

Names and Titles: Maiden Name Retention and the Use of MS.

Donna L. Atkinson
Department of Languages, Literature and Linguistics
York University
North York, Ontario M3J 1P3
Canada

In my study on Ms.-use and maiden name retention, three hypotheses were tested: 1) women who use Ms. and women who keep their maiden name will be stereotyped as being young, career-oriented, not religious, independent, assertive, well-educated, unattractive and feminist; 2) more extreme stereotypes of these women will be found among people who are male, older, less well-educated, religious, and non-feminist than among those who are female, younger, more highly educated, not religious, and feminist; and, 3) there will be a strong positive correlation between stereotypes of women who use Ms. and stereotypes of women who retain their maiden name.

In order to test these hypotheses, a questionnaire was distributed to a stratified sample of 325 people, eliciting, both directly and indirectly, their stereotypes and attitudes concerning Ms.-use and name retention. The data were analyzed by means of the SPSS subroutines ANOVA and Pearson Correlation. The results showed that while stereotypes were not especially strong, they did lean in the direction predicted by Hypothesis 1 for all characteristics except youthfulness and unattractiveness. These latter two features were not part of the stereotypes at all. In some respects, the data supported Hypothesis 2, but contrary to predictions, the age of the subjects was not a significant factor in forming their stereotypes. Feminist orientation of the subjects was eliminated from the statistical analysis because the subjects contradicted both themselves and others on what they thought feminism was, and on whether or not they were feminists. The other independent variables -- sex, level of education, and degree of religiousness -- all showed up as significant with respect to some features of the stereotypes, but none was significant for all features. As predicted, there were very strong positive correlations between stereotypes of Ms.-users and those of women who retain their maiden name.

Non-statistical examinations of the data revealed that few people understood what the term "Ms." was and why it was used. One of the most frequent ideas was that Ms. should be used for divorced or widowed women. This idea seemed to lead to a three-category system for identifying women: AVAILABLE (Miss), TAKEN (Mrs.), and USED BUT AVAILABLE AGAIN (Ms.). A slightly more insightful and equally popular idea was that Ms. was useful in business when one did not know the marital status of a woman with whom one had to deal. Although a third of the unmarried women in the survey said that they would not change their name if they married, the majority said that they would change it, citing tradition as their reason. Only one man said that he would consider changing his name to his wife's if he got married. The other men said that they would not change their name, and frequently cited reasons such as "I'm a man" to support their position.

This study shed some empirical light on the topic of Ms.-use and maiden name retention, as well as providing insight into some of the problems which inevitably intrude upon any attempt at doing a large study on a controversial subject.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MAIDEN NAME RETENTION

by

Sheila M. Embleton and Ruth King*

Introduction

Women who have retained their maiden name after marriage have often been stereotyped and been the object of negative criticism from other women, from men, and from society at large. In this paper we cite some anecdotal evidence to this effect from history (mostly from the last one hundred years in North America) and from the present-day. To our knowledge, there has as yet been no statistical survey specifically documenting present attitudes toward women who retain their maiden name, although there have been studies of the legal history of a woman's right to retain her maiden name after marriage (in particular Stannard 1977, 1984, although these cite mostly United States examples) and books or pamphlets of a 'do-it-yourself' nature explaining to women the technicalities of how to retain their maiden name or how to change back to a maiden name even if still married (for Canadian examples, see David 1979 and Mungall 1977).

The present paper presents the results of such a statistical survey, examining stereotypes/attitudes towards women who retain their maiden name.¹ The two principal variables investigated are education and sex of the respondent. The results are somewhat surprising (at least based on the personal experiences of the present investigators²), since they indicate that stereotypes are not particularly well-formed and

* Dr. Embleton is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at York University. Dr. King is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics at York University.

- 1 We are using the term *maiden name* because it is the most commonly used term. Many people prefer to use the term *birth name*, to avoid connotations of the word *maiden*.
- 2 Both of the present investigators are happily married and have retained their maiden names.

that attitudes towards maiden name retention cannot be construed as particularly negative. We would like to emphasize, however, that the results are but tentative and preliminary, merely indicating an interesting area for future research (with, of course, a larger survey and a substantially redesigned questionnaire). We must also caution that this paper deals only with laws, customs, and attitudes within the English-speaking world; although some cultures will display certain similarities to this, many will be completely different. We are also considering only outright retention of a maiden name, not hyphenation or various forms of combination (e.g. compounding; a blend of one syllable from each name; etc.).

Legal Right to Maiden Name Retention

Although it is not the main purpose of this paper, we feel it would be appropriate to review very briefly the history and current status of the legal right of a woman to retain her maiden name after marriage. A more detailed treatment of the legal history, particularly for the United States, can be found in Stannard 1977 and Stannard 1984.

When the use of surnames started to become common in English in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it slowly became usual for women to adopt their husband's surname upon marriage. These women were avail-ing themselves of the general right under English law (at the time) for any person to change surname at will. Although the practice of adopting the husband's surname was common, it was by no means universal, as the following few examples will show. Amongst the upper classes and particularly in court circles, it was reasonably common until well into the seventeenth century for women to retain (and actively use) their maiden name after marriage. One need only list the wives of Henry VIII (reigned 1509 to 1547) to find some examples: Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, Catherine Parr. If the woman's surname indicated a well-connected or wealthy family, she was more likely to retain her surname. Indeed, in such cases, there are instances of a man adopting his wife's surname upon marriage. Occasionally it was even a condition of inheritance for a husband to adopt the wife's name, often in situations where her father had no male heirs "to carry on his name", indicating that a concern with "carrying on the family name" is by no means merely a modern ob-session.

By the 1800s it had become almost universal for a woman to change her surname to that of her husband upon marriage, although there were still exceptions, involving both particular individuals and certain geographical areas. For example, records from Dorset in 1865 show that a married woman often retained her surname and even passed it on to

3 In such situations hyphenation was also common, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

her children. In Scotland the husband's surname was regarded as an alias for legal purposes, so that a Janet McNeil married to a Douglas Wallace would sign "Janet McNeil or Wallace" on legal documents.⁴ It should be emphasized that any name change upon marriage was purely customary and not compelled by law, and indeed this has remained the case right up to the present-day in Britain and in Canada (outside of Quebec).⁵

Until the late 1800s, the situation in the United States was essentially the same as that in Britain and in Canada, being based also on British common law. But a series of legal interpretation decisions, beginning in 1879, changed this in practice to a legal compulsion to adopt the husband's surname upon marriage. Ironically, these interpretations actually stemmed from an interpretation of divorce law, which gave the court the power to restore a maiden name after divorce. This was interpreted to mean that a woman must have lost her maiden name upon marriage, or else how could it be restored upon divorce?⁶ This was the state of affairs in the United States until the late 1960s and early 1970s, when a new wave of feminism caused the question to be re-opened. A series of legal decisions in the United States beginning in 1972 essentially re-established the old common law right for anyone, including married women, to use the surname of their own choice. Incidentally, the previous interpretation based on divorce law was shown to be faulty; the court had the power to restore a maiden name after divorce if there had been a name change, just as it had the power to award custody of children if there were children. Obviously if there had been no name change, there would be no need to restore a maiden name, just as there would be no need to award custody of children if there were no children. The earlier faulty interpretation which resulted in a legal compulsion to adopt the husband's surname was just as faulty as would have been an interpretation of that same divorce law resulting in a legal compulsion for a couple to have children!

4 This was also the case in Quebec prior to 1981.

5 Since 1981, women in Quebec automatically retain their maiden name upon marriage. They must make legal application if they wish to adopt the husband's surname.

6 As reported in *The Toronto Star* (November 5, 1983), Ontario Supreme Court judge E.G. McNeely chose to interpret a passage in the Change of Name Act (referring to whether a person's name has ever been changed other than by marriage) as proof that marriage automatically changes a woman's surname. He then handed down a divorce decree to a woman who had never used her husband's surname using the husband's surname with the maiden name appearing as an alias. The woman subsequently appealed, the judge's ruling was overturned, and his interpretation of the Change of Name Act was shown to be faulty in exactly the same way as the faulty interpretation of United States divorce law referred to above.

Informal Considerations of Attitudes toward Maiden Name Retention

As briefly sketched in the previous section, women in Canada, Britain, and the United States do at the present time have the legal right to retain a maiden name after marriage. Most women (some estimates (Stannard 1984:126) are even as high as 99%) however do continue to change their name upon marriage, and, those who bother to think about it at all, usually cite either custom or negative attitudes of other people towards maiden name retention as their reason for adopting the new surname. The few women who do retain their name are generally involved in a profession, and have often established themselves in that profession before marriage and hence under a maiden name. Indeed, it is the fact that women who retain their maiden name are almost entirely concentrated in academic and professional circles which sometimes gives the false impression to other people in these academic and professional circles that the percentage of women retaining maiden names must be very high, probably even over 50%.

Women who have retained their maiden name (or who had previously intended to retain their surname but have been dissuaded from doing so) will be familiar with the types of argument raised against maiden name retention. We will present a small sample of these arguments representing negative attitudes here, all culled from our own experiences or from those of close friends.

- 1) "Don't you love your husband? If you really loved him you would be proud to bear his name".
- 2) "What's wrong with your husband's name? It sounds fine, and isn't difficult to spell or anything like that".
- 3) "But what will you call the children? It would be odd if your name were different from theirs, and hyphenation is impractical".
- 4) "People will think that you're just living together, and you wouldn't want that, would you"?
- 5) "It's just too complicated and impractical. How should letters and invitations be addressed? The bank will get confused. There won't be enough space on the mailbox for two names".
- 6) "But marriage will turn you into a new person, and you should show this by having a new name" (compare Alia 1984, who refers to various major transitions in life being marked by a new name, including, for example, immigration to a new country).
- 7) "How will your friends (e.g. from school) know that you're now married if you don't change your name"?
- 8) "That's just selfish".
- 9) "What does it matter anyway--any name is as good as any other, so use his".

- 10) "People will think your husband is weak. Remember how they sneered at Joe Clark because Maureen McTeer kept her name, and asked how he could possibly run a country when he couldn't even keep his own wife in line"?
- 11) "People will stereotype you as one of those feminist extremists, and you wouldn't want that, would you"?
- 12) "A common surname bounds a family together".
- 13) "People will think that you don't expect the marriage to last if you don't change to his surname".
- 14) "But it's always been done that way".
- 15) "But I'm sure that's not legal".
- 16) "If you don't change to his surname, you won't get any alimony if you get divorced".
- 17) "It will cost you 65¢/month extra to have a second name in the phone book".

There are other comments often made, but this is enough to get the flavour. It is interesting to note that these comments seem to come from all sectors of society-men and women, old and young, educated and less educated, wealthy and not so wealthy, etc. The comments also seem to come from both sides of a woman's family (i.e., both from her own family and from her prospective in-laws).

Women who have retained their maiden name do of course also receive support and encouragement. We present here a small sample of arguments representing positive attitudes, again from our own experiences and from those of friends.

- 1) "You've already established a professional reputation under that name. People won't be able to follow your work easily if you change your name. Your work is well-known and well-respected under that name--your name is your best reference".
- 2) "It would be really confusing if you were both Dr. Smith (or Prof. Smith). At least this way, you'll be Dr. Jones and he'll be Dr. Smith, so there'll be no confusion".
- 3) "Marriage doesn't really change you--you're still the same person. So why should you change your name"?
- 4) "It's a sign of independence, to show that you're not dominated by your husband".
- 5) "I'm proud of my family too".
- 6) "I wish I had kept my name. I'm married now for the third time.

Here I am at age 40 and on my fourth surname. No wonder my banking records are in a real mess".

- 7) "When I got married, I kept my surname professionally but used my husband's surname socially. I really felt like "Dr. Jekyll and Mrs. Hyde". Besides, sometimes cheques arrived in my married surname, and I couldn't even cash them, because all my bank accounts were in my professional name. It's best to have only one name at a time, and if you want to use your maiden name professionally, then keep it socially too".
- 8) "If you change your name, how will your old friends find you if they happen to pass through town"?

Again, other comments are often made, but it is not necessary to list them all here.

Statistical Survey of Attitudes towards Maiden Name Retention

The previous section has given some informal idea of the positive and negative attitudes to be found towards maiden name retention. Negative attitudes seem to us to be more prevalent than positive attitudes in society at large, but the evidence is purely anecdotal and therefore not wholly reliable. In order to make the evidence more reliable, some type of statistical survey documenting these attitudes would be necessary.

It is a well-known pitfall of sample survey research (Huff 1954:24-25, 132-133; Reichmann 1961: 263; Moser and Kalton 1971:379, 385-388; Stadler 1983:18-19) that many interviewees attempt to please the interviewer, and therefore "second-guess" the interviewer's attitudes, telling them what they want to hear. This is virtually impossible to avoid, but one can alleviate the problem somewhat by asking one's questions indirectly. Thus our approach in this pilot study was to attempt to find the characteristics which the interviewee considered "stereotypical" of a woman who chose to keep her maiden name after marriage, using a questionnaire format. The characteristics investigated were: appearance, age, assertiveness, educational level, North American or European upbringing, religious or non-religious affiliation, orientation towards job or family/home, urban or rural upbringing, and feminist or non-feminist orientation. For each characteristic, the question followed the model: "Would you consider a woman keeping her maiden name after marriage to be younger, older, or either"? Information was also collected about each respondent's age, sex, place of birth (and number of years in Canada, where appropriate), occupation, and educational level. In order to maintain a small sample size and yet find some respondents who were likely to have positive attitudes as well as some who were likely to have negative attitudes, interviews were

conducted⁷ at a campus pub and at a strip bar/off campus. This is obviously not ideal, but serves to elicit enough data for a pilot study in a reasonably short length of time. A total of 21 interviews were conducted in the campus bar (14 men, 7 women), and 22 in the strip bar (17 men, 5 women; all the women were employees).

Following Anderson 1983, we chose to consider as "stereotypical characteristics" any characteristic which more than 50% of the respondents considered to belong to a woman retaining her maiden name. The results were tabulated according to the various characteristics of the respondent. Because of space limitations, we will just summarize the major results.⁸

1. Sex of Respondent (See Table 1)

For the 31 male respondents, the only characteristics (of the nine characteristics examined) which can be considered stereotypical of women who retain their maiden name are assertiveness (58%) and orientation towards a job rather than home or family (55%). An urban upbringing came close (45%), but is outweighed by a 48% "either" on this question.

For the 12 female respondents, only assertiveness (58%) meets our "over 50%" criterion, but orientation towards a job rather than home or family (50%), youth (50%), university education (42%), North American upbringing (50%), urban upbringing (42%), and feminist orientation (50%) all come close.

2. Education-Level of Respondent (See Table 2)

For the 24 respondents with some university education (all 21 respondents from the campus bar and 3 from the strip bar), the characteristics which can be considered stereotypical are assertiveness (58%), urban upbringing (58%), and orientation towards a job (54%).

For the 19 respondents with no university education (all from the strip bar), the characteristics which can be considered stereotypical are assertiveness (58%) and orientation towards a job (53%).

Discussion and Conclusion

With a small and only quasi-random sample, we should be cautious

7 We would like to thank Pegeen Anderson for conducting these interviews for us, particularly in the rather difficult conditions she encountered in the strip bar.

8 All of the raw data are available from the authors upon request.

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in drawing any conclusions, but a few tentative statements can be made. First, the results are remarkably consistent over the sex and education variables, indicating that the stereotype does not change much with these characteristics of the respondent. In other words, the stereotype of a woman who keeps her maiden name after marriage doesn't much depend on the sex or education level of the respondent. Second, the stereotype indicated seems to involve principally assertiveness and orientation towards a job, with urban upbringing being frequently mentioned. Third, the stereotype does not really seem to be very strong in two senses: the highest percentage obtained is only 58%, and only two or three of the nine characteristics tested meet the criterion for stereotypical. In contrast then to the anecdotal evidence, this statistical survey indicates that stereotypes are not particularly well-formed. Informal comments solicited during the interview and written down by our interviewer also indicate that attitudes towards maiden name retention cannot be construed as negative. It should be noted however that the pitfall mentioned above, whereby respondents tell the interviewer what she wants to hear, may have arisen here. A future study would have to attempt to alleviate this by, for example, using a mixture of older and younger as well as male and female interviewers.

It is interesting to note that the group for which the most attributes were stereotypical or close to stereotypical was the female group. This may reflect two facts. First, since this whole question really affects females rather than males, it is probable that females have thought about this question more than males have thought about it. In fact, young females in the age range of 20 to 25 years old seem to have thought the most about this question; females both older and younger than this age range seem more inclined to answer "either" for the nine characteristics.⁹ In particular though, males are more likely to avoid one of the polar answers and simply answer "either", which should perhaps be more accurately interpreted as "don't know".¹⁰ A future questionnaire should of course be revised to allow for this.

9 It is Dr. King's experience in asking female students (in her "Language and Sex" course at York University) that females under 20 have seldom considered the question of maiden name retention as it might affect them personally, probably because they have not yet thought about marriage, whereas females over 20 are more likely to have considered the question of maiden name retention, presumably because they are more likely to have considered marriage.

10 A significant number of men interviewed in the strip bar didn't even know what it meant for a woman to maintain her maiden name after marriage, or what the term "feminist" meant; our interviewer patiently attempted to explain. Even so, many still confused "feminist" with "feminine". Thus, it is obvious that they had never considered the question before, and hence that "either" may well mean "don't know".

Second, respondents' attitudes often reflect a certain perception of themselves rather than of other people (this is often found in surveys; see Anderson 1983 for an example) and this longer list of attributes considered as stereotypical or near stereotypical by the young female group may simply reflect the way many young women today see themselves, rather than the way women see women who retain their maiden name.

In general, our results are very similar to those of Anderson 1983, who investigated attitudes and stereotypes concerning women who use the title "Ms.". Her study suffered from many of the same shortcomings as ours, for example small sample size, young female interviewer only, inadequate information gathered concerning the respondent (e.g. marital status, does the respondent personally know a woman maintaining her maiden name/using the title "Ms.", etc.), lack of true randomness, insufficient age range of respondents, and so on. The results of our pilot study and that of Anderson 1983 are sufficiently interesting and topical¹¹ to warrant a more carefully designed, larger scale study incorporating more variables.

¹¹ As an indication of how topical this subject is, the delivery of this paper at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Names on June 11, 1984, in Guelph, Ontario, resulted in five requests for media interviews, and was covered in the Guelph Mercury the following day.

| Characteristic of woman retaining maiden name | Sex of Respondent | |
|--|-------------------|---------------|
| | Male (n=31) | Female (n=12) |
| appearance - ugly | 6.5% | 0.0% |
| - good-looking | 6.5% | 16.7% |
| - either | 87.0% | 83.3% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| age - old | 3.2% | 8.3% |
| - young | 35.5% | 50.0%* |
| - either | 61.3% | 33.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 8.3% |
| assertiveness - assertive | 58.0%** | 58.3%** |
| - passive | 6.5% | 8.3% |
| - either | 35.5% | 33.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| education - university | 25.8% | 41.7%* |
| - high school | 12.9% | 8.3% |
| - less than high school | 9.7% | 0.0% |
| - any of the above | 51.6% | 50.0% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| upbringing - North American | 25.8% | 50.0%* |
| - European | 3.2% | 0.0% |
| - other (please specify) | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| - any of the above | 51.6% | 50.0% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| religion - religious | 6.5% | 8.3% |
| - non-religious | 35.5% | 33.4% |
| - either | 54.8% | 58.3% |
| - no answer | 3.2% | 0.0% |
| orientation - to job | 54.9%** | 50.0%* |
| - to family/home | 3.2% | 8.3% |
| - either | 38.7% | 41.7% |
| - no answer | 3.2% | 0.0% |
| upbringing - urban | 45.2%* | 41.7%* |
| - rural | 3.2% | 8.3% |
| - either | 48.4% | 50.0% |
| - no answer | 3.2% | 0.0% |
| orientation - feminist | 38.7% | 50.0%* |
| - non-feminist | 3.2% | 8.3% |
| - either | 54.9% | 41.7% |
| - no answer | 3.2% | 0.0% |

TABLE 1: Perceived characteristics of women retaining maiden name according to SEX OF RESPONDENT

** indicates characteristic is stereotypical

* indicates characteristic is close to stereotypical

| Characteristic of woman retaining maiden name | Education-level of Respondent | |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Some University (n=24) | No University (n=19) |
| appearance - ugly | 0.0% | 10.5% |
| - good-looking | 0.0% | 21.1% |
| - either | 100.0% | 68.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| age - old | 0.0% | 10.5% |
| - young | 41.7%* | 36.8% |
| - either | 58.3% | 47.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 5.3% |
| assertiveness - assertive | 58.3%** | 57.9%** |
| - passive | 4.2% | 10.5% |
| - either | 37.5% | 31.6% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| education - university | 33.3% | 26.3% |
| - high school | 4.2% | 15.8% |
| - less than high school | 4.2% | 15.8% |
| - any of the above | 58.3% | 42.1% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| upbringing - North American | 33.3% | 31.6% |
| - European | 4.2% | 0.0% |
| - other (please specify) | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| - any of the above | 62.5% | 68.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| religion - religious | 4.2% | 10.5% |
| - non-religious | 33.3% | 36.8% |
| - either | 58.3% | 47.4% |
| - no answer | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| orientation - to job | 54.1%** | 52.6%** |
| - to family/home | 4.2% | 5.3% |
| - either | 37.5% | 42.1% |
| - no answer | 4.2% | 0.0% |
| upbringing - urban | 58.3%** | 26.3% |
| - rural | 0.0% | 10.5% |
| - either | 37.5% | 63.2% |
| - no answer | 4.2% | 0.0% |
| orientation - feminist | 41.6%* | 42.1%* |
| - non-feminist | 4.2% | 5.3% |
| - either | 50.0% | 52.6% |
| - no answer | 4.2% | 0.0% |

TABLE 2: Perceived characteristics of women retaining maiden name according to EDUCATION-LEVEL OF RESPONDENT

** indicates characteristic is stereotypical

* indicates characteristic is close to stereotypical

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“NAMES CAN NEVER HURT ME?”

The Effects of Surname Use on Perceptions of Married Women

Claire E. Etaugh
Bradley University

Judith S. Bridges
University of Connecticut, Hartford

Myra Cummings-Hill and Joseph Cohen
Bradley University

Research has shown that a woman's selected title of address affects perceiver impressions of her (e.g., Dion, 1987). This study adds to our understanding of the effects of chosen identity labels on perceptions of women by examining impressions as a function of a married woman's surname use. A total of 222 female and male students at a private university read a brief description of a woman who, at the time of her marriage, decided to take her husband's name, keep her maiden name, or use a hyphenated name. Participants rated the stimulus person on 51 traits along 7-point rating scales. The woman who took her husband's name was perceived as less agentic and more communal than women who either kept their maiden name or hyphenated their name.

Historically, a woman's title of address (Miss or Mrs.) has indicated her marital status, and her surname after marriage has linked her to her husband. However, in recent years a number of women have selected identity labels that break from long-standing patriarchal traditions. For example, some women use the title Ms. Additionally, some married women have chosen to retain their birth name (2%)

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Address correspondence and reprint requests to: Claire Etaugh, Department of Psychology, Bradley University, 115 Bradley Hall, Peoria, Illinois 61625. E-mail: cetaugh@bradley.bradley.edu

or hyphenate their maiden name with their husband's (5%) (Brightman, 1994). Moreover, between 16% and 47% of nonmarried women expect to use a name other than their husband's after marriage (Brightman, 1994; Twenge, 1997).

Studies show that adults perceive women who prefer the title Ms. as higher in agency (instrumental traits associated with the male role) and lower in communion (expressive traits associated with the female role) than traditionally titled women (e.g., Dion, 1987; Dion & Schuller, 1990). However, the effects of a traditional versus nontraditional form of surname on perceptions has not yet been examined. The current study investigated these effects. Consistent with the nontraditional stereotype associated with Ms. (e.g., Dion & Schuller, 1990), we predicted that a married woman who either retains her maiden name or hyphenates her name and her husband's name would be perceived as higher in agency and lower in communion than a woman who takes her husband's last name.

METHOD

During spring 1997 respondents rated their impressions of one of three 32-year-old married women described in a brief written paragraph. The stimulus person and her husband were presented as full-time journalists, a gender-balanced occupation (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999). The descriptions varied only in terms of the stimulus person's choice of surname: her husband's name (Sherman), her maiden name (Cook), or a hyphenated name (Cook-Sherman). Cook and Sherman were chosen because they are similar in attractiveness and competence connotation (Etaugh & Hill, 1996).

The original sample included 142 female and 104 male introductory psychology students at a private university comprised of approximately 91% White and 9% ethnic minority students. The dependent variables consisted of the 51 7-point bipolar scales used in Dion's studies of the Ms. stereotype (e.g., Dion, 1987). To ensure that our analyses were not based on responses that reflected participant unwillingness to form an opinion, the 8 female and 11 male respondents who gave a rating of "4" for at least 75% of the items were deleted from the sample (the findings were the same with and without these respondents). Also, 5 participants who could not correctly identify all of the manipulated and controlled information about the SP were eliminated. The final sample included 132 females and 90 males.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A varimax rotational factor analysis restricted to a three-factor solution yielded factors that had eigenvalues of 9.7, 7.6, and 2.3 and accounted for 19.1%, 15%, and 4.6% of the variance, respectively. Each factor comprised items with weights of .50 or higher. Factor 1, "agency," included 14 items reflecting interest in accomplishing tasks (e.g., ambitious, likes responsibility). Factor 2, "communion," comprised 11 items related to concern for the welfare of others (e.g., kind, nurturant) and two traits reflecting attractiveness. Factor 3, "industriousness," contained five traits indicating good work habits (e.g., works well under pressure, productive). The factor analysis converted the original 7-point scales to factor scores ranging

Table 1

F Values and Mean Factor Scores for Surname and Gender of Participant

| <i>Independent Variables</i> | <i>Factors</i> | | | | <i>Industriousness</i> | |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|------|
| | F | <i>Agency</i> | F | <i>Communion</i> | F | |
| Surname | 6.59*** | | 4.78** | | 1.91 | |
| Husband's name | | -.31 ^a | | .28 ^a | | -.11 |
| Maiden name | | .25 ^b | | -.12 ^b | | -.07 |
| Hyphenated name | | .07 ^b | | -.16 ^b | | .18 |
| Gender of participant | 5.31* | | 14.41**** | | 10.2*** | |
| Females | | .12 | | .20 | | .17 |
| Males | | -.18 | | -.29 | | -.25 |

Note: Column means for the surname variable with different superscripts differ significantly from one another at $p < .05$ by Tukey's honestly significant difference test.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .005$, **** $p < .001$.

from -1.00 to 1.00, with positive numbers reflecting high values. Because the factors were uncorrelated, these scores were analyzed using 3×2 (surname \times gender of participant) analyses of variance.

The stimulus person's surname yielded significant main effects for agency and communion. No interactions were significant (see Table 1). Tukey's honestly significant difference tests showed that, in support of our predictions, the woman who retained her maiden name and the woman who hyphenated her name were seen as more agentic and less communal than the woman who took her husband's name. Additionally, significant main effects of participant's gender indicated that females, compared to males, perceived the stimulus persons as more agentic, communal, and industrious.

Consistent with the evidence that the title Ms. serves as a powerful cue leading perceivers to construe the titleholder in a nontraditional manner (e.g., Dion & Schuller, 1990), our data show that women who do not follow the patriarchal norm of taking their husband's name after marriage, compared to women who do, are viewed in a less gender stereotypic manner.

One possible explanation is that perceivers assume a woman's surname choice reflects her personality. Correspondent inference theory (Jones & Davis, 1965) contends that freely chosen behaviors, more than externally constrained behaviors, are likely to lead to inferences about an individual's personality. Thus, perceivers might assume the decision to use a nontraditional surname after marriage reflects a nontraditional gender role orientation.

Eagly's (1987) social role theory provides another explanation. This model posits that individuals' roles influence the gender role traits attributed to them. Because wives who use nontraditional names tend to be highly educated and career-oriented (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995), perceivers are more likely to have observed women with nonconventional surnames in the workplace and possibly in high level positions rather than in the domestic role. Consequently, they expect these women to have traits associated with high status job roles.

These findings have implications for women, especially in the workplace. Dion (1987) suggested that women in the business world might benefit from using Ms. because many of the traits associated with the Ms. stereotype are consistent with the successful manager schema. Similarly, women in business or male-dominated fields requiring instrumentality could maximize their chances of being perceived as agentic by using a nonconventional surname. Those in helping occupations who want to be viewed as communal might benefit from using their husband's name. Of course, given that these traits are relevant, also, to nonwork social interactions, women should be aware that they may be making a general statement about their personality by their surname choice.

A person's name is generally one of the first cues available about her or him and evidence shows that information received first has a stronger influence on impressions than does more recently learned information (e.g., Jones, Rock, Shaver, Goethals, & Ward, 1968). However, we must be cautious about overemphasizing the impact of a woman's surname. Stereotyped perceptions are most likely when little information is available (e.g., Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980), and in the world outside of the laboratory, a woman's name is only one of many pieces of personal information influencing impressions of her.

Similar to previous findings (e.g., Dion & Schuller, 1990), women, compared to men, reported more favorable impressions of female stimulus persons. However, perceptions of surname types, like the Ms. stereotype (e.g., Dion, 1987), are similar across gender. Moreover, these perceptions are consistent with the Ms. stereotype demonstrated with several samples of both college and noncollege adults (e.g., Dion, 1987; Dion & Schuller, 1990). Thus, there is evidence for considerable cross-sample similarity in perceptions of nontraditional identity labels. However, although there is evidence that women of color, compared to White women, are more likely to want to use a nontraditional name after marriage (Twenge, 1997), the cross-ethnic consistency of neither surname nor title perceptions has yet been assessed. Thus, future research should examine the generalizability of surname perceptions to women of color.

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Formal Complaint Questionnaire Form - Narrative

Explain the nature of your complaint; include names of all parties involved, date(s) of the incident(s), and specific facts. Use additional paper if needed and attach to this Questionnaire.

Since I was married and legally changed my name in 2008 I have experienced effects on my workplace based on UHCL refusing to allow me to continue to use my professional (maiden) name in many areas of my worklife. This naming policy/procedure/practice differentially affects females, as we are more likely to change our names (as do 82% - 95% of females who marry in the US, see Attachments B, H, J). While the Social Security Administration does not track men's marriage-related name changes, it is estimated that approximately 5% of men change their last names upon marriage (Attachment S). This naming policy/procedure/practice is not job-related or necessary to the operation of the business. The most recent effect of this naming policy/procedure/practice started 8/26/2015, when UHCL moved to a new security system but has been an ongoing and known issue since I was married in 2008.

The current complaint:

This new security system requires all employees to be issued a new proximity ID card. The new ID card is used to get into buildings during times when the campus is closed. If I want to work on off-hours, as many faculty do, I need the new ID card to access my workplace (Attachment C). The new ID card is used to access many locked doors within our buildings including the back door to the suite in which my office is located. This back door is the closest entrance/exit to my office. The new ID cards are required in order to check out materials from our campus library (Attachment C), something I regularly need to do as a faculty member. Additionally, the new ID card is used to access the Faculty Club, a quiet area in which many faculty meetings and get-togethers are located (Attachment T). Without the new ID card I cannot access this area, excluding me from faculty gatherings unless another faculty member is present to allow me access. In the email informing employees of the new ID cards we were instructed to have the new ID cards on us at all times and it was implied that we would soon be required to wear the new IDs (See Attachments C & M).

When I went to have my picture taken, I noticed that my married (legal) name was listed on the sign-in sheet. I inquired of Joanne Slovacek, HR Employment Coordinator, as to whether my new ID card would list my professional name (as all my ID cards have in the past, with one exception described below) or would list my married name. She replied that she didn't know because "it was probably a PeopleSoft issue", but that I should ask Paul Ayala, UHCL Police Technical Services Commander, who was taking the pictures. Refusing to sign-in under my married name, I entered the picture-taking area and inquired of Mr. Ayala. He informed me that it "was a PeopleSoft issue" and that he could not assure me of the correct name being used on the

ID card, but that he would make sure my professional name was correctly entered into the system. I sat for my picture.

Upon receiving notice that our new ID cards were available, I went to the hall outside of HR on 8/26/2015 with a colleague to pick up my ID. When I arrived I was informed by Ms. Slovacek and Abby Varela, HR Senior Employment Coordinator, that HR would not print my ID card because it would not have my professional name on it and that I should consider hyphenating my name or having my card printed with my professional name as my middle name. Seeing the lanyards for wearing the new ID cards being given out, I inquired if we were required to wear them and was told that we were not required yet, but that we would have to wear them "soon." I asked Ms. Slovacek if Nicole Eslinger (at the time, Interim Director of HR) was the person I should speak to about this issue and she confirmed. Shortly thereafter my current ID card stopped functioning on the back door to my office suite.

I composed and sent an email to Nicole Eslinger the same day, asking for a meeting to resolve this ongoing problem (Attachment D). Ms. Eslinger emailed back on 8/29/15, explaining what the new ID cards are used for and telling me that it was a "security issue" not a PeopleSoft issue as I had been told by Ms. Slovacek of HR and Mr. Ayala of the UHCL Police. She also suggested that I get my ID card printed with the name "Carol Carman Bartsch" and implied that the UHCL Police were ok with that compromise (Attachment N). I replied to Ms. Eslinger on 9/1/15, addressing this and the previous name issues (Attachment E), explaining why I believed this was a violation of federal employment discrimination law and again asking for a meeting to resolve this ongoing problem. I copied Ms. Eslinger's manager, Vice President for Administration Michelle Dotter, who oversees HR, on the email. I received no answer from Ms. Eslinger or any other individual for a month.

After a month of silence and inability to use my suite's back door, I contacted Dr. Richard Baker, Assistant Vice Chancellor/Vice President of Equal Opportunity Services at UH main campus for assistance. After speaking with me, he suggested I arrange a meeting with both Ms. Eslinger and Interim Police Chief Allen Hill. He volunteered to attend the meeting as well, provided it was at a time he could attend. I emailed Ms. Eslinger the same day (10/1/15) to arrange a meeting (Attachment U). We arranged a meeting for 10/7/15.

At the meeting I shared my concerns with both Ms. Eslinger and Chief Hill. Dr. Baker asked questions of all parties. Chief Hill stated the naming policy/procedure/practice was based on "best practices" rather than any formal policy. At one point Dr. Baker stated that, although I had not yet filed a formal complaint, after hearing my concerns he could see how this naming policy/procedure/practice might appear to be differentially affecting females, as they tend to change their names more than males. I asked Chief Hill about HR's proposed solution to the naming issue by printing my new ID card as "Carol Carman Bartsch" and asked if that was in line with his best practices. Chief Hill stated that, as "Carol Carman Bartsch" was not my legal name, it would not be in compliance with best practices. Dr. Baker told Ms. Eslinger and Chief

Hill that UHCL's naming policy/procedure/practice was not the same as the practice at UH main campus, where individuals could self-identify by the name they chose if they had a legitimate reason for doing so. He also stated that he believed I had a legitimate professional reason for doing so. Dr. Baker urged Ms. Eslinger and Chief Hill to consider making accommodations to their naming policy/procedure/practice on a case-by-case basis. At the end of the meeting, Ms. Eslinger and Chief Hill agreed to consider their practice and respond quickly. Two weeks later (10/21/15) I received an email stating that everyone would be using their legal names on their ID, no exceptions (Attachment F). This naming policy/procedure/practice, although appearing unbiased on the face as it is applied to everyone without exception, differentially affects female employees and can have effects on their work situation.

Research about the effects of this naming policy/procedure/practice:

The situational use of a maiden name for females is common in the US. Approximately 12% of women reported sometimes using their maiden name and sometimes using their married name. About 80% of women who reported situational use of their maiden names used their maiden names in professional situations (Attachment B). The use of a professional name for females is common. Working women were more than twice as likely to report situational use than were women who did not work. Highly-educated women (such as university faculty) were more likely to report situational last name use than were women with lower levels of education (Attachments B & H).

Females who change their names professionally can experience detrimental effects in the workplace, particularly for female university faculty. A large portion of the Annual Review and Promotion and Tenure process for faculty is related to our publications and national recognition, both of which suffer when women do not retain their professional name (Attachment G).

“...women elected to keep their surnames to protect the value of their contacts, publications and professional goodwill.” “Women with advanced degrees, occupations in the arts and writing and longer careers before marriage would appear more likely to retain their names” (Attachment I).

Research has found effects of using a husband’s name in how the woman is viewed in the workplace (Attachments A, J, K, L). “The woman who retained her maiden name ... were seen as more agentic and less communal than the woman who took her husband’s name” (Attachment K). “Women’s surnames are used as a cue for judgment.” “A woman with her own name ... was judged as ... more independent, more ambitious, more intelligent, and more competent” (Attachment L). The use of a married name can also have effects on a woman’s job prospects. “A job applicant who took her partner’s name, in comparison with one with her own name, was less likely to be hired for a job and her monthly salary was estimated €861,21 lower (calculated to a working life, €361.708,20)” (Attachment L).

History of other naming policy/procedure/practice effects at UHCL:

One of the first effects of UHCL's naming policy/procedure/practice that I encountered after marrying was my legal name being listed in the online course schedule instead of the name my students know me as, my professional name. Upon this discovery, I immediately asked that it be changed back to my professional name, only to be told that it was a "PeopleSoft issue." This practice continues to this day (Attachment Z). This is a problem for several reasons. First, it makes it difficult for students to know who is teaching the courses. In difficult classes like research and statistics, enrollment can be affected by word-of-mouth recommendations from fellow students. If students are told by their peers, "Dr. Carman is great for Stats, you should take her," but they can't find me on the course schedule to enroll in my course because I'm not listed under my professional name then my enrollment numbers suffer. This has Annual Review ramifications for me as one of our rating categories is based in part on student enrollment numbers (Attachment R). This has also been a problem for students requiring services. I was informed at the start of this semester a student's letter from disability services was unable to reach me because Disability Services was looking for Dr. Carol Carman as the student told them, not Dr. Carol Bartsch as is listed in the course schedule. This could prevent me from being able to offer timely accommodations to my students. Additionally, my husband also teaches at UHCL and is Dr. Bartsch. We both teach some similar courses, including statistics and research, although in different schools. We have both received mail/email/phone calls meant for the other because we are both listed as Bartsch. Allowing me to use my professional name could prevent this confusion.

When faculty teach at an off-campus location there is often a mailbox system in place for students to leave messages/items for faculty. Whenever I have taught off-campus, at both Cinco Ranch and UHCL Pearland, my faculty mailbox has been labeled Bartsch (Attachment Y). This makes it difficult for students to find my mailbox to leave me important information or assignments.

Every year the School of Education produces faculty rosters for internal distribution so that faculty and staff within SoE can contact each other. My professional name is regularly changed on those rosters either by hyphenation or replacement of my middle or last name (see Attachments P & Q for examples). This makes it difficult for our faculty and staff to know how to refer to me. I have had several ask me what name I should be called by (Attachment EE). Often other internal campus mail comes addressed to me as Carol Bartsch (see Attachment DD for an example). Our school produces a publicly accessible online biography for each faculty member, and mine was listed as "Carol Carman-Bartsch" I had to make several attempts to get this corrected (Attachment FF) before it was finally changed. This is a problem as an incorrect name on my online biography could lead to problems with my external reputation. A strong state, regional, or national reputation is a requirement for career advancement to Full Professor (Attachment GG), so this effect of UHCL's naming policy/procedure/practice could affect my career advancement.

In order to access research databases offered by the UHCL Library, something every faculty member does regularly, you must sign-in using your ID number and last name. Since marrying, my library sign-in name has been changed to Bartsch. I have been informed when I inquired that it was also a “PeopleSoft issue.” This also used to be the case for the Inter-Library Loan system, but that has been changed with a recent move to a new ILL system and now requires our regular computer sign-in that does not involve my married name. However, items I request under ILL are often filed under Bartsch, which means the library assistant has a difficult time finding my orders when I go to pick them up.

When I married, I was not immediately required to change my ID card, so I was able to keep my professional (maiden) name on my ID. However, in July 2013, the outside lock was changed on my office suite and all suite members were required to get new ID cards. When I picked up my new ID card I noticed that my legal name was printed on it. I called Katherine Justice, at that time Executive Director of HR and UHCL’s Affirmative Action Officer, to schedule an appointment to attempt to resolve the ongoing issues, including the ID card, informally. I approached Ms. Justice because of her role as the EEO contact person for UHCL. When I did not hear back from her after a week, I emailed her to again request a meeting (Attachment AA). She replied on the same day and we scheduled a meeting for the following day, 7/16/13. At the meeting I explained to her the ongoing issues I had been experiencing due to UHCL’s naming policy/procedure/practice and that I felt those ongoing problems were discriminatory in nature and could be a EEOC violation. She promised to look into the naming policy/procedure/practice and respond by the end of the week (7/19/13). When she had not responded by the time stated, I emailed her again on 7/23/13 to find out the status of her investigation (Attachment BB). Ms. Justice immediately contacted me to tell me that the ID card name change was accidental due to PeopleSoft and that I could get a new ID card made with my professional name by contacting Mr. Ayala, UHCL Police Technical Services Commander. She also informed me that her investigation into the other “PeopleSoft-related” naming issues was ongoing. I immediately contacted Mr. Ayala to initiate a change in ID card to my professional name (Attachment CC). Attachment O details the attempts Ms. Justice was making to address the naming policy/procedure/practice issues. She appeared to understand the gravity of the effects, going as far as to take it to system-level committees and escalate it to VP Dotter (Attachment O, email of 7/23/13). However, shortly after the email of 8/6/13 I was informed in a very brief email from Ms. Justice that no further changes were possible due to “PeopleSoft issues” that were occurring at a UH System level. Other than successfully changing my ID back to my professional name, not other changes were made at that time.

Other issues:

PeopleSoft vs. Security – I have been told on multiple occasions (See Attachment O for an example) that the reason my married name kept appearing in areas other than those legally necessary was due to issues with PeopleSoft. This was given as an excuse from when this issue started seven years ago until as recently as 8/26/15. Now I am being told that it’s a “security

issue” based on “best practices.” UH main campus, which also runs PeopleSoft, appears to be able to accommodate professional names and other reasons for going by a preferred name. The changes in explanation for why this issue keeps occurring at UHCL suggests that using professional or preferred names is not an actual problem or concern, but rather an administrative inconvenience to accommodate. My understanding is that there is repeated legal precedence for administrative inconvenience not being a legal justification for forced name change (e.g. O’Brien v. Tilson (O’Brien v. Tilson, 523 F. Supp. 494, 496 (E.D.N.C. 1981)) and Jech v. Burch (Jech v. Burch, 466 F. Supp. 714, 716 (D. Haw. 1979))).

Legal name (Carol Ann Bartsch) vs. First Maiden Last (Carol Carman Bartsch) vs. professional name (Carol A. Carman) – It was suggested by HR on multiple occasions (including as recently as 10/7/15) that changing my ID card to “Carol Carman Bartsch” would solve this ongoing issue. If the naming policy/procedure/practice is to only allow the legal name on ID cards then that repeated HR suggestion is incorrect as “Carol Carman Bartsch” is not my legal name. HR’s repeatedly suggesting use of a non-legal name when the naming policy/procedure/practice states only a legal name will suffice is inconsistent and suggests that the naming policy/procedure/practice is arbitrary.

“Best Practice” - The explanation by Chief Hill that this naming policy/procedure/practice is due to “best practice” appears suspect. UHCL has enjoyed exceptionally low crime rates among universities since at least 2005 and during that time has never required legal names to appear on ID cards. The 2015 UHCL Annual Security Report includes no mention of the need for legal name on ID cards (Attachment V). The UHCL Ask the Chief FAQ states that “any person on UHCL property” may be required to show ID, but does not state that this ID must be a UHCL ID (Attachment W). The legal code to which the FAQ refers (Texas Education Code 51.209) states “Identification may be required of any person on the property” but does not state this must be a university ID (Attachment X). The certification body for our UHCL police force is CALEA. Their standards (<http://www.calea.org/content/standards-titles>) do not appear to address ID cards. I was unable to find any documentation of this “best practice” for legal names on university ID cards. I was, however, able to find many documents from universities across the nation that accept the use of preferred (non-legal) names on their university ID cards (for example, Wesleyan -

http://www.wesleyan.edu/registrar/general_information/preferred_name.html, Purdue -
<http://www.purdue.edu/business/card/faq.html#whatspreferred>, University of Texas -
<http://www.dailytexanonline.com/news/2012/04/16/new-policy-will-allow-transgender-students-to-list-their-preferred-name-on>, Indiana University -
<http://policies.iu.edu/policies/categories/academic-faculty-students/university-student-services-systems/USSS-15-preferred-name.shtml>, University of Michigan -
<http://www.finance.umich.edu/treasury/mcard/preferred-name>). It appears to be “best practices” in the University community to allow students, faculty, and staff to use their preferred name on university identification cards as well as in other university information systems.

According to UH System policy, "Harassment – Defined as subjecting an individual on the basis of her or his membership in a Protected Class to unlawful severe, pervasive or persistent treatment that constitutes: ... An intimidating, hostile or abusive learning, living or working environment or an environment that alters the conditions of learning, living or working; or An unreasonable interference with an individual's academic or work performance." I consider the ongoing repeated refusal to resolve this naming issue, the persistent and pervasive problems listed above related to UHCL's naming policy/procedure/practice that I and other females have experienced and continue to experience on an ongoing basis, and finally the refusal to issue an ID card which serves as my entry key to my workspace, my access to needed resources, and that I am expected to carry on me at all times to be harassment. I have documented that HR has been aware of this issue for years and has not corrected the ongoing problems.

I have made many previous good-faith attempts to resolve these issues without filing a formal complaint. After the last communication from Ms. Eslinger (Attachment F) I feel I have no choice but to file this formal complaint in order to get this ongoing issue finally resolved.

Making a Name: Women's Surnames at Marriage and Beyond

Claudia Goldin and Maria Shim

Throughout U.S. history, few women have deviated from the custom of taking their husband's name (Stannard, 1977). The earliest known instance of a U.S. woman who retained her surname upon marriage is Lucy Stone, the tireless antislavery and female suffrage crusader, who married in 1855. In the 1920s, a generation after her death in 1893, prominent feminists formed the Lucy Stone League to help married women preserve the identity of their own surnames. But until the late 1970s, almost all women, even the highly educated and eminent, assumed their husband's surname upon marriage. When prominent women who married before the 1970s wished to keep their maiden names as part of their professional image, they sometimes used their maiden names as their middle names, like the U.S. Supreme Court Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Sandra Day O'Connor.

Ordinary observation suggests that during the past 25 to 30 years, the fraction of college graduate women retaining their surnames has greatly increased. But the basic facts concerning women's surnames as a social indicator have eluded investigation because none of the usual data sets contains the current married and maiden surnames of women. This article seeks to estimate the fraction of women who are "keepers" and the factors that have prompted women to retain their surnames.

We use three complementary sources—*New York Times* wedding announcements, Harvard alumni records and Massachusetts birth records—to examine patterns of surname retention. The *New York Times* and Harvard alumni records include college graduates almost exclusively. But because non-college graduate women retain their surnames with far less frequency than college graduate women

■ Claudia Goldin is Henry Lee Professor of Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. She can be reached at cgoldin@harvard.edu. Maria Shim graduated in the Harvard University class of 2001 and is currently working in San Francisco, California.

(less than one-third as often, according to the birth record data), our concentration on the latter is deliberate. Each data set we use covers a select group of women and contains data on their surnames at particular life cycle moments. The *New York Times* gives surnames at the moment of marriage. The alumni records for Harvard undergraduates give surnames at marriage and beyond, while the Massachusetts birth records reveal a mother's surname at the moment of her child's birth. Thus, part of our task is to resolve differences in estimates from each of these sources and to extrapolate from these groups to all college graduate women.

A woman who keeps her name at marriage may not retain her name throughout her married life. The arrival of children, for example, might lead her to change her name to avoid the possible confusion of having two last names in one household. We have found, however, that among the Harvard class of 1980, in which 52 percent of women kept their names upon marriage, just 10 percent reverted to their husband's names subsequently. We discuss the details of this sample later.

We begin with a brief overview of the legal, social and economic changes that led more women to keep their surnames at marriage. We find that the fraction of all U.S. college graduate women who kept their surnames upon marriage rose from about 2 to 4 percent around 1975 to just below 20 percent in 2001. It seems likely that the fraction of women "keeping" their maiden name rose sharply in the 1970s and 1980s, but declined slightly in the 1990s.

Legal, Social and Economic Change in the 1970s

Custom was largely responsible for the preponderance of women who did not keep their surnames at marriage. But the legal, social and economic institutions supporting this custom began to shift in the 1970s: the laws that pressured women to take their husband's names changed; the appellation "Ms." became acceptable; the age at first marriage rose; and the number of advanced academic degrees received by women increased.

Under common law, a married woman is not compelled to take her husband's surname, yet the laws of various states have deprived women of rights, such as retaining their driver's license and voter registration, if they did not assume the surname of their husband. It was not until 1975, for example, that the Supreme Court of Tennessee in *Dunn v. Palermo* (522 S.W. 2d 679) struck down a law requiring that a married woman register to vote under her husband's surname. The court cited the state constitution's adoption of common law under which, with few exceptions, an individual can choose any name. By the mid-1970s, these legal restrictions were generally overturned or ignored (for example, Augustine-Adams, 1997).

Back in 1855, Lucy Stone bore the appellation "Miss," which was otherwise reserved for unmarried women. For many decades, most women who retained their maiden name also retained the title "Miss." The appellation "Ms." solved the obvious social problem of what to call a married woman who retained her surname. Although, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the use of "Ms." dates from

1952, the term did not gain much notice until the appearance of *Ms. Magazine* in 1972. Usage spread rapidly, but there was initial resistance. In 1984, the *New York Times* (May 24, 1984, p. C10) reported of Gloria Steinem's fiftieth birthday party, "that proceeds from the . . . dinner will go to the Ms. Foundation . . . which publishes *Ms. Magazine* where Miss Steinem works as an editor."

Not until June 20, 1986, did the *New York Times* (p. B1) announce: "Beginning today, the *New York Times* will use 'Ms.' as an honorific in its news and editorial columns. Until now, 'Ms.' had not been used because of the belief that it had not passed sufficiently into the language to be accepted as common usage. The *Times* now believes that 'Ms.' has become a part of the language and is changing its policy. The *Times* will continue to use 'Miss' or 'Mrs.' when it knows the marital status of a woman in the news, unless she prefers 'Ms.' 'Ms.' will also be used when a woman's marital status is not known."

The age at first marriage among college graduate women increased substantially with cohorts born after 1950. Cohorts born from the 1930s to 1950 married within a year or two after college graduation. In the 1950 cohort, for example, more than 50 percent married before they turned 23 years old. But for those born in 1957, just 30 percent married before age 23 and less than half the cohort had married by the time they were 25 years old. Between the cohorts born from 1950 to 1957, the median age at first marriage among college graduate women increased by two years. The median college graduate woman born in 1950 married in 1973; the median college graduate woman born in 1957 married in 1982. Median age at first marriage for the 1965 birth cohort was about 26.5 years.¹

At the same time that the age at first marriage rose, the fraction of college graduate women continuing their education in professional and Ph.D. programs began to soar. For example, in the mid-1960s, the ratio of first-year female law students to female B.A.'s was 0.5 percent. By 1980, it was 3.3 percent—a nearly seven-fold increase. In the field of medicine, the ratio of female first-year medical students to female B.A.'s was 0.4 percent in the mid-1960s; by the early 1980s, the figure had tripled to 1.2 percent (Goldin and Katz, 2002). Among Ph.D.'s granted (excluding those in education), the increase from 1970 to 1990 was about 1.7 times. For Ph.D. programs, the increase has continued beyond the early 1980s, whereas in law and medicine the ratio of female first-year students to female B.A.'s has remained at about the level achieved in 1980.²

The Pill—the female oral contraceptive—began to diffuse among young single women in the late 1960s and early 1970s, even though it had rapidly spread among *married* women within a few years after its federal approval in 1960. The reason for the later diffusion of the Pill among young unmarried women concerns a set of

¹ Estimates of age at first marriage are from the Current Population Survey, Fertility and Marital History Supplement, 1990 and 1995. See also Goldin and Katz (2002). The age at first marriage is from 1995 data, thus the fraction married is truncated at age 45 for the 1950 cohort and at age 38 for the 1957 cohort. The potential bias is to underestimate the median age at first marriage for the younger cohort.

² It should be noted that the fraction of (U.S. native-born) women who completed at least four years of college was fairly stable at 25 percent by age 35 for cohorts born from 1950 to 1960, after which it began a meteoric rise to today's level of around 35 percent (De Long, Goldin and Katz 2003).

restrictive laws and social norms, both of which changed in the late 1960s (Goldin and Katz, 2002).

Armed with the Pill, a young woman could minimize the unintended pregnancy consequences of sex and delay marriage. She could plan an independent existence at an early age—one not defined solely by marriage and motherhood. She could enter an advanced degree or professional program with far greater assurance that an active sexual life would not jeopardize her studies. By increasing the age at first marriage and allowing more women to continue with their studies, the Pill was one important cause of the increase in surname retention.

For all of these reasons, one would expect college graduate women to have retained their surnames to a far greater extent beginning sometime between the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Taken together, these factors suggest that more women found themselves in a situation where they had already “made a name” for themselves in a profession, business or among friends and colleagues before marriage. Like the brand names of consumer goods, women elected to keep their surnames to protect the value of their contacts, publications and professional goodwill. A greater number of women might also have kept their surnames as a means of preserving their personal identity (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000), along with their professional one. Davis and Robinson (1988) offer some supporting sociological evidence on how women versus men defined their identities within marriage across the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, there was both a greater incentive for women to keep their surnames and doing so became easier both legally and socially.

The social pressure for women to change their names upon marriage has lessened, but still exists. Yet the act of marriage is not enough to accomplish a name change. A certificate of marriage simply enables the woman to change her name without filing further legal documents. There is no single place in the U.S. government that stores your “legal” name. Rather, the new bride must write to various authorities to change her name on, for example, her driver’s license, vehicle title, voter registration, U.S. passport, bank records, credit cards, medical records, insurance forms, wills, contracts and, most importantly, Social Security and Internal Revenue Service documents. To make the process less cumbersome, “bride name change kits” tailored for each state are sold on the Internet.

Levels and Trends in Surname Retention

The data sets we have compiled, when used in tandem, can reveal the levels and trends in surname retention from 1975 to the present. We first discuss data from wedding announcements in the *New York Times* from the mid-1970s to 2001; then data from Massachusetts birth records from 1990 to 2000; and finally data from the Harvard class of 1980. Each of these data sets presents the researcher with problems of selection and coverage, which we will discuss as they arise.

Evidence from the *New York Times*

Wedding announcements are typically submitted by the couple to the *New York Times* and then selected by the staff. The announcements generally provide information on the bride's and the groom's undergraduate colleges as well as their advanced degrees and schools, their occupations, parents' occupation(s), place of marriage and who officiated at the ceremony. Announcements in the *Times* are mainly about couples whose families reside in the greater New York City region and who are sufficiently prominent or newsworthy to merit inclusion. The *Times* sample is therefore skewed toward more prominent families independent of where the couple went to college.

The data come from the "society page" of the Sunday Style Section of the *Times*. We compiled two types of samples: a time-series sample containing data on surname retention from 1975 to 2001 and two cross-sections, containing all available information on every marriage announcement in 1991 and 2001. The time-series information was recorded from marriage (not engagement) announcements for eight weekends; specifically, every sixth weekend beginning with the first weekend in February and ending in December. (Beginning in 1995, marriage announcements appear only in the Sunday edition of the *Times*.) This procedure created a data set of 250 to 300 marriages per year and almost 7,000 for the 26-year period. For the cross-section data sets, we collected variables on announcement date, names and ages of bride and bridegroom, religious or civil nature of the ceremony and the place, occupations and education of bride and bridegroom and occupations of both sets of parents.

The reason for using 1991 and 2001 as the basis for the cross-section data is that it was not until 1989 that announcements routinely gave the age of the bride and groom, and age is an important factor in determining whether a woman will change her name. We stopped the data collection in 2001 because by 2002, the *Times* altered its coverage in ways that made comparability to previous years more difficult. For example, it expanded its coverage to include "commitment" ceremonies of single-sex couples, and over the late 1990s, it appears to have broadened the selected couples by race and ethnicity. More important for our coding, the announcements changed their format to one that is often more chatty and personal. A substantial fraction of them are now impossible to code with respect to surname retention by the bride, which is the main focus of our investigation.³

In writing an announcement, the editor uses information provided by the couple regarding education, occupation and type of ceremony. Other material, including the surname the bride will use after the wedding, is gathered by a *Times* fact-checker *after* the announcement is selected for inclusion. In our count, brides are coded as "keepers" if they stated they would retain their surnames socially and/or professionally. All others are deemed "changers"—those taking the groom's surname, those hyphenating their names and those for whom no information is given (they either chose not to provide the information or the writer

³ For another article using the *Times* data to explore "nonconventional" names, see Scheuble, Klingemann and Johnson (2000).

chose not to include it). The “no information” category is often a large fraction of the total, and we have found that it almost always consists of women who changed their name.

Table 1 provides the categorization of name-keepers and changers from the *New York Times* data. The basic story is that the fraction keeping their surnames was 2 percent in 1975 and 4 percent in 1976, but increased to about 10 percent by 1980 and then to 20 percent by the mid-1980s. A plateau of around 20 percent was maintained for about ten years. The fraction increased once again after 1998, and the latest data show that about 33 percent of brides will keep their surnames. However, interpreting these data raises a number of questions.

We attempted to get a feel for how the *Times* collected this information and what changes have occurred over time by direct communication with Robert Woletz, the current Society News editor.⁴ For example, Woletz said that beginning in 1999 *Times* fact-checkers explicitly asked the couple if the bride was keeping her surname for all functions or just “professionally.” This change does not seem to have had much influence in our data, since the broad trends of “keepers” are given by those who keep their surname for all functions. Clearly, not too much should be made of year-to-year variation in this data, and even the broad trends must be interpreted with care.

Second, we classify those whose announcements did not reveal name change or retention information as “changers.” The large variation over time in the fraction of announcements that gave no information on surname retention should not be too disturbing since writing styles differ among those crafting the announcements, and there is turnover in the position of “wedding announcement writer.” It seems clear to us that the vast majority of those with no information given in the announcement were changers and this is probably true even for couples who did not offer such information to the fact-checker. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the relatively small share of those who felt strongly enough to keep their surname seem unlikely to have held back from telling the *Times* about it. Also, we matched a few of the brides to our data from the Harvard class of 1980, and those whose announcements did not reveal anything about their surname after marriage were unanimously “changers.”

Third, we are fairly confident that the rise in “keepers” from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s and the flattening of that trend in the 1990s both reflect real phenomena; as we will see, it is confirmed by the other data sources. However, we

⁴ According to Robert Woletz, Society News editor of the *New York Times* (personal correspondence with Goldin), inclusion in the *Times* reflects the “newsworthiness” of the wedding. Woletz also informed Goldin that the “fact checker” asks the couple if the bride will retain her maiden name socially or professionally or if the bride will change her name to that of her future husband or if the bride (and groom) will hyphenate their names. Some couples report to the fact checker that they have not thought seriously about the issue. In that case, the writer uses an oblique reference to “the bride” and “the groom.” The information provided by Woletz is relevant to the *Times* in 2002 and for several years before. Woletz did not know what previous procedures had been. Woletz would not comment on the relative numbers of submitted and accepted announcements nor on the possibility that “newsworthiness” changed over time.

Table 1

Keepers and Changers in *New York Times* Sample: 1975 to 2001

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------|
| Year | Keeps surname | | | | Changes surname | | | |
| | For all functions | Only professionally | "Keepers" | Take husband's surname | No information listed | "Changers" (4) + (5) + (6) | Number of observations | |
| | (1) | (2) | (1) + (2) | Hyphen surname | | | | |
| 1975 | na | na | 0.020 | 0.005 | 0.377 | 0.598 | 0.980 | 204 |
| 1976 | na | na | 0.040 | 0.023 | 0.364 | 0.572 | 0.960 | 173 |
| 1977 | na | na | 0.069 | 0.000 | 0.328 | 0.603 | 0.931 | 204 |
| 1978 | na | na | 0.098 | 0.000 | 0.392 | 0.510 | 0.902 | 153 |
| 1979 | na | na | 0.093 | 0.005 | 0.252 | 0.650 | 0.907 | 214 |
| 1980 | 0.078 | 0.012 | 0.090 | 0.000 | 0.213 | 0.697 | 0.910 | 244 |
| 1981 | 0.061 | 0.024 | 0.086 | 0.004 | 0.318 | 0.592 | 0.914 | 245 |
| 1982 | 0.074 | 0.026 | 0.100 | 0.000 | 0.258 | 0.642 | 0.900 | 229 |
| 1983 | 0.093 | 0.048 | 0.141 | 0.011 | 0.256 | 0.593 | 0.859 | 270 |
| 1984 | 0.122 | 0.057 | 0.179 | 0.022 | 0.367 | 0.432 | 0.821 | 229 |
| 1985 | 0.143 | 0.121 | 0.264 | 0.004 | 0.468 | 0.264 | 0.736 | 231 |
| 1986 | 0.108 | 0.118 | 0.226 | 0.018 | 0.570 | 0.186 | 0.774 | 279 |
| 1987 | 0.096 | 0.092 | 0.188 | 0.018 | 0.401 | 0.393 | 0.813 | 272 |
| 1988 | 0.105 | 0.119 | 0.224 | 0.018 | 0.412 | 0.347 | 0.776 | 277 |
| 1989 | 0.172 | 0.027 | 0.199 | 0.021 | 0.620 | 0.160 | 0.801 | 332 |
| 1990 | 0.208 | 0.003 | 0.211 | 0.032 | 0.668 | 0.090 | 0.789 | 379 |
| 1991 | 0.201 | 0.003 | 0.205 | 0.014 | 0.597 | 0.184 | 0.795 | 293 |
| 1992 | 0.190 | 0.004 | 0.194 | 0.061 | 0.706 | 0.039 | 0.806 | 279 |
| 1993 | 0.220 | 0.000 | 0.220 | 0.048 | 0.560 | 0.173 | 0.780 | 336 |
| 1994 | 0.167 | 0.009 | 0.176 | 0.027 | 0.421 | 0.376 | 0.824 | 330 |
| 1995 | 0.213 | 0.000 | 0.213 | 0.034 | 0.456 | 0.297 | 0.788 | 320 |
| 1996 | 0.177 | 0.000 | 0.177 | 0.038 | 0.550 | 0.235 | 0.823 | 260 |
| 1997 | 0.163 | 0.000 | 0.163 | 0.019 | 0.504 | 0.314 | 0.837 | 258 |
| 1998 | 0.184 | 0.000 | 0.184 | 0.041 | 0.461 | 0.314 | 0.816 | 245 |
| 1999 | 0.209 | 0.055 | 0.264 | 0.034 | 0.464 | 0.238 | 0.736 | 235 |
| 2000 | 0.259 | 0.079 | 0.339 | 0.017 | 0.456 | 0.188 | 0.661 | 239 |
| 2001 | 0.237 | 0.089 | 0.326 | 0.032 | 0.465 | 0.177 | 0.674 | 1315 |

Note: na = not available; the information on professional versus for all functions was not taken for those years because the fractions keeping were very small.

Source: *New York Times* Time-Series Data Set, 1975 to 2001, described in the text. The data sample is much larger in 2001 because all of the entries for the year were used, not just the sample of eight weekends used for the other years.

are less certain as to whether the increase in keeping starting around 1998 reflects a real phenomenon, rather than some change in how the *Times* was selecting the weddings that it would cover. We will return to this subject as we discuss the other data sources.

Finally, it is instructive to use the *Times* data to estimate the rate of keepers in the general population. After all, *Times* weddings are not representative of those of all college graduates. *Times* brides are older than the average college graduate bride and are disproportionately from the eastern United States, graduates of elite private colleges and universities and possessors of advanced degrees. Our approach

here, using the detailed cross-section data for 2001, is to calculate an ordinary least squares linear probability regression in which the dependent variable is whether the woman kept her name. The independent variables are the bride's age, college characteristics and advanced degree, as shown in Table 2. The coefficients from the regression appear in column 1. When multiplied by the means of the *Times* 2001 data, given in column 2, they produce the results in column 4. The sum (given in the last row) is 0.323, meaning that about 32 percent of college-age women kept their surnames upon marriage in 2001 (about the same as the 2001 cell in column 3, Table 1). However, column 3 presents the independent variable means for the relevant U.S. population. Multiplying these means by the coefficients in column 1 has the effect of weighting the variables by the national averages. The resulting estimate, summed in the last row of column 5, is 0.185, meaning that 18.5 percent of college graduate women in the United States kept their names after marriage in 2001.

Looking more closely at the table, the most quantitatively important factor in the adjustment is age. Whereas 26 percent of all brides in 2001 were between 20 and 24 years, just 5 percent of those in the *Times* were. It is possible that the *Times* data are biased downward because of a selection on family background characteristics that are not observable to the researcher. It should be noted that we could not adjust for region since too few of the couples were from outside the east, and this bias could go in the opposite direction.

Evidence from Massachusetts Birth Records

Massachusetts is the only state (of which we are aware) that has publicly available birth records that include information on mother's surname, father's surname, parity (number of births to the mother) and mother's education and age, among other variables. Such data are available from Massachusetts since 1987. Various other states also have publicly available birth records, but do not have the actual surname of the mother and, instead, list only her "maiden" name. We use publicly available Massachusetts birth records for 1990, 1995 and 2000. We matched the parents' surnames (using, at most, the first five letters of each name) to determine whether the mother had a surname different from that of the father. All parents in the sample were legally married prior to the birth of the child. We looked only at first births.

An unmistakable aspect of the Massachusetts data, graphed in Figure 1, is the decrease in the fraction of "keepers" during the 1990s.⁵ This finding holds for all college graduates and also for those who continued beyond their B.A. Whereas 21 percent of college, graduate (white, U.S.-born) women having their first child at 25 to 29 years were "keepers" in 1990, just 13 percent were in 2000. For those with more than four years of college, the decrease was from 29 percent to 20 percent.

A more detailed analysis of these data brings out some additional findings. At

⁵ We have omitted mothers under 25 years old, because they were a small fraction of the college graduate group. For example, among white, U.S.-born, first-birth, college graduate women, 4.9 percent were under age 25 in 1990, 3.3 percent in 1995 and 2.1 percent in 2000.

Table 2

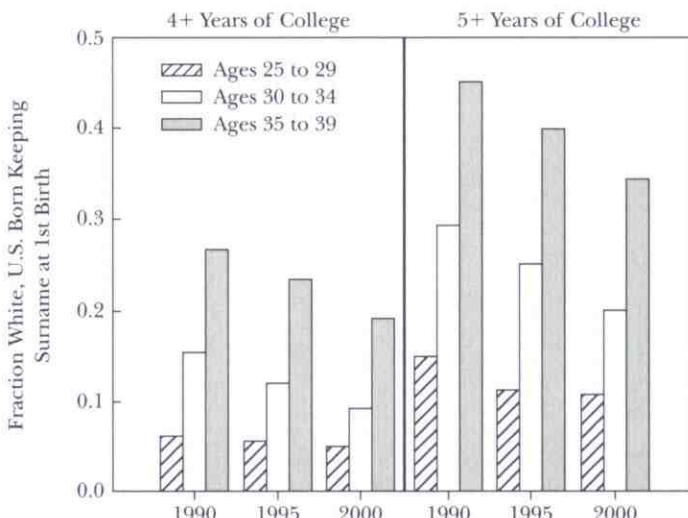
"Nationalizing" the Times 2001 Cross-Section

(Dependent Variable for Col. (1): Keeps surname at marriage)

| Variables | Coefficient | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----|
| | | Means of independent variables | | Computation of predicted values | | |
| | | Times 2001 | U.S. | Times 2001 (1) × (2) | U.S. (1) × (3) | |
| Constant | 0.450 | 1 | 1 | 0.450 | 0.450 | |
| <i>Bride characteristics</i> | | | | | | |
| Ages 20 to 24 | -0.492 | 0.0478 | 0.259 | -0.0235 | -0.127 | |
| Ages 25 to 29 | -0.347 | 0.409 | 0.420 | -0.1419 | -0.146 | |
| Ages 30 to 34 | -0.211 | 0.372 | 0.107 | -0.0785 | -0.0226 | |
| Ages 35 to 39 | -0.0492 | 0.104 | 0.074 | -0.0051 | -0.0036 | |
| Ages 40 plus (omitted) | 0 | 0.0672 | 0.043 | 0 | 0 | |
| Ivy league college | 0.158 | 0.271 | 0.014 | 0.0428 | 0.0022 | |
| "Top 25" liberal arts college | 0.145 | 0.0805 | 0.010 | 0.0117 | 0.0015 | |
| "Top 25" university | 0.0924 | 0.128 | 0.0575 | 0.0118 | 0.0053 | |
| "Seven sisters" college | 0.182 | 0.0414 | 0.003 | 0.0075 | 0.0005 | |
| M.A. | 0.0422 | 0.296 | 0.35 | 0.0125 | 0.0148 | |
| M.B.A. | -0.0291 | 0.0821 | 0.05 | -0.0024 | -0.0015 | |
| J.D. | 0.109 | 0.15 | 0.03 | 0.0164 | 0.0033 | |
| M.D., D.D.S., or D.V.M. | 0.241 | 0.0606 | 0.015 | 0.0146 | 0.0036 | |
| Ph.D. | 0.134 | 0.0566 | 0.03 | 0.0076 | 0.0043 | |
| Number of observations | 1,255 | 1,255 | | | | |
| Predicted values, Σ (4) or (5) | | | | 0.323 | 0.185 | |

Notes and Sources: The column (1) coefficients are from a standard OLS regression where the dependent variable is 0 or 1 depending on whether the woman kept her surname at marriage. Colleges are categorized using the 2001 *U.S. News and World Report* rankings, and the categories are unique; for example, the "top 25 universities" category omits the Ivy League institutions. The "top 25 universities" (minus the Ivies) are CalTech, Carnegie, Duke, Emory, Georgetown, Hopkins, MIT, Northwestern, Notre Dame, Rice, Stanford, UC Berkeley, UCLA, Virginia, Chicago, Michigan, North Carolina, Vanderbilt and Washington University. The top 25 liberal arts colleges (excluding the "seven sisters" that were in the top 25) are Amherst, Bates, Bowdoin, Carleton, Claremont-McKenna, Colby, Colgate, Davidson, Grinnell, Hamilton, Haverford, Middlebury, Oberlin, Pomona, Swarthmore, Trinity, University of the South, Washington and Lee, Wesleyan and Williams. The "seven sisters" school category includes Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Sarah Lawrence, Smith, Wellesley and Vassar, although most are no longer single sex, and one (Radcliffe) merged with Harvard University in 1972. Professional and graduate degrees are not mutually exclusive; that is, a woman could list both an M.A. and a Ph.D. or an M.D. and a Ph.D., although it was usual for the bride to list her highest post-baccalaureate degree.

For the U.S. means in column (2), the age distribution for "married within the year" is derived from the percentage ever married in the Current Population Survey January 2002 for all college graduate (B.A. or more) women. The derivation implicitly assumes that the distribution of the age at first marriage does not change over the period considered. For the distribution of institutions we use data for 1997/1998, when there were about 1.184 million B.A.'s produced. The fraction in the "top 25" universities includes a somewhat wider group (it includes the top 30 in *U.S. News and World Report* excluding the Ivies) than that defined in the *Times* data set. The *Times* weddings are disproportionately those from the greater New York City area, and we could not, in coding the colleges and universities, include a broader list than the "top 25" including the Ivies. In creating a "nationalized" mean we have tried to include institutions that are similar in their student body to those we coded for the regressions. Data for advanced degrees come from the *Digest of Education Statistics, 2002*, on-line. Ph.D.'s and professional degrees issued to women in 2001 are divided by B.A.'s in 1995; M.A.'s issued to women in 2001 are divided by B.A.'s in 1998.

*Figure 1***Fraction of Massachusetts Mothers Keeping their Surname at the Time of their First Birth: By Year, Age and Education**

Source: Massachusetts birth records. See text.

the beginning, this article explained its focus on college graduates by stating that those who are not college graduates are more likely to be "changers." According to the Massachusetts birth data, college graduates, relative to those without college, were two to five times more likely (depending on age) to retain their surnames at the time of their first birth, although such estimates are biased downward because the college graduates have a higher fraction without first births, and those who married and never had a first birth were more likely to keep their surnames upon marriage.

An unexpected finding from the Massachusetts birth records concerns the surnames of (U.S.-born) African-American women. The (unadjusted) mean for married college graduate African-American women at the time of their first birth (at age 30 to 34 years) was about 34 percent in the late 1990s, or almost double the fraction for the comparable group of white women. Perhaps more surprising is that the fraction keeping their surnames at the time of their first birth was about the same for those with no college, whereas that figure is extremely low among white women. As in the case of white women, we limit these samples to women who have not had a previous birth to eliminate the possibility of prior children from another father and thus that the woman has a different surname from the current father, but the same surname as some of her children.

Although the Massachusetts birth records include all births that occurred within the state and to parents whose official residence is in the state, certain biases still exist when using these data to estimate surname retention. For example, some mothers elect to be known in the hospital by their husband's surname even if they use their own surname in both social and professional circumstances. While we have no estimate for how often this occurs, there are two other biases for which we

can make a plausible adjustment. One issue in using birth records is that 18.6 percent of all ever-married college graduate (white) women who were age 38–43 years in 2000 had not had a first birth, according to the Current Population Survey Fertility Supplement 2000. If the fraction of "keepers" among these women was equal to that for women in the oldest age group of mothers, then the corrected fraction would add more weight to the oldest age group.⁶ We also assume that 12 percent of "keepers" at marriage revert to their husband's name after having their first child, a finding from the Harvard class of 1980 study (see below). In this way we attempt to transform the fraction of women who retained their surname at their first birth into one at the time of marriage.

Using these two adjustments, the fraction of name-keepers among college graduates across all ages was 23 percent in 1990, 20 percent in 1995 and 17 percent in 2000. The fraction in 2000 is quite similar to the datum we computed from "nationalizing" the *New York Times* data. The decrease in surname retention in the 1990s found in the birth data differs from that revealed in the *Times* data. Data from Harvard Alumni Surveys confirms the decline and reinforces our sense that selection into the *Times* data changed in the 1990s.

Evidence from Harvard Alumni Surveys

Data for all women in the Harvard classes of 1980 and 1990 were collected from the Harvard archives. The classes of 1980 and 1990 were chosen because the majority of the members of the former married in the late 1980s and those of the latter married in the late 1990s, a decade of a high, but possibly declining, fraction of women who kept their surname. Both classes have sufficiently long histories to allow us to observe whether life cycle transitions, such as having children, affect the decision to retain one's name. Information from the five-year reunion class books of 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000 was gathered for the class of 1980 and from the class books of 1995 and 2000 for the class of 1990. The class books are compiled by the Harvard Alumni Association, which sends questionnaires to graduates of the class, requesting information on their current name, address, occupation, graduate or professional degrees, spouse or partner name, date of marriage, occupation and education of spouse or partner and children with their dates of birth. When an individual did not respond to a questionnaire, information was imputed when such information was clearly factual. For example, if a woman stated in 1995 that she had been married in 1989 but did not respond to the 1990 questionnaire, we filled in that information. There were 603 graduates in the class of 1980 and 696 in the class of 1990. Across the entire two decades, 487 women of the 603 who graduated in 1980 responded to at least one of the five-year surveys.

Table 3 summarizes the results for the class of 1980. Of those who responded, 390 reported to have ever married, and of this total group, 52.3 percent did not

⁶ The reweighting implicitly treats the cross-section of women who had a first birth in a year as if it were a cohort of women. Those who had never had a first birth by age 40 are added in, and the fraction of "keepers" among the women who delayed child bearing to 35 to 39 years is attributed to those who never had a first birth by age 40.

Table 3

Name Changing through the Life Cycle: Harvard Class of 1980

| <i>A. Respondents who did not change surname at marriage</i> | | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Marriage interval</i> | <i>Percentage not changing in interval</i> | <i>Number married in interval</i> | <i>Number not changing in interval</i> |
| Before 1985, after 1980 | 38.3 | 107 | 41 |
| Before 1990, after 1985 | 58.2 | 153 | 89 |
| Before 1995, after 1990 | 57.1 | 91 | 52 |
| Before 2000, after 1995 | 56.4 | 39 | 22 |
| All years, 1980 to 2000 | 52.3 | 390 | 204 |

| <i>B. Surname change after marriage and after childbirth</i> | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| <i>Marriage interval</i> | (1) <i>Number not changing after marriage</i> | (2) <i>Percentage changing later, among (1)</i> | (3) <i>Number with children, among (1)</i> | (4) <i>Percentage changing later, among (3)</i> |
| 1980 to 1995 | 182 | 10.4 | 142 | 12.0 |

Source: Harvard Class of 1980 Data Set. See Data Appendix.

Notes: Part A: The survey closest to the time of marriage was used for the surname information. The number of observations is the "flow" of individuals into the "ever-married" state. Part B: The marriage interval does not include the last survey so that those who retained their name at marriage could have time to alter that decision.

change their last name to that of their husband's in the alumni survey nearest their marriage year.⁷ Those who married closest to college graduation had the lowest rate of surname retention: 38.3 percent of those marrying before 1985 did not change their surnames. For all subsequent survey years, the fraction keeping their names was about 57 percent.

The Harvard sample allows us to see the effects of life cycle transitions after marriage. The vast majority of women in the Harvard class of 1980 who retained their surname upon marriage continued to do so even after childbearing. Of those who did not change their surname upon marriage, about 10 percent changed subsequently (as shown in part B of Table 3). Within this group, 12 percent of those with children later changed their surname; just 5 percent did among those who did not list any children. Therefore, women with children have a higher tendency to take their husband's surname even if they did not do so at marriage. But the fraction that changed their surname after marriage is low, even among those with children.

Data from the Harvard Class of 1990 enables us to see if Harvard College women followed the downward trend in name retention that we found in the

⁷ The marriage rate among the group is higher than these data would imply, $(390/487) = 80$ percent, because some women responded in 1985 but not after, and most who married did so after 1985. By using the data from the last alumni survey, we compute that the marriage rate to 2000 was about 85 percent, which makes it comparable with other populations of highly educated women.

Massachusetts birth data. Mean years from graduation to marriage for those who married up to ten years out for the Harvard class of 1980 was 4.81 and was 5.24 for the class of 1990—a modest increase. However, we find a large decrease in the fraction of women who retained their surname comparing the two classes. From those in the class of 1980 who reported being married by 1990, 44 percent retained their surname. In the 1990 sample, of those who reported being married by 2000, only 32 percent retained their surnames—a sharp reduction.

Correlates of Name Retention

What distinguishes women who retain their surnames from those who change? A major possibility concerns whether the woman has already “made a name” for herself. Women with advanced degrees, occupations in the arts and writing and longer careers before marriage would appear to be more likely to retain their names. More traditional individuals, perhaps as indicated by a religious ceremony, would be less likely to retain their surnames. Family expectations and peer effects might matter, as well. We will see that all of these reasons come into play. We emphasize that we are looking at the *correlates* of name change and that we are not claiming to identify a causal relationship.

The New York Times Cross-Section Data Sets: 1991 and 2001

To explore the correlates of name retention, information was collected from *all* marriage announcements in the *New York Times* in 1991 and 2001. As previously noted, the typical announcement contains education, occupation, age and family background information for both bride and groom and the religious nature of the ceremony. Across all weekends in 1991, there were 1,958 marriage announcements, of which 91 percent gave the bride's age; in 2001, there were 1,315 announcements, of which 95 percent gave the bride's age. (We do not know why the number of wedding announcements decreased during the 1990s and whether the *Times* published fewer announcements or fewer couples of the desired prominence submitted their announcement.)

Couples in these announcements form a distinctive stratum in society. Almost all graduated from college. In 1991, 49 percent of brides graduated from one of the top 25 universities or top 25 liberal arts colleges as ranked by the 2001 *U.S. News and World Report*, a figure that rose slightly to 52 percent in 2001. In 1991, 49 percent of the brides had a post-baccalaureate degree like an M.A., Ph.D., J.D., M.D. and M.B.A. or were pursuing one—a total rising to 65 percent by 2001. The median age of the bride (among first marriages) was 28 years in 1991, rising to 30 years in 2001. In 1991, first marriages were 97 (96 in 2001) percent of the total for brides and 91 (92 in 2001) percent for grooms. Religious ceremonies were performed for 92 (89 in 2001) percent of the weddings. About three-tenths of the religious ceremonies were Jewish and one-fifth were Catholic, higher than national averages, but not surprising given the location of the *New York Times*.

We have estimated an ordinary least squares linear probability regression where the dependent variable is whether the bride kept her surname.⁸ Three groups of variables are included in Table 4—those concerning the bride, the groom and the ceremony.

Across the two years, 1991 and 2001, the fraction of women listed in the *Times* as keeping her surname at marriage increased (although, as we have noted, it probably did not increase in the nation as a whole). The age at first marriage rose considerably, and the fraction with advanced degrees also increased. But the changes in the observables are insufficient to explain the increase in “keeping.”

A religious ceremony is associated with a lower probability of keeping one's surname. Relative to the base group (civil ceremony), a Catholic ceremony is associated with an 8.8 (14.3 in 2001) percentage point decrease in the probability of “keeping,” and the effect is 8.5 (8.4) percentage points for a Jewish ceremony. Mixed religious ceremonies, as well as those for non-Western religions, had an equal effect as the base civil ceremony group in 1991, but were more like a Protestant ceremony in 2001.

Brides in their mid-twenties had a much lower probability of “keeping”—about 12 to 14 percentage points relative to brides older than about 30 years in 1991. The gradient of “keeping” with respect to age was greater in 2001 than in 1991 if one includes the youngest age group, which in 2001 was just 5 percent of the sample. Overall, a bride with an advanced degree had an increased probability of keeping her surname of about 14 percentage points in 1991.⁹ An M.A. degree was associated with a 9 percentage point decrease in 1991, less in 2001. Interestingly, M.B.A. degrees were about equal to the base group of no advanced degree. Brides with occupations in the arts, writing and the media had an 18 percentage point increased probability of “keeping” in 1991 (10 percentage points in 2001). Each of the effects just mentioned is consistent with a desire to keep one's surname, once one has “made a name.”

Graduation from an Ivy League school or a top-25 liberal arts college is associated with an 11 percentage point increase in 1991 and 14 percentage point increase in 2001 relative to any college or university ranked below number 25 in its class. Graduation from a “seven sisters” college is associated with an 8 percentage point increase in 1991 and a 16 percentage point increase in 2001. Graduation from other top universities has no effect relative to the base group.

Conditional on the bride's characteristics, few of the groom's observables like age, university or advanced degrees are associated with the bride's name retention, and we have included only those variables that were statistically and quantitatively

⁸ The main results are robust to the estimation procedure and are almost identical to those from a “logit” regression.

⁹ The increased coefficient on M.D., D.D.S. and D.V.M. is largely due to the inclusion of the group claiming to be keeping their surnames “professionally.” The coefficients for the professional and Ph.D. degrees are all about 0.10 if one includes those “keeping” professionally as “changers.”

Table 4

Correlates of Keeping One's Surname at Marriage: *New York Times*: 1991, 2001

| Variable | (1) 1991 | | (2) 2001 | | Means for cols. | |
|---|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------------|--------|
| | Coeff. | S.e. | Coeff. | S.e. | (1) | (2) |
| <i>Dependent variable: Bride kept surname at marriage</i> | | | | | 0.190 | 0.324 |
| <i>Ceremony</i> | | | | | | |
| Catholic | -0.0879 | (0.0377) | -0.143 | (0.0478) | 0.190 | 0.207 |
| Jewish | -0.0851 | (0.0353) | -0.0835 | (0.0450) | 0.306 | 0.298 |
| Protestant | -0.0533 | (0.0344) | -0.0992 | (0.0452) | 0.361 | 0.291 |
| Other religion or mixed | -0.0284 | (0.0463) | -0.0939 | (0.0550) | 0.0643 | 0.0996 |
| <i>Bride</i> | | | | | | |
| Ages 20 to 24 | -0.129 | (0.0572) | -0.413 | (0.0759) | 0.114 | 0.0478 |
| Ages 25 to 29 | -0.143 | (0.0523) | -0.285 | (0.0531) | 0.559 | 0.409 |
| Ages 30 to 34 | -0.0244 | (0.0537) | -0.169 | (0.0528) | 0.229 | 0.372 |
| Ages 35 to 39 | 0.0362 | (0.0606) | 0.00178 | (0.0618) | 0.0671 | 0.104 |
| Ivy league college | 0.110 | (0.0243) | 0.136 | (0.0307) | 0.203 | 0.271 |
| Top 25 university | -0.00353 | (0.0299) | 0.0844 | (0.0390) | 0.105 | 0.128 |
| "Seven sisters" college | 0.0754 | (0.0311) | 0.164 | (0.0636) | 0.0981 | 0.0414 |
| Top 25 liberal arts college | 0.114 | (0.0336) | 0.131 | (0.0474) | 0.0795 | 0.0805 |
| J.D. | 0.151 | (0.0271) | 0.115 | (0.0365) | 0.139 | 0.150 |
| M.D., D.D.S., or D.V.M. | 0.134 | (0.0441) | 0.229 | (0.0541) | 0.0446 | 0.0606 |
| Ph.D. | 0.147 | (0.0506) | 0.128 | (0.0555) | 0.0344 | 0.0566 |
| M.A. | 0.0912 | (0.0240) | 0.0330 | (0.0286) | 0.174 | 0.296 |
| M.B.A. | 0.0242 | (0.0318) | -0.00984 | (0.0472) | 0.0948 | 0.0821 |
| Bride occupation in arts ^a | 0.180 | (0.0265) | 0.101 | (0.0316) | 0.136 | 0.190 |
| <i>Groom</i> | | | | | | |
| Ph.D. | 0.196 | (0.0416) | 0.0258 | (0.0559) | 0.0513 | 0.0566 |
| M.A. | 0.0417 | (0.0306) | 0.123 | (0.0329) | 0.174 | 0.182 |
| Uses patrimonial suffix | -0.0902 | (0.0319) | -0.114 | (0.0484) | 0.0852 | 0.0725 |
| Constant | 0.232 | (0.0589) | 0.468 | (0.0606) | | |
| R ² | 0.142 | | 0.152 | | | |
| Root mean squared error | 0.365 | | 0.435 | | | |
| Number of observations | 1,773 | | 1,255 | | 1,773 | 1,255 |

^a "Occupation in the arts" includes artist, actress, dancer, also writer, editor, producer or director for some form of the media and architect.

Source: *New York Times* Cross-Section Data Sets: 1991 and 2001.

Notes: Omitted ceremony is "civil" and the omitted age group of 40 years plus. College categories are the same as in Table 2. "Uses patrimonial suffix" is a dummy variable equal to one if the groom was listed as a Jr., Sr. or with any Roman numerals following his name.

important. In 1991, a groom with a Ph.D. was more likely to marry a woman who retained her surname. Grooms with patrimonial suffixes like Jr., Sr. or III were about 10 percentage points less likely to marry a woman who retained her surname. In another regression we included information about the groom's father and found that having a prominent father-in-law diminished the probability of a bride's keeping her surname and that having a father-in-law in the arts or academia increased it. The effects just mentioned suggest that the bride's in-laws—the importance they place on names, their wealth and their nontraditional views—exert an independent impact.

Table 5

Correlates of Changing One's Surname: Harvard Class of 1980

| Variables | Coefficient | S.e. | Means |
|---|-------------|----------|-------|
| <i>Dependent variable: Woman changed surname after marriage</i> | | | 0.502 |
| <i>Woman's characteristics</i> | | | |
| M.A. | 0.0371 | (0.0702) | 0.253 |
| M.B.A. | -0.160 | (0.0900) | 0.128 |
| J.D. | -0.117 | (0.0755) | 0.223 |
| M.D., D.D.S., D.V.M. | -0.234 | (0.0843) | 0.170 |
| Ph.D. | -0.263 | (0.0906) | 0.115 |
| Homemaker ever | 0.190 | (0.0935) | 0.102 |
| Arts/writing ever | -0.115 | (0.0873) | 0.121 |
| <i>Family characteristics</i> | | | |
| Husband has Ph.D. | -0.204 | (0.0765) | 0.164 |
| Children | 0.212 | (0.117) | 0.820 |
| Years to child/10 | -0.127 | (0.0896) | 8.049 |
| Years to marriage/10 | -0.0977 | (0.0715) | 6.941 |
| Constant | 0.634 | (0.0970) | |
| R ² | 0.158 | | |
| Mean squared error | 0.468 | | |
| Number of observations | 305 | | |

Source: Harvard class of 1980 data set.

Notes: Only women who were ever married and gave their year of marriage are included. Means for the years variables are not divided by 10. Advanced degrees refer to any and some women report more than one. "Children" is a dummy variable and indicates that at least one child is reported with a birth date, although the child could be a stepchild or an adopted child. "Years" means since graduation, June 1980. "Arts/writing" includes artists, photographers, writers, journalists, actresses, and so on. "Homemaker ever" and "Arts/writing ever" indicates that the woman listed one of these occupational groups during one of the four surveys. "S.e." is standard error.

Harvard Class of 1980 Data Set

We have also investigated the correlates of retaining one's surname using the Harvard class of 1980 data. The dependent variable here is a bit different from that in the *Times* data and is whether the woman *changed* her surname at marriage or any time thereafter, as reported in the reunion or class books from 1985 to 2000; that is, we include as "changers" women who kept their surname at marriage but subsequently changed it while married. In the sample given in Table 5, about 50 percent changed their name at some time after marriage. This sample includes only women who gave the date (or year) of their marriage. The women who did not give their date of marriage form a discernibly different group. A far lower fraction had children, and fewer earned advanced degrees. The correlates included are the presence of an advanced degree, whether the husband has a Ph.D., the presence of children, years from graduation to the first child's birth, years from graduation to marriage and if the woman was ever listed as a "homemaker" or in the "arts."

As in the *Times* data, the most important correlates concern the woman's characteristics: having an advanced degree and the time to marriage and to a first child. A Ph.D. or an M.D. is associated with a reduction of about 25 percentage points in the probability of changing one's name. Each year of marriage delay is

related to a 1 percentage point decline, and each year of delay in having children is related to a 1.3 percentage point decline.

The husband's observable characteristics are not very important, with the exception that women who marry men with Ph.D.'s tend to retain their surnames, a finding that is similar to that from the *Times* 1991 data. However, in other regressions not shown here, using both the *Times* and the Harvard data, we found no meaningful interaction effect of bride-Ph.D. and groom-Ph.D. The effects, rather, are independent. Women with Ph.D.'s value the surnames under which they have published or were known, in a similar manner to writers and artists. But a groom with a Ph.D. may live in a place that is more accepting of a wife with a surname different from his.

Using the point estimates, the predicted probability that a woman from the Harvard class of 1980 would change her name after marriage if she did not have an advanced degree, married soon after college and had children a few years later was 0.846; the actual figure in the data is 0.79. At the other extreme, the predicted probability she would change her name after marriage if she had a Ph.D., married a Ph.D. ten years after graduation and had no children was 0.069; the actual figure in the data is 0.059. The quantitatively most important components in explaining these large differences are those concerning whether the woman "made a name" for herself before marriage.

Conclusion

A shift among college graduate women to keeping their surnames after marriage began sometime from the mid-1970s to early 1980s. The marriage announcements from the *New York Times* society page reveal a sharp increase in the fraction retaining their surnames from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s and then a plateau to the late 1990s. But although the *Times* data yield a further increase in name-keeping in the late 1990s, the two other data sets we use show an unambiguous decrease. Because one of those data sets—the Massachusetts birth records—contains the full population of women who had a birth in Massachusetts, we are fairly certain that no selection issues severely bias the trend. A comparison of the Harvard class of 1980 with that of 1990 reinforces the conclusion we reach from the Massachusetts birth records. The current share of college-educated women who keep their surnames at marriage appears to be a shade under 20 percent.

The reason for the decrease in surname-keeping in the 1990s is not clear. A number of correlates suggest that name-keeping should not have decreased; for example, the age at first marriage has not reversed its trend upward. We can only speculate about the social factors that have caused surname-keeping to decrease. Perhaps some women who "kept" their surnames in the 1980s, during the rapid increase in "keeping," did so because of peer pressure, and their counterparts today are freer to make their own choices. Perhaps surname-keeping seems less salient as a way of publicly supporting equality for women than it did in the late 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps a general drift to more conservative social values has made surname-

keeping less attractive. The increase from the 1970s is far easier to explain: Women began to "make a name" for themselves and more often insisted upon retaining their name at marriage.

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THE BRIDE IS KEEPING HER NAME: A 35-YEAR RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF TRENDS AND CORRELATES

RICHARD E. KOPELMAN

Baruch College, New York City, USA

RITA J. SHEA-VAN FOSSEN

Ramapo College, Mahwah, USA

ELEETHERIOS PARASKEVAS

London, England, UK

LEANNA LAWTER

Sacred Heart University, Fairfield, USA

DAVID J. PROTTAS

Adelphi University, Garden City, USA

We used data obtained from wedding announcements in the New York Times newspaper from 1971 through 2005 ($N = 2,400$) to test 9 hypotheses related to brides' decisions to change or retain their maiden names upon marriage. As predicted, a trend was found in brides keeping their surname, and correlates included the bride's occupation, education, age, and the type of ceremony (religious versus nonsectarian). Partial support was found for the following correlates: officiants representing different religions, brides with one or both parents deceased, and brides whose parents had divorced or separated. There was mixed support for the hypothesis that a photograph of the bride alone would signal a lower incidence of name keeping. Results indicated that 14 out of the 30 hypothesized directional planned comparisons were statistically significant after Bonferroni adjustment.

Keywords: marriage, maiden name, occupation, education, age, religious affiliation.

Richard E. Kopelman, DBA, Department of Management, Baruch College, USA; Rita J. Shea-Van Fossen, Ramapo College, Mahwah, USA; Eletherios Paraskevas, London, England, UK; Leanna Lawter, Sacred Heart University, Fairfield, USA; David J. Prottas, PhD, Adelphi University, Garden City, USA.

Appreciation is due to reviewers including: A. Leonardí, Università di Firenze, Centro di Solidarietà di Firenze, Via dell' Osservatorio, 21, Firenze 50141, Italy, Email: a.leonardi@email.it

Please address correspondence and reprint requests to: Richard E. Kopelman, DBA, Department of Management, Baruch College, One Baruch Way, VC 9-237, New York City 10010, United States of America. Phone: 646-312-3629; Fax: 646-312-3621; Email: richard.kopelman@baruch.cuny.edu

Although the practice of a bride keeping her maiden name upon marriage is often associated with the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the first American woman to legally keep her maiden name upon marriage was abolitionist Lucy Stone who married Harry Blackwell in 1855 (Barrientos, 2006). Today the society that bears her name (the Lucy Stone League) continues to advocate that women keep their birth name upon marriage “because a person’s name is fundamental to his/her existence” (Lucy Stone League, 2006). This advice notwithstanding, the adoption of a husband’s surname remains the most common naming option exercised by brides in the United States of America (Scheuble & Johnson, 2005). The practice is not adhered to universally, though. In many Spanish-speaking cultures, a common naming convention is to have two last names, the father’s surname followed by the mother’s paternal surname (Hunter & Kueppers, 2004).

Multiple naming options for American women have emerged over the past few decades. Women are not only keeping their maiden names upon marriage, but many choose to do one of the following: hyphenate their name using both their maiden and husband’s surname as a last name, use their birth surname as their middle name, create a new name by combining – without hyphenation – both spouses’ surnames, or even have their husband take their name.

Initial empirical interest in the marital surnames selected by women emerged as a subject of inquiry in the mid-1980s. Two types of empirical studies were conducted: studies utilizing student convenience samples investigating intended choice of name upon marriage, and the reasoning behind this possible future choice (Etaugh, Bridges, Cummings-Hill, & Cohen, 1999; Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993; Twenge, 1997) and studies of actual name change behavior of married women and factors associated with this decision (Foss & Edson, 1989; Kline, Stafford, & Miklosovic, 1996; Scheuble & Johnson, 2005). Both types of studies found similar explanatory themes: self-identity, relationship issues, societal expectations, and practical considerations relating to convenience. In general, women who kept their name after marriage tended to be older, have a higher level of education, and a higher individual income level than brides who chose to take their husband’s name upon marriage (Kline et al., 1996).

Foss and Edson (1989) conducted the first study investigating the actual name choice decisions of married women, and found that among women who kept their name, issues of personal identity were paramount. Women who considered their relationships with their husband and children to be their central focus were more likely to change their names. A recent study (Scheuble & Johnson, 2005) looked exclusively at the situational use of last names, typically involving the bride keeping her name for professional purposes. Drawing on a sample of married female faculty members, it was found that 12% of respondents reported

the situational use of their last name, with about half adopting legally hyphenated names.

In an attempt to more systematically identify the proportion of women who keep their maiden name, Goldin and Shim (2004) examined *New York Times* wedding announcements, Harvard alumnae records, and Massachusetts birth records. They found that the trend of brides keeping their surname increased from the start of their study in 1975 to the mid-1980s, plateauing in the late 1990s. Although Goldin and Shim's study examined actual (as distinct from intended) name change behavior, they did not consider the social-emotional context of a bride's marital situation – that is, whether the bride's parents were separated or divorced, or whether one or more parents were deceased. Nor did they examine whether, in a religious ceremony, the wedding officiants were of the same or different religions, or whether a photograph was published showing the bride alone or with the groom. Finally, their study (which appeared in an economics journal) neither advanced hypotheses nor reported psychometric data, such as interrater reliability estimates. Essentially, the present study was aimed at going beyond descriptive data to examine the social and psychological variables that may be associated with a bride's decision about keeping her name.

Focusing on the behavior of American brides over a 35-year period (from 1971 to 2005), nine hypotheses were tested. Based on numerous anecdotal accounts and two prior empirical studies (Boxer & Gritsenko, 2005; Goldin & Shim, 2004) we posited the following:

Hypothesis 1a: From 1971 to 1995, there will be a trend towards brides increasingly keeping their name upon marriage.

Hypothesis 1b: There will be a plateauing effect found in the proportion of brides keeping their name in the period of time from the early 1990s to the early 2000s.

In broad terms, a woman's name is associated with the social construction of her identity – indeed, the primary reason women give for keeping their name upon marriage is to avoid losing their identity, albeit symbolically, as an individual (Foss & Edson, 1989; Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985; Kline et al., 1996). Further, with increased opportunities in the workplace, many women have established successful careers prior to walking down the aisle. Many have "broken the glass ceiling," rising to high levels in organizations and a significant number of women have "made a name for themselves" as professionals or in the arts and entertainment fields. In the case of women who are business owners, senior level executives, professionals (e.g., physicians, attorneys), and those with careers in the arts and entertainment fields, their names are distinctly associated with the work they have produced, almost akin to a "brand" (Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985; Scheuble & Johnson, 2005). Changing one's name upon marriage, therefore, creates the risk that a person's history of prior accomplishments will

no longer be associated with the focal individual. A woman may, therefore, be apprehensive about (re-)establishing her professional reputation under a new name, and possibly foregoing the fame and reputation that had been achieved prior to marriage. We anticipated that women whose occupations involve their names being associated with their professional role would be apprehensive about changing their name upon marriage. Consequently, we advanced:

Hypothesis 2: Brides in higher level positions, with professional occupations, and those in the arts and entertainment fields will be more likely to keep their maiden surname upon marriage as compared to those in other occupational categories.

Graduation rates for women are now higher than those for men (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prottas, 2003), a phenomenon reflective of expanding educational opportunities for women over the past 25 years. Concurrent with increasing education, women have frequently become prominent in their chosen fields, and established professional reputations prior to marriage. Accordingly, we posited:

Hypothesis 3: Brides with a higher level of education (that is, a graduate degree) will be more likely to keep their maiden surname upon marriage.

Coinciding with increased educational opportunities and attainment, women have been marrying at older ages than was typical in the past (Coontz, 2005). In 1970, the average age of a woman marrying for the first time was 20.9 years, while in 2003 it was 25.3 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). By marrying at a later age, women have had more opportunity to create professional reputations that they would likely seek to protect. Consistent with this phenomenon, Scheuble and Johnson (1993) reported that women planning to marry later in life were less inclined to adopt their future husband's surname. Thus, the incidence of name changing should be lower among older brides. More formally stated:

Hypothesis 4: Brides who marry at an older age will be more likely than younger brides to keep their surname upon marriage.

Evidence suggests that individuals with strong religious beliefs tend to be more traditional in their lifestyle choices, gender role attitudes, and marriage and family patterns (Grasmick, Wilcox, & Bird, 1990; Jensen & Jensen, 1993). Marriage ceremonies in America may be religious or nonsectarian events. If a religious ceremony is conducted, in addition to governmental requirements, the couple must comply with the rules of the religious entity that sanctifies the wedding, including certifications and fees. As such, couples who hold religious wedding ceremonies may do so owing to strong religious convictions; consequently, they may be more likely to follow the traditional customs associated with their religion. Therefore, we advanced:

Hypothesis 5: Brides participating in a religious wedding ceremony will be less likely to keep their name upon marriage than brides participating in a secular wedding ceremony.

To our knowledge, no prior research has examined the name choices of brides when a religious ceremony is held with dual religions represented. We reasoned that brides would be more likely to keep their name if the two officiants were of different religions, compared to both being of the same faith, because the former situation may signal greater independence on the part of the bride to be. Thus, we posited:

Hypothesis 6: Brides participating in a religious wedding ceremony with two or more officiants of different religious faiths will be more likely to keep their surname as compared to brides marrying with two or more officiants of the same faith.

We also examined the possible effects on a bride's name choice resulting from one or both of her parents being deceased. In cases where a bride has lost a parent prior to marriage she might feel a greater loss of connectedness to her birth family upon adopting a new name than would be the case for a bride who has not lost a parent. Research has shown that the strength of the affective bond between adult children and their parents is related to emotional functioning (Leondari & Kiosseoglou, 2000), and this bond extends for a considerable length of time beyond a parent's passing (Shmotkin, 1999). In an effort to maintain this bond psychologically, since it cannot be done physically, the bride may preserve a connection with her family through maintaining her maiden name. In cases where the bride had lost a parent (or both parents) prior to her marriage, we anticipated that the bride might seek to preserve her birth-family identity by keeping her maiden name. Thus, we proposed:

Hypothesis 7: Brides with one or both parents deceased will be more likely to keep their surname upon marriage compared to brides with no deceased parents.

Studies have found that children of divorced parents are concerned about the success of their own future marriage, being fearful about perpetuating a cycle of divorce (Franklin, Janoff-Bulman, & Roberts, 1990; Muench & Landrum, 1993). With a general apprehension toward marriage, the daughters of divorced parents who eventually decide to marry may choose to keep their maiden name in an effort to "hedge their bets" – not risking their full identity upon marriage. Therefore, we advanced:

Hypothesis 8: Brides whose parents are divorced or separated will be more likely to keep their maiden surname as compared to brides with both parents who are still married and/or living together.

Traditionally, wedding announcements have included a photograph of the bride alone. However, beginning in the early 1990s, it became commonplace for wedding announcements to include a photograph of both the bride and groom. Nonetheless, wedding announcements with a photograph of the bride alone might be seen as more firmly rooted in tradition. Therefore we advanced:

Hypothesis 9: Brides whose wedding announcement photograph is of them alone

will be more likely to take their husband's name upon marriage than brides whose wedding photograph shows both the bride and groom.

In total, we posited 30 directional planned comparisons: two pertinent to trend data (no directional prediction being made for the 1990s versus the 2000s), and 28 predictions that entail differences in name choices. Age- and photograph-related hypotheses could be tested for only two decades (early 1990s and early 2000s) instead of four.

METHOD

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

Weekly *New York Times* wedding announcements were examined for the first three odd-numbered years of each decade (the span being from 1971 through 2005). The first 50 heterosexual wedding announcements per quarter were selected starting with the first Sunday occurring in the second month of each quarter (February, May, August, and November). The second month of the quarter was selected to capture the more popular wedding seasons of May/June and August/September and to avoid the month of January, which traditionally has fewer weddings. This design yielded 200 wedding announcements per year, 600 per decade, and a total N of 2,400 cases.

Each of the first four authors was assigned a decade for which he/she was responsible for collecting and coding data using established scoring protocols. To assess interrater reliability, a sample of 50 announcements was coded independently by the first and third authors. Reliabilities were .90 or higher (with most at .96 or higher) for all measured variables except bride's education (.88), bride's occupation (.89) and groom's occupation (.87).

MEASURES: DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Bride's chosen name Seven categories of name choice were identified, namely the bride is: explicitly keeping her name, keeping her name for professional purposes only, hyphenating her name, using her maiden surname as her middle name, adopting some other name (including creating a new surname), explicitly adopting her husband's name, or – finally – there is no explicit mention of the bride's decision. To simplify the reporting and analysis of results, four categories have been used: (1) the bride is explicitly keeping her name (BK); (2) the bride is keeping her name in a modified form (MK) other than her original maiden name – that is, maiden name as middle name, hyphenated name, or is keeping her name solely for professional purposes, or is adopting a different, novel name; (3) the decision about the bride's name is not mentioned (NM); and (4) the bride is explicitly adopting her husband's name (AH). The second category was created as a composite in light of the relatively small number of brides using their

maiden name as their middle name, using a hyphenated last name, or adopting another name.

MEASURES: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Occupation Initially 16 occupational categories were identified for coding purposes, accompanied by a detailed scoring protocol. For example, if a prior occupation was mentioned, but not a current one, we coded this as no occupation mentioned. The 16 categories were subsequently consolidated into six categories for calculating interrater reliabilities, and into two categories for statistical analyses. The two categories were: (1) lower level and mid-level positions, students, occupation not reported, and retired; (2) high-level positions (e.g., CEO), professionals (including attorneys, physicians, Certified Public Accountants), and arts and entertainment. This categorization protocol reflects our assumption that brides who do not report an occupation are less likely to hold high-level positions than those who report their occupation.

Bride's education The highest level of education completed was coded into seven categories ranging from *no education reported* (coded as 1) to *doctoral degree* (coded as 7). Similar data were obtained for the groom, but were not examined in the present research.

Bride's age The age of the bride was recorded whenever it was reported in the corresponding wedding announcement. As noted above, age information was not regularly included in *New York Times* wedding announcements prior to the early 1990s. Age data were also obtained for the groom, but were not examined in the present research.

Type of ceremony The religious affiliation, if any, of each officiant performing the wedding ceremony was coded. If a mayor, public official, or individual not affiliated with a religious organization performed the ceremony, this was coded as a civil/nonsectarian ceremony. Religious categories were: Catholic, Christian but not Catholic, Jewish, and Other. If two officiants were mentioned, the affiliation of each was noted.

Parental marital and life status Parental marital and life status were coded into six categories: no information provided, parents married, parents separated/divorced, mother a widow, father a widower, both parents deceased. Where one parent was mentioned but there was no mention of a second parent it was assumed that the individual's parents were separated/divorced.

Photograph The wedding announcement photograph variable had three values: no photograph, bride alone, and bride and groom. Photographs of both bride and groom were very rare in the 1970s and 1980s, appearing in less than 1% of announcements. In contrast, by the decade of the 2000s, more than 50% of announcements had a photograph of both bride and groom.

RESULTS

Data were collected across all four categories of name keeping (see Table 1). For brevity and simplicity, we present decade-by-decade statistical results focusing on the bride is keeping her name (BK condition) comparisons. As predicted in Hypothesis 1, the percentages of brides explicitly keeping their own name rose from 1% in the 1970s to 9% in the 1980s ($z = 5.93, p < .001$ – all significance levels are Bonferroni corrected). The trend continued, rising to 23% in the 1990s ($z = 5.04, p < .001$), and leveling off in the 2000s at 18% ($z = -1.43, ns$). A one-way ANOVA combining both types of name keeping (BK and MK) across decades was significant at $F(3, 2395) = 69.7$. (The ANOVAs reported below likewise combine both types of name keeping in the dependent variable.)

As posited in Hypothesis 2, brides in three occupation categories combined – those with high-level jobs (e.g., CEO), those with professional occupations (e.g., physician), and those in the arts or entertainment fields kept their surname more frequently than did brides in all other occupation categories combined: 14% vs. 5% in the 1980s ($z = 3.54, p < .01$); 34% vs. 12% in the 1990s ($z = 6.59, p < .001$); and 25% vs. 10% in the 2000s ($z = 6.17, p < .001$), respectively. Although not separated out in the table, brides in the arts and entertainment field were particularly likely to keep their names, the proportions being 41% in the 1990s and 32% in the 2000s. A one-way ANOVA calculated across all four occupation categories for all decades combined was found to be significant: $F(3, 2394) = 78.4, p < .001$. The conjoint effects of occupation level and being in the entertainment industry were not examined; consequently the aforementioned proportions of 41% and 32% might underestimate the frequency of name-keeping among brides in high-level arts and entertainment positions.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that a bride with a graduate degree would be more likely to keep her name than a bride without a graduate degree. Significant differences were found in the 1980s (19% vs. 5%; $z = 4.55, p < .001$), the 1990s (32% vs. 15%; $z = 5.02, p < .001$), and the 2000s (22% vs. 14%; $z = 2.57, p < .05$). A one-way ANOVA was used to examine the three educational categories – less than a bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, and graduate degree – across all decades. The effects of education were significant: $F(2, 2396) = 74.81, p < .001$.

As predicted in Hypothesis 4, older brides were more likely to keep their surname as compared to younger brides – 33% vs. 13% in the 1990s, $z = 6.08, p < .001$; and 25% vs. 11% in the 2000s, $Z = 5.26, p < .001$. As noted above, we were able to test Hypothesis 4 in the two most recent decades only.

It was posited that brides who were married in a nonreligious/civil ceremony would be more likely to keep their name than brides married in a religious ceremony (Hypothesis 5). Although differences were in the predicted direction, the only significant decade-specific difference was in the 2000s (34% vs. 16%;

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGES OF BRIDES WHO CHANGED AND KEPT THEIR NAMES BY DECADES

| | Early 1970s | | | Early 1980s | | | Early 1990s | | | Early 2000s | | |
|---|-------------|----|----|-------------|-------------------|----|-------------|----|--------------------|-------------------|----|----|
| | BK | MK | NM | AH | BK | MK | NM | AH | BK | MK | NM | AH |
| H1: Differences Across Decades | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Overall | 1 | 0 | 49 | 50 | 9 ^{a***} | 8 | 59 | 25 | 23 ^{b***} | 6 | 20 | 51 |
| Low/Middle/NR | 1 | 0 | 49 | 50 | 5 | 4 | 65 | 25 | 12 | 6 | 18 | 64 |
| High/Prof./Arts | 2 | 2 | 52 | 44 | 14 ^{**} | 13 | 50 | 24 | 34 ^{***} | 7 | 21 | 38 |
| H2: Bride's Occupation | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No Graduate Degree | 1 | 0 | 50 | 50 | 5 | 6 | 65 | 25 | 15 | 7 | 14 | 63 |
| Graduate Degree | 4 | 0 | 46 | 49 | 19 ^{***} | 13 | 43 | 24 | 32 ^{***} | 4 | 26 | 38 |
| H3: Bride's Education | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Less than Median | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | 13 | 15 | 65 |
| More than Median | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | 33 ^{***} | 6 | 19 |
| H4: Bride's Age | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Religious | 1 | 0 | 49 | 50 | 8 | 8 | 57 | 26 | 22 | 6 | 18 | 54 |
| Secular/NR | 3 | 0 | 49 | 47 | 10 | 4 | 73 | 14 | 31 | 9 | 31 | 29 |
| H5: Type of Ceremony | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| H6: Two Officiants | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Same Religion | 1 | 1 | 35 | 62 | 3 | 6 | 69 | 22 | 7 | 0 | 7 | 86 |
| Different Religions | 8 | 0 | 38 | 54 | 12 | 3 | 50 | 35 | 37* | 3 | 13 | 47 |
| H7: Bride's Parents (Living or Deceased) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Both Living or NR | 1 | 0 | 48 | 50 | 9 | 8 | 58 | 25 | 20 | 6 | 20 | 54 |
| One/Both Deceased | 0 | 0 | 53 | 47 | 8 | 6 | 63 | 22 | 37* | 7 | 16 | 40 |

Table 1 continued

| | Early 1970s | | | | Early 1980s | | | | Early 1990s | | | | Early 2000s | | | |
|---|-------------|----|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|
| | BK | MK | NM | AH |
| H8: Bride's Parents (Marital Status) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 2 | 0 | 48 | 50 | 8 | 8 | 58 | 27 | 6 | 18 | 20 | 56 | 16 | 11 | 35 | 48 |
| Separated/Divorced | 0 | 0 | 42 | 58 | 13 | 10 | 58 | 19 | 9 | 29 | 19 | 44 | 20 | 8 | 23 | 49 |

| | No Photograph | | | | Bride Only | | | | Bride & Groom | | | | Photograph | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|----|----|----|------------|----|----|----|---------------|----|----|----|------------|----|----|----|
| | BK | MK | NM | AH | BK | MK | NM | AH | BK | MK | NM | AH | BK | MK | NM | AH |
| No | 1 | 0 | 62 | 36 | 17 | 7 | 64 | 21 | 24 | 6 | 22 | 48 | 17 | 8 | 28 | 47 |
| Photograph | 2 | 0 | 5 | 93 | 7 | 10 | 21 | 53 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 83 | 33 | 3 | 10 | 55 |
| High-Level Position | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA | 29** | 10 | 18 | 43 | 17 | 12 | 29 | 42 |

Notes: BK = Bride is keeping her name; MK = Bride keeping her maiden name in a modified form, such as using her middle name, hyphenating her name, or keeping her name for professional purposes; AH = Adopting husband's name; NM = Name not mentioned; High/Prof./Arts & Ent. = High-level position (e.g., CEO), Professional position (e.g., physician), or a position in Arts or Entertainment; Religious = Catholic, Christian but not Catholic, or Jewish; NR = Not reported. NA = Not applicable. Statistical comparisons are performed only for bride keeping her name categories;^a = 1980s vs. 1970s; ^b = 1990s vs. 1980s; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$ (significance levels for all comparisons are Bonferroni corrected). Significant differences after Bonferroni correction are shown in bold; significant differences prior to Bonferroni correction are shown in italics.

$Z = 4.02, p < .001$). However, examining data across all decades combined, greater name changing was found among brides who had a religious ceremony: $F(1, 2395) = 15.5, p < .001$.

Hypothesis 6 posited that when there were two officiants at the marriage ceremony who followed different religions, brides would be more likely to keep their name than if the two officiants were of the same faith (Hypothesis 6). Unfortunately, due to the small number of cases with two officiants ($n = 157$ with different religions and $n = 134$ with the same religion), only one decade yielded a significant difference – in the 1990s, 37% vs. 7%; $z = 2.66, p < .05$. Across all four decades, the 19% of brides who kept their name when married by officiants of different religions was significantly greater than the 4% who kept their names when married by two officiants of the same religion ($z = 5.14, p < .001$).

We hypothesized that brides would be more likely to keep their maiden surname if one parent was – or both parents were – deceased, compared to when both parents were alive, or with a status unreported (Hypothesis 7). Support for this premise was found only in one decade, during the 1990s, with frequencies of 37% vs. 20% ($z = 2.99, p < .05$). No support for Hypothesis 7 was found in any decade using ANOVA.

We hypothesized that brides would be more likely to retain their surname if their parents were separated and divorced. In the 1980s, the proportion of brides keeping their name was 8% when parents were married and 13% where parents were divorced or separated, a difference which – while not significant – was in the predicted direction. During the 1990s a significant difference emerged with respect to the modified name keeping (MK) category, the respective proportions being 18% and 29%; however, significance was found only before Bonferroni adjustment ($z = 2.18, p > .05$). Examining data in the 1990s for both categories of bride name keeping, the results were slightly stronger ($z = 2.57, p > .05$), but again were not significant with Bonferroni adjustment. During the 2000s, the pattern of name keeping was again in the predicted direction, but the difference was not significant even before adjustment.

Hypothesis 9 posited that brides with a wedding photograph of themselves alone would be more likely to adopt their husband's name than would be the case when the photograph showed both spouses. Because fewer than one percent of wedding announcements had a photograph of both spouses in the 1970s and 1980s, analyses could be performed only in the later two decades. In the 1990s 29% of the brides whose wedding announcements had a joint photograph opted explicitly to keep their own name compared to 8% of brides with a solo photograph opting to keep their own names – a difference which was found to be significant ($z = 3.44, p < .01$). Surprisingly, this pattern did not hold in the decade of the 2000s, where the relevant percentages were 17% and 33%, respectively. This difference was not significant, due to the infrequency of a photograph of the

bride alone appearing in the 2000s (fewer than 7% of all announcements) – $z = 2.02$, $p = .65$, Bonferroni adjusted. Evidently, publishing a photograph of both the bride and groom had become “traditional” as of the 2000s.

DISCUSSION

Overall, we found good support for our hypotheses; 15 out of 30 comparisons were statistically significant, 14 after Bonferroni adjustment. It should be noted that these results included comparisons where the sample sizes were quite small on a within-decade basis (e.g., the religious orientation of two officiants). Also, because the base rate of name keeping was so low in the 1970s (1% overall), subgroup differences were statistically hard to detect. The 4% of brides in the 1970s with graduate degrees who kept their name was significantly greater than the 1% without graduate degrees who did, but only before Bonferroni correction. By contrast, while only 9% of brides kept their names in the 1980s, 23% and 18% of brides kept their names in the 1990s and 2000s, respectively. Overall, the proportion of hypotheses supported corresponds directly with these frequencies: zero hypotheses out of six (0%) in the 1970s; two out of six (33%) in the 1980s; six out of eight (75%) in the 1990s and four out of eight (50%) in the 2000s. Thus, the least supportive results were found during the first two decades when name changing was uncommon.

The frequencies we found of brides keeping their maiden name during the 2000s are consistent with those reported in the only other empirical studies of which we are aware. Using *New York Times* data, Goldin and Shim (2004) reported frequencies of brides keeping their names for all purposes (including brides keeping their names only for professional purposes) of 26% in 2000 and 24% in 2001 – the last years for which they collected data. Examining a small sample of married women of varying ages ($N = 134$), Boxer and Gritsenko (2005) reported a frequency of name keeping of 18%. The present research revealed an average frequency during the period 2001 through 2005 of 18%.

Because our research relied on wedding announcements drawn from the *New York Times*, both range restriction and sampling bias resulted. Compared to America as a whole, *New York Times* readers are on average older (46.5 years versus 35.5), more affluent (mean income of \$84,400 versus \$42,000), and better educated (75% of readers being college graduates versus 24%; *New York Times*, 2006; U.S. Census, 2000). Likewise, people who succeed in having wedding announcements published in the *New York Times* are more affluent and more highly educated than the average American population, and they also primarily reside in the northeastern part of the country. Consequently, as point estimates, our parameters are not generalizable to America as a whole. However, the primary purpose of the present research was to examine trends and correlates, not to estimate population parameters.

Relatedly, the sample in the present research comprised primarily first marriages. Only 7% of brides and 11% of grooms in our sample had been married previously, which is below the national average of approximately 20% of marriages with at least one party who has previously been married (Cherlin & McCarthy, 1985).

Research using a more heterogeneous sample, including more individuals from lower socioeconomic levels and with greater geographic diversity, would enhance generalizability. Future researchers, besides examining a more heterogeneous sample, might obtain survey data that directly measure religiosity and specific attitudes regarding parental status. Such attitudinal data would provide a clearer picture as to how these variables affect the decision-making process of a bride in choosing her name upon marriage.

Levitt and Dubner (2005) report longitudinal data demonstrating the existence of income- and education-related patterns in the naming of children. In their words: "once a name catches on among high-income, highly-educated parents, it starts working its way down the socioeconomic ladder" (p. 201). Analogously, perhaps trends in the naming decisions of brides as reported in the *New York Times* will start spreading to less elite denizens in the U.S. This conjecture provides another direction for future research.

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What's in a Name? 361.708 Euros: The Effects of Marital Name Change

Marret K. Noordewier, Femke van Horen, Kirsten I. Ruys, and Diederik A. Stapel
Tilburg Institute for Behavioral Economics Research, Tilburg University

Marital name change is not without consequences. Women who took their partner's name appear to be different from women who kept their own name on a variety of demographics and beliefs, which are more or less associated with the female stereotype (Study 1). Subsequent studies show that women's surnames are used as a cue for judgment (Studies 2–4). A woman who took her partner's name or a hyphenated name was judged as more caring, more dependent, less intelligent, more emotional, less competent, and less ambitious in comparison with a woman who kept her own name. A woman with her own name, on the other hand, was judged as less caring, more independent, more ambitious, more intelligent, and more competent, which was similar to an unmarried woman living together or a man. Finally, a job applicant who took her partner's name, in comparison with one with her own name, was less likely to be hired for a job and her monthly salary was estimated €861,21 lower (calculated to a working life, €361.708,20).

A majority of women change their surname from the day they put on a wedding dress, walk down the aisle, and say "I do" (ranging from 72.6% to 82%; Hoffnung, 2006; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993; Twenge, 1997).¹ Most women thus choose to answer the phone with a new name, change their e-mail address, introduce themselves with their partner's name, or change their signature after their wedding day. In this article we show that marital name change is not without consequences: Women with their partner's name are judged differently than women with their own name, and this can have costly consequences.

In most Western countries, women can choose to take their partner's name, keep their own name, or combine both names (hyphenate), and in most countries there are no laws that prescribe what to do.² Although sometimes legal battles were necessary to establish the

right to keep one's own name (e.g., until the mid-1970s many states in the United States did not allow women to vote, receive passports, get paid, or have bank accounts in their own names; cf. Twenge, 1997, see also Stannard, 1977), for most women these days, marital name change is a voluntary and personal decision.

It is unlikely that giving up (part of) one's surname is something women do indifferently. That is, in previous research, names are linked to self and identity, and this research suggests that most people assign value to their own names. For example, because one's name is a cue of the self, self-esteem can be implicitly measured by evaluating the letters of one's own name (i.e., "implicit self-esteem," self-evaluation that occurs in the absence of conscious self-reflection; see Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Koole, Dijksterhuis, & van Knippenberg, 2001). This research shows that positive self-evaluation is linked to a positive evaluation of the letters in one's own name. As people generally evaluate themselves positively, their name is also something of value. This name letter effect (Nuttin, 1985) has intriguing consequences, ranging from predictive value of names on people's attitudes (Chris loves chocolate more than Linda, and Linda likes lions better than Chris does; see Hodson & Olson, 2005), to the relationship between

¹We define changing one's surname as taking over the partner's name as well as hyphenating. Thus, when we refer to change, this includes both.

²Not all countries have the same practices and laws; however, it goes beyond the purpose of this article to describe these differences in detail.

Correspondence should be sent to Marret K. Noordewier, Tilburg Institute for Behavioral Economics Research, Social Psychology Department, Tilburg University, P.O. Box 90153, 5000 LE, Tilburg, the Netherlands. E-mail: m.k.noordewier@uvt.nl

names and career choices and places of residence (Suzie is more likely to sell seashells on the seashore than Brad, who is more likely to bake bread in a bakery; see Pelham, Mirenberg, & Jones, 2002).

The connection between names and self-evaluation and the predictive value of names for attitudes and choices thus indicate that names are important for people. Of interest, even though this importance of one's name, the majority of women choose to change their surname when they get married. Why? Studies in which women were asked why they took their partner's name showed that women mainly do so because of tradition, family unity, and social norms. On the other hand, women who kept their own name or chose a hyphenated name mainly do so because they feel their name is part of their identity (Hoffnung, 2006; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Kline, Stafford, & Miklosovic, 1996; Twenge, 1997).

Moreover, women with their partner's name differ from women with their own name not only in their reasons for this choice but also on several demographic variables. On average, women with their partner's name, compared to women with their own names, are younger at the moment of marriage, have a lower educational level, are more likely to be Catholic, and are more likely to have children (Hoffnung, 2006). Women who *want* to keep their own name, on the other hand, appear to have more feminist attitudes and score higher on personal agency (Twenge, 1997; see also Hoffnung, 2006).

Apparently, women with their partner's name differ from women with their own names on demographic variables and beliefs regarding feminism and personal agency (Twenge, 1997; see also Hoffnung, 2006).³ These studies suggest that some of the characteristics describing women with their partner's name are more strongly associated with the female stereotype than the characteristics describing women with their own name. Women with their partner's name are associated with tradition, family unity, social norms, being a mother, and lower educational level (more stereotypical female), whereas women with their own name are associated with personal identity, feminism, personal agency, lower likelihood of being a mother, and higher educational level (less stereotypical female; see also Deaux & Kite, 1993). Although it is unlikely that people are aware of all the demographic differences described, it could be that a woman's surname is more or less *associated* with these group characteristics. This might in turn influence judgment (see also Crawford, Stark, & Renner, 1998; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Lawton, Blakemore, & Vartanian, 2003).

That is, recent research showed that the extent to which a person has stereotypical features influences the

extent to which a person is stereotyped (e.g., a target with more Afrocentric features is judged as more likely to have traits stereotypic of African Americans; see Blair, Judd, Sadler, & Jenkins, 2002). It is therefore likely that a woman with more stereotypical female features (e.g., the name of her partner) will be judged as a more stereotypical female (e.g., social, dependent, less intelligent, less ambitious; see e.g., Deaux & Kite, 1993; Glick et al., 2004; Kite, 2001) compared to a woman with less stereotypical female features (e.g., her own name). We thus argue that a woman's surname is such a stereotypical feature, because taking over a partner's name seems more associated with "typical" female characteristics and keeping one's own name is less associated with "typical" female characteristics. In line with this, Etaugh and colleagues (Etaugh, Bridges, Cummings-Hill, & Cohen, 1999) showed that women with their partner's name were perceived as more communal, whereas women with their own name were perceived as more agentic. This is the first demonstration that different surnames can affect the strength of the activation of female stereotypes, resulting in judgments that are more or less in accordance with the female stereotype (for related perspectives, see Dion & Cota, 1991; Dion & Schuller, 1990).

In the current research we posit and show that a woman with her partner's name will make the female stereotype more salient than a woman with her own name and that the woman with her partner's name will therefore be judged more in accordance to the female stereotype than a woman with her own name. A woman with her own name, on the other hand, is more stereotypical, resulting in judgments that are counter to the female stereotype. As we form impressions of people depending on the accessibility of information, the activation of stereotypes through a characteristic as subtle as a woman's surname may affect judgment importantly. Thus, regardless of the individual qualities of the woman walking down the aisle, the way she will be judged may be determined by the name she chooses after saying "I do."

OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND OF STUDIES

The studies in this article focus on several aspects of marital name change and its consequences: (a) differences in demographics and beliefs, (b) different judgment based on surname, and (c) implications of different judgments based surnames in a job application context. The first study tests whether women in the Netherlands with different surnames differ on demographical variables and beliefs. We see whether we can replicate the demographical differences found in previous research, and we look into several interesting new variables, like family

³It is important to note that these are *general* differences and that it is extremely unlikely that the women who take their partner's name and the women who keep their own name are homogeneous groups.

and work norm, working hours, and salary. Subsequently, we experimentally test whether women are judged differently, based on their surname. We compare a woman who took her partner's name with a woman who kept her own name in a scenario study (Study 2). After this, we test our hypothesis more extensively, looking at the effects of both the partner's name as well as a hyphenated name (Study 3). Moreover, we test the direction of the effects (i.e., are women who take their partner's name judged as more stereotypical female or are women who keep their own name judged as less stereotypical female or both), and we test whether our findings are based on the increased salience of the female stereotype to rule out a general "halo-effect."

Finally, we investigate relevant and interesting consequences of the predicted differences in judgment in a job application context (Study 4). That is, previous research showed that employment decisions could be influenced by implicit discrimination (e.g., a person with an African American-sounding name is less likely to get a callback for a job interview than a person with a White-sounding name; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; see also Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). When women with their partner's name are judged more in accordance with the female stereotype, this can have negative consequences for the chances that she will be hired for a job and estimates for her salary.

STUDY 1: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NAME CHANGERS AND NAME KEEPERS

We start our investigation by looking at the demographic differences between women who took their partner's name and women who kept their own name in the Netherlands. Before we look into the hypothesized differences in judgment, it is important to find out whether Dutch women with different surnames are comparable to U.S. women with different surnames. Based on previous name research that was conducted in the United States, we predict that also in the Netherlands a partner's name is more associated with "typical" female characteristics and keeping one's own name is less associated with "typical" female characteristics. In addition to demographical variables used in previous research, we also tested whether name changers and name keepers differed on a variety of other interesting variables.

Method

We accessed data from the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (Dykstra Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, Liefbroer, & Mulder, 2005), which is a large sociological study on family solidarity and consists of a representative sample of Dutch people. We selected the married women in the

sample ($N=2,464$) and first looked at percentages of name choice. It appeared that a large majority of the women changed their names (74.8% partner's name, 7.3% hyphenated, 15.4% own name).

We subsequently related marital name choice to a number of variables in the data file. First, we related name choice to variables used in previous research: age, number of children (open questions), and educational level (on a 10-point scale, ranging from *incomplete elementary school* to *postgraduate*). Second, we related name choice to a number of new variables: We looked at family norms (e.g., "*women should stop working when they have their first child*," "*education is more important for boys*," "*working mothers are egoistic*," and "*tradition defines the division of household labor*," measured on a 5-point scale, from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 5 [*strongly agree*]; $\alpha=.75$). Regarding work, we looked at work ethics (measured with "*duty first, leisure second*"; "*be prepared to work hard*"; "*I am the happiest after hard work*"; and "*work always takes the first place*," measured on a 5-point scale, from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 5 [*strongly agree*]; $\alpha=.73$), and we looked at number of working hours per week, and salary (open questions).⁴

Results and Discussion

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) revealed that women with their partner's name, compared to women who kept their own names, are on average older ($M_{partner}=48.22$ vs. $M_{own}=42.4$ years) and have a lower educational level ($M_{partner}=5.27$ vs. $M_{own}=7.08$). In addition, women with their partner's name have more children ($M_{partner}=2.2$ vs. $M_{own}=1.9$), and they showed to have more conservative family norms than women with their own name ($M_{partner}=2.44$ vs. $M_{own}=1.76$). We furthermore found differences regarding work: Women with their partner's name score higher on work ethics ($M_{partner}=3.25$ vs. $M_{own}=2.89$); however, women with their partner's name work fewer hours per week (controlled for age: $M_{partner}=22.4$ vs. $M_{own}=28.3$ hr) and they have a lower salary (controlled for working hours, educational level, and age; $M_{partner}=\text{€}980$ vs. $M_{own}=\text{€}1156$; all means reported differ at $p<.001$).⁵

Thus, similar to previous research (Hoffnung, 2006; Twenge, 1997), we find that women with their partner's name differ from women with their own name regarding age, educational level and number of children,

⁴The question of what name women use had four possible answers: *own name*, *partner's name*, *hyphenated*, or *depends*. Women in the categories *hyphenated* or *depends* did not differ from *partner's name*. For ease of presentation, we report only the difference between partner's name and own name.

⁵Even when the analysis were run with a random sample of 200 participants, a similar significant pattern of results was found.

demonstrating similarities between the Netherlands and the United States. Moreover, we find interesting differences in beliefs between name keepers and name changers regarding family and work, and we find differences in working hours and salary.

Not only are women with their partner's name associated with tradition, family unity, social norms, communal, being a mother, and lower educational level (Etaugh et al., 1999; Hoffnung, 2006; Twenge, 1997), but we also find a relation between partner's name and more conservative family and work norms, fewer working hours, and a lower salary (more stereotypically feminine). Conversely, women with their own name are not only associated with personal identity, feminism, personal agency, lower likelihood of being a mother, and a higher educational level (Etaugh et al., 1999; Hoffnung, 2006; Twenge, 1997), but we also find a relation between own name and more liberal family and work norms, more working hours, and a higher salary (less stereotypically feminine). In the studies that follow, we tested whether these different associations with women's names also affect judgments.

STUDY 2

In this study, we tested the hypothesis that a woman with her partner's name will be judged more in line with the female stereotype (more caring, dependent, and emotional but less competent and intelligent), as compared to a woman who kept her own name, who will be judged less in line with the female stereotype (less caring, dependent, and emotional but more competent and intelligent). We test our hypothesis using a scenario.

Method

Ninety Dutch students (36 female, 54 male, $M_{age} = 21.4$, $SD_{age} = 2.4$) were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (own name, partner's name).

Procedure. Participants were asked to imagine that they were invited to a colleague's party. At this party they were introduced to the married couple Peter Bosboom and Helga Kuipers (own name) or to the married couple Peter and Helga Kuipers (partner's name). Subsequently, participants were asked to judge Helga on five stereotype-related female attributes (*caring*, *competent*, *dependent*, *intelligent*, and *emotional*) ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*; see Deaux & Kite, 1993).

Results and Discussion

The mean judgments of Helga are reported in Table 1. As predicted, a MANOVA revealed that when Helga

TABLE 1
Mean Judgment Based on Last Name (Study 1)

| Attribute | Own Name | Partner's Name |
|-------------|----------|----------------|
| Caring | 3.84 | 5.00 |
| Competent | 3.58 | 3.26 |
| Dependent | 3.30 | 5.06 |
| Intelligent | 4.16 | 3.21 |
| Emotional | 3.95 | 4.66 |

used the name of her partner, she was judged as more caring, $F(1, 88) = 41.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .32$; more dependent, $F(1, 88) = 30.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .26$; less intelligent, $F(1, 88) = 20.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .19$; more emotional, $F(1, 88) = 8.32$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 p = .09$; and marginally less competent, $F(1, 88) = 3.54$, $p = .063$, $\eta^2 p = .04$, in comparison with Helga, who uses her own name. We also tested for gender differences, but none were observed in this or any of the other studies.

These results indicate that women with the name of their partner are indeed judged in a more gender stereotypical manner. There are, however, a few questions that remain unanswered. First, we do not know the direction of our effects: Is a woman with her partner's name judged as more stereotypical compared to a control group (woman with no surname mentioned), or is a woman who uses her own name judged as less stereotypical than the control group, or both? Second, we cannot be completely sure that it is the salience of the female stereotype that drives our effects rather than a general halo effect. That is, our dependent variables were judgments on traits specific to gender stereotypical traits (e.g., emotional), but to rule out the possibility of a halo effect, we should show that there are no effects on general traits (e.g., optimistic). Third, we did not include a hyphenated name condition, so we do not know whether women with a hyphenated name would be judged similarly to women with her partner's name or not. Study 3 was designed to address these issues.

STUDY 3

In Study 3, we again tested the hypothesis that, depending on surname, women are judged differently. To test our hypothesis, we created an ambiguous story about a person. This person was (a) a woman with her partner's name, (b) a woman with a hyphenated name, (c) a woman who was not married but lived together with a man, (d) a woman with no surname, or (e) a man. We predicted that the surname of the person in the scenario would activate female stereotypes to a lesser or greater degree, which in turn would be used to interpret the ambiguous behavior of the person described in the

scenario. More specifically, we predicted that the woman with a hyphenated name and the woman with her partner's name would be judged more in accordance with female stereotype than the woman with no surname (i.e., the control condition). A woman who kept her own name, an unmarried woman living with her partner, and a man would be judged as less stereotypical female than a woman for whom no surname information was given.

Method

One hundred thirteen Dutch students (58 female, 55 male; $M_{age} = 21.6$, $SD_{age} = 1.8$) were randomly assigned to one of six conditions (partner's name, hyphenated name, own name, not married living with partner, male, no surname).

Procedure. In this study, participants were asked to form an impression of the person in a scenario. The person in the scenario was described as dependent in an ambiguous way (see Banaji, Hardin, & Rothman, 1993; Stapel & Koomen, 1998, 2001), for example: "Agnetha said she liked her work because she did not have to show initiative or make any decisions" or "I proposed to go to the movies. She liked the idea, but after asking her boyfriend she said she was going shopping with him instead." The rationale behind this paradigm is that to interpret the ambiguous person's description, people use the information that is available about the person, in this case, the surname of the target person. When differences in interpretation of the ambiguous information are found, we can conclude that different surnames make different associations accessible, resulting in different judgments (for further details, see Banaji et al., 1993; Stapel & Koomen, 1998, 2001).

We introduced the target person keeping the first name of the person constant (which was Agnetha, except for the male condition), and we manipulated the specific surname: Ellemers, own name Vonk (partner's name condition); Ellemers-Vonk, own name Vonk (hyphenated name condition); Ellemers, married with Vonk (own name condition); Ellemers, living together with Vonk (not married living with partner condition); Paul (male condition),⁶ or Agnetha (no surname condition). After the participants read the scenario, they were asked to judge the person in the story on three gender stereotypical traits (*dependent, ambitious, intelligent*) and three nongender stereotypical traits (*optimistic, greedy, kind*)

⁶We added a male condition, to see whether the women with their own names would be judged similarly to a man. This would be an indication that women with their own names would be judged less in accordance with the female stereotype.

on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*extremely*; see Deaux & Kite, 1993).

Results and Discussion

We conducted a MANOVA on the judgment scores (see Table 2), which showed, as expected, that the conditions differed for the stereotypical traits dependent, $F(5, 108) = 10.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .44$; ambitious, $F(5, 108) = 6.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .35$; and intelligent, $F(5, 108) = 5.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 p = .30$. As expected, the conditions did not differ for the nongender stereotypical traits optimistic, greedy, and kind ($F_s < 1$).

To find out whether the conditions differed in the predicted direction, we conducted simple effects tests (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Next we report the comparison of the different surname conditions to the condition in which no surname was given.

Agneta with her partner's name and Agneta with a hyphenated name was judged *more* stereotypically feminine than Agneta with no surname, such that that *Ellemers, own name Vonk* (partner's name) was judged as more dependent, $t(107) = 2.73$, $p < .01$, $d = .53$; less ambitious, $t(107) = -2.19$, $p < .05$, $d = -.42$; and less intelligent, $t(107) = -2.39$, $p < .05$, $d = -.46$, in comparison with the *no surname condition*. Likewise, *Ellemers-Vonk, own name Vonk* (hyphenated name) was judged as more dependent, $t(107) = 2.09$, $p < .05$, $d = .56$; less ambitious, $t(107) = -2.43$, $p < .05$; and less intelligent, $d = -.47$, $t(107) = -2.24$, $p < .05$, in comparison with the *no surname condition*.

Agneta with her own name and Agneta who was living together was judged as *less* stereotypically feminine in comparison with Agneta with no surname, such that *Ellemers, married with Vonk* (own name) was judged as more independent, $t(107) = 3.70$, $p < .001$, $d = -.72$; more ambitious, $t(107) = 2.57$, $p < .05$, $d = .50$; and more intelligent, $t(107) = 2.65$, $p < .01$, $d = .51$, in comparison with the *no surname condition*. Furthermore, *Ellemers, living together with Vonk* (not

TABLE 2
Mean Judgment Based on Last Name (Study 2)

| Attribute | Target | | | | | No Surname (Control) | Man |
|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| | Hyphenated Name | Partner's Name | Own Name | Living Together | | | |
| Dependent | 7.32 _a | 7.11 _a | 5.20 _b | 5.58 _b | 6.41 _c | 5.26 _b | |
| Ambitious | 5.05 _a | 4.95 _a | 6.71 _b | 6.84 _b | 6.00 _c | 6.78 _b | |
| Intelligent | 5.00 _a | 5.06 _a | 6.01 _b | 6.76 _b | 5.88 _c | 6.68 _b | |
| Optimistic | 7.18 _a | 7.00 _a | 7.14 _a | 7.62 _a | 6.73 _a | 7.14 _a | |
| Greedy | 3.53 _a | 3.16 _a | 3.10 _a | 3.05 _a | 3.47 _a | 3.11 _a | |
| Kind | 4.69 _a | 4.63 _a | 4.15 _a | 4.58 _a | 4.12 _a | 4.16 _a | |

Note. Means in rows with different subscripts differ significantly at $p < .05$.

married living with partner) was judged as more independent, $t(107) = -2.51$, $p < .05$, $d = .49$; more ambitious, $t(107) = 1.95$, $p = .054$, $d = .38$; and more intelligent, $t(107) = 3.02$, $p < .01$, $d = .58$, in comparison with the *no surname condition*. Finally, *Paul* (male) was also judged as more independent, $t(107) = -3.46$, $p < .01$, $d = .67$; more ambitious, $t(107) = 2.07$, $p < .05$, $d = .40$; and more intelligent, $t(107) = 2.17$, $p < .05$, $d = .42$, in comparison with the *no surname condition*.

In sum, Study 3 confirmed our hypothesis that women who changed their name are judged more in accordance with the female stereotype than women who kept their own name. More specifically, both a woman with the name of her partner and a woman with a hyphenated name were judged more stereotypically (more dependent, less intelligent, and less ambitious) than a woman for whom no surname information was given (i.e., the control condition). A woman with her own name, an unmarried woman living with her partner, and a man were all judged in less female stereotypical terms (less dependent, more intelligent, and more ambitious) than a woman with no surname information.

These results demonstrate that it is not only that women who take the name of their partner or use a hyphenated name are judged as more stereotypical, but also that women who use their own name are judged as less stereotypical in comparison to a woman with no surname. As the means of the control group (woman with no surname) were in the middle, it can be concluded that women who take the name of their partner or use a hyphenated name are judge more in line with female stereotypes than women who use their own name.

STUDY 4

In Study 4, we tested if these stereotypical judgments have more practical consequences. Previous research showed that employment decisions are influenced by implicit discrimination (e.g., a person with an African American-sounding name is less likely get a callback for a job interview than a person with a White-sounding name: Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; see also Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). When women with their partner's name are judged more in accordance with the female stereotype, this can have negative consequences for the chances that she will be hired for a job and estimates for her salary as compared to women who keep their own name.

Method

Fifty Dutch students (30 female, 20 male; $M_{age} = 20.2$, $SD_{age} = 1.8$) were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (partner's name, own name).

Procedure. The task for the participants was to judge an applicant for the position of Human Resource Manager, based on an e-mail. Participants were told that these days the Internet is frequently used in job applications and that we were interested in the influences of the accompanying e-mail on the selection process. Participants received an e-mail text in which information about a female candidate was given, with the instruction to examine this carefully and subsequently answer some questions about the candidate. Besides the message from the candidate, the e-mail also contained a memo. This memo showed information about the candidate, for example, the name and the civil state of the applicant. In the *partner's name condition*, the name of the applicant was Roos Ellemers, own name Fischer, and her civil state was married to Dirk Ellemers. In the *own name condition*, the candidate was named Roos Ellemers, own name Ellemers, and her civil state was married to Dirk Fischer.⁷ After participants examined the e-mail, they were asked to judge the candidate Roos Ellemers on the items *dependent*, *ambitious*, and *intelligent*, from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*), to indicate how likely they thought it was that the candidate would be hired, from 1 (*low*) to 7 (*high*), and to estimate her potential salary (open question, net per month).

Results and Discussion

The mean judgments are reported in Table 3. A MANOVA revealed that in comparison with the applicant with her own name, the applicant with her partner's name was judged as more dependent, $F(1, 48) = 7.24$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 p = .13$; less ambitious, $F(1, 48) = 6.04$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 p = .11$; and less intelligent, $F(1, 48) = 5.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 p = .10$. Furthermore, participants estimated the chances that the applicant with her partner's name would be hired as lower, $F(1, 48) = 4.31$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 p = .08$, and participants thought that she would earn €861,21 per month less in comparison with the woman with her own name, $F(1, 48) = 8.76$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 p = .15$.

Study 4 showed, consistent with Study 2 and 3, that a woman with her partner's name is judged as more dependent, less ambitious, and less intelligent. Furthermore, these judgments affected the chance that a woman would be hired as well as the estimation of her salary: Compared to a woman who kept her own name, she was less likely to be hired and her salary was estimated considerably lower.

It is important to note that the participants in this study were all students, and it is unlikely that they have

⁷Because the information about surname was explicitly presented on a separate memo, it was clear to the participants that this was relevant information. This makes it likely that participants did pick up this information and judged it in their judgment.

TABLE 3
Mean Judgments Based on Last Name (Study 3)

| Attribute | Own Name | Partner's Name |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------------|
| Dependent | 3.33 | 4.27 |
| Ambitious | 3.96 | 3.04 |
| Intelligent | 3.96 | 3.04 |
| Chance of being hired | 4.33 | 3.54 |
| Estimate of salary (net a month) | €3020.83 | €2159.62 |

a lot of experience with the job market (e.g., applying for a job, hiring employees, estimating salaries, etc.). This is of course true for both experimental conditions, but this could have affected our results. Furthermore, in daily life it is unlikely that a woman will introduce herself with both her own name and the name of her partner, and some women use different names depending on the situation (see Scheuble & Johnson, 2005). Thus, marital name change is not always as evident/visible as in the present study. The effects of marital name change on judgments are likely to occur only when this name change is noticeable for the perceiver, for example, when addresses are changed, when forms are filled in, when one sees official documents, or when a woman uses a hyphenated name (see Study 3). In the present study, we did not include a hyphenated name condition, but given the results of Study 3, we would expect that a hyphenated name would have the same impact in an application context as a partner's name. However, to be sure about this, future research might look into this.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A large majority of women change their surname from the day they marry. Based on sociological data, we showed that women who take their partner's name differ on a variety of demographic variables from women who keep their own name. These variables are to a greater or lesser degree associated with female stereotypes. We subsequently demonstrated that the choice of women to change their surname is not without consequences. In three studies, we showed that a woman with her partner's name is judged as more caring, more dependent, less intelligent, more emotional, and marginally less competent in comparison with a woman who kept her own name. Furthermore, Study 3 again showed that a woman who changed her name is judged as *less* independent, ambitious, and intelligent. Moreover, this study also showed that a woman who kept her own name, one who was unmarried but lived with her partner, and a man were also judged as *more* independent, ambitious, and intelligent in comparison to a female for whom no surname information was given.

Finally, Study 4 demonstrated that the chance that a job applicant with her partner's name will be hired was lower than that of a job applicant with her own name. Furthermore, the estimated salary of a woman with her partner's name was considerably lower: a difference of €861,21 per month.

It is notable that the effects of marital name change on judgments are specific to gender stereotypical traits and do not affect general judgments. Therefore, the results cannot be attributed to a halo effect but are more likely explained by the salience of the female stereotype. Apparently, a characteristic as subtle as a surname can cause this effect. Furthermore, both women with their partner's name as well as women with a hyphenated name are judged more in accordance to the female stereotype.

Of interest, in the relevant literature a common distinction in marital name choice is traditional versus nontraditional, and most research includes hyphenating in the nontraditional category, together with keeping one's own name (e.g., Hoffnung 2006; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993; Twenge, 1997; for an exception see Goldin & Shim, 2004).

Women who choose to hyphenate might also view this option as nontraditional, as they appear to have more feminist attitudes and score higher on personal agency—similar to women who keep their own name (Twenge, 1997, see also Hoffnung, 2006). Our findings, however, indicate that the "nontraditional" choice of hyphenating has "traditional" consequences for judgment.

Our findings seem somewhat at odds with the results of Forbes and colleagues (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Hamm, 2002), who found that women with hyphenated surnames, in comparison with "the average married woman," were perceived as more friendly, good-natured, industrious, and intellectually curious. However, different paradigms could explain the opposing findings. That is, Forbes and colleagues explicitly told participants that the study aimed to test perceptions of individuals with hyphenated last names. Moreover, they explicitly instructed participants to compare a married woman with a hyphenated last name to the average married woman. Because the comparison was made very explicit, participants were likely to focus on the differences between them and married women. Such explicit procedures are susceptible to demand effects. To avoid the possibility that results are driven by the experimental procedures, we believe it is important to be careful with revealing the true purpose of these type of studies and, more important, to use a between-subjects design with the different targets in different conditions.

But, in line with Forbes et al. (2002), Etaugh and colleagues (1999) found that women with a hyphenated name are judged as agentic as women with their own name, whereas women with their partner's name are judged as

more communal. Thus, even for women with the name of their husband, it is possible that hyphenating is not always seen as a traditional choice. One explanation for the difference in findings may be that we collected our data in the Netherlands, and it is possible that in other countries hyphenating is more associated with being nontraditional. Therefore, an interesting avenue for future research is to investigate cross-cultural differences in marital name change and its consequences for judgment.

A possible limitation of our research is that we did not test whether the names we used are seen as neutral names. That is, it could be that the names are associated with certain judgments (e.g., the name Ellemers might be regarded as more upper class than Kuipers) and that this affected our results. Although this is a possibility, we think it is very unlikely that these associations produced our results, as when this would be the case, it would be more likely that specific name associations would affect the general judgments as well. However, Study 3 demonstrated differences only on traits regarding gender stereotyping. Furthermore, in all three studies different names were used, so the possibility that each of these names would activate the same associations is doubtful.

It is also important to note that the participants in the present studies were all students and it could be that their age affected the results. Maybe we would obtain different results with participants from older generations, for whom keeping one's own name would be uncommon. However, it does not seem to be the case that marital name change is a phenomenon that will soon be history. We conducted a survey among 90 Dutch students (36 female, 54 male, $M_{age} = 21.4$, $SD_{age} = 2.4$) in which we asked female students to report their intentions regarding marital name choice, and we asked male students what they would like their future wife to do. Of the female participants in our sample, 83.3% planned on changing their name (22.2% prefer to take their partner's name, 61.1% prefer to hyphenate) and 81.5% of the male participants wanted their wife to change her name (35.2% prefer her to take his name, 46.3% prefer her to hyphenate). Even though this sample is not representative for the Western population and it is too small to draw strong conclusions, the data clearly indicate that the majority of these young and highly educated women are unlikely to keep their own name in the future (but an increase in hyphenating might occur).

A study conducted in the United States also indicated that marital name change is not about to disappear. Goldin and Shim (2004) showed that taking over the partner's name actually increased after the 1990s (based on Massachusetts birth records and Harvard alumni surveys). The reason for this increase is unclear, but the authors speculate about an earlier decrease because of peer pressure and the possibility that keeping one's surname "seems less salient as a way of publicly

supporting equality for women than it did in the late 1970s and the 1980s" (Goldin & Shim, 2004, p. 159).

If women knew how they would be judged, would they still change their name? Suppose the differences in salary became reality? What's in a name? Calculated to a working life: 361.708,20 euros. That is more than a million ice creams, a large family house in the middle of the Netherlands, or four luxury BMWs from the 5 series, with all accessories.

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Research about the effects of this naming policy/procedure/practice:

The situational use of a maiden name for females is common in the US. Approximately 12% of women reported sometimes using their maiden name and sometimes using their married name. About 80% of women who reported situational use of their maiden names used their maiden names in professional situations (Scheuble & Johnson, 2005). The use of a professional name for females is common. Working women were more than twice as likely to report situational use than were women who did not work. Highly-educated women (such as university faculty) were more likely to report situational last name use than were women with lower levels of education (Kopelman et al, 2009; Scheuble & Johnson, 2005).

Females who change their names professionally can experience detrimental effects in the workplace, particularly for female university faculty. A large portion of the Annual Review and Promotion and Tenure process for faculty is related to our publications and national recognition, both of which suffer when women do not retain their professional name (Tescione, 1998).

“...women elected to keep their surnames to protect the value of their contacts, publications and professional goodwill.” “Women with advanced degrees, occupations in the arts and writing and longer careers before marriage would appear more likely to retain their names” (Golden & Shin, 2004).

Research has found effects of using a husband’s name in how the woman is viewed in the workplace (Atkinson, 1987; Embleton & King, 1984; Etaugh et al., 1999; Noordewier et al., 2010). “The woman who retained her maiden name ... were seen as more agentic and less communal than the woman who took her husband’s name” (Etaugh et al., 1999). “Women’s surnames are used as a cue for judgment.” “A woman with her own name ... was judged as ... more independent, more ambitious, more intelligent, and more competent” (Noordewier et al., 2010). The use of a married name can also have effects on a woman’s job prospects. “A job applicant who took her partner’s name, in comparison with one with her own name, was less likely to be hired for a job and her monthly salary was estimated €861,21 lower (calculated to a working life, €361.708,20)” (Noordewier et al., 2010).

Many documents from universities across the nation accept the use of preferred (non-legal) names on their university ID cards (for example, Wesleyan -

http://www.wesleyan.edu/registrar/general_information/preferred_name.html, Purdue -

<http://www.purdue.edu/business/card/faq.html#whatspreferred>, University of Texas -

<http://www.dailytexanonline.com/news/2012/04/16/new-policy-will-allow-transgender-students-to-list-their-preferred-name-on>, Indiana University -

<http://policies.iu.edu/policies/categories/academic-faculty-students/university-student-services-systems/USSS-15-preferred-name.shtml>, University of Michigan -

<http://www.finance.umich.edu/treasury/mcard/preferred-name>). It appears to be “best practices”

in the University community to allow students, faculty, and staff to use their preferred name on university identification cards as well as in other university information systems.

Married Women's Situational Use of Last Names: An Empirical Study

Laurie K. Scheuble^{1,2} and David R. Johnson¹

Situational last name use was examined in a sample of 600 married women who responded to a mail survey. The sample was selected from the faculty and staff of a state university in the Midwest with over-sampling of women whose last name differed from their husband's last name. Overall, 12% of married women reported situational last name use. Women from all last name choices (e.g., changed to husband's, kept birth surname) reported situational surname use, but the most common occurrence of this practice was among hyphenators. Situational users were most likely to use their husband's last name in family situations and their birth surname in professional situations. Factors that increase situational last name use included full-time employment, higher levels of educational attainment, and an older age at marriage. Situational last name use by married women can be seen as a manifestation of ambiguity over identity with family and non-family roles.

KEY WORDS: married women's surnames; situational last name use; marital roles; women's roles.

Traditional marital naming practice in the United States calls for the woman at the time of marriage to change the last name she has had from birth to her husband's last name. This practice is a vestige of a patriarchal family system wherein the wife was viewed as property of the husband and her identity was primarily tied to her position as wife and mother (Pearson, 1985; Weitzman, 1981). Feminists have long viewed this naming practice as a way to preserve the traditional social structure that delegates to women the role of wife and mother and pressures women into giving up their identity and their past (Omi, 1997). The notion of women as property is an anachronism, no longer supported by the legal system or accepted by the general public, yet naming conventions still largely mirror this traditional view. As women in greater numbers assume work and community roles outside the family, the way

woman adapt to the conflicting identity demands in naming practices and to the use of names has become an important area for research that has received little attention to date. The purpose of the present study was to examine determinants of the choices of surnames by married women in common social and family situations.

There appears to be some erosion of the more proprietary naming practices, such as married women being called by their husband's first and last name (Mrs. John Doe, for instance) and dropping both their first and last names completely in formal situations. Despite this change, the overwhelming choice made by women today is to use their husband's last name. Studies suggest at least 95% of women still follow this traditional practice when they marry (Brightman, 1994; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995). However, researchers have not focused on the stability of last name use on the part of married women. Women can and do use different last names depending upon the social situation. For example, women who kept their birth surname when they married might use their husband's last name when interacting with teachers at their children's school, and women

¹Department of Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania.

²To whom correspondence should be addressed at Department of Sociology, 211 Oswald Tower, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802; e-mail: lks12@psu.edu.

who changed their surname to their husband's may use their birth surname when visiting their hometown or in professional situations.

In the present study we empirically examined the practice of situational last name use in a sample that includes sufficient numbers of married women with conventional and non-conventional marital surnames to allow us reliably to assess some of the determinants of the situational use of marital names by women. We first focus on providing evidence of the prevalence of the practice of women who vary the last name they use by social situation. Next we examine the effects of women's marital name choice, educational attainment, work status, age, age at marriage, number of children, and degree of gender role traditionalism, the importance of a woman's surname to her identity, and religiosity on situational surname use.

Men and women are socialized into differing roles in society, and these roles can have consequences for surname use. The roles women tend to play emphasize the importance of being a wife and mother, whereas men's roles tend to emphasize making money and supporting a family (Bernard, 1981, 1982; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Institutionalized socialization is based, to a large extent, on gender inequality, and it produces different expectations about last names for both men and women. Women in the United States today have fewer material resources, less social status, and less power, and thus have fewer opportunities (Ritzer, 1996). Women, for the most part, give up their surname at the time of marriage and take their husband's surname as their own due, in part, to their social position and in part to traditional societal expectations carried over from times when gender inequality was more extensive. This practice underscores the major status of women in life as wives and mothers, but conflicts with competing statuses that women increasingly occupy today and that are equally central to their lives.

One solution for women who juggle conflicting identities within familial and non-familial roles is the use of different surnames in different social contexts. Because there is strong normative pressure for a woman to change her name at marriage, we might expect some anxiety, role stress, and role conflict for married women related to marital name choice (Roscow, 1994). A married woman may find it difficult to view herself as "Mrs. Mary Smith" in a context where she has developed an important social identity that does not encompass her identity as a member of the "Smith" family.

Women may view their birth surname as an indicator of the part of their lives that is separate from their identity as a member of the family into which they married. This would be particularly true of women who change their last name at marriage. Women who change their last name to that of their husband may find situations wherein they feel comfortable using their birth surnames, such as at a high school reunion or around people from their hometown. The same may be true of women who do not change their name at marriage. They may be inclined to use their spouse's last name in situations where family identity has more salience, such as at their children's school or around their husband's family.

No researchers have systematically and empirically investigated the situational surname use of married women, although a number of researchers have focused on the issue of women's surname choices at the time of marriage (e.g., Duggan, Cota, & Dion, 1993; Etaugh, Bridges, Cummings-Hill, & Cohen, 1999; Forbes, Adams-Curtis, White, & Hamm, 2002; Foss & Edson, 1989; Kline, Stafford, & Mikosovic, 1996; Stannard, 1984; Twenge, 1997). Some of the same social forces that lead to the identity issues and conflicts that have been documented in these studies of marital name choice should also apply to actual surnames women may use in different social contexts. Although no empirical data are available to document the extent of such situational use, anecdotal evidence suggests that this practice may be quite common. For example, etiquette books from the 1970s held that, although it was acceptable for women to use their birth names professionally, it was not appropriate for them to use their birth names in family situations (Vanderbilt, 1972). The mention of situational name use in the context of a widely read book on etiquette suggests that the question needed to be answered for women in the early 1970s, when substantial changes in women's roles were beginning to occur. Although it is clear from theory and research on women's roles and everyday observations that situational surname use is relatively common, the degree up to which this occurs, the situations where it occurs, and the characteristics of women who practice it today are largely unknown.

We have certain expectations about the factors that might impact married women's situation surname use. On the basis of research and theory that identifies different sources of identity for women in contemporary American society, we would expect that women who have both strong familial and non-familial sources of identity would be more likely

to report situational name use. Women who took their husband's last name at the time of marriage may be more likely to use their birth surname in professional or occupational situations, or situations wherein they were known by their birth surname, such as class reunions. Women who kept their birth surname may be more likely to use their husband's last name in situations that evoke family solidarity or identity, particularly if they have children. For example, if the children have their father's last name, as is the most common practice (Johnson & Scheuble, 1997), the mother may use her husband's last name at teacher conferences or PTA meetings to establish more clearly her relationship with her children.

In the present study we examined a number of variables that we expected to have some effect on situational surname use. We (Johnson & Scheuble, 1996) found that women married since 1980 were more likely to make unconventional marital surname choices than were women married before 1980. Thus we expect that women in more recent marital cohorts would be more likely to vary the surnames they use by the situation than would be women in older marital cohorts. This reflects changes in society and a more liberal view of social statuses on the part of some women. For similar reasons, we expected that younger women would be more likely to employ situational last name use than older women because they grew up in a time of more flexible social roles and expectations. Educational attainment has been found to affect the likelihood that a woman will make an unconventional last name choice at the time of marriage (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995, 1996). Thus we expected that the likelihood of situational use of surnames would increase with the level of wife's education, because more years of schooling are likely to be associated with increased opportunities outside the family and a greater expectation of assuming roles beyond wife and mother. The number of children in the household might affect situational use because the presence of children may restrict the number of alternative roles available to the woman, thus yielding an inverse relationship between situational use and number of children.

We expected that the marital name choice made by the woman at the time of marriage would also impact the degree of situational use. Women who took their husband's last name and completely dropped their birth surname and women who took their husband's surname but kept their birth name as a middle name would be less likely to be situational name users than women who used a last name that

is different from their husband's. Women who kept their birth surnames confront the issue of two last names in the household on a more regular basis, such as when there are children present whose last names are often different from their mother's, so more opportunity and motivation exists for situational use in this context. We also explored the effects of religiosity on situational last name use. Evidence suggests that people with strong religious beliefs tend to be more traditional in their lifestyle choices, gender role attitudes and marriage and family patterns (Grasmick, Wilcox, & Bird, 1990; Jensen & Jensen, 1993; Morgan, 1987). Research has shown that higher levels of religiosity result in an increased likelihood of more traditional lifestyle choices related to other domestic behaviors and activities, such as decisions about housework and sexual behavior (Ellison & Bartkowski, 2002; Peterson & Donnenwerth, 1997). Similarly, we expect that women with higher levels of religiosity would be more likely to use one surname independent of social situations because it reflects a more traditional marital behavior expectation.

Two measures of attitudes toward social issues round out this study. We predicted that women who hold more liberal gender role attitudes would be more likely to vary the last name they use by situation than women expressing more traditional gender role attitudes. Gender role traditionalism has been found to impact marital name choice (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995, 1996); women who have a more traditional view of women's roles are more likely to take their husband's name at marriage, and we expected that traditional views would also affect the situational use of last names. We also examined the importance of the woman's last name to her self-concept. We expected that women who strongly identify with their last names would be more likely to use their last name consistently than would women with weaker surname identity.

METHOD

The Sample

The sample consisted of 600 married women who responded to a mail survey; they were selected from the faculty and staff directories of three campuses of a university system in a midwestern state. This source was used because the directories listed the full names of spouses of the married employees. Surveys were sent to all women in the directory

(employees and their spouses) who had a different last name than their husband—there were 388 of them. This was approximately 8% of the married employees listed in the directories, a number somewhat higher than we might have found in a more representative national sample, as such studies (Scheuble & Johnson, 1993; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995) have shown that less than 5% of married women made non-conventional marital name choices. For comparison purposes, a random sample of about an equal number of women with the same last name as their husband was also selected. Seven hundred eighty-five questionnaires were mailed. In addition to the first mailing, two reminder mailings were sent. Excluding the 53 women who were no longer married, were deceased, and had bad addresses, the response rate was 82% (600/[785 – 53]).

Because this is a sample of university employees and their spouses, the respondents tended to be better educated and hold higher status occupations than would be true of the general population. Fifty-two percent of the women held a masters or doctoral degree, as did 60% of their husbands. Seventy percent of the employed women held professional or technical positions.

Measures

Dependent Variable

Situational last name use was measured by the item “Sometimes, women use their maiden name for some purposes and their husband’s last name for others. Which of the following best describes what you do? (1) I always use my husband’s last name as my last name; (2) I always use my maiden name as my last name; (3) Depending on the circumstance, I sometimes use my maiden name and sometimes use my husband’s last name.”

Independent and Control Variables

Employment status of the respondent was coded as 0 (if the respondent was not working full-time at the time she completed the questionnaire) and 1 (if she was working full-time). The highest educational degree obtained by the respondent was coded in seven ordered categories that ranged from less than a high school diploma to a doctorate. Age at marriage, an indicator of marital cohort, was measured in

years. Respondents’ age at her last birthday, an indicator of age cohort, was measured in years. Number of children was measured with an open-ended question (range 0–9, Md. = 2).

Religiosity was measured by two items from the Marital Instability over the Life Course Study (Booth, Johnson, White, & Edwards, 1991). One item asked the respondent to report how much religious belief influences her daily life and the second item asked how often, in the last 6 months, the women had attended religious services. The relations of these items to other measures of religiosity demonstrate their validity (see Argue, Johnson, & White, 1999). Higher scores correspond to greater religiosity. The alpha reliability for the two-item scale was .82.

Marital name choice at the time of marriage was coded in six categories: (1) changed her last name to her husband’s, (2) kept her birth name as last name, (3) hyphenated her birth name with husband’s last name, (4) retained her birth name as her middle name, (5) kept her previous husband’s last name, and (6) other.

Gender role traditionalism measured whether the women had traditional or egalitarian views about men’s and women’s roles. Seven items from the Marital Instability Over the Life Course study (Amato & Booth, 1991; Amato & Booth, 1995; Booth et al., 1991) formed our scale: (1) A woman’s most important task in life should be taking care of her children; (2) A husband should earn a larger salary than his wife; (3) If jobs are scarce, a woman whose husband can support her should not have a job; (4) It should not bother the husband if a wife’s job sometimes requires her to be away overnight; (5) If a wife works full-time, a husband should share equally in household chores; (6) A working mother can establish just as good a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work; (7) Even though a wife works outside the home, the husband should be the main breadwinner and the woman should have the responsibility for the home and the children. These items were listed on a five-point scale (where 1 = *strongly agree* and 5 = *strongly disagree*). The score was the mean of non-missing responses to the seven items; a higher score indicates more traditional views on the roles of men and women. The score was not computed if the respondent left three or more of the items unanswered. The alpha reliability was .73.

The importance of the last name was measured with the item “How important is your last name to your self-concept?” Responses were made on a

five-point scale ranging from 1 = *not at all important* to 5 = *very important*; the higher scores indicate greater importance to the woman's self-concept.

Analysis Procedures

Weights were assigned to the cases to account for the disproportionate sampling design. Because women with the same name as their spouse were sampled at a much lower rate (1 in 9), an adjustment was needed to bring the data back to representativeness. To account for this, the married women with the same name as their spouse were weighted by 9 (the reciprocal of the sampling fraction used to draw the sample of women with a conventional name choice). As all women with a different last name than their spouses were chosen in the sample, they received a weight of one.

Means and correlations were used to examine the prevalence of situational use of last names and the correlates of the situational use. For most of the analyses we treated situational use as a dichotomous dependent (0 = *always uses the same last name*; 1 = *varies last names by situation*). Our analysis strategy involved examining both the zero-order relationships between the independent variables and situational use and the pattern of effects in a multivariate model. Because the dependent variable is dichotomous, logistic regression was selected as the primary analysis method (Fox, 1997). To aid in interpreting the logistic regression results, we report the exponent of the regression coefficient (*Exp b*) produced by the logistic model. We can interpret the exponent of the *b* coefficient as a multiplier of the odds of a using a different last name depending upon the social situation. When *Exp b* is greater than 1, the odds of a woman being a situational last name user increase that many times for each unit of change in the independent vari-

able. Coefficients less than one indicate that the odds decrease. The multivariate analyses included only the women who answered all of the items included in the model, which reduced the sample size from that used in the descriptive analyses. As an overall model explained variance term (R-square) is not available for logistic regression, we report an approximation using the Nagelkerke pseudo R-square statistic.

RESULTS

Table I presents the relationship between situational last name use (i.e., the dependent variable) and last name choice at the time of marriage. To estimate the overall percentage of women in the population of university employees and their spouses who reported situational use, we used the weighted estimate from the total sample reported in the second column of the table. The unweighted percentages are found in Column 1. Overall, 11.8% of the weighted sample, which represented the expected rate among married employees (or their spouses) of the university, reported situational use. We next examined situational use by the last name choice of the respondent. Because the weights only apply to women with the same surname as their spouse, use of weights would not affect the percentage distributions in these columns so we use the unweighted data. Substantial differences were found, although all groups reported some situational use. The highest use was among women who hyphenated their names; 55.8% of these women reported situational use. The next most common situational use was among women who used their birth name as a middle name (27.1%) followed by those who kept a previous husband's last name (25%). Women who took their husband's last name reported the least situational use, although 1 in 10 still reported this practice.

Table I. Situational use of Last Name by Respondent's Last Name Choice at the Time of Marriage (Percent Reporting)

| Situational use of last name | Total | Total | Husband's | Kept | Birth | Previous | Other last |
|--|------------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------|------------|
| | unweighted | weighted ^a | last name | birth name | Hyphenated name | | |
| Always used husband's last name | 48.4 | 82.5 | 88.0 | 0.0 | 15.4 | 70.0 | 18.8 |
| Always used her maiden (birth) name | 27.8 | 4.6 | 0.8 | 78.5 | 11.5 | 2.9 | 18.8 |
| Sometimes used her maiden name and sometimes used her husband's name | 20.2 | 11.8 | 10.4 | 20.9 | 55.8 | 27.1 | 25.0 |
| Other last name choice | 3.2 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 17.3 | 0.0 | 37.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| No. of cases | 585 | 585 | 250 | 191 | 52 | 70 | 16 |

^aWeighted to adjust for oversampling of women whose last name differed from their husband's.

Table II. Surname Use on Documents by Married Women Who Reported Situational Use (Percent Reporting)

| Type of document | Husband's | Wife's | Both | N |
|---------------------------------|-----------|--------|------|-----|
| Name on social security card | 36.3 | 62.8 | 0.9 | 113 |
| Name on automobile registration | 48.7 | 50.4 | 0.9 | 113 |
| Name used professionally | 18.6 | 79.6 | 0.0 | 113 |
| Name used with family | 57.4 | 41.7 | 0.9 | 115 |
| Name use with friends | 54.8 | 43.5 | 1.5 | 112 |
| Name used on legal documents | 43.8 | 53.6 | 2.7 | 112 |
| Name used in other situations | 58.3 | 41.7 | 0.0 | 60 |

We next examined the kinds of situations that caused married women to use different names. Those who reported using different last names by situation were asked to indicate, on a list of seven situations, whether they tended to use their own birth surname, their husband's birth surname, or both in these situations. These results are reported in Table II. These situational users were most likely to use their husband's surname with family and friends (57.4% and 54.8%, respectively) and in other situations we did not list on the survey. Other situations included introductions to people with whom they will have little future contact; when refreshing people's memories about previous acquaintances; when dealing with clerks in restaurants or stores or with repair people; or using the last name by which the person with whom they are interacting addressed them. Overall, these women were most likely to use their birth surname professionally (79.6%) and with the Social Security Administration (62.8%). The largest differences in situational use occurred between work (professional) and family situations.

The means, standard deviations, and correlations among the variables used in the logistic

regression models are presented in Table III. We used the unweighted sample because the stratifying variable (i.e., last name used) was included as one of the independent variables in all of the models, therefore weights were unnecessary (Winship & Radbill, 1994). There was a significant correlation between situational last name use and six of the variables examined. Situational use was negatively correlated with gender role traditionalism (a higher score indicated more traditional gender role attitudes), positively correlated with degree of identity with last name, and positively correlated with educational attainment, full-time work status, and age at marriage. Situational name choice was also negatively correlated with number of children; the more children, the less the likelihood of situational use. Religiosity and age were not significantly related to situational use.

We next used logistic regression models to examine predictors of situational name use. We report three models. The first contains only the marital surname used by the woman (entered as a set of dummy variables). The second adds basic background characteristics that were likely to remain relatively stable from the time the person was first married. In the third model, variables are entered that may have intervened between the background variables and the situational use of last names, including the gender role scale, the number of children, and the importance of last name to self-identity.

Table IV presents the findings from three logistic regression models. In the first model, four of the five marital name choices were significantly related to situational last name use. Compared to women who changed their surname to that of their husband, those who kept their birth name ($p < .01$), hyphenated

Table III. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Variables in Regression Model ($N = 538$)

| | Mean | SD | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
|---|-------|------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|------|
| (1) Situational use of last name | 0.21 | 0.41 | 1.00 | | | | | | | | |
| (2) Employed full-time (0 = no; 1 = yes) | 0.59 | 0.49 | 0.14** | 1.00 | | | | | | | |
| (3) Wife's educational attainment | 5.30 | 1.61 | 0.20** | 0.08 | 1.00 | | | | | | |
| (4) Religiosity | 3.06 | 1.16 | 0.00 | -0.14** | -0.17** | 1.00 | | | | | |
| (5) Age at marriage | 28.10 | 7.62 | 0.18** | 0.03 | 0.28** | -0.22** | 1.00 | | | | |
| (6) Age of respondent | 43.01 | 9.24 | -0.06 | -0.15** | -0.14** | 0.09* | 0.20** | 1.00 | | | |
| (7) Number of children | 1.86 | 1.36 | -0.10* | -0.21** | -0.22** | 0.26** | -0.22** | 0.35** | 1.00 | | |
| (8) Importance of last name to self-concept | 3.75 | 1.12 | 0.09* | -0.02 | 0.16** | -0.07 | 0.12* | -0.09* | -0.23** | 1.00 | |
| (9) Gender role scale | 1.83 | 0.61 | -0.10* | -0.24** | -0.39** | 0.41** | -0.24** | 0.20** | 0.32** | -0.16** | 1.00 |

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table IV. Logistic Regression with Situational Use of Last Name as the Dependent Variable ($N = 538$).

| Independent variables | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| | B | Exp (B) | B | Exp (B) | B | Exp (B) |
| Marital name choice | | | | | | |
| Kept birth name | .730 | 2.076a** | .076 | 1.079 | -.110 | .458 |
| Hyphenated | 2.780 | 16.123*** | 2.278 | 9.957*** | 2.188 | .410*** |
| Birth name as middle name | 1.045 | 2.842*** | .714 | 2.043* | .667 | 4.077* |
| Previous husband's name | 1.718 | 5.573** | .792 | 2.207 | .715 | .892 |
| Other | 1.718 | 5.573 | 1.110 | 3.036 | 1.233 | .935 |
| Employed full-time | | | .689 | 1.992** | .711 | 2.036** |
| Wife's educational attainment | | | .306 | 1.358** | .303 | 1.353** |
| Religiosity | | | .142 | 1.153 | .151 | 1.163 |
| Age when married | | | .041 | 1.042* | .039 | 1.040* |
| Age of respondent | | | -.018 | .983 | -.017 | .984 |
| Gender role scale | | | | | -.081 | .922 |
| Number of children | | | | | -.010 | .990 |
| Imp. of last name to self-concept | | | | | .178 | .837 |
| Constant | -2.123 | | -4.763 | | -4.183 | |
| Nagelkerke Pseudo R-Square | .164 | | .234 | | .240 | |

Note. (0 = always uses the same last name; 1 = uses husband's last name sometimes and birth name sometimes).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. (Two-tailed tests)

their names ($p < .001$), kept their birth name as a middle name ($p < .001$), and used their previous husband's last name ($p < .01$) were significantly more likely to report situational last name use. The largest effect by far was for women with hyphenated names. These women were almost 17 times more likely to report situational last name use than were those who took their husband's last name. Name choice accounts for approximately 16% of the variance in situational use (pseudo-R-square = .164).

Model 2 adds the control variables of employment status, education of respondent, religiosity, age when the respondent married, and age of the respondent at the time the survey was completed. Only two of the marital name choice variables remained statistically significant after the controls were introduced: hyphenated name ($p < .001$) and use of birth surname as a middle name ($p < .05$). After we controlled for the background variables, women who hyphenated their last names were almost 10 times as likely to be situational last name users as women who took their husband's surname. Employment status had a significant effect ($p < .01$) on situational last name use. Working women were more than twice as likely to report situational use than were women who did not work. We also found that well-educated women were more likely to report situational last name use than were women with lower levels of education ($p < .01$). Finally, the results showed that the later the age of marriage, the more the situational name use ($p < .05$).

In Model 3 (see Table IV), we added gender role traditionalism, number of children, and the importance of last names to self-concept. Although each of these variables was significantly correlated with situational name use (see Table III), none were significantly related to situational use in the multivariate model. Adding these to the model reduced the effect of the use of birth name as a middle name so it was no longer significant, but had little effect on the other variables in the model.

DISCUSSION

Our findings indicate that married women occasionally use different last names depending upon the social situation. Approximately 1 of 10 married women employees (or spouses of employees) of a university reported situations where they used different last names. Women from all surname choice categories reported some situational use, but by far the most common occurrence of this practice was among women with a hyphenated last name. We suspect that a hyphenated name is more susceptible to situational use because it is often difficult for women with hyphenated last names to use both last names consistently; others often insist on using only one of the last names. Hyphenated last names may be too long or cumbersome for the computerized personnel systems that track employees of school systems or patients in a physician's practice. This may lead women

to choose only one last name because they perceive that choice as easier in some situations (Pedersen-Pietersen, 1997).

We expected that situational use would reflect a differentiation between the spheres of professional and family life. This was supported by our findings. The majority of situational users reported that they were more likely to use their husband's last name in family situations and their birth surname in professional situations. Further analysis showed that, of the women who reported situational last name use, 80% of the women with their husband's last name, 98% of the women who kept their birth surname, 74% of the women who hyphenated, and 53% of the women who used their birth name as a middle name used their *birth names* professionally. When interacting with their family, 81% of the women with their husband's last name, 29% of the women with their own birth surnames, 68% of the women with a hyphenated last name, and 75% of the women with their birth name as a middle name reported using their *husband's* last name. In family situations, one's identity as a member of a family unit is more salient, and women often select the name that symbolizes their identification with this unit. In work situations, women's role as a family member is less salient, and their role as a separate individual who gains status and position from achieved criteria such as education, training, and experience becomes more central.

The logistic regression analysis confirmed that background factors most likely to be associated with dual identities of work and family were important determinants of situational use that had effects beyond the marital name they chose at the beginning of their marriage. Full-time employment doubled the odds of situational use. The effect of educational attainment was also strong and persisted after we controlled for marital name choice and other variables. Age at marriage also continued to exert a significant effect, although a more modest one; women who married later in life more likely to report situational use.

Although we found significant correlations in the direction we expected between situational name and the number of children the women had and their degree of gender role traditionalism, these variables did not exert significant independent effects beyond the other variables in the logistic regression analysis. Finally, we expected that if a woman reported that her last name was important to her self-concept, we might find less situational use. Instead, we found that stronger identification with the last name was

positively correlated with situational use, although this effect was no longer significant in the regression model.

Persistence of the practice by women of taking their husband's surname at marriage in a society where women are increasingly gaining personal identity and social status from roles that are independent of marital status raises a tension that is being resolved by some women through situational name use. However, our research does not explain whether situational name use is a stressor for them, whether it causes conflict in their work and personal lives, or whether it gives women the opportunity to utilize whichever surname is most comfortable in a given social situation. Clearly this ambiguity about last name predominantly affects women because men rarely change their last name when they marry. Violators of social norms are most likely to experience consequences of their decision, including personal stress and cultural stereotypes. Although social change has occurred in U.S. society, and at least some women are retaining their birth names or hyphenating their names when they marry, it remains to be seen whether this represents a minor nuisance to women or has more profound consequences for identity and stress.

More research is necessary to explore how such situational use affects women's self-concept, potential role conflict, and perceptions of role ambiguity. Our research did not focus on these issues although they are important research questions. In addition, researchers need to focus on other groups of women. Although our sample provided us with enough women who make non-conventional last name choices to analyze the data reliably, it would be useful to expand the research to women not associated with academia.

Researchers also need to examine whether situational last name use is a choice on the part of women who do it. Perhaps situational last name use is forced upon some women in a society that values the patriarchal naming practice. Women who kept their birth names may believe they have little choice but to be addressed by their husband's last name when they are interacting with personnel from their child's school, service personnel, personnel at physician's offices, and sometimes even members of their own families. Focusing on issues raised by the practice of situational name use highlights the conflict created in a society that values individual achievement and identity for women, but at the same time provides strong normative support for women who sacrifice

their birth name as a symbol of their own identity in order to have a common family name.

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Susan M. Tescione

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A Woman's Name: Implications for Publication, Citation, and Tenure

SUSAN M. TESCIONE

Women researchers sometimes use their birth names as middle names or employ hyphenation of the birth name and the married surname in their professional lives. However, this practice, when combined with other factors, can inhibit dissemination of their published work. These factors include ERIC's policy of listing writers by "first author and others" and the APA policy of listing cited references by last name and first initials. The Institute for Scientific Information's citation software uses "first author only" by last name and initials to locate citations. Because published articles and citation counts are used as indicators of the caliber of candidates, these established policies can be detrimental to tenure and promotion decisions for women researchers. A reexamination of these database policies can benefit women researchers. Recommendations include steps that women can take to improve the indexing of their work.

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especially concerned. They wanted to guarantee that their work could be traced, regardless of their marital status. Many of these women settled on a combination of the birth and the married names and sometimes hyphenated the two (Foss & Edson, 1989). By using both names, professional women believed that their publications could be easily traced and cited.

By the mid-1970s, legal battles proliferated over the right of a married woman to use her birth name. The chief antagonists were civil institutions such as tax offices, local boards of elections, and state driver's license offices (Center for a Woman's Own Name, 1974; Gorenge, 1976). In some cases, employers refused to recognize any surname but that of the husband, and litigation became common. The crux of the matter centered around English common law, about which jurist William Blackstone commented, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during marriage" (Blackstone, quoted in Bander, 1973, p. 46). The question was settled in two definitive court cases—*Stuart v. Board of Supervisors of Elections* in 1972 and *In re Petition of Kruzel* in 1975—when the courts decided that women had the right to determine their own names (Gorenge, 1976).

As the legal pot boiled, the computerization of libraries quietly evolved, but no one thought about what a hyphen would do to a name in a computer. Researchers began to experiment with cita-

tion software. In the eyes of most people then, computers were relegated to the realm of *Star Trek* and science fiction. In the 1970s, few in academe seriously considered that computerized technology could be used to evaluate the quality of faculty research and publication through the use of citation counts and journal impact factors (Garfield, 1983a, 1983b, 1998a, 1998b), and no one contemplated the use of technology in tenure and promotion procedures.

Understanding Search and Software Mechanics

At its most basic level, a search and retrieval system matches the characters input in the query to "character strings" that are already stored in the computer and retrieves those records that match the string exactly. Hyphens and spaces count as characters, and most systems will not search separately for the terms on each side of a hyphen. The user must input each term, either in different searches or through the use of Boolean operators such as "and," "or," and "not." Depending on the type of system and the computer language, even the use or omission of initials in a name can yield variable results. If a researcher's work cannot be found, it cannot be cited.

While citation software is not extensively used in colleges of education for personnel matters, its implementation is almost routine in the physical, life, and social sciences. Because many faculty in education have joint appointments and are reviewed for tenure and promotion in the sciences as well, a

"She takes his name . . . she becomes his half," wrote Simone de Beauvoir a half century ago (Beauvoir, 1949/1953, p. 429). Throughout the baby boom, professional women debated the merits of retaining the birth name after marriage. Hyphenation of birth and married names, professional use of the birth surname, and its transformation into a middle name presented the three most common alternatives to the loss of the birth name in marriage. In academia, women who had already published under birth names were

discussion of the quality of publication and citation is appropriate here.

In practice, research, teaching, and service are considered measures by which to weigh candidates for tenure. According to Shelley M. Park, research is weighted most heavily of the three and is key. The quality of research counterbalances most of the other deficiencies in a faculty member's record (Park, 1996). But what is "quality" and how is it measured? Lilli S. Hornig wrote:

One aspect of faculty "quality" is scholarly productivity, usually measured by some combination of publication and citation counts, both of which are known to be somewhat unreliable because of differing usages in ordering authors' names, inordinately high numbers of citations to faulty or controversial papers, and other difficulties. (Hornig, 1980, p. 123)

By "faulty or controversial papers," Hornig was referring to articles that are cited as negative examples.

Citation indexing contains standard bibliographic information, the references the author used in the original article, and indexed citations to the original article subsequent to its publication. It allows the user to trace a body of literature on a single topic based on the author's reference list and the quality literature that subsequently cited the article (Garfield, 1994). It is at this task that citation indexing excels. Because the process of obtaining the citations of the original article also yields the number of indexed cites to that article, faculty at institutions across the country began to use the citation frequency counts as a measure of scholarly quality, hence "citation count" (Garfield, 1983a, 1983b).

Ordinarily, "quality" refers to publications that involve a peer review process, and "quantity" refers to a count. However, the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), headed by Eugene Garfield, who developed computerized citation indexing for the sciences, argues that citation counts are a measure of quality because of the rigorous peer review process. ISI produces the only citation indexes available to the public, the best known of which are the DIALOG online versions of the Social Science Citation Index, the Science Citation Index, and Arts & Hu-

manities Citation Index (DIALOG, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Only a limited number of journals represent each field, and to determine how many publications represent a given discipline, a policy called "core literature indexing" is employed (Testa, 1998).

For disciplines that are well represented, ISI provides a compelling case for using citation counts as a measure of quality of both research and publication. Because the citation indexes employ a strict peer review system for journal inclusion, only top-tier journals with equally rigorous standards for peer review of articles are included in the indexes. A citation count is based not only on the number of authors who cite another author's work, but the both the original work and the citer's work must be located in the body of literature indexed by ISI, and to be included in the databases, both journals were subjected to peer review. Logically, only the top academic research will be included and cited according to this line of reasoning (Garfield, 1998a, 1998b). By combining core literature indexing policies with peer review, ISI claims that the resultant citation counts are a measure of quality. However, not all disciplines are equally represented, and the extent to which journals are selected for inclusion in the citation indexes is dependent on a series of complex factors and policies (Testa, 1998).

These policies have a direct bearing on tenure review. In academic areas that are poorly indexed in the ISI databases, citation counts are not representative of the literature produced by the researchers in the discipline. Regardless of discipline, outside review of a tenure candidate's publications and faculty expertise in specific research areas still provide the best assessment of research and publication quality in tenure and promotion procedures. Eugene Garfield stated:

The ultimate evaluation involves an in-depth interpretation of each candidate's papers and books . . . but the first crude impression [created by glancing at the citation indexes] needs to be qualified by the other impressions obtained through subjective peer review. (1983a, p. 355)

He also suggested using the citation indexes to "facilitate the peer review process by helping administrators

identify the group of scholars involved in research related to candidate's work. These scholars will be most qualified to comment on a candidate's research" (1983a, p. 357). Citation counts were never intended to replace other methods of assessing publication and research.

By far, the practice of using citation software to rate the quality of publication is the most controversial assessment method. Errors can often occur as a result of the user's inexperience with the software or a lack of product knowledge. In some institutions, citation searches for personnel actions are conducted by experienced librarians using DIALOG, a commercial online search system with its own syntactical language. However, in a recent interview, a librarian at a major research university stated that it is common practice for members of tenure committees to conduct citation searches themselves with user-level software that is installed from disks and placed in the library's search system (Blase, personal communication, November 1997). This practice was later confirmed in interviews with department heads in separate research on tenure review (Tescione, 1998a). Because correct usage of citation software requires training and practice, it is highly likely that an untrained novice will make errors.

Citation software, including the three ISI citation indexes in DIALOG, does not necessarily return an error message if data is incorrectly entered. The user will often receive a citation return of zero instead of an error message. The inexperienced user, not knowing that she or he has incorrectly input a search term, will simply assume that the zero means that there are no citations for the author or the article when, in fact, citations for these items could be present within the system. Other flaws include the pooling of citations by multiple authors with common names, name variants (often a gender-related problem), and receiving a low citation count because the software does not widely index the journals in a specific discipline. Not only could these kinds of errors lead to tenure and promotion decisions based on false information, but members of tenure committees could potentially open themselves to litigation through unintentional misuse of this software.

What's in a Citation?

The use and abuse of citation counts in tenure and promotion decisions, particularly regarding women, is a topic fraught with controversy. Ward, Gast, and Grant (1989) found evidence that citation rates are not gender neutral. Marianne A. Ferber (1986, 1988) demonstrated that researchers tend to cite a larger proportion of authors of the same gender. She stated that citation rates "should not be regarded as unbiased indicators of merit" (1986, p. 389). Elizabeth G. Creamer (1998) demonstrated that men are cited much more frequently than are women. Terrence A. Brooks (1985, 1986) argued that complex motivations are involved in an author's citation of other works. Because citers often have motivations that are not scholarly and some citations are negative in nature, using citation counts to determine the quality of publication can be deceiving. Because the vast majority of scholarly work goes uncited (Schwartz, 1997), citation counts are limited in value for judging the quality of publication.

Another aspect of motivation within the area of publication concerns how women are cited and referenced in scholarly literature. According to Jo Sanders, an educational researcher in gender equity, people need to see the names of women in print because initials are often assumed to be male by default (Sanders, personal communication, 1997). Her publications include the full names of authors, a practice that has been supported by her publishers. In her recent monograph, Elizabeth G. Creamer noted that one disadvantage to citation indexing for women was the listing of names by last name and initials (1998).

The literature notes that large segments of quality scholarly literature are hidden—unseen, unread, and uncited—because these articles are published in smaller, less popular journals. However, the real inequity lies not in invisible work, but in "invisible authors," a more human problem. Invisible authors may go unread, underpublished, uncited, and untenured because it is difficult to locate their work. Statistically, women are at a disadvantage in academe. They publish fewer articles—2.8 over a 2-year period as compared with 3.1 for men (Creamer, 1998)—and tend to publish in lesser quality journals (Enos, 1990). They are more likely to be

subsequent authors and less likely to be cited (Toutkoushian, 1994). In regard to academic rank, women constitute 28.1% of the associate professors and only 16.1% of the full professors. Within nontenured ranks, 61.9% of the lecturers are women as are 47.7% of the instructors (Faculty, 1997, p. 26). During the 1994–95 academic year, women at the rank of full professor earned an average of \$56,555; their male counterparts earned \$62,702 (National Center for Education Statistics, 1996, p. 249).

Is invisible authorship more likely to happen to women scholars than to men? If so, to what extent do APA and ERIC policies contribute to this phenomenon? Because there are more male researchers than female researchers, in articles with multiple authors indexed by ERIC, the chances of a woman being listed as first author are statistically less probable than the chances of a man being listed as first author. Theresa Enos completed positionality studies regarding the order of authorship. She found that women were less likely to publish in top-tiered journals and were more likely to be second or subsequent authors than were men and were published far less frequently (Enos, 1990). Elizabeth G. Creamer also noted that women are less likely to be listed as senior author than are men, and cited figures from various disciplines. Averaging Creamer's compilation of figures across all years and disciplines, only 22.74% of senior authors were women (Creamer, 1998, p. 39).

If women's names are hard to find because they are listed by last name and first initial and if their names have changed because of marriage custom, how difficult does it become to locate articles by women? An examination of the author index across multiple databases in DIALOG revealed that women's names are much more likely to create "splintering" of entries than are men's. In a pilot study with a small sample, women averaged five name variations, and one exhibited as many as eight variations (Tescione, 1998b). Men averaged only two variations, and these variations were caused primarily by the intermittent use of initials. Two women's names were misspelled when some of their work was published, and the incorrect spellings were indexed in the databases. The remaining variations were due to the

use of nicknames, changing surnames because of marriage and divorce, and the intermittent use of initials. R. R. Jordan (1997) and Liz Hamp-Lyons wrote (1997) companion articles on the effects of name variations. They agreed that splintered name listings in a database because of name variants confound the user's ability to locate an author's published work. "Kathryn Smith," used in the example below, is an actual researcher whose name has been disguised.

Outlining the Dilemma—The Case of Kathryn Smith

Name changes and variants, which affect women more frequently than men, can impede the location of an entire body of work by a female researcher. Other policies and practices also operate in tandem with this factor, further hindering the ability of other researchers to locate published research. The policies in question include the American Psychological Association's (APA) method of listing references by last name and initials (American Psychological Association, 1995) and the Educational Resource Information Center's (ERIC) policy of "first author and others" (ERIC Processing and Reference Facility, 1992, p. 35). In articles co-authored by two writers, both names are indexed, but when three or more writers co-author an article indexed in ERIC, it is standard procedure to list only the first author followed by the phrase "and others."

Most other library databases, such as PsycInfo and Sociofile, index all authors. An exception is citation software, which employs APA format and indexes by all authors in the author field, but indexes first author only in the cited reference and cited author fields. The use of citation software to determine the quality of research-related publications, combined with APA and ERIC policies, can place women at a distinct disadvantage for tenure and promotion if citation counts are employed.

To demonstrate the problems associated with these factors, a pseudonym based on the case of an educational researcher will act as an example. Kathryn E. Jones published under her birth name and used the initial "E." Then she married and hyphenated her birth name with her husband's name

first, becoming Kathryn Dalton-Jones, and published under this name, dropping the middle initial. Upon her divorce, she resumed the use of her birth name, this time becoming Kathryn Elizabeth Jones. Remarried, and now fully aware of the dangers of hyphenation, she published under the name Kathryn Jones Smith. In other authors' works, she can be found variously referenced as Jones, K. E.; Jones, K.; Dalton-Jones, K.; Dalton, K. J.; Smith, K.; and Smith, K. J. Unless a researcher knows Smith's personal history, it is virtually impossible to locate her entire body of published work. Because all of Smith's surnames are relatively common, a computerized search might retrieve bibliographic records for hundreds of authors, including those who publish research on similar topics.

If the user already has a list of references from an article, the author search is one means by which to conduct another search for related publications. Often, a user will attempt to find an exemplar record from the library search and retrieval system and look for related records of other publications by the same author. If the names of authors are listed in APA format in the reference list, the user might not have any way of identifying K. Smith. This situation is especially true if the system never retrieved the records the user expected in a preliminary search, a common occurrence if the article was not indexed or if indexing problems such as misspelling occurred. The problem of how the computer retrieves names works in tandem with the APA policy on references to defeat successful dissemination of Smith's research, particularly because of the common name.

For example, the user spots a reference in an APA-formatted list with "K. Smith" as third author. Unaware that ERIC indexes articles with more than two authors as "first author and others," the user retrieves the bibliographic record to assist in reconstructing Smith's name. In the process, the user discovers that "K. Smith" is not listed in the bibliographic record and turns to another author in the reference list. Smith has now lost opportunities to be cited in the literature, and those lost opportunities can translate into greater problems in attaining tenure and promotion if Smith's department uses citation counts as a

method of determining the quality of a candidate's published work.

Solutions and Recommendations

All researchers can optimize the likelihood of finding their work in the databases. Every author should publish under one standard name only, and hyphenation should be avoided. If a woman employs her birth name professionally, then she should standardize it early in her career. Little can be done to correct for a name variant, including misspelling or the use of a nickname, once the name has been indexed from the publication. Databases list the exact names that appear on the original article and, for the most part, will not change a misspelling or a name variant that has already appeared in print.

Tenure candidates who have used multiple names or name variants should list these in curriculum vita and bring them to the attention of the tenure committee. A librarian conducting a citation search typically receives only the publication list—not the full articles that are included in the tenure portfolio. If the names of the first authors are not correct and the publication list is not complete, crediting a candidate with all of the citations earned becomes difficult, if not impossible. Even though the database assigns citation credit to only the first author, an experienced librarian conducting a search will also check references with multiple authors (Courtois & Matthews, 1993). She or he will credit any citations of these articles to the tenure candidate, regardless of author positionality. These citations will be added manually to the tenure candidate's count. Candidates can request citation searches by a qualified librarian before tenure review or obtain coaching from a librarian to conduct their own citation searches. In this way, candidates know exactly what the committee should find.

Tenure committee members need to know the limitations of citation software and the issues of measuring publication quality. Tenure battles can result in litigation, and only a fully trained person who is qualified to conduct searches should use citation software for tenure and promotion decisions. In general, this person should be an experienced librarian or an in-

formation specialist, not a committee member.

ERIC's "first author and others" policy and APA reference format can inhibit the dissemination of any researcher's work, but these policies are particularly detrimental to women. Through awareness and the implementation of procedures that fairly assess the quality of publication, faculty can work to ensure equitable treatment in institutions of higher education. A review of current policies and practices is in order, with an emphasis on instituting new policies that promote gender equity.

Notes

Susan M. Tescione is affiliated with the University of Washington and Washington Research Institute.

¹The first names of the authors are listed in keeping with the practices espoused in this article.

²This reference is a monograph. The author requested the citation as listed.

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The AERA Standing Committee on the Role and Status of Minorities in Educational R&D announces 10 stipends in the amount of \$300 each to support the participation of advanced doctoral students in the committee's professional development course on "Embracing the Minority Scholar: Mentoring Publishing and Developing a Research Agenda."

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