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A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER DIFFERENCES

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee

Susan S. Brown

August 1975

1245634

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to express my most sincere gratitude to Dr. Suzanne B. Kurth, who has been a trusted and diligent advisor, a constant friend, and a woman for whom I have much admiration. I wish to thank also Dr. Neal Shover and Dr. Robert G. Perrin for their care and concern with the quality of my work and for their continued support. Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, Rodes and Peggy, whose lifelong faith and confidence in my abilities has been the greatest gift of all.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the social psychological literature which has dealt with sex differences in behavior. In the social sciences, despite the vast body of literature on sex roles, there is no clear understanding of the meaning of sex roles or of their effect on behavior.

One of the predominant types of research on sex differences in behavior has been laboratory studies. Although such studies have claimed to provide evidence on sex roles and behavior, there is a general lack of sound theoretical basis due to methodological flaws. Results in the areas of Motive to Avoid Success, conformity, and cooperation-competition have been reviewed and found to be inconsistent and inconclusive. Laboratory research as it currently exists, then, has not provided a sound framework for the analysis of sex differences.

A model is presented in this paper which is a systemic description of a particular perspective on the processes involved in sex related behavior. Concepts which are essential to this perspective are defined and clarified. The model is a representation of the elements involved in behavior as it is related to gender role and gender identity and as it is affected by additional intervening factors. This analytical framework suggests new directions for research design and techniques for the study of sex differences in social psychology.

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1960's and 1970's there has been a growth of interest in the topic of sex differences. This interest has prevaded all of the social sciences. Psychologists, anthropologists, psychoanalysts and sociologists have all attempted to determine the nature of the differences in the behavior of the sexes and have offered various explanations for the phenomena. Many divergent perspectives have been offered within each area so that there is as little internal consistency as there is consistency between disciplines. This leads to much confusion for the concerned reader and researcher.

One of the more prominent perspectives on sex differences is that of social psychology. Within the social psychological literature the significance of sex role differences has been accepted and incorporated into the study of behavioral differences in the sexes. Since one of the reasons for studying sex differences is to better understand social behavior in interactive situations, this paper will explore a social psychological perspective on sex roles and the effects of sex roles on behavior.

There are, of course, numerous positions in social psychology on the causes of sex-related behavior and the means of investigating the differences. In attempts to provide evidence on sex differences research has been done in experimental settings using sex as an independent variable. These studies have produced interesting findings on the topic of sex differences in behavior and sex roles. This paper

raises the question of what exactly has been the contribution of the experimental literature to clearer and fuller understanding of the phenomenon of sex differences.

Social psychological research in the laboratory has many limitations, not the least of which is the contradictory results obtained when sex is used as a major independent variable. The contradictory results are due, in part, to the failure to use sophisticated measurement instruments and techniques. An additional problem is the lack of a systematic organized body of theory to direct and justify the research. There is, also, an obvious lack of clarity about the definitions of the key concepts employed in the explantions of sex differences, which leads to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the variables.

The research on sex differences has developed in various special interest areas, but rarely has the focus solely been upon the examination of sex roles. Thus, in the last twenty years of experimentation on the behaviors of males and females, there has been no development of a theory or framework which describes the nature of sex roles or the processes through which they are acquired or maintained. Consequently, there is a wealth of unrelated, ungrounded findings which are inconsistent and confusing.

The goal of this discussion is to present the reader with a clear conceptual basis from which to view the elements related to sex differences and the processes involved in them. In addition, I wish to propose a description of the relationship of the elements of the process

involved in the development of behavioral differences. Hopefully, this description will establish a basis for analysis and further research on sex differences.

The paper is divided into three basic parts. First, we will present a critique of the assumptions and methodology in three major areas of experimental research on sex-related differences. The purpose of this is to make the reader aware of some of the specific inadequacies of the research and the findings in these well researched areas. Secondly, the author will present a clarification of concepts central to the study of sex roles and to the development of a theoretical perspective. This will enable the reader to understand the relationship between certain critical concepts to behavior of the sexes. Finally, the author will introduce a model incorporating the major elements involved in sex-related behavior. This model will describe for the reader the author's perspective on the processes associated with behavior of either sex. This type of exercise could lead to formulation of a systematic theory of sex roles and behavior which will lend continuity to research and provide a basis for cumulative understanding of the relationship of sex roles to behavior. It may also inspire new trends in methodology and suggest alternative areas for investigation.

CHAPTER I

CRITIQUE OF THE EXPERIMENTAL LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of three types of social psychological research in which researchers have consistently reported sex differences in behavior. A complete survey of all the social psychological research in this area is impossible due to the magnitude of the body of literature. Several criteria were employed for the selection of these three areas. First, they were all drawn from laboratory type research, so that the analysis is limited to one research setting.[1] Secondly, the types of research were chosen because of their recurrent appearance in major social psychological journals in the 1960's and 1970's. They also represent generally believed forms of gender differences. That is, these studies deal with popular conceptions of the differences in male and female behavior.

The areas of research reviewed are: (1) Motive to Avoid Success in women literature, (2) sex differences in conformity, and (3) sex differences in cooperation and competition in games. Researchers in these areas consider some of the most frequently made distinctions between behavior of males and females: achievement motivation, conformity and cooperation. A brief explanation and critique

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[1]It should be made clear that research done in the laboratory is not necessarily "experimental" research. Much license is taken in the design for laboratory studies and many do not have control conditions. The research reviewed here is no exception.

of these three types of studies is intended to suggest the need for further alternatives to the prevailing theory and research on gender differences, especially to the research being conducted in the laboratory situation.

These types of laboratory studies typically draw their subjects from either the childhood age group (1 year to 14 years) or more frequently, from the college age group (18-22 years). Due to the difficulties in relating findings on younger subjects to those on older subjects, this literature review includes only studies dealing with the older age group.[2]

II. THE RESEARCH: MOTIVE TO AVOID SUCCESS

Motive to Avoid Success research has become immensely popular and is cited frequently in articles dealing with women's roles (see for example Benson, 1972; Bernard, 1973; Epstein, 1973; Gornick, 1972 and 1973; Papaneck, 1973; Horschild, 1973; Wiley, 1973). It is rather unique in social psychology since the bulk of it remains unpublished in the professional journals. The concept was developed in Matina Hroner's dissertation study (1968) which attempted to explain achievement motivation differences in males and females. This was considered a breakthrough since the earlier literature on achievement motivation

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[2]In addition, the research done on younger groups is often in the area of developmental psychology which is not of primary interest given the sociological focus of the investigation.

had suggested that females have a lower need to achieve than males (Atkinson, 1958). Horner posited that in situations where females have the opportunity to succeed, they will become anxious and anticipate negative consequences if they do so. This is because success is viewed by women as antithetical to femininity. This anxiety activates the "Motive to Avoid Success" which Horner identifies as ". . . latent stable personality dispositions. . . in conjunction with standards of sex role identity" (Horner, 1972:159). Consequently, Motive to Avoid Success is not the same as the motivation to fail since it does not presume that the person desires to fail but rather that the person fears success.[3]

Horner's initial study was conducted on 90 undergraduate females at a major university in the Midwest. The women were instructed to write stories in response to the cue-- "After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class." Also 88 males were asked to respond to a similar cue in which the name John was substituted for that of Anne. This type of test (a variation of the Thematic Aperception Test) is scored on the content of the stories written by the subjects. Horner searched for indications that the

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[3]Much of the methodology and the conceptualization for Horner's work was derived from the work of McCelland and Atkinson (1953). It was in this work that they developed the concept of achievement motivation. Therefore, some of the criticisms of Horner's work offered in this paper are applicable to these author's work as well.

subject was anxious or upset over the situation presented in the cue sentence. A simple present-absent scoring technique was used for counting the fear of success statements in the stories.[4]

Approximately two-thirds of the females subjects exhibited fear of success imagery in their stories, while only 10% of the males showed the same. The subjects were then given performance tests in competitive situations--one being a mixed-sex situation. Horner found that the females who exhibited the fear of success imagery in the stories did significantly poorer on the achievement tests than females who did not show fear of success. She concluded that this supported her hypothesis that in competitive situations, females (who are much more likely to fear success) will not achieve as well as males (or females who do not show fear of success). In the replications done by Horner and her students, similar results have been obtained (Horner, 1970; Schwenn, 1970; Tangri, 1969).

In the development of her hypotheses and the analysis of her data Horner's three basic assumptions are: (1) the Motive to Avoid Success is characteristic of females rather than males, (2) the Motive to Avoid Success is more characteristic of women capable of success and career-oriented-women, (3) anxiety and the Motive to Avoid Success are greater in competitive (masculine) situations (Horner, 1969). The basic

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[4]The scoring instructions for Horner's study are vague and have been criticized on that basis. Her modified TAT has encountered many of the criticisms of the original methodology.

argument is that women find the qualities of femininity and the demands of success in conflict with one another.

Contradictory Evidence

Many serious questions have been raised about Horner's research by others who have been unable to replicate her findings. Particularly, questions have been raised about the methodological techniques used.

A primary criticism has been that Horner's original coding scheme was so vague and general as to allow wide variation in the interpretation of the meaning of "fear of success" imagery (i.e., categories are not sharply distinguished). Tresemer (1974) reported that Katz (1972) replicated Horner's study under identical conditions except with blind scoring. In fact, Katz found that more males (77%) than females (65%) showed fear of success. This suggests the possibility of scorer bias in the data analysis procedure. Thus, the scoring of the TAT may be unreliable and susceptible to much subjective interpretation.

Neither the Tresemer (1974) nor Levine and Crumrine (1975) could replicate Horner's results. That is, neither of these studies found that women showed significantly greater fear of success. Tresemer reanalyzed Horner's own data and found that, depending on the coding scheme employed, the results varied from finding fear of success in two-thirds of the stories of both males and females to finding only about 23% fear of success for both males and females (Tresemer,1974). This further suggests that there are many problems with the interpretation of the content of the stories.

Finally, another criticism of the coding scheme is the time order of the fear of success statements. As Tresemer points out negative statements which occur in the subject's story before the subject mentions the stimulus (Anne is the head of her class) cannot be considered the result of the stimulus. That is, the subject who makes negative comments about Anne which precede the event of Anne becoming first in the class is not showing fear of success--the success condition has not occurred yet. Therefore, some of the negative statements made in the stories cannot be legitimately called fear of success imagery.

Also, Levine and Crumrine (1975) point out a design problem in that the group Horner had originally intended to use as the neutral condition (in which males and females sat on opposite sides of the room and took the achievement test) was later used as the mixed sex competitive situation although the males and females have no contact with one another.

Some of the other studies which have failed to replicate Horner's results and remain unpublished are those of Curtis, Zanna and Campbell (1973), Katz (1972), Morgan and Mausner (1971).

Theoretical Problems

In addition to these methodological problems, there are some basic conceptual difficulties in this type of study. One must examine closely the assumptions underlying Horner's formulation of the concept of Motive to Avoid Success.

First, the cue that Horner has selected is one in which the female has succeeded in a male dominated situation, medical school. She did not use a cue in which the female had succeeded in a traditionally female dominated area, such as nursing school, nor did she chose a neutral field (one which is neither dominated by males or females). The choice of the same cue for males and females indicates that success is defined in terms of "male tasks." Achievement in traditionally female task areas is not considered to be a success outcome. Following Horner's logic, it would be impossible for a housewife to fear success since she is not competing in a male dominated area in which she is able to achieve "success." Because success is defined in terms of male tasks, success is not possible for the female operating in a traditionally female area. There are no contradictions between the role of housewife and the sex role of the female while there may be conflict between the role of medical student and the female sex role. However, I will contend that achievement in any task should be considered success. For instance, housewives may compete and succeed at a number of tasks, such as child rearing. There may be anxiety attached to failure and frustration from negative feedback of other females and males. Thus, the assumption that success may only be garnered in male-dominated tasks is a questionable one.

It is possible that the responses on the TAT administered by Horner were reactions to the deviant behavior of Anne in an all male situation. As Katz found in her study (1972), when the cue given the

females was that Anne was the first in a class which was half female, fear of success imagery decreased. This tends to indicate that the women subjects were responding more to the deviant aspect of being the only female in a male field than to the success of the female.

Secondly, Horner assumes that the fear of success is an almost exclusively female phenomenon. The rationale behind this assumption is that men are motivated to achieve success in all situations and they experience no conflicts as a consequence of success. Females on the other hand, are likely to find success at odds with their feminine identity. However, studies subsequent to Horner's suggest that males do show fear of success (Katz, 1972; Lavine and Crumrine, 1975; Tresemer, 1974). Males have even begun to show some denial of the value of success (Tresemer, 1974). (For example, the male who is highly successful may be open to negative reaction from peers just as the female is in the same situation.) The critical factor in this assumption is, of course, that success and femininity (not masculinity) are incompatible.

A neglected point is that males and females occupy many social positions with a multiplicity of role expectations. Factors such as race and social class may affect the perceptions of masculinity and femininity held. Therefore, while the feminine gender role itself may not stress success, the female may occupy positions for which there are expectations of success. Increasingly, each female may evaluate herself within the context of her own situation--what she perceives as

"feminine." Because of the current women's liberation movement, women may view success and femininity as not only compatible but as interrelated, since achievement and femininity are given positive evaluation by women in the movement.

Likewise, situational factors may influence a female's definition of success. For example, a housewife may define large parties as situations in which she may succeed as an entertainer, but may consider pencil and paper tasks in the laboratory as irrelevant to both her concept of success and femininity. Another situational factor is the nature of the audience involved. Certainly, the ratio of males to females in the audience may influence the perception of what is success. The definition of success may be negotiated in the situation by the actors.

In summary, definition of success varies with social group, with researcher's intentions or may vary for individuals with respect to various role expectations. It may also vary with respect to the situation--such as the nature of the task to be performed or the composition of the audience present. It is, therefore, misleading to make the statement that Motive to Avoid Success is a typically female phenomenon since it is difficult to establish, in fact, what success is transsituationally. There have been very few attempts to eliminate the bias of the cue which defines success in terms of male tasks alone. Tresemer (1974) has used variations of the TAT with more neutral cues--"After much work Joe (Judy) has finally gotten what he (she) wanted."

The greatest difficulty with Horner's framework may be the concept of motive. There is uncertainty as to whether the phenomenon Horner studies was a motive. Motives have been defined as stable, latent predispositions to act which are acquired through early socialization (McClelland and Atkinson,1953). There is no evidence presented by Horner that Motive to Avoid Success fulfills these criteria, with the exception of the fact that it is supposed to affect a female's activity related to achievement in competitive situations. It is difficult to ascribe much validity to the studies when Horner has failed to verify the existence of motive through the accepted method used in motivational research (Tresemer,1974). Horner did not provide evidence comparing groups taking the test under fear of success arousal and non arousal states.[5] This comparison would allow the reader to determine whether the Motive to Avoid Success was a latent predisposition activated in an arousal state and not present in the non arousal state.

Another problem with the Horner's conceptualization of motive is that it has not been established whether the negative feelings about success exhibited on the tests have anything to do with subsequent behavior.

Perhaps, the phenomenon Horner identified may be more appropriately analyzed as the strain resulting from role conflict. For any

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[5]Note that arousal condition is one under which dispositional aspects of personality find expression. Non arousal is a condition in which dispositional aspects are not activated (Atkinson,1958).

female or male, there may be several somewhat conflicting expectations in all competitive situations. For example, ideally one may be expected to be fair and ethical as a professional, but also may be pragmatically expected to do whatever is necessary to get ahead in the field. Contradictory stimuli of this nature could create a state of anxiety and negative feelings about success. In other words, what Horner called a latent predisposition to act may more simply be defined in terms of multiple expectations for behavior in competitive situations. The expectations may be somewhat different for males and females. They may influence the individuals' perception of their own masculinity and femininity. Also, anxiety may be confined to certain situations and absent in others. Such an anxiety producing situation may occur when the audience changes or when the tasks are altered which require different behaviors.

The conflict of expectations may be resolved through negotiation or through changes in the individual's perception of the situation, or withdrawal or segmenting roles. Anxiety and conflict may be aroused in other situations in which there are expectations for behavior which require different things of the actor. This conflict, however, is a <u>situation</u> not a <u>motive</u>. Anxiety in any situation may inhibit achievement, but this does not confirm the notion of the presence of a motive.

Both theoretically and methodologically, female "Motive to Avoid Success" framework is flawed. There are limitations to the test format, the nature of the cue and coding procedures. There are similar

limitations with the biased assumptions of the thoery and the misapplication of the concept of motivation. Indeed, Motive to Avoid Success literature raises more questions about the nature of sex differences than it resolves.

III. CONFORMITY

Numerous studies in the social psychological literature focus on the phenomenon of conformity, yet, there is no clear conceptualization of conformity. In fact, what has been labelled as conformity in some studies is elsewhere designated as compliance, persuasibility or aquiescence. Festinger has made the distinction between private aquiescence and public compliance (Festinger,1953). In this fashion he implies that conformity is related to a persistent change in attitude and behavior, while compliance is a temporary change in behavior in a particular situation (Festinger,1953; Kelman,1958). Conformity may be conceived of as a process of individual adherence to group norms and pressures over time. However, studies have not specified what is meant by conformity and often times there is no concern with the duration of the change in behavior.[6] The decision about the definition of the concept is an entirely arbitrary one, a matter of personal preference.

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[6]Crano (1970) has also defined conformity as persistent behavior and has conducted studies where subjects were later separated from the source of influence. This was an attempt to establish whether the individual will maintain a conforming pattern even when the direct pressure to conform is eliminated.

Since the definitions and measures of conformity deal predominantly with behavior, one must conclude that conformity is usually conceived of as behavioral not attitudinal. Conformity is the movement of an individual's behavior toward that of the group. The relationship between an individual's professed attitude and subsequent behavior is neglected.

The primary laboratory techniques in use are those of Asch (1951) and Crutchfield (1955). The Asch technique forces a subject to make judgements about the similarity of the lengths of two lines. His judgements may be influenced by erroneous comments by the experimenter's confederates in the group. The test is to see how much the subject's answers are affected by group pressure. In the Crutchfield method, the subject makes an assessment of a visual stimulus. Subjects are lead to believe that the panel in front of them registers the answers of the other participants, while actually the responses are provided by the experimenter from a control panel.

These two basic designs make use of a multiplicity of factors which are hypothesized to be related to conforming behavior. The independent variables in conformity studies are of two types: (1) personal characteristics (e.g., sex, social class, race, need for affiliation) and (2) situational influences (e.g., type of task, composition of the group, difficulty of the task). The relationship between the personal and situational variables is generally not considered by the researchers in conformity studies.

The focus of this discussion is on the proposed relationship of sex and conformity. Much of the literature suggests that there are sex differences in conforming behavior. Females are expected to conform more than males (Bardwick,1971; Chesler,1972; Duberman,1975; Hovland and Janis,1959; Janis and Field,1959). A widespread social belief is that women are more passive, dependent, and impressionable than males. Women are thought to be more interested in social approval than males and therefore, more likely to rely on others' judgements in formulating their own opinions (Bardwick,1972; Bass,1961; Crutchfield, 1955; Nord,1969; Parsons,1953).

The conformity research of the 1950's and 1960's frequently reported greater conformity among female subjects than males (Appleweig and Moeller,1958; Beloff,1958; Crutchfield,1955; Endler,1966; Hollander, 1965; Janis and Field,1959; Tuddenham,1957). More recent research has often found no significant sex differences (Endler,1965; Glinski et al., 1970; Phelps and Meyer,1966; Wyer,1967).

One of the first conformity works finding sex-related differences was conducted by Crutchfield (1955). His study is cited frequently in other research on conformity. The study used 40 female and 19 male subjects. The researcher claimed there was significantly greater conformity among females than among males across all the items tested. Unfortunately, the data and statitics are <u>not</u> reported in the article, so the reader cannot make an independent evaluation of the results. Also, some of the contradictory evidence noted in the study

is rarely quoted in subsequent research. For instance, Crutchfield also examined the effects of age on conformity and discovered that his sample of adult females was less conforming than adult males (Crutchfield,1955).

In the flurry of studies following Crutchfield, the greater conformity of females in laboratory situations was generally substantiated (Asch,1956; Crowne and Liverant,1963; Hollander, Janis and Haaland, 1965; Julian, Regula, and Hollander,1968; Nakamura,1958). Generally, the results were attributed to sex role socialization. In most cases however, no theoretical basis was offered for the expected sex differences, so that female conformity was frequently given post factum theoretical support (Endler,1965; Janis and Field,1969; Vaughan and White, 1966). Endler's (1965) discussion deals with the possible explanation of the results in terms of the female subjects alone. In other words, the male response is taken as the normative one and the differences are explained away in terms of the females behavior. Therefore, when sex differences are found in the data, the explanation centers around the female sex role. And when no differences are found, the interpretation still centers around the factors which might interfere with the influence of the female sex role. Vaughan and White (1966) try to account for their statistically non significant results by suggesting that their sample was biased. In other words, they were unwilling to accept results which indicated that sex differences in conformity did not exist.

Influences of Sex Versus those of Personality Factors

There are two conflicting interpretations of the significant differences found in conformity. One group of researchers argues that sex role socialization explains the differences in level of conformity while the other group contends that personality characteristics are more significant than sex role influences.

The latter perspective, which emphasizes personality characteristics, often correlates such items as low self-esteem or high dependency of females with their high conformity rates. Other variables often correlated with conformity include authoritarianism, need to affiliate, need to achieve, dominance and anxiety (Blake and Mouton,1961; Hovland and Janis,1959; Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey,1962). For instance, Janis and Field (1959) tested nine self-rated personality factors against measures of conformity on debatable issues. For the males a slight positive correlations was found between conformity and three personality variables. No positive correlations were found for the female sample. Since no substantial relationships could be established between the personality variables and the persuasibility of the subjects, it was concluded that sex was the most significant variable in explaining differences in conformity. The effects of sex role expectations were felt to be greater than any single personality factor. In a study published in 1964, McDavid and Sistrunk substantiated these results and concluded that sex explained more of the difference in levels of conformity than any other personality variable.

In later studies McDavid and Sistrunk (1965) obtained somewhat different results. Their subjects were exposed to four experimental conditions. In each condition the experimenter controlled for a different sex related characteristic. The design was specifically intended to separate the effects of sex and those of certain personality factors, such as need for affiliation and need for achievement. In the data analysis McDavid and Sistrunk found that personality factors were indeed related to conformity. They proposed that personality characteristics were quite complex and interrelated, so that a simple analysis of conformity by sex may be misleading. Expectations related to gender roles may not be the only expectations present in the conformity situation. Later, in a similar study (Sistrunk and McDavid,1972), the authors again found that certain sex-related variables--but not subject sex per se--explained most of the variance in conformity. They argued that future research should control for more of these related factors in order to establish the parameters of the effects of sex on conformity.

These two studies demonstrate that there is considerable disagreement over the significance of sex as an explanation of differences in conforming behavior. One might argue also that sex is used as a "short hand" variable to denote several personality characteristics which remain unspecified. If this is the case, then researchers must indeed indicate what personality characteristics they intend to represent by the use of sex as a variable. On the other hand one might assume that sex is used to represent cumulative effects of socialization.

The problem is simply that the researcher never investigates the process of socialization, assuming instead that it is accomplished in the same way for all individuals of each sex. Therefore, all males may be presumed to be alike and all females as well.

An additional problem is that it is extremely unclear how much interaction occurs between the role expectations of the actor, the situational influences and personality factors. This is a particularly critical point since most of the studies on conformity deal with the simultaneous manipulation of all of these variables.

Contradictory Evidence

One of the more obvious problems with the study of conformity is the inconsistency of the results. These are problems of validity and reliability. Many recent studies have failed to find significant differences in males' and females' conformity (Allen and Levine,1969; Costanzo and Shat,1966; Johnson,1974; Sistrunk,1969; Voughan and White, 1966). Indeed, two studies have found males to be more conforming than females (Kahana and Coe,1969; Kanareff and Lanzetta,1960). Even when using the same techniques, the experimenters are not able to replicate the findings of earlier studies reporting sex differences.

It appears that traditional explanations of the influence of sex on conformity are inadequate and that certain other variables may yield more significant results. Situational factors may have an interactive effect with the effects of sex in determining conformity. Other roles which the individual occupies may also exert an influence on sex

role expectations and behavior. Four such factors are examined: the situational factors of (1) task type, (2) task expertise, (3) sex of the confederate and the other role expectation's factor (4) age of the subject.

Situational Variables

Perhaps some of the inconsistency in the results of conformity research is due to the control of different situational variables in various studies. Allen and his colleagues have called for more use of situational factors in conformity research (Allen,1965; Allen and Newtson,1972). Possibly factors in the situation may explain some of the difference otherwise attributed to sex roles.

1. Nature of the task. The nature of the task utilized in the study may affect the conformity results obtained. In his earlier work, Crutchfield argued that sex was a more influential variable than the task used in the test. Other studies, however, have noted strong effects related to the type of task involved (Coleman et al.,1958; Glinski et al.,1972; Sistrunk and McDavid,1971; Sistrunk,1972). Due to the belief that socially defined roles dictated females behavior, early researchers felt that sex differences would be manifested regardless of the nature of the task. In a recent study, Sistrunk (1972) suggested that the tasks assigned in previous conformity experiments were biased toward masculine interests. Since one might expect individuals to conform more on tasks at which they do not have expertise or

previous interest, it may be that the masculine nature of tasks in the past influenced the conformity of females. In his study, Sistrunk drew a sample from those persons who scored on either extreme of the Gilford-Zimmerman masculinity test. The final sample then consisted of the 10 most "masculine" males and the 10 most "feminine" females. The subjects were then exposed to three task conditions--one masculine, one feminine, and one neutral.[7] Tasks also varied by difficulty. For the sex-typed tasks, no sex differences were found, that is females taking the feminine task were no more conforming than males taking the masculine task. There were cross-sex effects on the tasks, however In other words, the feminine subjects conformed more on the masculine tasks but not on the feminine or neutral tasks and masculine subjects conformed more on feminine tasks, although the results were not significant. Task difficulty did produce significant differences. Therefore, one might argue that task type and task difficulty have some influence on conformity and may be critical for conformity research. It is entirely possible that previous findings of sex differences may have been influenced by the nature of the task employed--especially if the tasks may be identified as having a masculine bias.

2. Expertise. An additional situational factor to consider is the persumed level of expertise of a confererate. Experimenters have

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[7]The authors did not provide a description of the differences in the types of tasks.

demonstrated that subjects considered to be well qualified at a task, produce higher levels of conforming behavior in other subjects (Mausner, 1954; Moore,1968,1969). Therefore, if the task presented is perceived to be one of male expertise, females might be expected to be more conformant (Messe, Chisena and Shipley,1968).

Also, there is evidence that people are more likely to comply with others on a task with which they are unfamiliar (Blake and Mouton, 1961). If the tasks selected have been ones with which females were less familiar, it would be reasonable to find sex differences in behavior.

Crano (1970) conducted a study in which the perceived expertise of the confederate in the study was manipulated by the researcher. He hypothesized that when the expertise factor is controlled, sex differences will disappear. The research involved 64 students who were asked to judge the number of dots shown on a slide. In the experimental situation, each subject completed the task with a total of 16 other subjects--8 of each sex. Subjects were assigned to a response position among several confederates. A confederate who gave erroneous responses was placed either directly before or after the subject's response position. The experimenter had influenced the subjects perception of the expertise of the confederates by praising them in front of the subject. The confederates then left and the subject was asked to report the number of dots on the slide in the face of inflated responses by the confederate.

Analysis of the data revealed that the sex of the subject had no effect on the variance in conformity. However, the perceived expertise of the confederate was significantly related to the subject's rate of conformity demonstrating the influence of this situational variable. In fact, this variable may have a comparable--if not greater--influence than role expectations on conformity. Consequently, expertise of others on the task must be considered when looking at sex differences in conformity.

A closely related variable is the proportion of the audience agreeing on an answer. One would expect this factor to operate in a similar fashion to the expertise of the other. Glinski, et al. (1970) used a Crutchfield technique to investigate the subject's sex, degree of naivete, and the size of the majority giving one response to conformity. All the subjects who gave nonnaive answers were female and were eliminated from the study. When they were eliminated, the original sex differences disappeared.[8] While the sex of the subject had no effect on conformity, the size of majority giving erroneous answers was significant. As the majority increased, the conforming responses increased.[9]

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[8]Since the nonnaive subjects were all female, the unadjusted results showed greater male conformity. The nonnaive females scored very low on the conformity measure because they suspected the intent of the experiment.

[9]For different findings (females conform more regardless of the proportion of the audience agreeing) see Julian, et al. (1968).

3. Sex of the confederate. Another situational influence on conformity is the sex composition of the group (or the sex of the confederate). There has been considerable variation in the sex composition of the groups employed in conformity research. Often, the sex composition of the group used is not reported. Experimenters provide no explanation for the particular sex composition utilized. Too little attention has been paid to the possible power of sex of the other on the response of the subject. Crano (1970) concluded in a recent study that sex composition of the group had significant influence in interaction with the expertise of the confederate. Johnson (1964) however, failed to find any significant effects of sex of the confederate on conformity in his study.

The findings on sex of the other is contradictory. In a study using an autokinetic device the effect of sex of the confederate on conformity was tested (Whittaker,1965). The subjects were placed in a situation with a male and then a female confederate. When the results of these tests was compared with the neutral condition, the experimenter found male confederates to be more persuasive than female confederates with both male and female subjects. The female confederate was not significantly persuasive for either group. In earlier research, however, only slight differences were found due to the sex of the confederate (Blake and Mouton,1961; Tannenham,1958). Endler (1965) found significant results in a study of the relationship between sex of the confederate and conformity. He proposed that females may conform

less to male than female confederates, which is somewhat different from Whittaker's (1965) conclusions. He argues that females are more concerned with social approval from their group than males, which leads them to greater conformity. These types of speculation are not really warranted given the theoretical basis of the study. Nevertheless, the data suggest conclusions unlike other studies utilizing these variables.

The important point is that sex of the confederate may have a significant influence on a subject's response in a conformity situation. Certainly, more investigation of this factor is indicated, especially given its implications for the use of single sex and mixed sex groups in research.

4. Age of the subject. Age has rarely been used as a variable in conformity research, although, obviously, age may interact with the effects of gender roles in determining conformity.

Few studies have used subjects other than adolescents and college students, making comparative analysis impossible. While a few studies have compared children to college students (Abelson and Lesser,1959; Costanzo and Shaw,1966; Luchins and Luchins,1955), there is no way to determine the persistence of childhood patterns into later years. One earlier study by Costanzo and Shaw (1966) found a curvilinear relationship between age and conformity for subjects ranging from young children to 18 year old students, but no sex differences in behavior.

Whittaker and Meade (1967) studied 291 subjects from various nationalities and age categories, using a modified Janis and Field technique.[10] There were no sex differences in conformity for any of the nationalities with the exception of those from Hong Kong. Age had some effect on conformity. Significant sex differences were found in the 16 year old age group, while no such differences were discovered in the older age categories. The authors suggested that during adolescence, females are more submissive than at any other age. Other writers argue that college women have especially low confidence in their abilities (Maccoby and Jacklin,1974). It is interesting to note that investigations by Kahana and Coe (1969) conducted on older subjects (beyond college) reported that males were more likely to conform than females.

When Singh (1970) conducted a study on Indian subjects, sex differences were found within each age group tested. Closer inspection reveals that the two age groups tested were only separated by one year--that is 20-21 years and 22-23 years. This age distinction is really not large enough to justify any conclusions about the effects of different age groups on conformity.

Perhaps, one of the most thorough investigations of the effects of age on conformity was done by R. L. Klein (1972) using a modified

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[10]Janis and Field (1959) used a questionnaire booklet to elicit opinions on several topics. Then the subjects were given booklets with persuasive statements. The subjects were asked again to give their responses and changes in opinion were recorded.

Crutchfield apparatus. In this study subjects were from two age groups: 16-21 years and 70-86 years. The data suggested that the sex of the subject was not significant for either age group. Age was significant--in that the younger subjects conformed less than the older ones.

Thus there is no clear empirical basis for theoretical speculation about the effects of age on the gender role of the actor. It seems likely that the expectations associated with particular age groups may influence the way that gender expectaions are perceived but further investigation of the effects of age is needed. This, of course, would entail the use of non-college subjects in laboratory studies.

Some Criticisms of Conformity Research

There are many flaws in the literature examining the realtionship of sex and conformity. The most serious problems which challenge the credibility of this body of research are considered below.

1. Lack of theory. There has been no systematic development of the concept of conformity or the theoretical explanations of the phenomenon. The literature is based primarily on post factum interpretations of the results--a kind of "arm chair sociology." A clearer distinction between such concepts as compliance and conformity might help explain the disparate results. If no systematic attempt is made to formulate a theoretical basis for the investigation of sex-related behavior in conformity, then there will continue to be nothing more

in the literature than unrelated, ungrounded results. One helpful step would be the systematic development of a conceptual basis for the study of sex and conformity. Until that time, few conclusions may be drawn from the experiments which use sex and conformity as variables.

2. Inconsistent findings. The most serious criticism of the conformity studies utilizing sex as a variable is the extremely inconsistent findings. It is very difficult to maintain any confidence in the results of any one study when the results of other studies are contradictory. On the basis of an extensive survey of the material on sex differences and conformity, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) reported contradictory findings, except for a trend away from the idea of greater conformity among females. Unfortunately, the perception of females as more conforming continues to direct much of the research in this field.

3. Techniques. The inconsistency of reported findings may be due to a number of factors. For instance, many techniques have been applied to the study of conformity. Several have already been mentioned. Some of the procedures make use of visual stimuli, others use verbal cues or written ones. While some procedures have the experimenter and/or a confederate present during the study, others provide complicated mechanisms for isolating the subject from others. Often the subject is conforming to bogus responses indicated on a panel. Even when one of the basic designs is adopted, modifications are usually made. This

may contribute to the variation in the results. One suspects that there is very low reliability between the measures. Also, it is difficult to generalize from one laboratory situation to another when the measures used may not be testing the same phenomenon. As Schulman (1967) points out:

> While behavior in the Asch situation has previously been interpreted as an indicator of conformity to the group, the data suggest that for both males and females the rate of conformity response in the Asch situation is a function of informational conformity, normative conformity, to the experimenter, and normative conformity to the group (Shulman,1967;38).

Then, there is some question as to whether such tests as the Asch studies do measure what they presume to measure. Also, certain types of techniques may be better suited to one population than another.

In addition, there has been little success in replicating the results of the early classic studies. The Sherifs (1973) review is an article which was a replication of the Janis and Field (1959) study. The results of the replication did not support those of the previous study. In a replication of the Hollander study (1965), Wahrman and Pugh (1972) were unable to achieve similar findings on several variables. These experimenters felt that the Hollander technique might be more appropriate in situations where the competence of all the subjects can be assumed.

One should also be aware that some of the measurement devices are not refined. McClintock (1969) argues that the Asch and Crutchfield apparatus are chosen not so much for their control or precision, as for their economy and convenience.

4. Subjects. A brief point should be made about the subjects generally used in the laboratory studies. First, the sample is most frequently drawn from a freshman college student population or a grade school population. Rarely are non-students sampled or even older college students (such as graduate students). The few studies on older persons do indicate that there may be a different pattern of conformity for the elderly than for younger subjects. The author could find no studies which used middle aged persons as subjects.

5. Situational variables. Much of the criticism of the conformity studies centers around the neglect of many important situational variables. Several significant situational variables have been discussed in this paper. In many cases, it appeared that the variables did have an influence on the results of the tests. Investigators often argue that these situational variables are more significant than sex as a variable. For example, it appears that some tasks may be biased in favor of male interests and skills (Sistrunk,1972). It is possible that certain tasks are irrelevant to the goals or vested interests of particular groups. Tasks may also be boring, so that a subject who is asked to participate in 50 trials may lose interest in the task. Since these tasks are simulations, there may be limited generalizability from laboratory setting to every day experience. In most interaction, the actor is able to negotiate with others and may succeed in alleviating some of the social pressures which affects conformity.

Expertise of the confederate was investigated as well. One might speculate that some experiments have provided tasks for the subjects at which males are perceived to be greater experts. If experimenters (generally male) treat male subjects as more expert, other subjects may treat them the same way.

Audience composition is another situational factor which may influence the outcome of conformity studies. The sex composition of the test group in particular may change the interaction among the subjects. In mixed-sex groups some of the results may be due to male-female interaction patterns which do not occur in single sex groups. It is not clear whether males are more persuasive as confederates, but it is surely a point which deserves greater attention. Too often, the sex composition of the group and/or the sex of the confederate are not reported. This makes any consideration of the consequences of sex composition impossible.

6. Sex as a variable. After inspecting the social psychological literature on conformity and sex, one is forced to ask if sex is a legitimate variable for such research. Actually, sex, per se, does not tell the experimenter anything about the subject except the persons biological classification. Sex is used to represent a series of personality variables which are assumed to be aspects of a socially defined role. Perhaps the more appropriate term to represent these factors is "gender role." The gender role of the individual defines the masculine and feminine expectations of behavior. Actually, what

the researchers are interested in are gender differences, not sex differences. If one is, in fact, studying gender differences in behavior, then sex is an inappropriate variable. Of course, sex is the conventional variable for laboratory research. In fact, Carlson and Carlson (1960) argue that sex should be a "universal" variable--that is utilized in all laboratory-type investigations. Until sociologists have a more accurate perception of what "sex" means in terms of behavior, this appears to be a useless exercise.

While some studies have found sex roles to be more influential than personality characteristics, others have found just the opposite. An additional complication is that studies which claim to have discovered sex role effects on behavior, generally explain the roles in terms of certain personality characteristics attributed to females. For example, one might read that women conform more because they are more dependent, submissive, insecure. None of these characteristics may be directly related to sex, however. They may be related to gender, but this is not verified. The reader should be cautious of accepting the results of research which utilizes the variable sex to represent that of gender.

IV. COOPERATION AND COMPETITION

Introduction

Conventional wisdom has it that males are more competitive than females. Females are perceived to be more likely to engage in cooperative

behavior (Angrist,1972; Broverman, et al.,1972; Hutt,1972; Vinacke, 1959). In support of this notion, the family is frequently used as an example of the way that the social structure provides competitive and cooperative roles. The male's role in the family prescribes competition for resources, while the female role emphasizes the maintenance of the family relations (Parsons,1953; Strodtbeck and Mann,1956; Slater,1964). Even at early ages males are expected to play rougher and be more competitive in sports and games than females (Bardwick,1972; Hutt,1972; Maccoby,1966). The sex roles literature argues females have been socialized to be non-competitive and cooperative (Angrist,1972; Wiley, 1973; Tyler,1965).

Experimental investigations of competition and cooperation in game situations have frequently made use of sex as a variable. Given that women are generally considered less competitive, it is interesting to inspect closely the laboratory research which has dealt with gender differences in cooperation-competition.

Most of the research on cooperation-competition is based on some form of a game in the laboratory situation. The format of the games varies a great deal. Games are designed to make use of different numbers of players, different kinds of players, numerous strategies, apparatus and means of communication. All of them claim to be testing the influences on the cooperative-competitive choice of subjects.

Of course, it is necessary to define cooperation. A cooperation condition has been referred to as a situation in which the achievement

of each person is dependent on the achievements of others (Wrightsman and Bringham,1973). It is difficult to arrive at a satisfacotry definition of cooperation from the social psychological literature since the definitions offered are not generalizable to non-laboratory situations. In the social psychological literature, cooperation is defined in the context of a particular game, not theoretically. For instance, Kahn, et al. (1971) view cooperative behavior as the choice by the individual which provides each person in the game with equal rewards.

Competition is the behavior which allows one person to maximize rewards at the expense of the others (Kahn, et al.,1971). Wyer and Malinowski (1972) developed the concept of "individualism" as interaction in which the actor maximizes outcome without regard to the other's outcome. They perceive of competitive behavior as that which increases the positive differences in the outcomes of person and other (Wyer and Malinowski,1972). Finally, Grant and Sermat (1969) argue that cooperation and competition are inappropriate designation for the phenomenon. They feel that cooperation and competition are reciprocal behaviors which necessitate direct interaction of person and other, which is frequently not the case in laboratory studies. They also argue that what is commonly referred to as competition in games is more accurately called "exploitation" and cooperation would be conceived of more appropriately as "submissive" behavior (Grant and Sermat,1969). Deutsch argues, however, there are few situations which

are purely cooperation or competition but generally, activity in interaction contains elements of both (Deutsch,1949).

There are several forms to the games used to test cooperation-competition. The predominant form is the Prisoner's Dilemma game. Originally the game concerned two prisoners accused of a crime who were given the choice of confessing to the crime or being punished. If both prisoners confessed, both were given five years in jail. If one confessed and the other did not, the first was rewarded and the other received 20 years in jail. If neither confessed, both were acquitted for lack of evidence (Rapoport and Chammah,1965). Many modifications of the game have been developed. All the games, however, are non-zero sum games. One of the variations is to eliminate the punishments and the rewards, so that the choices represent more or less points (Grant and Sermat,1969; Kahn, et al.,1971). Other variations have allowed communication between the players before or during the game (Kahn, et al.,1971; Wiley,1973). In other games, players are provided with threats or are given information about the credibility of one of the other players in order to increase the power of one of the players (Grant and Sermat,1969; Horai and Tedeschi,1969; Swingle, 1970). Another variation consists of asking subjects to choose strategies without any information about how the other player is responding. This negates the interaction influence which might occur in other games. In this game the strategy does not emerge in response to the other's actions (Wyer and Malinowski,1972).

Another form of game utilized in research on cooperation-competition is the board game. One of the first, developed by Vinacke and Arkoff (1956), is a form of the parchisi game. The three players roll dice to move around the parchisi board. Before the beginning of the game the players draw lots which determine their weighting for the game. For each throw, the player moves the number rolled on the dice times the assigned weight. The purpose of the game is to study the effects of power distribution on the formation of coalitions. It is assumed that those players who form coalitions are not cooperating in an effort to win the game. Those players not in coalitions must compete with players who have formed ones. Therefore, cooperation is a vital concern of the game.

Later versions of the game have been used to investigate sex differences in cooperation-competition and coalition formation. In subsequent efforts, Vinacke and his students have developed a variation of the game which purports to delineate the masculine and feminine strategies for playing the game (Uesugi and Vinacke,1962). They have even developed a game which is supposed to be feminine in content and strategy, and a specifically masculine one, as well. An example of a question from the feminine game would be:

Question: When a girl is asked to dinner by a train acquaintance, she should--
1. Call for the conductor.
2. Dash for the dining room.
3. Go Dutch.

Correct Answer: No harm in casual chatter to while the miles away--when the Handsome Stranger's not the wolf type. The girl who accepts his dining car bid should GO DUTCH then she needn't feel indebted (Uesugi and Vinacke, 1962:82).

Results of males and females on the two tests were compared on cooperation bargaining and coalition formation.

Examination of the Research

Some of the results of laboratory studies of cooperation-competition are reviewed in this section. As with conformity, the findings are quite confusing. The majority of the studies have reported no sex differences in cooperative behavior in games (Gallo and Sheposh,1971; Grant and Sermat,1969; Horai and Tedeschi,1969; Kormorita and Mechling, 1967; Speer,1972; Swingle,1970; Voissem and Sistrunk,1971). Some of the studies have even indicated that females are less cooperative than males in game situations (Bendell and Sistrunk,1973; Crowne,1966; Rapoport and Chammah,1965). Other investigators, however, have found that females are more cooperative than males, especially in the studies done with game boards using three players (Komorita,1965; Kahn, et al., 1971; Vinacke,1965). The nature of the conclusions and how those conclusions have been applied to definitions of gender roles requires further elaboration.

1. Prisoner's Dilemma game. A major flaw in the Prisoner's Dilemma literature is the presentation of unsubstantiated conclusions on sex differences in cooperation-competition situations. Frequently,

results which do not indicate sex differences are followed by conclusions explaining the differences in male and female behavior. Even in studies with data suggesting differences, the conclusions are frequently unwarranted and lack adequate theoretical basis.

For instance, in a study by Kahn, et al. (1971) sex, percent of cooperative responses from other, and physical attractiveness of the partner were the main independent variables. The authors' argument begins with the assumption that males are more oriented to maximization of rewards in games and females are more interested in interpersonal relations. Based on this assumption, the authors hypothesize that females will be more influenced by the situation and the social nature of the interaction than the males. Under the condition in which the optimal strategy depended upon the cooperative response of the partner, no sex differences were found in the behavior of males and females. Apparently disappointed with the results, Kahn, et al. explain that males change their behavior in the contingency condition because they obviously are more likely to perceive the change in the situation and are, therefore, more cooperative. One might speculate that if the hypothesis had been verified and females had shown greater reaction to the change in the situation, the conclusion would have stressed the female's susceptibility to social situations because of their greater interest in interaction.[11]

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[11]By way of note, this author was offended by the statement by Kahn, et al. that "Since the present investigators were all male, no attempt was made to interpret <u>feminine logic</u>. . ." (Kahn et al.,1971;

The second part of this study investigated the effects of the attractiveness of the partner on the cooperation in the game. Attractiveness of the subjects was rated by four trained assistants--two male and two female. It was hypothesized that females would respond more to the attractiveness of the partner of the opposite sex than would males. The results indicated that the interaction between sex and physical attractiveness was not significant. No significant differences were found in male or female behavior due to the attractiveness of the partner. There was a significant difference in the behavior of the "ugly" female in interaction with attractive males. In fact, the "ugly" female was significantly more competitive with the attractive male partner, while males were more competitive with an ugly partner regardless of their own attractiveness. However, the significance were not available for the latter. Kahn, et al. suggests that the results are very consistent. They conclude that females are more influenced by social pressure although their data do not support this. They also attempt to explain the competitiveness of the ugly female as follows: "Perhaps the reason the ugly females perform so well when they are playing with attractive males is that these girls are aware of their unattractiveness and feel that future social interaction with such an attractive partner is unlikely." (Kahn, et al.,1971:178). It seems quite presumptious of the experimenter to assume that the females

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272). It is this author's experience that logic is governed by standards which are not related to the gender of the person.

desired any future interaction with "such an attractive partner," when they felt no need to interpret for the reader the desires of the "ugly" male. It seems clear to this reader that in the hypotheses of this study, male behavior is taken as the norm and divergent female behavior is that which has been explained. Such assumptions are logically suspect and should be tested since they are really hypotheses.

Another study which bears closer scrutiny is that of Wyer and Malinowski (1972). This study examined the effects of sex of the subject, sex of the other participant, and the performance of the two on achievement tests on competitiveness and "individualism." The authors cite research which indicates that persons respond more individualistically as the similarity between the two is increased. In this study, subjects were matched for similarity by sex and achievement. It was argued that the person giving greater "inputs" into the interaction would be more competitive, less individualistic. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the high achieving male would find interaction with the low achieving female as necessitating costly inputs and would be more competitive as a result. The reader must infer from such an hypothesis that low achievement and <u>femaleness</u> are both considered <u>lesser</u> inputs, that is, not as valuable in interaction situations. Thus, low achievement and femaleness are negatively related to competitiveness. However, neither the males or females were asked if they valued the female in interaction less than the males. One must then assume that this is Wyer and Malinowski's sentiment.

Some of the results of the study were significant, but not in the predicted direction (e.g., low achieving females were highly competitive in interaction with high achieving males). The authors failed to report the significance test results for much of the data concerning competition and sex. Wyer and Malinowski conclude that females are more competitive against low achievers and males against high achievers. When persons of the opposite sex interacted, those with low achievement levels were more competitive than high achievers. The results are very confusing, given the assumptions made by the authors and their hypotheses. The authors explain males competitiveness with low achieving females as follows: ". . .males who perform poorly in the presence of females may be more apt to try and regain a position of dominance by interacting competitively, while expecting females to assist them in this effort by behaving non-competitively" (Wyer and Malinowski,1971:313). How do the authors explain the behavior of low achieving females? They reason that low achieving women are not really more competitive, but they are relative to males who refuse to compete with them. "These S's may see themselves in the role of the 'helpless' female, and expect males to acknowledge this helplessness by behaving noncompetitively" (Wyer and Malinowski,1971: 313). There is no reason to expect that even if the female had this attitude (which is doubtful and wholely unverified) the male would respond in this chivalrous manner. These authors also argue that females with high achievement in the presence of males have deviated

from the nondominant, nonachieving role expected of them and may try to regain their female position by acting noncompetitively. These explanations reflect the authors' assumption that regardless of the situation, the female is noncompetitive. Without any evidence, the authors have concluded that the female sex role precludes competitive behavior. Also, it is interesting that when the female cooperates, she is called conformant and oriented to interpersonal relations, but when the male cooperates, it is because of his chivalrous nature in assisting the helpless female. In other words, when the female does compete the results are attributed to her helplessness and when the female does not compete the results are also attributed to her helplessness. It seems unfortunate that the results and the conclusions of studies such as this are incorporated into the literature on gender differences.

Even in studies where no sex differences are found, the conclusions may offer "theoretical" definitions of sex role expectations. For example, Horai and Tedeschi (1969) examined the relationship of threats, and credibility on cooperation-competition. They found that neither punishment nor sex of the subject had any influence on the cooperative response of the subject. Then, they conclude that the structure of the game reduces the effects of sex role socialization. Would such a speculation have been made if the males had been found more competitive than females? The conclusion is oriented to explaining why the obvious male socialization to competition, achievement did

not have any influence on their competitive behavior. The authors also conclude that females are raised to be concerned with "domestic matters" and females find certain behaviors inconsistent with their cooperative nature. "Women's role stresses social relations and domestic matters" (Horai and Tedeschi,1971:169). These are curious conclusions since the authors reported in the preceeding paragraph that there were no sex differences in cooperative behavior. The statements concerning the socialization of males and females are unwarranted given the scope and the design of the study.

2. Parchisi game. The studies conducted by Vinacke and his students have all claimed that there are sex differences in cooperation-competition. The initial study (Vinacke,1965) looked for sex differences in the way the game was played. In this study, there were several power conditions and several possibilities for coalition formation among the players. The only significant difference in behavior of the sexes occurred in the analysis of the triple coalition and the failure to form coalition power pattern. When the scores of the game were not reported to the players after every game, the females were more likely than the males to form "triple alliances" and much more likely to form "no coalitions." This pattern disappeared when scores from the previous games were given to the players. There were no other significant sex differences in behavior. Based on this evidence, the researcher concluded that there were distinctively different strategies of play for males and females. He argued that females were

more likely to form alliances because they were more interested in the human aspects of the game and the formation of friendships and group relations than in winning the game. It is assumed that the change in behavior in the different game situation is due to the heightened interest in the game under the second condition. The researcher did not consider the alternative explanation that reporting of the scores might have clarified the goal of the game for the players. However, Vinacke proceeds with no theoretical basis or empirical evidence to "explain" sex role differences.

He argued that the female in the family is much more concerned with the internal maintenance of the group, while the male has greater external goal orientation. Since this is the typical pattern in the family, the child is obviously socialized into the adult sex role which prescribes competitive aggressive behavior for the male and supportive cooperative behavior for females. This is quite a conclusion from a study which found significant results in only one-half of one of the five tables in which sex is used as an independent variable. From this author's perspective, one would be more impelled to question the reason for the disappearance of the sex differences under the situation of cumulative score reporting than to draw conclusions about the nature of sex roles. The conclusions offered by Vinacke may be very misleading in terms of the understanding of the relationship of sex to cooperation-competition.

Convinced that the differences found in the first study indicated a basic sex difference in game strategy, Vinacke and one of his students developed masculine and feminine versions of the game (Uesugi and Vinacke,1962). Female and male triads played both the masculine and feminine games.[12] The experimenters expected to find that the females would exhibit a more accomodative strategy in the feminine game than in the masculine one. The experimenters argued that females form more triple alliances in the feminine game than males, although the results for the males and the females on both games were not statistically significant. The feminine game produced only minor changes in the females tendency not to form coalitions in other games. No significant differences in the games occurred under the all powerful coalition for either sex on either game. And, there were no significant differences in bargaining behavior (Caplow,1968). Unfortunately, the experimenters continue to conclude that there are no obvious differences in the game playing and cooperation of the sexes. Females are more cooperative and accomodative than males and this tendency is enhanced by the feminine game. In a similar experiment Vinacke has even gone so far as to claim the following:

> Males display a pattern of ruthless, cutthroat competition, with strong orientation towards winning. Females, on the other hand, more often manifest concern for fairness, equalization of outcomes

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[12]For an example of questions asked in the feminine game, refer to earlier part of this section. The masculine game is supposed to deal with topics which are typically considered to be of greater interest for the male (e.g., sports, achievement situations).

> and a strong orientation towards the social interaction aspects of the game. These strategies have been named "exploitative" and "accomodative" (Amidajaja and Vinacke,1965:447).

None of the data from any of the experiments would substantiate such statements. The results indicate that there are no differences in male and female cooperative behavior and no differences in strategy for either the masculine or feminine task.

The problem with such misinterpretations and such overdrawn conclusions is that they become a part of other theoretical frameworks. For example, the quote found above was used in the theoretical section of a study by Kahn, et al. (1971). Various studies have incorporated these poorly developed and documented results.

Critique of Prisoner's Dilemma Game

A basic problem with the Prisoner's Dilemma (PD) studies is the lack of specification of the concepts of cooperation and competition. Cooperative behavior in the PD game is defined as making the choice which leads to the most equitable division of rewards between players. This denies the mutual agreement connotation of cooperation. In general use cooperation implies the negotiation of outcome by actors; it indicates a certain amount of reciprocal behavior. In the PD game cooperation is measured in terms of one person's choice and there is no communication or interaction between the actors. In some cases, the subject is playing against a preprogrammed panel. Cooperation is difficult to define in terms of a single actor's behavior and it is hard to establish a pattern of behavior when subjects are not allowed to interact.

One modification of the basic game (called the "Chicken Matrix") claims to provide cooperative, competitive, submissive, and dominant choices for the players (Grant and Sermat,1969). This game, however does not provide for a communication between the players. This game simply provides a new definition of the situation in which the best choice for the player is determined by the pattern of choices of the other player. It allows for the difference in subjects who wish to maximize rewards and those who wish only to minimize losses (which is similar to the mini-max decision matrix). The game still forces the subject to react to the other actor's responses. No negotiation is possible and behavior is not reciprocal.

Implicit in the notion of cooperation (as it exists in the PD game) is the assumption of trust between the players. For the players to make a "cooperative" choice, there must be some confidence that the other player will maintain the previous pattern of responses. Therefore, there is a possibility that the PD game is testing "trust" more than "cooperation," as we usually conceive of it.

Secondly, competition is defined in terms of choices which maximize points or rewards for the actor in the PD game. Competition is defined in terms of outcome rather than in terms of interactive behavior during the game. Competition may be a number of different things. For instance, it could be defined as the desire to defeat an opponent (McClintock,1972). One might also conceive of competition as the motivation to achieve or "conquer" a goal--competition against a standard of excellence. Competition in another sense could be the

desire to maximize one's own interest regardless of the consequences for others. In the PD game the experimenters never state what is meant by competition, and there is no explanation of what type of competition PD games are supposed to measure. This could have consequences for the results on males and females. As Maccoby and Jacklin have commented, females are prevented throughout their lives from competing on teams against other teams. Females then begin to compete very independently against a standard of excellence (Maccoby and Jacklin,1974). Therefore, males learn to compete against other players, while females learn to compete against a task. This may have some influence on how the sexes play in the game.

An additional problem is the number of modifications made on the game and the lack of specification about the purpose of the modifications or their ramifications.

It seems that the PD game is not very reliable, as well. Kormorita and his colleagues have been unable to reproduce similar findings on sex differences in several studies (Kershenbaum and Kormorita,1970; Kormorita and Mechling,1967; Kormorita,1965), and the same difficulty has been experienced by Tedeschi (Horai and Tedeschi,1969; Tedeschi, et al.;1968). Researchers inability to replicate their own findings raises the question of reliability of the tests. It is perplexing to compare the results of the experiments, however, since the game is varied to some extent in almost every study. In addition, the data are often displayed in very cumbersome and confusing tables,

making it difficult for the reader to make independent interpretations of the data.[13] In many cases, the results of the significant tests are not reported.

There has also been some concern about how well the games are understood by the players. There is evidence (Liberman,1962; Steele, 1966) that in many instances the players do not fully understand the point of the game during the early trials. There is a tendency for the strategy to change over time as the players apparently recognize "the" purpose of the game. With both PD and parchisi games the competence increases with the number of trials. This makes the number of trials administered in the test a critical factor in the outcomes. The number of trials in the studies range from as few as 10 trials per condition (Horai and Tedeschi,1969) to as many as 300 trials per condition (Rapoport and Chammah,1965). This factor could also affect the strategy adopted by the players in the game, since cooperation has been found to increase with increased number of trials.

Finally, the PD game does not really approximate real world interactional situations. For one thing, there are no clear costs and rewards labeled for the actors in most situations. While the subject in the PD games may make a rational choice based on accurate information about the outcomes possible, the actors in social situations have limited knowledge of the value of certain behaviors and decisions. The

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[13]For examples of some poorly displayed data see such studies as Vinacke (1965), Kahn, et al. (1971).

actor in a social situation may not be aware of all the alternatives available. In the interactional situation there are usually compromise choices for both of the players which are not available in the matrix game. The PD game offers only yes or no as possible choices for either player. Interaction normally includes the possibility for bargaining and negotiation of outcome between the actors. New alternatives may be created through negotiation or a new pattern of interaction may be established. Also, the behavioral strategy of the actor probably includes elements of cooperation and competition at different times. The PD game allows for recognition of this mixed strategy. The subject is rated on the cumulative choices during the game trials. Therefore, the information gathered in the game situation is not generalizable to everyday interaction situations.

Situational Factors

Several studies have investigated situational factors and their relationship to cooperation and competition. Voissem and Sistrunk (1971) and Wiley (1973) found that the frequency of interaction between subjects of the PD game had a significant effect on the cooperation of the subjects in later trials. Wiley (1973) also discovered that the sex competition of the subject. According to Grant and Sermat (1969), both males and females exhibit greater cooperative behavior with partners of the opposite sex. And Kahn and his colleagues (1971) raised the issue of the effects of the physical attractiveness of the other player on interaction.

Swingle (1970) manipulated the amount of power of the player in the game situation and discovered some differences related to the power distribution but none related to sex of the subject. He indicated males and females were just as likely to exploit the weaker partner.

Gallo and Sheposh (1971) studied the effects of type of reward on the behavior of the players. They looked at the effects of real money versus imaginary rewards on the cooperation-competition of the players. No sex differences were found in either condition and there were too few cases to test the significance of the main effect of real money rewards.

There is an obvious need to continue to investigate the effects of situational factors and design factors of the game on the behavior of the subjects, since most of the results thus far have been inconclusive.

Review of the Criticism of PD Game

1. Concepts. There has been no development of the concepts of cooperation-competition in the social psychological literature. The lack of clear definition of the terms makes the application of the results to other studies or other situations problematic. The results on sex differences in cooperation found in the research may not apply to cooperative behavior in other situations for cooperation is not adequately defined in the research. Cooperation in the PD game probably

is not comparable to cooperation in other life situations. Likewise, there is no understanding of the implications of modifications for the validity of the cooperation games. If, for example, communication is allowed between the players, does this change the meaning of cooperation assumed in other studies? There is an apparent lack of concern with the development of theoretical definitions of the concepts or of the modifications.

2. Sex as a variable. The use of sex as an independent variable has produced some misleading results. While most of the data from laboratory studies indicate that there are no differences in cooperation-competition between the sexes, the conclusions drawn from these data give the opposite impression. In many cases, erroneous and unwarranted conclusions have been drawn (e.g., concerning the docile, cooperative, submissive nature of the female) without any theoretical or empirical basis. It becomes quite apparent after reviewing the literature that sex represents a number of socialization factors and personality qualities to researchers. Since the exact socialization process or quality which sex is to represent is not specified by the experimenter before the study is done, the researcher is free to choose whatever suits his/her purpose in the conclusions and analysis. Indeed, it can be argued that there are no well grounded conceptualizations of the variable sex in any of the literature reviewed in this paper. The lack of understanding of the meaning of "sex" in research leads to the persistence of invalid interpretations of the results. Even with

data which indicate no sex differences in cooperation-competition, there are explanations offered for the variation in female behavior.

3. Situational variables. The results of the studies on the relationship of situational factors and cooperation-competiton are unclear. The experiments reviewed suggest the nature and the effects of such factors as sex composition of the group, communication between players, instructions given the players, type of rewards, number of trials, and competence at the game. If any of these variables influence the outcome of cooperation studies, there is the possibility that they have had an effect on the realtionship of "sex" and cooperation. It is imperative that researchers investigate further the impact of the situation on sex-related behavior. Situations may influence the way the individual perceives of their masculinity or femininity. This may ultimately effect the behavior of an individual in an experiment.

4. Other roles. There has been little investigation of other roles which the subject plays which might influence the cooperation-competition of males and females. Speer (1972) dealt with married couples in his study to ascertain the effects of marital status on cooperation-competition. Generally marital status is not controlled for in experiments on sex differences in PD game. Of course, most of the samples are drawn from a predominantly single population of college students, so that there is no experimentation on the effects of other roles such as marital status. Variation due to "age roles" is

not discussed again because of the limited sample populations used. Neglect of these areas limits understanding of the effects of competing role obligations with gender role expectations. It also means the results on sex differences potentially are applicable only to a small group.

5. Reporting of the results. The author wishes to mention the manner in which results are reported in these studies. Many of the tables in these articles present the data in a fashion which provides little information and does not facilitate the replication of the calculations. In other cases, the tables and statistics are not presented in the text of the paper. Too often the statistical significance of the differences between the male and female samples is not reported and the reader must rely on the author's discussion which may not be reliable.

CHAPTER II

CASE FOR THEORETICAL EXPLANATION

In the preceeding chapter we discussed some of the flaws that exist in the laboratory research literature. Results from laboratory studies are often inconsistent. The tasks presented in the tests are generally biased in favor of male interests and there is little control for such factors as age or competing role expectations of the subjects. The concepts are not well defined which leads to misinterpretation of the data and much post factum analysis. The literature generally disregards effects of such situational factors as type of task, sex ratio of the group, sex of the experimenter, expertise of the subject with the task, number of interactive contacts of the subjects and more.

In addition, one may identify several problems inherent in laboratory studies in general. For instance, laboratory situations are artificial and unusual ones. The physical setting is generally foreign to the subjects and they are not there by choice. Because it is unusual, the individual cannot call on past experience in this situation to structure the interaction or provide expectations for behavior. The physical surroundings are not related to any previous experience or current activity. Also, the tasks administered in the laboratory are contrived and often boring. Few subjects can find any utility in playing games, writing stories, judging the length of a line. The interaction in the situations is, likewise, contrived and unnatural.

Subjects are asked to play games and to interact with strangers, and such activity may violate the normative constraints on stranger relations. This type of interaction does not really simulate much every day interaction. The interaction observed with strangers may not be generalizable to interactive situations with non-strangers. This is a major limitation given that much gender related behavior is related to friendly interactions. In some cases, the subjects do not actually interact with one another. They are forced to convey information through machines or through experimenters. This prohibits the process of impression formation which is important to development of the basis for interaction. Verbal and non-verbal cues are frequently removed from the interaction which is, again, atypical and prohibits the natural development of relationships.

The laboratory research also ignores the statuses of the subject which are external to the research design. Experimenters control for only a few variables and are therefore, unable to ascess the impact of such factors as physical attractiveness, relative intelligence and other information which subjects disclose about themselves. The research tends to ignore the effects of other statuses and competing expectations attached to them. Consequently, there is no discussion of the possible effects of social class on achievement and competition in laboratory studies of behavioral differences.

Laboratory studies are not designed to study process. Experimenters measure only the outcome of an interaction and not the negotiation which precedes the ultimate results. The evidence already presented

suggests that the interaction and the outcome change with an increased number of trials. There is no analysis of the negotiation of roles and identities among the subjects in laboratory design. Even in situations of coalition formation, there is no discussion of the mechanisms used by subjects to establish their power or other relations during the game. Because of this restriction, it is difficult for laboratory studies to produce information about behavior which is the result of a developmental process.

The concepts which are applied in the laboratory research are generally operationalized in terms of the outcome of the game. For instance, competition is defined in terms of the number of points acquired in a game. Often there is no theoretical definition offered. It is therefore, impossible to apply the results of these games to every day situations where competition must be defined in terms of interactions, not in terms of points. We have already addressed the problem of the conceptualization of sex as an independent variable and mentioned that there is no theoretical basis for its use. There is also no theoretical basis for the conclusions drawn when such poorly defined concepts are utilized in research. One often feels that the laboratory situation dissects behavior without explaining how the parts observed are related. Because of the poor conceptualization and the inability of the laboratory situation to provide information on the processes involved in behavior, many unstated assumptions are made about factors which precede the entry of the subject into the laboratory. Subjects are supposed to

"bring with them" their socialization experience. However, the researcher may only presume to know what this socialization experience is.

The subjects which are used most often in laboratory research are not representative of the population in general. Subjects are generally white, college age students at major universities. There is no control offered for the effects of age, race, or sex ratio of the group on behavior of the subject. Because there has been so little experimentation with respect to these factors, it is difficult even to anticipate the effects that they might have on the results found in the laboratory. In addition, the lack of investigation on different age groups inhibits comparisons of behavior. If older groups could be compared to younger groups, the researcher might be able to determine the amount of change in the sex-related behavior which has occurred over the years. Certainly, until more is known about various groups in the society, the results from the laboratory should not be generalized to a larger population.

And finally, the researcher in the laboratory is unable to gain greater understanding of the basis for behavior for observation made of behavior in the laboratory. Any explanation of behavior must be made in terms of the independent variable manipulated in the study. There is no way for the experimenter to judge the meaning of behavior for an individual or the motivations of the subject.

In general, then, the social psychological literature reviewed is characterized by a lack of theoretical consistency, by technical

shortcomings, and by the restrictive nature of the laboratory situation. Few contributions have been made to the theoretical understanding of the variables which influence behavioral differences of males and females. In addition, the laboratory research reviewed has failed to identify typical gender related behaviors with any degree of certainty. Thus sex differences are not well understood.

Part of the problem may be attributed to the laboratory situation itself. Another problem is that of the techniques used. The assumptions underlying some of the measures are flawed (for example, the assumption that only women may fear success). The measures lack reliability since the results vary widely and the results are seldom replicated successfully. The instruments used in the laboratory research on sex differences are generally not sensitive to the effects of a multitude of situational factors (i.e., sex ration of the group, experimenter, type of task involved), or of competing role expectations.

So, while the sex role literature has continued to characterize females as having greater fear of success, as being more conforming and cooperative, the social psychological literature has really provided little support for such statements. In fact, there is an inherent flaw in the current laboratory research which creates a barrier to discoveries on sex related behavior. This flaw is theoretical.

Much of the difficulty with the existing research is the atheoretical nature. Concepts are poorly defined, if they are defined at all. Sex is used as an independent variable although there is no

theoretical justification for its use. Sex, in fact, is used to stand for a set of processes related to the socialization experiences of males and females, while no recognition is given to these factors in the design. The subjects, presumably, bring all of this socialization with them and the sex of the subject is then an indicator of these experiences. It then, represents many personality and attitudinal variables which are never specified. Thus, researchers have no real awareness of what they are measuring. One could argue that they are attempting to understand the differences in the culturally defined and socially acquired gender roles, but the variable utilized is sex.

I will argue that a recognition of the processes involved in gender related behavior is essential to any progress in the research in this area. Gender specific behaviors are the product of all complex and continuous processes.

There is a need to delimit the processes and the factors involved and clearly articulate their relationship to one another and to behavior. New direction could be given the study of gender differences with the development of a systematic conceptual and theoretical framework from which to conduct research. This perspective should include a description of the factors related to behavioral variation associated with gender. It should also suggest new techniques outside the laboratory setting for the study of gender.

Toward this end, the subsequent chapters of this paper will deal with (1) specification of gender related concepts, (2) elaboration

of the relationship of role, identity and behavior, and (3) a description of the process and factors related to the development of gender specific behavior. Finally, there will be several suggestions for new directions in the research on gender differences which avoid some of the problems discussed in the previous chapter.

CHAPTER III

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

I. INTRODUCTION

In an era of emphasizing women's equality, interest in sex role socialization has heightened. Since the social psychological literature has offered little clarification or direction in the study of sex roles, much more extensive research is necessary. The laboratory studies give the reader little insight into the process of continual socialization into the gender roles in our society. No strong justification exists for the continued application of sex as a variable in experimental research given the underdeveloped state of sex as a concept. Consequently, this paper attempts to present a systematic explanation of the factors involved in gender-related behavior.

Much of what has been assumed to be documented evidence of the differences in the sexes is based on inadequate investigation and grounded in conceptual and definitional confusion. Obviously, there is a good deal of controversy and disagreement in this area of sociology. Much of the disagreement stems from the conceptual uncertainty. This chapter proposes a definitional and conceptual system for the study of differences in the behavior of males and females.

This chapter addresses the definitional difficulties which permeate sex role research. Sex role terminology is derived from several different fields in both the natural and social sciences, with primary

contributions from anthropology, physiology, psychoanalytic theory, psychology and sociology. In reviewing the literature in these areas, one becomes aware of a lack of concensus on assumptions, critical units for analysis, types of research and research findings on sex differences. While a broad familiarity with the literature is necessary for a comperhensive understanding of the direction of area of sex roles, this paper will attempt to develop one perspective explicitly and precisely. This obviously means the exclusion of other perspectives.

There will be a brief presentation of some of the limitations of alternatives available and a designation of the position to be taken by this author. A delineation of the positions taken by the representatives of each field is followed by the explication of some of the criticisms of each. The author will propose the adoption of a social psychological approach to the investigation and interpretation of the material in the area of gender roles. The choice of perspective, admittedly, is related to personal preference for a dynamic, processual orientation, as opposed to a more structural interpretation.

II. VARIOUS POSITIONS

On the whole, anthropological studies focus on explanations of sex differences within a structural-functional, historical or reductionist (i.e. physiological) context (D'andrade,1966). Although there are important insights to be gained from cross-cultural study, much of what has been done in anthropology deals with societies widely divergent from industrial ones. Generally, then the customs and sex role expectations

are not applicable to more diverse societies. On the whole, the anthropological perspective limits the ability to investigate the dynamics of sex roles. Anthropologists are generally not interested in situational variables, socialization, or with the individuals identification of self as masculine or feminine. They concentrate instead on the structural and cultural variables which effect behavior.

Physiology is replete with information on the differences in the male and female, but rarely is it effectively incorporated into discussions of social behavior.[1] This is due, in part, to the fact that there are few clear causal connections made between physical states and social behavior. Two points should be made about the relationship of physiology to social behavior. First, as Mead (1934) has argued, human behavior is distinctively social and not reducible to animal-type behavior. Thus, research on non-human subjects should not be used as evidence concerning human subjects (Gundlach and Reiss,1968; Stoll,1974; Stoller,1968; Weisstein,1971). Secondly, there is no satisfactory explanation of the relationship of physiological factors and social phenomenon. Most social scientists seem convinced that socialization is not appreciably influenced by physical conditions. Many studies on hermaphrodites suggest that regardless of an individual's hormonal or physical composition, the social identification of the

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[1] A notable exception to this case is the work of Judith Bardwick in Psychology of Women (1971) in which her entire argument is built substantially on the hormonal and physical variations in the sexes.

person determines the eventual gender identity and gender performance of that individual (Hampson,1965; Money,1970; Oakley,1972; Stoller, 1968). "The consensus of opinion seems to be. . .that the biological predispositions to made a male or female gender identity (if such a condition exists) may be decisively and ineradicably overridden by their cultural learning" (Oakley,1972). It seems, behavioral differences between the sexes are no greater than the differences within each sex category. This indicates that the physical differences in the sexes do not result in dramatic differences in behavior, for if physical conditions caused behavior, there should be substantial consistency of behavior of the respective sexes (Oakley,1972:191-92).

Another perspective which presents some problems for the analysis of sex roles is the field of psychoanalysis. Within this perspective there are many inconsistent findings with regard to the behavioral differences of the sexes. Psychoanalysis has been criticized for its bias against females in theory and in practice (Chessler,1972; Weisstein, 1971). Psychoanalysts are often unable to use their own diagnostic instruments to determine sex-linked differences. Weisstein (1971) cites situations in which therapists were unable to distinguish the sex of the respondent from essays written as personality tests, unless they knew the sex of the respondent beforehand. This sample of doctors could identify the sex of the respondents no better than by chance. This indicates either that therapists do not have sensitive instruments or that they are unable to determine sex-linked personality

differences without prior knowledge of subject's sex. Most of the research utilizes the case study method, so that generalizability is limited. The cases used represent a biased sample of persons seeking professional assistance in coping with their roles in life.

Much of what is discussed in this paper is drawn from psychology and sociology. An oversimplification of the fields might characterize psychology as the study of the individual and sociology as the study of the social group. Social psychology, then, could be regarded as residing between the two disciplines. It is oriented to the analysis of the interaction between the individual and social groups. In particular, a social psychological perspective leads to concern with the relationship between socially acquired roles and the individual's perception of self. Such a position allows for the investigation of the dynamics of sex differences and provides for the study of variation as well as similarity within and between the sexes. A social psychological perspective provides the guide for analysis of sex role literature and synthesis of a conceptual framework by the author. This exercise provides a basis for a more coherent and consistent investigation and presentation of the material in this area. Before more experimental study is conducted on sex differences, it would be wise to investigate the nature of sex roles and determine exactly what "sex" represents in research. Perhaps, more precise definitions of the concepts will lead to changes in future research.

III. CONCEPTS

Sex and Gender

Sex is the most elemental concept related to the study of sex and gender-related differences and will, therefore, be first in this review of concepts. Sex is most simply defined as the biological designation of an individual as male or female (Oakley,1972; Stoll, 1974; Yorburg,1974). For purposes of comparison, the next term to be defined is gender. Gender is a culturally ascribed status which is given the individual at birth and designates them as male or female (Stoll,1974). Therefore, gender is a culturally and psychologically defined concept as opposed to sex which is biologically defined. In the case of gender, biological characteristics constitute one criteria for the assignment of individuals to category of female or male. Gender is the cultural designation of an individual as female or male.[2]

Sex Role and Gender Role

These concepts are obviously build upon the previously defined terms. Role is a social psychological term which refers to the behaviroal expectations for an occupant of a particular position in a social system. Sex role refers to the behavioral expectation of an individual

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[2]It should be noted here that often in the literature when a writer refers to sex as a variable, the actual referent is "gender"--the psychological and cultural variable, and not actually to the biological variable. This contributes to the confusion in this area of study. Therefore, such definitions as offered by the Brovermans (1972) will be considered as definitions of gender roles as this author has conceived of them.

based on the sex of the individual. This definition presents certain difficulties for the social psychologist. The concept, as it is applied in the literature, is misleading. In fact, some argue that sex roles, per se, do not exist.

> Strictly speaking, there are no such things as "sex roles" though the term is often used in social science. . . .A role is a pattern of behavior associated with a position. . .in society. Statuses provide a basis for social identity. Gender (not sex) is one basis for identity (Stoll,1974:41).

People do not relate to one another on the basis of sex alone but rather on the basis of some culturally described expectations of behavior as masculine or feminine (Yorburg,1947). (This distinction was critical in the analysis of the research in the area when the author rejected the use of sex as a variable in experimental research.) Perhaps, the concept sex role would be more useful if it were generally applied as it has been in the feminist literature. Frequently in the feminist writings, sex role is interpreted to mean the assignment of individuals to roles on the basis of their sex. Thus the female is assigned to the role of mother/homemaker while the male is given the role of provider and father. The predominance of this interpretation is found in the literature on sex discrimination (Young,1973).

Social scientists are probably much more interested in the expectations which surround masculinity and femininity of the subject. This paper will then adopt the concept of gender role as a workable tool for analysis of differences in male and female behavior. Gender roles are the expectations of an individual's behavior as either "masculine" or "feminine." The individual is provided with certain guides

for behavior which may be used to indicate to an audience the gender of an individual (Stoller,1968). "The culture supports the beliefs and expectations that persons within one gender category will behave in a similar and predictable way" (Stoll,1974:42). Even in the literature on gender roles (as with that on sex roles), there are many misleading definitions because of the use of the terms male and female as opposed to those of masculine or feminine (Hampson,1965).[3] Gender role is the focus of this work because of its cultural (not biological) definition. It permits recognition of the socialization process in which an individual is exposed to and learns the expectations of self as masculine or feminine.

Sexual Identity and Gender Identity

In social psychology, the discussion of role is tied closely to that of identity. Again, we begin with the concept related to sex. The process of development of an identity--be it sexual identity or otherwise--is a difficult one to describe. Given that the traditional definition of "sex role" has been discarded as misleading, the definition of sexual identity is cast in biological terms rather than social ones. Sexual identity is an individual's perception of self as being biologically male or female. Sexual identity is the basis for the development of "appropriate" biological (sexual) behavior (Greenstein,

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[3]It is also true that the expectations associated with the gender of an individual are mediated by other positions and roles that an individual occupies. The influence of these other roles will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

1966; Poole,1972; Money,1972; Gundlach and Reiss,1961).[4] Learning to perceive of one's self as male or female occurs through contact with parents and peers and is internalized by the individual (Kagan,1964; Kohlberg,1966; Lynn,1966; Tyler,1960; Yorburg,1974). "Sexual identity, the individual's basic sex-typed self image, is build up gradually from early infancy. It is the result of learned conceptions about the self as male or female" (Yorburg,1974:1). This is not an automatic phenomenon as is evident by the documentation of many cases of transsexuals. Several studies have dealt with cases in which an individual identifies with a sex which is not their biological one (Money, et al., 1955; Hampson,1965; Stoller,1968).

The literature which uses the term sex role identification could legitimately be placed under the rubric of gender. Sex role identification represents what this paper will call the identity related to gender role. Gender identity is defined as the identification of self with respect to the ideals of behavior thought to be embodied in the masculine and feminine gender role. The identification with the gender expectations, of course, varies in nature and degree.

Gender identification is a complex process and, as Hampson (1965) has indicated, probably not an all or none phenomenon but one which varies in strength, dimensions, and completeness. A more elaborate

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[4]Those authors such as Colley (1958) who view sex identity as perception of the self in biological, psychological, and social sense are not considered in this conceptualization (Colley,1958; Kohlberg, 1966).

discussion of the process of identification follows in the next section. Briefly, Stoll (1974) explains the process as one entailing a

> . . .complicated process in society whereby children separated by gender at birth become girl-boy, woman-man, feminine-masculine. It concerns the distribution of rewards and opportunities by gender as well as expectations placed upon each (Stoll,1974:41).

The relationship between the gender role prescriptions and the individual's self perception related to that role become an important point of discussion. Psychologists consider gender identity a critical factor in personal adjustment (Broverman and Broverman,1972). The degree to which the individual defines the self in terms of gender role is dependent on such factors as the kinds of rewards received, the desirability and availability of a role model, and the relationship of the individual to family and peers. Thus the gender identity developed varies greatly.

There is an abundance of literature considering the behavioral and attitudinal differences between the sexes. Much of the material is based on poorly defined concepts, little consideration of the factors involved in the processes of socialization.

IV. REVIEW OF THE CONCEPTS

Sex - biological designation of an individual as male or female

Gender - cultural designation of an individual as female or male

Sex role - assignment of an individual to role on basis of sex

Gender role - expectations of an individual's behavior as masculine or feminine

Sexual identity - individual's perception of self as being biologically male or female

Gender identity - identification of self with respect to the ideals of behavior thought to be embodied in the gender role to distinguish masculine and feminine

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the reader to certain conceptual distinctions which will be critical to the development of the theoretical framework which is to follow. It appears that the experimental literature has provided a little clarification or organization of concepts which underly the study of gender related differences. A more precise understanding of the meaning of the terms to be incorporated into the forthcoming model, gives the reader and researcher a common basis from which to direct analysis of this area of study. It also provides a conceptual basis for investigation which was lacking in the experimental literature reviewed.

The next chapter is an elaboration on the specific definitions of role and identity as concepts and a clarification of their relationship to each other and to behavior. A more in depth study of these central concepts should facilitate the description and explanation of the model to be presented.

CHAPTER IV

RELATIONSHIP OF ROLE AND IDENTITY

I. INTRODUCTION

Because of the centrality of the concepts of role and identity to this theoretical discussion, it is necessary to offer a clarification of definitions of each, and an explanation of the relationship of each to gender-related behavior. While behavioral differences between the sexes are often attributed to role expectations, the meaning and significance of role is rarely elaborated. Likewise, there are many interpretations of the relationship of role to behavior which neglect the influence of role on identity and that of identity on behavior. These three factors--role, identity, behavior--are the basic units of theoretical framework to be presented in the following chapter. A clear and precise definition of these concepts, in a general fashion, will expedite the explanation of the specific model which follows. This slight digression allows the author to acquaint the reader with the particular conceptualization of role and identity proposed for the study of gender-related behavior.

II. ROLE

The concept of role, which is derived from a dramaturgical context has been frequently utilized in sociology to analyze the relationship of the individual and the social structure (Parsons,1951; Levy, 1952; Nadel,1957). There has been much controversy over the definition

of role and the confusion is reflected in the number of works which have attempted to review and organize the field of study (Biddle and Thomas, 1966; Neiman and Hughes,1951; Rommetviet,1953; Priess and Ehrlich,1966; Shaw and Costanzo,1970).[1]

Although the concept was first used by Mead and others, it did not receive much attention until its appearance in the work of Linton (1936). Linton distinguished between the terms status--that is the rights and obligations of the individual, and role--the enactment of the status. As the concept has evolved, role has taken on a less behavioral dimension and is probably most commonly defined in the literature as the expectations for behavior of the incumbent of a position in a social system (Coutu,1951; Dahrendorf,1968; Shaw and Costanzo, 1970; Turner,1956).[2] The actual behavior of the individual is defined here as role performance. The expectations associated with the roles specificity, but in general certain broad expectations make behavior somewhat predictable. Through interaction the individual learns some of the expectations related to a particular position. The individual,

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[1]Sociologists are not even able to reach concensus on the importance of the concept as a unit of analysis. Some see it as the primary building block of sociology (Parsons,1951; Dahrendorf,1968) other as a redundancy (Coulson,1972; Jackson,1972).

[2]Position is defined as a unit in a social structure by such sociologists as Gross, et al. (1958) and Newcomb (1965). Others view it as an organization of cognitions (Sarbin,1954). Other terms are used to demote a similar element such as "office" (Davis,1949). This paper will use the term position and defined as above.

also, becomes aware of the expectations of other categories of persons and the criteria for the classification of persons into those categories.

Role performance has been alluded to already. As it has been used by some writers, it means the playing out of the expectations attached to a position the individual occupies (Coutu,1951; Newcomb, 1958; Turner,1956). While role performance is the actual activity associated with role expectations, it is not solely determined by them. Therefore, the relationship of role and role performance has to be established.

A central factor in the discussion of role performance is the process of role-taking. Role taking describes the process by which an individual anticipates the behavior of others in interaction. The anticipation derives primarily from the perceived expectations related to the position of the other (Laver and Boardman,1971; McCall and Simmons, 1966; Stryker,1957; Turner,1956). Role taking influences the role performance of an individual and aids in the establishment of the definition with the role of the other but merely being able to identify it.[3] Role taking provides the basis for the process of taking the role of the other toward one's self. In this process an individual anticipates

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[3]Certain sociologists do feel that there is an essential empathetic component to role taking. For a discussion of this position read Sarbin (1954), Cottrell and Dymond (1949), Mead (1934), and Lindesmith and Strauss (1968). This is not the perspective taken by this paper.

the other's reaction toward one's own role performance. Thus, actors take the perspective of the other toward themselves and use this anticipated evaluation in judging themselves. These two processes (i.e. role taking and taking the role of the other toward one's self) are critical to the socialization of the individual. They are, therefore, closely tied to the behavior (role performance) of an individual and important to the model which explains role-related behavior.

To review then, role is a cluster of expectations for behavior attached to a position in a social group. Role performance is the actual behavioral enactment of the expectations as mediated by influences of other role expectations and the situational factors. Role taking is the anticipation of role performance of the other as infered from the position held by the other. And finally, taking the role of the other toward one's self is the imaginative anticipation of the response of the other to one's role performance. All of these concepts will be used in the explanation of the differences in behavior related to a particular position assigned to individuals--gender. Each of these factors is an important part of the socialization related to any position held by an individual in the society.

III. IDENTITY

Identity is a related concept utilized increasingly by social psychologists in explanations of social behavior. Much of the confusion which surrounds the concept is due to the multiplicity of

dissimilar terms which are associated with the same phenomenon--such as self-perception, personality, identification, self-concept. Fundamentally, the concept is a device to indicate the relationship of the self to behavior in social situations.

The distinction between the concepts of identity and self is often unclear. In some cases, identity is used interchangebly with the concept role when roles are defined as enacted "identities" in situations (Scott and Lyman,1968; Stebbins,1969; Strauss,1959; Weinstein and Deutschberger,1964). Others conceive of identity as how the individual is identified by others on the basis expectations related the individual's position. This definition is similar to that of role taking and is, therefore, not the definition adopted in this paper.

As it is applied here, identity refers to an individual's perception of self in relationship to a specific role. Since much of the individual's self perception is based on interaction, identity is closely related to role performance and the individual's perception of the evaluation of that performance by others. Identity is a product of socialization and interaction and is continually subject to change.

Other conceptualizations of identity stress the multifacted nature of the phenomenon. Goffman (1963) dichotomizes social versus personal identity and virtual social identity versus actual social identity. Social identity is how others identify an individual in a situation as opposed to personal identity which is the assigned to

the individual because of information known personally about the person. Virtual social identity is the presumed identity of the person and actual social identity refers to the assignment of identity because of information which may affirm or disaffirm the virtual identity. The actual identity can be evaluated by others as more or less "true" in relation to the virtual identity. This usage of "identity" is misleading since actually Goffman is describing roles. In addition, this distinction between performance and standards of "identity" leads the reader to feel that certain identities are more "real" than others. As identity has been defined in this paper, it is not assigned the individual by others, but it is the individual's perception of self. Also, identities cannot be evaluated as true or false in an absolute sense.

Each individual may have many identities associated with many different roles. Each identity is influenced by a set of expectations and by reactions from role performances.[4] The role performance is in turn influenced by the identity. The identity may effect the expectations associated with the role as well.

Of course, the individual is not a set of discrete identities. The self is the concept which is used to denote the continuity of

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[4]It is appropriate to mention that the processes of role taking and taking the role of the other toward the self (Cooley,1902; Mead; 1934) are instrumental in the development of identities.

identities and sense of being for the person.[5] The self is the integrative and adjustive aspect of the cognitions which relate the various identities. The self is the evaluative and reflective part of cognition which orients the relationship of individual and social situation. Identity and self are culturally acquired through socialization and have an impact on the behavior of individuals. It should be noted that while there is stability to the various identities, there is a constant potential for change through adult socialization. Thus one's perception of self--such as the gender identity--may change over time.

IV. REVIEW

This chapter has clarified the position of the author with respect to the definition of role, identity, and related concepts. It has established the value of these related concepts in establishing the relationship of role to identity. In addition this chapter has provided a general description of the effects of role on identity and the subsequent influences of each on behavior.

Briefly, in review, an individual is assigned or acquires a position in the social system. Related to this position is a set of expectations for behavior called role which are learned through the

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[5]For an additional discussion of the self as regulator of cognition see Lindesmith and Strauss (1968), Mead (1934), Quarentelli and Cooper (1966).

process of socialization. Through interaction and such processes as role-taking and taking the role of the other toward the self and personal interpretation, an individual develops an identity related to a particular role. The identity held by an individual effects the ultimate role performance. Feedback concerning the performance may stimulate a reconsideration of role expectations or of identity. The relationship could be represented as follows (see Figure 1):

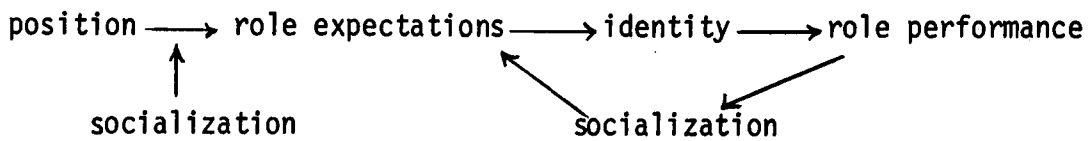


FIGURE 1: RELATIONSHIP OF ROLE, IDENTITY AND PERFORMANCE

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF THEORETICAL MODEL

I. INTRODUCTION

Much of what has been presented in previous chapters has been in anticipation of the development of a theoretical position and a model depicting the interrelationships of concepts already discussed. The model relates directly the elements of gender position, gender role, gender identity, and gender role performance. In this chapter, the author also intends to introduce situational factors and multiple role expectations as influences on gender performance. The process through which gender specific behavior is developed will be presented incorporating all of the factors mentioned. The author wishes to offer this model as an alternative to the theoretical confusion which exists in the field at the present time.

II. GENDER ROLE, GENDER IDENTITY AND GENDER PERFORMANCE

As indicated in previous chapters, gender is assigned to an individual at birth. Based on this gender, the family and others begin to behave toward an individual on the basis of appropriate gender expectations. An individual is exposed to gender role expectations through socialization. Various descriptions of the process of socialization exist. Notable among them are: identification and internalization (Erickson,1968; Freud,1965; Kagan,1964; Lynn,1966; Parsons,1951), imitation (Piaget,1951), and operant learning (Bandura and Walters,1963;

Homans,1974; Mischel,1966; Rotter,1954; Skinner,1938). This paper does not deal with the relative merits of these positions but recognizes that socialization may take many forms. Even with the great variability within the socialization process, every individual develops some awareness of gender related expectations. Individuals learn the masculine and feminine expectations of themselves. One must be constantly aware that every individual occupies a number of positions in different social groups and thus a multiplicity of expectations exist for each individual. The expectations of other roles may influence the gender performance.

Accompanying the establishment of gender role is the development of a gender-related identity by an individual. Individuals are not automatic actors and roles do not completely direct their behavior. Gender identity--affected by the gender role--mediates the influences of that role on gender performance. The perception one has of self as masculine or feminine affects the enactment of the gender role. Gender identity is a perspective partially developed from gender role expectations which ultimately operates as an intervening influence between gender role and gender performance.

In addition, the reader should not conceive of the relationship of these factors as linear, but rather as a feedback relationship in which the reactions of others to gender performance may influence the future conception of gender role by the actor. This feedback situation involves self. Reactions of others to gender performance may have a co-simultaneously effect on the gender identity of the actor.

Therefore, change and fluidity are typical of general role, gender identity and of the actual gender performance. Some of this variation is due to the continuous nature of socialization (e.g., reactions of others and changes in the situation). Even as an individual matures there are transitions in gender role which are learned through anticipatory and ongoing socialization.

To review, gender position is assigned an individual at birth. Through the process of socialization, an individual becomes aware of the role expectations associated with gender. Gender identity is formed in relationship to gender role expectations and mediates the influence of these expectations on the gender performance of an individual. Audience reaction to the performance may cause some adjustment in gender role and gender identity which may eventually affect subsequent gender performances. Socialization is, then, a continual process or re-evaluation of old and establishment of new aspects of gender role and identity. There is consistency to gender role and identity which makes gender performance fairly stable and facilitates the interaction between individuals because of the predictable behavior of an actor. Figure 2 is a diagramatic representation of the model:

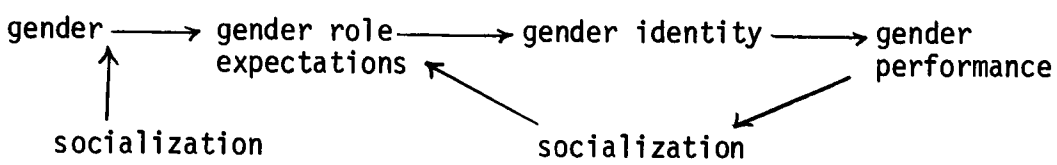


FIGURE 2: DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

The relationships of role, identity, and performance posited in this model are affected by additional factors which structure the interaction of individuals. In the following section two critical categories of factors will be investigated--the situational components of interaction and the multiple role expectations on an individual. These factors are intervening influences between the gender identity and the gender performance. The inclusion of such variables could facilitate an understanding of gender related differences in behavior. As the factors are added, the model will be expanded to include them.

III. INTERVENING FACTORS

Situational Factors

Every role performance occurs within the context of a specific social situation. ". . .Social situations have unmistakable effects on behavior. . .social situations produce differential effects on our behavior whether we are aware of the fact or not" (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). Although the social situation is recognized as an important component of behavior, it has rarely been systematically defined in the literature and has been only loosely related to role performance.

It is extremely difficult to adequately define "situation," but, for purposes of analysis, we will conceive of situation as an encounter which occurs in a physical and social setting.[1] Naturally, there are

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[1]For a discussion of the meaning of encounter see Goffman Behavior in Public Places (1963) and Encounters (1961).

wide divergencies in the nature of the encounters and the settings. The diversity leads some social scientists (such as phenomenonologists and ethnomethodologists) to argue strongly that behavior is not generalizable from one situation to another. Goffman (1974), on the other hand, believes that situations are stable and generally well defined before the encounter, so that behavior becomes almost routine and predictable. Perhaps, the best argument lies somewhere between these two positions. Situations often do vary greatly in terms of the encounter and the setting, making the behavior observed unique. But, often situations are similar and occur frequently making the behavior observed generalizable (i.e., going to the office in the morning and working at the same desk with the same people).

Expectations for behavior are provided by the situation, as well as by the roles assigned to an individual. There are behavioral expectations related to the type of encounter and the type of setting. What, then, are the components of which are critical to the establishment of the parameters of the situation?

Rarely are the elements of the situations specified by researchers.[2] Consequently, I have chosen and identified four interrelated components

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[2]Exceptions to this may be found in the work of the Sherifs (1969), and that of Thomas and Zaniecki (1918). In Social Psychology, the Sherifs identify four interrlated sets of factors which establish the frame of reference for the analysis of the situation: (1) those which relate to the participants in the interaction; (2) those which characterize the activity or task; (3) location and facilities; (4) system of relations of the other three sets of factors (Sherif and Sherif,1969:513). In the Polish Peasant, Thomas and Zaniecki describe three kinds of data involved in research on the situation: (1) pre-existing attitudes of

which seem vital to an understanding of the effects of the situation on behavior. The factors to be considered as important to the designation of the situation will be: (1) the location (time and place; (2) the goal of the encounter; (3) the audience; (4) the individual's perception of the situation. Roughly, these factors fall into two categories--external constraints on behavior (location, goal, and audience) and internal constraints, which the individual brings to the situation and which mediate the influence of the external factors (individual's perception of the situation). Both the external and the internal factors are related to the subsequent behavior.

1. Location. Interactions are located in time as well as in space, since at different times, the same space may be used differently. Behaviors are classified as being appropriate for particular locations. In some instances, the location as place has an obvious effect on the behavior expected of individual. (One expects a teacher to lecture in the classroom--not in the cafeteria.) There are other instances, however, in which the place must be defined only in general, broad categories--such as the differences between behavioral expectations in "public" versus "private" places. Role expectations are often mediated by the expectations dictated by the place of interaction. Similar to place, activity may be located in the context of time. Time also provides a structure for interaction and specifies the appropriate behaviors for the

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the group; (2) objective conditions such as values which direct behavior; (3) definition of the situation by the actor (Thomas and Zaniecki,1918: 76).

individual. Certain behaviors are acceptable only within certain time frameworks. (One does not expect a teacher to eat lunch during class.) Role expectations even may define the amount of time appropriate for an interaction. Time and place are often closely related to one another in structuring the situation.

Location will mediate or specify the effects of gender role expectations on gender performance. That is, time and place are intervening influences in the relationships presented in the model.

2. Type of goal. The goal of interaction also structures the situation and directs interaction toward the fulfillment of some goal. The goals may be more or less well articulated, but their impact on interaction cannot be denied. Some goals provide clearer behavioral prescriptions than others. Certain goals or tasks exist within well established organizations while others occur in unstructured circumstances. In either instance, there is some minimal level of agreement about the goal of the interaction. If somewhat conflicting goals are held by the individuals, negotiation may occur in order to establish a more consensual basis for interaction. The individual's goals or the type of task in which the individual is involved contributes to the structure of the expectations in the situation.

Thus, the type of task or the goals of interaction may influence the interpretation of the gender role expectations and alter or direct the gender performance. Masculine and feminine may be redefined as the goals or tasks of the interaction vary.

3. Audience. Audiences vary with respect to size, similarity to the actor (in age, SES, ethnicity), degree of familiarity to actor, frequency of interaction. The audience for the individual's role performance constitutes an element in the situational effects on behavior. The type of audience reaction contributes to the actor's perception of role expectations and perception of self. Because audiences are quite powerful in this respect, actors may seek some control over this element of the situation. This may be achieved through the management of impression by the actor.[3] Another means of achieving control over the audience is through the process of altercasting, the process of imputing to the other a role which corresponds to the image presented by the actor (McCall and Simmons,1966; Weinstein and Deutschberger,1964). As McCall and Simmons note--". . .neither presentation of self nor altercasting necessarily or automatically brings into line the roles and the characters that we devise for ourselves with those imputed to us by alter." (McCall and Simmons,1966: 140). When there are disagreements over the assignment of roles by the actors or audience, then some form of negotiation must take place for the interaction to proceed and the actors may reestablish working roles for themselves and others.[4] Therefore, the audience is an important component of the situation and has an effect on the behavior of an

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[3]The foremost author on the control of the audience reaction through presentation of self and impression management is Erving Goffman (1959, 1961, 1975).

[4]For an excellent discussion of the negotiation process see works of McCall and Simmons (1966) and Weinstein and Deutschberger (1964).

individual in a situation. While the actor may control the situation in part by such devises as presentation of self and altercasting, often this is not effective. When the audience and the actor disagree on the role expectations for one another negotiation may reestablish the actor-audience relationship.

Then, the type of audience present may effect the gender performance of an individual and the audience reaction may have an impact on the way the actor perceives gender expectations and identity as masculine or feminine.

4. Definition of situation. Finally, we discuss the actor's own perception of the nature of the situation--an individual's interpretation of the other factors in the situation. There is an abundance of literature on the definition of the situation by the actor (Gorden,1952; McHugh,1968; Stebbins,1967; Thomas,1931; Wolff,1964). Definition of the situation refers to the actor's perception of the factors involved in the situation and most of the literature stresses the analysis of what the actor feels to be "real" in the situation. In other words, the objective factors in the situation may not yield sufficient information to understand behavior because individuals act on the basis of their own understanding of the factors present in the situation. Since Thomas' (1928) dictum that the actor's perception of the situation as real influences the consequences of the activity, the notion has been widely accepted. Then, the definition of the situation is an important component

of the situation itself.[5] Thus the situation depends to an extent on objective factors but also on the actor's interpretation of the situation based on those factors.[6]

Again, the actor's perception of the expectations in a situation may affect gender-related behavior. To the extent that the actor interprets the gender role expectations and formulates a gender identity, the preceptions of that person affect the ultimate gender performance. All of the situational factors help to specify what type of gender performance is expected of the actor. While gender role provides the basic expectations, the demands on behavior may be altered by these intervening influences.

5. Review. Briefly, the units involved in the situation, as they are presented here, are: the location of the interaction in time and place; goal of the interaction; the audience and the actor-audience

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[5]Thomas' definition is generally accepted by symbolic interactionists; however, E. Goffman has raised some questions about the importance of the individual's definition of the situation in his new book Frame Analysis (1974). In this book he argues that while individuals have input into the definition of the situation, almost always the definition is provided for them--exists outside of the individual. Goffman is interested in the basic frameworks of understanding which structure the situation. He does recognize that they negotiate the specific details.

[6]It should be remembered, also, that there can be divergent definitions of the situation among the actors (just as there were divergencies in the casting of self and other in roles during interaction) and that negotiation over the definition may be necessary. The definition may change several times during the interaction as the actors explore the nature of the situation.

relationship; and the actor's own definition of the situation. There are interrelationships and interactions among the components of the situation described. As the Sherifs argue--". . .do not assume that each set of factors always contributes to behavior in a fixed quality. . . variations in one factor may not produce one-to-one changes in behavior" (Sherif and Sherif,1966:108).

In this model, the situation is conceived of as an intervening influence between gender role expectations and gender performance. The effects of gender expectations may be altered or further specified by situational factors. Figure 3 indicates the inclusion of situational factors.

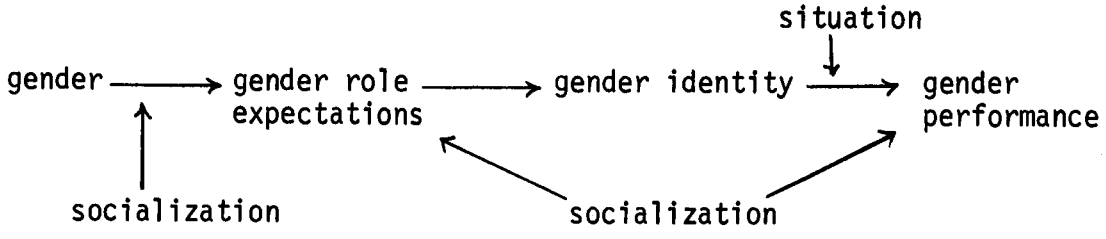


FIGURE 3: DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER DIFFERENCES WITH THE INCLUSION OF SITUATIONAL FACTORS

Multiple Roles and Identities

Within the social structure, each person occupies a number of positions in various social groups. Related to each of these positions is a set of role expectations which guide the person's behavior. It is misleading to assume that the various roles are absolutely separate

units. There is interaction among the roles. This interaction further specifies the behavior expected of the actor in a particular situation. To isolate only one role in an explanation of behavior denies the probable effects of other simultaneously held positions and roles. One role may predominate in a situation--that is have a greater impact than other roles in that instance, while it may be relatively unimportant in another situation. There are also occasions within which a set of roles may be closely related and operate together in defining the expectations is the development of conflict among the roles which are relevant in a situation. This could force the actor to re-evaluate certain expectations, deny the expectations related to one role, or restructure the situation in order to initiate some means of coping with the strain produced by the conflict.[7]

Since roles are the predominant influence in the development of identities, one would assume that multiple and interactive roles would produce multiple and interactive identities. As the roles are altered and specified, the identities are reformulated as well. All of this has an impact on the eventual performance of an individual. When viewing the process of the development of a single identity, one must remain aware of the influences of other identities on this particular conception of self.

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[7]This paper does not propose to deal in depth with the literature on role conflict or with the literature on conflict reduction. This area has been, however, of constant concern to scholars. For readings on the topic see Merton (1957), Toby (1952), Getzels and Guba (1954), Seeman (1953), Sykes and Matza (1957), Lindesmith and Strauss (1968).

Therefore, multiple role expectations and their related identities are intervening factors in the primary relationship of gender role and gender identity to gender performance. Thus roles such as parent roles, occupational roles, age roles and others (and the identities related to them) may effect the individual's perception of what is masculine and feminine behavior and this may influence the gender-related performance by the person. When this component is included in the model, the potential for influence of this factor can be shown as in Figure 4.

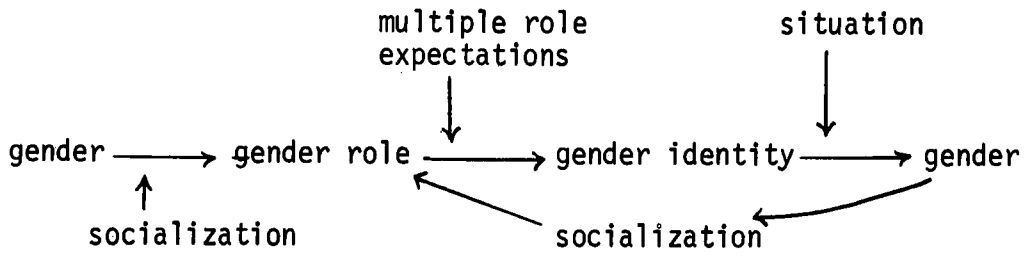


FIGURE 4: DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER DIFFERENCES WITH THE INCLUSION OF SITUATIONAL FACTORS AND MULTIPLE ROLE EXPECTATIONS

Review

The process represented by the model could be called the development of gender differences. The individual is assigned a gender at birth. Through the process of socialization, an individual learns the expectations of behavior as either masculine or feminine. Conceptions of masculinity and femininity are altered somewhat by the effects of

other role expectations. The individual develops an identity, perception of self as masculine or feminine based on the gender role and influenced by other roles. The identity of the individual becomes an intervening factor between gender role expectations and gender performance. An additional intervening influence is the situation, for gender identity is interpreted within the context of the situation.

The purpose of this model is to provide a systematic representation of the factors which affect gender-related behavior. At least part of the objection to the laboratory investigation of gender differences is the lack of theoretical basis for study. No progress can be made in research until there is some framework for analysis of the data and some direction for the goals of research. As the literature exists now, there are an unlimited number of unrelated studies on various aspects of gender behavior. This retards cumulative understanding of the behavioral differences of males and females.

In addition, the social psychological literature has taken no position on the inclusion of certain situational factors which may be pertinent to the study of gender differences. Several situational factors present in the laboratory situations described in Chapter II could be controlled for or investigated (i.e., task effects, composition of the group, communication effects, experimenter bias).

In the studies which applied sex as an independent variable, the theory generally was presented after the data analysis. In explaining the results the researchers too often posited a causal relationship

between "sex roles" and behavior. This perspective neglects the possible influences of other role expectations of the subject, such as the different expectations of the female secretary as opposed to those of the female engineer, or of the 16 year old male as opposed to the 50 year old male.

But perhaps the most prominant failing of laboratory study is its continued adoption of sex as a variable for research in lieu of the variables which they intend to represent--gender role and gender identity. Sex is an oversimplified variable which is used to represent a very complicated network of relationships which ultimately determine gender performance. This paper has presented an alternative conceptual framework for the explanation of behavior of males and females. But such a model implies a number of changes in the current trends of research on gender differences in social psychology. The following chapter will deal with some suggestions for the redirection of experimental research and other possible areas for investigation which may lead to a greater understanding of the processes and a fuller appreciation of the differences and the similarities of women and men.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

I. REVIEW

This discussion has attempted to make the reader aware of the lack of satisfactory evidence in social psychology on gender differences in behavior. We explored the methodological limitations and questionable conclusions produced by laboratory studies which have attempted to investigate the differences in the behavior of males and females. In many instances, the measures are of questionable validity and frequently the results are interpreted without adequate theoretical justification. The studies reviewed dealt with three behavioral characteristics generally felt to distinguish males and females--fear of achievement, conformity, and cooperation. In all of these cases, there was a lack of sufficient evidence to indicate that there are significant differences in the behavior of males and females. There are many criticisms of the nature of the measures, the assumptions of the studies, the treatment of the results, the neglect of situational factors or the effects of competing role expectations, and of the artificial nature of laboratory studies in general. More of the difficulty with the research in this area may, also, be attributed to the lack of theoretical direction for investigation.

For these reasons, I presented a systematic representation for the analysis of gender differences in behavior. Core concepts related to the processes described were defined. There was, also, an in depth

explanation of the concepts of role and identity and how they related to one another. The discussion focused upon the components in the description of the development of gender differences in behavior. It is hoped that this representation will provide direction for the analysis of gender differences and for research in this area. New techniques should be developed in order to avoid the problems of laboratory studies which have been described in the previous chapters. Several alternatives for investigation of gender differences in behavior are suggested by the model. Before outlining these alternatives, let us review some of the basic flaws in the current laboratory research.

II. PROBLEMS

Sex as a Variable

When sex is utilized as an independent variable in social psychological research, it represents a number of factors. Generally, the hypothesized relationship between sex and behavior presumes sex roles are based on personality traits learned through socialization. Since socialization represents the development of a multitude of attitudes and traits, researchers have chosen whichever elements have suited the purposes of the study. There is a tendency to offer post factum explanations of the results. This leads to "common sense" explantations of behavior based on socialization to stereotypical sex roles, and there is little evidence about the extent to which this occurs. While the outcome of a paper and pencil test or a game and the sex of an

individual are the only research variables, the results are explained in terms of stereotypical sex roles (which is not a variable). Thus, this type of literature has not advanced the understanding of the bases of sex-related differences in behavior.

Situational Influences and Competing Roles

The current laboratory research ignores the influences of the situation on gender-related behavior. Behavior which is exhibited in one situation may not resemble behavior under different situational conditions. As Angrist notes, "The issue then is the validity of universal sex role behavior measures without regard to the delineation of other impinging characteristics of the social location" (Angrist,1969: 217). The laboratory research, then, does not address itself to the lack of generalizability of the results to other situations. In addition, the laboratory situation is an artificial one and may have no relation to every day situations. Many situational factors are not even considered in the laboratory studies reviewed. For example, there is little discussion of the possible impact of such things as expertise on the test, the nature of the task, the sex composition of the group involved.

Roles based upon age, race, and social class probably influence the interpretation of gender identity. Due to the limited populations sampled for the studies reviewed, there is limited knowledge about what is considered masculine or feminine by blacks, older persons, lower or upper class persons, or ethnic groups (Young,1973). The model presented

in the previous chapter provides for the inclusion of intervening factors which could influence gender identity and, therefore, gender performance.

In addition, the investigation of other age groups would allow the researcher to discover the differences in gender role expectations which may have occurred over time. It seems probable that the nature of gender roles has been changing over the last 10-15 years. If this is so, then, there should be some differences in the gender-related behavior between persons in the middle age group and younger persons. Such a comparison could also clarify whether some of the differences in results on tests are due to changes in the gender role or due to testing procedures.

Problems of Laboratory Research

There are some difficulties with the laboratory research in general which makes the study of gender-related behavior problematic. Laboratory research is very artificial in that people are asked to perform in unusual physical surroundings with strangers. Often the subjects are required to complete very contrived tasks which have no relevance to their lives. Much of the time, interaction is restrained and in some instances, subjects play games with machines. Laboratory studies are not constructed to accomodate the study of process, but rather focus upon the outcomes of tests. There is little understanding of the meaning of behavior, since observations are made only of the outcomes. Because the laboratory situation is such a unique one, it is difficult

to generalize any of the findings from this type of research setting to other interactive situations. This becomes quite frustrating in attempting to understand the effects of gender roles on behavior in every day life. Likewise, much of the laboratory research does not control for many variables (such as physical characteristics, ethnicity, occupational choice) which ultimately means that the results are not representative of behavior of a large portion of the population.

III. DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Interview

If the effects of gender role on behavior are to be understood, then a preliminary step should involve research on what gender roles and identities entail.

> The problem is that very little is known about what it means to be female and what it means to be male. It seems likely that the meanings one gives to his or her gender identity has a direct relationship to his or her. . .behavior, but until these meanings are disclosed and understood, the relationship can only be assumed (Fish,1974:5).

Given the lack of understanding of what constitutes a gender role, it appears that sociologists avoid defining the concept and that the definitions which do exist vary widely and lack clarity (Angrist,1969). Since there is little known about the gender role expectations, there is a tendency to classify gender-related characteristics as polar extremes (Sears,1965).

Where does one begin, then to gather information which might serve to increase awareness of the perceptions held by individuals of

their masculinity and femininity? A researcher could initially interview people of various age, race, social classes about gender roles and gender identity to gain an understanding of their variability. Intensive interviewing as a research strategy would permit a researcher to investigate how males and females conceive of masculinity and femininity in general, and whether or not they identify themselves in those terms. One could also look at the consequences for such an identification for behavior. It would then be possible to designate and delimit factors central to gender identity. There are many real life situations which could be more fully explored--such as the effects of divorce on the perception of masculinity or femininity; or the effects of the birth of a child on gender identity. Interviewing may clarify concepts associated with gender, and thus, suggest valuable directions for further research and theory development.

Modified Experiments

Frank Kohout and associates (1973) have proposed a different study design than is usually employed in the study of sex differences in order to avoid some of the problems described in the previous chapters. The focus of the design is on the sequences of behavior which emerge. Although, most of the studies reviewed in this paper prohibited or severely limited the communication among the subjects, this design encourages communication and interaction among the subjects. Each subject is recognized as an actor in a particular social situation. Therefore, no behavioral predispositions are attributed to the

individual because of sex, but their actual behavior is observed as it develops.

According to the model Kohout (1973) presents, the experimenter observes the social structural characteristics which emerge in the situation. The researcher's attention is directed toward the negotiation of roles between subjects in mixed sex and same sex groups. The subject's gender is obviously a part of the presentation of self during interaction. Many situational components can be varied and their effects on interaction and roles may be observed. In this fashion, the researcher avoids drawing post factum conclusions about the nature of sex roles, but rather observes how the roles are negotiated during interaction.

Field Research and Observation

Since a lot of the problems with laboratory research center around the unnatural situation, perhaps, observation in field would be a useful technique for avoiding these difficulties. Little, if any, work has been done observing gender differences in their natural settings. In fact, we can only assume that there are differences by gender in behavior in office situations, given that the individuals occupy comparable office positions. Observation in the field allows the investigator to understand how individuals interact and negotiate roles in the context of their every day life. In addition, it would be possible to observe the other factors which might influence the gender performance of an individual such as occupation or social class.

Observation also allows the researcher to investigate the processes involved in both maintenance and change in gender identity and performance.

Likewise, field experiments enable the researcher to circumvent the artificiality of the laboratory situation. Since there are so many problems with the artificiality of the experimental situation and the contrived nature of the tasks involved, it seems advantageous to move out of the lab and into real life settings. Field research allows the experimenter to control or vary factors in the activity related to the particular setting and assess their impact on performance. Then, the experimenter is dealing with relevant activities for the individuals in natural surroundings. The field experiment, then, preserves all the advantages of the natural setting and provides some of the structure present in a laboratory study. The manipulation done in the field produces real life effects. Certainly, this technique would offer greater insight into the factors which invluence gender performance in natural surroundings.

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