorwalker	0.693
look-out	0.703
concubine	0.735
harlot	0.738
hypochondriac	0.773
applicant	0.840
bisexual	0.855
dishwasher	0.881
bellhop	0.925
paranoid	0.931
gas station attendant	0.942
spectator	0.968
stool pigeon	0.976
cashier	0.978
divorcee	1.139
runaway	1.225
slut	1.251
call girl	1.293

Table 3.15: Identities from cluster 1F with distances.
Cluster 1F mean (-2.36, 0.02, 0.3).

Cluster 1 female	Distance
madman	0.314
culprit	0.375
felon	0.421
adulterer	0.456
traitor	0.472
psychotic	0.513
crook	0.539
peeping tom	0.543
psychopath	0.545
criminal	0.686
sinner	0.897
adulteress	0.900
thug	0.926
convict	0.939
accomplice	1.164
henchman	1.280
bigamist	2.056

Table 3.16: Identities from cluster 5M with distances.
Cluster 5M mean (-1.4, 1.84, -0.52).

Cluster 5 male	Distance
loan shark	0.532
auditor	0.614
mobster	0.707
Mafioso	0.770
bookie	0.921
bill collector	0.937
The Devil	1.968

Table 3.17: Identities from cluster 7F with distances.
Cluster 7F mean (-1.30, -1.61, 0.4).

Cluster 7 female	Distance
lush	0.485
accused	0.521
hypochondriac	0.532
neurotic	0.615
acid head	0.676
paranoid	0.683
suspect	0.751
lunatic	0.769
streetwalker	0.771
concubine	0.894
addict	0.927
dropout	0.938
drug addict	0.969
inmate	1.049
truant	1.061
junkie	1.122
prostitute	1.173
wench	1.202
prisoner	1.315
gambler	1.355
broad	1.376
whore	1.668

CHAPTER 4

INTERACT SIMULATIONS

The following chapter examines the practical implication that changes in cultural sentiments have on role expectations and behaviours. Relying on program INTERACT, I ran interaction dyads comprised of identities that experienced significant shifts between 1981 and 2001.

Program INTERACT

INTERACT is a user friendly computer simulation program based on a set of mathematical equations corresponding to Affect Control Theory (ACT). It predicts what events might happen when people holding specific identities interact with other people holding specific identities. The program can also predict how individuals might re-identify themselves or others as a consequence of previous events. It reports what emotions people might feel, what behaviours are appropriate if interactants wish to maintain current identities, how people might change their identities as a result of actions, and how changes in the setting might alter or affect behaviours (Heise 2007).

In this dissertation, I use INTERACT to predict how changes in cultural sentiments over time alter role expectations and behaviours. Identities were chosen from my three smaller data sets (1981, 1995, and 2001). I designed interactional sequences with identities that experienced significant changes over time. These identities were then paired up to form meaningful dyads (eg. *clergy* with *sinner* or *lesbian* with *employer*).

I used two approaches for the INTERACT analysis. The first approach allows program INTERACT to "choose" an appropriate behaviour based on the selection of certain filters (e.g.'s lay, medicine, religion, law), then I am able to compare how those predicted behaviours change over time. The second approach is one where I choose or "force" a

behaviour and then allow program INTERACT to determine the "fitness"- how appropriate the behaviour is given the EPA profiles of the actor and object person. This "fit" can then be monitored over time. Determining how well a forced behaviour fits the EPA profiles of actor and object-person is accomplished by observing the deflection values - the divergence of the transient affective meaning of interactants produced by an event from the fundamental affective meaning of their situational identities (Heise, 2007). Low deflection values result from the implementation of a behaviour that "fits" and little affective disturbance, while high deflection results from a behaviour that does not "fit" and greater affective disturbance for actor and object person.

Identities were drawn from some of the social institutions that experienced significant changes in attitudes, specifically: sexual, religious, deviant, political, and entertainment. I ran simulations using the following identity pairings: "*homosexual* and *policeman*," "*employer* and *lesbian*," "*clergy* and *sinner*," "*MPP* and *Chinese*," "*pusher* and *policeman*," and "*fan* and *star*." Identities in bold experienced significant change across my three data points: 1981, 1995, and 2001.

I begin by discussing sexual preference identities (*homosexual* and *lesbian*) because they represent some of the most interesting shifts in cultural sentiments over the three points in time.

Homosexual-Policeman Interaction

The first simulation is between a *homosexual* and a *policeman*. From bath house raids and the criminalization of homosexuality to the recent legalization of same sex marriage in Canada, sexual preference identities have experienced some of the most considerable shifts for both male and female respondents. Policemen have also historically

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had confrontational and volatile relationships with members from these groups. As such, I am interested in how a *policeman*'s predicted behaviour toward a *homosexual* changes over time.

Males

Using male data in 1981, *policeman* has a fundamental sentiment (EPA rating) of 0.96, 1.81, 0.65. In terms of 1981 cultural sentiments, this identity is therefore good, very powerful, and quite lively. *Homosexual* has a fundamental sentiment of -0.85, -0.81, 0.44, which is bad, powerless and slightly lively. Using 1981 male data, the mathematically generated ideal profile for predicted behaviours is 1.02, 1.51, 0.81 for a *policeman* (actor) and a *homosexual* (object person). Behaviours for a *policeman* that come closest to this ideal profile are *face* (1.27, 1.36, 0.59) or *debate with* (1.18, 1.50, 1.27) a *homosexual*. *Face* is an appropriate behaviour prediction for a *policeman* which is a good and powerful identity. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *homosexual* is -0.50, -0.43, 0.18. Behaviours that best match this ideal include *beseech* (-0.31, -0.38, 0.12) or *peek at* (-0.60, -0.56, 0.32) a *policeman*, behaviours that are slightly bad and powerless.

In 1995, *homosexual* increases to 0.57, -1.06, 1.17 reflecting a considerable increase in evaluation and activity. In 1995, the mathematically generated ideal profile for predicted behaviours for a *policeman* is 1.48, 1.30, 0.71. Behaviours that most closely match the ideal are *inform* (1.62, 1.25, 0.79) or *lead* (1.30, 1.35, 0.68). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *homosexual* is 0.90, -0.24, 0.51. Behaviours that best match this ideal include *chatter to* (0.90, -0.24, 0.51) or *sit next to* (0.95, -0.10, 0.37) a *policeman*. The ideal and predicted behaviours for *homosexual* have increased on evaluation reflecting changes in evaluation for *homosexual* since 1981.

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In 2001, the ideal predicted behaviour for a *policeman* is 1.62, 1.39, 0.78. Searching for behaviours that match this ideal, a *policeman* might *inform* (1.62, 1.25, 0.79) or *guard* (1.19, 1.26, 0.80) a *homosexual*. Although subtle, this is a definite shift from a more confrontational behaviour (*face*) to a more helpful behaviour (*inform*), suggesting that *homosexual* is no longer as undesirable an identity that it once was. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *homosexual* is 0.95, -0.10, 0.37. Behaviours that match this ideal include *sit next to* (0.95, -0.10, 0.37) or *chatter to* (0.90, -0.24, 0.51) a *policeman*. Both of these predicted behaviours are nicer and more powerful than *beseech* from 1981. Shifts between 1995 and 2001 are much less dramatic because *homosexual* changes little over that time period. Policeman, on the other hand, experienced no significant changes between 1981 and 2001, suggesting that any changes in predicted behaviour can be attributed to changes in the fundamental sentiments for *homosexual*, especially evaluation and activity.

Females

Behaviour predictions based on female data for *homosexual* reflect the fact that changes in attitudes were more dramatic for female respondents than for males. This difference was most noteworthy on the evaluation dimension. In 1981, females rated *homosexual* as -0.59, -1.14, 0.41 or quite bad, powerless, and slightly active and *policeman* as 1.45, 2.45, 1.64 or very good, extremely powerful, and very lively. Females rate *policeman* as quite a bit nicer and more powerful than males do. The mathematically generated ideal profile for predicted behaviours for a *policeman* is 1.33, 1.74, 1.31. Behaviours that come closest to matching this ideal are *approach* (1.29, 1.25, 1.04) or *lead* (1.29, 1.75, 0.75) a *homosexual*. Although these behaviours seem mild, they are indicative of

a relationship that is based on caution. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *homosexual* is 0.14, -0.61, 0.39. Behaviours that match this ideal include *beseech* (0.09, -0.68, 0.23) or *eye* (0.52, 0.00, 0.29) a *policeman*. These behaviours reflect the inherent power imbalance and tension present in the relationship.

By 1995, *homosexual* has experienced a dramatic increase in evaluation, and a modest increase in potency and activity (0.94, -0.63, 1.03) for female respondents making it a modestly good and more lively identity although still a powerless one. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *policeman* interacting with a *homosexual* is 1.55, 1.26, 0.77. Behaviours that come closest to this predicted ideal for a *policeman* are *invite* (1.68, 1.00, 0.69) or *engage* (1.73, 1.10, 1.06) a *homosexual*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *homosexual* is 1.38, 0.07, 1.02. This ideal has increased across all dimensions. Behaviours that best match this ideal include *call* (1.79, 0.31, 0.59) or *greet* (1.64, 0.54, 0.63) a *policeman*. Despite the power imbalance, the relationship appears much less tense. A *homosexual* is predicted to behave with confidence and likeability.

By 2001, *homosexual* receives an even greater boost in evaluation with an E PA of 1.64, -0.42, 1.05, and the EPA rating of *policeman* has changed slightly with an EPA of 1.13, 2.85, 0.66. *Homosexual* is now rated as a nicer identity than *policeman*. This further increase in evaluation manifests itself in behaviour predictions for both actor and object person. With a mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviour of 1.33, 1.86, 0.72, a *policeman* is predicted to *lead* (1.50, 1.79, 0.85) or *shield* (1.63, 1.66, 0.72) a *homosexual*, while a *homosexual* might *dance with* (1.96, 0.65, 1.57) or *play with* (1.78, 0.60, 1.64) a *policeman*. Predictions for a *homosexual* are based on the mathematically generated ideal of

2.21, 0.03, 1.24. The EPA for a *homosexual* is almost childlike in that it is good and lively but weak, resulting in very positive but weak behavioural predictions. A *policeman* is predicted to behave more nicely toward a *homosexual* but in a protective way, consistent with the power differential between the two identities.

***Policeman Accuses Homosexual* Interaction**

Males

When a behaviour is forced, a similar shift in attitudes occurs. I decided to force the behaviour *accuse*, as it is a prototypical behaviour for a policeman. When the simulation "*policeman accuse homosexual*" is run using male 1981 data, a deflection value of 3.25 occurs because a good identity such as a *policeman* should not do nasty things such as *accuse* (note that when INTERACT chooses a behaviour based on how well it fits, deflection is only 0.77).

In 1995, this deflection increases to 6.03, suggesting again that a *policeman* is not expected to perform negatively evaluated behaviours, but also that a *policeman* is not expected to perform nasty behaviours on slightly good identities. Although potency for *accuse* also drops slightly between 1981 and 2001, the doubling of deflection can be attributed primarily to a significant increase in evaluation for *homosexual*.

Using male data in 2001, I observe similar results as *homosexual* changes little between these two points in time. In fact, it only decreases slightly on evaluation. As a result, the deflection value decreases slightly to 5.81. It is still substantially higher than its 1981 value, reinforcing the notion that the increase in evaluation for *homosexual* has resulted in changes in police behaviours towards people with this identity.

Females

As with male data, I forced the behaviour *accuse* and observed the deflection produced by the event. Due to fact that both *policeman* and *homosexual* start with higher EPA ratings in 1981, the initial deflection is higher: 6.42 compared to 3.78. This is because the behaviour *accuse* is a more shocking or affectively disturbing behaviour for a *policeman* with a *homosexual*, because *policeman* is rated as very good, extremely powerful, and very lively. As *homosexual* shifts significantly upward on evaluation, in conjunction with shifts for *policeman* and *accuse* in 1995, deflection increases to 8.46. In 2001, the deflection is even more dramatic (9.37), as *homosexual* increases significantly on evaluation and potency while *policeman* remains similar to its 1981 rating. These INTERACT simulations predict that interactions between *homosexual* and *policeman* change because *homosexual* has increased dramatically on evaluation.

Lesbian - Employer Interaction

Like *homosexual*, the identity of *lesbian* increases significantly in evaluation over time for both males and females, although these changes were more dramatic for females.

Males

According to male cultural sentiments in 1981, a *lesbian* is slightly bad, slightly powerless, and lively, with an EPA rating of -0.45, -0.55, 1.14. An *employer* is slightly good, very powerful, and slightly inactive, with a rating of 0.42, 2.08, -0.67. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *employer* is 0.88, 1.35, 0.12. Predicted behaviours that most closely match this ideal for an *employer* toward a *lesbian* in 1981 include *pass* (1.08, 1.20, 0.04) or *supervise* (0.74, 1.54, 0.30); those for a *lesbian* toward an *employer* include *follow* (-0.31, -0.28, 0.21) or *beseech* (-0.31, -0.38, 0.12). Predictions for *lesbian* are based on a mathematically generated ideal of -0.24, 0.19, 0.33.

These behaviours for both identities capture the power imbalance and the status or lack of status held by each identity.

By 1995, *lesbian* has increased significantly on evaluation and potency with a rating of 0.61, 0.00, 1.03. This upward shift to a good identity is reflected in predicted behaviours. According to 1995 cultural sentiments, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *employer* is 0.98, 0.97, 0.06. Predicted behaviours that most closely match this ideal include *query* (0.83, 0.77, 0.02) or *remind* (1.25, 0.86, 0.07) a *lesbian*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *lesbian* is 0.91, 0.33, 0.13. Behaviours that best match this ideal include *address* (1.00, 0.46, 0.13) or *accommodate* (0.95, 0.55, 0.35) an *employer*. Changes in status and power (although *lesbian* is only neutral on potency) are reflected in changes to predicted behaviours.

By 2001, the increase in evaluation for *lesbian* has tapered off for males, resulting in predicted behaviours that are similar to those from 1995. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *employer* is 1.44, 1.05, 0.29. 2001 predicted behaviours that match this ideal include: *support* (1.59, 1.28, 0.42) and *soothe* (1.57, 1.01, 0.02) for an *employer*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *lesbian* is 1.07, 0.07, 0.30. Based on this ideal, a *lesbian* might *pamper* (1.21, 0.17, 0.41) or *explain* (1.03, 0.21, 0.44) to an *employer*. Ideals and predicted behaviours have increased substantially between 1981 and 2001. Consistent with increases in cultural sentiments in evaluation towards sexual identities, INTERACT simulations demonstrate how changes in cultural sentiments result in changes in expected role behaviours.

Females

Females present a similar picture although changes in cultural sentiments occur across all three points in time for both evaluation and potency. In 1981, a *lesbian* is considered slightly bad, slightly powerless and lively, with an EPA rating of -0.58, -0.48, 0.82. An *employer* is slightly good, very powerful and neutral on activity, with an EPA of 0.83, 2.17, -0.04. Females rate an *employer* higher on evaluation, which is perhaps why predicted behaviours for *employer* are more positive than those based on cultural sentiments of males: *engage* (1.11, 0.89, 0.54) and *speak to* (1.32, 0.73, 0.26). These behaviours are closest to the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours in 1981 (1.37, 1.19, 0.40). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *lesbian* is -0.16, -0.63, 1.26. Drawing on behaviours that match this ideal, a *lesbian* is predicted to behave in a manner that reflects its diminished evaluation and potency ratings: *flee* (-0.48, -0.84, 0.87) or *imitate* (-0.48, 0.04, 0.88).

By 1995, *employer* has decreased in evaluation (0.44, 1.81, -0.31) while *lesbian* has increased significantly on evaluation and potency (0.26, -0.28, 1.10) resulting in an improvement in predicted behaviours. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *employer* is 1.23, 0.98, 0.15. According to 1995 predictions, behaviours that match this ideal for an *employer* include *negotiate with* (1.11, 0.80, 0.27) or *agree with* (1.45, 0.73, 0.24) a *lesbian*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *lesbian* is 0.61, 0.08, 1.24. Behaviours that match this ideal include *josh* (0.66, 0.18, 1.00) or *jest* (0.20, 0.28, 1.11) with an *employer*. This shift in predicted behaviours is not dramatic because the evaluation of *lesbian* (0.26) still hovers around the neutral point on the evaluation scale although *josh* and *jest* are far more jovial and friendly behaviours than *flee*.

The ideal EPA ratings for predicted behaviours increased on evaluation as well between 1981 and 1995.

The situation changes dramatically by 2001, when a *lesbian* is rated as a good identity with an evaluation value of 1.28. There is also a substantial increase for employer on evaluation to 1.04 as well. In 2001, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *employer* is 1.74, 1.02, -0.30. Behaviours that match this ideal for an *employer* include *listen to* (2.14, 0.96, -0.39) or *consult* (1.48, 0.68, -0.14). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *lesbian* is 1.87, 0.41, 0.52. Based on this ideal, a *lesbian* might *call* (1.79, 0.31, 0.59) or *greet* (1.64, 0.54, 0.63) their *employer*. Substantial increases, especially on evaluation, occurred on the ideal EPA values between 1981 and 2001 (-0.16 to 1.87). These combined changes have resulted in predicted behaviours that are much more helpful and conciliatory than earlier predictions.

Employer Accuses Lesbian **Interaction**

Males

Inserting the behaviour *accuse* into each identity pairing at each point in time is also useful in demonstrating how the shift in cultural sentiments affects role behaviours. Using 1981 male data, the *employer accuses lesbian* event produces a deflection of 3.78. By 2001, this deflection increases to 5.13 suggesting that as *lesbian* becomes a nicer identity, it becomes inappropriate to treat them in an antagonistic manner.

Females

Findings drawn from female data are similar but more striking. A defection value of 4.90 in 1981 is similar to that for male respondents, but by 2001 this value increases to 8.94

as a result of the even more dramatic increase on evaluation for *lesbian* for females (from -0.58, -0.48, 0.82 in 1981 to 1.28, 0.01, 1.02 in 2001).

Sinner – *Clergy* **Interaction**

Religious identities experienced a sharp decline on the evaluation and potency dimensions between 1981 and 1995. Male respondents restored their faith in religious identities to near 1981 levels in 2001, while female respondents were not quite as forgiving. As a consequence of gender differences in cultural sentiments, INTERACT simulations and behaviour predictions should be quite different for males and females.

Males

In 1981, males rated *clergy* as very good, powerful, and inactive (1.82, 1.36, -1.09), and *sinner* as bad, neutral on potency and slightly lively (-1.09, 0.09, 0.75). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *sinner* is -0.17, 0.07, 0.41. Behaviours for a *sinner* that match this ideal include *jest* (0.00, 0.31, 0.69) or *contradict* (-0.15, 0.42, 0.62) a *clergy*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *clergy* is 2.15, 1.16, -0.23. Behaviours that match this ideal for a *clergy* are *praise* (1.96, 0.85, -0.15) or *reassure* (2.24, 1.34, -0.55) a *sinner*. These are very plausible behavioural predictions.

However, attitudes toward religious identities dropped significantly between 1981 and 1995. During this time, religious institutions were under attack from the public as a result of sexual abuse scandals. In addition, there was an increasing level of secularism during this period. By 1995, *clergy* has declined dramatically in evaluation and potency (0.93, -0.03, -1.48). This decrease in evaluation and potency is reflected in predicted behaviours. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *sinner* is -

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0.64, 0.44, 0.66. Behaviours that match this ideal for a *sinner* include *laugh at* (-0.40, 0.26, 0.63) or *defy* (-0.61, 0.58, 0.37) a *clergy*. By 1995, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *clergy* is 0.83, -0.02, -0.81.   Behaviours for a *clergy* that match the ideal include *observe* (0.92, -0.16, -0.32) or *question* (0.48, 0.32, -0.20) a *sinner* as compared to *praise*, *reassure*, or *encourage*.

By 2001, evaluation has been restored for *clergy* to earlier levels and potency levels have increased, although not as high as in 1981 (1.80, 0.89, -1.49). The mathematically generated ideal for behaviour predictions for *sinner* is -0.50, -0.08, 0.65. Behaviours that match this ideal include *contradict* (-0.27, 0.11, 0.46) or *laugh at* (-0.40, 0.26, 0.63) a *clergy*. The mathematically generated behaviour predictions for a *clergy* in 2001 is 2.04, 1.03, -0.62. This ideal is very close to that from 1981. Predicted behaviours that come closest to matching this ideal for *clergy* based on 2001 cultural sentiments resemble those from 1981: *bless* (1.66, 1.20, -0.54) or *listen to* (2.11, 0.88, -0.15).

Females

In 1981, females rate *clergy* as 2.32, 1.68, -1.20 and *sinner* as -1.87, -0.60, 0.63. In both cases, these ratings are more intense on evaluation and potency than they are for males. Inputting this dyad into INTERACT yielded the statement "no words in range." Even with a "no words in range" result, INTERACT still provides a mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours. In this case, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *sinner* is -1.54, -1.08, 1.33. Using 1981 data, I was then able to search behaviours in INTERACT that come closest to matching this profile. Using female data, INTERACT was unable to find any behaviours that fit this profile, but the male data did yield two matches: *mimic* (-0.89, -0.89, 1.07) and *interrupt* (-1.00, -0.33, 1.19).

Implementing both of these behaviours produced identical results. If a *sinner interrupts* or *mimics* a *clergy*, the *clergy* might *aid* (2.75, 1.22, 0.69) or *congratulate* (2.68, 1.28, 0.44) a *sinner*. These behavioural predictions are similar to predictions for males (*praise*, *reassure*, or *encourage*).

By 1995, *clergy* has decreased significantly on evaluation and potency (1.13, 0.76, -0.97). *Sinner* also decreased on evaluation and potency and increased slightly on activity (-1.31, -0.26, 0.97). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *sinner* is -1.00, -0.22, 1.01. Behaviours that match this ideal include *assail* (-1.18, 0.39, 0.89) or *rebuke* (-0.72, 0.44, 0.64) a *clergy*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *clergy* is 1.68, 0.80, 0.47. Behaviours that match this ideal include *talk to* (1.56, 0.77, 0.52) or *speak to* (1.79, 0.85, 0.41) a *sinner*. Behavioural predictions for *clergy* are not as strong as they were in 1981. They have decreased substantially on evaluation.

By 2001, *sinner* has decreased on evaluation and potency, returning to 1981 levels and *clergy* has remained unchanged on evaluation and potency and has decreased on activity. As a result, behavioural predictions for 2001 are similar to those for 1995. As with 1981 data, INTERACT yielded "no words in range" for this dyad. Again, I used the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours (-1.96, -0.49, 1.52), searched the behaviour dictionary, and found one match: *pester* (-1.72, 0.14, 0.91). When implemented, *sinner pesters clergy*, INTERACT predicts that a *clergy* might *answer* (1.55, 0.80, 0.35) or *speak to* (1.79, 0.85, 0.41) a *sinner*. These behavioural predictions are based on the mathematically generated ideal for a *clergy* of 1.72, 0.67, 0.28. Predicted behaviours have decreased on both evaluation and potency since 1981. This result differed from that with males because clergy was restored to previous levels with males but it was not with females.

Sinner Antagonizes Clergy **Interaction**

Females

Implementing *antagonize* as a behaviour elicits deflection terms that reflect how attitudes have changed toward *clergy* over time. For female respondents in 1981, *clergy* is rated as extremely good, very powerful and inactive (2.32, 1.68, -1.20). The deflection value (5.62) for the interaction event, *sinner antagonizes clergy* suggests that it is somewhat unlikely for a *sinner* to behave this way toward an identity this good and powerful. According to 1995 cultural sentiments (1.13, 0.76, -0.97), a *clergy* is not viewed with the same reverence, becoming less good and powerful. As a result, the deflection term declines to 2.26, suggesting that a *sinner antagonizing a clergy* is not as unlikely an event as it was in 1981. Unlike males, females do not restore *clergy* to its original in 2001. In fact, the EPA profile for 2001 (1.17, 0.80, -1.61) is very similar to its 1995 rating. In this situation, the deflection term (3.85) remains close to its 1995 value for this event.

Males

Male respondents start with a rating for *clergy* that is not as high as that for female respondents. In 1981, males considered *clergy* very good, powerful, and inactive (1.82, 1.36, -1.09). This produced a deflection of 3.18. While lower than the term for female respondents, it still reflects the fact that it is fairly unlikely that a *sinner* would *antagonize* a *clergy*. By 1995, males also rate a *clergy* significantly lower than in 1981. Now rated as less good, neutral on potency, and even more inactive (0.93, -0.03, -1.48), the deflection term has dropped as well to 1.17, suggesting that this behaviour is quite likely. By 2001, there is a definite departure from female sentiments, as *clergy* is almost completely restored to its

earlier (1981) level for evaluation and potency (1.80, 0.89, -1.49). The deflection value has therefore returned to its earlier value as well of 3.23.

***MPP – Chinese* Interaction**

Political identities took a hit in 1995 with some interesting decreases in evaluation. At the time this seemed to indicate a cultural shift in people's attitudes towards political institutions. By 2001, however, there was a turn around, suggesting that people were disillusioned with particular parties or individuals at the time of data collection in 1995, and these sentiments had now been restored to 1981 levels by 2001. This pattern is reflected in the INTERACT simulation chosen for this analysis. Specifically, I paired an *MPP* and a *Chinese* person to explore any changes in predicted behaviour that may have occurred over my three data points.

Males

In 1981, male respondents rate *MPP* as neutral on evaluation, slightly powerful, and slightly inactive (-0.18, 0.77, -0.45). The EPA rating of *Chinese* was 0.45, -0.41, 0.34, or slightly good, slightly powerless, and slightly active. In 1981, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 0.42, 0.52, 0.19. Behaviours for *MPP* that match this ideal include *nudge* (0.37, 0.43, 0.21) or *prompt* (0.53, 0.32, 0.16) a *Chinese* person.

By 1995, the EPA for *MPP* changes significantly with evaluation decreasing to -0.91, potency increasing to 1.89, and activity decreasing to -1.26. *Chinese* increased across all dimensions to 0.91, 0.34, 0.66. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for an *MPP* is 0.03, 0.72, 0.20. Behaviours that match the ideal have shifted to less nice behaviours: *monitor* (0.14, 0.73, 0.32) or *vanquish* (0.13, 0.84, 0.37). Predicted behaviours

for *MPP* changed between 1981 and 1995 reflecting the fact that *MPP* has become a less nice identity with more power.

A significant shift in cultural sentiments for an *MPP* occurs by 2001, with *MPP* becoming a good, very powerful, and inactive identity. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 1.32, 1.00, 0.03. Behaviours that match this ideal now include *remind* (1.25, 0.86, 0.07) or *caution* (1.35, 0.92, -0.18). These predicted behaviours reflect how attitudes toward *MPP* have altered over a 20 year period resulting in improved behaviour towards a visible minority such as a Chinese Canadian.

Females

Female findings are similar. In 1981, *MPP* had an EPA rating of 0.28, 0.80, -0.40. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours in 1981 for *MPP* is 0.89, 0.45, 0.22. Behaviours that match this ideal include *call* (0.82, 0.24, 0.32) or *entreat* (0.69, 0.33, 0.40) a *Chinese* person.

By 1995, *MPP* decreased significantly on evaluation and increased on potency. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 0.43, 0.43, 0.16. Behaviours that match this ideal include *look at* (0.60, 0.46, 0.01) or *kid* (0.42, 0.29, 0.35) a *Chinese* person. These behaviours appear fairly similar although in 1995 they are slightly more negative on evaluation which is consistent with predicted behaviour's ideal EPA's.

By 2001, *MPP* has improved tremendously on both evaluation and potency (0.00 and 2.36) from (-0.84 and 1.63) and this shift is definitely reflected in the more conciliatory manner in which an *MPP* might behave towards a *Chinese*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 1.16, 0.81, 0.21. Matching behaviours include: *negotiate with* (1.11, 0.80, 0.27) or *address* (1.21, 0.54, 0.16).

MPP Ignores A Chinese Person **Interaction**

A common complaint for many minority groups is that they are ignored by their elected representatives. Therefore I forced the behaviour, *ignore*, to explore how likely it is that an *MPP* would treat a *Chinese* person that way for each point in time under study.

Males

Employing male data, the interactional event, *MPP ignores a Chinese* person, produced a deflection of 2.66 in 1981, 2.42 in 1995, and 3.37 in 2001. I expected a lower deflection value in 1995 when the identity *MPP* had decreases on evaluation suggesting that to *ignore* someone would be a likely behaviour for an unpleasant identity. This unexpected finding may be explained by the fact that the behaviour, *ignore*, increased on evaluation between 1981 and 1995. Therefore, even though an *MPP* is more negatively evaluated in 1995, to *ignore* someone has become a less negative behaviour, and therefore may seem like a more likely behaviour. By 2001, *MPP* has become nicer and more powerful, resulting in a higher deflection value. This suggests that an *MPP* would not be expected to *ignore* a *Chinese* person in 2001.

Females

The female data presents a sharper picture with a similar pattern of change in cultural sentiments. The deflection value for a *MPP ignoring a Chinese person* declines from 4.40 in 1981 to 3.82 in 1995, followed by a drastic increase to 6.05 in 2001. As with the analysis with male data an *MPP* becomes less nice in 1995, *ignore* becomes a more likely behaviour, and when an *MPP* has increased in evaluation in 2001, *ignore* has become a less likely behaviour.

Policeman – *Pusher* **Interaction**

Simulations with crime and deviant identities produced some interesting findings. To illustrate possible behaviour changes, I chose *policeman* and *pusher* for my simulation. As with other crime and deviance related identities, changes in predicted behaviours can be hard to detect, owing to the fact that even significant increases in evaluation were insufficient to "move" stigmatized identities outside the range of negative evaluation. For example, although *mobster* and *pusher* increased significantly on evaluation, they are still rated as bad identities. I chose *pusher* because it changed for both males and females.

Males

In 1981, male respondents rated *pusher* as -2.59, 1.17, 1.62, or very bad, powerful and very active or lively. *Policeman*, as pointed out earlier, is good, very powerful, and quite lively with an EPA rating of 0.96, 1.81, 0.65. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 1.01, 1.18, 1.15. Using 1981 data, behaviours that match the ideal for a *policeman* include *debate with* (1.18, 1.50, 1.27) or *surprise* (0.96, 0.74, 1.33) a *pusher*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *pusher* is -1.45, 0.91, 0.84. Behaviours that match this ideal for a *pusher* are *slay* (-1.40, 0.84, 0.60) or *impede* (-1.15, 0.93, 0.81) a *policeman*.

By 1995, *policeman* changes little, while *pusher* becomes somewhat less stigmatized (-2.00). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *policeman* is 0.93, 1.30, 0.98. Behaviours that match this idea include *apprehend* (1.04, 1.22, 1.08) or *catch* (0.76, 1.33, 0.88) a *pusher*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *pusher* in 1995 is -0.85, 0.82, 0.72. The ideal EPA has decreased for *pusher*

on evaluation. Possible behaviours for a *pusher* have decreased in negativity as well, shifting

from *slay* and *impede* to *argue with* (-0.78, 0.80, 0.67) or *zap* (-0.90, 0.78, 0.95).

By 2001, males report a substantial increase in evaluation for *pusher*. Now rated at -

1.28, *pusher* has moved from being very bad to simply bad. There has also been a drop on

the potency dimension over time (1.17 to 1.26 to 0.73). The mathematically generated ideal

for predicted behaviour for a *policeman* is 1.19, 1.34, 0.82. Matching behaviours for

policeman, *challenge* (1.19, 1.36, 0.86) or *guard* (1.19, 1.26, 0.80), have changed little over

time. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *pusher* is -0.39,

0.46, 0.42. These changes in evaluation and potency for *pusher* are reflected in predicted

behaviours for a *pusher* towards a *policeman*: *taunt* (-0.34, 0.46, 0.50) or *jostle* (-0.30, 0.41,

0.44). Both of these behaviours are substantially less negative than in 1981.

Females

Females present a slightly different picture. In 1981, *pusher* has an EPA rating of -

2.97, 1.67, 1.67, or extremely bad, very powerful and very active. Females rate a pusher

lower on evaluation and higher on potency than males. Females rate a *policeman* overall

more positively (1.45, 2.45, 1.64) than males (0.96, 1.81, 0.65). The mathematically

generated ideal for a *policeman* for predicted behaviours is 1.60, 0.96, 1.19. Behaviours that

match the ideal include *approach* (1.29, 1.25, 1.04) or *flatter* (2.00, 0.93, 0.86) a *pusher*. The

mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *pusher* is -2.01, 0.62, 1.37.

Predicted behaviours for a *pusher* that best match the ideal, based on 1981 female data,

include *cuss* (-2.03, 0.76, 1.30) or *taunt* (-1.87, 0.73, 1.40). On the surface, these behaviours

may look "nicer" than those predicted for males, but the EPA rating generated by

INTERACT for behavioural predictions is worse. This can be explained by the fact that

males rate *slay* (-1.45, 0.91, 0.84) as a less negative behaviour than females rate *cuss* (-2.01, 0.62, 1.37).

By 1995, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *a policeman* is 1.87, 0.93, 0.80. *Policeman* changed little by 1995 and this is reflected by the behaviours that match the ideal: *flatter* (1.99, 0.97, 1.03) or *engage* (1.73, 1.10, 1.06) a *pusher*. Like males, females report an increase for *pusher* between 1981 and 1995 on evaluation (from -2.97 to -2.24). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *pusher* is -1.34, 0.50, 1.20. The ideal value has increased on evaluation, but a *pusher* remains a nasty identity and this is reflected in the behaviours predicted by INTERACT: *assail* (-1.18, 0.39, 0.89) or *cuss* (-1.50, 0.47, 0.84). In both cases, these behaviours are less negative than those predicted in 1981.

By 2001, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *policeman* is 1.81, 1.18, 0.86. Behaviours that match this ideal for *policeman* are almost identical as those from 1995: *engage* (1.73, 1.10, 1.06) or *flatter* (1.99, 0.97, 1.03). *Pusher* experiences another increase on evaluation, bringing the identity to -1.88, a less negative value but still very bad. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *pusher* in 2001 is -0.96, 0.15, 1.24. Despite this increase in the ideal, behaviours that match continue to be quite negative: *assail* (-1.18, 0.39, 0.89) or *nab* (-0.72, 0.52, 0.96). The mathematically generated ideals for predicted behaviours for a *pusher* changed from -2.01, 0.62, 1.37 in 1981 to -0.96, 0.15, 1.24 in 2001, revealing an upward shift in evaluation.

***Policeman Assaults A Pusher* Interaction**

Males and Females

When I forced the behaviour, *assault*, for the simulation, *policeman assaults a pusher*, both

male and female data yielded similar findings. Deflection values were higher in 1981 when

pusher was evaluated as a very bad identity and then deflection dropped over time even

though *pusher* became less negative. This was more pronounced with male data with

deflections of 9.29 in 1981, 5.91 in 1995, and 5.57 in 2001 than with female data with

deflections of 7.89 in 1981, 7.23 in 195, and 7.00 in 2001. These findings are contradictory

to what I would have expected. As *pusher* becomes less negative over time, the event

policeman assaults pusher should cause more deflection. Reasons for this unexpected

finding might include changes in the EPA rating for *assault*, but *assault* only increased

slightly in evaluation and potency and decreased slightly on activity between 1981 and 2001.

Findings for this simulation sequence were therefore unexpected and difficult to interpret.

***Star – Fan* Interaction**

Turning to the sports and entertainment institution, the identity *star* increased

significantly for both males and females for potency and activity.

Males

In 1981, males rated a *star* as 1.00, 1.84, 1.05 in 1981, or good, very powerful and

lively. *Fan* is a good, slightly powerless, and very lively identity (1.00, -0.54, 1.72). Both

identities are rated the same on evaluation. The primary difference between the two is on the

potency levels. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *fan* is

1.43, 0.19, 0.51. Behaviours that match this ideal include *pay for* (1.30, 0.41, 0.12) or *flatter*

(1.41, 0.69, 0.62) a *star*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a

star is 1.73, 1.46, 0.86. Predicted behaviours that match this ideal include *laugh with* (2.10, 1.29, 0.67) or *amuse* (2.17, 1.34, 1.07).

There is only a minor shift in 1995 with a mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *fan* of 1.34, 0.13, 0.39. Behaviours that match this ideal include *pamper* (1.21, 0.17, 0.41) or *explain* (1.03, 0.21, 0.44). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *star* is 1.69, 1.40, 0.93. Behaviours that best match this ideal in 1995 include *defend* (1.72, 1.54, 0.88) or *inform* (1.62, 1.25, 0.79).

By 2001, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for a *fan* is 1.98, 0.32, 0.10. Behaviours that match this ideal include *comfort* (2.00, 0.63, 0.04) or *congratulate* (1.98, 0.74, 0.32).   The EPA rating of *star* has changed significantly on both potency and activity (1.26, 2.44, 1.95). These shifts translate into changes in predicted behaviours for *star*: *save* (2.03, 2.13, 1.15) or *rescue* (2.25, 1.96, 1.22). These predicted behaviours are based on the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *star*: 2.06, 2.15, 1.23. Predicted behaviours in 2001 reflect increases on potency and activity. In 1981, *fan* was higher on activity than *star* but by 2001, this is reversed and *star* is notably higher on activity than *fan*. *Star* is predicted to behave in a much more powerful way than in 1981.

Females

In 1981, female respondents rated *star* as good, very powerful, and lively (1.31, 1.75, 1.03) and *fan* as good, slightly powerless, and very active (1.20, -0.20, 2.23). Like males, females rate *fan* almost the same on evaluation, much lower on potency, and higher on activity than *star*. The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *fan* is 1.52, 0.52, 1.13. Behaviours that match this ideal include *ask* (1.46, 0.33, 0.63) or *play with*

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(2.09, 0.77, 1.36). Predicted behaviours for a *star* are *approach* (1.29, 1.25, 1.04) or *flatter* (2.00, 0.93, 0.86). These behaviours match the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *star*: 1.58, 1.15, 1.25. Ideal EPA's for both *fan* and *star* are very similar with the exception of the potency value.

In 1995, the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *fan* is 1.43, 0.54, 1.05. *Fan*'s EPA rating remains similar to its 1981 rating resulting in an almost identical ideal EPA rating for predicted behaviours. Behaviours that match this ideal for *fan* include: *toast* (1.77, 0.77, 0.83) or *greet* (1.64, 0.54, 0.63). By 1995, *star* increases on potency and activity (2.13 and 2.06) although it experiences a slight decrease on evaluation (to 1.03). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *star* is 1.24, 1.54, 1.94 resulting in changes in predicted behaviours that match this ideal: *surprise* (1.55, 1.36, 1.63) or *escape* (1.08, 0.92, 1.82). These behaviours for a *star* are definitely more powerful and more lively than the ones predicted in 1981: *approach* or *flatter*.

By 2001, *fan* has changed little since 1981 (1.35, 0.03, 1.85) while *star* is higher on status, more powerful, and active (1.66, 2.69, 1.76). The mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours for *fan* is 1.80, 0.54, 0.93. Behaviours that match this ideal are *toast* (1.77, 0.77, 0.83) or *greet* (1.64, 0.54, 0.63). These are identical to predicted behaviours for *fan* in 1995. Increases on potency and activity for *star* are reflected in the mathematically generated ideal for predicted behaviours is 1.67, 1.72, 1.68. This too is similar to 1995 results. Behaviours that match this ideal are similar to 1995: *surprise* (1.55, 1.36, 1.63) or *amuse* (2.08, 1.22, 1.72). Although the potency level for *star* increased again in 2001, it was already very high in 1995, perhaps resulting in little change in predicted behaviours (although there was a slight increase in the mathematically generated ideal for predicted

behaviours between 1995 and 2001, it was not reflected in behaviours generated by INTERACT that best matched this ideal).

Fan Dislikes Star **Interaction**

Males

Forcing a behaviour such as *dislike* produces a deflection term which indicates how attitudes toward *star* have shifted over time. In 1981, males report a deflection term of 3.03 for the event, *fan dislikes star*, suggesting that a *fan* would be somewhat unlikely to *dislike* a *star*. Although this value changes little in 1995, by 2001, it has increased to 5.71.

Females

Females report a similar, although more gradual upward trend. In 1981, as with males, a *fan* is unlikely to *dislike* a *star* as reflected by the deflection value of 3.53. This value increases slightly in 1995 to 4.49, and again in 2001 to 6.19.

Summary

INTERACT simulations illustrate how changes in attitudes for identities over the time periods in question affect behavioural predictions. As the previous simulations suggest, significant increases on evaluation specifically result in observable shifts in predicted behaviour. These observations are more obvious for identities that shifted in a dramatic way, changing from a bad identity to a good one (e.g., *homosexual* and *lesbian*). With identities that demonstrate significant changes but within a similar category of "bad" or "good," changes in predicted behaviours are more nuanced. In these cases, deflection values was a useful way to determine the appropriateness of behaviours over time and how behavioural predictions might have changed.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Conclusions

The research question pursued in this dissertation is rooted in a 1995 study reported in MacKinnon and Luke (2002). In 1995, we collected data on a small subset of identities (102) from a much larger dictionary to see if a larger, more detailed study were warranted. The results showed that while attitudes for 80% of 102 social identities studied remained stable, 20% demonstrated significant changes. On the basis of these findings, attitudinal data were collected in 2001 for the entire 1981 set of approximately 800 social identities, as well as traits, behaviours, emotions, status characteristics, and settings. This dissertation focuses on only social identities. In chapter 1, I identified four objectives of this dissertation: (1) to assess stability of attitudes for social identities over time; (2) to identify and describe patterns of change in identity attitudes to historical events; (3) to conduct cluster analysis in an effort to determine whether identities that "hang" together in EPA space define social institutions; and (4) to do simulations using program INTERACT to see how role expectations have changed over time as a consequence of changes in cultural sentiments for social identities. I will discuss each objective sequentially.

(1) Approximately 80% of identity attitudes remained stable over time, confirming earlier findings from the 1995 study (MacKinnon and Luke 2002) and reinforcing Heise's (2007) assertion that cultural sentiments are slow to change. Evaluations, in particular, are very stable, even over periods for as long as 25 years. Potency assessments are stable, although not quite as stable as evaluations. Activity is the least stable aspect of sentiments, which is corroborated by the higher percentages of change for the activity dimension in my

analysis. Males reported significant change for 25% of identities on activity while females reported significant changes for 31% of identities. Interestingly, I found more significant changes on the evaluation dimension than on the potency dimension. My findings indicate that males reported significant changes on evaluation for 16% of identities while females reported significant changes for 21% of identities. On the potency dimension, the significant changes are for 12% and 18% of identities for males and females respectively.

Discussing cultural stability, Heise (2007) argues that change in cultural sentiments generally occurs gradually "even in modern societies that are pervaded with social movements, fashions, and mass media" (p. 15). Evaluations are very stable, and dramatic changes where an identity switches between approval and condemnation occurs infrequently. Significant increases or decreases in the levels of goodness or badness of an identity are more likely. Most significant changes reported here reflect changes in intensity although some are more dramatic. On potency, concepts rarely change from powerless to powerful and vice versa. Activity changes more rapidly.

Some changes for religious identities and most sexual preference identities experienced shifts that were dramatic and reflect an increase or decrease of condemnation. Specifically, for both males and females there was a significant decrease for several identities including *clergy* and *God*. Although these identities did not shift from good to bad identities, *clergy* dropped from very good to simply good. A return to its original evaluation value occurred for males, while females maintain the decreased value. Although *God* maintains a very good status for males in 2001, it has dropped from its original extremely good rating for females. A significant loss in evaluation in 1995 occurred for males is then recovered by 2001, while female respondents do not return *God* to its original glorious state.

Where religious identities experienced a shift in intensity, sexual preference identities (e.g., *homosexual* and *lesbian*) experience an actual elimination of condemnation. This increase in evaluation occurred for both males and females, although females sustain a steady upward shift in status with the result that these identities are positively evaluated 2001. A significant increase to slightly good by 1995 occurred for males and then little change occurred between 1995 and 2001.

Other changes in cultural sentiments reflect shifts in intensity and none were as noteworthy as those mentioned previously. Criminal justice identities experienced numerous decreases in potency in 1995 and most were restored to their previous levels of potency by 2001. Political identities also experienced a drop that was reversed by 2001. Criminal deviant identities increased on evaluation for alcohol and drug related identities for females and for mobster/gangster identities for both males and females. A continual upward trend across all three points in time occurred for educational identities. Medical/health identities generally increased on evaluation for females. There were few changes on the potency dimension and results were mixed on the activity dimension, with little similarity between sexes. Sports celebrity identities increased for *star* and *celebrity* and adult entertainment related identities. Some work related identities decreased although these were restored by 2001. There were shifts with ethnic identities, but no real trend was present. Changes in regional identities may be regionally specific because respondents were primarily from the Southern Ontario region. Family identities manifested some interesting shifts, namely the increase of *wife* for females and a coming together of potency values for *mother* and *father* indicating that some level of equality exists within the home.

Occupational identities represented my largest grouping of identities. Comparing my findings with Goyder's (2005) work on changes in occupational prestige scores over a twenty year period, numerous similarities were found with hospitality and food industry workers, as well as those in health and education occupations. In these cases, Goyder (2005) found that workers in these fields increased in occupational prestige and I found that they increased on semantic differential ratings, namely evaluation and/or potency. However, my findings did not match Goyder's (2005) findings that more traditional trade occupations also increased on occupational prestige. I also did not find evidence that professional identities lost status or prestige as they did in Goyder's (2005) research.

(2) Numerous events could have led to the above changes. For example, sex scandals in the church and a shift in how people experience religion may have altered the way we feel about religious leaders and *God*. The massive gay rights movement along with the tragedy of the AIDS epidemic and an increased inclusion of gay and lesbian characters in television and film are likely responsible for some of the changes in attitudes toward sexual preference identities. With the legalization of same sex marriage and campaigns across the country to increase tolerance toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual people, it is not surprising that an increase on evaluation has occurred with these identities. The absence of a strong counter movement could explain why similar awareness campaigns in the United States did not result in similar attitudinal and legal changes (Anderson and Fetner 2008).

The past twenty years has also seen a slow, but steady equalization process within the home. This shift has resulted in more women working outside the home and an increase in the amount of work done by men in the home and may, in turn, contribute to the shift in cultural sentiments and how respondents feel about the potency level of mothers and fathers.

Politically, the public has witnessed some tumultuous times both at the Ontario provincial and the federal level. The nineties left some analysts suggesting that all faith had been lost in our political system. Significant drops in the nineties suggested that this may be the case, but the new millennium reveals a different story, with restored EPA levels for most political identities, suggesting that shifts were a result of episodic changes rather than long lasting structural and cultural shifts.

A growing awareness of drug addiction and an increased tolerance toward marijuana use, specifically for medical reasons, has perhaps resulted in increases in evaluation for drug identities with female respondents. Increases in evaluation and potency for some criminal identities, namely gangster related identities such as *mobster*, may be a result of the continual glorification of these identities in mainstream movies and television productions. Increases for celebrity type identities are best explained by the rise of the 24 hour news cycle and the instant availability of information, combined with an affiliation of sports celebrities with big corporations.

With respect to changes in cultural sentiments for identities within educational and medical/health social institutions, changes in social and cultural structure offer little assistance in gaining a broader understanding. Overall increases for educational identities may have resulted from a growing awareness of the important role our teachers and educators play in the development of our children. Despite cuts to health care during the period in question, medical/health identities did not reflect any particular trend. Work related identities experienced a decrease for *boss* and *worker* in 1995. This may reflect the economic downturn of the early 90's. This decrease was then restored by 2001, along with improvements in the economy.

Occupational identities experienced several changes. Although professional identities did not experience much of a decrease on evaluation, potency or activity, numerous identities did experience increases. These shifts may be a result of changes in technology, less job permanence, a leveling out of the work place as a result of computerization, and an introduction of women into the workplace. These changes seem to have resulted in more equalization across different jobs, specifically in retail, hospitality, and sales, health fields and education.

There were numerous shifts with ethnic identities, but there was no real apparent trend. My findings did not reflect the typical ordering of ethnic identities typically assigned to various different ethnic groups. This may be due to the fact that my respondents were university students from a medium sized university with a healthy international student population.

Regional identities experienced many changes, but again, there was no apparent trend across sexes. This is despite the fact that the time period under investigation saw events such as the collapse of the cod fishery, the defeat of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accord, the Oka crisis, the decimation of the Progressive Conservatives and the rise of the Bloc Québécois and the Reform Party.

(3) K-means cluster analysis was used as a tool to establish how social identities hang together in EPA space as opposed to forcing them a priori into institutional groupings. Identities were grouped into meaningful clusters that reflected different intensities and combinations of evaluation, potency, and activity. Institutional grouping is useful but cluster analysis allowed me to see how identities group together based on affective dimensions. The groupings provided me with a different perspective which permits more detailed comparisons

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across groups. I could now see how males view sexual preference identities by way of determining what cluster those identities fell into. Females group sexual preference identities in with other positively evaluated identities, where males group these same identities with more neutral identities. Although cluster analysis has not been a highly utilized tool in Affect Control theory research, Schneider (1999b, 1999c, 2004, 2005) has shown that it can be a useful tool.

(4) INTERACT simulations demonstrate how changes in attitudes toward identities may result in actual changes in predicted behaviour. Drawing on identities that experienced significant shifts across my three data sets from three point in time (1981, 1995, and 2001) from a variety of institutional groupings, I ran INTERACT simulations incorporating other identities from the same three points in time. Results demonstrate how behaviour may shift in accordance with shifts in cultural sentiments for identities. For example, INTERACT predicts that as evaluation increases for *homosexual*, behaviours directed toward that identity become nicer.

Methodological Issues

A number of issues are raised by the fact that this study does not follow the methodological rules for survey research. The most important of these concerns the issue of generalizability of my findings from non-probability samples of university students to the greater population. Strictly speaking, these results cannot be generalized beyond young, well-educated Canadians from Southern Ontario. On the other hand, the type of data that is employed in this study, cultural sentiments for social identities, is quite homogeneous within the same culture so that sentiment patterns are accessible from convenience samples.

Heise (1966, 2007) asserts that costly, large-sample surveys are not required for drawing samples from a fairly homogenous culture. This belief is supported by early research (1966) where Heise found that navy enlistees across the US provided about the same average EPA profiles for concepts as Midwest college students. Differences are usually found only with members of distinct subcultural groups, who have different sentiments for subculturally core identities. Their sentiments for other identities tend to be similar to the larger culture as evidenced by Heise's (1979) study of North Carolina male university students and state troopers, and by Smith-Lovin and Douglas's (1992) study of gay and straight evangelical Christians.

Sexual preference identities may raise concerns because some may argue that well educated, young university students will present a more liberal perspective regarding these particular identities (Adamczyk and Pitt 2009). Even if this can be argued, Anderson and Fetner (2008) showed that opinions of gay and lesbian identities improved across all age cohorts between 1981 and 2000, reinforcing the notion that the increases in evaluation detected from my research reflects a general increase found in the overall population. It can therefore be argued that variations within the same culture tend to be small and attributable to idiosyncratic individual response and measurement error rather than membership within specific social groups (Heise 2007).

A second methodological issue concerns sample size, the concern that samples of approximately 35 males and 35 females for each social identity may not provide reliable information on cultural sentiments. Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986) have developed a mathematical model that estimates that stable results for the aggregation of high concordance cultural data (which I presume ours to be) can be expected from samples with as

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few as a half a dozen respondents. This assertion is supported further by the fact that extensive affect control research has shown that repeated convenience samples of 25-35 respondents from the same culture yield EPA ratings with small standard deviations and statistically insignificant differences in means across samples (Heise 2010).

Surveys of Populations versus Surveys of Cultures

In David Heise's *Surveying Cultures: Discovering Shared Conceptions and Sentiments* (2010), he describes in detail the differences between surveys of populations and surveys of cultures. The following is a brief summary of his work. Traditional sample surveys, in an effort to ascertain variability in a population, assume that one person's measurements cannot be predicted from the measurements of another respondent (Heise, 2010). However, some surveys have as their purpose the acquisition of norms shared by everyone from a particular culture. This idea has been elaborated in both psychological anthropology (Romney, 1994; Romney, Batchelder, and Weller, 1987; Romney, Weller, and Batchelder, 1986) and in sociology (Rossi and Nock, 1982).

When looking at, for example, attitudes of mothers in a traditional society, one person's response most likely can be used to predict the response from other respondents. This means that large samples where most people provide the same information become redundant. It is therefore not necessary to ask the same questions over and over again. Hence, a researcher only needs enough respondents for their survey to eliminate the possibility of error and to ensure that anyone who might diverge from the norm is represented (Heise, 2010). According to Romney, Weller, and Batchelder (1986), as few as six to eight expert respondents is all that is required to provide researchers with a clear picture of shared norms.

In a survey of a population of individual subjects, variability is sought in answers to every item. Conversely, such a survey would be useless to researchers hoping to reveal shared norms in a culture. "In population surveys, large variances in variables are sought to register the extent and shape of social controversies and to enable causal influences. However, a survey of cultures is intended to build a descriptive database regarding norms, and therefore lack of variability on every item is the ideal, since response variation confounds the delineation of norms" (Heise, 2010, p.2). Surveys of culture do seek variation, but variation is sought across items rather than across respondents.

The selection of respondents is yet another area where surveys of populations differ from surveys of cultures. Specifically, population surveys require representative, random samples. Surveys of culture, much like ethnographic data gathering, look for respondents whose responses are "quintessential for their culture" (Heise, 2010, p.2).

In summary, surveys of culture differ fundamentally from surveys of populations in at least three ways: 1) the questions asked are about matters of agreement rather than about issues where a disagreement of responses is sought by the researcher; 2) respondents are selected and hence graded on their level of expertise; and 3) respondents are acquired by visiting settings where cultural reproduction takes place rather than through the use of random samples drawn from large, geographic areas (Heise, 2010).

A major intersection between both types of surveys arises out of a general concern with errors. Heise (2010) elaborates on 5 basic types of errors that can occur with surveys of culture. The first is coverage errors. This type of error occurs when the sampled population is different from the target population. In surveys of sentiments, like the ones utilized by affect control researchers, a dependence on university students could result in such an error

as all places where culture is reproduced are not represented. It is a difficult error to remedy

as the use of students reduces cost and time required for data collection. When all

respondents are not asked to respond to all components of a survey, this can result in

sampling error, the second type of error discussed by Heise (2010). .This occurs in sentiment

surveys when different groups of respondents are used to rate different batches of stimuli.

This is done to avoid respondent fatigue due to the sheer volume of stimuli to be rated in this

type of survey. The risk with breaking respondents into groups and only asking certain

groups to rate certain stimuli is sampling error. Non-response, a type of error common with

population surveys, especially the mail-out variety, can also occur with surveys of

sentiments. The fourth type of error is measurement error. This occurs when respondents

are not providing answers that they should due to a variety of reasons, including retrieval

issues, judgment problems, and response issues. Heise (2010) raises a final error called

"other" where he elaborates on the problems with non-response that occurs with Internet

surveys. The primary concern revolves around a lack of computer skills and a lack of proper

equipment.

Language Issues

An area for improvement involves updating the dictionary. There are some social

identities that may have become outdated. As a result, attitudes collected for these identities

may be meaningless. For example, lecher, firebug, clod, butterfingers, deadhead, and a

teatottler may be identities that have become unfamiliar to the average young, Canadian

university student. It is time to sift through existing dictionary lexicons and eliminate words

for identities, traits, and behaviours that are no longer in use and continue to incorporate new,

more relevant identities. This includes identities that pertain to the growing Internet culture,

popular culture and mass media. King (2001) has started this process with a look at the affective dimensions of Internet culture, measuring attitudes for a variety of online behaviours and identities. We must continue to update EPA dictionaries to keep ACT research current.

Future Research

I have identified four areas for possible future research: (1) the first involves a continual monitoring of cultural sentiments; (2) the second area involves a more detailed focus on individual social institutions; (3) the third is to confirm INTERACT predictions with qualitative interview data; and (4) the fourth refers to the implications this research has for trend analysis.

(1) Although 80% of cultural sentiments remained stable over the twenty year period in question, approximately 20% experienced significant changes. In some cases, these changes reflected changes that were enduring and dramatic. This finding suggests that people's attitudes can change, suggesting that regular monitoring of cultural sentiments, especially following large social upheavals, would be valuable.

(2) The data for this dissertation covered many different social institutions, almost all of which manifested significant and interesting shifts in identity attitudes. An in depth analysis of each area is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Future research should examine individual institutions and carry out a more detailed analysis of what these shifts in cultural sentiments represent at a cultural and social structural level.

(3) A third area for future research concerns confirming INTERACT predictions with qualitative interview data. According to Smith-Lovin (1990), researchers need to continue testing the predictions of INTERACT simulations. In the case of emotions, this can be

accomplished only with "systematic work to see whether the emotions that the model produces are actually what people expect and feel in real situations" (p.255). It would be interesting to see if predictions concerning changes in behaviour (e.g., of police officers toward homosexuals) reflect real changes and the experiences of real gay men.

(4) Finally, this study has important implications for trend analysis in sociological research. For example, surveys on public opinions on a variety of issues (ex. abortion) could incorporate relevant identities (e.g., an abortionist) measured with EPA scales. These measures could either replace or complement existing opinion items and/or scales. The same could be done with research on intergroup relations. One could incorporate EPA ratings of relevant ethnic, racial, or regional, identities (e.g., MacKinnon and Bowlby 2000). Although there are several advantages to this approach, the best is that this approach would be less reactive than conventional research, which in turn increases the validity of the results. A shift in this direction would also connect trend analysis to a longstanding theoretical tradition in sociological social psychology. By taking an identity approach to attitude measurement, one could address House's (1981) criticism that traditional survey research, and hence trend analysis, lacks theoretical depth.

Practical Applications

The practical applications for affect control theory research involve its simulation program, INTERACT, a very useful tool that can be employed in the areas of education and policy research. For example, INTERACT can be used with a variety of service providers as way of raising awareness toward various issues, including sensitivity and tolerance and conflict resolution.

> Applied to interaction between incumbents of different power and authority positions in social organizations, INTERACT analysis should provide insights into problems of

conflict and morale, sensitizing organizational elites and workers of each other's phenomenological perspectives and emotional responses to events (MacKinnon, 1994, p.187).

In order for these sorts of practical application to be possible, it is imperative that EPA lexicons of affective meaning be relevant to the specific cultures and subcultures studied. For example, collecting identity data from welfare recipients, the unemployed, the disabled, or immigrants would increase the external validity of the research and improve predictions for behavioural expectations when conducting simulations.

Appendix

TABLES 1-15: Male and Female Changes Over Time for 1981 and 2001 by Social Institution

Table 1a Religious Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
		Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*	
Christian	1.61	1.10	-1.16	-0.07	0.26	0.90	-0.54	-0.07	1.46
church deacon	0.91	1.69	1.63	1.14	0.63	-1.11	-0.64	-0.93	-0.63
clergy	1.82	1.80	-0.04	1.36	0.89	-1.21	-1.09	-1.49	-1.00
The Devil	-2.29	-3.20	-1.91$^\Delta$	1.36	2.40	1.78$^\Delta$	1.79	-1.03	-5.16***
evangelist	-0.39	-0.17	0.40	0.96	0.56	-0.83	0.68	-0.78	-2.81**
God	2.38	2.47	0.15	3.14	2.89	-0.43	-0.62	-0.25	0.51
Hutterite	0.89	0.07	-1.15	-0.37	-1.04	-1.71$^\Delta$	-1.00	-0.70	0.43
Mennonite	0.92	0.81	-0.29	-0.29	-0.89	-1.73$^\Delta$	-1.25	-1.17	0.24
minister (religious)	2.00	2.08	0.29	1.17	1.21	0.11	-1.03	-1.36	-0.97
puritan	0.18	0.38	0.55	-0.07	-0.06	0.03	-1.07	-0.32	1.95$^\Delta$
sinner	-1.09	-1.28	-0.44	0.09	-0.33	-1.04	0.75	0.01	-2.27*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 1b Religious Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
		Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*	
Christian	1.79	0.75	-2.37*	0.29	-0.03	-0.75	-0.39	-0.80	-1.13
church deacon	1.84	1.54	-0.84	1.65	0.77	-2.27*	-1.35	-1.71	-0.94
clergy	2.32	1.17	-2.66**	1.68	0.80	-1.97*	-1.20	-1.61	-1.10
The Devil	-2.36	-3.61	-3.69***	1.41	3.21	4.91***	1.15	0.77	-0.70
evangelist	0.11	-0.38	-1.09	0.96	0.85	-0.30	1.22	0.92	-0.70
God	3.00	2.25	-1.34	3.48	3.01	-1.02	-0.86	-0.88	-0.03
Hutterite	0.89	0.83	-0.12	-0.21	-0.80	-1.10	-0.16	-0.33	-0.65
Mennonite	1.47	1.24	-0.69	-0.60	-0.69	-0.24	-1.40	-1.11	0.75
minister (religious)	2.06	1.56	-1.20	1.73	2.01	0.91	-1.09	-1.44	-0.99
puritan	0.00	0.46	0.98	0.30	-0.11	-0.98	-0.75	-0.87	-0.29
sinner	-1.87	-1.94	-0.19	-0.60	-0.70	-0.22	0.63	-0.05	-2.30*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2a Sexual Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
babe (female)	2.00	2.29	0.80	-1.56	0.44	4.28***	1.27	2.87	3.72***
bachelor	1.09	1.06	-0.08	0.83	0.48	-1.14	1.00	1.68	2.19*
doll	0.85	1.44	1.55	-1.11	-0.54	1.35	0.11	0.84	1.62
boyfriend	1.69	1.08	-1.49	0.72	0.77	0.14	1.24	1.35	0.38
chick	1.12	1.45	1.02	-0.69	-0.20	1.41	1.58	2.19	2.07*
darling	1.93	2.28	1.11	-0.07	0.60	1.46	0.59	1.65	3.35*
dame	0.57	1.26	1.92Δ	-0.05	-0.40	-0.97	0.52	1.07	1.60
fellow	1.05	1.04	-0.04	0.47	0.45	-0.07	0.26	0.57	1.10
female	1.36	2.09	1.79Δ	0.36	0.43	0.17	0.36	1.42	4.03***
gal	1.18	1.48	1.01	-0.21	-0.01	0.62	1.14	1.07	-0.22
gentleman	1.56	2.21	2.13*	1.35	1.21	-0.59	-0.65	0.60	3.60***
gent	1.26	1.94	2.13*	0.85	0.82	-0.09	-0.52	0.45	2.45*
girl	1.46	1.96	1.31	-0.04	-0.10	-0.14	1.00	1.92	2.89**
guy	1.08	0.80	-0.85	1.50	0.89	-1.83Δ	1.08	1.03	-0.16
lady	2.08	1.95	-0.37	-0.12	0.40	1.20	-0.04	1.02	2.94**
lover	2.43	2.71	0.89	1.43	1.10	-0.81	1.61	2.21	1.82Δ
lass	1.58	1.23	-1.13	-0.56	-0.86	-0.81	1.12	1.25	0.41
maiden	1.45	2.04	1.88Δ	-0.69	-1.15	-1.18	0.31	1.21	2.09*
man	1.57	0.95	-1.65Δ	1.37	1.15	-0.66	0.48	0.55	0.19
miss	1.00	1.18	0.57	-0.74	-0.27	1.41	1.04	0.49	-1.61
mistress	-0.35	0.09	0.86	-0.15	-0.15	0.00	1.12	1.88	2.54*
old maid	0.96	0.52	-1.27	-1.65	-1.16	1.40	-2.31	-1.82	1.33
sweetheart	2.43	3.06	1.67Δ	0.65	0.80	0.32	1.22	2.15	2.92**
woman	1.95	1.92	-0.07	0.05	0.36	0.77	0.59	1.02	1.17
bisexual	-0.41	0.39	1.94Δ	-0.23	-0.38	-0.50	0.45	1.33	2.48*
dike	-0.50	0.26	1.65Δ	-0.45	-0.18	0.60	0.65	0.32	-0.69
fag	-0.87	-0.16	1.86Δ	-1.35	-0.78	1.75Δ	0.70	0.69	-0.04
fruit	-0.31	-0.08	0.49	-0.96	-0.75	0.59	0.38	0.42	0.11
heterosexual	0.93	1.07	0.36	0.27	0.74	1.31	0.42	0.39	-0.10
homo	-0.81	-0.04	2.26*	-1.08	-0.45	2.21*	0.54	0.44	-0.34
homosexual	-0.85	0.35	2.99**	-0.81	-0.62	0.61	0.44	0.83	1.69Δ
lesbian	-0.45	0.64	2.93**	-0.55	-0.45	0.27	1.14	0.42	-2.42*
queer	-1.09	0.35	4.38***	-1.59	-0.64	2.60**	0.68	0.60	-0.21
straight	1.05	0.44	-1.86Δ	-0.17	0.10	0.71	-0.06	0.23	0.83

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2a Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
adulterer	-1.57	-1.93	-0.89	0.76	-0.04	-2.20*	0.90	0.09	-2.04*
adulteress	-1.25	-1.29	-0.10	0.70	-0.29	-2.64**	0.96	0.58	-1.27
bigamist	-2.08	-2.07	0.02	0.56	0.06	-1.15	0.92	-0.45	-3.41***
flirt	-0.50	0.94	3.49***	-0.27	0.31	1.59	1.58	2.14	2.03*
gigolo	-0.43	-0.52	-0.20	0.25	0.37	0.31	2.00	1.91	-0.25
harlot	-1.53	-0.65	1.58	0.25	-0.62	-1.63	1.58	0.79	-1.46
hussy	-0.71	-0.24	0.96	-0.67	-0.75	-0.20	1.63	0.66	-2.67**
ladykiller	-1.05	-1.95	-1.37	1.45	0.33	-2.17*	1.36	1.47	0.30
playboy	-0.04	0.47	1.33	0.64	0.69	0.13	1.96	1.96	0.00
sexpot	-0.08	0.75	1.51	0.62	0.22	-1.09	1.81	1.71	-0.22
slut	-1.25	-0.55	1.54	-0.83	-1.18	-0.93	1.67	1.63	-0.12
swinger	0.04	0.58	1.56	-0.07	0.50	2.40*	2.15	1.43	-2.08*
tease	-0.96	-0.72	0.55	0.00	0.25	0.62	1.80	1.44	-1.10
truelove	2.60	2.76	0.39	1.72	2.12	0.91	1.20	1.86	1.77Δ
vamp	-0.48	-0.66	-0.30	-0.26	0.09	0.56	1.26	0.63	-1.18
virgin	1.40	1.57	0.40	-0.31	-0.08	0.54	0.32	2.04	4.24***
vixen	-0.18	1.50	3.55***	0.00	0.61	1.57	1.73	2.13	1.17
wench	0.19	-0.96	-2.58**	-0.14	-1.47	-4.29***	0.95	-0.69	-4.25***
whore	-0.87	-1.34	-1.00	-0.26	-1.51	-3.14**	1.30	1.01	-0.80

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 2b Sexual Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
babe (female)	1.45	1.40	-0.15	-1.07	0.93	4.42***	1.69	2.40	2.06*
bachelor	1.31	0.99	-0.89	0.65	0.77	0.44	1.10	1.78	1.67Δ
doll	1.90	1.68	-0.61	-1.30	-1.03	0.73	-0.33	1.53	4.50***
boyfriend	2.13	2.78	1.44	1.95	1.28	-2.06*	1.45	2.46	2.62**
blind date	0.06	0.50	1.12	-0.29	-0.28	0.03	0.97	1.79	2.56*
chick	0.73	1.37	1.94Δ	-0.79	-0.41	1.22	1.79	2.49	2.35*
darling	2.00	2.59	1.89Δ	0.58	0.12	-1.34	0.85	1.15	0.69
dame	0.12	1.26	4.43***	-0.28	0.26	1.40	0.44	0.63	0.42
fellow	1.81	1.05	-2.45**	0.44	0.33	-0.41	0.59	0.43	-0.40
female	1.76	2.31	1.48	0.76	1.47	1.58	0.76	1.27	1.50
gal	1.68	1.58	-0.33	0.06	-0.26	-0.84	1.42	1.97	1.75Δ
gentleman	2.09	2.35	0.85	1.35	1.16	-0.76	-0.30	-0.07	0.53
gent	1.60	2.15	1.84Δ	1.03	1.14	0.41	-0.10	0.29	0.89
girl	2.33	2.35	0.07	-0.04	0.00	0.08	1.25	2.44	3.72***
guy	1.75	1.31	-1.40	2.08	1.17	-2.93**	1.50	1.76	0.82
lady	1.97	2.11	0.44	0.32	0.67	1.04	-0.03	0.63	2.28*
lover	2.74	3.05	1.18	1.59	2.21	1.94Δ	1.36	2.29	2.79**
lass	2.00	1.20	-2.57**	-0.74	-0.09	1.87Δ	1.43	1.36	-0.16
maiden	1.71	2.34	2.28*	-0.94	-1.32	-1.04	0.13	1.68	4.10***
man	0.77	1.56	2.59**	1.23	1.47	0.68	0.35	-0.12	-1.61
miss	0.92	1.61	1.88Δ	-0.62	-0.53	0.24	0.96	1.79	2.45*
old maid	0.85	0.24	-1.85Δ	-1.65	-1.24	1.27	-2.35	-2.59	-0.86
sweetheart	2.84	3.10	1.22	1.69	1.30	-1.04	1.22	1.61	1.03
woman	2.32	2.64	1.08	0.80	1.52	1.55	1.32	0.96	-1.11
bisexual	-0.88	1.37	6.38***	-0.80	-0.27	1.53	0.68	1.31	1.76Δ
dike	-0.63	0.47	2.70**	-0.20	-0.47	-0.77	0.53	1.09	1.63
fag	-0.58	0.50	2.70**	-1.17	-0.77	1.25	0.39	0.92	1.55
fruit	-0.41	0.21	1.56	-1.03	-1.09	-0.16	0.07	0.52	1.38
heterosexual	0.83	1.04	0.53	-0.09	0.97	3.01**	-0.09	0.49	2.57*
homo	-0.74	1.18	4.47***	-1.26	-0.81	1.39	0.43	0.43	0.00
homosexual	-0.59	1.64	5.23***	-1.14	-0.42	2.19*	0.41	1.05	2.21*
lesbian	-0.58	1.28	5.54***	-0.48	0.01	1.41	0.82	1.02	0.69
queer	-0.32	0.93	3.15**	-1.24	-0.37	2.58**	0.40	1.12	2.17*
adulterer	-2.28	-2.71	-1.12	0.24	-0.14	-0.78	0.88	0.53	-0.87
adulteress	-1.91	-2.41	-1.77Δ	0.44	-0.21	-1.37	1.00	1.16	0.53
bigamist	-2.24	-3.24	-2.71**	-0.17	-0.39	-0.33	0.48	-1.52	-4.34***
flirt	-0.73	0.18	2.45*	0.03	1.22	3.09**	2.24	2.15	-0.28
gigolo	-0.83	-1.07	-0.53	0.72	0.88	0.39	2.03	1.79	-0.70
harlot	-1.86	-1.16	1.89Δ	0.24	-0.69	-1.79Δ	1.52	1.29	-0.56

Table 2b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
hussy	-2.10	-1.49	1.94$^\Delta$	-0.21	-0.95	-1.86$^\Delta$	2.34	1.14	-3.91[***]
ladykiller	-1.88	-2.70	-1.41	1.48	1.15	-0.58	1.44	1.25	-0.41
mistress	-0.97	-1.40	-0.96	-0.23	-0.44	-0.44	0.97	1.80	2.93[**]
playboy	-0.83	-0.24	1.46	1.00	0.92	-0.22	2.40	2.57	0.57
sexpot	-0.70	-0.22	1.48	0.67	0.24	-0.90	1.79	1.93	0.34
slut	-2.38	-1.99	1.17	-1.38	-1.43	-0.11	1.86	1.86	0.00
straight	1.18	0.86	-1.00	0.04	0.18	0.41	-0.04	0.35	1.25
swinger	0.21	0.23	0.05	-0.14	0.08	0.79	2.07	1.35	-1.77$^\Delta$
tease	-1.10	-0.37	2.19[*]	0.86	0.89	0.09	2.48	1.60	-3.08[**]
truelove	3.10	3.36	1.10	2.55	2.76	0.62	1.38	1.91	1.30
vamp	-0.70	-1.40	-1.65$^\Delta$	-0.52	0.79	2.53[*]	1.74	0.98	-1.75$^\Delta$
virgin	1.33	1.57	0.63	-0.30	0.22	1.33	0.37	1.77	4.02[***]
vixen	-0.83	-0.47	0.66	1.08	1.09	0.02	1.42	0.91	-0.87
wench	-1.25	-1.39	-0.38	-0.75	-1.14	-0.96	0.88	-0.70	-4.21[***]
whore	-1.17	-2.66	-3.32[***]	-1.22	-2.00	-1.93$^\Delta$	1.30	1.28	-0.05

$^\Delta$p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3a Criminal Justice Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
accused	-1.12	-0.88	0.73	-0.68	-1.16	-1.13	0.44	0.12	-0.86
convict	-1.69	-1.55	0.40	-0.62	-0.87	-0.57	1.28	0.41	-2.65**
criminal	-2.04	-2.10	-0.15	0.85	0.06	-1.84$^\Delta$	1.38	0.54	-2.47*
culprit	-1.75	-1.59	0.44	0.36	-0.26	-1.73$^\Delta$	1.61	0.53	-3.52***
defendant	0.23	0.05	-0.65	-0.77	-0.44	0.86	-0.12	0.41	2.02*
felon	-2.12	-1.64	1.39	0.50	-0.63	-2.80**	1.12	0.71	-1.18
inmate	-1.39	-1.86	-1.22	-1.00	-1.09	-0.17	1.04	0.24	-1.91$^\Delta$
minor	0.46	0.62	0.69	-0.73	-1.20	-1.39	1.65	1.69	0.12
prisoner	-1.58	-1.55	0.10	-0.85	-1.39	-0.97	0.54	0.16	-0.90
probationer	0.31	0.01	-0.91	0.65	0.33	-0.62	-0.15	-0.67	-1.49
suspect	-0.27	-0.49	-0.71	-0.37	-0.69	-1.01	0.38	0.38	0.00
attorney	0.66	0.42	-0.66	1.69	1.71	0.06	0.83	0.40	-1.15
bailiff	-0.03	0.79	3.00**	0.41	0.89	1.34	-0.52	-0.57	-0.18
bailsman	0.19	0.44	1.16	0.35	0.82	1.36	-0.55	-0.16	1.22
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	1.15	1.26	0.28	2.65	3.13	1.21	-1.62	-2.32	-1.99*
district attorney	0.11	1.04	2.47*	2.11	2.28	0.57	0.11	0.13	0.04
justice of the Supreme Court	1.16	1.26	0.26	2.19	2.75	1.26	-1.56	-1.33	0.58
judge	1.30	1.28	-0.04	2.10	2.93	2.26*	-1.73	-1.92	-0.48
juror	0.83	1.24	1.52	1.17	1.17	0.00	-0.43	-0.04	1.24
justice of the peace	0.96	1.26	0.98	2.04	1.77	-0.71	-1.74	-0.38	3.31***
lawyer	0.68	0.21	-1.02	1.61	2.09	1.32	0.18	0.12	-0.17
prosecuting attorney	0.04	0.75	1.87$^\Delta$	1.96	1.69	-0.79	0.46	0.24	-0.62
bystander	0.28	0.43	0.58	-0.69	-0.39	0.80	-0.41	-0.17	0.80
eyewitness	1.48	0.96	-1.66$^\Delta$	1.04	0.80	-0.54	0.16	0.59	1.42
informant	-0.96	-0.11	1.71$^\Delta$	-0.80	0.51	2.69**	-0.28	0.57	2.44*
victim	0.76	-0.33	-3.09**	-2.14	-2.07	0.20	-1.10	-0.15	3.29***
captive	0.14	-0.54	-1.62	-2.34	-2.18	0.39	-0.69	0.03	2.14*
witness	1.00	1.04	0.13	1.20	0.69	-1.21	-0.16	0.41	2.07*

Table 3a Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
cop	0.32	0.72	0.80	1.79	2.38	1.69$^\Delta$	0.46	1.12	1.96*
copper	0.74	0.38	-1.01	1.68	1.42	-0.62	0.26	0.60	0.82
deputy	0.52	0.92	0.91	1.08	1.52	1.18	0.96	0.28	-1.77$^\Delta$
detective	0.64	1.49	2.47*	1.73	1.38	-0.93	1.23	-0.16	-3.14**
fugitive	-1.16	-1.60	-1.07	-0.58	-0.48	0.20	1.47	1.31	-0.48
hostage	-0.39	-0.69	-0.64	-2.71	-2.31	0.91	-0.75	0.08	2.13*
informer	-0.71	-0.13	1.30	0.14	0.74	1.33	0.39	0.67	0.89
inspector	0.18	0.97	1.92$^\Delta$	1.95	1.49	-1.27	-0.18	-0.21	-0.06
law-breaker	-1.63	-1.65	-0.06	-0.12	-0.41	-0.79	0.81	1.02	0.76
Mountie	1.33	1.77	1.27	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.70	0.82	0.36
nark	-0.54	-0.85	-0.57	1.14	1.01	-0.31	0.86	0.68	-0.47
patrolman	1.31	0.73	-1.67$^\Delta$	1.90	1.01	-2.64**	0.62	0.65	0.09
plainclothesman	0.58	0.37	-0.58	1.46	-0.15	-4.88***	0.81	0.00	-2.88**
policeman	0.96	1.23	0.70	1.81	1.87	0.18	0.65	0.78	0.39
probation officer	0.78	0.67	-0.28	1.22	1.56	0.86	-0.22	-0.40	-0.55
provincial policeman	0.46	0.92	1.01	1.88	1.95	0.26	0.35	1.04	1.83$^\Delta$
Receiver General	0.32	0.82	1.19	1.04	1.35	0.68	-0.50	-0.77	-0.71
rookie cop	0.56	0.65	0.20	0.70	0.51	-0.48	1.35	2.22	2.32*
sheriff	0.73	1.15	0.96	1.91	2.14	0.74	0.00	-0.33	-0.80
spy	-0.45	-0.05	0.93	1.31	1.28	-0.07	0.10	1.31	3.12**
state trooper	-0.03	0.65	1.64	2.13	2.00	-0.38	0.87	0.98	0.31
warden	0.18	0.01	-0.36	2.05	1.96	-0.20	-0.55	-1.08	-1.40

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 3b Criminal Justice Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
accused	-1.31	-0.87	1.32	-1.72	-1.51	0.50	0.31	0.12	-0.47
convict	-2.40	-2.40	0.00	0.13	-0.92	-2.06*	1.87	0.32	-4.42***
criminal	-2.70	-2.46	0.97	1.36	0.55	-1.83^Δ	1.61	0.71	-2.75**
culprit	-1.66	-2.09	-1.53	-0.55	-0.07	1.14	1.16	0.54	-2.06*
defendant	0.39	-0.14	-2.04*	0.06	-1.00	-2.63**	0.45	0.12	-1.12
felon	-1.45	-2.10	-1.46	0.00	-0.11	-0.20	1.40	0.60	-1.97*
inmate	-1.59	-2.13	-1.79^Δ	-1.08	-1.31	-0.41	1.03	-0.16	-3.11**
minor	0.03	0.32	1.02	-0.97	-1.62	-2.05*	1.88	2.48	1.84^Δ
prisoner	-1.81	-2.03	-0.70	-1.13	-2.34	-2.61**	1.00	-0.41	-4.28***
probationer	0.37	0.11	-0.70	0.83	0.78	-0.10	0.37	0.04	-0.94
suspect	-0.78	-0.96	-0.62	-0.48	-1.07	-1.32	0.74	0.80	0.19
attorney	1.17	0.20	-2.73**	1.77	2.31	1.55	0.63	0.91	0.65
bailiff	-0.10	0.73	2.43*	1.05	1.50	1.47	-0.30	-0.80	-1.22
bailsman	0.58	0.47	-0.34	0.79	0.39	-0.88	0.05	-0.80	-2.31*
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	1.36	1.21	-0.50	2.97	3.44	2.09*	-1.42	-2.29	-2.11
district attorney	0.74	1.00	0.75	2.52	2.46	-0.26	0.45	0.43	-0.04
justice of the Supreme Court	1.10	1.07	-0.07	2.80	3.19	1.44	-1.37	-1.69	-0.74
lawyer	1.13	0.35	-2.14*	1.87	2.48	2.30*	0.46	0.56	0.24
judge	1.36	1.56	0.55	2.91	3.29	1.18	-0.59	-1.64	-2.99**
juror	0.77	1.15	1.33	1.74	1.98	0.67	-0.77	-0.07	2.50*
prosecuting attorney	0.30	0.27	-0.08	2.24	2.50	0.93	1.18	0.58	-1.61
bystander	0.07	0.66	2.22*	-0.97	0.17	2.92**	-0.34	0.24	2.29*
eyewitness	1.30	1.12	-0.60	1.20	1.23	0.08	0.03	0.24	1.27
informant	0.03	-0.13	-0.52	0.38	1.37	2.58**	0.03	0.68	1.62
victim	0.57	0.03	-1.04	-2.10	-3.20	-3.62***	-0.97	-0.19	2.35*
witness	0.93	1.73	2.93**	1.83	1.42	-1.07	0.14	0.26	0.44
captive	0.10	0.23	0.27	-2.32	-3.43	-3.79***	-0.48	-0.34	0.37
cop	0.97	1.07	0.25	2.21	2.84	2.50*	0.76	1.12	0.99
deputy	1.14	1.06	-0.29	1.48	1.59	0.31	0.86	-0.16	-2.18*
detective	1.24	1.51	0.86	2.16	1.91	-0.82	0.56	-0.12	-1.47
inspector	0.54	0.99	1.28	1.83	1.66	-0.63	-0.33	-0.22	0.28
Mountie	1.28	1.74	1.22	1.62	2.19	1.67^Δ	1.45	0.87	-1.63
nark	-0.40	-0.61	-0.40	1.96	1.44	-1.39	1.00	0.85	-0.32
patrolman	1.06	1.05	-0.03	1.88	1.55	-0.99	0.67	0.10	-1.26
plainclothesman	0.90	0.75	-0.37	1.23	-0.50	-4.22***	0.94	-0.59	-3.72***
policeman	1.45	1.13	-0.84	2.45	2.85	1.45	1.64	0.66	-2.57*
probation officer	1.41	0.96	-1.21	2.06	1.72	-1.28	0.22	-0.12	-0.97

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Table 3b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
provincial policeman	1.24	1.39	0.41	2.09	2.42	1.35	1.26	1.03	-0.67
Receiver General	0.40	0.68	0.81	1.47	1.82	0.91	-1.00	-1.10	-0.26
rookie cop	0.96	1.39	1.16	0.52	-0.17	-1.62	1.39	2.18	2.82**
sheriff	1.32	1.15	-0.42	2.12	2.36	0.84	0.48	-1.24	-4.60***
spy	-0.29	-1.05	-2.12*	1.81	1.98	0.67	0.84	0.78	-0.15
state trooper	0.77	0.76	-0.02	2.26	2.03	-0.95	1.27	0.60	-1.57
warden	0.21	-0.86	-2.88**	2.37	2.31	-0.19	-0.13	-1.41	-3.53***

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 4a Criminal Deviant Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
accomplice	-0.67	-0.15	1.22	0.11	0.38	0.73	0.96	0.92	-0.14
acid head	-1.64	-1.13	1.14	-1.92	-1.54	1.31	1.46	0.92	-1.12
addict	-1.52	-1.34	0.44	-1.88	-2.01	-0.33	0.60	0.07	-1.22
concubine	-0.17	0.19	0.68	-0.50	-0.47	0.05	0.94	1.30	0.80
alcoholic	-1.84	-1.41	1.08	-1.56	-2.01	-0.98	-0.64	-1.26	-1.47
assailant	-2.76	-1.31	3.88[***]	1.97	0.73	-2.88[**]	1.72	1.66	-0.16
assassin	-3.04	-2.21	2.08[*]	2.54	1.94	-1.81[Δ]	1.50	1.63	0.31
bandit	-1.89	-1.55	0.92	1.33	0.70	-1.72[Δ]	1.65	1.22	-1.17
beggar	-1.00	-1.06	-0.20	-2.46	-2.42	0.14	-1.36	-1.02	1.06
bookie	-1.00	-0.62	1.02	0.67	1.54	2.40[*]	0.54	-0.10	-1.45
burglar	-2.05	-2.05	0.00	0.16	0.36	0.34	1.47	0.44	-2.24[*]
call girl	-0.36	-0.17	0.40	-0.08	-0.81	-1.67[Δ]	2.00	1.90	-0.32
crook	-2.77	-1.71	3.54[***]	0.05	0.17	0.21	1.41	0.46	-2.23[*]
delinquent	-1.33	-2.21	-2.49[*]	-0.54	-1.13	-1.47	2.22	1.38	-1.96[*]
drug addict	-1.38	-1.72	-0.83	-1.77	-2.02	-0.61	1.23	0.67	-1.53
drunk	-0.36	-1.23	-1.73[Δ]	-1.41	-1.46	-0.11	0.23	-1.07	-2.48[*]
drunkard	-1.56	-1.54	0.06	-1.59	-1.81	-0.85	-0.65	-0.96	-0.87
evildoer	-2.93	-2.21	1.64	0.83	0.42	-0.86	1.28	0.15	-3.58[***]
gambler	-0.63	-0.27	0.92	-0.19	-0.25	-0.15	1.00	0.55	-1.23
gangster	-2.42	-1.97	1.36	1.85	1.88	0.09	1.54	0.83	-1.61
gunman	-2.56	-1.72	2.11[*]	1.04	1.66	1.23	2.00	1.26	-1.91[Δ]
henchman	-1.90	-0.56	2.93[**]	1.45	0.76	-1.83[Δ]	1.00	0.01	-2.55[*]
hooker	-0.57	-0.71	-0.32	0.22	-1.35	-3.45[***]	1.43	1.74	0.99
junkie	-1.83	-1.53	0.82	-1.96	-2.07	-0.25	1.35	0.26	-2.43[*]
lifer	-1.18	-0.34	1.46	-0.53	-1.37	-1.43	-0.47	-1.28	-1.70[Δ]
loan shark	-2.58	-1.04	4.44[***]	1.47	1.67	0.46	0.74	-0.15	-2.17[*]
look-out	-0.50	0.39	2.17[*]	-0.44	-0.13	0.65	0.72	0.73	0.03
madman	-1.93	-2.15	-0.77	0.31	-0.07	-0.79	1.08	0.20	-2.22[*]
Mafioso	-1.62	-1.02	1.29	1.54	2.35	1.78[Δ]	-0.38	-0.97	-1.16
mobster	-2.70	-1.49	3.75[***]	2.00	2.52	1.74[Δ]	0.74	-0.34	-2.61[**]
mugger	-3.10	-2.44	2.29[*]	1.20	0.13	-2.16[*]	1.80	0.90	-3.03[**]
outlaw	-2.18	-0.84	3.26[**]	0.14	0.64	1.01	2.00	0.66	-2.74[**]
paranoid	-1.12	-0.64	1.21	-1.54	-1.30	0.56	1.04	0.37	-1.64
peeping tom	-2.10	-1.82	0.80	-1.48	-1.64	-0.44	0.75	0.55	-0.46
pickpocket	-2.00	-2.11	-0.28	-0.58	-0.25	0.82	0.96	2.10	3.93[***]
pimp	-1.57	-2.21	-1.32	1.39	1.08	-0.67	1.39	1.14	-0.51
pothead	-0.92	-0.49	0.86	-1.56	-0.93	1.46	0.85	0.63	-0.44
prostitute	-0.26	-0.97	-1.54	-0.68	-1.74	-2.31[*]	1.32	1.76	1.36
psychopath	-2.59	-1.85	1.64	-0.21	-0.04	0.29	0.90	0.34	-1.54
psychotic	-1.58	-2.00	-1.22	0.19	-1.08	-3.04[**]	1.35	0.15	-3.92[***]
pusher	-2.59	-1.28	3.16[**]	1.17	0.73	-1.04	1.62	0.91	-2.14[*]

Table 4a Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
		Evaluation			Potency			Activity	
racketeer	-1.86	-0.62	2.66**	1.59	0.90	-1.95$^\Delta$	0.76	-0.01	-1.68$^\Delta$
runaway	0.08	-0.36	-1.28	-1.62	-1.42	0.59	1.77	1.56	-0.55
safecracker	-1.52	-0.62	2.41*	1.00	1.13	0.40	-0.19	0.55	1.57
shoplifter	-1.88	-2.12	-0.70	-1.15	-1.24	-0.24	1.15	1.41	0.81
stool pigeon	-2.15	-0.64	3.22**	-1.80	-0.44	2.98**	0.40	0.02	-0.86
streetwalker	-0.72	0.16	1.85$^\Delta$	-0.69	-0.88	-0.43	1.17	0.38	-2.09*
thief	-2.00	-1.76	0.70	0.75	0.35	-1.26	1.46	0.98	-1.45
traitor	-2.85	-2.02	2.28*	-0.50	-0.67	-0.33	0.92	0.05	-2.29*
tramp	-0.72	-1.16	-1.15	-1.80	-1.41	1.41	-0.52	1.03	3.44***
truant	-0.72	-0.77	-0.10	-0.16	-0.71	-1.24	1.36	1.32	-0.08
turncoat	-1.88	-1.01	1.51	0.06	-1.25	-2.27*	0.63	0.13	-1.31
urchin	-0.21	-0.17	0.11	-1.63	-0.84	1.79$^\Delta$	0.79	0.28	-0.93
vagabond	-0.42	-0.72	-0.52	-1.00	-1.16	-0.32	-0.58	-0.84	-0.50
vagrant	-1.00	-1.04	-0.12	-1.72	-1.29	1.21	-0.68	-0.54	0.31
vandal	-2.81	-2.05	2.28*	-0.65	-0.37	0.55	2.35	1.64	-1.81$^\Delta$
vigilante	-1.78	-0.50	2.90**	1.35	1.10	-0.64	1.39	1.65	0.63
villain	-2.48	-2.37	0.33	0.78	1.48	1.65$^\Delta$	1.22	0.46	-1.98*
wino	-1.73	-1.23	1.39	-2.77	-2.03	2.49*	-1.95	-1.15	1.65$^\Delta$

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 4b Criminal Deviant Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
accomplice	-1.19	-1.43	-0.66	0.48	0.24	-0.62	0.81	0.96	0.57
acid head	-1.93	-1.42	1.13	-2.03	-1.92	0.31	2.24	0.99	-2.96**
addict	-2.13	-1.56	1.29	-2.58	-2.48	0.35	1.04	0.59	-1.03
alcoholic	-1.83	-1.72	0.31	-1.97	-2.28	-0.72	-0.66	-0.99	-0.78
assailant	-3.00	-1.85	3.66***	2.10	1.10	-2.17*	1.65	1.16	-1.27
assassin	-3.21	-3.45	-0.94	1.94	2.38	1.08	1.38	1.10	-0.80
bandit	-2.48	-2.12	1.79Δ	1.74	0.54	-3.15**	2.30	1.38	-2.68**
beggar	-0.94	-0.42	1.82Δ	-2.09	-2.74	-2.24*	-1.50	-1.75	-0.84
bookie	-1.17	-0.92	0.87	1.43	1.73	0.99	0.93	0.23	-1.59
burglar	-2.53	-2.82	-1.12	1.41	0.65	-1.85Δ	1.00	1.30	0.74
call girl	-1.00	-1.34	-0.85	-1.04	-1.14	-0.23	1.96	2.01	0.15
captive	0.10	0.23	0.27	-2.32	-3.43	-3.79***	-0.48	-0.34	0.37
crook	-2.44	-2.78	-1.28	0.68	0.34	-0.61	1.64	0.21	-3.51***
delinquent	-1.83	-1.52	1.13	-0.43	-0.99	-1.16	2.09	2.25	0.48
drug addict	-2.55	-1.63	2.98**	-2.21	-2.40	-0.55	1.27	-0.05	-2.98**
drunk	-2.20	-1.27	2.16*	-2.20	-2.25	-0.11	-0.96	-1.04	-0.16
drunkard	-1.48	-1.71	-0.86	-2.04	-1.82	0.52	-1.00	-1.24	-0.61
evildoer	-2.76	-3.24	-2.47*	1.00	1.69	1.59	1.38	0.49	-2.12*
gambler	-1.17	-0.54	1.48	0.35	-0.55	-1.77Δ	1.26	0.03	-2.92**
gangster	-2.55	-1.80	2.14*	2.28	2.41	0.43	1.93	0.99	-2.25*
gunman	-1.91	-2.74	-1.94Δ	1.87	1.74	-0.25	2.04	1.16	-2.05*
henchman	-1.82	-1.72	0.19	1.06	0.54	-0.80	1.47	-0.69	-5.17***
hooker	-1.04	-1.56	-1.17	-1.29	-1.82	-1.04	1.71	1.85	0.38
junkie	-2.37	-1.67	1.94Δ	-2.16	-2.52	-1.07	0.75	-0.14	-1.84Δ
lifer	-1.00	-0.50	0.65	-0.68	-1.38	-0.90	0.11	-0.67	-1.44
loan shark	-2.43	-1.61	2.48*	2.43	1.92	-2.11*	0.93	-0.42	-2.90**
look-out	-0.65	0.84	4.35***	-0.12	0.35	1.12	0.54	0.51	-0.07
madman	-1.59	-2.22	-1.67Δ	-0.14	0.27	0.70	1.09	0.42	-1.28
Mafioso	-1.58	-1.29	0.60	1.74	2.47	1.71Δ	-0.32	-0.97	-1.37
mobster	-2.25	-1.98	0.76	2.14	2.85	2.17*	1.61	-0.46	-4.58***
mugger	-3.17	-2.84	1.46	1.77	1.10	-1.46	2.27	1.47	-2.40*
outlaw	-1.72	-2.27	-1.68Δ	1.12	0.37	-1.50	1.92	1.32	-1.79Δ
paranoid	-1.32	-1.29	0.09	-1.65	-2.04	-1.16	0.47	-0.13	-1.65Δ
peeping tom	-2.61	-2.88	-1.15	-0.91	-0.12	1.93Δ	1.03	0.32	-1.44
pickpocket	-2.29	-2.69	-1.41	0.08	-0.59	-1.46	1.04	1.69	1.59
pimp	-2.50	-3.02	-1.50	1.97	2.28	0.75	1.59	1.25	-0.71
pothead	-1.43	0.17	3.37***	-1.71	-0.98	1.89Δ	1.05	0.10	-2.22*
prostitute	-1.19	-1.40	-0.50	-0.47	-1.95	-3.27**	1.34	1.52	0.57
psychopath	-2.09	-2.69	-1.54	0.36	0.22	-0.22	0.86	0.67	-0.39
psychotic	-1.41	-2.32	-2.70**	-0.90	-0.39	0.92	1.10	0.60	-1.28
pusher	-2.97	-1.88	3.87***	1.67	1.20	-1.20	1.67	0.87	-2.16*

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Table 4b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
racketeer	-1.05	-0.44	1.05	1.59	1.09	-1.08	0.95	0.49	-0.90
runaway	-0.61	0.32	2.84**	-1.45	-2.31	-2.66**	2.33	2.07	-0.87
safecracker	-1.93	-0.55	3.43***	1.47	0.80	-1.23	0.73	0.41	-0.56
shoplifter	-2.58	-2.18	1.55	-0.39	-0.88	-1.12	1.45	1.78	0.96
stool pigeon	-1.32	-0.53	1.79$^\Delta$	-0.18	-1.19	-2.09*	0.55	-0.45	-2.34*
streetwalker	-0.97	-0.70	0.80	-0.38	-1.47	-2.77**	1.06	0.87	-0.48
thief	-2.35	-2.51	-0.49	1.03	0.54	-1.45	1.32	1.17	-0.49
traitor	-2.50	-2.23	0.83	0.73	0.25	-1.06	0.86	-0.10	-2.58**
tramp	-1.55	-1.33	0.60	-1.97	-1.48	1.24	-0.52	1.24	3.61***
truant	-1.36	-1.44	-0.22	-0.14	-0.56	-0.92	1.05	0.37	-1.19
turncoat	-2.15	-0.51	3.06**	-0.23	-0.24	-0.02	0.38	-0.17	-1.40
urchin	-0.41	-0.06	0.69	-1.55	-0.38	2.86**	1.27	-0.57	-2.89**
vagabond	-0.29	-0.73	-1.12	-1.04	-1.81	-1.76$^\Delta$	-0.57	-1.08	-1.19
vagrant	-0.86	-0.74	0.38	-1.32	-1.24	0.18	-0.91	-0.78	0.26
vandal	-2.76	-2.38	1.57	0.82	-0.39	-2.54*	2.09	2.28	0.66
vigilante	-1.74	-0.57	2.76**	1.91	1.07	-1.92$^\Delta$	1.74	1.00	-1.41
villain	-2.55	-2.74	-0.86	1.68	1.44	-0.66	1.39	0.87	-1.19
wino	-1.60	-0.73	2.32*	-2.60	-1.96	1.73$^\Delta$	-1.48	-1.02	1.01
fugitive	-1.12	-1.74	-2.03*	-0.75	-0.87	-0.26	1.31	1.08	-0.62
hostage	0.34	-0.28	-1.34	-2.81	-3.20	-1.21	-0.63	-0.10	1.58
law-breaker	-2.13	-1.92	0.61	0.48	-0.79	-2.93**	1.13	0.96	-0.49

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 5a Political Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
Attorney General	0.74	0.99	0.63	2.26	2.80	2.21*	-0.74	-1.23	-1.15
Auditor General	0.33	0.62	0.65	1.72	1.67	-0.13	-0.94	-1.34	-1.05
backbencher	0.33	0.05	-0.81	-0.28	-0.27	0.02	-1.00	-0.22	1.67$^{\Delta}$
federal cabinet minister	-0.73	0.72	3.65***	1.77	2.06	0.78	-1.05	-1.45	-1.06
Governor General	1.26	1.20	-0.19	1.15	2.30	2.44*	-0.96	-1.53	-1.58
Liberal	0.17	1.14	2.46*	0.48	1.12	1.54	0.21	-0.06	-0.67
Lieutenant Governor	0.68	1.21	1.38	0.73	1.67	1.68$^{\Delta}$	-1.32	-1.03	0.62
mayor	0.70	1.12	1.39	1.00	2.11	3.83***	-0.63	-1.06	-1.30
minister without portfolio	0.45	0.23	-0.58	0.45	-0.15	-1.34	-0.48	-0.61	-0.32
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.04	0.59	1.28	1.81	1.51	-0.71	-0.67	-1.23	-1.52
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	-0.18	0.84	3.03**	0.77	1.75	2.22*	-0.45	-1.15	-1.66$^{\Delta}$
New Democrat	-0.04	0.68	1.95$^{\Delta}$	-0.27	0.13	1.16	0.31	0.03	-0.73
parliament secretary	0.18	1.12	3.44***	0.21	-0.66	-1.91$^{\Delta}$	-0.25	-0.54	-0.80
Parti Quebecois	-0.87	-0.18	1.40	0.46	0.72	0.51	1.00	-0.49	-2.84**
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.15	-0.50	-1.55	0.08	0.46	0.91	-0.65	-1.00	-0.74
premier	0.00	0.53	1.03	1.44	2.72	3.27**	0.07	-0.48	-1.10
prime minister	-0.21	1.31	3.12**	2.32	2.79	1.12	-0.11	-1.07	-2.38*
provincial cabinet minister	0.07	0.42	1.12	0.89	1.89	2.97**	-0.46	-1.15	-1.87$^{\Delta}$
senator	-0.15	0.55	1.63	1.41	2.32	2.27*	-1.41	-1.32	0.20
Solicitor General	0.48	0.37	-0.28	1.44	2.11	1.85$^{\Delta}$	-0.42	-0.86	-1.17
Speaker of the House of Commons	0.74	0.92	0.54	1.39	1.75	0.90	-1.04	-1.46	-1.18
The Queen	1.48	1.38	-0.24	1.52	1.59	0.14	-1.31	-2.18	-2.50*

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 5b Political Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
Attorney General	0.82	1.35	1.56	2.14	2.86	2.87**	-1.07	-0.88	0.43
Auditor General	0.73	0.40	-0.75	1.40	2.27	2.60**	-0.67	-0.89	-0.66
backbencher	0.22	0.23	0.03	-0.72	-0.73	-0.02	-0.22	0.16	0.60
federal cabinet minister	-0.24	0.13	0.94	1.80	2.46	2.03*	-0.32	-1.53	-2.89**
Governor General	1.09	0.78	-0.72	1.78	2.54	1.64	-0.96	-1.37	-0.83
Liberal	0.30	1.09	2.12*	0.61	1.27	1.85$^\Delta$	0.18	0.40	0.60
Lieutenant Governor	1.00	0.93	-0.20	0.36	2.19	3.38***	-1.16	-1.34	-0.52
mayor	0.79	1.20	1.34	1.59	2.12	2.05*	-0.52	-0.81	-0.75
minister without portfolio	0.72	0.48	-0.53	-0.11	0.17	0.56	-0.11	-1.20	-2.13*
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.10	0.34	0.67	2.10	2.00	-0.32	-0.13	-0.93	-1.83$^\Delta$
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.28	0.00	-0.82	0.80	2.36	3.05**	-0.40	-0.90	-1.19
New Democrat	0.00	0.73	1.75$^\Delta$	0.03	0.89	2.11*	0.42	0.55	0.34
parliament secretary	0.43	1.29	2.62**	0.90	0.65	-0.61	0.03	0.14	0.25
Parti Quebecois	-0.41	-0.80	-1.09	0.72	0.51	-0.54	0.76	-0.69	-3.45***
PC (Progressive Conservative)	0.36	-0.44	-2.09*	0.64	0.62	-0.05	0.07	-0.75	-2.27*
premier	0.66	0.01	-1.44	2.07	2.64	1.65$^\Delta$	-0.21	-0.42	-0.51
prime minister	0.59	1.35	1.76$^\Delta$	1.94	3.12	3.35***	-0.03	-1.30	-3.36***
provincial cabinet minister	0.35	0.55	0.54	1.80	2.39	1.94$^\Delta$	-0.40	-1.41	-2.29*
senator	0.32	0.49	0.44	2.19	2.44	0.88	-0.55	-1.16	-1.79$^\Delta$
Solicitor General	0.55	0.81	0.69	1.45	2.70	2.83**	-0.90	-1.21	-0.71
Speaker of the House of Commons	0.67	0.93	0.65	0.79	2.11	2.96**	-0.75	-1.18	-1.01
The Queen	1.73	1.48	-0.55	1.91	2.54	1.40	-0.85	-2.34	-4.42***

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 6a Education Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
academic	1.16	1.53	1.33	1.04	1.02	-0.06	-0.32	0.30	1.54
advisor	1.52	1.51	-0.03	1.37	1.10	-0.79	-0.67	-0.16	1.49
alumnus	0.63	0.79	0.47	0.67	1.02	1.08	-0.33	-0.96	-1.41
classmate	1.36	1.23	-0.40	0.18	0.16	-0.07	1.29	1.16	-0.43
coed	1.00	1.27	0.85	0.04	0.14	0.39	1.44	1.35	-0.26
elementary school teacher	1.33	1.60	0.75	0.58	0.85	0.77	-0.13	0.61	1.96*
freshman	0.73	0.96	0.66	-1.09	-1.03	0.17	2.23	2.73	1.50
graduate student	1.17	1.48	0.83	0.57	0.80	0.59	0.65	1.01	0.92
instructor	1.38	1.22	-0.50	0.97	1.32	1.12	0.07	0.24	0.42
principal	0.68	0.88	0.48	1.64	2.08	1.08	-0.59	-0.99	-1.14
proctor	0.50	0.41	-0.19	0.79	-0.14	-2.07*	-0.64	-0.81	-0.28
professor	1.31	1.75	1.29	1.24	1.51	0.77	-0.55	-0.90	-0.96
pupil	1.17	1.16	-0.03	-1.14	-0.79	1.04	1.41	1.47	0.20
scholar	0.87	1.79	2.85**	0.70	1.19	1.10	-0.04	0.19	0.52
schoolboy	0.80	0.98	0.54	-1.00	-0.50	1.37	2.00	1.98	-0.06
schoolgirl	1.33	1.82	1.33	-1.20	-1.37	-0.39	1.20	2.49	3.73***
schoolmate	1.14	1.36	0.64	0.36	0.32	-0.12	1.05	1.50	1.32
schoolteacher	1.11	1.82	2.45*	1.19	1.58	1.24	-0.23	-0.27	-0.13
senior	1.21	1.34	0.42	0.28	-0.72	-2.50*	-0.28	-2.03	-3.42***
sophomore	0.81	1.02	0.69	-0.22	-0.24	-0.07	1.74	1.87	0.48
student	1.08	1.96	2.56*	0.13	0.37	0.53	1.72	1.88	0.51
teacher	1.37	2.08	2.26*	1.07	1.60	1.72Δ	0.15	0.07	-0.21
tutor	1.27	2.25	3.04**	1.16	1.01	-0.47	-0.36	0.65	2.44*
undergraduate	1.05	1.51	1.37	-0.64	0.10	1.83Δ	1.64	1.85	0.65

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 6b Education Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
academic	1.59	1.74	0.51	1.03	1.45	1.07	-0.52	0.17	1.51
advisor	1.76	1.54	-0.71	1.41	1.62	0.81	-0.38	-0.40	-0.06
alumnus	0.73	1.19	1.36	0.42	0.78	1.03	-0.12	-1.37	-3.02**
classmate	1.52	1.64	0.40	0.25	0.28	0.14	1.72	1.78	0.21
coach	0.93	0.99	0.14	2.14	2.26	0.47	1.38	0.70	-1.45
elementary school teacher	1.71	2.63	2.95**	1.42	1.76	1.10	0.58	1.44	2.04*
freshman	0.96	1.22	0.66	-0.44	-1.35	-2.11*	2.20	2.81	1.94$^\Delta$
graduate student	1.56	2.00	1.49	1.09	0.66	-1.23	1.16	1.33	0.47
instructor	1.50	1.60	0.37	1.53	1.72	0.60	-0.23	0.34	1.53
principal	1.13	1.12	-0.03	2.08	2.32	0.90	-0.46	-0.86	-0.96
proctor	0.86	0.57	-0.71	0.93	0.93	0.00	0.43	-0.44	-1.57
professor	0.93	1.49	1.81$^\Delta$	1.50	2.36	2.59**	-0.33	-1.13	-2.23*
pupil	1.00	1.35	0.90	-0.83	-0.83	0.00	1.40	2.11	2.01*
scholar	1.72	1.68	-0.13	1.31	1.70	1.18	0.41	0.06	-0.78
schoolboy	0.83	1.84	3.26**	-0.97	-0.83	0.34	2.47	2.64	0.62
schoolgirl	1.30	2.23	2.92**	-0.68	-1.13	-1.14	1.09	3.09	7.89***
schoolmate	1.63	1.68	0.17	0.54	0.11	-1.66$^\Delta$	1.21	1.84	2.30*
schoolteacher	1.13	2.76	5.13***	1.26	2.18	3.02**	-0.70	1.47	6.08***
senior	1.18	1.65	1.51	0.82	-0.28	-2.55*	-0.64	-2.06	-2.91**
sophomore	1.03	1.35	0.93	-0.52	0.03	1.44	2.14	2.46	0.98
student	1.52	2.25	2.17*	-0.24	-0.29	-0.11	2.00	2.57	2.19*
teacher	1.39	2.71	5.23***	1.35	2.36	3.85***	-0.17	0.76	2.77**
tutor	1.47	2.26	3.13**	1.77	1.51	-1.10	0.00	0.71	1.95$^\Delta$
undergraduate	1.28	2.14	2.38*	-0.36	-0.18	0.46	1.68	2.24	2.06*

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 7a Medical/Health Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
anesthetist	1.11	1.06	-0.14	0.46	0.78	0.82	-0.52	-0.03	1.57
chiropractor	1.11	1.36	0.62	0.32	1.23	2.34*	-0.47	0.12	1.41
coroner	0.73	0.56	-0.61	0.69	0.60	-0.28	-0.92	-0.95	-0.08
cripple	0.59	-0.15	-1.95$^\Delta$	-1.48	-1.89	-1.10	-0.66	-0.98	-0.86
crippled person	0.71	0.72	0.03	-1.18	-1.84	-1.62	-0.68	-1.53	-2.37*
dental assistant	1.35	1.02	-1.04	0.08	0.20	0.37	0.35	1.02	1.89$^\Delta$
dental hygienist	1.19	1.13	-0.16	0.12	0.35	0.82	0.31	0.87	1.81$^\Delta$
dentist	0.48	0.88	0.93	1.32	1.21	-0.34	-0.16	-0.12	0.11
disabled person	0.80	0.13	-1.77$^\Delta$	-1.88	-1.20	2.12*	-1.16	-0.53	2.08*
doctor	1.96	2.00	0.11	0.89	2.18	3.35***	-0.71	0.00	1.70$^\Delta$
handicapped person	0.70	1.03	0.89	-1.33	-1.84	-1.36	-0.46	-1.01	-1.70$^\Delta$
hypochondriac	-1.00	-0.42	1.44	-1.24	-1.17	0.18	-0.24	0.20	1.01
invalid	0.48	-0.65	-3.08**	-1.74	-2.10	-1.03	-1.30	-1.28	0.05
medic	2.24	1.44	-2.13*	1.41	1.04	-0.94	0.97	0.89	-0.22
nurse	2.00	1.80	-0.63	0.83	0.69	-0.45	0.77	0.86	0.26
nursemaid	1.96	1.04	-3.27**	0.29	0.23	-0.21	-0.63	0.13	1.86$^\Delta$
outpatient	0.32	0.39	0.22	-0.95	-0.82	0.31	-0.77	-0.12	1.82$^\Delta$
patient	0.84	0.63	-0.66	-1.85	-1.40	1.42	-0.92	-0.53	1.34
physician	1.76	1.87	0.36	1.88	1.59	-1.04	-0.32	-0.33	-0.02
practical nurse	1.63	1.65	0.06	0.93	0.25	-2.22*	0.19	0.58	1.15
psychiatrist	0.62	0.79	0.37	1.23	1.49	0.65	-0.88	-0.10	2.41*
psychoanalyst	0.63	0.37	-0.80	1.21	1.29	0.28	-0.42	-0.46	-0.10
psychologist	1.04	0.99	-0.15	0.67	1.12	1.17	-0.77	-0.94	-0.47
registered nurse	1.33	2.00	1.65$^\Delta$	1.04	1.20	0.59	0.04	1.13	3.31***
shut-in	0.05	-0.64	-1.46	-1.95	-1.55	0.95	-1.55	-1.07	1.08
surgeon	1.58	1.63	0.15	1.62	2.04	1.15	-0.58	-0.57	0.03

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 7b Medical/Health Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
anesthetist	0.67	0.89	0.54	1.24	1.03	-0.51	0.19	-0.19	-1.03
chiropractor	1.38	1.38	0.00	1.38	1.48	0.37	-0.19	0.62	2.51*
cripple	0.47	0.56	0.24	-1.53	-1.86	-0.84	-1.40	-1.29	0.34
crippled person	0.24	1.76	4.19***	-1.15	-1.48	-0.84	-0.85	-1.23	-1.10
dental assistant	1.19	1.50	1.11	0.15	0.20	0.16	0.42	0.92	1.38
dental hygienist	1.65	1.47	-0.53	0.39	0.05	-0.88	0.30	1.16	2.36*
dentist	0.48	0.92	1.05	1.86	1.66	-0.86	0.24	-0.91	-2.72**
disabled person	0.97	0.91	-0.17	-1.28	-1.34	-0.16	-0.93	-0.82	0.29
doctor	2.13	2.55	1.50	1.87	2.65	2.43*	-0.10	-0.46	-0.96
handicapped person	1.35	1.70	1.00	-1.48	-1.44	0.12	0.00	-0.59	-2.36*
hypochondriac	-0.91	-0.90	0.02	-1.64	-1.66	-0.05	-0.91	0.05	2.44*
invalid	0.66	0.11	-1.60	-1.72	-1.89	-0.46	-1.34	-0.81	1.35
medic	2.19	2.01	-0.66	1.23	2.10	2.22*	0.71	1.77	4.25***
nurse	1.96	2.12	0.47	1.14	1.04	-0.27	0.73	0.55	-0.43
nursemaid	2.04	1.82	-0.72	0.33	0.46	0.33	-0.29	0.13	0.87
outpatient	0.83	0.63	-0.65	-1.08	-0.81	0.76	-1.17	-0.57	1.96*
patient	0.14	1.10	3.16**	-1.90	-1.30	1.92Δ	-0.86	-0.30	1.92Δ
physician	1.93	2.01	0.22	2.17	2.20	0.11	-0.45	-0.32	0.35
practical nurse	1.38	2.17	2.28*	0.83	1.10	1.03	0.62	0.34	-0.70
psychiatrist	0.77	1.21	1.43	1.65	2.11	1.47	-0.38	-1.31	-2.67**
psychoanalyst	0.97	0.56	-1.24	1.30	1.63	1.25	-0.10	-0.84	-2.08*
psychologist	1.32	1.65	0.88	1.45	1.62	0.58	-0.41	-0.56	-0.44
registered nurse	2.18	2.43	1.01	1.23	1.23	0.00	0.59	0.49	-0.25
shut-in	0.23	-0.75	-1.97*	-2.31	-1.89	0.88	-1.81	-1.49	0.69
surgeon	2.13	2.26	0.49	2.63	2.68	0.28	-0.33	-0.08	0.55

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 8a Entertainment/Sports Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
athlete	1.00	1.56	1.90$^\Delta$	1.58	1.80	0.74	2.04	2.26	0.79
backer	0.82	1.33	1.45	1.64	0.78	-2.39*	0.45	0.58	0.30
boxer	0.12	0.67	1.75$^\Delta$	2.26	1.99	-0.82	2.38	1.98	-1.13
celebrity	0.85	0.76	-0.32	1.26	1.58	0.94	0.77	1.15	1.30
center (hockey)	0.68	1.32	1.84$^\Delta$	0.86	1.97	2.47*	1.23	2.25	2.62**
champion	1.42	1.68	0.74	1.81	1.92	0.32	1.58	1.67	0.28
cheerleader	0.77	1.51	2.30*	-0.42	-0.30	0.32	2.27	2.49	0.77
clown	2.05	1.51	-1.48	0.18	-0.47	-1.50	1.45	1.18	-0.60
coach	1.00	1.04	0.12	2.00	1.67	-1.18	1.12	-0.15	-3.05**
comedian	1.54	1.76	0.69	-0.12	0.08	0.55	1.76	1.64	-0.38
end (football)	0.38	1.52	3.36***	1.96	1.62	-0.86	2.00	1.93	-0.19
fan	1.00	1.30	1.05	-0.54	-0.07	1.20	1.72	1.00	-2.39*
fullback (football)	0.28	1.27	2.75**	1.97	2.20	0.72	1.97	1.95	-0.06
guard (football)	0.23	1.02	2.00*	2.17	1.81	-1.02	1.90	1.47	-1.08
halfback (football)	0.70	0.98	0.88	1.80	1.80	0.00	2.03	2.64	2.00*
jock	0.14	0.35	0.52	1.46	1.43	-0.08	2.04	2.14	0.27
linebacker (football)	0.09	1.19	2.89**	2.17	2.07	-0.27	1.91	1.88	-0.09
lineman	0.46	1.14	1.87$^\Delta$	1.31	1.65	0.82	1.16	1.57	1.15
magician	1.41	1.70	1.02	0.77	1.19	1.11	0.95	0.24	-1.70$^\Delta$
musician	1.48	1.34	-0.41	-0.04	0.51	1.54	1.04	1.03	-0.03
porno star	-0.73	0.43	2.50*	-0.58	-0.28	0.76	1.93	2.13	0.69
quarterback	0.79	1.83	3.16**	1.96	2.30	1.01	2.39	2.54	0.53
referee	1.07	0.98	-0.27	1.52	1.70	0.65	0.86	0.08	-2.15*
spectator	0.78	1.00	0.66	-0.04	-0.90	-2.28*	0.70	0.46	-0.59
star	1.00	1.26	0.57	1.84	2.44	1.83$^\Delta$	1.05	1.95	1.78$^\Delta$
starlet	0.95	0.93	-0.05	-0.57	0.38	2.16*	1.36	1.11	-0.53
stripper	-0.19	0.62	1.76$^\Delta$	-0.08	-0.80	-1.61	2.19	2.50	1.22
superstar	0.93	0.92	-0.03	1.59	1.58	-0.04	1.73	1.71	-0.08
tackle (football)	0.38	1.52	2.77**	2.28	2.36	0.22	1.75	1.95	0.53
teammate	1.27	2.13	2.18*	0.81	1.49	2.19*	1.58	2.03	1.77$^\Delta$
topless dancer	0.53	0.93	0.86	-0.84	-0.89	-0.11	1.37	2.47	2.89**

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 8b Entertainment/Sports Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
athlete	1.32	1.75	1.38	1.85	1.72	-0.44	2.09	2.70	1.98*
backer	0.93	0.94	0.02	2.60	0.75	-3.21**	0.40	0.58	0.23
boxer	0.09	0.35	0.97	2.00	2.01	0.03	2.57	2.10	-1.47
celebrity	0.96	1.28	1.01	1.52	2.92	5.02***	1.04	1.82	2.48*
center (hockey)	0.17	1.53	4.19***	0.33	2.17	5.51***	0.93	2.59	4.85***
champion	1.57	1.84	1.02	1.91	1.93	0.09	2.00	1.96	-0.15
cheerleader	1.12	1.03	-0.28	0.06	-0.18	-0.68	2.85	3.10	1.20
clown	2.28	1.04	-2.67**	0.40	-0.52	-1.91Δ	1.64	1.70	0.13
colleague	1.96	1.64	-1.15	0.35	0.72	1.38	0.61	0.86	0.73
co-worker	1.18	1.45	1.12	0.24	0.56	1.43	0.53	0.89	1.42
end (football)	0.50	0.81	1.21	1.93	1.77	-0.43	1.50	1.72	0.61
fan	1.20	1.35	0.38	-0.20	0.03	0.43	2.23	1.85	-1.13
fullback (football)	0.31	0.69	1.22	2.14	2.11	-0.10	2.10	2.37	1.07
guard (football)	0.19	0.88	2.22*	2.68	2.05	-1.98*	2.33	2.12	-0.81
jock	0.61	0.51	-0.26	1.65	1.48	-0.47	2.53	2.44	-0.35
linebacker (football)	0.90	1.06	0.44	2.19	2.23	0.10	1.86	2.43	1.79Δ
lineman	0.42	0.44	0.05	0.89	1.35	0.93	0.79	1.77	2.07*
magician	1.67	1.85	0.52	1.42	1.47	0.16	1.00	0.37	-1.39
musician	1.59	1.78	0.65	0.38	0.89	1.49	0.54	1.40	2.20*
porno star	-1.82	-1.07	1.60	-0.77	-0.38	0.74	1.64	2.54	3.49***
quarterback	0.87	1.07	0.72	2.32	2.10	-0.77	2.55	2.30	-0.88
referee	1.03	1.11	0.31	2.19	1.93	-1.07	1.13	1.41	0.87
spectator	0.81	1.23	1.58	-0.31	-0.18	0.36	0.47	0.80	0.90
star	1.31	1.66	1.04	1.75	2.69	3.27**	1.03	1.76	1.68Δ
starlet	0.65	1.31	1.49	0.75	1.18	1.09	1.50	1.66	0.42
stripper	-1.58	-0.79	2.11*	-0.45	-0.84	-0.76	2.33	2.64	1.22
superstar	0.95	1.11	0.49	1.41	2.01	2.08*	2.05	2.19	0.51
tackle (football)	-0.05	0.44	1.32	1.74	2.29	1.66Δ	1.53	2.56	3.09**
teammate	1.76	1.97	0.58	0.91	1.44	2.01*	1.91	2.34	1.44
topless dancer	-0.91	-0.33	1.35	-0.47	-0.67	-0.41	1.41	2.88	6.17***

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 9a Work Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
		Evaluation			Potency			Activity	
applicant	0.59	0.86	0.88	-0.69	-0.79	-0.28	0.24	0.88	2.39*
apprentice	0.88	1.27	1.52	-0.96	-0.76	0.55	0.84	1.32	1.37
assistant	0.96	1.23	0.95	-0.16	-0.53	-1.05	0.75	0.98	0.73
boss	0.41	0.34	-0.22	1.56	2.45	3.01**	-0.63	-0.82	-0.55
clerk	0.54	0.88	1.09	-0.76	-0.90	-0.43	-0.56	0.00	1.60
client	0.69	1.01	1.17	-0.17	0.06	0.69	-0.28	0.36	2.57*
colleague	1.33	1.67	1.15	0.62	0.57	-0.22	0.73	1.09	1.34
co-worker	1.29	1.37	0.27	0.43	0.46	0.11	0.89	0.78	-0.41
employee	0.46	1.19	2.72**	-0.96	0.03	3.05**	0.12	0.87	2.97**
employer	0.42	0.88	1.38	2.08	1.68	-1.34	-0.67	-0.32	0.90
executive	0.33	0.64	0.94	1.30	1.76	1.12	0.56	-0.37	-2.50*
intern	1.04	1.10	0.18	0.83	-0.79	-4.70***	1.04	1.77	2.08*
manager	0.50	0.79	0.94	1.58	1.54	-0.14	0.00	-0.36	-1.07
specialist	1.41	1.31	-0.32	1.48	1.16	-0.88	-0.34	0.27	1.77$^\Delta$
subordinate	0.10	0.30	0.68	-0.95	-1.17	-0.49	0.10	0.44	0.89
superior	0.28	0.31	0.09	1.63	2.51	2.85**	-0.92	-0.93	-0.03
supervisor	0.43	0.60	0.59	1.21	1.40	0.60	0.00	-0.31	-0.88
trainee	0.88	1.08	0.81	-0.85	-1.09	-0.64	1.16	1.46	1.13
wage earner	1.23	1.18	-0.16	-0.09	0.59	1.56	0.05	0.08	0.10
worker	0.88	1.09	0.75	0.48	0.04	-1.17	0.52	0.43	-0.36
workman	1.28	0.96	-1.07	1.24	0.14	-2.44*	0.40	0.70	0.96

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 9b Work Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
applicant	0.91	0.95	0.15	-1.97	-1.16	2.93**	0.58	1.16	1.82$^\Delta$
apprentice	1.07	1.41	1.18	-0.90	-0.68	0.62	0.93	1.67	2.40*
assistant	0.60	1.77	4.57***	-0.13	-0.58	-1.20	0.63	1.48	2.62**
boss	0.32	0.09	-0.66	2.10	2.51	1.49	-0.55	-0.72	-0.48
clerk	0.92	1.15	0.69	-1.17	-0.53	1.84$^\Delta$	-0.37	0.07	1.02
client	0.40	1.59	4.83***	-0.07	0.43	1.27	0.13	0.42	1.11
colleague	1.96	1.64	-1.15	0.35	0.72	1.38	0.61	0.86	0.73
co-worker	1.18	1.45	1.12	0.24	0.56	1.43	0.53	0.89	1.42
employee	1.21	1.60	1.37	-0.64	-0.66	-0.05	0.36	0.79	1.43
employer	0.83	1.04	0.57	2.17	2.20	0.09	-0.04	-1.11	-2.56*
executive	0.48	0.60	0.36	2.16	2.22	0.24	0.55	0.05	-1.19
intern	1.97	1.54	-1.59	1.48	-0.56	-5.09***	1.61	1.99	1.53
manager	0.64	0.74	0.29	1.94	1.80	-0.48	0.73	0.17	-1.53
specialist	1.97	1.75	-0.81	2.13	2.05	-0.32	-0.13	-0.16	-0.07
subordinate	-0.04	0.01	0.14	-1.52	-1.32	0.61	-0.19	-0.18	0.03
superior	0.30	0.00	-0.86	2.67	2.41	-1.12	-0.37	-0.56	-0.48
supervisor	0.71	0.36	-1.11	2.17	1.96	-1.01	0.13	-0.18	-0.78
trainee	1.20	1.08	-0.47	-1.60	-1.36	0.59	1.00	1.38	1.19
wage earner	1.08	1.48	1.29	0.56	0.10	-1.00	0.48	0.33	-0.46
worker	0.90	1.45	2.03*	0.13	0.05	-0.21	0.50	0.37	-0.40
workman	1.07	1.39	1.05	0.83	0.18	-1.86$^\Delta$	0.62	-0.40	-3.34***

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 10a Occupation Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
accountant	0.59	0.95	1.26	0.30	0.62	0.96	-0.68	-0.47	0.50
actor	0.88	1.16	0.92	0.46	0.64	0.58	1.00	1.07	0.22
airline pilot	1.05	1.56	1.90Δ	1.53	1.79	0.83	0.68	-0.02	-1.96*
alderman	0.25	0.98	2.28*	0.93	0.74	-0.54	-0.32	-0.62	-0.64
architect	0.59	1.56	3.08**	0.70	1.48	2.56*	-0.04	0.16	0.52
auctioneer	0.17	0.66	1.90Δ	1.17	0.56	-1.91Δ	1.58	0.86	-1.60
auditor	-0.11	-0.97	-2.64**	1.04	1.48	1.09	-0.04	-0.79	-1.83Δ
author	0.77	1.64	2.65**	0.46	0.90	1.49	-0.40	-0.90	-1.56
auto mechanic	0.62	0.80	0.57	0.44	0.72	0.94	0.56	0.15	-1.19
babysitter	1.87	1.43	-1.38	0.03	-0.04	-0.15	0.40	1.58	3.19**
baker	1.36	1.14	-0.76	-0.08	-0.28	-0.55	-0.85	-0.28	1.60
bank teller	0.74	1.04	0.87	-0.70	-0.07	1.94Δ	-0.33	0.03	1.01
banker	0.09	0.80	1.66Δ	1.91	1.04	-2.38*	-0.77	-0.53	0.59
barkeeper	0.89	1.35	1.22	0.37	0.54	0.44	-0.05	1.40	3.35***
barmaid	1.05	1.20	0.51	-0.23	-0.46	-0.51	1.23	1.56	0.85
bartender	1.38	1.41	0.10	0.86	0.68	-0.55	0.55	1.23	1.89Δ
bellhop	1.08	0.93	-0.47	-1.08	-0.78	0.88	1.48	0.94	-1.49
bill collector	-0.88	-1.34	-1.29	0.92	0.95	0.09	0.50	-0.24	-1.96*
blacksmith	0.74	0.86	0.37	0.70	0.72	0.04	-0.04	-1.08	-2.96**
bookkeeper	0.44	0.79	1.15	-0.64	0.02	1.86Δ	-1.44	-0.92	1.65Δ
bouncer	-0.38	-0.05	0.74	2.14	1.87	-0.87	1.59	1.54	-0.15
bodyguard	0.08	1.30	3.40***	2.08	2.12	0.11	1.40	1.18	-0.57
bulldozer operator	0.40	0.40	0.00	1.10	0.24	-2.07*	0.33	-0.26	-1.75Δ
bus driver	0.86	0.80	-0.19	0.45	-0.33	-2.18*	-0.45	-0.48	-0.09
busboy	0.35	0.70	0.83	-1.09	-1.14	-0.12	0.83	1.22	0.96
butcher	0.73	0.99	0.85	0.15	0.34	0.55	-0.23	-0.38	-0.47
carpenter	1.32	1.33	0.03	0.47	0.94	1.61	-0.68	0.31	2.47*
cashier	0.58	0.55	-0.10	-0.81	-1.44	-2.06*	0.15	0.15	0.00
chambermaid	1.04	0.94	-0.29	-1.36	-1.11	0.71	-0.12	0.17	0.65
chef	1.44	1.52	0.27	1.18	0.59	-1.66Δ	0.22	-0.08	-0.75
chemist	1.12	0.68	-1.38	0.56	0.67	0.36	-0.72	-0.58	0.38
civil servant	-0.24	1.37	4.18***	-0.24	0.33	1.31	-1.36	-0.06	3.02**
computer programmer	0.46	1.12	2.42*	0.46	0.66	0.52	-0.08	0.80	2.39*
construction foreman	0.17	0.34	0.45	1.93	1.88	-0.16	0.17	-0.44	-1.62
construction laborer	0.00	0.40	1.08	0.48	0.52	0.09	0.48	0.65	0.42
controller	0.35	-0.04	-0.99	1.61	1.31	-0.84	0.13	0.32	0.50
cook	1.12	1.64	1.53	0.60	0.33	-0.94	0.00	0.38	1.08
counselor	0.92	1.64	2.13*	0.92	0.65	-0.80	-0.40	-0.36	0.10
critic	-0.23	-0.21	0.05	1.23	0.33	-1.76Δ	0.41	-0.12	-1.30
decorator	0.80	0.80	0.00	-0.35	-0.08	0.76	0.12	0.85	2.06*

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Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
dietitian	1.08	0.68	-1.22	0.38	0.19	-0.62	-0.08	0.50	1.79 Δ
dishwasher	0.27	0.52	0.67	-1.62	-1.39	0.62	-0.27	1.01	3.23 **
doorkeeper	1.12	0.72	-1.18	-0.31	-0.75	-1.03	-0.81	-1.11	-0.74
doorman	0.89	0.60	-0.79	-0.23	-0.54	-0.74	-0.65	-0.04	1.38
dressmaker	1.05	0.79	-0.77	-0.73	-0.50	0.56	-0.27	-0.38	-0.24
electrician	0.92	0.96	0.15	0.62	0.40	-0.82	-0.15	-0.20	-0.15
embalmer	-0.09	0.74	2.02 *	-0.45	0.44	2.28 *	-1.50	-1.15	0.88
engineer	1.39	1.39	0.00	1.50	1.12	-1.06	0.29	0.75	1.13
farm laborer	1.52	1.30	-0.68	0.80	0.08	-1.32	0.92	0.60	-0.95
farmer	1.92	1.55	-1.19	1.15	0.76	-1.14	-0.40	-0.80	-0.99
file clerk	0.65	0.83	0.63	-0.92	-1.39	-1.37	-0.62	-0.79	-0.44
fireman	1.89	1.52	-0.99	1.52	1.84	0.98	0.93	1.14	0.47
fisherman	1.45	1.08	-1.35	0.41	-0.41	-2.36 *	-0.72	-1.00	-0.82
flight attendant	1.38	1.58	0.70	0.00	-0.08	-0.24	1.24	1.77	2.17 *
floorwalker	0.00	0.25	0.65	0.23	-0.28	-1.02	0.23	0.15	-0.18
funeral director	0.38	1.34	3.08 **	0.15	0.11	-0.10	-1.54	-1.45	0.31
garbage collector	0.32	0.41	0.26	-0.28	-0.73	-0.95	0.12	0.18	0.15
gas station attendant	0.73	0.62	-0.32	-0.92	-1.50	-1.47	0.19	0.63	1.29
headwaiter	1.15	0.95	-0.68	0.36	0.60	0.71	0.20	0.92	2.02 *
hostess	1.86	1.85	-0.04	0.59	0.05	-1.92 Δ	0.23	1.45	4.12 ***
housekeeper	1.41	0.84	-1.75 Δ	-0.55	-0.55	0.00	-0.41	-0.03	1.02
housemaid	1.07	0.86	-0.68	-1.00	-1.19	-0.57	-0.31	-0.07	0.67
insurance agent	-0.23	0.14	1.03	0.15	0.98	2.83 **	0.40	-0.01	-1.01
janitor	1.04	1.50	1.33	-0.77	-0.85	-0.19	-1.27	-1.28	-0.03
jeweler	0.95	0.86	-0.29	-0.05	0.55	1.77 Δ	-1.21	-0.75	1.23
landlady	0.04	0.09	0.13	0.92	0.94	0.06	-0.84	-1.42	-1.78 Δ
landlord	-0.07	0.13	0.65	0.89	1.37	1.54	-0.57	-0.88	-0.86
librarian	0.96	0.93	-0.08	-0.38	-1.17	-2.01 *	-1.08	-2.26	-3.74 ***
library assistant	1.20	0.77	-1.08	-0.56	-0.53	0.09	-0.92	-0.47	1.00
longshoreman	0.05	0.78	1.83 Δ	1.19	0.14	-2.67 **	0.90	-0.41	-3.50 ***
maid	1.34	0.99	-1.20	-1.14	-0.99	0.43	-0.24	-0.15	0.26
mail carrier	1.34	1.44	0.32	-0.28	-0.03	0.61	0.00	0.13	0.35
mailman	0.89	1.44	1.91 Δ	0.00	-0.20	-0.57	0.07	0.27	0.56
miner	0.89	0.41	-1.56	0.43	-0.23	-1.52	0.75	-0.45	-3.39 ***
newsboy	1.12	0.56	-1.85 Δ	-1.22	-1.20	0.07	1.74	1.59	-0.40
nightwatchman	0.83	0.71	-0.45	-0.03	0.11	0.36	-1.03	-0.16	2.50 *
palm reader	-0.31	-0.31	0.00	-0.31	-0.38	-0.15	-1.12	-1.26	-0.39
parking attendant	-0.04	0.40	1.16	-0.65	-0.47	0.43	-0.38	-0.35	0.08
pawnbroker	-0.38	-0.31	0.22	-0.08	-0.07	0.03	-0.88	-0.47	1.17
photographer	0.96	0.92	-0.13	0.42	0.40	-0.06	0.46	0.22	-0.74
plumber	0.81	1.05	0.78	0.78	-0.07	-3.12 **	-0.26	-0.62	-1.14
postmaster	0.46	0.63	0.48	0.38	0.88	1.22	-0.96	-0.45	1.20

Table 10a (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
rail conductor	1.00	1.06	0.20	0.37	0.67	1.07	-1.07	-0.36	2.30*
real estate agent	-0.23	0.46	1.98*	0.27	0.61	0.88	1.00	0.26	-1.71$^{\Delta}$
receptionist	0.89	1.33	1.21	-0.44	-0.37	0.18	0.96	0.76	-0.59
reporter	0.23	1.04	2.66**	0.91	1.20	0.74	1.32	1.08	-0.58
salesclerk	0.69	0.74	0.18	-0.55	-0.04	1.76$^{\Delta}$	0.34	0.63	0.93
salesgirl	0.88	1.40	1.86$^{\Delta}$	-0.33	-0.29	0.10	1.08	1.59	1.81$^{\Delta}$
saleslady	0.41	0.86	1.79$^{\Delta}$	-0.64	-0.12	1.37	-0.14	0.97	3.12**
salesman	0.04	0.33	0.88	0.36	0.18	-0.53	1.14	0.73	-1.54
saleswoman	1.00	1.08	0.27	-0.12	0.00	0.42	0.52	0.77	0.70
saloon keeper	0.86	1.14	0.74	0.69	0.48	-0.65	-0.07	-0.39	-0.79
scoutmaster	1.95	1.42	-1.90$^{\Delta}$	0.63	0.76	0.33	-0.21	0.36	1.53
secretary	1.15	0.99	-0.52	-0.92	-0.40	1.50	0.85	0.79	-0.19
servant	0.74	0.81	0.20	-0.91	-2.01	-2.36*	-0.48	-0.05	0.89
shoe repairman	1.12	1.18	0.19	-0.48	-0.51	-0.09	-1.36	-1.50	-0.43
social worker	1.30	2.03	1.88$^{\Delta}$	0.52	0.55	0.09	-0.11	0.59	1.84$^{\Delta}$
statistician	0.41	0.50	0.40	-0.45	0.26	2.19*	-0.31	-0.70	-1.09
stenographer	0.75	0.83	0.26	-0.80	-0.33	1.34	-0.33	-0.50	-0.45
stewardess	1.50	1.47	-0.11	-0.12	-0.28	-0.46	0.96	1.72	3.09**
storyteller	1.86	1.26	-1.65$^{\Delta}$	0.41	0.00	-1.13	-0.73	-0.59	0.33
street musician	1.31	1.15	-0.41	-0.50	-0.88	-0.96	1.26	0.76	-1.40
tailor	1.08	1.13	0.17	-0.60	-0.57	0.10	-1.27	-0.91	0.98
taxi driver	0.35	0.75	1.35	-0.12	-0.65	-1.72$^{\Delta}$	0.19	-0.86	-2.66**
technician	0.57	0.77	0.67	0.40	0.27	-0.38	-0.03	0.22	0.75
telephone operator	0.28	0.88	1.74$^{\Delta}$	-0.07	-0.64	-1.57	0.14	-0.06	-0.49
textile worker	0.52	0.34	-0.63	-1.11	-0.40	1.94$^{\Delta}$	-0.73	-0.57	0.49
truck driver	0.70	0.37	-1.11	0.83	-0.25	-2.64**	0.07	-0.74	-2.46*
TV repairman	0.41	0.98	2.07*	0.00	-0.29	-0.92	-0.27	-0.36	-0.30
typist	0.67	0.89	0.73	-0.81	-0.45	1.05	0.44	0.40	-0.11
undertaker	0.55	0.52	-0.08	0.55	0.51	-0.11	-1.50	-1.28	0.52
veterinarian	1.95	1.93	-0.06	1.32	1.21	-0.33	-0.37	0.37	1.89$^{\Delta}$
waiter	1.08	1.28	0.61	-0.15	-0.03	0.35	0.54	1.36	2.39*
waitress	0.79	1.48	2.75**	-0.59	-0.77	-0.57	0.72	1.58	3.50***
watchman	0.92	0.83	-0.33	-0.29	0.38	1.53	-1.21	-0.03	2.83**
welder	0.58	0.64	0.19	0.37	0.44	0.20	0.19	-0.29	-1.73$^{\Delta}$

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 10b Occupation Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
accountant	0.78	0.76	-0.06	0.91	1.30	1.19	0.26	-0.53	-2.08*
actor	0.91	1.28	1.36	0.82	1.76	2.78**	1.45	1.71	0.92
airline pilot	1.56	2.06	1.96*	1.84	2.45	2.07*	0.03	0.50	1.19
alderman	0.72	0.83	0.26	1.52	0.84	-1.67Δ	-0.52	-0.86	-0.83
architect	1.06	1.62	2.00*	1.06	1.24	0.55	0.19	0.60	1.07
auctioneer	0.86	0.91	0.20	1.21	0.81	-1.05	1.14	1.07	-0.12
auditor	-0.17	-0.58	-1.06	0.97	1.57	1.68Δ	-0.37	-0.65	-0.64
author	1.09	1.79	3.42***	0.83	1.49	1.88Δ	-0.13	-0.59	-1.47
auto mechanic	0.83	0.78	-0.15	0.73	0.41	-0.86	0.67	-0.42	-2.80**
babysitter	1.50	2.22	2.24*	0.95	0.52	-1.14	0.26	2.36	6.44***
baker	1.53	2.04	1.70Δ	0.00	-0.09	-0.29	-0.87	-1.41	-1.88Δ
bank teller	0.83	1.27	1.68Δ	-0.34	0.19	1.45	-0.07	0.53	1.34
banker	0.56	0.88	0.92	1.00	1.29	0.66	-0.24	-0.58	-1.01
barkeeper	0.97	1.28	0.93	0.59	1.02	1.53	0.41	1.27	1.88Δ
barmaid	0.60	1.14	1.62	-1.12	-0.65	1.24	1.28	1.54	0.69
bartender	0.91	1.61	2.51*	1.00	0.66	-1.23	0.21	1.79	4.21***
bellhop	1.47	1.46	-0.03	-0.67	-1.28	-1.89Δ	1.33	0.67	-1.44
bill collector	-0.79	-1.42	-2.10*	1.32	1.41	0.30	-0.06	-0.69	-1.84Δ
blacksmith	1.03	1.58	1.95Δ	0.87	0.02	-2.82**	0.10	-1.40	-3.88***
bodyguard	1.00	1.60	1.71Δ	2.54	2.67	0.53	1.83	1.66	-0.46
bookkeeper	0.83	1.05	0.67	0.28	-0.27	-1.39	-1.48	-1.49	-0.03
bouncer	-0.16	-0.11	0.13	2.32	2.19	-0.37	1.94	1.92	-0.07
bulldozer operator	0.09	0.95	3.71***	1.04	0.58	-1.16	0.18	-0.85	-2.91**
bus driver	0.96	1.07	0.31	0.20	-0.28	-1.25	-0.68	-1.08	-1.27
busboy	0.75	1.09	1.28	-1.25	-1.38	-0.36	1.13	1.72	1.74Δ
butcher	0.62	0.64	0.05	0.50	0.19	-1.04	-0.09	-1.18	-3.77***
carpenter	1.31	1.36	0.16	0.44	0.54	0.28	-0.13	-0.66	-1.26
cashier	0.76	1.40	1.89Δ	-0.15	-0.75	-1.86Δ	0.38	0.31	-0.21
chambermaid	1.14	1.15	0.03	-1.48	-1.37	0.30	-0.38	0.25	1.37
chef	1.34	1.95	2.25*	0.75	0.99	0.83	0.22	0.53	0.71
chemist	1.25	1.04	-0.67	1.58	1.05	-1.67Δ	-0.54	-0.79	-0.61
civil servant	0.41	1.44	3.02**	0.44	-0.23	-1.80Δ	-0.26	-0.10	0.49
companion	2.79	2.74	-0.22	1.06	1.21	0.47	0.48	1.40	3.07**
computer programmer	0.65	1.37	2.94**	1.03	1.59	2.24*	0.59	0.64	0.13
connoisseur	0.83	1.18	1.13	0.92	1.10	0.52	-0.96	-0.17	1.89Δ
construction foreman	0.23	0.74	1.54	2.09	1.87	-0.74	0.50	-0.58	-3.39***
consumer	0.97	0.81	-0.42	0.20	0.26	0.12	0.20	0.91	2.29*
convict	-2.40	-2.40	0.00	0.13	-0.92	-2.06*	1.87	0.32	-4.42***
cook	1.07	2.10	4.26***	0.55	0.88	1.00	-0.03	0.07	0.23

Table 10b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
coroner	0.61	0.56	-0.15	0.90	0.63	-0.74	-1.06	-1.45	-1.30
critic	-0.44	-0.39	0.16	1.44	1.44	0.00	0.72	-0.27	-2.40*
decorator	1.38	1.42	0.16	0.55	0.10	-1.59	1.07	1.08	0.03
dietitian	1.10	1.89	2.69**	0.69	0.80	0.39	0.17	1.00	2.33*
dishwasher	0.67	0.75	0.26	-1.36	-1.27	0.20	0.42	0.33	-0.25
doorkeeper	1.00	1.14	0.43	-0.87	-0.55	0.81	-1.05	-1.72	-2.14*
doorman	1.48	1.71	0.84	0.04	-0.60	-1.62	-0.65	-1.26	-1.79Δ
dressmaker	1.48	1.93	1.55	-0.48	-0.47	0.03	-0.32	-0.70	-0.89
electrician	1.03	1.42	1.42	0.67	0.63	-0.14	0.03	-0.85	-2.97**
embalmer	0.18	0.22	0.12	-0.14	0.19	0.91	-1.32	-1.31	0.03
engineer	1.00	1.26	0.81	1.44	1.91	1.71Δ	0.88	0.26	-1.74Δ
farm laborer	1.67	1.54	-0.40	0.60	0.38	-0.44	1.30	-0.42	-3.91***
farmer	1.97	2.09	0.44	1.10	0.80	-0.82	-0.07	-1.04	-2.18*
file clerk	0.59	1.13	1.85Δ	-1.03	-1.53	-1.61	0.17	-0.40	-1.45
fireman	2.23	2.60	1.50	1.94	2.57	2.25*	1.55	2.20	2.39*
fisherman	1.61	1.53	-0.27	0.16	0.20	0.11	-0.65	-1.40	-2.03*
flight attendant	1.73	2.24	1.81Δ	0.37	0.43	0.18	1.47	2.20	3.05**
floorwalker	0.04	0.65	1.40	-0.36	-0.37	-0.02	-0.79	-0.84	-0.11
funeral director	0.66	1.15	1.22	0.58	0.40	-0.49	-1.30	-1.58	-0.75
garbage collector	0.66	1.20	1.73Δ	-0.38	-0.89	-1.03	0.21	-0.17	-0.94
gas station attendant	0.73	0.87	0.52	-1.03	-1.43	-1.26	0.52	0.56	0.11
hostess	2.00	2.44	1.61	0.56	0.53	-0.09	0.32	1.56	3.30***
housekeeper	1.18	1.57	1.14	-0.82	-1.12	-0.77	-0.67	-1.26	-1.49
housemaid	1.03	1.35	0.83	-1.62	-1.06	1.60	-0.41	-0.36	0.13
insurance agent	-0.26	0.05	0.92	0.91	1.19	0.70	0.09	-0.34	-0.91
janitor	1.21	1.54	1.03	-1.18	-1.25	-0.18	-1.36	-1.82	-1.27
jeweler	0.97	1.39	1.69Δ	-0.03	0.14	0.53	-1.06	-1.49	-1.26
landlady	0.14	0.00	-0.35	1.10	1.64	1.64	-1.28	-1.40	-0.30
landlord	-0.15	-0.63	-1.38	1.44	1.67	0.91	-0.95	-1.00	-0.16
librarian	1.09	1.67	1.71Δ	-0.36	-0.20	0.41	-1.24	-2.22	-3.02**
library assistant	1.66	1.44	-0.77	-0.59	-0.81	-0.63	-1.07	-1.27	-0.55
longshoreman	0.24	0.75	1.29	0.59	-0.05	-1.47	0.41	-0.94	-3.07**
maid	1.27	1.38	0.35	-1.17	-1.64	-1.37	0.33	-0.45	-1.98*
mail carrier	1.18	1.74	2.01*	0.09	0.23	0.47	0.09	0.12	0.08
mailman	1.55	1.76	0.84	-0.03	0.12	0.43	-0.13	0.08	0.57
miner	0.68	0.93	1.01	0.42	0.00	-1.19	0.17	-0.49	-1.83Δ
newsboy	1.65	1.21	-1.54	-1.00	-0.85	0.42	2.00	2.08	0.26
nightwatchman	0.73	1.04	0.97	0.81	0.70	-0.31	-0.88	-0.76	0.29
palm reader	-0.44	0.88	4.20***	0.53	0.98	1.16	-0.65	-1.39	-2.13*
parking attendant	0.48	0.01	-1.34	-0.35	-0.55	-0.51	-0.71	-0.68	0.08
pawnbroker	-0.06	-0.54	-1.30	0.42	0.62	0.59	0.13	-0.81	-2.24*

Table 10b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
photographer	1.33	1.89	1.76$^\Delta$	0.18	0.78	2.02*	1.24	1.21	-0.09
plumber	1.34	0.94	-1.46	0.17	0.33	0.46	-0.21	-1.00	-2.72**
postmaster	0.68	1.54	2.17*	-0.23	0.33	1.49	-0.87	-1.26	-0.96
rail conductor	1.28	1.10	-0.73	0.83	0.96	0.38	-0.28	-1.29	-2.88**
real estate agent	0.12	0.79	1.78$^\Delta$	0.69	1.01	0.77	0.88	0.48	-0.91
receptionist	1.35	1.80	1.64	-0.90	-0.61	0.85	0.65	0.80	0.48
reporter	0.20	0.42	0.56	1.04	1.60	1.62	2.00	1.81	-0.63
salesclerk	0.67	0.75	0.21	-0.24	-0.31	-0.20	0.18	0.80	1.76$^\Delta$
salesgirl	1.00	1.62	1.63	-1.13	-0.40	1.76$^\Delta$	0.67	2.41	5.03***
saleslady	0.40	0.98	1.72$^\Delta$	0.12	-0.08	-0.47	0.48	0.57	0.23
salesman	0.16	0.13	-0.08	0.87	0.32	-1.77$^\Delta$	1.29	0.16	-3.08**
saleswoman	1.50	1.15	-1.23	0.20	0.16	-0.13	-0.27	0.80	3.17**
saloon keeper	0.53	1.01	1.35	0.83	0.64	-0.80	0.43	-0.67	-2.63**
scoutmaster	2.28	1.43	-3.86***	1.31	1.06	-1.01	0.06	0.04	-0.05
secretary	1.30	1.51	0.85	-0.94	-0.54	1.10	1.03	0.31	-1.91$^\Delta$
servant	0.41	1.27	2.25*	-1.62	-2.38	-1.80$^\Delta$	-0.47	-0.57	-0.26
shoe repairman	1.17	1.60	1.41	-0.67	-0.54	0.38	-1.17	-1.58	-1.08
social worker	1.52	2.16	2.16*	0.69	1.13	1.29	0.48	0.58	0.26
statistician	0.75	0.55	-0.70	0.21	0.98	1.90$^\Delta$	-0.14	-0.99	-2.20*
stenographer	0.69	0.89	0.49	-0.77	0.41	2.78**	0.00	-0.36	-0.77
stewardess	1.79	1.64	-0.56	-0.27	-0.31	-0.13	1.52	1.97	1.79$^\Delta$
storyteller	1.64	2.02	1.14	0.12	1.01	3.29***	-0.92	-0.26	1.33
street musician	1.30	1.80	1.69$^\Delta$	-0.91	-1.15	-0.65	1.04	1.15	0.31
tailor	1.23	1.56	1.26	-0.50	-0.30	0.68	-1.40	-1.70	-1.01
taxi driver	0.47	0.54	0.26	0.03	-0.51	-1.81$^\Delta$	-0.21	-0.84	-2.04*
technician	1.05	1.10	0.19	0.26	0.49	0.64	0.41	-0.03	-1.14
telephone operator	0.81	0.37	-1.31	-0.19	-0.34	-0.44	-0.19	-0.65	-1.22
textile worker	0.32	0.84	1.69$^\Delta$	-1.32	-0.86	1.20	-0.64	-0.26	1.06
truck driver	0.59	0.73	0.43	1.00	0.31	-1.74$^\Delta$	0.52	-0.91	-4.17***
TV repairman	0.76	0.86	0.37	-0.04	-0.18	-0.47	0.24	-0.87	-3.32***
typist	1.07	1.28	0.76	-0.79	-0.85	-0.17	0.34	0.35	0.02
undertaker	0.24	0.23	-0.02	0.12	0.24	0.35	-1.40	-1.65	-0.76
veterinarian	2.37	2.24	-0.50	1.81	1.84	0.11	0.12	0.58	1.19
waiter	1.35	1.64	1.06	-0.35	-0.05	0.74	0.88	1.88	2.83**
waitress	1.26	1.66	1.45	-0.65	-0.51	0.38	1.35	1.80	1.52
watchman	1.00	0.82	-0.50	0.48	0.74	0.73	-0.48	-0.79	-0.72
welder	0.77	1.04	0.91	-0.14	0.31	1.24	-0.09	-0.56	-1.43

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 10c All Occupation Identities (from large data set): Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
church deacon	0.91	1.69	1.63	1.14	0.63	-1.11	-0.64	-0.93	-0.63
clergy	1.82	1.80	-0.04	1.36	0.89	-1.21	-1.09	-1.49	-1.00
minister (religious)	2.00	2.08	0.29	1.17	1.21	0.11	-1.03	-1.36	-0.97
airline pilot	1.05	1.56	1.90^{Δ}	1.53	1.79	0.83	0.68	-0.02	-1.96^{*}
Attorney General	0.74	0.99	0.63	2.26	2.80	2.21^{*}	-0.74	-1.23	-1.15
Auditor General	0.33	0.62	0.65	1.72	1.67	-0.13	-0.94	-1.34	-1.05
federal cabinet minister	-0.73	0.72	3.65^{***}	1.77	2.06	0.78	-1.05	-1.45	-1.06
Governor General	1.26	1.20	-0.19	1.15	2.30	2.44^{*}	-0.96	-1.53	-1.58
Lieutenant Governor	0.68	1.21	1.38	0.73	1.67	1.68^{Δ}	-1.32	-1.03	0.62
Solicitor General	0.48	0.37	-0.28	1.44	2.11	1.85^{Δ}	-0.42	-0.86	-1.17
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	1.15	1.26	0.28	2.65	3.13	1.21	-1.62	-2.32	-1.99^{*}
district attorney	0.11	1.04	2.47^{*}	2.11	2.28	0.57	0.11	0.13	0.04
judge	1.30	1.28	-0.04	2.10	2.93	2.26^{*}	-1.73	-1.92	-0.48
justice of the peace	0.96	1.26	0.98	2.04	1.77	-0.71	-1.74	-0.38	3.31^{***}
justice of the Supreme Court	1.16	1.26	0.26	2.19	2.75	1.26	-1.56	-1.33	0.58
prosecuting attorney	0.04	0.75	1.87^{Δ}	1.96	1.69	-0.79	0.46	0.24	-0.62
attorney	0.66	0.42	-0.66	1.69	1.71	0.06	0.83	0.40	-1.15
computer programmer	0.46	1.12	2.42^{*}	0.46	0.66	0.52	-0.08	0.80	2.39^{*}
accountant	0.59	0.95	1.26	0.30	0.62	0.96	-0.68	-0.47	0.50
architect	0.59	1.56	3.08^{**}	0.70	1.48	2.56^{*}	-0.04	0.16	0.52
chemist	1.12	0.68	-1.38	0.56	0.67	0.36	-0.72	-0.58	0.38
civil servant	-0.24	1.37	4.18^{***}	-0.24	0.33	1.31	-1.36	-0.06	3.02^{**}
auditor	-0.11	-0.97	-2.64^{**}	1.04	1.48	1.09	-0.04	-0.79	-1.83^{Δ}
academic	1.16	1.53	1.33	1.04	1.02	-0.06	-0.32	0.30	1.54
professor	1.31	1.75	1.29	1.24	1.51	0.77	-0.55	-0.90	-0.96
schoolteacher	1.11	1.82	2.45^{*}	1.19	1.58	1.24	-0.23	-0.27	-0.13
teacher	1.37	2.08	2.26^{*}	1.07	1.60	1.72^{Δ}	0.15	0.07	-0.21
elementary school teacher	1.33	1.60	0.75	0.58	0.85	0.77	-0.13	0.61	1.96^{*}
instructor	1.38	1.22	-0.50	0.97	1.32	1.12	0.07	0.24	0.42
principal	0.68	0.88	0.48	1.64	2.08	1.08	-0.59	-0.99	-1.14

Table 10c Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
social worker	1.30	2.03	1.88$^\Delta$	0.52	0.55	0.09	-0.11	0.59	1.84$^\Delta$
counselor	0.92	1.64	2.13*	0.92	0.65	-0.80	-0.40	-0.36	0.10
psychoanalyst	0.63	0.37	-0.80	1.21	1.29	0.28	-0.42	-0.46	-0.10
psychologist	1.04	0.99	-0.15	0.67	1.12	1.17	-0.77	-0.94	-0.47
anesthetist	1.11	1.06	-0.14	0.46	0.78	0.82	-0.52	-0.03	1.57
dentist	0.48	0.88	0.93	1.32	1.21	-0.34	-0.16	-0.12	0.11
chiropractor	1.11	1.36	0.62	0.32	1.23	2.34	-0.47	0.12	1.41
nurse	2.00	1.80	-0.63	0.83	0.69	-0.45	0.77	0.86	0.26
physician	1.76	1.87	0.36	1.88	1.59	-1.04	-0.32	-0.33	-0.02
doctor	1.96	2.00	0.11	0.89	2.18	3.35	-0.71	0.00	1.70$^\Delta$
psychiatrist	0.62	0.79	0.37	1.23	1.49	0.65	-0.88	-0.10	2.41*
registered nurse	1.33	2.00	1.65$^\Delta$	1.04	1.20	0.59	0.04	1.13	3.31***
surgeon	1.58	1.63	0.15	1.62	2.04	1.15	-0.58	-0.57	0.03
coroner	0.73	0.56	-0.61	0.69	0.60	-0.28	-0.92	-0.95	-0.08
dietitian	1.08	0.68	-1.22	0.38	0.19	-0.62	-0.08	0.50	1.79$^\Delta$
engineer	1.39	1.39	0.00	1.50	1.12	-1.06	0.29	0.75	1.13
librarian	0.96	0.93	-0.08	-0.38	-1.17	-2.01	-1.08	-2.26	-3.74***
veterinarian	1.95	1.93	-0.06	1.32	1.21	-0.33	-0.37	0.37	1.89$^\Delta$
statistician	0.41	0.50	0.40	-0.45	0.26	2.19	-0.31	-0.70	-1.09
banker	0.09	0.80	1.66$^\Delta$	1.91	1.04	-2.38	-0.77	-0.53	0.59
reporter	0.23	1.04	2.66**	0.91	1.20	0.74	1.32	1.08	-0.58
Receiver General	0.32	0.82	1.19	1.04	1.35	0.68	-0.50	-0.77	-0.71
executive	0.33	0.64	0.94	1.30	1.76	1.12	0.56	-0.37	-2.50*
backbencher	0.33	0.05	-0.81	-0.28	-0.27	0.02	-1.00	-0.22	1.67$^\Delta$
mayor	0.70	1.12	1.39	1.00	2.11	3.83	-0.63	-1.06	-1.30
minister without portfolio	0.45	0.23	-0.58	0.45	-0.15	-1.34	-0.48	-0.61	-0.32
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.04	0.59	1.28	1.81	1.51	-0.71	-0.67	-1.23	-1.52
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	-0.18	0.84	3.03**	0.77	1.75	2.22	-0.45	-1.15	-1.66$^\Delta$
parliament secretary	0.18	1.12	3.44***	0.21	-0.66	-1.91$^\Delta$	-0.25	-0.54	-0.80
premier	0.00	0.53	1.03	1.44	2.72	3.27	0.07	-0.48	-1.10
prime minister	-0.21	1.31	3.12**	2.32	2.79	1.12	-0.11	-1.07	-2.38*
provincial cabinet minister	0.07	0.42	1.12	0.89	1.89	2.97	-0.46	-1.15	-1.87$^\Delta$
senator	-0.15	0.55	1.63	1.41	2.32	2.27	-1.41	-1.32	0.20
Speaker of the House of Commons	0.74	0.92	0.54	1.39	1.75	0.90	-1.04	-1.46	-1.18
auto mechanic	0.62	0.80	0.57	0.44	0.72	0.94	0.56	0.15	-1.19

Table 10c Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
		Evaluation			Potency			Activity	
bulldozer operator	0.40	0.40	0.00	1.10	0.24	-2.07*	0.33	-0.26	-1.75 Δ
carpenter	1.32	1.33	0.03	0.47	0.94	1.61	-0.68	0.31	2.47*
blacksmith	0.74	0.86	0.37	0.70	0.72	0.04	-0.04	-1.08	-2.96**
bus driver	0.86	0.80	-0.19	0.45	-0.33	-2.18*	-0.45	-0.48	-0.09
construction foreman	0.17	0.34	0.45	1.93	1.88	-0.16	0.17	-0.44	-1.62
construction laborer	0.00	0.40	1.08	0.48	0.52	0.09	0.48	0.65	0.42
electrician	0.92	0.96	0.15	0.62	0.40	-0.82	-0.15	-0.20	-0.15
plumber	0.81	1.05	0.78	0.78	-0.07	-3.12**	-0.26	-0.62	-1.14
welder	0.58	0.64	0.19	0.37	0.44	0.20	0.19	-0.29	-1.73 Δ
embalmer	-0.09	0.74	2.02*	-0.45	0.44	2.28*	-1.50	-1.15	0.88
farm laborer	1.52	1.30	-0.68	0.80	0.08	-1.32	0.92	0.60	-0.95
farmer	1.92	1.55	-1.19	1.15	0.76	-1.14	-0.40	-0.80	-0.99
miner	0.89	0.41	-1.56	0.43	-0.23	-1.52	0.75	-0.45	-3.39***
fisherman	1.45	1.08	-1.35	0.41	-0.41	-2.36*	-0.72	-1.00	-0.82
truck driver	0.70	0.37	-1.11	0.83	-0.25	-2.64**	0.07	-0.74	-2.46*
TV repairman	0.41	0.98	2.07*	0.00	-0.29	-0.92	-0.27	-0.36	-0.30
longshoreman	0.05	0.78	1.83 Δ	1.19	0.14	-2.67**	0.90	-0.41	-3.50***
baker	1.36	1.14	-0.76	-0.08	-0.28	-0.55	-0.85	-0.28	1.60
chef	1.44	1.52	0.27	1.18	0.59	-1.66 Δ	0.22	-0.08	-0.75
butcher	0.73	0.99	0.85	0.15	0.34	0.55	-0.23	-0.38	-0.47
cook	1.12	1.64	1.53	0.60	0.33	-0.94	0.00	0.38	1.08
decorator	0.80	0.80	0.00	-0.35	-0.08	0.76	0.12	0.85	2.06*
dressmaker	1.05	0.79	-0.77	-0.73	-0.50	0.56	-0.27	-0.38	-0.24
tailor	1.08	1.13	0.17	-0.60	-0.57	0.10	-1.27	-0.91	0.98
jeweler	0.95	0.86	-0.29	-0.05	0.55	1.77 Δ	-1.21	-0.75	1.23
photographer	0.96	0.92	-0.13	0.42	0.40	-0.06	0.46	0.22	-0.74
auctioneer	0.17	0.66	1.90 Δ	1.17	0.56	-1.91 Δ	1.58	0.86	-1.60
insurance agent	-0.23	0.14	1.03	0.15	0.98	2.83**	0.40	-0.01	-1.01
real estate agent	-0.23	0.46	1.98*	0.27	0.61	0.88	1.00	0.26	-1.71 Δ
salesclerk	0.69	0.74	0.18	-0.55	-0.04	1.76 Δ	0.34	0.63	0.93
salesgirl	0.88	1.40	1.86 Δ	-0.33	-0.29	0.10	1.08	1.59	1.81 Δ
saleslady	0.41	0.86	1.79 Δ	-0.64	-0.12	1.37	-0.14	0.97	3.12**
salesman	0.04	0.33	0.88	0.36	0.18	-0.53	1.14	0.73	-1.54
saleswoman	1.00	1.08	0.27	-0.12	0.00	0.42	0.52	0.77	0.70
file clerk	0.65	0.83	0.63	-0.92	-1.39	-1.37	-0.62	-0.79	-0.44
bank teller	0.74	1.04	0.87	-0.70	-0.07	1.94 Δ	-0.33	0.03	1.01
receptionist	0.89	1.33	1.21	-0.44	-0.37	0.18	0.96	0.76	-0.59
secretary	1.15	0.99	-0.52	-0.92	-0.40	1.50	0.85	0.79	-0.19
bill collector	-0.88	-1.34	-1.29	0.92	0.95	0.09	0.50	-0.24	-1.96*

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Table 10c Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
bookkeeper	0.44	0.79	1.15	-0.64	0.02	1.86^Δ	-1.44	-0.92	1.65^Δ
babysitter	1.87	1.43	-1.38	0.03	-0.04	-0.15	0.40	1.58	3.19^**
barkeeper	0.89	1.35	1.22	0.37	0.54	0.44	-0.05	1.40	3.35^***
barmaid	1.05	1.20	0.51	-0.23	-0.46	-0.51	1.23	1.56	0.85
bartender	1.38	1.41	0.10	0.86	0.68	-0.55	0.55	1.23	1.89^Δ
bouncer	-0.38	-0.05	0.74	2.14	1.87	-0.87	1.59	1.54	-0.15
bellhop	1.08	0.93	-0.47	-1.08	-0.78	0.88	1.48	0.94	-1.49
busboy	0.35	0.70	0.83	-1.09	-1.14	-0.12	0.83	1.22	0.96
cashier	0.58	0.55	-0.10	-0.81	-1.44	-2.06^*	0.15	0.15	0.00
chambermaid	1.04	0.94	-0.29	-1.36	-1.11	0.71	-0.12	0.17	0.65
gas station attendant	0.73	0.62	-0.32	-0.92	-1.50	-1.47	0.19	0.63	1.29
headwaiter	1.15	0.95	-0.68	0.36	0.60	0.71	0.20	0.92	2.02^*
hostess	1.86	1.85	-0.04	0.59	0.05	-1.92^Δ	0.23	1.45	4.12^***
housekeeper	1.41	0.84	-1.75^Δ	-0.55	-0.55	0.00	-0.41	-0.03	1.02
housemaid	1.07	0.86	-0.68	-1.00	-1.19	-0.57	-0.31	-0.07	0.67
maid	1.34	0.99	-1.20	-1.14	-0.99	0.43	-0.24	-0.15	0.26
companion	2.45	2.60	0.55	1.10	0.92	-0.50	0.48	1.48	3.02^**
dishwasher	0.27	0.52	0.67	-1.62	-1.39	0.62	-0.27	1.01	3.23^**
doorkeeper	1.12	0.72	-1.18	-0.31	-0.75	-1.03	-0.81	-1.11	-0.74
waiter	1.08	1.28	0.61	-0.15	-0.03	0.35	0.54	1.36	2.39^*
waitress	0.79	1.48	2.75^**	-0.59	-0.77	-0.57	0.72	1.58	3.50^***
doorman	0.89	0.60	-0.79	-0.23	-0.54	-0.74	-0.65	-0.04	1.38
fireman	1.89	1.52	-0.99	1.52	1.84	0.98	0.93	1.14	0.47
flight attendant	1.38	1.58	0.70	0.00	-0.08	-0.24	1.24	1.77	2.17^*
floorwalker	0.00	0.25	0.65	0.23	-0.28	-1.02	0.23	0.15	-0.18
funeral director	0.38	1.34	3.08^**	0.15	0.11	-0.10	-1.54	-1.45	0.31
garbage collector	0.32	0.41	0.26	-0.28	-0.73	-0.95	0.12	0.18	0.15
janitor	1.04	1.50	1.33	-0.77	-0.85	-0.19	-1.27	-1.28	-0.03
landlady	0.04	0.09	0.13	0.92	0.94	0.06	-0.84	-1.42	-1.78^Δ
landlord	-0.07	0.13	0.65	0.89	1.37	1.54	-0.57	-0.88	-0.86
library assistant	1.20	0.77	-1.08	-0.56	-0.53	0.09	-0.92	-0.47	1.00
mail carrier	1.34	1.44	0.32	-0.28	-0.03	0.61	0.00	0.13	0.35
mailman	0.89	1.44	1.91^Δ	0.00	-0.20	-0.57	0.07	0.27	0.56
newsboy	1.12	0.56	-1.85^Δ	-1.22	-1.20	0.07	1.74	1.59	-0.40
nightwatchman	0.83	0.71	-0.45	-0.03	0.11	0.36	-1.03	-0.16	2.50^*
palm reader	-0.31	-0.31	0.00	-0.31	-0.38	-0.15	-1.12	-1.26	-0.39
parking attendant	-0.04	0.40	1.16	-0.65	-0.47	0.43	-0.38	-0.35	0.08
pawnbroker	-0.38	-0.31	0.22	-0.08	-0.07	0.03	-0.88	-0.47	1.17
postmaster	0.46	0.63	0.48	0.38	0.88	1.22	-0.96	-0.45	1.20
rail conductor	1.00	1.06	0.20	0.37	0.67	1.07	-1.07	-0.36	2.30^*

Table 10c Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
saloon keeper	0.86	1.14	0.74	0.69	0.48	-0.65	-0.07	-0.39	-0.79
scoutmaster	1.95	1.42	1.90$^\Delta$-	0.63	0.76	0.33	-0.21	0.36	1.53
servant	0.74	0.81	0.20	-0.91	-2.01	-2.36*	-0.48	-0.05	0.89
shoe repairman	1.12	1.18	0.19	-0.48	-0.51	-0.09	-1.36	-1.50	-0.43
stenographer	0.75	0.83	0.26	-0.80	-0.33	1.34	-0.33	-0.50	-0.45
stewardess	1.50	1.47	-0.11	-0.12	-0.28	-0.46	0.96	1.72	3.09
dental assistant	1.35	1.02	-1.04	0.08	0.20	0.37	0.35	1.02	1.89$^\Delta$
dental hygienist	1.19	1.13	-0.16	0.12	0.35	0.82	0.31	0.87	1.81$^\Delta$
medic	2.24	1.44	-2.13*	1.41	1.04	-0.94	0.97	0.89	-0.22
practical nurse	1.63	1.65	0.06	0.93	0.25	-2.22*	0.19	0.58	1.15
nursemaid	1.96	1.04	-3.27**	0.29	0.23	-0.21	-0.63	0.13	1.86$^\Delta$
taxi driver	0.35	0.75	1.35	-0.12	-0.65	-1.72$^\Delta$	0.19	-0.86	-2.66
technician	0.57	0.77	0.67	0.40	0.27	-0.38	-0.03	0.22	0.75
telephone operator	0.28	0.88	1.74$^\Delta$	-0.07	-0.64	-1.57	0.14	-0.06	-0.49
textile worker	0.52	0.34	-0.63	-1.11	-0.40	1.94$^\Delta$	-0.73	-0.57	0.49
typist	0.67	0.89	0.73	-0.81	-0.45	1.05	0.44	0.40	-0.11
undertaker	0.55	0.52	-0.08	0.55	0.51	-0.11	-1.50	-1.28	0.52
watchman	0.92	0.83	-0.33	-0.29	0.38	1.53	-1.21	-0.03	2.83
bailiff	-0.03	0.79	3.00**	0.41	0.89	1.34	-0.52	-0.57	-0.18
bailsman	0.19	0.44	1.16	0.35	0.82	1.36	-0.55	-0.16	1.22
bodyguard	0.08	1.30	3.40***	2.08	2.12	0.11	1.40	1.18	-0.57
cop	0.32	0.72	0.80	1.79	2.38	1.69$^\Delta$	0.46	1.12	1.96
deputy	0.52	0.92	0.91	1.08	1.52	1.18	0.96	0.28	-1.77$^\Delta$
detective	0.64	1.49	2.47*	1.73	1.38	-0.93	1.23	-0.16	-3.14
inspector	0.18	0.97	1.92$^\Delta$	1.95	1.49	-1.27	-0.18	-0.21	-0.06
Mountie	1.33	1.77	1.27	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.70	0.82	0.36
nark	-0.54	-0.85	-0.57	1.14	1.01	-0.31	0.86	0.68	-0.47
patrolman	1.31	0.73	-1.67$^\Delta$	1.90	1.01	-2.64**	0.62	0.65	0.09
plainclothesman	0.58	0.37	-0.58	1.46	-0.15	-4.88***	0.81	0.00	-2.88
policeman	0.96	1.23	0.70	1.81	1.87	0.18	0.65	0.78	0.39
probation officer	0.78	0.67	-0.28	1.22	1.56	0.86	-0.22	-0.40	-0.55
provincial policeman	0.46	0.92	1.01	1.88	1.95	0.26	0.35	1.04	1.83$^\Delta$
rookie cop	0.56	0.65	0.20	0.70	0.51	-0.48	1.35	2.22	2.32
sheriff	0.73	1.15	0.96	1.91	2.14	0.74	0.00	-0.33	-0.80
spy	-0.45	-0.05	0.93	1.31	1.28	-0.07	0.10	1.31	3.12
state trooper	-0.03	0.65	1.64	2.13	2.00	-0.38	0.87	0.98	0.31
warden	0.18	0.01	-0.36	2.05	1.96	-0.20	-0.55	-1.08	-1.40
proctor	0.50	0.41	-0.19	0.79	-0.14	-2.07*	-0.64	-0.81	-0.28
tutor	1.27	2.25	3.04**	1.16	1.01	-0.47	-0.36	0.65	2.44
athlete	1.00	1.56	1.90$^\Delta$	1.58	1.80	0.74	2.04	2.26	0.79

Table 10c Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
boxer	0.12	0.67	1.75$^{\Delta}$	2.26	1.99	-0.82	2.38	1.98	-1.13
cheerleader	0.77	1.51	2.30*	-0.42	-0.30	0.32	2.27	2.49	0.77
coach	1.00	1.04	0.12	2.00	1.67	-1.18	1.12	-0.15	-3.05**
porno star	-0.73	0.43	2.50*	-0.58	-0.28	0.76	1.93	2.13	0.69
referee	1.07	0.98	-0.27	1.52	1.70	0.65	0.86	0.08	-2.15*
stripper	-0.19	0.62	1.76$^{\Delta}$	-0.08	-0.80	-1.61	2.19	2.50	1.22
topless dancer	0.53	0.93	0.86	-0.84	-0.89	-0.11	1.37	2.47	2.89**
actor	0.88	1.16	0.92	0.46	0.64	0.58	1.00	1.07	0.22
author	0.77	1.64	2.65**	0.46	0.90	1.49	-0.40	-0.90	-1.56
critic	-0.23	-0.21	0.05	1.23	0.33	-1.76$^{\Delta}$	0.41	-0.12	-1.30
storyteller	1.86	1.26	-1.65$^{\Delta}$	0.41	0.00	-1.13	-0.73	-0.59	0.33
street musician	1.31	1.15	-0.41	-0.50	-0.88	-0.96	1.26	0.76	-1.40
clown	2.05	1.51	-1.48	0.18	-0.47	-1.50	1.45	1.18	-0.60
comedian	1.54	1.76	0.69	-0.12	0.08	0.55	1.76	1.64	-0.38
magician	1.41	1.70	1.02	0.77	1.19	1.11	0.95	0.24	-1.70$^{\Delta}$
musician	1.48	1.34	-0.41	-0.04	0.51	1.54	1.04	1.03	-0.03

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 10d All Occupation Identities (from large data set): Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
church deacon	1.84	1.54	-0.84	1.65	0.77	-2.27*	-1.35	-1.71	-0.94
clergy	2.32	1.17	-2.66**	1.68	0.80	-1.97*	-1.20	-1.61	-1.10
minister (religious)	2.06	1.56	-1.20	1.73	2.01	0.91	-1.09	-1.44	-0.99
airline pilot	1.56	2.06	1.96*	1.84	2.45	2.07*	0.03	0.50	1.19
Attorney General	0.82	1.35	1.56	2.14	2.86	2.87**	-1.07	-0.88	0.43
Auditor General	0.73	0.40	-0.75	1.40	2.27	2.60**	-0.67	-0.89	-0.66
federal cabinet minister	-0.24	0.13	0.94	1.80	2.46	2.03*	-0.32	-1.53	-2.89**
Governor General	1.09	0.78	-0.72	1.78	2.54	1.64	-0.96	-1.37	-0.83
Lieutenant Governor	1.00	0.93	-0.20	0.36	2.19	3.38***	-1.16	-1.34	-0.52
Solicitor General	0.55	0.81	0.69	1.45	2.70	2.83**	-0.90	-1.21	-0.71
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court	1.36	1.21	-0.50	2.97	3.44	2.09*	-1.42	-2.29	-2.11*
district attorney	0.74	1.00	0.75	2.52	2.46	-0.26	0.45	0.43	-0.04
judge	1.36	1.56	0.55	2.91	3.29	1.18	-0.59	-1.64	-2.99**
justice of the peace	1.83	1.36	-1.42	1.87	2.24	0.87	-0.96	-1.15	-0.50
justice of the Supreme Court	1.10	1.07	-0.07	2.80	3.19	1.44	-1.37	-1.69	-0.74
prosecuting attorney	0.30	0.27	-0.08	2.24	2.50	0.93	1.18	0.58	-1.61
attorney	1.17	0.20	-2.73**	1.77	2.31	1.55	0.63	0.91	0.65
computer programmer	0.65	1.37	2.94**	1.03	1.59	2.24*	0.59	0.64	0.13
accountant	0.78	0.76	-0.06	0.91	1.30	1.19	0.26	-0.53	-2.08*
architect	1.06	1.62	2.00*	1.06	1.24	0.55	0.19	0.60	1.07
chemist	1.25	1.04	-0.67	1.58	1.05	-1.67$^\Delta$	-0.54	-0.79	-0.61
civil servant	0.41	1.44	3.02**	0.44	-0.23	-1.80$^\Delta$	-0.26	-0.10	0.49
auditor	-0.17	-0.58	-1.06	0.97	1.57	1.68$^\Delta$	-0.37	-0.65	-0.64
academic	1.59	1.74	0.51	1.03	1.45	1.07	-0.52	0.17	1.51
professor	0.93	1.49	1.81$^\Delta$	1.50	2.36	2.59**	-0.33	-1.13	-2.23*
schoolteacher	1.13	2.76	5.13***	1.26	2.18	3.02**	-0.70	1.47	6.08***
elementary school teacher	1.71	2.63	2.95**	1.42	1.76	1.10	0.58	1.44	2.04*
teacher	1.39	2.71	5.23***	1.35	2.36	3.85***	-0.17	0.76	2.77**
instructor	1.50	1.60	0.37	1.53	1.72	0.60	-0.23	0.34	1.53
principal	1.13	1.12	-0.03	2.08	2.32	0.90	-0.46	-0.86	-0.96
social worker	1.52	2.16	2.16*	0.69	1.13	1.29	0.48	0.58	0.26

Table 10d Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
counselor	1.90	2.34	1.20	1.28	1.57	0.87	-0.10	0.05	0.35
psychologist	1.32	1.65	0.88	1.45	1.62	0.58	-0.41	-0.56	-0.44
psychoanalyst	0.97	0.56	-1.24	1.30	1.63	1.25	-0.10	-0.84	-2.08*
anesthetist	0.67	0.89	0.54	1.24	1.03	-0.51	0.19	-0.19	-1.03
dentist	0.48	0.92	1.05	1.86	1.66	-0.86	0.24	-0.91	-2.72**
chiropractor	1.38	1.38	0.00	1.38	1.48	0.37	-0.19	0.62	2.51*
nurse	1.96	2.12	0.47	1.14	1.04	-0.27	0.73	0.55	-0.43
physician	1.93	2.01	0.22	2.17	2.20	0.11	-0.45	-0.32	0.35
doctor	2.13	2.55	1.50	1.87	2.65	2.43*	-0.10	-0.46	-0.96
psychiatrist	0.77	1.21	1.43	1.65	2.11	1.47	-0.38	-1.31	-2.67**
registered nurse	2.18	2.43	1.01	1.23	1.23	0.00	0.59	0.49	-0.25
surgeon	2.13	2.26	0.49	2.63	2.68	0.28	-0.33	-0.08	0.55
coroner	0.61	0.56	-0.15	0.90	0.63	-0.74	-1.06	-1.45	-1.30
dietitian	1.10	1.89	2.69**	0.69	0.80	0.39	0.17	1.00	2.33*
engineer	1.00	1.26	0.81	1.44	1.91	1.71$^\Delta$	0.88	0.26	-1.74$^\Delta$
librarian	1.09	1.67	1.71$^\Delta$	-0.36	-0.20	0.41	-1.24	-2.22	-3.02**
veterinarian	2.37	2.24	-0.50	1.81	1.84	0.11	0.12	0.58	1.19
statistician	0.75	0.55	-0.70	0.21	0.98	1.90$^\Delta$	-0.14	-0.99	-2.20*
banker	0.56	0.88	0.92	1.00	1.29	0.66	-0.24	-0.58	-1.01
reporter	0.20	0.42	0.56	1.04	1.60	1.62	2.00	1.81	-0.63
Receiver General	0.40	0.68	0.81	1.47	1.82	0.91	-1.00	-1.10	-0.26
executive	0.48	0.60	0.36	2.16	2.22	0.24	0.55	0.05	-1.19
backbencher	0.22	0.23	0.03	-0.72	-0.73	-0.02	-0.22	0.16	0.60
mayor	0.79	1.20	1.34	1.59	2.12	2.05*	-0.52	-0.81	-0.75
minister without portfolio	0.72	0.48	-0.53	-0.11	0.17	0.56	-0.11	-1.20	-2.13*
MP (Member of Parliament)	0.10	0.34	0.67	2.10	2.00	-0.32	-0.13	-0.93	-1.83$^\Delta$
MPP (Member of Prov. Parliament)	0.28	0.00	-0.82	0.80	2.36	3.05**	-0.40	-0.90	-1.19
parliament secretary	0.43	1.29	2.62**	0.90	0.65	-0.61	0.03	0.14	0.25
premier	0.66	0.01	-1.44	2.07	2.64	1.65$^\Delta$	-0.21	-0.42	-0.51
prime minister	0.59	1.35	1.76$^\Delta$	1.94	3.12	3.35***	-0.03	-1.30	-3.36***
provincial cabinet minister	0.35	0.55	0.54	1.80	2.39	1.94$^\Delta$	-0.40	-1.41	-2.29*
senator	0.32	0.49	0.44	2.19	2.44	0.88	-0.55	-1.16	-1.79$^\Delta$
Speaker of the House of Commons	0.67	0.93	0.65	0.79	2.11	2.96**	-0.75	-1.18	-1.01
auto mechanic	0.83	0.78	-0.15	0.73	0.41	-0.86	0.67	-0.42	-2.80**

Table 10d Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
bulldozer operator	0.09	0.95	3.71***	1.04	0.58	-1.16	0.18	-0.85	-2.91**
carpenter	1.31	1.36	0.16	0.44	0.54	0.28	-0.13	-0.66	-1.26
blacksmith	1.03	1.58	1.95Δ	0.87	0.02	-2.82**	0.10	-1.40	-3.88***
bus driver	0.96	1.07	0.31	0.20	-0.28	-1.25	-0.68	-1.08	-1.27
construction foreman	0.23	0.74	1.54	2.09	1.87	-0.74	0.50	-0.58	-3.39***
construction laborer	0.29	1.12	2.89**	0.87	0.52	-1.01	1.52	0.42	-3.68***
electrician	1.03	1.42	1.42	0.67	0.63	-0.14	0.03	-0.85	-2.97**
embalmer	0.18	0.22	0.12	-0.14	0.19	0.91	-1.32	-1.31	0.03
farm laborer	1.67	1.54	-0.40	0.60	0.38	-0.44	1.30	-0.42	-3.91***
farmer	1.97	2.09	0.44	1.10	0.80	-0.82	-0.07	-1.04	-2.18*
miner	0.68	0.93	1.01	0.42	0.00	-1.19	0.17	-0.49	-1.83Δ
plumber	1.34	0.94	-1.46	0.17	0.33	0.46	-0.21	-1.00	-2.72**
welder	0.77	1.04	0.91	-0.14	0.31	1.24	-0.09	-0.56	-1.43
fisherman	1.61	1.53	-0.27	0.16	0.20	0.11	-0.65	-1.40	-2.03*
truck driver	0.59	0.73	0.43	1.00	0.31	-1.74Δ	0.52	-0.91	-4.17***
TV repairman	0.76	0.86	0.37	-0.04	-0.18	-0.47	0.24	-0.87	-3.32***
longshoreman	0.24	0.75	1.29	0.59	-0.05	-1.47	0.41	-0.94	-3.07**
baker	1.53	2.04	1.70Δ	0.00	-0.09	-0.29	-0.87	-1.41	-1.88Δ
chef	1.34	1.95	2.25*	0.75	0.99	0.83	0.22	0.53	0.71
butcher	0.62	0.64	0.05	0.50	0.19	-1.04	-0.09	-1.18	-3.77***
cook	1.07	2.10	4.26***	0.55	0.88	1.00	-0.03	0.07	0.23
decorator	1.38	1.42	0.16	0.55	0.10	-1.59	1.07	1.08	0.03
dressmaker	1.48	1.93	1.55	-0.48	-0.47	0.03	-0.32	-0.70	-0.89
tailor	1.23	1.56	1.26	-0.50	-0.30	0.68	-1.40	-1.70	-1.01
jeweler	0.97	1.39	1.69Δ	-0.03	0.14	0.53	-1.06	-1.49	-1.26
photographer	1.33	1.89	1.76Δ	0.18	0.78	2.02*	1.24	1.21	-0.09
auctioneer	0.86	0.91	0.20	1.21	0.81	-1.05	1.14	1.07	-0.12
insurance agent	-0.26	0.05	0.92	0.91	1.19	0.70	0.09	-0.34	-0.91
real estate agent	0.12	0.79	1.78Δ	0.69	1.01	0.77	0.88	0.48	-0.91
salesclerk	0.67	0.75	0.21	-0.24	-0.31	-0.20	0.18	0.80	1.76Δ
salesgirl	1.00	1.62	1.63	-1.13	-0.40	1.76Δ	0.67	2.41	5.03***
saleslady	0.40	0.98	1.72Δ	0.12	-0.08	-0.47	0.48	0.57	0.23
salesman	0.16	0.13	-0.08	0.87	0.32	-1.77Δ	1.29	0.16	-3.08**
saleswoman	1.50	1.15	-1.23	0.20	0.16	-0.13	-0.27	0.80	3.17**
file clerk	0.59	1.13	1.85Δ	-1.03	-1.53	-1.61	0.17	-0.40	-1.45
bank teller	0.83	1.27	1.68Δ	-0.34	0.19	1.45	-0.07	0.53	1.34
receptionist	1.35	1.80	1.64	-0.90	-0.61	0.85	0.65	0.80	0.48
secretary	1.30	1.51	0.85	-0.94	-0.54	1.10	1.03	0.31	-1.91Δ

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
babysitter	1.50	2.22	2.24*	0.95	0.52	-1.14	0.26	2.36	6.44***
barkeeper	0.97	1.28	0.93	0.59	1.02	1.53	0.41	1.27	1.88Δ
barmaid	0.60	1.14	1.62	-1.12	-0.65	1.24	1.28	1.54	0.69
bartender	0.91	1.61	2.51*	1.00	0.66	-1.23	0.21	1.79	4.21***
bouncer	-0.16	-0.11	0.13	2.32	2.19	-0.37	1.94	1.92	-0.07
bellhop	1.47	1.46	-0.03	-0.67	-1.28	-1.89Δ	1.33	0.67	-1.44
bill collector	-0.79	-1.42	-2.10*	1.32	1.41	0.30	-0.06	-0.69	-1.84Δ
bookkeeper	0.83	1.05	0.67	0.28	-0.27	-1.39	-1.48	-1.49	-0.03
busboy	0.75	1.09	1.28	-1.25	-1.38	-0.36	1.13	1.72	1.74Δ
cashier	0.76	1.40	1.89Δ	-0.15	-0.75	-1.86Δ	0.38	0.31	-0.21
chambermaid	1.14	1.15	0.03	-1.48	-1.37	0.30	-0.38	0.25	1.37
gas station attendant	0.73	0.87	0.52	-1.03	-1.43	-1.26	0.52	0.56	0.11
headwaiter	1.66	1.17	-1.67Δ	1.14	1.02	-0.34	0.45	1.29	2.05*
hostess	2.00	2.44	1.61	0.56	0.53	-0.09	0.32	1.56	3.30***
housekeeper	1.18	1.57	1.14	-0.82	-1.12	-0.77	-0.67	-1.26	-1.49
housemaid	1.03	1.35	0.83	-1.62	-1.06	1.60	-0.41	-0.36	0.13
maid	1.27	1.38	0.35	-1.17	-1.64	-1.37	0.33	-0.45	-1.98Δ
companion	2.79	2.74	-0.22	1.06	1.21	0.47	0.48	1.40	3.07**
dishwasher	0.67	0.75	0.26	-1.36	-1.27	0.20	0.42	0.33	-0.25
doorkeeper	1.00	1.14	0.43	-0.87	-0.55	0.81	-1.05	-1.72	-2.14*
waiter	1.35	1.64	1.06	-0.35	-0.05	0.74	0.88	1.88	2.83**
waitress	1.26	1.66	1.45	-0.65	-0.51	0.38	1.35	1.80	1.52
doorman	1.48	1.71	0.84	0.04	-0.60	-1.62	-0.65	-1.26	-1.79Δ
fireman	2.23	2.60	1.50	1.94	2.57	2.25*	1.55	2.20	2.39*
flight attendant	1.73	2.24	1.81Δ	0.37	0.43	0.18	1.47	2.20	3.05**
floorwalker	0.04	0.65	1.40	-0.36	-0.37	-0.02	-0.79	-0.84	-0.11
funeral director	0.66	1.15	1.22	0.58	0.40	-0.49	-1.30	-1.58	-0.75
garbage collector	0.66	1.20	1.73Δ	-0.38	-0.89	-1.03	0.21	-0.17	-0.94
janitor	1.21	1.54	1.03	-1.18	-1.25	-0.18	-1.36	-1.82	-1.27
landlady	0.14	0.00	-0.35	1.10	1.64	1.64	-1.28	-1.40	-0.30
landlord	-0.15	-0.63	-1.38	1.44	1.67	0.91	-0.95	-1.00	-0.16
library assistant	1.66	1.44	-0.77	-0.59	-0.81	-0.63	-1.07	-1.27	-0.55
mail carrier	1.18	1.74	2.01*	0.09	0.23	0.47	0.09	0.12	0.08
mailman	1.55	1.76	0.84	-0.03	0.12	0.43	-0.13	0.08	0.57
newsboy	1.65	1.21	-1.54	-1.00	-0.85	0.42	2.00	2.08	0.26
nightwatchman	0.73	1.04	0.97	0.81	0.70	-0.31	-0.88	-0.76	0.29
palm reader	-0.44	0.88	4.20***	0.53	0.98	1.16	-0.65	-1.39	-2.13*
parking attendant	0.48	0.01	-1.34	-0.35	-0.55	-0.51	-0.71	-0.68	0.08
pawnbroker	-0.06	-0.54	-1.30	0.42	0.62	0.59	0.13	-0.81	-2.24*

Table 10d Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
postmaster	0.68	1.54	2.17[*]	-0.23	0.33	1.49	-0.87	-1.26	-0.96
rail conductor	1.28	1.10	-0.73	0.83	0.96	0.38	-0.28	-1.29	-2.88[**]
saloon keeper	0.53	1.01	1.35	0.83	0.64	-0.80	0.43	-0.67	-2.63[**]
scoutmaster	2.28	1.43	-3.86[***]	1.31	1.06	-1.01	0.06	0.04	-0.05
servant	0.41	1.27	2.25[*]	-1.62	-2.38	-1.80[Δ]	-0.47	-0.57	-0.26
shoe repairman	1.17	1.60	1.41	-0.67	-0.54	0.38	-1.17	-1.58	-1.08
stenographer	0.69	0.89	0.49	-0.77	0.41	2.78[**]	0.00	-0.36	-0.77
stewardess	1.79	1.64	-0.56	-0.27	-0.31	-0.13	1.52	1.97	1.79[Δ]
dental assistant	1.19	1.50	1.11	0.15	0.20	0.16	0.42	0.92	1.38
dental hygienist	1.65	1.47	-0.53	0.39	0.05	-0.88	0.30	1.16	2.36[*]
medic	2.19	2.01	-0.66	1.23	2.10	2.22[*]	0.71	1.77	4.25[***]
practical nurse	1.38	2.17	2.28[*]	0.83	1.10	1.03	0.62	0.34	-0.70
nursemaid	2.04	1.82	-0.72	0.33	0.46	0.33	-0.29	0.13	0.87
taxi driver	0.47	0.54	0.26	0.03	-0.51	-1.81[Δ]	-0.21	-0.84	-2.04[*]
technician	1.05	1.10	0.19	0.26	0.49	0.64	0.41	-0.03	-1.14
telephone operator	0.81	0.37	-1.31	-0.19	-0.34	-0.44	-0.19	-0.65	-1.22
textile worker	0.32	0.84	1.69[Δ]	-1.32	-0.86	1.20	-0.64	-0.26	1.06
typist	1.07	1.28	0.76	-0.79	-0.85	-0.17	0.34	0.35	0.02
undertaker	0.24	0.23	-0.02	0.12	0.24	0.35	-1.40	-1.65	-0.76
watchman	1.00	0.82	-0.50	0.48	0.74	0.73	-0.48	-0.79	-0.72
bailsman	0.58	0.47	-0.34	0.79	0.39	-0.88	0.05	-0.80	-2.31[*]
bailiff	-0.10	0.73	2.43[*]	1.05	1.50	1.47	-0.30	-0.80	-1.22
bodyguard	1.00	1.60	1.71[Δ]	2.54	2.67	0.53	1.83	1.66	-0.46
cop	0.97	1.07	0.25	2.21	2.84	2.50[*]	0.76	1.12	0.99
deputy	1.14	1.06	-0.29	1.48	1.59	0.31	0.86	-0.16	-2.18[*]
detective	1.24	1.51	0.86	2.16	1.91	-0.82	0.56	-0.12	-1.47
inspector	0.54	0.99	1.28	1.83	1.66	-0.63	-0.33	-0.22	0.28
Mountie	1.28	1.74	1.22	1.62	2.19	1.67[Δ]	1.45	0.87	-1.63
nark	-0.40	-0.61	-0.40	1.96	1.44	-1.39	1.00	0.85	-0.32
patrolman	1.06	1.05	-0.03	1.88	1.55	-0.99	0.67	0.10	-1.26
plainclothesman	0.90	0.75	-0.37	1.23	-0.50	-4.22[***]	0.94	-0.59	-3.72[***]
policeman	1.45	1.13	-0.84	2.45	2.85	1.45	1.64	0.66	-2.57[*]
probation officer	1.41	0.96	-1.21	2.06	1.72	-1.28	0.22	-0.12	-0.97
provincial policeman	1.24	1.39	0.41	2.09	2.42	1.35	1.26	1.03	-0.67
rookie cop	0.96	1.39	1.16	0.52	-0.17	-1.62	1.39	2.18	2.82[**]
sheriff	1.32	1.15	-0.42	2.12	2.36	0.84	0.48	-1.24	-4.60[***]
spy	-0.29	-1.05	-2.12[*]	1.81	1.98	0.67	0.84	0.78	-0.15
state trooper	0.77	0.76	-0.02	2.26	2.03	-0.95	1.27	0.60	-1.57
warden	0.21	-0.86	-2.88[**]	2.37	2.31	-0.19	-0.13	-1.41	-3.53[***]
coach	0.93	0.99	0.14	2.14	2.26	0.47	1.38	0.70	-1.45

Table 10d Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
proctor	0.86	0.57	-0.71	0.93	0.93	0.00	0.43	-0.44	-1.57
tutor	1.47	2.26	3.13**	1.77	1.51	-1.10	0.00	0.71	1.95$^{\Delta}$
athlete	1.32	1.75	1.38	1.85	1.72	-0.44	2.09	2.70	1.98*
boxer	0.09	0.35	0.97	2.00	2.01	0.03	2.57	2.10	-1.47
cheerleader	1.12	1.03	-0.28	0.06	-0.18	-0.68	2.85	3.10	1.20
porno star	-1.82	-1.07	1.60	-0.77	-0.38	0.74	1.64	2.54	3.49***
referee	1.03	1.11	0.31	2.19	1.93	-1.07	1.13	1.41	0.87
stripper	-1.58	-0.79	2.11*	-0.45	-0.84	-0.76	2.33	2.64	1.22
topless dancer	-0.91	-0.33	1.35	-0.47	-0.67	-0.41	1.41	2.88	6.17***
actor	0.91	1.28	1.36	0.82	1.76	2.78**	1.45	1.71	0.92
author	1.09	1.79	3.42***	0.83	1.49	1.88$^{\Delta}$	-0.13	-0.59	-1.47
critic	-0.44	-0.39	0.16	1.44	1.44	0.00	0.72	-0.27	-2.40*
street musician	1.30	1.80	1.69$^{\Delta}$	-0.91	-1.15	-0.65	1.04	1.15	0.31
storyteller	1.64	2.02	1.14	0.12	1.01	3.29***	-0.92	-0.26	1.33
clown	2.28	1.04	-2.67**	0.40	-0.52	-1.91$^{\Delta}$	1.64	1.70	0.13
comedian	1.71	2.00	0.86	1.03	1.00	-0.11	1.79	2.16	1.27
magician	1.67	1.85	0.52	1.42	1.47	0.16	1.00	0.37	-1.39
musician	1.59	1.78	0.65	0.38	0.89	1.49	0.54	1.40	2.20*

$^{\Delta}$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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Table 11a Family Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
aunt	1.77	2.24	1.38	-0.09	0.05	0.46	-1.14	-0.93	0.62
auntie	1.59	2.12	1.37	-0.69	-0.02	1.72Δ	-1.44	-1.43	0.03
baby	1.32	2.40	2.00*	-2.05	-2.28	-0.42	1.55	2.58	1.99*
brother	1.92	1.66	-0.64	0.84	1.28	1.15	1.04	1.35	0.87
brother-in-law	1.15	1.23	0.24	0.19	0.40	0.72	0.58	1.03	1.53
child	1.63	1.70	0.20	-1.53	-1.71	-0.44	1.95	2.75	1.93Δ
cousin	1.11	1.54	1.48	-0.07	0.16	0.84	0.74	0.80	0.18
daughter	1.82	2.18	0.96	-0.27	-0.01	0.57	1.18	1.92	2.25*
daughter-in-law	0.90	0.88	-0.07	-0.21	-0.33	-0.54	0.59	1.13	1.93Δ
divorcee	0.26	-0.52	-2.64**	-0.26	-0.19	0.22	0.22	-0.18	-1.66Δ
father	2.41	1.84	-1.29	2.41	1.78	-1.70Δ	-0.64	0.02	1.54
father-in-law	0.80	1.20	1.28	0.60	0.89	0.84	-0.72	-0.44	0.69
firstborn	0.93	1.30	0.84	-0.17	0.12	0.56	1.07	1.38	0.71
grandchild	1.83	1.98	0.43	-1.30	-1.24	0.13	1.61	2.60	2.61**
granddaughter	1.38	1.91	1.38	-1.19	-0.47	1.71Δ	1.73	2.32	1.71Δ
grandfather	2.04	2.61	1.92Δ	0.54	0.44	-0.24	-2.00	-2.74	-2.77**
grandmother	2.67	2.75	0.26	-0.17	-0.22	-0.11	-2.00	-2.07	-0.16
grandparent	2.36	2.74	1.25	0.96	0.25	-1.74Δ	-2.07	-2.72	-1.91Δ
grandson	1.31	1.85	1.46	-0.65	-0.41	0.53	1.96	2.13	0.51
granny	2.18	2.39	0.52	-1.27	-0.82	0.93	-2.41	-2.65	-0.82
grown-up	1.10	1.08	-0.06	1.21	1.36	0.55	-0.45	-0.33	0.32
half brother	1.00	0.99	-0.03	0.50	0.20	-1.03	0.50	1.09	2.31*
half sister	0.75	0.76	0.03	-0.04	-0.20	-0.49	0.71	0.96	0.78
housewife	1.47	1.46	-0.03	-0.58	-0.24	0.89	0.16	0.27	0.36
husband	1.43	1.15	-0.77	1.13	1.04	-0.26	0.17	0.10	-0.23
infant	1.86	1.99	0.31	-2.28	-1.90	0.74	2.14	2.28	0.41
in-law	0.41	0.44	0.07	0.52	0.17	-1.27	-0.07	-0.26	-0.65
kid	0.78	1.34	1.31	-0.63	-1.40	-1.82Δ	2.37	2.30	-0.19
mother	2.35	2.19	-0.40	0.96	1.75	1.88Δ	-0.15	0.32	1.05
my brother	2.00	1.60	-0.98	0.84	1.02	0.39	0.74	1.67	2.36*
my father	1.81	2.03	0.42	1.38	1.74	0.84	-0.69	-0.39	0.75
my mother	2.77	2.71	-0.17	1.17	1.64	1.11	0.20	0.41	0.49
my sister	1.95	1.46	-1.09	0.32	0.22	-0.24	1.57	1.25	-0.81
nephew	0.78	1.35	1.52	-0.43	-0.72	-0.71	1.22	1.46	0.72
niece	1.23	1.25	0.05	-0.64	-0.39	0.72	1.18	1.33	0.43
orphan	0.22	0.65	1.15	-1.63	-2.21	-1.65Δ	0.64	1.55	2.74**
parent	2.55	2.15	-1.06	2.05	2.23	0.61	-0.41	-0.75	-0.99
relation	1.07	1.59	1.67Δ	0.36	1.03	2.10*	-0.14	0.56	2.15*
sibling	1.04	1.81	2.01*	-0.73	0.48	2.81**	1.19	1.41	0.68
sister	1.65	1.84	0.50	-0.15	0.47	1.57	0.85	1.54	2.30*
sister-in-law	0.76	1.29	1.59	0.00	-0.16	-0.53	0.48	1.14	2.09*

Table 11a Males (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
son	1.04	1.76	2.16*	0.32	0.39	0.17	1.15	1.61	1.31
son-in-law	1.00	1.16	0.50	0.35	0.24	-0.35	0.65	1.58	3.33***
spouse	2.36	2.16	-0.49	0.63	0.83	0.47	0.83	0.94	0.38
stepbrother	1.00	0.64	-1.04	0.48	0.09	-1.50	0.24	0.84	1.93$^\Delta$
stepdaughter	0.65	1.12	1.47	-0.83	-0.38	1.30	0.78	1.48	2.02*
stepfather	0.30	0.30	0.00	0.87	0.89	0.07	-0.65	-0.66	-0.04
stepmother	0.33	0.74	1.13	0.76	0.48	-0.88	-0.17	-0.10	0.20
stepsister	0.07	1.00	2.82**	0.00	-0.20	-0.56	0.22	0.84	1.71$^\Delta$
stepson	0.19	0.85	2.21*	-0.15	-0.57	-1.34	0.30	1.44	4.13***
uncle	1.38	1.48	0.30	0.52	0.76	0.71	-0.45	-0.24	0.58
widow	0.72	0.84	0.34	-1.14	-1.29	-0.51	-1.34	-1.91	-1.84$^\Delta$
widower	0.95	0.09	-2.40*	-0.79	-0.80	-0.03	-1.47	-1.03	1.31
wife	2.08	2.38	0.76	1.23	0.81	-0.91	0.73	1.22	1.25

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 11b Family Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
aunt	1.44	2.24	2.04*	0.16	0.92	2.55*	-0.40	-0.38	0.05
auntie	1.95	2.68	1.97*	-0.27	0.71	2.60**	-0.68	-0.66	0.04
baby	2.25	3.21	2.83**	-1.96	-1.85	0.17	1.71	2.50	1.92$^\Delta$
brother	2.07	2.20	0.34	1.20	1.07	-0.40	1.63	2.03	1.18
brother-in-law	1.91	1.31	-1.86$^\Delta$	0.17	0.78	2.17*	0.78	1.00	0.67
child	1.78	2.59	2.57*	-1.53	-1.68	-0.32	2.47	3.30	2.95**
daughter	2.16	2.30	0.40	-0.12	0.20	0.82	1.28	2.16	2.39*
daughter-in-law	1.77	1.55	-0.73	-0.32	0.15	1.28	0.81	1.78	3.20**
divorcee	0.17	0.42	1.05	-0.31	-1.11	-3.32***	0.14	0.17	0.11
father	2.32	2.01	-0.77	2.36	2.29	-0.26	-0.12	-0.23	-0.24
father-in-law	1.35	1.24	-0.39	0.65	1.37	2.39*	-0.68	-1.15	-1.49
firstborn	0.91	2.06	2.81**	0.70	1.54	1.64	0.55	1.97	3.45***
grandchild	2.23	2.55	1.04	-1.06	-0.31	1.44	2.32	3.18	3.30***
granddaughter	1.50	2.48	3.48***	-0.50	0.10	1.57	1.74	2.52	2.92**
grandfather	2.55	2.92	1.25	1.06	1.54	1.30	-1.97	-2.74	-2.51*
grandmother	2.91	3.15	1.11	-0.09	0.64	1.51	-2.23	-2.44	-0.59
grandparent	2.81	3.14	1.16	0.75	1.82	2.69**	-2.53	-2.86	-1.32
grandson	1.14	2.13	2.87**	-0.55	-0.62	-0.18	2.10	2.42	1.06
granny	2.72	2.88	0.52	-1.04	0.42	2.83**	-2.44	-2.80	-1.37
grown-up	1.31	1.22	-0.26	1.72	1.64	-0.25	-0.62	-0.36	2.10*
half brother	1.04	1.00	-0.13	0.31	0.02	-1.10	0.46	1.00	0.24
half sister	1.21	0.80	-1.42	0.11	-0.01	-1.42	0.11	-0.01	1.01
housewife	1.78	2.21	1.21	0.22	-0.13	-0.82	0.19	0.51	0.44
husband	2.50	2.03	-1.35	1.57	1.35	-0.59	0.73	0.92	3.27**
infant	1.93	3.02	2.57*	-2.23	-2.32	-0.17	1.23	2.81	1.10
informer	-0.63	-0.24	0.87	0.93	1.12	0.46	0.73	1.09	-1.07
in-law	0.55	0.63	0.23	0.83	0.98	0.53	-0.28	-0.64	0.77
kid	0.79	1.85	2.86**	-1.00	-1.42	-0.87	2.66	2.84	-0.72
mother	2.73	2.74	0.03	1.70	2.04	0.95	0.97	0.67	2.19*
my brother	2.19	2.12	-0.20	1.22	0.81	-1.02	1.63	2.33	1.15
my father	2.21	2.54	0.82	2.09	2.16	0.26	0.24	0.81	1.24
my mother	2.35	3.05	2.46*	1.50	1.71	0.56	0.50	0.99	1.42
my sister	2.21	2.18	-0.09	0.93	0.84	-0.18	1.48	1.96	2.20*
nephew	1.78	1.80	0.05	-0.16	-0.72	-1.64	1.47	2.16	1.94$^\Delta$
niece	1.56	2.20	1.94$^\Delta$	-0.56	-0.60	-0.11	1.47	2.08	2.58**
orphan	0.55	0.91	0.87	-2.13	-2.98	-2.92**	0.61	1.65	-0.55
parent	2.28	2.53	0.66	2.24	2.52	1.13	0.04	-0.20	-0.06
relation	1.37	1.95	1.64	0.73	0.68	-0.19	0.20	0.18	0.87
sibling	1.30	2.09	2.40*	-0.30	0.64	2.17*	1.67	1.97	0.97
sister	1.91	2.38	1.53	0.59	1.18	1.48	1.53	1.85	1.04
sister-in-law	1.20	1.70	1.59	0.00	0.41	1.89$^\Delta$	0.72	1.03	1.56
son	1.03	1.81	2.32*	0.33	0.26	-0.18	1.70	2.24	3.26**
son-in-law	1.30	1.48	0.54	0.53	0.01	-1.56	0.67	1.46	0.05

Table 11b Females (continued)

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
spouse	2.27	2.30	0.10	1.43	1.39	-0.13	0.87	1.20	1.07
stepbrother	1.45	0.59	-2.27[*]	0.59	0.23	-1.08	0.97	1.52	1.52
stepdaughter	0.96	1.08	0.38	-0.71	-0.62	0.27	1.13	1.68	1.57
stepfather	0.92	0.38	-1.74[Δ]	0.67	0.93	0.78	-0.38	-0.85	-1.60
stepmother	0.52	0.10	-1.32	1.34	0.82	-1.62	-0.21	-0.04	0.53
stepsister	0.70	0.60	-0.30	-0.03	0.27	1.29	0.53	1.18	2.47[*]
stepson	0.43	0.78	1.16	0.20	-0.56	-2.46[*]	0.70	1.83	4.60[***]
uncle	1.52	1.73	0.70	0.61	0.66	0.18	-0.45	-0.54	-0.26
widow	1.39	1.32	-0.21	-0.84	-1.50	-2.13[*]	-1.48	-2.16	-2.05[*]
widower	1.13	1.28	0.45	-0.91	-1.28	-1.40	-1.13	-1.84	-2.20[*]
wife	1.62	2.27	2.23[*]	0.65	0.92	0.74	0.47	1.32	3.09[**]

[Δ]p<.10, [*]p<.05, [**]p<.01, [***]p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 12a Regional Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
Eastern Canadian	1.33	1.06	-0.63	0.19	-0.08	-0.63	-0.07	0.04	0.24
English Canadian	0.91	1.12	0.51	0.82	1.15	0.97	-0.18	0.84	3.67***
Eskimo	1.28	0.79	-1.76$^\Delta$	-0.34	-0.47	-0.34	-0.72	-0.23	1.57
French Canadian	0.70	0.58	-0.33	0.26	0.26	0.00	0.46	0.47	0.04
Inuit	1.07	0.95	-0.41	-0.48	-0.74	-0.67	-0.62	-0.41	0.79
Maritimer	0.65	0.76	0.35	0.23	-0.32	-1.94$^\Delta$	-0.19	-0.12	0.21
Metis	0.55	1.04	1.21	-0.36	-0.50	-0.28	0.09	0.07	-0.05
Native Canadian	1.44	0.88	-1.64	0.16	-0.42	-1.38	0.44	-0.12	-2.07*
Western Canadian	0.37	1.47	3.60***	0.74	0.25	-1.77$^\Delta$	0.81	0.51	-0.89

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 12b Regional Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
Eastern Canadian	1.00	1.25	0.75	-0.42	0.01	1.70$^\Delta$	-0.06	0.17	0.76
English Canadian	1.20	1.31	0.26	1.52	1.26	-0.76	0.88	0.73	-0.53
Eskimo	1.20	1.36	0.42	-0.60	-0.08	1.47	-0.60	-0.71	-0.38
French Canadian	0.74	1.04	0.73	-0.43	-0.04	1.11	0.57	0.04	-1.71$^\Delta$
Inuit	1.13	1.30	0.47	-0.62	-0.45	0.47	-0.28	-0.87	-2.23*
Maritimer	0.78	1.58	2.07*	-0.65	-0.01	1.98*	-0.74	-0.07	1.70$^\Delta$
Metis	0.65	1.22	1.55	-0.05	-0.26	-0.58	0.50	-0.31	-2.28*
Native Canadian	1.10	1.45	0.94	-0.03	-0.59	-1.28	0.45	-0.13	-1.73$^\Delta$
Western Canadian	0.93	1.85	3.01**	0.46	0.55	0.29	0.57	0.56	-0.03

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 13a Ethnic Identities: Changes Over Time for Males on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			*Potency*			*Activity*		
African	0.27	1.23	2.68**	0.15	0.17	0.06	0.69	0.66	-0.10
Australian	1.04	0.72	-1.03	0.29	0.25	-0.13	0.37	0.49	0.41
Austrian	1.04	0.71	-1.14	0.37	0.33	-0.17	0.33	0.16	-0.64
Belgian	0.69	0.56	-0.54	0.46	0.29	-0.56	-0.15	0.02	0.63
Black	0.92	1.18	0.73	0.16	0.40	0.70	0.71	0.70	-0.03
Briton	0.72	1.25	1.43	0.48	0.42	-0.17	-0.04	0.27	0.68
Chinese	0.45	0.30	-0.51	-0.41	-0.01	1.36	0.34	-0.05	-1.35
Czech	0.52	0.61	0.34	-0.30	0.10	1.39	0.07	0.16	0.37
Dane	0.70	1.14	1.22	0.10	0.63	1.58	0.00	0.66	2.26*
Dukhobor	0.28	0.37	0.21	-0.06	0.31	0.79	-0.22	-0.17	0.09
Dutchman	0.64	0.83	0.69	0.40	0.47	0.25	0.12	0.20	0.29
East Indian	0.14	0.67	1.47	-0.79	0.15	2.67**	0.00	0.17	0.54
Estonian	0.71	0.36	-0.95	-0.50	-0.09	0.99	-0.21	0.00	0.52
Finn	0.96	0.80	-0.52	0.35	0.14	-0.82	0.08	-0.03	-0.33
German	0.38	0.36	-0.07	0.77	0.64	-0.44	-0.08	0.22	1.07
Hungarian	0.41	0.81	1.36	-0.03	0.50	2.36*	0.07	-0.17	-0.81
Icelander	0.46	0.63	0.81	0.29	-0.09	-1.46	0.00	0.20	0.93
Irishman	0.91	0.54	-1.25	0.09	0.10	0.04	0.59	0.06	-1.87Δ
Italian	0.70	0.52	-0.43	0.35	0.37	0.07	1.04	0.28	-2.77**
Jamaican	0.92	0.83	-0.27	-0.16	-0.01	0.51	0.84	0.39	-1.54
Japanese	0.69	0.79	0.37	-0.07	0.15	0.80	-0.14	0.44	2.21*
Jew	0.36	0.81	1.45	0.32	0.20	-0.42	-0.14	0.12	0.85
Lebanese	0.04	-0.01	-0.15	-0.09	-0.07	0.08	0.70	0.16	-2.09*
Lithuanian	0.76	0.25	-1.81Δ	-0.13	0.01	0.63	-0.13	0.24	1.69Δ
New Zealander	0.39	0.68	0.93	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.26	0.38	0.52
Norwegian	0.74	0.67	-0.26	0.58	0.29	-1.12	-0.05	-0.02	0.10
Pakistani	0.21	0.84	1.53	-0.68	-0.30	1.06	0.21	0.19	-0.06
Pole	0.67	0.83	0.46	0.04	0.65	1.75Δ	-0.13	-0.15	-0.06
Portuguese	0.30	0.24	-0.20	-0.09	-0.03	0.21	0.43	0.28	-0.49
Romanian	0.13	0.42	1.08	0.22	0.14	-0.28	-0.13	-0.02	0.37
Russian	0.11	0.27	0.69	0.44	0.34	-0.32	-0.15	-0.01	0.53
Scot	1.19	1.00	-0.59	0.48	0.17	-0.93	0.43	-0.16	-1.69Δ
Slovakian	0.65	0.18	-2.05*	0.15	0.07	-0.30	-0.35	-0.07	1.00
Swede	1.24	0.70	-1.79Δ	0.60	0.30	-1.32	0.20	0.50	1.01
Swiss	0.96	1.29	1.14	0.60	0.19	-1.51	-0.04	0.51	1.75Δ
Syrian	-0.46	0.15	1.86Δ	0.21	-0.32	-1.52	0.79	-0.25	-3.70***
Ukranian	0.68	0.53	-0.51	0.32	0.28	-0.16	0.00	-0.27	-1.37
Welshman	0.73	0.93	0.66	0.23	0.20	-0.13	0.31	-0.21	-1.71Δ
West Indian	0.68	0.38	-1.08	-0.29	0.17	1.66Δ	0.36	0.23	-0.53
Yugoslavian	0.17	0.55	1.30	0.35	0.10	-1.02	0.13	0.11	-0.09

Δp<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 13b Ethnic Identities: Changes Over Time for Females on Evaluation, Potency and Activity

Identity	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t	1981	2001	t
	Evaluation			Potency			Activity		
African	0.45	1.69	4.12***	-0.12	0.01	0.45	0.73	1.05	0.89
Australian	1.45	1.36	-0.25	0.45	0.39	-0.25	0.83	0.95	0.40
Austrian	1.23	1.00	-0.77	0.23	0.19	-0.21	0.43	0.23	-0.82
Belgian	0.63	0.86	0.83	0.23	-0.16	-1.61	0.67	-0.21	-3.40***
Black	0.90	1.80	2.49*	0.10	0.68	1.73$^\Delta$	0.60	1.05	1.54
Briton	1.12	0.47	-1.70$^\Delta$	0.23	0.21	-0.08	-0.15	-0.13	0.06
Chinese	0.36	0.70	1.16	-0.15	-0.08	0.25	0.24	-0.04	-1.01
Czech	0.46	0.74	0.93	-0.04	0.02	0.24	0.00	-0.45	-1.88$^\Delta$
Dane	0.41	1.27	2.09*	0.77	0.72	-0.11	0.50	-0.40	-1.71$^\Delta$
Dukhobor	0.81	-0.72	-1.38	-0.56	0.67	1.25	-0.06	1.39	0.73
Dutchman	1.28	0.89	-1.20	0.31	-0.02	-1.34	0.17	-0.45	-2.04*
East Indian	1.07	1.12	0.15	-0.52	0.02	1.85$^\Delta$	-0.14	-0.04	0.37
Estonian	0.94	0.76	-0.46	0.18	0.16	-0.05	0.00	-0.17	-0.44
Finn	0.85	1.17	0.87	0.26	-0.04	-1.54	-0.11	0.13	0.94
German	0.33	0.53	0.56	0.76	0.24	-1.51	0.45	-0.28	-1.92$^\Delta$
Hungarian	0.57	0.59	0.06	0.40	-0.07	-2.37*	0.35	0.05	-1.08
Icelander	0.43	0.98	1.93$^\Delta$	0.03	0.07	0.16	-0.13	-0.11	0.09
Irishman	1.24	1.34	0.26	0.40	0.22	-0.48	0.88	0.23	-1.45
Italian	1.48	1.24	-0.65	0.52	0.82	0.81	0.87	-0.15	-2.69**
Jamaican	0.60	1.24	2.06*	-0.40	0.37	3.38***	0.57	0.77	0.68
Japanese	0.77	0.98	0.63	0.40	-0.01	-1.37	0.33	0.14	-0.56
Jew	0.96	1.39	1.12	0.52	-0.19	-2.11*	-0.12	0.15	0.74
Lebanese	0.04	0.68	1.79$^\Delta$	0.17	-0.07	-0.83	0.61	-0.08	-2.53*
Lithuanian	0.41	0.87	1.40	-0.19	-0.25	-0.28	-0.04	-0.02	0.10
New Zealander	0.84	1.24	1.20	0.10	0.20	0.53	0.00	0.56	2.22*
Norwegian	1.07	0.96	-0.37	0.40	-0.12	-2.46*	0.50	0.00	-2.22*
Pakistani	0.17	0.81	2.23*	-0.73	-0.31	1.39	0.03	-0.35	-1.38
Pole	0.54	0.18	-0.83	-0.36	-0.41	-0.13	-0.29	-0.37	-0.22
Portuguese	0.78	1.18	1.23	-0.09	-0.11	-0.06	0.30	-0.03	-1.31
Romanian	0.50	0.66	0.49	0.10	-0.08	-0.97	0.07	-0.38	-1.81$^\Delta$
Russian	0.21	0.12	-0.28	0.75	0.59	-0.48	0.04	-0.17	-0.77
Scot	1.22	1.42	0.49	0.52	0.42	-0.32	-0.13	-0.06	0.20
Slovakian	0.33	0.62	1.00	-0.03	-0.05	-0.08	0.27	-0.12	-1.78$^\Delta$
Swede	1.23	0.96	-0.84	0.35	0.29	-0.21	0.54	0.59	0.17
Swiss	0.67	0.92	0.92	0.37	0.27	-0.52	0.17	0.55	1.37
Syrian	0.33	0.50	0.51	0.08	-0.07	-0.63	0.25	0.36	0.33
Ukranian	0.48	0.88	1.16	0.16	-0.10	-1.22	0.16	-0.05	-0.71
Welshman	0.72	1.14	1.22	0.34	0.03	-1.26	0.00	-0.45	-1.45
West Indian	0.33	0.90	1.83$^\Delta$	-0.21	0.02	0.82	0.00	-0.06	-0.30
Yugoslavian	0.74	0.60	-0.49	0.23	-0.37	-2.11*	0.13	-0.07	-0.78

$^\Delta$p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 (two-tailed tests)

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