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ABSTRACT
        This bibliography, containing more than 250 entries,
presents research and theoretical perspectives into the male sex
role. Articles were chosen for their usefulness to researchers, with
emphasis on scientific and data-based research literature. All the
annotations use a standard format including subjects, method,
findings and comments. Articles cover such subjects as attitudes
about men and masculinity, marriage, fatherhood, relationships with
men and women, anti-social behavior and mental and physical health.
(Author/BMW)

THE MALE SEX ROLE:
A SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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FOREWORD

From the moment of a child's birth, family and social expectations of what it means to be a man or a woman influence that child's development. The types of socialization that stem from these expectations continue throughout the life course, and have major implications for the mental health of men and women.

The National Institute of Mental Health maintains an interest in research regarding sex-role expectations, sex differences in behavior, and consistency and change in sex role behavior across time and among various racial and ethnic groups. In recent years, the Institute has initiated a series of activities--including five conferences, held between 1971 and 1978--to encourage the development of research on these topics. The first conference involved "The Role of Women." The second, on "Social Indicators," was held in 1972; it was an effort to identify existing research that could provide data on the changes over time of the status and roles of men and women. Also in 1972, the third conference focused on "Biological and Cultural Bases of Sex Differences," and a 1975 conference dealt with "New Perspectives on the Psychology of Women." Most recently, the NIMH and the National Institute on Aging cosponsored, in 1978, a conference titled, "The Older Woman: Continuities and Discontinuities."

Another strategy to stimulate needed research resulted in publication by the Institute of <u>Sex Roles: A Research Bibliography</u>, in 1975. Collectively, these undertakings have been successful, resulting in a burgeoning of research on the changing roles of women. Portions of the research yield were summarized in the volume, <u>Women's Worlds</u>, published by the NIMH in 1978.

These activities have taught us a great deal about how women's roles have changed. Still, we recognize that sex roles are reciprocal, and that role changes experienced by women have implications for the roles of men. To date, comparatively little research has focused on the new roles and patterns of behavior which are emerging for men. The primary purpose of this bibliography is to consolidate already existing literature on the male role with the anticipation that it will stimulate needed research on this important and rapidly evolving subject.

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Director
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PREFACE

This annotated bibliography reflects a growing interest in defini-
tions of masculinity, the male sex role, and the male experience. This
interest parallels, but is a somewhat more recent development than, inter-
est in definitions of femininity, the female sex role, and the female
experience. Typically, in research as in other areas, men have been
the standard and women the "other," an orientation which has had a
curious effect: Although men are more often the subjects of psycholo-
gical and sociological research and male standards predominate, there
has not been a specific focus on aspects of the male sex role as there
has been on aspects of the female sex role. Nonetheless, there exists
a small but growing literature on male issues. This bibliography,
containing more than 250 entries, presents this other side of the sex
role literature by drawing together representative research and theo-
retical perspectives.

The selection process deserves some explanation. It was not done
by a systematic search of certain journals or abstract services. Indeed,
such a search might well have missed some of the articles presented
here. Others might have been discovered. However, only a very narrow
range of research would be retrieved using a key word such as "masculinity."
Resulting articles might have been repetitive and reflected only one
or two research perspectives. Instead, the selection process was a very
personal one. Brannon and Pleck have both written and done research
in the area of the male sex role for several years. Over that time
they have gathered large personal libraries of articles and books. Our
decision was to share important selections from those collections with
other social scientists.

Articles were chosen first for the usefulness to researchers in the area. Thus, many articles published in the popular press or circulating with the Men's Movement have not been included here, although they often provide provocative ideas. We preferred to emphasize the more scientific and data-based research literature. There is enough literature of this type to constitute an initial bibliography which could begin to define this emergent field. Most sources should be available to research scientists, although we have included an occasional unpublished article in an effort to broaden or enrich a given topic.

To say that articles should be useful to research scientists is not to say that they all represent "good" research. Sometimes, although badly flawed from a methodological viewpoint, they contain an interesting first approximation to a key question in the field, or they may represent an extensive research program which has been so influential that it must be acknowledged in order to develop further research. Because we decided to include articles of varying quality, we also decided to make the annotations evaluative. Our evaluations and criticism will likely be rejected by some and accepted by others.

All the annotations use a standard format. For empirical articles, we specify the population studied, giving as complete a description as is available or feasible, under the heading *Subjects*. We then provide a description of the methods or measures used under *Method*. The empirical results of the study are summarized under *Findings*. This section may provide the most surprises for the reader familiar with the material. It has long been known that the strength with which a set of findings supports a particular view increases with its distance from

the original source. Since all annotations included in this
bibliography were drawn from the original source, findings may be more
tenuous than is usually recognized. In general, we cite only signif-
icant results. We did not focus on those which the author chose to
summarize in the abstract or the many trends in the data which often make
up the bulk of the discussion section. In addition, we focused on the
results relevant to the male sex role and therefore occasionally gave
short shrift to findings relevant to other areas. For both these
reasons, articles which may be widely cited as evidence for one
viewpoint or line of research may here be presented with a quite
different perspective.

The *Comments* section attempts to place the article in perspective
for a study of the male sex role. We highlight any obvious methodolo-
gical flaws and/or try to point out any especially useful or interest-
ing strengths.

Theoretical articles or essays are summarized in a less formal
way. The major premises and contributions of the source are reported.
Evaluative comments are occasionally interwoven in the description,
although, in general, we tried to save them for the final paragraph.

This bibliography is organized into 14 topics with several
subsections within each. Annotations are in reverse chronological
order within each subsection. Our organization of these topics and
the placement of the annotations within them changed several times
over the course of the year this project was conducted. We are
there aware of how arbitrary some of the placements are.
We compensated for any possible restrictiveness of our outline

by providing a cross-reference section at the end of each subtopic. Our purpose in providing such a detailed outline was to impose some coherence on a very diverse literature.

Very little effort was made to balance each subsection in terms of the number of annotations included. The process was an interactive one between the material and the authors. In some cases the amount of literature dictated a separate section. In other cases, a decision was made by the authors about what topics would constitute a comprehensive approach to the male sex role. If few articles could be found concerning such a topic, it was allowed to remain in the hopes that the scarcity of literature would inspire researchers to address the question. Occasionally, the shortness of a section is not because material is lacking but because a comprehensive review, book, or annotated bibliography is already available. This major resource is annotated rather than a number of less comprehensive articles.

Although this first extensive annotated bibliography on the male sex role reveals several established research paradigms and areas of study, there are many other exciting research areas which remain relatively untouched. It is our hope that this document will be an impetus and a foundation for future exploration and research on such topics.

K.E.G.

Longmeadow, Mass.
August 1, 1978

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I. GENERAL

A. Theoretical Models and General Analysis of the Male Role

Brannon, R. The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint of manhood, and what its's done for us lately. In D. S. David, and R. Brannon (Eds.) The Forty-Nine Percent Majority. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

In this introduction to a collection of readings, the author argues that the male sex role has influenced social structure and history more extensively than any other single factor. It has, however, received very little scientific attention. The suggestion is made that this lack of attention is precisely because the male sex role is so pervasive and influential.

After a brief description of the scientific concept of role and the evidence for a social learning view of sex-roles, the dimensions of the male sex role are presented in detail. It is suggested that there are basically four underlying dimensions to the male sex role: (1) an avoidance of feminine behavior; (2) the attainment of success and status; (3) a demeanor of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance; and (4) an aura of aggression, violence and daring. Within each of these general categories, a number of issues are covered, including emotionality and expressiveness, male friendships and homophobia, physical strength and athletics, and sexual behavior.

A developmental overview of the male sex-role is also presented. The author theorizes that the role is first learned in a very stereotyped version in childhood, is most rigidly enforced in adolescence, and becomes more flexible in adulthood. Within each of these life stages, the four dimensions are differentially emphasized.

Komarovsky, M. Modes of role strain. In M. Komarovsky, Dilemmas of masculinity: A study of college youth. New York: Norton, 1976. pp. 225-237.

Role strain, or the difficulty for an individual of fulfilling the perceived demands of a social role, is emerging as a major analytic concept in the psychology of sex roles. In these addenda to her recent book about the masculinity concerns of Columbia College seniors in 1970, the author proposes several sub-types (or "modes") of male sex role strain. Difficulties in fullfilling the male role may occur when the role's demands are excessive, ambiguous, conflicting, or inherently impossible for the average person to fulfill. Examples of each mode are offered from the interview data with Columbia seniors.

The author classifies separately those cases of role strain in which the individual consciously realizes that a role demand is irrational and frustrating ("mode 4"). Also distinguished from the other modes of discomfort are those which the author attributes to an objective inadequacy of the person's "idiosyncratic" personality, due

perhaps to "unsatisfactory parental relationships" ("mode 2"). A
deficiency might be judged idiosyncratic or "deviant", the author
suggests, when the "the sufferers" constitute only 10%-15% of the
population (p. 237). Many readers will regard this distinction as
needlessly judgmental and subjective, and the attribution to hypoth-
esized developmental problems is uncomfortably reminiscent of
traditional "gender identification" theories.

While this typology has some problems, it pushes the analysis of
sex·role strains to a more detailed level of analysis than previous
writings have attempted.

Pleck, J. H. The male sex role: Definitions, problems, and sources of
change. Journal of Social Issues, 1976, 32, 155-164.

This brief paper is a distillation of several years of thinking about
male role issues from various perspectives, and integrates and con-
denses a large amount of earlier psychological and sociological theory.

In the first section, the author notes several contradictions in
popular imagery about masculinity, and suggests that there are acutally
two distinguishable versions of the male sex role. In the "traditional"
male role, (which is also more characteristic of working class and
rural American values) the normative pattern is one of strong bonds to
other men; a functional marriage relationship with no special emphasis
on intimacy, achievement through physical labor, an angry and impulsive
temperament, and little expression of other feelings or emotions. In
what he calls the "modern" version of masculinity, (typically middle-
class and urban) the pattern is one of weak and distrustful relation-
ships with other men, relying on women for emotional support and
companionship, achievement through intellectual skills, and an emphasis
on staying emotionally "cool."

In the second and major section of the article, the author dis-
tinguishes four important models for interpreting difficulties that men
face as a group. The first is based on the traditional analytic idea
of identification with the same-sex parent. Boys are said to form less
secure gender identities than girls because of their relative isolation
from adult males; this isolation can lead to either effeminacy or
compensatory "hypermasculinity," and to fears of and hostility toward
women. The second perspective emphasizes cultural change as the
problem: opportunities to do traditionally masculine things are dis-
appearing, with the result that men today have difficulty feeling
masculine. The third perspective suggests that men are confronted by
contradictory social demands over the course of maturation; while
athletics and other traditional sources of status are encouraged in
childhood and adolescence, adulthood brings a very different and more
complex set of demands. The fourth, or "role strain" perspective holds
that there is a fundamental tension between the demands of a cultural
sex role and the personal needs of most individuals.

In the final section of this paper the author briefly considers the

sources and potential benefits of a movement to change man's roles and priorities. The stimulus of far-reaching changes on the part of American women is generally recognized as a source of this change. Less noted but equally important, however, are the substantial benefits that men may gain from a reconsideration of their life patterns, expecially with respect to their relationships with other men, with children, and with the norm of full-time all-involving careers.

Pleck, J. H. The psychology of sex roles: Traditional and new views. In A. F. Scott and L. A. Cater (Eds.), Women and Men: Changing Roles, Attitudes, and Perceptions. Stanford: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1976.

This theoretical paper clarifies the points of conflict between traditional psychological conceptions of gender and the newly emerging perspective of sex role theory. It is also a useful, brief review of several important new bodies of research.

The author proposes that traditional psychological theories about male and female development are based on five interrelated propositions. (1) Males and females differ substantially on many characteristics. (2) These differences are to some extent biological. (3) Sex differences also arise from a central hypothetical process known as "sex identification": to develop a "secure" sex identity, a youngster must acquire the constellation of traits deemed appropriate to their sex. (4) This process is not automatic, and many individuals fail to develop a secure identity. (5) These psychological sex differences both account for and justify the traditional division of work and family responsibilities.

The author reviews three bodies of recent research which cast considerable doubt on this dominant traditional paradigm. Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) comprehensive review of the sex difference literature shows that psychological sex differences are much fewer than previously believed, and less related to biological factors. Money and Ehrhardt's (1972) summary of extensive bio-medical research on patients with gender anomolies shows that biological factors are far less important than early social labeling in determining which sex a mixed-individual will become. Further, in normal individuals, this event occurs within the first few years of life and is not dependent on the acquiring of sex-typed traits and interests later in childhood. Bem's research on sex-typed and androgynous college students shows that highly masculine males and feminine females, rather than being "healthier," as traditional theory would suggest, actually suffer a number of deficits in comparison with androgynous classmates who have acquired both feminine and masculine traits. Pleck integrates these various contributions to suggest a new psychology of sex roles which is emerging to replace the traditional perspective.

In a thoughtful final section, the author discusses the prospects for meaningful social change in male and female roles. The frequent focus on problems and stresses of role change is inherently conservative, and neglects the benefits that often follow when old patterns are

discarded. Our present sex role system is supported not so much by
personal psychological traits as by larger social structures, such as
the present norm of full-time paid employment and full-time homemaker
roles.

Turner, R. Strains of masculinity. Family Interaction, New York: Wiley, 1970,
294-301.

The author distinguishes between maleness, which is an ascribed
status, and masculinity, which is an achieved status. Failure to back
up claims to male prerogatives with displays of masculinity damages a
man's self-respect and the respect accorded by others. Further, he
argues, masculinity lacks institutional protections and can be called
into question at any time.

Demonstrations of masculinity can be accomplished through success
in a career; performance of heroic feats, now usually limited to
athletics and the military; and continuous display of "acting like a
man," i.e., emotional control and impassivity, aggressiveness, and
resistance to conformity. Rejection of anything labelled "feminine"
and domination of women are crucial aspects of the role.

Obstacles to masculine self respect include the lack of masculine
role-models in boyhood; the limited or delayed opportunities for achieve-
ment, and the evolution of modern egalitarian values between the sexes.
Reactions to the resulting strain are caricatures or exaggeration of
the behavior traditionally associated with the male role.

Biller, H. B. and Borstelmann, L. J. Masculine development: An inte-
grative review. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1967, 13, 253-294.

In this lengthy review of theoretical and empirical literature on
the development of the male sex role, the authors cite much of the early
work on masculinity and present a multi-dimensional concept of sex-
role development. Three aspects of sex-role are differentiated: (1)
sex-role orientation is defined as the discrimination of oneself as
male/female and positive regard for oneself as such; (2) sex-role pre-
ference includes the learning of the culturally sex-typed symbols of
sex-roles; and (3) sex-role adoption signifies sex "appropriate"
behavior. Some attention is paid to the operationalization of these
terms and their relation to other terms existing in the literature.

In integrating earlier work, the authors focus on the father-son
relationship, particularly father absence, masculinity, nurturance,
limit-setting, and power. Constitutional, socio-cultural influences,
and the mother-son relationship are also considered but to a lesser
extent. These factors are assumed to influence sex-role development
in different ways; for example, early father absence is said to influence
sex-role orientation and sex-role adoption more than sex-role preference.

In their efforts to impose order on a literature diverse in both

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theoretical orientation and methodological approaches, the authors have
accepted too uncritically some findings that fit their model. The
elaboration of the sex-role concept would have benefitted from placing
it in the context of other psychological frameworks; for example, the
three sex-role aspects can be likened to knowledge-attitudes-behavior or
values-attitudes-behavior. The general methodological problems as
well as the ones specific to this concept could thus have been clarified.
The most consistent aspect of both the works cited and this paper is
the assumption of "appropriateness" of sex-typed behavior, for sons,
for father, for family structure, and indeed for societal structure.
This assumption, as well as the breadth of the definition of masculinity
to include all instrumentality and competence in general, date this
paper prior to more critical recent approaches and limit its usefulness
except as an historical document.

Hacker, H. M. The new burdens of masculinity. Marriage and Family
Living, August, 1957, 227-233.

   This theoretical piece explores the effect of recent social changes
on the values and behaviors associated with masculinity. The author
cites three sources for contemporary masculine problems: (1) traditional
burdens, particularly economic, which may be aggravated by recent
developments in the structure and nature of work and its consequent
demands; (2) conflicting norms of masculinity which may create con-
fusion in definition or an inability to meet them all; and (3) accommodations
to the new freedoms and responsibilities of women.

   The roles of worker, husband, father, son, and lover are discussed
in terms of these conflicts. New demands on men include interpersonal
negotiating on the job, affection and democracy in the home, and
responsibility for women's sexual satisfaction. She argues that mas-
culinity is ill-defined but at the same time it is more important to
men than femininity is to women.

B. Life-span Development

Moreland, J. Age and change in the adult male sex role. Sex Roles
(in press).

This article sets forth the general hypothesis that adult male
developmental stages represent varying accommodations of the male sex
role to age-related standards. Starting with the stages of life-
cycle delineated by Levinson and his colleagues, the author notes that
transitions between stages are assumed by those researchers to be
prompted by the surfacing of various needs of the self suppressed during
each prior stage.

In contrast to that theory, this author suggests that such crisis
transitions are caused by the conflict of male sex-role standards with
age-related standards. In general, increasing stages in the life-
cycle require a redefinition of masculinity to incorporate many rejected
aspects such as cooperation, intimacy, and nurturing. By mid-life,
masculinity has become so broad that it is effectively androgyny.

The adoption of each of these redefinitions, though undertaken during
a sometimes tumultuous period of re-examination, does not ultimately
lead to a sense that the man is not masculine. Rather, evaluations of
masculinity occur within the context of the particular age and con-
stantly change as to their "appropriateness."

Sears, R. R. Sources of life satisfactions of the Terman gifted men.
American Psychologist, 1977, 32(2), 119-128.

Subjects: 486 men who represented 75% of the believed-to-be-living
members of the original Terman gifted children study. Their average
age was 62 in the present study.

Method: Questionnaires were mailed concerning four topics: occupational
satisfaction, work persistence, family-life satisfaction and unbroken
marriage as contrasted with divorce. These target variables were
then related to the numerous earlier measures available for these
subjects.

Findings: Overall, life satisfaction from family life was most impor-
tant, followed closely by occupation and joy in living. Friendship,
richness of cultural life, and total service to society were less
likely to be sources of satisfaction. Regression analyses indicated
that income in 1972 and success achieved in 1960 were the strongest
predictors of occupational satisfaction. However, a path analysis
suggests that some continuing affective quality — an optimism about
life, an enjoyment of occupational combat, and a feeling of self-worth
characterized the more satisfied of these men. Work persistence
was only slightly correlated with occupational satisfaction.

Family-life satisfaction was predicted by mental health somewhat

and slightly by good early social adjustment, sociability in high
school, and feminine tastes and interests. The Marital Aptitude and
Happiness scores of 1940 were the strongest predictors. A high
amount of income work by the wife seems to have had a negative effect
on the husband's family-life satisfaction. Several variables
differentiated men with unbroken histories of marriage from divorced
men, including marital happiness and aptitude measures at age 30,
good mental health, and affectionate attitudes toward parents,
especially mothers. The only predictive variable from early child-
hood was the masculinity/femininity score based on game preferences:
the more masculine he was at age 10, the more likely a boy was to have
an unbroken marriage at age 62. However, M/F data from age 30
indicate no such difference so that men who remained married from
30-60 were no longer more masculine.

Comments: The author concludes that there is a clear continuity in a
number of attributes over a 50-year life cycle and that there is a
high consistency of expressive feelings about work, health, and self-
worth over the three decades 30-60. In addition, characteristics of
the man himself predict occupational satisfaction better than family-
life satisfaction, perhaps because the latter is more dependent on
other family members. Nonetheless, these men placed greater importance
on achieving satisfaction in their family life than in their work,
and, moreover, they found it.

Brim, O. G., Jr. Theories of the male mid-life crisis. The Counseling
Psychologist, 1976, 6(1), 2-9.

This article describes, compares, and contrasts the life cycle
approaches of Daniel Levinson, Marjorie Lowenthal, and Bernice
Neugarten. The particular focus is the male mid-life period and the
possibility of attendant personality changes or crises. Several kinds
of variables, from endocrine changes to social structural changes are
considered. The general problem of ages versus stages is also discussed.

The author concludes that the mid-life male is apt to be undergoing
some profound personality changes which are multiply determined. These
changes may occur simultaneously and rapidly, and consequently lead to
a "crisis" or they may be stretched out over ten or twenty years. At
present, there is not good evidence for developmental periods or
stages in the mid-life period. In addition, it is possible that any
"growing pains" signify transitions from one steady state to another
which may bring more happiness than found in younger days.

Farrell, M. P., Rosenberg, S., and Schmitt, M. Identity, alienation,
and the life cycle: The effects of age and status on male identity
development. Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American
Sociological Association, 1976.

Subjects: Stratified random sample of 150 young men (ages 23-30) and
300 middle-aged men (ages 37-50).

Method: 90 minute interviews using four scales: Keniston's Personal
Identity scale; Kenniston's Prospective Identity scale (role diffusion);
the Social Identity scale; and the Solidarity Scale.

Findings: In a test of Erikson's developmental hypothesis about the
sequence of resolution of various issues, the authors found partial
support. The most significant exception to Erikson's formulation
was that most men (57%) in the sample never resolved the intimacy
issue. In other comparsions, younger men showed more signs of
alienation than older men. Lower status men are more likely to be
alienated than higher status men; in fact, the age effect is
reversed for this group with alienation increasing with age.

Comments: These findings give partial support to each of three theories:
developmental, cultural, and structural. There is some evidence of
a developmental order to the resolution of various issues with in-
creasing integration with age rather than a "mid-life crisis." It
also appears, however, that men have the most difficulty in achieving
intimacy with another person, and this does not improve over the life
cycle. Structural features are clearly implicated in the finding that
lower-status men are more alienated, a problem which increases with age.

Gutman, D. Individual adaptation in the middle years: Developmental
issues in the masculine mid-life crisis. Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry,
1976, 9(1), 41-59.

In this article, the author presents his theory that the male mid-
life crisis is not predominantly connected with physical decline and
loss but with changes in sex roles. He argues that parenthood fosters
an arbitrary division of labor and affective behaviors that are des-
cribed as masculinity and femininity. As individuals age, this rigid
division is no longer needed, and "normal androgyny" occurs in which men
and women begin to assert the neglected sides of their personalities.
Mid-life crises for men may then be difficulties in externalizing or
expressing their "feminine" qualities. He suggests that illness,
physical and mental is one possible resolution of the conflict, pro-
viding an acceptable way to be dependent. Discarding a now assertive,
"masculine" middle-aged wife in favor of an adoring, "feminine" younger
woman may be another; the new wife may provide a "projective ecology"
for the husband's feminine potentials. Some cross-cultural data are
provided to support the idea of developing femininity in older men.
The author concludes that cultural changes are necessary to convince men
that emotionality, dependency, and aestheticism are not incompatible
with manhood. These developmental patterns could, he suggests, lead
to a more enriched, more multifaceted self.

Harry, J. Evolving sources of happiness for men over the life cycle: A
structural analysis. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1976, 38, 289-296.

Subjects: 374 men drawn from a national probability sample. Only men
over 18, full-time employed, and single or married were included.

Excluded were single males over 35; the currently divorced, separated, or widowed; those over 45 with preschool age children, those over 55 with children under 13, and those over 60 with children under 18.

Method: The survey items of interest in this study included the single item of self-rated happiness as the dependent variable and a series of single-item self-ratings on areas of satisfaction as the correlates. Six stages of life cycle were defined as follows: (1) single and under 35 years of age; (2) married under 35 and without children; (3) married, under 45, with at least one child under 6; (4) married, under 56, no children under 6 but at least one child under 13; (5) married, less than 61, no children less than 13 but at least one child less than 18; (6) married, at least 35 and no children under 18.

Findings: Happiness and excitement are significantly correlated for four of the life cycle stages, that is, all except (4) married, children schoolage, and (6) married, children grown. Finances are only correlated with happiness for stages (1) and (6). Job is only correlated with happiness for stages (3) and (6) but contributes to excitement at (1), (3), and (5) and to family satisfaction at (4). Family satisfaction is most strongly associated with happiness during stages (3) and (6), that is, when the children are young and when they are gone. Health is strongly related to happiness, excitement, and family satisfaction during those same two stages, (3) and (6).

Comments: These data suggest shifting sources of happiness for men over the life cycle. Men may define happiness in varying ways depending on their structural positions in different institutions. There is some suggestion that men with schoolage children are primarily oriented toward the family.

Overall, as the authors note, the picture is of a fairly benign aging process in which men become happier over the life cycle with no evidence for a crisis stage. These conclusions however, must be tempered by a consideration of the men who were excluded from the study, i.e., those most likely to have been in a state of crisis and unhappy.

Levinson, D. J., Darrow, C. M., Klein, E. B., Levinson, M. N., and McKee, B. Periods in the adult development of men: Ages 18-45. *The Counseling Psychologist,* 1976, 6(1), 21-25.

This article primarily explicates the authors' conceptualization of adult male development; it is based on interviews with only 40 men, aged 35-45. Six stages of the life cycle are described along with the developmental tasks which characterize them. These stages are labelled (1) leaving the family (LF), (2) getting into the adult world (GIAW), (3) the age thirty transition, (4) settling down (SD) and becoming one's own man (BOOM), (5) the mid-life transition (MLT), and (6) middle adulthood. Age linkages are an integral part of the theory.

Rosenberg, S. D. and Farrell, M. P. Changes in life course at midlife:
A pattern of psychosocial decline. Paper presented at American Socio-
logical Meeting, August, 1975.

Subjects: 20 "representative" mid-life respondents drawn from larger
survey (see Farrell, Rosenberg, and Schmitt).

Method: Semi-structured interview in respondent's home.

Findings: Of the 20 men studied, 12 were experiencing the transition
into middle age as a period of psychological disturbance and depressive
break-down. Some of these anticipated a reemergence after this
difficult period. Psychosocial decline occurred in friendship patterns
and in commitment to work, but was most noticeable in family relation-
ships. Two case studies are provided which describe men who are
increasingly dependent on families which are less available.

Comments: The authors suggest that in middle age the balance of power
in the family shifts toward the wives and the adolescent children
with increasing autonomy. The husbands are less able to play out old
authoritarian roles and have never developed patterns of intimacy
with family members. Thus the mid-life crisis suggests a persistence
of outmoded patterns and an inability of these men to develop new
ways of relating.

Cross-references:

Farrell and Rosenberg, VIII A
Mussen, 1962, XI A
Mussen, 1961, XI A

C. Masculinity-Femininity Scale Studies

Pleck, J. H. Masculinity-femininity: Current and alternative paradigms.
<u>Sex Roles</u>, 1975, <u>1</u>, 161-178.

This article deals primarily with theoretical explanations for the
origin and development of sex-typed traits and interests. After
briefly reviewing the recent contributions of Money and Ehrhardt, and
the theoretical and technical problems associated with "Masculinity-
Femininity scales" as measures of sex-typing, the article examines
five areas in which psychology's traditional "identification" paradigm
of sex-typing has <u>not</u> been supported by data: parental identification,
effects of father absence, adjustment, cross-sex identity, and Black
male identity.

Two alternate paradigms for the acquisition of sex-typed character-
istics are presented. The first is a three-phase model suggesting that
early childhood confusion about sex-roles is replaced by adolescent
rigidity and intolerance, which in turn gives way, under optimal con-
ditions, to a more humanistic, androgynous consciousness in adulthood.
The gender polarization which traditional theory sees as natural and
desirable is viewed here as an intermediate step; the danger is not
that children will fail to reach this stage, but that they may never
leave it.

The second new paradigm views sex-role acquisition as a symbol-
learning process, analogous to language acquisition. As languages
evolve over time so too do sex-role norms evolve - a phenomenon most
theories have difficulty with. Both of the alternate paradigms are
particularly suited to accounting for change in sex-role standards at
both the individual and cultural levels.

Harrington, C. E. <u>Errors in Sex-Role Behavior in Teen-Age Boys</u>. New York:
Columbia University Press, 1970.

Subjects: 118 boys aged 13-19 obtained from 5 inpatient and outpatient
mental health facilities in upper New York State.

Method: Sex role identity measures were the Gough Femininity (Fe)
scale, the Franck Drawing Completion Test (FDCT), and a modified
version of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) m-f scale.
Boys were classified as showing exaggerated masculinity (E), as
"inverted" (I), or as controls (C) from their case records. Eighteen
specific behaviors were also coded from case records. Hand dyna-
mometer strength was used as a measure of constitution or physique.
Ferraro and Turner's measure of division of household tasks was
also used.

Findings: As predicted, E and I boys had more "feminine" FDCT scores
than C boys, even when physique and social class were controlled.
I boys had more feminine Fe and SVIB scores than E and C boys, even

when physique and social class were controlled. Contrary to pre-
diction, I boys were somewhat less likely to have experienced father
absence than other boys. As predicted, I boys shared more household
tasks with their mothers than did other boys. E boys, however, did
not share more tasks with their fathers, but this was interpreted
post hoc as due to E boys' rebelliousness. The 18 specific behaviors
were also factor analyzed. Analysis of these behaviors suggested
that the FDCT predicted only one specific behavior, defiance (p. 80).

Comments: Harrington notes in Chapter 5 several ways in which the
results of the study do not confirm the traditional sex role
identity interpretation of male behavior. In particular, contrary
to this interpretation, excessively male primary sex role identity
was associated with sex role behavior difficulties. Analysis of
specific behaviors according to scores on the sex role identity
measures produced only weak results. Harrington suggested that his
data call into question the "protest masculinity" or "hypermasculinity"
interpretation of male aggression.

Harford, T. D. Willis, C. H. and Deabler, H. L. Personality correlates
of masculinity-femininity. Psychological Reports, 1967, 21, 881-884.

Subjects: 213 male volunteers participating in the Veterans Adminis-
tration Normative Aging Project. They ranged in age from 20-60
and were drawn primarily from semi-professional occupations.

Method: The following test battery was administered: the 16
Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF), the General Aptitude Test
Battery (GATB), the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values, and the
Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Men (SVIB).

Findings: The measure of masculinity-femininity was drawn from the
SVIB. Masculinity was negatively correlated with warmth, brightness,
emotional stability, sensitivity, bohemianism, and being sophisticated.
It was positively correlated with being suspecting, guilt proneness,
high anxiety, tough poise, and high neuroticism.

Masculinity correlated negatively with the Verbal and Motor
Coordination of the GATB and positively with Manual Dexterity.
Correlations between the Values Scale and M-F indicated positive
relationships between masculinity and the Theoretical and Economic
scales and a negative correlation with the Aesthetic scale.

Comments: Most of the personality correlates of M-F were consistent
with expectations of sex-role stereotypes. Most interesting was the
association of masculinity with emotional dissatisfaction, guilt
proneness, anxiety, and neurotic tendencies.

Cosentino, F. and Heilbrun, A. B., Jr. Anxiety correlates of sex-role
identity in college students. Psychological Reports, 1964, 14, 729-730.

Subjects: 85 male college students (mean age 19.9); 156 female college

students (mean age 19.5).

Method: Twelve items on aggression anxiety (AA) from an 80 item aggression scale, an adjective checklist and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale were used.

Findings: For males low masculinity as measured by the adjective checklist was associated with higher scores on aggression anxiety and manifest anxiety. High feminine females also had higher AA and MA scores than low feminine females.

Comments: The authors conclude that a more feminine sex-role identity in either sex involves a disposition to respond to aggression cues with greater anxiety. They also note that their findings in college students are similar to an earlier one using the same instruments with 12 year olds.

Webb, A. P. Sex-role preferences and adjustment in early adolescents. Child Development, 1963, 34, 609-618.

Subjects: 317 junior high school students (161 girls, 156 boys) sampled at each of the three grade levels.

Method: Instruments used included the Femininity Scale of the California Psychological Inventory, a classroom social distance scale and the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale. In addition, attendance records were examined, and the total number of absences for any reason was tabulated.

Findings: There were no differences in social distance as a function of femininity either for girls or boys. However, anxiety was related to femininity for both boys and girls. High anxiety was associated with high feminity in girls. For boys, there was no association in the 7th grade, high anxiety was associated with high femininity in the 8th grade and high anxiety was associated with low femininity in the 9th grade. Absenteeism was associated with low femininity for both boys and girls.

Comments: The relationship between anxiety and femininity in boys and its changes at each grade level is difficult to interpret. One possibility is that masculinity becomes increasingly stressful during adolescence.

High-masculine boys are also more likely to miss school than low masculine boys. This absenteeism may be associated with anxiety although this test was not done. Alternatively, absenteeism may be a display of masculinity. Analyzing excused, unexcused, and truant absences would have clarified the interpretation.

Gray. S. W. Masculinity-femininity in relation to anxiety and social acceptance. Child Development, 1957, 28, 203-214.

Subjects: 34 boys and 27 girls in sixth and seventh grades from a middle class laboratory school

Method: Three instruments were used: a masculinity-femininity scale on which classmates rated each other; a manifest anxiety scale; and the "who are they" test; a measure of social acceptance.

Findings: High anxiety was found to be associated with high masculine sex-typed behavior in boys as well as with high feminine sex-typed behavior in girls. High social acceptance was associated with a high degree of sex-appropriate behavior for boys, but not clearly associated for girls.

Comments: This study presents evidence that sex-typing is associated with anxiety in early adolescence. In addition, for boys, sex-typing and "sex-appropriate" behavior led to social acceptance.

Cross-references:

Sears, 1977 I B
Fling and Manosevitz, 1972 III B
Masih, 1967 IV B
Radin, 1972 VI D
Spence and Helmreich, 1972 VII A
Mussen, 1961 XI A
Biller and Liebman, 1971 XII A
Gilkenson, 1937 XII A
Munroe and Munroe, 1971 XIV E
Leventhal et al., 1968 IX A

D. Androgynous vs. Sex-typed Males

Spence, J. T. and Helmreich, R. L. Masculinity and Femininity: Their Psychological Dimensions, Correlates, and Antecedents. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.

Subjects: The core sample in the study consisted of juniors and seniors in 5 New England public High schools (N=756 males, 1013 females) tested between 1974-1976. Other samples included introductory psychology students, Ph.D. scientists, female varsity athletes, and gay students at the University of Texas, and students from other countries.

Method: Spence and Helmreich's Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ); their Work and Family Orientation scales (WOFO-1 and WOFO-2); the Texas Social Behavior Inventory (TSBI); and other measures.

Findings: Using median splits for M and F, 25% of the males in the core sample were classified as androgynous, 44% masculine, 8% feminine, and 23% undifferentiated. The rank order of these groups on the TSBI (interpreted as a measure of self-esteem) was androgynous (highest), masculine, feminine, undifferentiated. Analyses are also presented concerning the relationship of PAQ scores to empathy, achievement orientation (assessed by the WOFO scales), homosexuality, and concerning the distribution of PAQ scores in cross-cultural samples. The parental antecedents of students' PAQ scores are examined, as are the correlates of M and F in parents, as perceived by students.

Bem, S. L., Martyna, W., and Watson, C. Sex-typing and androgyny: Further exploration of the expressive domain. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 1006-23.

Subjects: Eighty-four undergraduates, half males and half females, equal numbers of whom had been classified by the BSRI as masculine, feminine, or androgynous, participated in each study.

Method: In Experiment 1, subjects were observed interacting with a baby, whose assigned sex was either male or female. Behavior was coded by three experimenters observing through a one-way mirror.

In Experiment 2, subjects listened to another student describing problems of isolation as a transfer student. Supportive responses were recorded through a one-way mirror.

Findings: The only significant result in the first overall analysis in Experiment 1 was a main effect for the baby's assigned sex with babies labelled as boys receiving more nurturance. A subsequent analysis separated "androgynous" from "undifferentiated" individuals as well as those who scored "masculine" or "feminine." The results of this reanalysis revealed that masculine subjects were significantly

less nurturant toward the baby than feminine or androgynous subjects.

The results of Experiment 2 indicated that masculine subjects were significantly less nurturant than feminine or androgynous subjects. Self-reported feelings of nurturance of the masculine subjects were not significantly different from the other groups.

Comments: These data provide further experimental evidence for the behavioral deficits of masculine males. In both situations designed to elicit nurturance, the masculine males were least likely to respond.

The authors also suggest that under these conditions, feminine females do respond in the direction predicted. Further, they conclude that a distinction should be made between individuals who score high in masculinity and femininity on the BSRI ("androgynous") and those who score low on both ("undifferentiated").

It should also be noted that babies identified as males received more nurturance.

Bem, S. L. and Lenny, E. Sex-typing and avoidance of cross-sex behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 33(1), 48-54.

Subjects: 144 undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology classes. 24 were sex-typed, 24 androgynous, and 24 sex-reversed of each sex, as measured by the BSRI.

Method: Subjects were asked to choose between 30 pairs of activities to engage in while being photographed. Fifteen pairs represented "sex role conflicts" with a stereotypically masculine or feminine activity offered in contrast to a neutral or cross-sex activity. Payments of 2¢ and 6¢ were specified for each activity with the stereotyped activity always paying the least.

Findings: On the non-conflicted choices, males significantly preferred the higher paying activity. However, on choices involving sex-role conflicts, males were more likely to choose stereotypically masculine activities than females were to choose stereotypically feminine ones. Within sex comparisions indicated that sex-typed individuals avoided cross-sex choices more than androgynous or sex-reversed individuals.

Comments: Two possible interpretations are offerred for finding that males avoid cross-sex behavior more than females. The "masculine" behaviors may be more valued than the "feminine" behaviors, or males may be socialized more restrictively, particularly in terms of avoiding cross-sex behavior.

Bem, S. L. Sex role adaptability: One consequence of psychological androgyny. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 634-643.

Subjects: <u>Experiment 1</u>: 9 masculine, 9 androgynous, and 9 feminine subjects of each sex. All were students in an introductory psychology class who had taken the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) earlier in the quarter. <u>Experiment 2</u>: 66 undergraduates, half male, half female. One-third of each sex was masculine, one-third feminine, and one-third androgynous, based on BSRI scores.

Method: Experiment 1 was a conformity paradigm. Subjects were run in same-sex groups of four but placed in individual soundproof booths. Their task was to rate the funniness of 92 cartoons pre-judged for degree of funniness by other undergraduates. On 36 "critical" trials, a false consensus of three other "subjects" (actually tape-recorded voices) was presented to the subject. Conformity consisted of agreement with these judgments.

Experiment 2 was described to the subjects as the effects of various activities on mood. During the "forced play" period, subjects were asked to build with plastic discs, to play with a kitten, and to play a game. A spontaneous play session then followed during which subjects could play with whatever they chose. The dependent measure was amount of time spent playing with the kitten.

Findings: Experiment 1 results indicated that both masculine and androgynous subjects remained independent on significantly more trials than did feminine subjects. There were not significant differences between males and females per se.

Experiment 2 results varied for male and female subjects. Male data conformed to predictions: androgynous and feminine males spent more time playing with the kitten than masculine males. Female results were more complex with feminine females showing the least spontaneous interaction with the kitten.

Comments: These studies provide some experimental support for Bem's hypothesis that sex-typing limits situationally adaptive behavior. Masculine males appear able to resist pressures for conformity, a stereotypically masculine reaction, but unable to play comfortably with a kitten, a stereotypically female behavior.

Cross-references:

Gottsegan and Severance, 1977 XIV E
Minnegerode, 1976 VIII B

E. Collections and General Sources on the Male Role

Pleck, J. H. and Brannon, R. Male roles and the male experience.
The Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34(1).

This is probably the most extensive collection of social-science
analysis of the male sex role that is currently available. The twelve
articles comprising this special issue of The Journal of Social Issues
were all written for this issue. Consult the appropriate sections of
this bibliography for descriptions of individual articles on Homophobia,
Physique, Physical health, Attitudes about men, Reactions to atypical
male behavior, Heterosexuality, Friendship between men, Sports, Military
socialization, and Historical analysis of the Boy Scout movement.

Men's Studies Bibliography, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Human
Studies Collection, Humanities Library. Third edition, February, 1977.

This is an invaluable catalog of the many thousands of men's studies
articles, books, dissertations, newsletters, and ephemera housed in the
Hayden Library at M.I.T. in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Copies of hard
to find materials may be obtained at reasonable charge by writing to
librarian David Ferriero who oversees this collection. The men's
studies collection currently lists materials in the following categories:
Socialization, Mental and physical health, Relationships and attitudes
toward women, Homosexuality, Fatherhood and family, Employment, Sexuality,
Power-violence-crime-military-sports, Other cultures, History-literature-
religion, and Men's Liberation Movement. Plans are currently underway
to reorganize the collection and compile an annotated bibliographic
catalog.

David, D. S. and Brannon, R. (Eds.). The forty-nine percent majority:
The male sex role. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

This is an especially readable collection of materials on all aspects
of the male sex role. Brannon's introductory essay which develops a
four-part model of the male role is described elsewhere in this
bibliography (IA). Selections in this reader are generally organized
to follow the four-part model, which provides a sense of theoretical
coherence. Among the more important selections are an analysis of
masculinity and U. S. policy in Vietnam, by Marc F. Fasteau, a moving
story of competitiveness in male socialization, by Joseph Pleck, and a
new analysis of homophobia, by Gregory Lehne.

Petras, J. (Ed.). Sex: Male/Gender; Masculine; Readings in male
sexuality. Port Washington, N.Y.: Alfred Publishing Co., 1975.

This is a somewhat disparate collection of articles on male sexuality
and male roles, which nonetheless contains some interesting and useful
selections. There are several excerpts from 19th Century moralists on
the evils of masturbation and the need for self-control, as well as an
article by a prison warden who believes that uncontrolled sex urges lie
at the root of almost all crimes. There are also a number of more

standard excerpts dealing with gender from different perspectives:
Money and Ehrhardt, Kamarovsky, Balswick, Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith,
Lionel Tiger, and Normal Mailer.

Pleck, J. H. and Sawyer, J. (Eds.). <u>Men and masculinity</u>. Englewood
Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

    This is the most widely used collection of male role readings in
print today, and one of the more widely read books on men in general.
It contains thirty-one selections and a useful topical bibliography
of male role resources. The collection is organized around the central
relationships of men's lives: with women, work, children, other men,
and society at large. The sections on men's relationships with
children and on the emotional barriers to trust and closeness with other
men are especially well developed. There is also a section of articles
on the male experience in childhood and adolescence, and a final section
on the new phenomenon of a men's movement in the United States.

II. Attitudes About Men and Masculinity

A. Trait Ratings of Typical, Ideal, or Other Male Stimuli

Cicone, M. V., and Ruble, D. N. Beliefs about males. In J. Pleck and R. Brannon (Eds.). Male roles and the male experience, Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34(1), 5-16.

This is a useful review of the literature focusing on traits and characteristics attributed to men. Studies of adult subjects' beliefs about "the typical man" are considered according to the method of assessment used: open-ended descriptions, adjective check lists, and bi-polar rating scales. Rating of "the ideal man" and of men's self-ratings are also briefly considered, and 7 studies dealing with children's beliefs about men and boys are also reviewed.

After reviewing a number of specific studies, the authors list 23 traits that are attributed most often to men. They suggest that the adult male stereotype contains at least three general themes: I. Active and Achievement Oriented (e.g., adventurous, ambitious, independent, courageous); II. Dominant (e.g., aggressive, powerful, assertive, boastful); III. Level-Headed (e.g., logical, realistic, stable, unemotional). (Theme III, however, is typically absent in children's descriptions of men.)

This article discusses several methodological issues which complicate efforts to compare studies of this sort. It includes an especially useful discussion of the difference between "absolute" beliefs about men and "relative" beliefs— i.e., that men have a certain characteristic in comparison with women.

Yankelovich, D. Women's Liberation and Women, In The new morality: A profile of American Youth In the 70's. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Subjects: 3,522 persons between the ages of 16 and 25. A college sample of 1,006 students was drawn from a representative sample of two- and four-year U. S. colleges. A non-college sample of 2,516 people was drawn from a probability sample of the U. S. population, excluding college students.

Method: Personal interviews of one to two hours conducted in 1973 were used which covered many topics, including a small section on women, men, and sex role issues.

Findings: The following percentages of college and non-college young people checked these attributes as "Very Important Qualities In a Man": "Keeps feelings under control" (30% and 48%); "Makes the decisions in the family" (20% and 40%); "Cannot be pushed around by women" (32% and 40%); "Good provider" (56% and 77%); "Has strong views about what is right and wrong" (57% and 76%); Puts family above everything else" (48% and 67%); "Physically strong" (15% and 27%); plus 7 other items.

Comments: The value of this publication lies in its outstanding sample, which accurately reflects the attitudes of the U. S. population aged 16-25 as of 1973. These data should provide a useful standard of comparison for later investigations.

Jenkin, N., and Vroegh, K. Contemporary concepts of masculinity and femininity. Psychological Reports, 1969, 25, 679-697.

Subjects: 25 male and 25 female adults (mean age = 47) of middle-class background who were enrolled in evening classes in a suburban high school.

Method: Six stimuli were evaluated: (1) most males (M), (2) most females (F), (3) most masculine person you can imagine (MM), (4) most feminine person you can imagine (MF), (5) least masculine person you can imagine (LM), (6) least feminine person you can imagine (LF). Subjects rate each stimulus on a 187-item adjective check list and a 23-item semantic differential.

Findings: The following numbers of adjectives were endorsed by a significant number of subjects (33 of 50 = p < .05) to describe each of the 6 stimuli: M, 6; F, 10; MM, 45; MF, 34; LM, 12; LF, 18. Most masculine (MM) and most feminine (MF) shared 17 significant adjectives (e.g., affectionate, attractive, cooperative, healthy, intelligent, sexually attractive, good-natured, etc.) and correlated .42 (p < .01) in frequencies of endorsement across adjectives. Significant adjectives for least masculine (LM) were, in order of endorsement: effeminate, emotionally unstable, apologetic voice, insecure, weak, cowardly, spineless, whiney, immature, indecisive, affected, and physically weak. Least masculine shared no significant adjectives with least feminine (argumentative, sexually unattractive, arrogant, bossy, crude, coarse, etc.), but the two negative stimuli did have similar endorsement rates across specific adjectives (r = .31, p < .01). The six significant adjectives endorsed for "most males" were: active, competitive, sexually responsive, masculine, ambitious, and adventurous.

Comments: The full set of significant adjectives is presented for each of the six stimuli. This plus the mature age of the sample makes this a valuable study despite the modest sample size. The data suggest that masculinity and femininity are not opposites, but relatively independent evaluative dimensions.

The article also contains data from a smaller study (Study 1, N = 18) which included ratings of actual persons known to the subjects, and considered high or low in masculinity or femininity. These real-person ratings were generally similar to the "most (least) you can imagine" ratings, but were less extreme in either direction.

Ehrenberg, O. Concepts of masculinity: A study of discrepancies between men's self-concepts and two different ideal concepts and their relationship to mental health. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1960, 21(5), 1275. (University Microfilms No. 60-03740)

Subjects: 49 upper middle class males aged 25-50, employed by organizations in metropolitan New York.

Method: Descriptions of (1) the self, (2) "the kind of man you wanted to be when you grew up" (termed the "traditional" ideal male concept), and (3) "how you feel your society would most like you to be" (the "contemporary" ideal male concept) on a set of 53 adjectives with 6-point rating scales; the Winne Scale of Neuroticism (derived from the MMPI Hy, Hs and D scales).

Findings: Men's self-concepts differed from both their traditional and contemporary ideal male concepts. The two ideal male concepts differed from each other, with the traditional ideal concept containing more "impulse-expressive" than "impulse-restraining" attributes, the contemporary ideal concept containing the reverse. The neuroticism score was significantly positively related to the discrepancy between self-concept and traditional ideal, and nonsignificantly positively related to the discrepancy between self-concept and contemporary ideal.

Comments: Detailed examination of the traits on the self-concept and the two ideal scales indicates that the discrepancies were greatest on the items "tense," "insecure," and "anxious," with the self-concept containing more of these traits. Discrepancy scores were positively related to having high self-ratings on these traits. Thus, the finding of relationships between the discrepancy scores and the neuroticism scale may be an artifactual one: the discrepancy scores may simply be measures of the presence of neurotic traits in the self, and thus the relationship is really between two measures of neuroticism.

MacBrayer, C. T. Differences in perception of the opposite sex by males and females. Journal of Social Psychology, 1960, 52, 309-314.

Subjects: 90 male and 125 female college students taking psychology in small, denominational single-sex colleges.

Method: The measure used included 4 sentence completion items embedded in a larger sentence-completion test: (1) I believe most women/men... (2) I think most girls/boys... (3) My idea of a perfect woman/man... (4) What I like least about women/men.... Responses were coded by four judges into categories and percentages of types of responses compared.

Findings: Women gave more favorable responses to questions 1 and 2 than men did. Men and women cited different favorable and unfavorable characteristics for the opposite sex in response to questions 3 and 4. For example, 18% of the men's idea of a perfect woman was that she be beautiful whereas only 5% of the women mentioned physical attractiveness; 29% of the women ranked considerateness most favorably

whereas only 12% of the men gave a similar response. Twenty-three percent of the men said "deceitfulness or insincerity" in response to question 4; 36% of the women said "egoism or feeling of superiority."

Comments: The author concludes that women view men more favorably because of an androcentric bias of the culture and because marriage is more valued for women and therefore they are presumably more motivated to evaluate them positively. Evidence for the latter assumption is confounded because subjects only responded to opposite-sex cues; the motivational hypothesis would require males to evaluate male cues less positively than the females.

Cross-references:

Tavris, 1977 II A
Beigel, 1957 VII A
Seward and Larson, 1968 XIV E
Fay, 1975 XIV E
Fox, 1973 XIV C
Levitan and Chananie, 1972 III C

B. Attitudes About Male Behavior

Tavris, C. Men and women report their views on masculinity. Psychology Today, January, 1977, 35-42, 82-

Subjects: 28,000 readers of Psychology Today; the majority were under 30, never married, and college educated.

Method: The measure used was a questionnaire published in Psychology Today. Questions reported include (1) trait ratings for the ideal man and ideal woman, oneself (men) or mate (women); (2) degree of masculinity of self (men) or partner (women); (3) masculinity of occupational choices; (4) responses to provocation/insults directed toward self or women companion (men); (5) attitudes toward men's liberation. Group differences between men with differing amounts of homosexual experience are also reported.

Findings: (1) The 20 trait ratings of the ideal man and woman showed no differences except possibly "physically strong" which about 20% thought was very important to the male ideal and less than 10% attributed to the female ideal. It appears that men judged the traits "competitive" and "takes risks" more important to the male ideal and "soft," "romantic," "able to cry," and "sexually faithful" less important than women did. Men rated "physically attractive" more important to the ideal woman than women did and "successful at work" as less important. Fewer men thought the traits were "highly characteristic" of themselves than women did. (2) Similarly, women were more likely to judge their male partners as above average in masculinity than the men judged themselves. (3) The only occupations that men sex-typed were prostitution, go-go dancing, and armed combat. (4) In response to provocations directed against themselves, 45% of the men said they would argue and 24% would ignore it; women said they would prefer the man to ignore it (40%) or argue (28%); only 16% of the men said they would hit or threaten to hit. In response to provocations directed against a woman companion, 37% of the men said they would hit or threaten to hit, 31% would argue, and only 9% would let the woman handle the matter; women were about equally divided between arguing (28%), letting her handle it (26%), and hitting or threatening (24%). (5) Both men and women support men's liberation (73%).

Comments: The findings in this article are difficult to extract because of varying comparisons among groups, the frequent lack of the specific question, partial reporting of results, and the constant use of anecdotal data which may or may not be typical of respondents. While it is also difficult to generalize from these respondents, with such an impressive number of subjects, the findings cannot be ignored. They indicate in what ways the masculine ideal is viewed by some members of society and the picture is often a surprising one.

Pleck, J. H. Male sex-role behaviors in a representative national sample, 1973. In D. G. McGuigan (Ed.) New Research on Women and Sex Roles. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1976.

Subjects: 634 males, 18 and older in a representative national sample.

Method: Respondents were asked to rate the frequency of four behaviors over the past year: firing a gun, crying about something, getting drunk, and telling a male friend they liked him. The frequency of these behaviors was examined in relation to several other background variables: age, education, marital happiness or amount of time spent socially with women, sense of competence on the job, job satisfaction, locus of control, and trust in others. Some data on attitudes toward women are also presented.

Findings: Less than half the respondents reported engaging in any of the behaviors in the past year: 48% fired a gun, 43% cried, 42% got drunk, and 41% expressed liking to a male friend. In addition these behaviors were infrequent for all but a tiny minority. Firing a gun or getting drunk were significantly associated, and crying and telling a man you like him were also associated, but the two pairs of items were independent. Age was strongly negatively related only to the two traditional male role behaviors (firing gun, getting drunk). Education was unrelated to all four behaviors. Getting drunk was strongly associated with marital unhappiness, low sense of competence in one's work, external locus of control, low trust in others, and (for unmarried men) amount of time spent socially with women. Firing a gun is negatively associated with self-rated job competence. Crying is significantly related only to job satisfaction while verbal expression of liking to other males is related only to trust in others.

Several within-strata analyses for age and education are also shown. Innovative male role behavior (crying, expressing liking for a male friend) was associated with the belief that women are discriminated against. Traditional role behavior was negatively associated with the belief that women are happiest in their family role.

Comments: This study indicates that both traditional and non-traditional male-role behaviors are reported to occur with similar frequency. In general, the traditional behaviors were associated negatively and the innovative behaviors positively with items of adjustment.

Mason, K. O. Sex-role Attitude Items and Scales from U. S. Sample Surveys. National Institute of Mental Health, 1975.

This compendium is useful as a large pool of items that have been used before. It is mainly about women, but several sections have items that would be useful to people who wanted to measure attitudes about men.

The first section includes items on sex roles in specific institutional areas, such as the family, the labor force, the educational system, politics, and the military. The second section covers general norms concern-

ing the behavior of women and men, especially in face-to-face interaction, and includes both social and sexual behavior. The third section concerns sex stereotypes, and the fourth covers miscellaneous items. Information about the reliability and validity of the items is not given, but the reader is referred to the source article.

Clavan, S. and Robak, N. Masculinity: Fathers and sons. Youth and Society, 1974, 6(1), 32-48.

Subjects: 89 male undergraduates from 5 colleges in one metropolitan area. Selection was determined by a willingness to participate and living with a father who would also participate.

Method: Questionnaires were used which covered three topic areas: occupation, family, and sexual behavior. Occupation questions contained views about wives working and working women in general. Fathers' questions were answered both retrospectively (before marriage) and currently.

Findings: Sons report significantly more liberal attitudes than fathers on every group of items except familial ones involving housework and childcare on which sons' and fathers' present opinions agree. There was a non-significant tendency for fathers to endorse more conservative sexual standards now than they say they did as young men; the authors call this a "parenting effect."

In general, sons would like their wives to work and 70% say a wife's career is as important as a husband's. However, only 32% expect wives to work once there are children. There was a correlation between attitudes toward wives working and sharing of household tasks for both sons and fathers. Father's attitudes on these questions became more liberal from the retrospective to the present situation.

Comments: These data suggest a generation gap between fathers and sons on opinions concerning male and female roles. Sons are in general more liberal than fathers. Fathers responses retrospectively and currently are only significantly different on the topic of working wives where they indicate more liberal attitudes now than formerly. There was also a trend to be more sexually conservative now. In addition, the authors interpret the sons' responses as expressing a desire to participate more fully in family life and child care but maintaining sexual performance as an important part of the male role.

Olstad, K. Brave new men: A basis for discussion. Oberlin Alumni Magazine, September/October, 1973.

Subjects: 300 male students, 75 from each class, at Oberlin College were randomly selected from housing lists to receive mailed questionnaires; 211 (71%) returned the questionnaires.

Method: A questionnaire of an unknown number of items (at least 45 judging from the results) was used to gather data. Most responses were limited to agree-disagree-uncertain. All data are reported in percentages with no statistical tests.

Findings: (1) Friendship patterns: the majority of students reported more male than female best friends. However, they tended to place greater confidence, consult more, and spend more time with female best friends than male best friends. (2) Impulsiveness and emotionality: each of 7 relevant questions had a large number of "uncertain" responses. On the most general level, however, 57% agreed that they would rather be emotional persons and only 10% disagreed. (3) Family and career roles: in general they endorsed an egalitarian ideal for decision-making (90%), spending time with children (84%), and sharing housework (58%). Although they find career women good marital partners (73%) and expect their wives to work (58%), 22% said a woman's profession should be secondary to the needs of their family and 31% were uncertain. (4) Contraception and abortion: although these men disagreed that women should be responsible for birth control, they also seemed to assume that women would take care of this matter. (5) Sexuality: 40% of first year students but only 15% of seniors said they had never had intercourse with a female; 76% of underclass students and 80% of upperclass students reported never having sexual encounters with another male.

Comments: These data indicate that these Oberlin men were more liberal in their attitudes than Komarovsky's Ivy League sample (see Section VII. A) because of either selection differences between the two schools or the date of the study. However, some of the same conflicts between expressed liberal attitudes and specific intentions or behavior are evident.

Allen, D. A. Antifemininity in men. American Sociological Review, 1954, 19, 591-593.

Subjects: 95 white, male, upper middle class students in an introductory psychology course.

Method: Thirty items considered a scale representing "antifemininity in men" were administered along with authoritarianism items from the F scale. The antifemininity items were chosen to reflect intolerance for passivity, tenderness, and anything hinting at femininity in men, together with admiration for a rough, aggressive, strong-willed supermasculinity.

Findings: A product-moment correlation between the two scales was found to be +.70.

Comments: A strong relationship between attitudes toward authority and attitudes toward feminine tendencies in men was demonstrated. Authoritarians showed an adulation of rugged, strong-willed, inflexible supermasculinity and contempt for men who fall short of the virile ideal.

Cross-references:

Siefert, 1973 IV C
Brannon, 1978 VII A
Pleck, 1978 VII A
Hunt, 1976 V C

C. Experimental Studies of Reactions to Males

O'Leary, V. E. and Donoghue, J. M. Latitudes of masculinity: Reactions to sex-role deviance in men. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1978, 34(1), 17-28.

Subjects: (1) 140 college students (70 men and 70 women); (2) 58 high school students (29 boys and 29 girls); (3) 68 college students (34 women and 34 men).

Method: (1, 2) Subjects rated biographical sketches and bogus trait ratings on the BSRI of two competent male stimulus persons (SPs) in a presumed impression-formation study. The SPs differed in the "traditionality" of their male role orientation: one was said to have ascribed "masculine" traits to himself and to be planning a career in business; one was said to have chosen "feminine" traits as self-descriptive and to be planning to become a kindergarten teacher. The ratings consisted of several 7-point scales tapping liking, preference as a work partner, attractiveness to a potential employer and perceived similarity to self. (3) Subjects participated in a 3-person discussion groups including a male confederate. They were presented with a case history of 8-year-old Johnny who was picked on by a classmate and asked whether they as parents would encourage Johnny to fight back, do nothing, or pick him up after school. A 10-minute discussion followed after which they again indicated their positions. The confederate advocated either a traditional position (fight back) or a non-traditional position (pick up). Each subject then rated the others on a series of scales.

Findings: (1) Analysis of the subjects' ratings yielded no significant main effects although there was a trend (p < .07) for a preference for the non-traditional SP for a work partner. A significant interaction indicated that women perceived themselves more similar to the non-traditional SP. (2) Among high school students no significant effects were obtained. (3) No main effects were found for the traditional-nontraditional manipulation. In general, female subjects rated the confederate more positively than male subjects did, regardless of role orientation.

Comments: The authors argue that there is a great (and perhaps growing) latitude to the male sex-role. They also provide a selected review of literature relevant to sex-role deviance in children, toy preferences, and sex-typing in adults; most of this literature supports the hypothesis that boys are socialized more restrictively and that adult males are devalued for engaging in feminine behavior. The authors then suggest that early strict adherence to a rigid male role may in fact allow more latitude later than women have.

Feather, N. T. and Simon, J. G. Stereotypes about male and female success and failure at sex-linked occupations. *Journal of Personality*, 1976, 44, (1), 16-37.

Subjects: 120 high school students (60 male, 60 female).

Method: Subjects were given written cues about men or women who were at the top or bottom of their classes in medical, teaching, or nursing school. Questionnaire items included trait descriptions (21 bi-polar adjectives), causal attributions (6 ratings), and consequences (17 ratings of liklihood).

Findings: Stepwise multiple discriminant analysis was used to determine which of the ratings distinguished male-female and success-failure groups. In general it was easier to assign cases to the success-failure groups than to the male cue group or female cue group. There was evidence for an "active achiever" stereotype and a "strong male" stereotype. Concerns about social approval were more likely to emerge for female cue characters. "Wonders if normal" and "feels has sacri-ficed too much" were consequences associated with males in the success-nursing condition. The male character was more likely to deny the outcome when he succeeded at nursing than when he failed. "Feels thoroughly contented" and "feels thoroughly unhappy" emerged as dis-criminant variables for males in the success-medicine and the failure-medicine conditions respectively. However, success in medicine for males was also associated with "has a nervous breakdown."

Comments: This study indicated important occupational differences in the evaluation of men and women who have either succeeded or failed. The "strong male" stereotype that emerged was associated with some negative as well as positive consequences for success.

Costrich, N., Feinstein, J., Kidder, L., Maracek, J. and Pascale, L. When stereotypes hurt: Three studies of penalties for sex-role reversals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 1975, 11, 520-530.

Subjects: All subjects were undergraduates in psychology or sociology courses; the numbers of subjects for the three studies were 54, 128, and 60, respectively.

Method: Study 1 involved evaluations by small group members of a confed-erate's dominance-submissiveness and popularity-unpopularity. Confed-erates were men and women who were either dominant or submissive in the group interaction.

Study 2 used tape recordings of aggressive or passive male or female student interactions with a counselor. Judgments included ratings of dominance and need for psychotherapy.

Study 3 called for judgments of behavior described in written scripts of an interaction between a patient and a therapist. The patients were either male or female and aggressive or dependent.

Findings: The results of Study 1 indicated a strong penalty effect for for men: the more submissive the rating, the less popular he was. Study 2 yielded an interaction such that the aggressive woman and the passive man were judged to be more in need of therapy. The findings of Study 3 also indicated that subjects judged aggressive women and

dependent men as having more serious psychiatric problems than their counterparts. In general, subjects did not like aggressive patients, but they disliked aggressiveness more in women and dependence more in men.

Comments: These studies indicated that men, as well as women, suffer negative evaluations when they deviate from their prescribed sex-role norms.

Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R., and Stapp, J. Likability, sex-role congruence of interest, and competence: It all depends on how you ask. <u>Journal of Applied Social Psychology</u>, 1975, <u>5</u>, 93-109.

Subjects: 385 male and 552 female introductory psychology students.

Method: Subjects were divided into Liberal and Conservative groups on the basis of the Attitude Toward Women Scale (AWS) administered earlier in the semester. All subjects viewed a videotape of a male or female stimulus person being interviewed for a position as orientation advisor to first year students. SPs were competent or incompetent and indicated masculine or feminine interests. Subjects rated SPs on 12 questions tapping primarily social liking. Half the subjects completed ratings immediately after viewing the tape (standard condition), the rest answered several open-ended TAT-like questions about the SP prior to doing the ratings (Projective condition).

Findings: A six-way analysis of variance produced 63 F's of which 10 were significant. In terms of main effects, subjects overall like competent SP's better than incompetent ones, masculine SP's of both sexes better than feminine ones, and the projective technique reduced liking. There were no main effects for sex of subject, sex of stimulus person, or Conservative vs. Liberal subjects. However, there were four significant 2-way interactions and three significant triple interactions. The two-way interactions indicated that subjects liked members of the opposite sex better than their own, that female and conservative subjects were more extreme in their judgments of liking of competent vs. incompetent SP's and that liking for male SP's varied more as a function of sex role than that for female SP's. The three-way interactions all involved the Standard vs. Projective conditions. In the standard condition, the findings of Spence and Helmrich (1972) were replicated, i.e., that the competent-masculine-female SP was liked better than the competent-feminine-female SP by all groups." In the projective condition, however, only the Liberal female subjects continued to show this preference; all other groups reversed their order of preference. For male SP's, the competent-masculine-male was preferred by all groups in both the Standard and Projective conditions.

Comments: This extremely complex study suggests a number of avenues for further research. The authors consider the responses given in the Projective Condition to be more revealing and of greater psychological significance than those supplied in the Standard Condition. Certainly, this assumption requires further investigation. In terms of the male sex role, the most interesting findings were the more

extreme judgments of male SP's depending on their masculinity or feminin-
ity of interests and the pattern of findings for male subjects who
scored "Liberal" on the AWS. The authors describe these men as being
made uncomfortable by femininity in other men, reacting less favorably
to competent and more favorably to incompetent individuals of either
sex, and despite their professed liberal attitudes, liking competent
women who are feminine rather than masculine.

Deaux, K. and Taynor, J. Evaluation of male and female ability: Bias
works two ways. Psychological Reports, 1973; 32, 261-2.

Subjects: 47 male and 50 female college students.

Method: Subjects listened to taped verbal interviews of candidates for
a study abroad program. Candidates were either male or female and
either highly competent or incompetent. Subjects judged candidates'
competence and intelligence on 11-point scales.

Findings: The analysis of variance indicated that the manipulation of
competence was effective: highly competent candidates of both sexes
were judged to be more competent than incompetent candidates. Most
important was a significant interaction between sex of candidate and
competence and intelligence: highly competent males were rated as
more competent and intelligent than highly competent females, and
incompetent males were rated as less competent and intelligent than
incompetent females. Sex of subject was not significant.

Comments: As the authors note, men may be viewed as more competent than
women at the upper end of the scale but suffer greater devaluation
under conditions of low competence.

Cross-references:

Meyer and Sobieszek, 1975 III C
Albrecht, et al., 1977 IV C
Touhey, 1974 IV C

III. THE SOCIALIZATION OF MASCULINITY

A. Theoretical Overviews

Denmark, F. L. Growing up male. In E. L. Zuckerman (Ed.), Women
and Men: Roles, Attitudes, and Power Relationships. New York:
The Radcliffe Club of New York, 1975.

   The author draws on many of the major findings of research
relevant to sex-role socialization to develop a description of the
process of growing up male. The following areas are briefly touched
on: sex differences (physical, cognitive, motor, sensory, and in
personality traits), gender assignment and identity, touching and
parental interaction, stereotypes, learning opportunities and
experiences, role models (father absence, female teachers), iden-
tification and imitation, peer relations, school performance, and
competitive athletics. Recommendations for broadening the male
role include involvement of both parents in child care and increased
learning opportunities for both sexes.

   Necessarily broad in its coverage, this paper ignores some of
the theoretical distinctions among researchers in the interest of
giving a smooth, unified description of male role socialization.

Lewis, M. Parents and children: Sex-role development. School
Review. 1972, 80 (2), 229-240.

   This paper reviews some literature relevant to the socialization
of sex differences in interpersonal behavior, particularly physical
contact. Parents' attitudes toward the infant's sex, differential
parent behavior, and adult social patterns are discussed. Lewis
argues that the sex of the infant is the characteristic to which
adults most attend and respond. Attachment studies indicate that
mothers look at and talk to girl babies more than boy babies; however,
boy babies up to 6 months receive more physical contact. Some
attention is given to the ways parents encourage boys away from
proximal behaviors after six months. For adult men, proximity
(touching) is restricted to the opposite sex and is usually sexual
in nature according to Lewis. The limited conditions and cultural
differences in man-man physical contact are discussed. The function
of these limits in a competitive society and the possibilities for
change are briefly discussed.

Knox, W. E. and Kupferer, H. J. A discontinuity in the socializations of males in the United States. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1971, 17, 251-261.

In this theoretical article the authors argue that there is an inherent discontinuity between male socialization and the necessities of adult family roles. Although cross-cultural examples are used, the focus is on the contemporary U.S. where recent structural changes in family and the division and quality of labor are making adjustments necessary.

The analysis suggests that boys are taught to display power, aggression, independence, and achievement and particularly to avoid certain aspects of the female role (e.g., doll play). As an adult, the middle-class nuclear family system may then require him to engage in behaviors that he has learned are unacceptable, even degrading.

The authors criticize assumptions that aspects of the male role, e.g., independence, are themselves positive, and point out several areas of family life where they may be dysfunctional. These include an inability to form a cooperative unit, an inability to properly socialize the children, and a motivational and behavioral deficit in the performance of routine household tasks. Essentially, the authors suggest that it would be functional for our family system were the male sex-role to become more flexible.

Lynn, D. B. Sex-role and parental identification. Child Development, 1962, 33, 555-564.

Two processes of identification are postulated: sex-role identification includes internalization of the role "appropriate" to the given sex; parental identification refers to internalization of the personality characteristics of the same-sex parent. Since girls have continuous access to their mothers as models, the process by which they learn their sex-role is through parental identification. Boys learn a more stereotyped version of masculinity in the absence of a direct model of specific behaviors; they also learn in a more negative fashion, by being told what is not appropriate masculine behavior.

Because of these different processes of sex-role socialization, several sex differences in personality and cognitive functioning ensue. (1) Need for affiliation is greater in females. (2) Females are more dependent on the external context of a perceptual situation and less likely to deviate from the given. (3) Males are better problem-solvers. (4) Males are more concerned with internalized moral standards. (5) Females are more receptive to the standards of others. Data from the literature are offered to support each of these hypotheses.

Many of the hypotheses of this paper have not been supported by subsequent research. However, it does represent an often implicit series of assumptions in sex-role and sex difference research.

Hartley, R. E. Sex-role pressures and the socialization of the male child. Psychological Reports, 1959, 5, 457-468.

Subjects: 41 boys, 8 and 11 years old; half from professional families and half from lower-middle-class and working class families.

Method: Subjects were interviewed individually by 1 of 7 interviewers whose minimal education was at the master's level. The children were asked to respond to a variety of pictorial and verbal cues, which required from 6-10 hours to administer. Responses were story endings to unfinished stories, interpretations of pictured situations, and comments as to "sex-type" on a series of pictures depicting common activities. Subjects' teachers were also interviewed.

Findings: The author delineates, using case materials, four adjustment patterns to the male sex role which are described as follows: (1) overstriving with explicit hostility expressed against the opposite sex and with marked rigidity concerning the differentiation of activities assigned to men and women; (2) overstriving with less hostility but with marked rigidity; (3) a tendency to give up the struggle, accompanied by protest against social expectations; and (4) a successful, well-balanced implementation of the role, which is positive in approach, showing clear differentiation between concepts of male and female roles, but with an understanding of the complementary relationships between the roles and marked flexibility in relation to the activities assigned to them.

Comments: The data presented here are anecdotal in nature; no frequencies are given for these various adjustment patterns and no explicit scoring mechanism was devised. There are numerous statements made, citing other research literature, which are susceptible to empirical tests, for example, that boys conform to social expectations earlier than girls, that these expectations are defined more negatively and enforced more harshly, that identification with the same sex parent is the major process of sex-role learning, that boys in fact learn their roles from peers, that boys are taught to despise girls and women, that protest against sex-role expectations is prompted by low self-esteem.

This paper should be viewed as a theoretical statement of the author rather than a research report. As such, it provides an overview of many of the major hypotheses about male socialization.

Cross-references:

O'Leary and Donoghue, 1978, II C.
Toby, 1966, IX B.
Hannerz, 1971, XIV B.

B. Children's Conceptions of Masculinity

Connor, J. M., Serbin, L. A. & Ender, R. A. Responses of boys and girls to aggressive, assertive and passive behaviors of male and female characters. Journal of Genetic Psychology, (in press).

Subjects: One hundred and five elementary school children (34 in grade 4, 32 in grade 6, 39 in grade 8).

Method: Each child answered questions concerning nine stories which were presented in a booklet: three interpersonal problems were presented, one between a child and a teacher, one between a child and a friend, and one between a child and a younger cousin; in each situation the child in the story responded either aggressively, assertively, or passively. The sex of the character was male, female, or unspecified. At the end of each dialogue, the subject evaluated the solution, said whether she/he would do the same thing, evaluated the effectiveness of the solution, stated liking for the child, and judged whether the other person liked the child.

Findings: Overall, the aggressive approach was viewed more negatively than the other two approaches. Boys gave more positive responses to the aggressive solutions than did the girls. Female characters received more positive ratings for passive behavior than for assertive behavior. With increasing age, the children viewed the aggressive story increasingly negatively and the assertive story increasingly positively. When the character was a female, children were most likely to say they would have acted similarly when she acted passively.

Overall, the aggressive solutions were viewed as less effective than either the passive or assertive approach, and this judgment of ineffectiveness increased with age for both boys and girls. However, older boys also judged the passive approach as less effective while older girls judged it more effective.

On liking the stimulus child, there was a significant interaction with girls more extreme in their judgments of dislike for the aggressive child and like for the passive child. Both sexes thought the aggressive child would be liked least, but girls were more extreme in this judgment. Girls also thought that the child who behaved passively would be liked more than the child who behaved assertively.

Comments: These findings indicate that sex-role stereotypes of aggressive and passive behavior are well inculcated by age ten. Although aggressive behavior was not the preferred mode of responding for any of the children, boys approved of it more than girls, were more likely to say that they would have behaved the same way, liked the aggressive character better, and thought that other people would like the aggressive character better. Interestingly, this positive evaluation decreased with age with the boys primarily substituting assertive responses.

O'Neill, S., Fein, D., Velit, K. M. and Frank, C. Sex differences in pre-adolescent self-disclosure. Sex Roles, 1976, 2 (1), 85-88.

Subjects: Two hundred and seventy nine urban school children in a lower- to lower-middle class area, ranging in age from 7-13 years; 52% girls, 48% boys; 34% white, 22% black, 29% Spanish-speaking, and 15% other.

Method: A 29-item self-disclosure scale was developed. The format was "Did you tell a friend about....? yes no". The content included ambitions, fears, bad dreams, marks on tests, classmates liked and disliked, self-esteem, skills, feelings of rejection, secrets, game preferences, and competence and incompetence.

Findings: No ethnic differences were found. There was a trend (p=.06) for girls to disclose more than boys on the total number of items. On intimate items, girls significantly disclosed more than boys. More girls than boys told their friends about whether they liked the way they look, what scares them, something embarassing, bad dreams, liking for a girl, something they were ashamed of, what they worry about, and what makes them sad.

Comments: The authors conclude that there is only a marginal tendency for girls to communicate more than boys in general, but the content of the disclosure does show a strong sex difference. Girls appear to be more able to share the "kinds of troublesome feelings which comprise the content of therapeutic interaction....Both the taboo on male emotionality and the relative lack of practice in talking about emotions may make it more difficult for males to participate in therapeutic processes which require self-disclosure."

Williams, J. E., Bennett, S. M., and Best, D. I. Awareness and expression of sex stereotypes in young children. Developmental Psychology, 1975, 11, 635-642.

Subjects: Two hundred eighty four kindergarten, second and fourth grade children enrolled in two church-sponsored kindergartens and one public elementary school in Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Method: (1) 24 stories were developed, 12 for each sex-stereotype; these were paired with a picture of two adults, and the children were asked which adult the story was about. They were given one point for each sex-stereotyped response and an overall score for male stereotype, female stereotype, and combined stereotype. Two male and two female experimenters administered the measure. (2) Peabody I.Q. test.

Findings: With a male examiner, there was a significant effect for age: the second and fourth grade children had higher stereotype scores than the kindergartners. In general the male stereotype was stronger than the female stereotype. There were no sex of subject effects. The correlation of stereotype scores to I.Q. scores was not significant for the older children but was significant for the kindergarteners.

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Comments: The authors conclude that the male stereotype is learned
at a younger age than the female stereotype, possibly because the
adjectives have more behavioral referents that can be readily
associated with children's behavior. They also suggest that
girls are allowed more sex-role freedom ("tomboy") while boys are
more constrained to the male sex-role ("sissy").

Fling, S. and Monosevitz, M. Sex typing in nursery school children's
play interests. <u>Developmental Psychology</u>, 1972, 7 (2), 146-152.

Subjects: Thirty two white, 4-year old, upper class children and
56 of their parents. Fifteen were boys, seventeen were girls.

Method: All testing was done by a female experimenter in individual
sessions. Using the "It" test materials, subjects were given
a blank card and asked to choose items it would prefer (sex-role
orientation measure). The child then selected items for her- or
himself (sex-role preference measure). The child was then shown the
blank card again and asked whether it was a boy or a girl (sex-role
labelling inquiry). Several weeks later the experimenter visited
the child at home and asked what toys were favorites. These choices
were then coded as masculine, feminine, or neuter; the neuter toys
were discarded for determination of "sex-appropriate" toy scores
(sex-role adoption measure). Parents were interviewed individually
about the child's play interests and given a modified It test.
They were given scores on the It test, an Encouragement score
based on the interview, a Discouragement score based on the It
test, and a Total score.

Findings: More children labelled the standard It figure as a boy
than as a girl regardless of their own sex. The blank card was
more often labelled as the subject's own sex. Boys' and girls'
scores were significantly different on sex-role orientation,
preference, and adoption. However, there were no significant
differences in the degree of sex-typing. Both girls and boys
tended to be more sex-typed in the choices for themselves than for
the blank It card. However, for the boys, the choices they made
in the laboratory and the choices they made at home were negatively
correlated in terms of sex-typing.

Of 48 correlations possible between parents' and childrens'
scores, only one was significant: fathers' Encouragement and
daughters' Adoption; Mothers' Encouragement and sons' Adoption was
almost significant (p <.06). Comparison of the boys' parents to
the girls parents indicated greater pressure toward sex-typing for
boys. Like-sexed parents reported more encouragement of sex-typing.

Comments: This study provides good evidence that the Standard It
test contains a masculine bias in the figure used which makes
interpretation of girls scores particularly difficult. Previous
assertions about boys being more sex-typed than girls were not
supported here. Parents' and children's toy preference scores were

also not related. There was some evidence that parents want
their boys to be more sex-typed and exert pressure in this
direction, and that this pressure originates from the father.

Hartley, R. E. and Hardesty, F. P. Children's perceptions of sex roles
in childhood. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1964, 105, 43-51.

Subjects: 91 girls and 40 boys, 8 and 11 years old, approximately
evenly divided by age, social background, and working status of
their mothers. All were from two-parent homes, in New York City,
born in U.S. Minority group members and children with outstanding
emotional problems were excluded.

Method: (1) The Role-Distribution Measure which consisted of 56
pictures, 10 of places, 26 of various behaviors, and 20 of toys
was used. For each picture, the child was asked "who mostly plays
there (plays with it; does it), boys or girls, both, or neither?"
(2) An open-ended question asking the child to tell a person from
Mars what girls/boys need to know and to be able to do was also
used.

Findings: Forty-six of the fifty six items were consensually assigned
to either girls (17), boys (23), or to both (6). About two-thirds
of the top 50% of items attributed to boys and girls were playthings
(doll carriage, sewing machine, dishes, carpet sweeper, pocketbook,
electric mixer for girls; air-rifle, trucks, fort and soldiers,
ball and bat, tool bench, drums, jack-knife, erector set for boys).
Boys' and girls' responses were highly correlated at both ages;
more change was shown with age for the female attributions than the
male, but there was greater consensus about the female attributions.
Group comparisons indicated 5 differences by sex, 2 different by
age, 4 different by social class, and 2 different by mother's
work status. The direction of differences was toward each sex
claiming more activities than the opposite sex attributed, younger
children making more sex-typed attributions, and daughters of working
mothers making less sex-typed attributions. Social class differences
were mixed. Trends in the data indicated large individual differences.
In response to the Mars story, the girls mentioned significantly
more items for girls than for boys. The boys mentioned approximately
equal numbers for each sex.

Comments: The authors draw several conclusions from these data:
that children perceive clear-cut differences in sex-role implementation
at the peer level; that toys occupy a stable hierarchy as indicators
of sex roles in childhood; that boys' toys are established earlier; that
the greater consensus for girls' toy designations suggests more
rigid tabus; that girls' activities parallel traditional female-role
activities to a greater extent; and that there are few group differences
but large individual differences for things other than toys.

They argue that boys are more aware of girls' roles than vice-versa
because boys must know what to avoid, that is, a negative directive
plays a greater part in boys' sex-role identification than in girls'.
The data for this last point is suggestive but by no means conclusive.

Goodenough, E. W. Interest in persons as an aspect of sex difference in the early years. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1957, 55, 287-323.

Subjects: Forty nursery-school children and both of their parents. Fathers' occupations were entirely at the professional and business-executive levels. All but one of the children were classified on the Gesell Developmental Examination as high average, superior, or very superior. Data from additional children of comparable SES and developmental rating were also used.

Method: (1) Interviews were conducted separately with the mothers and fathers in their homes. Responses from six of the questions were analyzed for this study. (2) The children were asked to draw "something" on two occasions and then to identify their drawing. (3) The Mosaic Test was used to see whether the children maintained their interest in the test or shifted it to the experimenter or other topics including person references; the test consisted of plastic geometric forms which could be used to make designs. The children's comments during the test provided the data.

Findings: (1) In the interviews, parents ascribed the same personality traits to their sons and daughters with the single exception "submissive, pliable" which was more often attributed to the girls. When asked whether their child was more masculine or feminine, parents usually said they didn't know, but with prompting, they could list traits they considered sex-typed. These emphasized higher energy drive and non-personal interests in boys and higher social and personal awareness and low energy drive in girls. Describing their daughters' femininity, 10 fathers and 6 mothers included references with sexual overtones; describing sons' masculinity, 4 fathers and 7 mothers included opposition to femininity. Both parents had similar and even clearer stereotypes for adults. When they had a preference for the sex of the first child, it was for a boy with fathers stating that preference more often. Parents were similar in expressing disturbance at opposite-sex characteristics in children. (2) The drawings indicated that girls were more likely to draw people or objects described like people (scarecrow, snowman, etc.) than boys. Those few boys who drew people tended to draw males whereas the girls represented males and females, occasionally mixing pronouns in their descriptions. (3) During the mosaic chip tasks, girls made more task-irrelevant comments about persons than boys did.

Comments: Support for four hypotheses is claimed: (1) parents through their verbalizations expect their boys and girls to differ in their interest in persons; (2) the father tends more than the mother to differentiate sex-typed roles; (3) girls from two to four years of age already show greater interest in persons than do boys of the same age; (4) boys define their own sex roles more sharply than do girls. Although the data are interesting and suggestive, they do not support these hypotheses as unequivocally as the author suggests. In terms of personality characterizations of their children, there was only one out of nine differences, submissiveness. Most notably, parents were not likely to attribute sociability or aggressiveness differentially to their sons and daughters. The author suggests that there were different

"nuances" to the same terms which did indicate sex-typed expectations. To a direct question about the masculinity and femininity of their children the parents at first had no response, but then were able to adduce examples of sex-typed behavior. However, again it is in the subtleties of data that the author finds support for the first two hypotheses. Except for fathers' preference for a son as first-born, there is no quantitative data to support the second hypothesis.

The data on picture-drawing and person-oriented comments made during the mosaic task do strongly show a sex difference with girls drawing more people and making more comments. However, there is also a strong age effect apparent with older children indicating more person-orientation. It can also be noted that on the original developmental classification of the children, there were many more girls classified as "very superior." It is possible that these sex differences were developmental effects.

Evidence relevant to the fourth hypothesis, that boys' sex-role is more narrow, is difficult to locate. The author cites primarily two findings. First, the boys are less likely to draw opposite-sex figures. This difference was not testable because the boys drew so few persons, but it is apparent that the only boys to draw female figures were the oldest ones, the four year olds. Again, it may be a developmental difference. Second, eleven parents include opposition to femininity as part of the description of their sons' masculinity; no parents spontaneously include negative sex-typing of this sort in describing their daughter's femininity. Although this is an extremely interesting finding, the assumption that it indicates narrow sex-typing is questionable. Indeed, it may indicate just the opposite, that masculinity is such a broad category that it is hard to define while femininity is so narrow it is easy to define; therefore it is easier to begin describing masculinity by saying what it is not. One could think of it as trying to describe a figure-ground problem with femininity as the figure and masculinity as the ground. Another interpretation might be simple hostility toward the opposite sex.

Tuddenham, R. D. Studies in reputation III: Correlates of popularity among elementary school children. <u>Journal of Educational Psychology,</u> 1951, <u>42</u> (5), 257-276.

Subjects: 1439 children in three elementary grades: Grade I (49 girls and 70 boys); Grade III (340 girls and 352 boys); and Grade V (306 girls and 322 boys).

Method: The Reputation Test was administered orally to children in Grades I and III and in written form to those in Grade V. The children were asked to supply the names of classmates who best fitted 11-18 descriptions. Descriptions consisted of pairs of items such as "who are the ones everybody likes?" and "who are the ones nobody likes very much?" (popularity dimension).

Findings: Factor analyses for boys and girls separately in each grade yielded the structure of the relationships among variables. For girls in Grade 1, the variables Popularity, Acts Like Little Lady, Quiet, and Not Quarrelsome constitute the only major cluster. For boys in Grade 1, Popularity was most closely associated with Good Sport and Good at Games. Real Boy clustered with Not Bashful and Takes Chances and was very close to Popularity.

For Grade III girls, more distinct clusters were evident. Popular and Best Friend were associated. Acts Like Little Lady, Quiet, and Not Quarrelsome formed a separate cluster and seemed to be less associated with high status than in Grade I. Another cluster made up of assertive attributes became clear at this age.

For the third grade boys, Popular was most closely associated with Good Sport. The most popular boys were characterized by attributes such as Real Boy, Takes Chances, Leader, and Good at Games. Unassertive attributes were less related to popularity for the third grade boys than they were for the girls.

Among fifth graders, the assertive cluster of traits was a little less organized for the girls. An unassertive cluster was still very clear but no longer included the item Acts Like Little Lady, which was not associated with Popular at all.

The central cluster for fifth grade boys included Popular, Best Friend, Good Looking, and Not Bashful. The item Real Boy was still associated with athletic skill, leadership, and daring and provided a clearly approved behavior pattern.

Comments: These data indicate that the attributes of athletic competence, daring, and leadership constitute the prime sources of prestige for boys at a number of age levels, whereas traits connoting docility and unassertiveness tend to be rejected. The author suggests that the problem of securing group approval for a boy is one of conforming to a clearly defined group of traits for which he may or may not possess the requisite strength and motor skill. For a girl, the problem is more one of adapting to a continuously changing set of values which are never as clearly defined as they are for the boy.

Cross-references:

Cicone and Ruble, 1978, II A.
Rivenbark, 1971, X A.
Vinacke and Gullickson, 1964, X C.
Mussen, 1961, XI A.
Mussen, 1962, XI A.
Biller and Liebman, 1971, XII A.
Ember, 1973, XIV D.
Whiting and Edwards, 1973, XIV E.

C. The Process of Male Socialization:
Adult Reactions to Children's Behavior

Block, J. H. Another look at sex differentiation in the socialization behaviors of mothers and fathers. In J. Sherman and F. Denmark (Eds.), The Psychology of Women: New Directions in Research. New York: Psychological Dimensions (in press).

The author suggests that socialization theories have not been constructed which articulate differences in child-rearing practices expectable as a function of age, sex, environmental context of the child and parental role definitions. Most studies have focused on only the mother's behavior and only on children under 5 years of age. Further, small sample sizes, unreliable instruments, and lack of construct validity make it impossible to tabulate studies and reach a defensible conclusion. As the studies now stand, the findings are inconsistent and more research is needed.

Some data and conclusions from a series of studies on child rearing practices are reported. These studies involved mothers and fathers of children of various ages across the U.S. and five European countries using a single measure developed by the author. Evidence is presented that both parents emphasize achievement and competition more for their sons than daughters, encourage control of the expression of affect more for their sons, and a punishment orientation is a more salient concern of parents of boys than girls. In addition, fathers place a greater emphasis on independence for boys and appear more authoritarian in the rearing of their sons. Mothers encourage their sons to conform to external standards, wanting them to make a good impression and be conforming.

The parent-daughter relationship is characterized by greater warmth and closeness. Parents have greater confidence in their daughters' trustworthiness and truthfulness, expect "ladylike" behavior, and encourage their daughters to "wonder and think about life." Mothers tend to restrict and supervise their daughters more.

Thus, Block suggests that socialization differences exist, and it is both the weakness of theory and method that has obscured them. She details some new directions for work in this area.

Manley, R. O. Parental warmth and hostility as related to sex differences in children's achievement orientation. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 1977, 1 (3), 229-246.

This review article covers achievement theories very briefly, describes the two parental dimensions of warmth-hostility and restrictiveness-permissiveness, and reviews relevant research. The bulk of the findings support the generalization that maternal warmth is associated with strong achievement orientation in boys but not in girls.

The author concludes with twelve criticisms of the research area, one of which is that very little research has addressed the question of father behavior in regard to children's achievement.

Feinman, S. Approval of cross-sex-role-behavior. Psychological Reports, 1974, 35, 643-648.

Subjects: 40 male and 67 female college students from three intro-
ductory sociology classes at an east coast state college.

Method: Cross-sex-role behavior was measured by 10 one-sentence
descriptions of young children (3-8 years old): a boy playing with
dolls; a boy helping mother bake a cake; a girl wearing jeans and a
sweatshirt; a girl fighting; a boy failing to defend himself against
aggression; a girl helping father repair a car; a very dependent boy;
a girl playing baseball; a boy wearing girls' clothes; a girl who is
very independent. Each sentence was rated on a scale of 1 (extreme
approval) to 7 (extreme disapproval).

Findings: The analysis of variance of the summed scores indicated a
main effect for sex of subject (p < .01) and for sex of child (p < .001).
The male subjects were more disapproving of these descriptions than
the female subjects, and the cross-sex-role behaviors of boys were
more disapproved than those of girls.

Comments: The author interprets these results as indication that a
"sissy" is more objectionable than a "tomboy." Further, it is
argued that the female subjects in this study and adult women in
general are more tolerant of cross-sex-role behavior precisely because
they were allowed to engage in a broader range of behaviors as young
girls.

The major empirical problem with this study is in the selection
of the description items, which was based on the author's intuitions
about cross-sex-role behavior. A proper selection of items, balanced
in terms of the general evaluation of the behavior and in terms of
the degree to which it is characteristic of the opposite sex or its
distance from a sex-role "norm," would be required for a fuller under-
standing of reactions to cross-sex-role behavior.

Fagot, B. I.. Sex differences in toddlers' behavior and parental reaction.
Developmental Psychology, 1974, 10 (4), 554-558.

Subjects: 12 families, consisting of mother, father, and one child
between the ages of 18 and 24 months of age.

Method: Parents and child were observed in their home for five 60-minute
periods over 2-3 months. The observer coded the child's behavior,
the parents' behavior, and the child's mood once every minute contin-
uously over the 60-minute period. A behavior list specifying 46
child behaviors, 19 parent reactions, and 7 mood ratings for the
child was used. Both parents also filled out a questionnaire rating
the 46 child behaviors as feminine, masculine, or neutral and answering
items about socialization practices and values about sex roles.

Findings: Of 31 comparisons of the childrens' behavior by t-test,
six differences between boys and girls were significant: girls more
often played with soft toys/dolls, danced, asked for help, and dressed
up in adult-like clothes; boys more often played with blocks and
manipulated objects and toys. There were no differences in mood.
In terms of parents' behavior, they were more likely to have periods
of no interaction with boys. Both parents, but especially mothers,
gave more praise and criticism to girls. However, both parents were
more likely to join in the play of boys rather than girls. In
answering the child-rearing questionnaire, fathers rated more behaviors
as sex appropriate than did mothers; however, both parents placed
fewer restrictions on the girls' behavior than the boys'. Behaviors
judged appropriate for boys did not show sex differences in the actual
observations but all but one of the behaviors restricted to girls
showed sex differences.

Comments: In the discussion section of this article the author draws
some rather broad conclusions about the relationship of parents attitudes
and reactions and children's behavior. In reading this section one
must keep in mind the very small number of cases in this study. The
suggestion is made that if parents' attitudes aren't influencing sex-typed
behavior toward boys and girls, then perhaps innate sensory and motor
differences of boys and girls are eliciting different behavior from
the parents.

Lee, P. C. and Wolinsky, A. L. Male teachers of young children: A preliminary
empirical study. Young Children, 1973, 28, 342-352.

Subjects: 72 children: 3 boys and 3 girls from each of 12 classrooms
which had both a male and a female teacher. Classes ranged from
pre-school to second grade.

Method: Each teacher and assistant teacher was observed for a total of
two hours using an event sampling technique. Each child was individually
interviewed for approximately five minutes by a female graduate
student.

Findings: The number of teacher sanctions as well as their quality
(approval/disapproval) was examined by sex of teacher and sex of
child. Female teachers gave almost twice as many sanctions as male
teachers; however the ratio of approval to disapproval was about the
same. Boys received about twice as many sanctions as girls, both
approval and disapproval, but there was a tendency for more disapproval.
Male teachers applied four times more sanctions to boys than to girls
while the female teachers only applied slightly more to the boys.
Male and female teachers were equally disapproving of boys, but male
teachers were very approving while female teachers were slightly more
approving of girls. Only 20% of the female teachers' sanctions included
physical contact and it was equally distributed between boys and girls;
on the other hand, male teachers used physical contact 30% of the time
and it was all directed toward boys.

In assignment of leadership positions, teachers tended to assign leadership to children of their own sex. However, the male teachers designated boys as leaders about four times as often as girls, and female teachers designated girls twice as often as boys. Female teachers made about 50% more leadership assignments than the male teachers. In grouping procedures, male teachers were more likely to respond to spontaneous groups, and female teachers initiated groups about as often as they responded to existing groups. Male teachers were much more inclined to relate to single-sex groups.

An analysis of the sex-typing of classroom activities indicated that male teachers had 42% male-typed activities, 11% female-typed activities, and 47% neuter-typed activities. Female teachers had a distribution of 17%, 14%, and 69% respectively.

The children indicated that both teachers were equally salient, but the boys significantly preferred the males while the girls expressed equal preference. Both boys and girls thought their male teachers liked them better than the female teachers. In general girls thought both male and female teachers preferred girls; boys thought male teachers preferred boys and female teachers were neutral.

Comments: The authors conclude that male teachers have a generally "masculinizing" influence on the classroom that is more "congenial" to young boys. They assert that the male teachers were more "balanced in their evaluations of boys, more inclined to give boys leadership positions and to set up affectional ties with boys and girls from those established by the female teacher." In general they see this as a positive step toward "sex-role balance."

Unfortunately, the data as they present it do not support such a sanguine picture. Indeed in every way the behavior of the male teachers seems influenced by the sex of the child such that they are providing a much more sex-typed experience than the female teachers. In addition all of their sex-typing is in the direction of more interaction and approval of boys while the female teachers are relatively even-handed in their treatment of boys and girls. In fairness, it should be noted that all observations were done in male/female two-teacher classrooms. Perhaps when teaching alone, the male teachers would have tended toward more balance or the female teachers toward more bias. However, these data on mixed-sex teaching teams do not suggest a move toward sex-role balance.

Serbin, L. A., O'Leary, K. D., Kent, R. N. and Tonick, I. J. A comparison of teacher response to the preacademic and problem behavior of boys and girls. <u>Child Development</u>, 1973, <u>44</u>, 796-804.

Subjects: 15 preschool classes, consisting of 12-17 children each, who ranged in age from 3 to 5 (median = 4.3) and were predominantly white and middle class. Teachers were all white females.

Method: Five undergraduate observers, three males and two females,
were trained to record 7 categories of child behavior and 13 categories
of teacher response. Observations were made over a three-week period
in 36 minute blocks of time with 20 second recording intervals.
The average observation time per class was 4.2 hours.

Findings: Sex differences were found in two of three disruptive behaviors
recorded. Boys had a higher mean rate of aggression and ignoring than
girls did. There were no differences in destruction. One significant
difference was apparent among the dependency behaviors. The rate of
proximity was higher for girls. There were no differences in
solicitation or crying.

Teachers' responses differed for boys and girls. They were more
likely to respond to the aggressive behavior of boys than girls but
not necessarily the destructive or ignoring behavior. Boys received
three times as many loud reprimands per behavior as girls. In terms
of dependency behaviors, significantly higher rates of teacher attention
to solicitation were found for boys, and this attention was far more
likely to include instructional contact (extended conversation,
brief direction, and extended direction). There were no significant
differences in the rate of teacher response to proximal behavior
between boys and girls; however, the data indicate that girls received
far more attention when they were proximal than when they were distant.

The rate of teacher attention to participation that was neither
disruptive nor dependent was higher for boys in all 15 classes by all
15 teachers. Forms of attention given at significantly higher rates
for boys included praise, hugging, and all instructional behaviors.
There were no differences in touching, helping the child, and brief
conversation. On a post-observational questionnaire, teachers indicated
a lack of awareness of these differences in their behavior.

Comments: The authors suggest that there is an interactive shaping
process in which sex differences in the children's behavior elicit
differential treatment, resulting in still further sex differences
in behavior. The data provide strong support for the hypothesis that
different contingencies are in effect in the classroom for boys' and
girls' disruptive and dependent behaviors. In addition, all of boys'
behavior, appropriate or inappropriate, receives more teachers'
attention than that of the girls who are generally ignored. The quality
of the teachers' responses to the boys may be interpreted as especially
reinforcing for aggression and providing the extended instructions
necessary for independence.

Meyer, J. W. and Sobieszek, B. I.   Effect of a child's sex on adult interpretations of its behavior. Developmental Psychology. 1972, 6 (1), 52-58.

Subjects: 44 men and 41 women, white, middle-class, between the ages of 18 and 45, half of whom reported high contact with children (parents) and half of whom who reported little contact (college students).

Method: Subjects viewed two 15 minute videotapes of two 17 month old children playing with toys. Each child was identified as a girl or boy half the time. Subjects then described each child's behavior on 24 attributes, 17 of which were combined to form a masculine attribution.

Findings: Subjects did not attribute more masculine attributes to the same child or to both children when they were labelled boys. Females who had high contact with children were more likely to attribute masculine characteristics to a female-labelled child. Subjects attributed more of both male and female qualities to a child labelled same-sex; this was particularly true of female subjects. These qualities assigned to the same-sex child were more likely to be positive or neutral than negative.

Comments: These findings suggest that behavior observed in a boy or girl is not automatically judged masculine or feminine. Rather the particular sex-role (regardless of the actual sex of its occupant) provides an evaluative frame of reference, e.g., behavior attributed to a boy is not judged particularly masculine while the same behavior attributed to a girl is judged masculine.

Levitin, T. E. and Chananie, J. D. Responses of female primary school teachers to sex-typed behavior in male and female children. Child Development, 1972, 43, 1309-1316.

Subjects: 40 white, female, first- and second-grade teachers selected from nine suburban, middle-class schools.

Method: Each of the teachers rated two hypothetical children, a boy or a girl who was described as either assertive/aggressive or dependent/obedient and a boy or a girl who was a good student. These ratings consisted of approval, liking, and typicality.

Findings: Achievement behavior was judged typical of both boys and girls and met with equal approval. However, the achieving girl was significantly better liked than the achieving boy. Assertive boys primarily and dependent girls to some extent were judged more typical than assertive girls and dependent boys. In general, dependent/obedient behavior was more approved than assertive/aggressive behavior, regardless of the sex of the child. The dependent girl was far more liked than the

assertive girl, but the aggressive boy was not more liked than the dependent boy.

Comments: The authors suggest that schools are structured to encourage both achievement and dependency; therefore it is no surprise that these behaviors were more approved by teachers than assertive behaviors. Sex-stereotyped behaviors were judged more typical than counter-stereo-typical behaviors. However, teachers did not approve of or like aggressive boys whereas they liked achieving and dependent/obedient girls.

Sciarra, D. J. A study of the effects of male role models on children's behavior in a day care center. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1971, 31, 4391-A.

Subjects: 33 children (17 boys and 16 girls), ranging in age from 3-5, mostly black, in three classrooms in an inner-city day-care center.

Method: Sixteen "role models" (8 males and 8 females) were recruited from a local business firm which allowed released time for participation. They were assigned randomly to the classrooms. Two classrooms experienced both daily and intermittent exposure to the male role models for 8 weeks. The third classroom had only female role models and served as the control group.

Data on the children's behavior were collected daily by the teachers on three variables: aggression, interest in school, and susceptibility to peer-group influence.

Findings: There were no statistically significant differences between the experimental and control groups nor between boys and girls. Trends in the data suggested that boys' aggressive behavior became more unstable during the period of exposure to male role models. Interest in school appeared to decline during intermittent exposure after daily exposure, and susceptibility to peer group pressure increased during daily exposure.

Comments: These data suggest that children's behavior does not change by exposure to just any male in the classroom situation. Issues like the classroom role adopted by the man and the social class of the man and the child must be addressed. It is also possible that the variables selected for study were not the relevant ones to measure change.

Hicks, D. J. Effects of a co-observer's sanctions and adult presence on imitative aggression. Child Development, 1968, 39, 303-309.

Subjects: 42 boys and 42 girls enrolled in a laboratory school, ranging in age from 60 months to 105 months (mean age = 84 months).

Method: The children were brought individually from their classrooms by a female experimenter presumably to play with some toys. On a pretext, they were first allowed to watch a film which depicted a child acting aggressively against an inflated doll. Present during the film was a male experimenter who was working on a mechanical device throughout. During the aggressive sequences, this man made either positive, negative, or no evaluative comments. The child was then brought to the play room which contained many toys including those from the film. The male experimenter accompanied half the children to the playroom and continued to work. The children's imitative aggression was coded for a 15 minute period by two judges behind a one-way mirror.

Findings: The boys performed significantly greater imitative aggression than the girls. Both the presence of the male experimenter and the kinds of evaluative statements had a significant effect on imitative aggression. The effectiveness of the statements was greater when the experimenter was present. In fact, there were no significant differences among the unaccompanied groups. In addition, there were no differences among the groups in non-imitative aggression.

Comments: The author interprets the findings in a social learning framework but offers no explanation for the main effect for sex. The effects of the adult's evaluative comments indicates that these "socializing" statements only influence specific behaviors and only while the adult is present.

Lansky, L. M. The family structure also affects the model: Sex-role attitudes in parents of preschool children. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* 1967, 13, 139-150.

Subjects: Parents of 98 preschool and kindergarten children from a suburban, private school near Boston. There were 58 boys and 40 girls, and they were all from middle-middle and upper-middle class homes.

Method: Parents completed hour-long questionnaires and returned them by mail. The data reported here are drawn from the portion called the "Sex-role Attitude Test," which asked parents how parents of young boys or girls would feel if their child chose various toy/game alternatives: gun vs. doll; dressing up as Indian Chief vs. dressing up as princess, etc. Parents chose their responses from 3 sets of feelings, representing approval, neutrality, or disapproval. These choices were scored as "0," "1," or "2" and summed across items. All comparisons of distributions of these scores were by X^2.

Findings: The first set of analyses compared the approval scores of fathers and mothers for sons and daughters of "cross-sex" and "same-sex" choices, i.e., the sex "appropriatness" of choices. Fathers and mothers of sons and daughters did not differ on approval of same-sex choices. However, on cross-sex choices, the distribution of scores of parents of sons differed from parents of daughters such that disapproval of sons cross-sex choices appeared more likely.

Analyses were then done by family structure. Parents of families
with all boys or all girls did not differ from parents of families with
children of both sexes in approval of cross-sex choices. However,
fathers of all boys or all girls were more likely to approve of
same-sex choices than fathers of children of both sexes who were more
likely to disapprove same-sex choices. Fathers and mothers of boys
only were more likely to disapprove cross-sex choices than parents of
boys with sisters; in fact, fathers of boys with sisters approved
cross-sex behaviors.

Comments: The first finding of this article, that parents disapprove
cross-sex choices of sons more than daughters, may be interpreted as
supporting the restrictiveness of the male sex-role compared to the
female role in young children. However, item content is so limited
that such a conclusion is tenuous.

The surprising finding in terms of family structure appears to be
the encouragement of sons with sisters by fathers to engage in cross-sex
behaviors and discouragement of stereotyped choices. The author
devotes so much space to discussing non-significant trends and comparisons
that are not made in the analyses that this finding is easily missed
by the reader.

Rothbart, M. K. and Maccoby, E. E. Parents' differential reactions to sons
and daughters. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 4 (3),
237-243.

Subjects: 98 mothers and 32 fathers of children enrolled in a parent-
education nursery school, primarily upper-middle class.

Method: Parents listened to a tape of a child's voice who was identified
as either a boy or a girl. They were asked to write down what they
would say in response to 12 statements the child made in the course
of a game interrupted by a baby sibling. These responses were then coded
for permissiveness and grouped into categories. Parents also answered
questionnaire items about sex differences between boys and girls in
general and the importance of certain characteristics for their own
child.

Findings: Fathers were more permissive toward autonomy for both boys
and girls. Mothers tended to be more permissive for the boy's voice
and fathers more permissive for the girl's voice. These interactions
were significant for comfort seeking, siding with the child against
the baby, and aggression toward the parent, and a trend for dependency
and allowing the child to stop the game.

Parents' questionnaire responses on what sex differences actually
exist in general and what sex differences should exist in their own
children were moderately correlated. There were no differences between

mothers' and fathers' sex-role differentiation. Parents were then divided as to whether they were high or low in sex-role differentiation. High-differentiation parents tended to show greater permissiveness to the opposite sex child and larger differences between treatment of boys and girls. However, these differences were not in the direction of more sex-typed behaviors.

Comments: These findings present some difficulties for a social learning interpretation of sex differences. Rather than consistent reinforcement of sex-typed behavior, inconsistency between parents and across situations seems to be the rule. The sex of the parent seems to be a better predictor of differential responses to boys and girls than does a sex-role stereotype: parents are more permissive to the opposite-sex child for both dependency and aggression for example. Parents' attitudes about sex differences are not related to the encouragement of sex-typed behavior.

Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E. and Levin, H. Differences in rearing of boys and girls. In Patterns of Child-Rearing. Evanston, Il.: Row, Peterson, 1957

Subjects: 202 mothers of boys and 177 mothers of girls; all children were five years old.

Method: Interviews, coded and rated on dimensions of child-rearing practices by raters familiar with the objectives of the study.

Findings: Mothers took longer to wean girls than boys and in general treated girls more warmly in infancy. There were no sex differences in toilet training or sex training. Aggression was the area of child behavior in which the greatest sex distinctions were made by parents. Boys were allowed more aggression toward other children and parents but not toward siblings. The kind of tasks and chores but not the number assigned to boys and girls were sex-typed. Many more boys were expected to go to college than girls. In techniques of training, boys received somewhat more physical punishment, somewhat less praise for "good" behavior, and less withdrawl of love for "bad" behavior. Fathers took a larger role in disciplining boys than in disciplining girls. Overall, there was no evidence that the restrictions and demands for ordinary mannerly behavior were different for boys and girls. However, mothers who were more inclined to differentiate sex roles did place higher demands on their daughters.

Comments: These data suggest that mothers encourage aggressive behavior in five-year-old boys. Since boys receive more physical punishment, their learning opportunities for aggressive behavior are ample.

Cross-references:

Siefert, 1973, IV C.
Albrecht, 1977, IV C.
Parke and O'Leary, 1976, VI B,
Tasch, 1952, VI D.
Hoffman, 1961, VI D.
Radin, 1972, VI D.
Herzog and Sudia, 1973, VI D.
Lamb, 1976, VI D.
Kemper and Reichler, 1976, VI D.
Green, 1946, XI A.
Biller and Liebman, 1971, XII A.
Ember, 1973, XIV D.
Barry, Bacon, and Child, 1957, XIV E.
Whiting and Whiting, 1971, XIV E.

IV. Paid Employment

A. Job Involvement and Male Role Issues

Ballyn, L. Accomodation as career strategy: Implications for the realm of work. Unpublished paper, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August, 1974.

Subjects: Married MIT graduates of 1951, 1955, 1959: N = 1229.

Method: An "Index of Accomodation" was created to measure the extent to which career was altered to meet family needs. It consisted of four questions: (1) ranking top three of five aspects of life that give satisfaction; (2) rating the job characteristic "leaves sufficient time for family and personal life"; (3) rating the extent of "high aspirations for your career"; (4) rating importance of success in work. Respondents were surveyed on these and a number of other questions.

Findings: Respondents were divided into high (top 20%), low (bottom 20%), and mid-range (60%) accomodators. The entire sample tended toward non-accomodation. High accomodators were found to be less involved with their work, less satisfied with their jobs, and had less professional success. They also had a more negative self image and indicated less self-confidence. Examining organizational roles (top management, technical management, and technical staff) revealed that there were more accomodators in technical staff positions and more non-accomodators in top management.

Comments: This study presents interesting data on career correlates of accomodating one's work to family and personal life. It is impossible, of course, to separate cause and effect from these data.

Tausky, C. Meaning of work among blue collar men. Pacific Sociological Review, 1969, 12 (1), 49-55.

Subjects: 267 male blue collar workers drawn from a representative national sample.

Method: Work orientation instrument consisting of six forced choice items. These items were conceptualized as indicating four work orientations which formed a Guttman scale: (1) Instrumental: work if have to for economic reasons; (2) Quasi-Expressive: work is proper, consumption is primary interest; (3) Expressive A: work is proper, must be acceptable work, with consumption the primary interest; Expressive B: work is proper, must be acceptable work, with prestige level of work the primary interest.

Findings: Results indicated that men are very attached to work. Eighty-two percent would work even if there were no economic necessity. This figure is similar to one (80%) found in a national survey of all workers and that found among managers (89%). In terms of the general work orientations, 11% were primarily instrumental, 22% were in the Quasi-Expressive category, 52% were Expressive A and 15% were Expressive B. Analyses of responses taking into account other variables such as education level and type of work did not alter significantly the pattern of findings.

Comments: This study indicates the strong attachment to work among men at all job levels. The author suggests that the primary orientation is a consumer one rather than the prestige or content of the job.

Masih, L. Career saliency and its relation to certain needs, interests, and job values. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1967, 45, 653-658.

Subjects: 68 men and 118 women, juniors and seniors in college.

Method: A battery of questionnaires and an open-ended interview. The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule provided scores for needs for heterosexuality, endurance, and achievement. A sociability score was drawn from the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey. Occupational level and masculinity-femininity scores were from the Strong Vocational Interest Blank. Interviews were scored by a panel of judges to categorize subjects as low, medium, or high on career saliency, which involved definiteness of career plans, planned compromises, and job values.

Findings: Multiple t-tests on each of the variables for subjects classified into low, medium, and high career saliency groups indicated a very mixed pattern of findings. For men there were some differences on needs for heterosexuality, endurance, and occupational level and no differences on need for achievement, sociability, and masculinity-femininity. For the men the only job value differences that were significant were on prestige and steady work. More men were judged high on career saliency than women.

Comments: The finding that upperclass college men have firmer career plans than women cohorts is not surprising. The determination of correlates to various degrees of career saliency was not very successful in this study, but there are some data relevant to sources of reward in work and the balancing of various personal needs.

Useem, J. and Useem, R. Social stresses and resources among middle management men. In E. Gartley Jaco (Ed.), Patients, Physicians, and Illness. Free Press, 1958.

Subjects: 75 middle management men selected from three organizations, between 25 and 50 years of age, employed for at least one year in the organization, and having a reputation of effectiveness and adjustment.

Method: At first session, subjects filled out a Social Stress Questionnaire; at a later session, the subjects were interviewed for about three hours. The social stress questionnaire asked to what extent they were involved and to what extent blocked in 25 aspects of men's occupational roles, e.g. "self-fulfillment," "occupational mobility," "time for family."

Findings: The incidence of social stress in general was low for this group compared to answers from a larger group of men at all occupational levels. The description of the interview results covers the areas in which these men tended to have high involvement and some of the conditions which produce high blockage or stress in seeking these goals. Important goals discussed are a challenging work role, a job with a future, support from others, and personal recognition and respect. Social resources to meet or prevent being blocked in these areas involve the development of a "work role self" which can either take actions or reduce involvements. Flexibility and rigidity are discussed.

Comments: These authors suggest that the case has been overstated for the personal anxieties of the organization man. These data indicate that these middle management men are not very stressed and have adequate personal resources for meeting such challenges. One problem with this study is the limitation of social stress to what are basically situations of frustration; there are many other ways to experience stress/anxiety than goal blockage.

Dubin, R. Industrial workers' world: A study of the "Central Life Interests" of industrial workers. Social Problems, 1956, 3 (3).

Subjects: 491 male workers in industrial urban settings.

Method: Central Life Interests questionnaire consisting of 40 questions with a choice of three answers for each question, one relevant to work, one relevant to the community outside work, and one neutral one.

Findings: Only 24% of all workers could be labelled job-oriented in their life interests. Only 9% preferred the informal group life that is centered in the job. Only 15% of the workers gave job-oriented preferences on questions related to valued social experience. However, 61% chose the workplace as the most important formal organization in their lives, and 63% were job-oriented on questions about technical aspects of their environment.

Comments: Overall, these findings indicate that work and the workplace are not central life interests of industrial workers. In particular these workers did not view the workplace as the preferred source of social experience; however, they did view the workplace as the locale for interacting with technology and formal organizations. The author concludes that the worker "has a well-developed sense of attachment to his work and workplace without a corresponding sense of total commitment to it."

Morse, N. C. and Weiss, R. S. The function and meaning of work and the job. American Sociological Review, 1955, 20, 191-198.

Subjects: 401 employed men in a random sample.

Method: Interviews with open-ended questions involving desire to work, reasons for working, desire to change jobs, and job satisfaction.

Findings: Eighty percent of men would continue to work even if there were no economic necessity. About 2/3 of these men gave positive reasons and 1/3 gave negative reasons (e.g., "would go crazy") for wanting to work. This desire to continue to work decreases with age from 90% for the youngest group (21-34) to 61% for the oldest group (55-64). Men in working class occupations were slightly less likely to want to continue working. Many men, particularly those in working class occupations, would change jobs. Men in middle class occupations gave reasons for working which included having a purpose, gaining a sense of accomplishment, and expressing themselves. Men in working class occupations stressed activity, having something to do. An overwhelming majority of all men expressed job satisfaction.

Comments: These results suggest the range of meanings other than economic that work has for men in this society. The authors conclude that the producing role is critical for tying men into society and therefore for maintaining their sense of well-being.

Cross-references:

Pleck, 1976, II B.
Harry, 1976, II D.
Sears, 1977, II D.
Aldous, Osmond, and Hicks, V B.
Shostak, 1976, XIV A.

B. Unemployment and Male Role Issues

Cobb, S. Physiologic changes in men whose jobs were abolished. Journal of Psychosomatic Research. 1974, 18, 245-258.

Subjects: 100 men whose jobs were terminated at automobile plants were compared to 74 controls. They were all blue collar workers who had on the average completed 10th grade, earned about $3/hr., and had a mean seniority of 20 years. They ranged in age from 35 to 62 (M=49) and all were married. Just over 10% were black.

Method: The terminees were visited just before and after the closing and 6, 12, and 24 months later. At each visit a standardized set of physiological, psychological, social, and economic data were collected by public health nurses. The major independent variables were the phase of the study (time), number of psychological defenses as measured by a number of tests, and social support from wife, family, and friends. The dependent variables were norepinephrine excretion, serum creatinine, serum uric acid, serum cholesterol, and serum urea nitrogen.

Findings: On all the dependent measures except serum urea nitrogen there were significant elevations for the group of terminees. These differences persisted for as long as 12 months. For norepinephrine and serum creatinin, strong psychological defenses moderated the effects. For serum uric acid and serum cholesterol, social support reduced the effects.

Comments: These data indicate that the stress of unemployment on men has significant physiological consequences which can be lessened with psychological defenses and social support. The author also presents some lesser findings on a few of the subjects which suggest that physiological variables may modify or predict behavior as well as be caused by stressful events in the social environment.

Cavan, R. S. Unemployment: Crisis of the common man. Marriage and Family Living, 1959, 21, 139-146.

This paper reviews studies of the depression of the 1930's related to family reactions to unemployment. It is divided by class: the lower-lower class; the upper-lower and lower-middle class ("the common man"); and the upper middle class. The discussion includes emotional reactions of husband and wife, changes in roles within the family, and change in social class status. Family tensions are primarily attributed to the father's loss of dominant status through unemployment. This problem of role adjustment is viewed as particularly important in the upper-middle class where the material problems are less severe.

Komarovsky, M.   The Unemployed Man and His Family.   New York: Dryden
Press, 1940.

Subjects: 59 families in the New York region in 1935-36 in which the
father was currently unemployed for at least 1 year, and in which
the father was the sole economic provider for the family prior to
his unemployment. Additional criteria were that both parents were
native-born Protestants; the families were intact and included at
least 1 child over 10, and that the father had been a skilled laborer
or white collar job holder.

Method: Open-ended interviews.

Findings:- Unemployment lowered the husband's status and authority in
13 of the 59 families. Three patterns of breakdown of the husband's
authority were noted: (1) crystallization of an inferior status, in
which unemployment made more explicit the previously existing status
of a despised husband; (2) breakdown of coercive control, in which
unemployment undermined the authority of a coercively dominant husband
over a subordinate, resentful wife; and (3) weakened authority of a
husband over a loving wife. Mechanisms by which unemployment reduced
husbands' authority included weakening of husbands' economic coercion,
loss of prestige, increasing tests of husbands' authority because of
increased need to make choices about the use of scarce resources,
increased presence of husbands in the home, and personality changes
in the man. Fathers lost authority more with their children than they
did with their wives. The main factor differentiating families in
which the husband did vs. did not lose authority was the basis of
the husband's authority prior to his unemployment. Unemployment
reduced husbands' authority more often if his authority had an
"instrumental" basis (i.e., was rooted in his fulfilling the economic
provider role) than if it had a "primary" basis (i.e., was rooted in
love or traditional patriarchal attitudes).

C. Sex-atypical Jobs

Albrecht, S. L., Bahr, H. M., and Chadwick, B. A. Public stereotyping of sex roles, personality characteristics and occupations. Sociology and Social Research, 1977, 61 (2), 223-240.

Subjects: 2,005 adults drawn from a random sample of 2,227 Utah households. Responses were obtained from 1,234 households.

Method: Mailed questionnaires included items about personality characteristics desirable for boys and girls and occupations desirable for men and women. Independent variables were age, sex, education, income, religion, and attitudes toward the feminist movement.

Findings: For the 19 personality characteristics, most were identified by very high proportions of male and female respondents as equally desirable for boys and girls. Only two were identified by half the respondents as more desirable for boys than girls (aggressive and daring). Lowering the threshold to 10% agreement added the characteristics brave and independent for boys only and timidity, being good looking, sensitivity, being affectionate, and submissiveness for girls only. When there were sex differences, they were in the direction of men being more sex-typed. Most of the occupations were highly sex-typed with occupations restricted to women being secretary, nurse, and housekeeper and nine other occupations judged as more suitable for men. Younger respondents tended to be less sex-stereotyped both for personality traits and occupations. The independent variables accounted for very little of the variance of sex-stereotyping except for age and (on occupations) attitudes toward women's liberation.

Comments: These data indicate more agreement for personality characteristics "appropriate" for boys than for girls. The surprising finding, however, is the relatively small amount of stereotyping of characteristics at all among this population of Utah residents. More occupations were judged "appropriate" for men than for women, and it was with these judgments that attitudes toward women's liberation was significantly correlated. Age was the strongest correlate of attitudes.

Panek, P. E., Rush, M. C. and Greenawalt, J. P. Current sex stereotypes of 25 occupations. Psychological Reports, 1977, 40, 212-214.

Subjects: 89 male and 73 female college students enrolled in introductory psychology classes.

Method: Each subject was given a sheet on which the 25 different occupations were presented, a set of instructions, and a standard IBM answer sheet on which to record responses. They were to rate each occupation in terms of the sex of the employees usually associated with that occupation (female, male, or neutral).

Findings: All occupations showed significantly different distributions
of responses as tested by X^2. Of the 24 reported, 9 were perceived
as male occupations: lawyer, city planner, police officer, letter
carrier, truck driver, banker, medical doctor, baker, and office
manager. Seven were perceived as female occupations: elementary
school teacher, dietician, social worker, typist, librarian, nurse,
and speech therapist. Eight were neutral: art historian, linguist,
psychologist, cook, clerk, high school teacher, historian, and
computer operator. The only occupation viewed differently by male and
female subjects was cook.

Comments: This study indicates college students have clear ideas that
most occupations are primarily held by either men or women. The extent
to which these judgments reflect reality or stereotypes is not clear.

Touhey, J. C. Effects of additional men on prestige and desirability of
occupations typically performed by women. *Journal of Applied Social
Psychology*, 1974, 4 (4), 330-335.

Subjects: 200 students (100 men, 100 women) in introductory social science
courses.

Method: Each subject rated the prestige and desirability of one of five
occupations after receiving information that the proportion of male
practitioners was increasing or unchanging. The five occupations
were home economist, kindergarten teacher, librarian, registered
nurse, and social worker. Subjects also rated the occupation on 12
pairs of bipolar adjectives.

Findings: All five occupations received significantly higher ratings
of prestige and desirability with increasing number of men. There was
no effect for sex of subject. Of these five occupations, registered
nurse was considered the most prestigious and home economist the least.
With an increased proportion of men, these occupations were judged
to be more active, more successful, more secure, more useful, and
richer.

Comments: These data suggest that increasing proportions of men may
raise the prestige and desirability of occupations.

Touhey, J. Effects of additional women professionals on ratings of occupational
prestige and desirability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*,
1974, 29 (1), 86-89.

Subjects: 200 students (114 men and 86 women) enrolled in introductory
psychology classes.

Method: Subjects rated one of five professions (architect, college
professor, lawyer, physician, and scientist) based on the description
contained in the Occupational Outlook Handbook of the U.S. Department

of Labor. Control subjects read that the number of women in each
occupation was and would stay small; experimental subjects read
that a dramatic increase in the number of women was expected in the
next 15-25 years. All subjects then rated the profession on 6-point
scales for prestige and desirability and 7-point scales for bi-polar
adjectives.

Findings: All professions except lawyer were rated as significantly
less prestigious and of lower desirability when an increasing number
of women was predicted. Male and female subjects did not differ on
these evaluations. The semantic differential pairs showed that when
the professions were expected to show increased proportions of women,
they were rated as more passive, less successful, more insecure, and
less useful.

Comments: The results support the notion that increasing proportions
of women professionals may reduce the prestige and desirability of
high-status occupations.

Siefert, K. Some problems of men in child care center work. Child
Welfare, 1973, 102 (3), 167-171.

This paper reviews some of the problems a man working with young
children may experience in his behavior with a roomful of young children,
in their behavior with him, and in his relationships with his female
colleagues.

The author suggests that gender probably has little systematic effect
on his behavior with the children. Although he might be tempted to
include more "manly" activities, the educational and social objectives
of the work would probably over-ride this preference. Indeed, the unique
contribution of a man in this situation lies not in "acting like a man"
for the children but in disapproving the idea that men act in some
special "manly" way.

The children may react badly and temporarily reject their male teacher
because of their acceptance of sex-role stereotypes. The teacher may
experience this rejection as painful.

Female colleagues may react in different ways to the "status
inconsistency" of the male child care worker. Assumptions may be
made about his competence, and boredom may be anticipated. Staff
conflicts may develop. If he is finally accepted, it may be as the
"exception" to the stereotype. All of these reactions place additional
burdens on the male teacher.

Etkowitz, H. The male sister: Sexual separation of labor in society. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 33, 431-434.

This paper discusses the role conflict faced by men who are nurses, in the context of social science definitions of male-female roles. The discussion is illustrated with quotes from male nurses. Some of the conflicts include questioning of the professional role so that male nurses are assumed to be either orderlies or doctors and questioning of sexual identity (in the sense of preference) so that male nurses are assumed to be homosexual in orientation. Some of the means employed to legitimize their dual role as man and nurse are described. The social incongruency of a male being a man and a nurse makes the phenomenon theoretically interesting for a sociology of sex roles.

Vaz, D. High school senior boys' attitudes toward nursing as a career. Nursing Research, 1968, 17 (6), 533-538.

Subjects: 506 male high school students.

Method: Questionnaire involving (1) ranking of seven occupations (architectural engineer, social worker, pharmacist, nurse, chemist, school counselor, teacher) for five characteristics (interest in people, intelligence, leadership ability, masculinity, and ambition); (2) ranking of five values in occupational choice (security, income, challenge, prestige, social service); (3) definitiveness of career choice and whether career was medical or non-medical.

Findings: The seven occupations were associated with different characteristics. The characteristic of interest was "masculinity" and it was found that nursing was given the least masculine ranking (architectural engineering was perceived as most masculine). "Interest in people" was another trait that tended to differentiate nursing from other occupations. There was no relationship evident between the masculinity ranking assigned to nursing and occupational values nor definitiveness and kind of career choice.

Comments: With very little individual difference on the basis of occupational values and their own career choices, high school boys rather uniformly tended to view nursing as an unmasculine career, in fact the least masculine of several comparable career choices. The author suggests that the image of nursing should be modified to encourage more men to consider it as a career choice.

Segal, B. E. Male nurses: A case study in status contradiction and prestige loss. Social Forces, 1962, 41, 31-38.

Subjects: 101 nurses in a psychiatric hospital; 22 were men.

Method: Interviews.

Findings: Male nurses were concentrated on the wards that housed male or senile patients. On the average the male nurses had higher official positions than the female nurses. Fifty percent of the male nurses but only 15% of the female nurses said that physicians undervalued nurses. Male nurses were more likely to say that they were equal to female nurses; female nurses were more likely to say male nurses should be restricted to difficult settings (e.g. disturbed wards) and were likely to be homosexual or quite effeminate. Male nurses were more likely to feel thwarted in their career goals and to desire upward mobility. Forty percent of the men but only 10 percent of the women located themselves below the middle class.

Comments: This study indicated ways in which sex role status influences occupational status. The author concludes that there is more opprobrium and less prestige attached to the man who is successful in a female occupational sphere. The suggestion is made that the nature of nursing is changing to accomodate this problem (rather than that the nature of sex roles is changing).

Cross-references:

Feather and Simon, 1976 II C
Lee and Wolinsky, 1973 III C
Sciarra, 1971 III C

V. MARRIAGE

A. Relationships Between Work and Family Life

Mortimer, J., Hall, R., and Hill, R. Husbands' occupational attributes as constraints on wives' employment. _Sociology of Work and Occupations_ (in press)

This article examines some of the occupational constraints of men's careers which may impact on their ability to share family responsibilities and to encourage independent careers for their wives. The major barriers considered are the socioeconomic rewards and career patterns of the husband's work, the time and mobility requirements, and the sex-typing of the job.

The authors suggest that the known association of the husband's income and the wife's labor force participation may be in part accounted for by the requirements of the "two person career." Many high income jobs require spouse support in implicit and explicit ways. Heavy time commitments, frequent travel, geographical relocation, social obligations, the need for a "sounding board," and many other aspects of careers are reviewed. The involvement of a spouse in these features of a career as well as in performance of central job requirements (book-keeping, typing, editing) puts the employee at a competitive advantage. The impact of these socio-economic rewards acts as a deterrent on the spouse's labor force participation.

Although "two person careers" are more typical of the higher managerial and professional occupations, these and other structural constraints may be found in a variety of occupations. The duration and temporal patterning of the husband's work is a strong influence, for example, that may be as disruptive in low-income jobs. Men in small businesses or farming, sales or any job with extensive business contacts, even janitors, often require extensive participation of their wives in their careers.

The authors conclude that occupational constraints will in many cases "defeat the most sincere efforts of men and women to equally share the rewards and responsibilities of work and family life." They call for research directed at indicating alterations in the occupational structure necessary for full equality of the sexes.

Pleck, J. H. Men's new roles in the family: housework and childcare. S. Safilios-Rothschild (Ed.), _Family and Sex Roles_ (forthcoming)

This review article examines data on the extent, sources, and consequences of men's performance of housework and childcare (generically, family work) as the central analytic issue in the husband-father role. First, Robinson's analysis of 1965-66 U. S. time budget data (How Americans Use Time, New York: Praeger, 1977) is reviewed to describe the extent of men's work in the family. Men's family work is quite

limited, averaging 96 minutes per day, of which primary child care
constitutes 12 minutes. Changes in men's family work in recent historical
time, and variations in men's family work by class, race, age and family
life cycle stage, and wives' employment status are reviewed with a
variety of time budget data and household division of labor measures.
The lack of research consensus about the relationship of men's family
work to the first four of these five factors is noted. For the fifth
factor, time budget data indicate that men do not do substantially more
family work when their wives are employed, contrary to earlier analyses
based on marital division-of-labor measures.

In the second section of the paper, several factors are explored as
possible sources of men's limited family roles: biological factors
leading men to be not disposed to nurture children; the demands of the
male work role; and sex role ideology. The notion of a biological
basis for lack of male participation in child care is rejected, as there
is wide variation across animal species, including primates, in the
degree of male involvement in rearing the young, and hormonal data are
inconclusive. Further, recent research indicates that fathers develop
attachments to their newborns in ways quite similar to mothers. Later
parental differentiations in child care must occur in spite of, not
because of, men's early dispositions about children.

The male work role clearly limits male roles in the family, but
several factors suggest that it is not a fully adequate explanation
for men's low family work. Most important, husbands do substantially
less family work than wives whose paid employment is equally demanding,
and large variations in men's paid work are associated with relatively
small changes in men's family work. While the male work role causes
some variation in men's family work, this variation occurs around a
low baseline and with a low elasticity which is not adquately explained
by the male work role alone.

Sex role ideology about male family work is examined. It is suggested
that a basic American value about the importance of the family and the
well-being of children has been extended to include men in the family
(just as the idea of equal opportunity has been extended to include
women in the world of work). However, attitudes deriving from deep-lying
sex role ideology conflict with this value on men's participation in
the family, effectively undercutting men's family role. Generalizing
across a variety of studies, only a minority believe men should do
more family work. Women reject the idea that men should increase their
family work as much or more than men themselves do. Further, there is
little evidence that belief that men should do more family work has
increased in the recent past, or will substantially increase in the
near future.

In the final section, the consequences of men's limited family role
on children and the marital relationship are examined. A number of pro-
blems are noted in literature on the effects of the father-child rela-
tionship on children. It is argued that men's limited family role per se
does not necessarily affect their children negatively, just as the
reduction in women's family role resulting from paid employment, in and
of itself, does not negatively affect children. There is evidence
that men's limited family role does reduce marital happiness and wives'

well-being in couples in which the wife holds paid work, though not necessarily in other couples. Needed future research on the consequences of variations in men's family work is identified.

Aldous, J., Osmond, M., and Hicks, M. Men's work and men's families. In W. Burr, R. Hill, E. I. Nye, and I. Reiss (Eds.), <u>Contemporary Theories About the Family</u>. New York: Free Press, 1978.

This review article examines research and theory concerning (1) effects of men's family background on their occupational placement; (2) effects of men's occupations on family events, such as timing of marriage and first birth, marital stability, and fertility; (3) effects of men's occupations on parent-child relationships and especially on son's educational and occupational aspirations; and (4) effects of men's occupations on marital interaction. In this last area, Aldous et al. develop a "success constraint" theory, according to which the relationship between men's occupational success and marital adjustment is curvilinear. Low occupational success is associated with poor adjustment because the husband is seen as not providing the income and prestige he should; but very high occupational success also reduces adjustment because it limits men's family participation. Aldous et al. also develop theoretical propositions concerning the interrelationship of husband's occupational level, marital power, marital division of labor, value consensus, solidarity and adjustment, and propositions concerning the relationship of husbands' job satisfaction to family variables.

Clark, R. A., Nye, F. I., and Gecas, R. Husbands' work involvement and marital role performance. <u>Journal of Marriage and the Family</u>, 1978, 40, 9-21.

Subjects: 390 couples drawn from a stratified random sample of households in Seattle, Washington, in 1973, contacted by mail. The response rate for married individuals was 50%, and for couples (both spouses returning the questionnaire) was 44%. Couples in which the husband was over 65 or not employed were omitted.

Method: The Nye-Gecas Washington Family Role Inventory (see F. I. Nye et al., <u>Role Structure and Analysis of the Family</u>, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978) was the instrument used. The data were examined using path analysis.

Findings: Contrary to expectation, high paid work time by husbands had no overall direct negative effect on husbands' degree of performance of the housekeeping and therapeutic roles in marriage. It did have a direct negative effect on husbands' performance of the recreational role. (Degree of sexual role performance was not assessed.) Husbands' work time was not significantly related to

husbands' competence in housekeeping, therapeutic, recreational, and sexual roles, as assessed by their wives. High husband education had a negative effect on husbands' participation in housekeeping. Wives' holding high expectations for their husbands' degree of participation in housekeeping had a direct negative effect on wives' assessment of their husbands' competence in this role. Husbands' work time had no relationship to wives' marital satisfaction when other variables were controlled for.

Comments: The findings concerning husbands' degree of housework are limited by the study's use of a measure of the couple's relative division on housework (i.e., the proportion of total housework performed by each spouse), rather than the husbands' absolute level of housework.

Clark, R. A., and Gecas, V. The employed father in America: a role competition analysis. Presented at the Pacific Sociological Association, 1977.

Subjects: For analyses of the "child care" role, 78 couples with children 6 or younger. For analyses of the "child socialization" role, 220 couples with children 18 or younger. These couples were taken from a sample of 390 couples drawn from a stratified random sample of households in Seattle, Washington, in 1973, contacted by mail. The response rate for married individuals was 50%, and for couples (both spouses returning the questionnaire) was 44%. Couples in which the husband was over 65 or not employed were omitted.

Method: The Nye-Gecas Washington Family Role Inventory (see F. I. Nye et al., Role Structure and Analysis of the Family, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1976) was the instrument used. The data were examined using path analysis.

Findings: 88% of wives were reported to perform all or most child care (tasks such as feeding, clothing, bathing and supervising children 6 or younger). Fathers' work time had a direct negative effect on their time in child care. High work hours had a negative effect on fathers' expectations for their degree of child care. Fathers' work time had no effect on how competent their wives perceived them to be in child care, although high father work hours combined with high wife expectations appeared to reduce wives' evaluations of their husbands' competence.

Child socialization concerned teaching, helping, and disciplining children, and was analyzed separately in relation to sons and daughters. Fathers' work time nonsignificantly decreased fathers' socialization of both sons and daughters, somewhat less so for sons than daughters. Fathers' work time nonsignificantly reduced fathers' competence in this role, as assessed by wives.

Comments: These findings are limited by the study's use of measures of the couple's relative division of child care and child socialization (i.e., the proportion performed by each spouse) rather than the husbands' absolute levels.

Oppenheimer, V. K. The life-cycle squeeze: the interaction of men's occupational and family life cycles. *Demography*, 1974, 11, 227-245.

Subjects: (1) All white non-institutionalized males 18-64 years old in nonfarm civilian occupations in the 1960 1/1000 Census Public Use Sample, and (2) white couples in which the husband meets these criteria in the same sample.

Method: Patterns of men's earnings over the life cycle were analyzed by age (decades), within Census occupational categories broken down by peak median earnings. Patterns of family economic needs over the life cycle were derived from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Equivalence Scale for estimating incomes or budget costs by family type (1968).

Findings: Family economic needs vary markedly over the family life cycle, reaching a peak when the family has adolescent children, when husbands are 35-54. In a typical pattern, a family with adolescent children needs 2.5 times as much income as a young childless couple to maintain an equivalent standard of living. Analysis of Census data on men's earnings revealed two patterns: (1) In occupations with high peak incomes, earnings rise markedly, peak late, and deteriorate relatively little after the peak is reached; (2) In occupations with low peak incomes, earnings rise less markedly, peak early, and deteriorate markedly after the peak is attained. These same patterns were observed in high and low occupations within the same broad Census occupational categories.

Comments: Author concludes that men in high peak earnings occupations experience little descrepancy between their earnings and their family's economic needs. Men in low peak earnings occupations do, since their incomes rise less markedly and even deteriorate while family economic needs are increasing.

Gronseth, E. The husband provider role: a critical appraisal. *Family Issues of Employed Women.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971. pp. 11-31.

The predominant solution to the problem of the economic provision for children and their caretakers in industrial societies has been the creation of the Husband Economic Provider Role (HEPR). The effects of the HEPR pattern and its resultant sex-role structure, on personality, mental and physical health, family functioning, and work structure are examined. The argument is made that this pattern is dysfunctional for the political, economic, familial, and heterosexual social systems.

Gronseth's analysis offers a structural base to the development of masculinity. He attempts to explain why men are achievement oriented, sexually aggressive, emotionally inexpressive, subject to psychosomatic illnesses and lowered life expectancy, suicidal, alcoholic, criminal, and violent. Much of the argument rests on Whilhelm Reich's description of basic human needs. Parsons is criticized for his acceptance of the society as it is and its required individual adjustment patterns.

Ballyn, L. Career and family orientations of husbands and wives in relation to marital happiness. Human Relations, 1970, 23, 97-113.

Subjects: 223 British women university graduates (of the year 1960) and their husbands; one-fourth of the husbands were not university graduates themselves; couples were surveyed eight years after the wife's graduation. This sample was taken from a larger sample studied by Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, Sex, Career, and Family (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1971).

Methods: Subjects were asked (1) "which of the following gives you the most satisfaction in your life?" and "which gives you the next greatest satisfaction" from a list including "your career or occupation," "family relationships" and six other items; (2) their attitude about "married women engaging in a career (i.e., in which there is a long-term occupational commitment)"; (3) their marital happiness; (4) demographic and certain other measures.

Findings: Sixty-seven percent of the husbands and 93% of wives reported their family relationships were more satisfying than their careers. A typology for couples was constructed in which husbands were classified as "integrated" (mentioning career as a source of satisfaction, and favoring careers for women), "mixed" (meeting one of these criteria), or "traditional" (meeting neither criterion). Couples in which the husband was career oriented and the wife was integrated showed marked lower marital happiness (using a classification derived from both husbands' and wives' individual responses) than the five other groups. The relationship between marital happiness and other variables (including husbands' job satisfaction, degree of overlap between spouses' work, the employment status of each spouse's mother, and household division of labor) was also examined within three of the groups in the couple typology. The paper argues generally that educated married women's integration of their work and family roles cannot be understood without knowing how their husbands integrate their own work and family roles, and that in some respects the husband's orientation is more important than the wife's in determining the level of satisfaction associated with particular family patterns.

Comments: This study was important in first drawing attention to the correlates of husbands' orientation to work and family. Limitations of the study include: (1) the assessment of orientation to work and family is crude, in particular requiring respondents to choose one or the other as more important, in a forced-choice format; (2) the

marital happiness measures for husbands and wives were not analyzed separately, but rather were combined for the couple; (3) women college graduates in Britain are a highly elite sample, much more so than the same group in the U. S.

Scanzoni, J. Opportunity and the family: A study of the conjugal family in relation to the economic opportunity structure. New York: Free Press, 1970.

Subjects: 497 wives and 419 husbands drawn from a household stratified probability sample in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Method: Survey measures of marital companionship, love and physical affection, empathy, authority, husband-wife hostility, and achievement values for children.

Comments: Analysis of these data are extensive and complex. Scanzoni's general hypothesis is that the husband's successful performance of the family economic provider role provides the basic impetus for husband-wife exchange processes. In return for this performance, wives reciprocate with companionship, affection, empathy, and so forth. This social exchange model is designed to describe families in which the husband is the sole breadwinner, and does not easily apply to dual-earner families.

Aldous, J. Occupational characteristics and males' role performance in the family. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1969, 31, 707-712.

This theoretical piece reviews some literature of the 50's and early 60's relevant to the relationship of men's occupational and family roles. It asserts that a man's adult status and participation in family life have as a minimim requirement the holding of a job and the provision of income. The discussion covers (1) the salience of the occupation relative to the family, (2) the degree of synchronization of family and occupational responsibilities, and (3) the degree of overlap in family and work setting and their effect on husband-father's family role functioning. The author then discusses the effects of these aspects of occupation on family interaction.

Wilmott, P. Family, work and leisure conflicts among male employees. Human Relations, 1968, 24(6), 575-584.

Subjects: The 92 male subjects were selected from the records of two firms in London: 50 were employed by a research and development electronics company and 42 by a glue factory. All were married and over 30. Subjects were divided into three status categories: Senior Staff, Junior Staff, and Works (laborers).

Method: All subjects were interviewed about work at the work-place; 79 subjects were subsequently interviewed about leisure at their homes.

Findings: In general, the Works people put in more hours on the job than either of the Staff categories. Exceptions were that a few of the highest executives did so. Reasons for working long hours varied among Staff people and included enjoying the work or having to finish a particular project; the Works men always gave financial reasons. Senior Staff were more likely to take work home and report thinking about work when at home than Junior Staff; Works rarely did either. The Senior Staff also said they were frequently "pressed" or "on edge" at work though in general they reported getting satisfaction from work alone or work and leisure in combination. More work-family conflicts were reported by Senior Staff and Works people than Junior Staff.

In terms of leisure, Staff, especially Senior Staff, had more leisure activities, which were more likely to involve physical recreation and other active forms, and were more likely to belong to clubs or associations. Interestingly, more Staff, especially Senior Staff, reported feeling "pressed" at home and expressed more home-leisure conflicts than Works.

Comments: The strength of this study is in its focus on the relationship of work and leisure rather than either alone. As the authors note, these findings call into question the common sense assumption that involvement in one sphere of life must be at the expense of involvement in another. Rather than individuals being classifiable as "work-centered," "leisure-centered," or "family-centered," they can be involved in each area to varying extents. The Senior Staff people in this study indicated high involvement in all areas and resultant cross-pressures and strains. The authors raise the possibility that such strain may not be wholly deleterious but may add excitement and boost self-esteem.

Adamek, R. J. and Goudy, W. J. Identification, sex, and change in college major. Sociology of Education, 1966, 39, 183-199.

Subjects: 284 males and 88 females. The sample was a 15% random sample (stratified by school or college within the university) of the junior class of a large midwestern university emphasizing scientific and technical fields. The response rate was 94%.

Method: A mail survey was used. Measures included a 10-item "Identification with major" (ID) scale, a "strength of Self-Concept" (SC) scale, and 5 "family vs. occupation" items.

Findings: Males were not significantly higher than females on the ID scale. Males were significantly different than females on 4 of the work vs. family items: (1) seeing oneself in the future primarily as a member of one's family (vs. occupation), 66% of males vs. 85% of females; (2) expecting the most satisfaction from life from family, 70% vs. 86%; (3) believing that a person can make one's most significant contribution to society through one's family, 41% vs. 65%; (4) believing that occupational and family responsibilities interfere with each other, 40% vs. 29%. Further analyses of these

Items according to respondents' levels of identification with their
majors and self-esteem indicated that both males low in identification
and males low in self-esteem reported higher commitment to future occu-
pations (vs. family) and greater anticipation of work-family conflict.
Results on the fifth item were not reported, and were apparently
not significant.

Comments: It is noted that although males were higher on occupational
commitment and lower in family commitment than females, the majority
of males were still more committed to family than occupation on 2 of
the 3 items. Males' higher anticipation of work-family conflict
was interpreted in terms of their anticipating more demanding jobs
than females. The higher occupational commitment and anticipated work-
family conflict of males low in self-esteem and identification with
their majors was interpreted as defensive.

Wilensky, H. L. The moonlighter: A product of relative deprivation.
Industrial Relations, 1963, 3, 105-124.

Subjects: 1156 white males currently in the labor force, drawn from
6 professional groups and a cross-section of the lower middle class
and upper working class in the Detroit area.

Method: Data collected by personal interviews with closed- and open-
ended items. Those holding second jobs ("moon-lighting") currently
or in the past (N=119) were compared with the remainder of the sample
using multiple classification analysis.

Findings: Moonlighting was unrelated to wife's employment status and
own working long hours. The strongest predictors of moonlighting
were having a disorderly work history, sense of economic deprivation
relative to one's parents, and being in a "life cycle squeeze"
(assessed by the number of children living at home and low amount of
savings and investment, combined in a factor score).

Comments: The rate of moonlighting for males has remained generally
stable over time at 6% (the female rate is 2%). Wilensky analyzes
future trends affecting rates of moonlighting, and concludes that its
rate is likely to remain stable.

Useem, R. H., Useem, J., and Gibson, D. L. The function of neighboring
for the middle class male. Human Organization, 1960, 19, 68-76.

Subjects: 75 men holding middle management positions, age 25-50,
residing in the midwest; 74 married, 1 a widower with children; 70 have
children.

Method: Open-ended interviews.

Findings: The authors delineate several underlying principles of
neighboring: It should be categorical, symmetrical, and reciprocal.
To the extent that this definition is met, neighboring can be used as
a resource by providing emergency aid, mutual aid, borrowing, mainte-
nance of privacy, and friendliness; if these norms are not met, they
become a potential source of stress. Self-identity is described
in terms of the reputation of the larger neighborhood.

Comments: The focus of this paper on the positive side of urban life
is refreshing. The interview data are used to describe neighboring
rather than to test a hypothesis. The discussion of neighboring in
terms of its function for the male rather than the couple or the
family is occasionally strained; for example, the availability of
emergency aid is not described for the wife who directly benefits but
for the husband who is free from worry while at work and "is less
likely to be interrupted in the performance of his occupational
duties.(p. 71)."

Cross-references:

Harry, 1976, I B
Sears, 1977 I B
Clavan and Robak, 1974 II B
Olstad, 1973 II B
Fein, 1976 VI B

B. Power and Decision-making Between Spouses

Hunt, M. Today's man. Redbook, October, 1967, 112-113, 163-170.

Subjects: 1,000 men over 17 in a representative national sample.

Methods: Interviews with questions about the impact of the Women's
Movement, women's reasoning, leadership ability and creativity,
attitudes toward "liberated" women, equality within marriage, and con-
cepts of masculinity.

Findings: Most men approve or accept working wives, but they are uncom-
fortable with wives earning more and 60% would refuse to move if their
wives' careers required it. Half the husbands think women should do
the majority of housework and child care even if both are working.
More than half the husbands control the money particularly among the
under 30 group. On alimony, 75% think women shouldn't get it and 60%
think men should. Equality in marriage was endorsed most strongly
by college-educated and under-30 men, but overall was agreed on by
half the sample. Nearly half the men said they felt freer to express
deep emotion than they used to, and an overwhelming majority said
doing housework did not make them feel less masculine. Half also said
that with training they could be as good as women at housework and
child rearing. In general, younger better-educated men were more
liberal in their responses. Some evidence is also presented indicating
very happily married men gave more liberal answers.

Comments: This survey indicated substantial changes in opinion among
American males on sex role issues from similar surveys done 2-3
decades ago. Some contradictions in the findings seem attributable to
the degree of concreteness of the question and the amount of
self-interest involved. On questions involving actual distribution of
labor in the household, "liberals" became "conservatives" and on
alimony "conservatives" became "liberals." The ability to do house-
work seems to have become incorporated into a definition of masculin-
ity but the practice lags behind.

Babchuk, N. and Bates, A. P. The primary relations of middle-class
couples: A study in male dominance. American Sociological Review, 1963,
28, 377-384.

Subjects: 39 couples, white, college-educated, midwestern, predomi-
nantly under 30 years of age, and for the most part married for less
than 3 years.

Method: Each spouse was separately interviewed using a structured
schedule. Respondents were asked to identify persons regarded as
very close mutual friends by both spouses and to exclude relatives.
Questions about these friends included who had initiated the friendship,
how frequent the contact was, and how close the relationship was.

Findings: Only 3 couples completely agreed on who their mutual friends were. Of the 118 friendship units (couple or individual) both partners defined as close friends, both spouses agreed that 69 had been initiated by the husband and 23 by the wife; in 8 cases, neither took credit; in 18 cases, they disagreed. Of 71 current friendships formed prior to the marriage, 58 were originally friendships of the husband. However, frequency of contact was approximately the same regardless of who had initiated the friendship. Three measures of affect (sharing confidences, borrowing money, and having the person as the closest friend) indicated closer ties to mutual male friends. Although in general, confidences were shared with same sex friends, husbands found it easier to exchange confidences with the opposite sex than did their wives.

Comments: The authors conclude that although middle-class young couples give the appearance of being egalitarian, even in the sphere of friendships, the male predominates. The smallness and homogeneity of the sample restricts generalizability.

Blood, R. O. and Wolfe, D. M. The power to make decisions. <u>Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living.</u> New York: The Free Press, 1960.

In this chapter, the authors provide a general, theoretical discussion of the distribution of power between spouses. Their discussion is illustrated by data from a Detroit area study of 731 urban and suburban and 178 farm wives.

Their general assumption is that power is based on resources. The employment and education of women has increased their resources, reduced their dependence on their husbands, and so "undermined" the predominance of the male so that "we no longer live in a patriarchal system."

Wives were questioned as to who generally makes eight decisions. Two decisions are primarily the husband's (his job and the car), and two the wife's (her work and the food) although even in these latter cases half of the wives don't make decisions always. The authors conclude that current marriages are egalitarian.

Seeking the sources of power, the authors examine a number of subgroups for differences. Unexpectedly, in farm, immigrant, Catholic, older and uneducated couples, husbands do not have more power. Rather, husband-power is positively associated with occupational status, income, and social status. White husbands have more power than black husbands. They conclude that the source of power, then, is not ideological but pragmatic, based on the resources each partner brings to the marriage.

The conclusion that families in Detroit were egalitarian in the 1950's seems somewhat ridiculous in retrospect. The study has many methodological flaws, among them that only wives were interviewed and that all eight decisions were weighted equally. To assert egalitarianism because 90% of the husbands always decide what job to take and 41% of the wives always decide how much the family can spend per week on food is clearly to strain the definition of power. Nonetheless, the finding

that the husband's decision-making is positively associated with social class is an interesting one in that it refutes the usual stereotype of the patriarchal laborer and the "liberal" egalitarian professional husband.

Cross-references:

Rosenberg & Farrell, 1975 I B
Knox and Kupferer, 1971 III A
Aldous et al., 1978 V A
Balswick, 1972 VII D
Misra, 1967 VII D
Spillane and Ryser, 1975 VII D
Parker and Kleiner, 1969, XIV B
Mead, 1935 XIV D
Valabreque, 1971 XIV D

C. Husbands in Dual-worker Families

Burke, R. J., and Weir, T. Relationship of Wives' employment status to husband, wife, and pair satisfaction and performance. <u>Journal of Marriage and the Family</u>, 1978, <u>38</u>, 279-287.

Subjects: 189 husband-wife couples, in which the husband was employed full time and was a member of a professional association of engineers, industrial accountants, or chartered accountants, in Ontario, Canada. The response rate to the mail questionnaire (husband and wife responding separately) was 63%.

Method: Measures and scales for life pressures, job pressures, mental and physical well-being, life satisfaction, marital satisfaction, importance of marital communication, and extent of actual communication were adopted from previous studies.

Findings: Husbands of employed wives reported more communication than husbands of non-employed wives in 14 of 17 content areas. Husbands of employed wives reported less happiness with their marriages, but more perceived agreement with their spouses on a number of different behaviors and values, and more resolution of disagreements by mutual give-and-take rather than one partner giving in. Husbands of employed wives reported poorer physical and mental health. Each group of husbands was higher on certain specific life pressures and worries.

Comments: Employed and non-employed are also compared with each other, with employed wives showing generally better adjustment. Burke and Weir suggest that wives' employment has beneficial effects for wives, but is a stress on husbands.

Booth, A. Wives' employment and husband's stress: a replication and refutation. <u>Journal of Marriage and the Family</u>, 1977, <u>39</u>, 645-650. .

Subjects: 560 intact white couples of European or North American descent in Toronto, drawn from a stratified household probability sample. Sample criteria were wife under 45, presence of 1 or more children, and residence in the present dwelling for at least 3 months. Personal interviews were obtained from one or both parents (exact N for husbands not given).

Method: Items assessing attitudinal and behavioral marital discord were administered. A high proportion of the sample (exact % or number of husbands not given) were given physical examinations at a nearby health center.

Findings: Husbands of employed wives reported their spouses were more loving and less critical, less often had infectious diseases, and had lower psychiatric impairment scores than did husbands of non-employed wives. The two groups of husbands did not differ on other marital adjustment or health measures, including bio-chemical stress measures.

Comments: This article also contains a critique of the Burke and Weir study (see above).

Hepker, W. and Cloyd, J. S. Role relationships and role performance: The male married student. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1974, 36, 688-697.

Subjects: 50 married male students at a church-related liberal arts college in the midwest. The control group consisted of single students matched for mental ability scores, year in college, hours of work per week, and age to some extent.

Method: Marital adjustment and role integration scores were derived from a questionnaire; grade point averages were obtained from the registrar's office. Role integration was defined as the extent to which the wife's expectations matched those of the college.

Findings: No significant differences in academic performance were found between the married and single students. Although the older group of married students (over 23) did not have a significantly higher grade point average than the younger marrieds, their grades showed a significant increase from pre- to post-marriage. Older married students had higher scores on the role integration measure than younger married students. A stronger relationship between grades and marital adjustment was found where role integration was high rather than low. However, role integration, which was basically a measure of wife's support, was inversely related to grade-point average.

Comments: This study indicates that the impact of marriage on grade point average for men students is extremely difficult to assess because the population of married students is always a biased sample of students who marry. One important biasing factor is the support of the wives: very supportive wives may help academically marginal husbands to stay in school; unsupportive wives may encourage academically capable husbands to drop out. Therefore the extent to which married male students integrate their husband student roles is not associated with academic performance in a simple way.

Garland, T. N. Husbands of professional women: The forgotten men. *Dissertation Abstracts*, 1972, 32(8), 4734-4735A

Subjects: 53 couples; the wife was either a physician, an attorney, or a college professor.

Method: Spouses were interviewed separately, using non-structured interview. Methods of data analysis are not provided.

Findings: Four family role-pattern types emerged: traditional, neo-
traditional, egalitarian, and matriarchal. Two factors were parti-
cularly important in categorizing the couples: (1) the degree to which
the couple accepted the broader cultural norm of the male-oriented
family, and (2) the husband's performance as an economic provider.
The majority of both husbands and wives accepted a male-oriented
family structure as the "proper" arrangement of familial roles.
Husbands listed the following benefits to the wife's work: (1) it
made her a more interesting person; (2) provided more income; (3) she
was more satisfied. Negative features perceived by the men were that
there was (1) not enough time and (2) not enough energy to do all the
things they enjoyed doing.

Comments: The author concludes that the wife's status as a professional
does not, by itself, seem to greatly alter the family structure.
However, the report of this study is so sketchy that an evaluation of
this conclusion is difficult.

Rapoport, R. and Rapoport, R. The working woman and the enabling role of
the husband. Paper presented at the Twelfth International Family Research
Seminar of the International Sociological Association, Moscow, 1972.

This paper uses data from other studies to question the assumptions
about the traditional sex-role division of family labor. It particularly
focuses on the possibility that the husband may be a positive influence
enabling the wife to work. He can have a supportive attitude toward
wives working and more concretely he can help externally by setting her
up in business, sharing clients with her if they are in the same field,
etc., and he can help at home with housework and childcare. The authors
suggest that these three areas differ in changeability, with attitudes
changing in an increasingly positive direction, some minority of husbands
helping their wives in the real world, and a smaller minority helping out
in the home, particularly with housework. The authors stress the dis-
crepancy between macrosocial change in attitudes and the actual division
of labor at the microscopic level of family relationships. They discuss
ways to study and to facilitate change.

Cross-references:

Hunt, 1976   V B

VI. Fatherhood

A. The Impact of Fatherhood

Fein, R. Research on fathering: Social policy and an emergent perspective. Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 122-135.

This review article proposes that past and current research on fatherhood and father-child relationships can be organized according to three successive "paradigms." In the "traditional" paradigm, the father is seen as distant, supporting the mother in her relationship with her children but not having a direct relationship with the children himself. In the "modern" paradigm, the father-child relationship is viewed as important, but only because of its effects on the child, primarily its facilitative effects on "sex role identity" and academic achievement, and prevention of delinquency, especially in males. In the current "emergent" paradigm, the father-child relationship is seen as important because of a far broader range of consequences it has for both children and fathers.

Five lines of research in the emergent paradigm are briefly reviewed: fathers' experience before, during, and immediately after the birth of their children; fathers' ties to their newborns and infants; the development and nature of bonds between young children and fathers; fathers in nontraditional childcare arrangements; and the effects of parenting experiences on fathers.

Lees, R. B. Men and the abortion experience: Anxiety and social supports. Ph.D. Dissertation, Clinical Psychology, University of Michigan, 1975.

Subjects: 73 single men who accompanied women partners to an abortion clinic.

Method: Questionnaires including scales on the man's perception of his relationship with the woman, the involvement of significant others, and socio-cultural variables, as well as two measures of anxiety.

Findings: Results suggest that the men were extremely anxious. Increased social support did not decrease anxiety. Anxiety was higher for men who felt positively about their partners particularly when social support was low. Younger men (18 or less) were more anxious.

Comments: The author suggests that abortion clinics might consider counseling for male partners as part of their services.

Lacoursier, R. B. Fatherhood and mental illness: A review and new
material. Psychiatric Quarterly, 1972, 46 (1), 109-124.

Subjects: 4 men ranging in age from 23-35 of varying socio-economic
background.

Method: Clinical case histories.

Findings: The author reviews the literature related to couvade, which
includes the expectant or new father reporting symptoms of gastro-
intestinal, ophthalmological, or dental problems, and the literature
related to mental or emotional problems such as neuroses, character
disorders, sexual deviancy, psychosomatic illnesses, and functional
psychoses. He presents four case histories of men with severe
reactions: three were admitted to psychiatric hospitals and one
received extensive outpatient psychiatric care. Two were diagnosed
as having schizophrenic reactions, one was said to have a personality
disorder, inadequate personality with mild mental retardation, and one
was said to have an anxiety reaction, a mild psychophysiological
gastrointestinal reaction, and a compulsive personality. Although
these diagnoses and the backgrounds of the four men contained important
differences, these severe reactions were associated with the birth of
a child. The findings are discussed in terms of psychoanalytic
theory.

Comments: As the author points out, there are few studies with non-
expectant father control groups and no prospective studies. These
deficiencies, apparent in this article, make understanding of the
phenomenon or testing of the psychoanalytic hypotheses impossible.
Nonetheless, there does seem to be sufficient evidence to suggest
that fatherhood can be a stressful event for men and should be studied
further.

Curtis, J..L. A psychiatric study of 55 expectant fathers. U.S. Armed
Forces Medical Journal, 1955, 6 (7), 937-950.

Subjects: 55 men in a peacetime military setting, median age 24 years;
46 were white, 9 were black. All were expectant fathers or had
reason to believe they were.

Method: The men were divided into 3 groups representing various levels
of symptoms associated with the expectancy of fatherhood: those with
serious problems (Group A); those with minor problems (Group B);
and the control group, none of whom had sought psychiatric help
during expectancy (Group C). The first two groups were selected from
servicemen who had sought psychiatric help during a 21-month period.
These groups differed in terms of overall clinical judgments, military
rank, eligibility for discharge, and marital status and stability. In
addition to a personality inventory and efficiency ratings, the main
dependent measure was a projective test: the drawing of an animal and
then writing a story about it.

Findings: Clinical problems experienced by the men included irritability, depression, lower efficiency, and heavy drinking. More of the men in Group A seemed to have these problems. Physical symptoms, such as gastrointestinal distress, headache, and dizziness, seemed more common in Groups B & C. Psychodynamic interpretations of selected animal drawings and stories are presented, purporting to show the superior adjustment to fatherhood of the men in Group C.

Comments: One cannot draw conclusions from this study about the impact of expectant fatherhood for at least two reasons: there are no non-expectant controls; and any differences between the groups can be because of their very different psychiatric histories or a number of other factors that distinguished the groups. The elaborate and subjective interpretation of the projective tests would have little meaning to a reader who is not psychodynamically oriented.

Cross-reference:

Munroe and Munroe, 1971, XIV E.

B. Childbirth and Infancy

Parke, R. D. & Sawin, D. B. The father's role in infancy: A re-evaluation.
The Family Coordinator, 1976, 25 (4), 365-371.

This paper reviews the evidence concerning four propositions representing
the traditional view of the father's role in infancy: (1) fathers
are uninterested in and uninvolved with newborn infants; (2) fathers
are less nurturant toward infants than mothers; (3) fathers prefer
non-caretaking roles and leave the caretaking up to mother; and (4)
fathers are less competent than mothers to care for newborn infants.

Animal and hormonal evidence as well as recent observational evidence
of father-infant interaction is reviewed. The authors argue that the
only evidence for a difference between parents in interaction with
newborns is that mothers feed the infants slightly more. A study on
sensitivity to infant cues during the feeding situation indicated that
parents were equally reactive and thus that fathers were as competent
in infant caretaking. All the propositions, then, with the exception of
amount of feeding, are unsupported. The authors suggest that cultural
supports should be provided for these activities of the fathers.

Rendina, I. and Dickershield, J. D. Father involvement with first born
infants. The Family Coordinator, 1976, 25 (4), 373-379.

Subjects: 40 fathers and their first-born infants. Fathers were white,
   ranged in age from 19 to 33 (mean age = 26.2), well-educated.
   Eighty-one percent were employed in skilled or professional work.
   Eighty-two percent had attended birth or infant care classes or had
   observed the birth. The infants were 10 males and 10 females at
   two developmental levels with mean ages of 5.8 months and 13.2
   months.

Method: Fathers and infants were observed in two home visits for 1.5
   hours each, divided into 13 observation periods of 5 minutes. Precoded
   father activities included caretaking, affective proximal, and social
   activities as well as a score of total average involvement. These
   scores were also examined for differences using three characteristics
   of the infant: sex, developmental level, and temperament.

Findings: Overall, fathers were involved with their infants 36% of
   the time. Social involvement accounted for 10.4% of the father's
   total involved time. Affective proximal attention accounted for 9.2%
   of the observed time, while caretaking activities comprised an average
   of 3.8% of the time. Fathers spent the most time watching the
   infant (28% of involved time).

In general, infant characteristics did not account for much variance. Developmental status did influence two categories of behavior: fathers talked more but had less affective proximal activities with older infants. There were some interactions of sex and developmental status and sex and temperament.

Comments: The authors conclude that these fathers were influenced by the cultural expectation that mothers should do the primary caretaking, and thus they restricted their interactions to play and other social activities. Unfortunately, there is no evidence presented concerning the mothers' activities during these observation periods so that any conclusions implying such comparisons are tenuous at best. What is clear from this study is that fathers are involved with their infants and provide important social stimulation.

Fein, R. A. The first weeks of fathering: The importance of choices and supports for new parents. Birth and the Family Journal, 1976, 3(2), 53-58.

Subjects: 30 middle-income couples expecting their first child, recruited through childbirth education classes, offices of obstetricians, and word of mouth.

Method: Couples were interviewed about four weeks before and six weeks after the birth of their first child.

Findings: All men reported some feelings of exclusion, but on balance, most reported feeling more included than excluded. Twelve of the 30 men reported wishing they could be more involved in homelife activities. Fourteen of the men seemed especially enthusiastic about caring for the babies. Nineteen men reported regular infant care responsibilities, but in all cases but one, it was less than half the baby care. Factors described in postpartum adjustment were (1) preparation for parenting, (2) health of the baby, (3) support from families, (4) support from work, (5) agreement about roles.

Comments: The author concludes that it is important that new parents be provided choices and supports in the care of infants. A substantial number of men are involved in the care of newborns and some preparation and career allowance for this role should be made.

Parke, R. D. and O'Leary, S. E. Family interaction in the newborn period: Some findings, some observations, and some unresolved issues. In K. F. Riegel and J. A. Meacham (Eds.), The Developing Individual in a Changing World, Vol. 2, Social and Environmental Issues. Chicago: Aldine, 1976.

Subjects: Two samples: (1) middle class, well-educated, Caucasian couples and their first borns (N=19); (2) 51 white and 31 black families of low socio-economic status.

Method: Ten-minute observations of parent and child behavior during the first 48 hours after birth. Behavior was coded over several

time periods and averaged for each family. In the first study, mother-father-infant interactions and mother-infant interactions were observed; in the second study, father-infant interactions were added.

Findings: In the first study, for 12 behaviors, there was only one significant difference between mother and father in the triadic interaction: mothers smiled more. Comparing the mother's behavior in the presence of the father to her behavior alone with the infant showed a number of significant increases in interaction when alone. One effect was revealed for sex of baby: both mothers and fathers touched male babies more often than female babies; this difference did not hold when mother was alone. In the second study, there were several differences between father and mother when together: father interacted more with the baby in several ways. Both mothers' and fathers' interactions significantly increased when they were alone with the baby. Several sex of parent; sex of baby, and ordinal position effects were also reported.

Comments: These results indicate that the father plays a very active role in early social interaction. This involvement is not restricted to middle-class highly educated groups nor is the presence of the mother a necessary setting condition.

Greenberg, M. and Morris, N. M. Engrossment: The newborn's impact upon the father. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1974, 44 (4), 520-531.

Subjects: 30 first fathers, 15 who had been present at birth and 15 who had seen the baby soon after, matched for age, SES, and previous experience with children, in London.

Method: Questionnaire followed by in-depth interview of half the sample.

Findings: There were no significant differences between the groups except on questions directly related to the birth (e.g., time in the labor room). Almost all of the fathers rated their paternal feelings average to very high, reported feeling happy in general and with the sex of the baby, claimed to be able to distinguish their baby from others by sight but not by cry, wanted to share with their wives the responsibility for raising the baby, and judged themselves as picking up the baby often or sometimes. In the interviews they expressed visual and tactile awareness of the newborn, were aware of distinct characteristics and thought the infant perfect, felt a strong attraction to the baby, and reported elation. They also reported increases in self-esteem and surprise at their own reactions of involvement.

Comments: This study suggests that actual contact with the newborn may be a critical factor in releasing paternal feelings of engrossment. The authors also suggest that there may be a "sensitive period" for this process.

Cronenwett, L. R. and Newmark, L. L. Fathers' responses to childbirth
Nursing Research, 1974, 23 (3), 210-217.

   Subjects: 152 fathers who were present with their wives during all or
      part of labor and delivery at two hospitals. They were divided into
      three groups, prepared attenders (PA) had attended classes and were
      in the delivery room; unprepared attenders (UA); and nonattenders.

   Method: Questionnaire of Likert-type items on several topics: identification
      of child; touching baby; parental role; and several aspects of the
      couple relationship.

   Findings: No differences occurred among groups of fathers (PA, UA, NA)
      in responses to infant-related items. In responses to statements
      about their wives and their own part in the childbirth process, however,
      fathers who had attended formal classes on preparation for childbirth
      and/or who attended the delivery of their child answered 11/19 statements
      significantly more positively than fathers without one or both of these
      experiences. Fathers with preparation and/or who attended the delivery
      rated their overall experiences during childbirth significantly higher.

   Comments: This study indicates that attendance by the fathers during
      delivery can significantly affect their reports of a positive experience
      and their feelings about their wives. This attendance was an important
      factor whether or not the fathers had attended childbirth classes.

Cross-references:

   Valabreque, 1971, XIV D.
   Munroe and Munroe, 1971, XIV E.

C. The Child's Attachment to the Father

Kotelchuk, M. The infant's relationship to the father: Experimental evidence. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), The Role of the Father in Child Development. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.

Kotelchuk reviews literature which investigated the assumed uniqueness of the mother-child bond. Laboratory evidence from several studies on separation protest reveals that children from 9-21 months react similarly to mothers and fathers on a variety of measures which assess attachment. Data from these studies and from other investigations in Guatemala and Scotland suggest that these attachment behaviors are related to the amount of father-child interaction in the home. Thus, Kotelchuk rejects the supposed uniqueness of the mother-child relationship and suggests that child relationships with either the mother or father are more a function of the nature of the parent-child interaction than biological predisposition.

Cohen, L. J. and Campos, J. J. Father, mother, and strangers as elicitors of attachment behaviors in infancy. Developmental Psychology, 1974, 10 (1), 146-154.

Subjects: 60 children, half boys and half girls, equally divided among three ages (10, 13, and 16 months); all parents were white and most were well-educated.

Method: Behavioral observations recorded unobtrusively in an experimental room. A variety of infant approach behaviors (e.g., proximity, touching, distress vocalization) were recorded in three conditions: mother, father, stranger; mother, two strangers; father, two strangers.

Findings: Fathers were found to be unequivocally superior to strangers as elicitors of attachment behaviors but second to mothers at all age levels. When both parents were present, subjects approached mothers twice as often. Tested with each parent separately, they travelled to the mother in significantly shorter time and spent more time in proximity to the mother. The amount of eye contact with strangers was significantly greater when subjects were in proximity to mothers as compared to fathers. Distress vocalizations during separation from parents was one of the few measures which did not discriminate between mothers and fathers. Attachment to father was not found to increase across these ages. There were no sex effects. Twenty-seven children went exclusively to the mother and six went exclusively to the father.

Comments: This study convincingly demonstrates that even very young children (less than 18 months) display attachment behaviors toward their fathers.

Spelke, E., Zelayo, P., Kagan, J., and Kotelchuk, M. Father interaction and separation protest. Developmental Psychology, 1973, 9 (1), 83-90.

Subjects: 36 1-year-old, middle-class children.

Method: Fathers were categorized on the basis of interviews as low, medium, or high father interaction. The behavior of the children was observed in a laboratory. Present with the child were mother, father, and a female stranger, each of whom left the room in a pre-arranged order and for varying intervals. A variety of behavior was recorded (e.g., crying, playing, touching). In another session, the child's reaction to discrepancy was assessed by presenting novel stimuli for a fixed number of trials and then a transformation of that standard.

Findings: Departure of one parent did not evoke much protest if the other parent remained. High-father-interaction children, when alone with the stranger, showed little crying, fretting; or disruption of of play; low-father-interaction children showed the most crying and maximum disruption of play. There were no effects of level of father interaction on proximity, touching, or vocalization. Proximity and touching were greatest when sex of parent and sex of child were the same. Children who cried least showed most interest in the discrepancy sequences.

Comments: The authors suggest that children who come from high-father-interaction homes may be more cognitively developed because of the experience of being with both parents. They may also be more accustomed to maternal as well as paternal separation. Separation protest does not seem to be a measure of attachment from these data.

D. The Father's Role in Socialization

Lamb, M. E. The role of the father: An overview, In M. E. Lamb
(Ed.), The Role of the Father in Child Development. New York: John
Wiley & Sons, 1976.

Lamb reviews an extensive amount of literature on father-child
relationships, providing a bibliography of several hundred references.
He argues that fathers play an important role in child development, which
has often been ignored or devalued. This role is both unique and
interdependent with the roles of other family members.

The literature is divided into father-infant and -older child
research and theory. The infant literature is primarily related to
attachment behavior and the differential parental roles in socialization.
Tracing changes in the father role for the different ages of children
is said to be difficult because of the totally different research
techniques and theoretical frameworks used by the two sets of
researchers. In terms of older children three theoretical orientations
(Freudian, Parsonian, and learning theory) are reviewed. The role
of the father in sex-role adoption, moral development, academic
performance, and adjustment are discussed.

Lamb provides detailed criticisms of most of the traditional
research methodologies and calls for careful longitudinal, obser-
vational studies involving both parents.

Kemper, T. D. and Reichler, M. L. Father's work integration and types
and frequencies of rewards and punishments administered by fathers
and mothers to adolescent sons and daughters. Journal of Genetic
Psychology, 1976, 129, 207-219.

Subjects: 219 college students enrolled in undergraduate sociology
    classes, 148 women and 71 men.

Method: Questionnaire contained (1) 40 punishments and 13 rewards
    rated on a 9-point scale for frequency of use when students were
    in their last year of high school and (2) 9 questions about father's
    work integration, categorized as job satisfaction, mobility aspir-
    ations, and power/relations. Separate correlations for each item were
    computed and their patterns discussed.

Findings: Father's mobility aspirations were related to both father's
    and mother's punishment of son but not of daughter. Job satisfaction
    and power relations were associated with reward of daughter but not
    of son. Except for father's punishment of son, it was found that father's
    work integration can alter the pattern of parents' punishments away
    from the physical to the more cognitive and instructional.

Comments: Despite methodological and statistical weaknesses in this report, there is evidence that father's functioning in his work role (at least as perceived by the children) affects his parental role.

Herzog, E. and Sudia, C. E, Children in fatherless families. In B. Caldwell and H. Ricciati (Eds.), Review of Child Development and Research, Vol. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

This review of almost 400 studies on father-absent homes describes many of the methodological problems which plague this line of research. Among the problems are those of definition. Temporary father absence is obviously different from continuing father absence and must be taken into account as well as the reasons for which the father is absent, e.g., socially-approved vs. socially-disapproved reasons. The quality of family life is an often-ignored factor with the general assumption being that all two-parent homes are "good" and one-parent homes "bad."

Many frequently asserted adverse effects do not appear warranted by a careful review of the data. The relationship of father absence and juvenile delinquency is badly confounded by other variables, including SES. In addition, any differences which might exist are likely to be statistically significant but insignificant in practical terms. The belief that father absence lowers school achievement is not supported.

One other belief that is often asserted is that boys in fatherless homes lack male role models and consequently suffer in sex-role identification. The authors criticize this belief on several grounds: it is not known whether these boys in fact lack role models whether inside or outside of the home; the M-F measures are badly flawed and of unknown validity; and there is no known relationship between sex-role identification and well-being. The corollary concept of "matriarchy" in Black lower-class families is described as a "fiction of middle-class social scientists."

The authors conclude that existing data do not permit a decisive answer about the effects of father-absence on children. In fact, it is suggested that the question of the effects of father-absence be abandoned in favor of a more complex approach to a number of inter-related variables. In addition to the definitional and methodological problems, there is a very practical consideration: since fathers cannot (and often should not) be returned to the home, study should be directed to factors which may contribute to the maximum development of the children. The single-parent family should be investigated as a form in itself rather than a mutilated version of some other form.

Radin, N. Father-child interaction and the intellectual functioning of four-year-old boys. <u>Developmental Psychology</u>, 1972, <u>6</u> (2), 353-361.

Subjects: 21 lower-class and 21 middle-class, white boys who would enter kindergarten the following September were selected from the school census report; they were all from intact families in the metropolitan Detroit area.

Method: Fathers and sons were interviewed alone in their homes. The interview was recorded and interactions later coded by two coders into 20 behaviors in the general categories of nurturant and restrictive behaviors. The children were administered the "It" Scale for children to determine sex-role preference. From 1-4 weeks later, the children were administered the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) to determine cognitive functioning.

Findings: (1) There were significant class differences on several variables; Middle-class children scored higher on both IQ measures; Middle-class fathers interacted more with their children and displayed more nurturant behaviors of several kinds. (2) Nurturant behavior correlated more highly with the Stanford-Binet ($r=.49$) and the PPVT ($r=.51$) than any other variable including demographic ones. The It Scale was not significantly correlated with any variable. Restrictiveness of the father was significantly negatively correlated with the Stanford-Binet ($r=-.36$). Nurturance and restrictiveness were not significantly correlated. (3) Examining the correlations separately for each class revealed that for the lower-class group, the only nonintellective variable correlated with the Stanford-Binet was the It Scale ($r=-.44$) indicating that feminine preferences were associated with high IQ. (4) One third of the IQ variance was accounted for by nurturance and restrictiveness.

Comments: The author offers several interpretations of the finding of a correlation between nurturance and IQ. The father may be more responsive to the bright child, or the child may be motivated to imitate a nurturant father; nurturance may foster exploratory behavior in general or some third factor may be accounting for both. The hypothesis that male sex-role preference is correlated with nurturance of the father was not supported; neither was the hypothesis that a male sex-role preference is correlated with IQ. The contradictory finding of a negative relationship between male sex-role preference and IQ for the lower-class sample is discussed in terms of role models.

Hoffman, L. W. The father's role in the family and the child's peer-group adjustment. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 1961, 7 (2), 97-105.

Subjects: 445 boys and girls in grades 3-6 in an urban school, all white, nonmigrant, two-parent families.

Method: Structured questionnaires were administered to the children, and mail-in questionnaires were completed by the parents. In addition, 120 selected mothers were interviewed in their homes.

Findings: In response to a question about parental decision-making and another question about who they would like to be like, boys tended to want to emulate the more powerful parent (the father for all but 12% of the boys) and girls wanted to emulate the nondominant parent (the mother for all but 10% of the girls). Thus, cross-sex identification occurred in mother-dominant homes. Boys were most likely to choose fathers who not only dominated mothers but provided their sons with warm companionship.

Mothers who said marriage changed women's lives in a positive direction had daughters with good peer relations in the white-collar group. In the blue-collar group this relationship was reversed.

Both boys and girls, white-collar and blue-collar, associated fathers more than mothers with discipline and less than mothers with positive affect and instruction. However boys attributed more of the latter to their fathers than girls did.

For boys a warm companionship with the father was clearly related to peer-group adjustment as well as a high degree of self-confidence. In addition, it was associated with athletic and intellectual ability and with a tendency to respond realistically and adaptively to frustrating situations.

Comments: This report suggests that a warm relationship between father and son is important for the son's peer-group adjustment. Unfortunately, no data are presented which could indicate how common such a relationship is.

Tasch, R. J. The role of the father in the family. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 1952, 20 (4), 319-361.

Subjects: 85 fathers with 160 children, 80 boys and 80 girls, ranging in age from birth to over 17. Fathers were mainly 30-50 years of age; half had education beyond high school.

Method: Fl███████rview: responses categorized by author. Top███s covered i█████████w included activities with and for children, methods of ███████pline, satisfactions and problems, and concepts of the functions of fatherhood.

Findings: Almost all (94%) of the fathers reported activities related to routine daily care and safety. Other activities reported by more than 80% of the fathers included development of motor skills, development of intellectual abilities and interests, and going to places of recreation. These activities changed in importance across the different age groups of the children. There were more similarities than differences in activities with sons and daughters; however, there was somewhat more routine daily care and safety for the girls and development of motor abilities for the boys. More fathers used physical punishment than verbal methods or the with-holding of pleasures; physical punishment was more frequently used with younger children (under 8) and with boys. Many more fathers reported satisfactions than problems with fatherhood. The primary satisfaction reported by 76% was companionship; the most common problems were "routines" (49%) and "relatives" (45%). The concept of the paternal role was described most frequently by the following: guide and teacher, economic provider, authority, personal character-istics and habits, companion, and child rearer. Fatherhood as an "example of masculinity" was rarely mentioned.

Comments: Because this exploratory study used an open-ended interview method, the results indicate the importance these fathers placed on spontaneously mentioning certain activities and concepts rather than an estimate of the frequency of occurrence of the activities or the degree of acceptance of the concepts. It is possible that infrequently mentioned activities such as "gift giving" and concepts such as providing "an example of masculinity" were so common and accepted that they weren't mentioned, while counternormative activities were frequently mentioned.

Cross-references:

Biller and Borstelmann, 1967, I B.
Knox and Kupferer, 1971, III A.
Fling and Manosevitz, 1972, III B.
Goodenough, 1957, III B.
Manley, 1977, III C.
Fagot, 1974, III C.
Lansky, 1967, III C.
Rothbart and Maccoby, 1966, III C.
Sears et al.: 1957, III C.
Pleck, in press, V B.
Clark and Gecas, 1977, V B.
Morgan, 1967, X A.
Rivenbark, 1971, X A.
Green, 1946, XI A.
Schulz, 1968, XIV B.
Hannerz, 1971, XIV B.
Whiting, 1965, XIV E.

E. Single Fathers

Levine, J. A. Who will raise the children? New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1976.

This book questions the assumption that "fathers don't make good mothers". Based on the lives of more than 120 men the author visited with and interviewed in depth, the book describes the experiences of men who are directly responsible for child rearing in the family. Chapters include "Men and Custody", "Part-time Jobs for Full-time Fathers", "Single Adoptive Fathers", and "househusbands."

The author includes historical and legal information, economic statistics, and explores subtle and explicit sexist assumptions that influence the likelihood of fathers' assuming primary caretaking roles and their experiences when they choose them. There are many direct quotes from fathers who have adopted these "alternate" lifestyles along with references to research literature. The joys, problems, and coping strategies of these fathers are described.

Gasser, R. D. and Taylor, C. M. Role adjustment of single parent fathers with dependent children. The Family Coordinator, 1976, 25 (4), 397-401.

Subjects: 40 single parent fathers living with a dependent child or children under 18 years of age with no wife present due to divorce (N=25) or death (N=15).

Method: Interview/questionnaire covering several areas of role adjustment. It included a list of activities necessary to the functioning of a household: meal preparation, dish-washing, laundry, ironing, grocery shopping, and house cleaning. Fathers were asked to indicate (a) involvement in these tasks while living with their wives, (b) involvement in these tasks at present as single parents, and (c) perception of the degree of difficulty in carrying out these tasks as single parents.

Findings: When they were living with their wives, the only household task over half the fathers had full or shared responsibility for was grocery shopping; they had been least likely to iron. As single parents, the majority of fathers now had full responsibility for all tasks except house cleaning, which was shared with the children. The majority of fathers indicated no problems with these tasks, though when problems were mentioned they were most likely to be in meal preparation or house cleaning.

While residing with their wives, fathers had participated more in childcare activities than in other household activities. However, the bathing, dressing, and feeding of the children were areas where at least 30% of the fathers had no responsibility. As single parents,

the fathers assumed major responsibility for all childcare activities;
relatives or babysitters played relatively unimportant roles.

In terms of adult activities, the fathers indicated that they had
relinquished some club memberships and activities but 70% either
desired or felt compelled to enter into new activities as single
parents. Problem areas included dating (58%), business trips
(55%), and pursuing job possibilities (45%).

Divorced fathers were more likely to consider themselves well-
adjusted, problem-free, and having more friends than previously.
Widowers seemed more concerned with preserving old friendships and
club memberships.

Comments: Despite their prior unfamiliarity with household tasks, these
single fathers whether widowed or divorced, expressed very little
difficulty in taking them on. In fact, adjustment in all areas
seemed relatively smooth, especially for divorced fathers who may
have anticipated their single status for a longer time than the
widowers and for whom single parenthood with whatever problems
was a welcome relief from a stormy pre-divorce situation.

Mendes, H. A. Single fathers. The Family Coordinator, 1976, 25 (4),
439.

Subjects: 32 single fathers of children under 18: 4 were separated,
7 were widowed, and 21 were divorced. Approximately half (15)
were white; almost half (14) were black; and 3 were classified
"other." There were about equal numbers of middle and working class
men. The number of children being raised ranged from 1-6 (mean=2.5).

Method: Respondents were referred by educators, physicians, etc.
They were interviewed in their homes or offices for an average of
three hours.

Findings: Eight of the fathers had at some point provided complete
supervision for their children, either by staying home or successfully
synchronizing their work and children's schedules. Most had hired
someone to supervise (particularly preschool) children, but child-care
centers were generally found to be superior. There was very little
help from other relatives. Twenty-eight of the fathers did all the
homemaking chores. Over half the fathers reported stress in trying
to coordinate all the tasks. Five fathers reported major difficulties
in meeting the emotional needs of their children. Twenty of the
fathers were rearing daughters, and some expressed concern about
teaching hygiene, femininity, and sexuality.

Comments: This exploratory study reveals some of the problems of single
fathers and suggests areas for further research.

George, V. and Wilding, P. <u>Motherless Families</u>. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Subjects: 588 fathers in England who were widowed (N=281), divorced or separated (N=303) or otherwise without a spouse or living partner.

Method: Lengthy semi-structured interview administered in the home for 2-8 hours.

Findings: Numerous empirical findings are presented concerning family life and adjustment. Chapters are included which cover the children, occupation and income, the father's emotional and social adjustment, interaction with social services, and social policy and social problems.

Comments: This is a retrospective study because of certain practical considerations and, as such, it tends to reflect responses of a group of fathers who have successfully coped with a number of problems and are justifiably proud. Lost are the fathers who gave up and are therefore no longer members of "motherless families." Lost are a substantial number of fathers who refused to be interviewed and who may well be the less successful copers. The authors comment that the father's positive assessment of the situation was occasionally at variance with the interviewer's perhaps more objective assessment.

Despite these problems which are all described in detail by the researchers, the book does make a valuable contribution to an area which has received little research attention.

Pannor, R. and Evans, B. W. The unmarried father: An integral part of casework services to the unmarried mother. <u>Child Welfare</u>, 1967, 46 (3), 150-155.

This article is based on a demonstration project in which casework services were offered to the male partner of unmarried mothers. It is suggested that involvement of the unmarried fathers helps the mothers to understand and clarify their situation and thus to make appropriate decisions about their own and the childrens' futures. Evidence is presented that in most cases the mothers maintain contact with the fathers for several months after the babies' birth. Seventy-five percent of the mothers in the project were willing to name and encourage the fathers to participate. Casework services are considered important for the mother, the father, and the child's future well being.

VII. RELATIONSHIPS WITH WOMEN

A. Studies of Men's Attitudes Toward Women

Brannon, R. Measuring attitudes toward women (and otherwise): A methodological critique. In J. Sherman and F. Denmark (Eds.), The Psychology of Women: Future Directions in Research. New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1978.

   This is a methodological critique of all existing scales for measuring attitudes about women, and of attitude measurement more generally. The author cites 132 articles containing measures of attitudes toward women, and argues that this rapidly expanding literature is producing very little of value due to methodological deficiencies. Two major problems with existing attitude instruments are emphasized: the reliance on all-purpose mixed-content attitude scales, and the lack of any general concern with establishing the behavioral validity of paper-and-pencil measures. The author advocates multi-dimensional attitude measures with homogenous sub-scales, and examines the advantages of such instruments and how to develop them. Current attitude measures are claimed to be almost totally lacking in validational evidence. The article summarizes methods that have been successful in predicting behavioral criteria and examines ten methods of quantifying behavior toward women. Additional sections are devoted to question and response formats in paper-and-pencil measures, and to the empirical status of the "stereotype" concept.

Pleck, J. H. Males' traditional attitudes toward women: conceptual contexts in research. In J. Sherman and F. Denmark (Eds.), The Psychology of Women: Future Directions in Research. New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1978.

   This is a review of the literature on men's attitudes toward women, placing this issue in the larger context of men's and women's attitudes about both sexes. First, the author examines the available evidence for five theoretical explanations for traditional male attitudes: Authoritarianism, Low self-esteem, Traditionally masculine personality, Externalized conflict stemming from early identification with mother, and male-female interactions with unequal status. In each case, little or no evidence is found to support the hypothesized relationship. In the next section male and female attitudes toward women are compared by examining data from national surveys and large-sample normative studies; the differences are surprisingly small in general, and show that women have traditional attitudes about as frequently as men. In the final section, the author compares subject's attitudes about women with their attitudes about men. Data from a variety of sources suggest that relatively similar qualities are perceived and admired in women and men, that reactions to sex-atypical behavior are also relatively similar. The author concludes that women's oppression is probably not so directly related to traditional male attitudes per se as is usually assumed.

Albright, D. G. and Chang, A. F. An examination of how one's attitudes toward women are reflected in one's defensiveness and self-esteem. Sex Roles, 1976, 2(2), 195-198.

Subjects: 96 undergraduates enrolled in introductory and abnormal psychology courses.

Method: Three scales were administered: (1) the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, interpreted as measuring "defensive denial"; (2) the Berger Self-Esteem Measure, which uses the discrepancy between aspiration and expected performance on some task(s); and (3) the Spence-Helmreich Attitudes Toward Women Scale. Median splits on the first two scales were used as independent variables. The Social Desirability was given as a "take-home"; the other two were administered later in class.

Findings: Analysis of variance of the scores on the Attitude Toward Women Scale revealed significant main effects for sex and "defensiveness" (Social Desirability). Women were more liberal in their responses; "highly defensive" individuals were more discriminatory toward women than less defensive individuals of the same sex. The main effect for self-esteem did not reach significance ($p < .15$) nor did the interaction between self-esteem and sex ($p < .15$).

Comments: The authors give insufficient justification for their hypotheses, methods, and conclusions. They never discuss their main findings, but instead elaborate on notions of self-concept and defense mechanisms, which are not relevant to these findings. Basically, they seem to have discovered that men express more prejudice toward women than women do and that this expression of prejudice is correlated with social desirability.

Komarovsky, M. Cultural contradictions and sex roles: The masculine case. American Journal of Sociology, 1973, 78(4), 873-884.

Subjects: Sixty-two college males randomly selected from the senior class at an Ivy League male college.

Method: Three 2-hour interviews plus 5 schedules and the CPI and Gough Adjective Check List.

Findings: 1) 30% reported that intellectual insecurity or strain with dates was a past or current problem. Selective dating by avoiding superior women was the common coping strategy. Nearly 70% reported no such strain, most commonly because they judged themselves superior, but also because it was irrelevant to their relationships with women. In 2-3 cases, the relationship was described as egalitarian and in 8 cases, the men were happily adjusted to the intellectual superiority of their women friends. In 7/8 of these cases, however, she was said to have a compensating weakness, such as emotional dependence, instability, or plain appearance. 2) Attitudes toward future wives working presented a complex picture of inconsistencies.

In general, 24% expressed "traditionalist" views about women staying at home; 16% were called "pseudofeminists" because their approval of wives' working was hedged with qualifications no women could meet; 48% were called "modified traditionalists" who favored a sequential pattern of work, withdrawl for child rearing and return to work, and 7% were "feminists" who expressed willingness to modify their roles significantly to facilitate their future wives' careers.

Comments: The author states that the number of inconsistencies within these general groups did not mean that this was an area of stress for the men, possibly because the actual confrontation was so far in the future and possibly because other data indicate that college women are willing to accept the "modified traditionalist" pattern of career. She sums up by saying, "In addition, there is no gainsaying the conclusion that human beings can tolerate a high degree of inconsistency as long as it does not conflict with their self-interest."

Spence, J. T. and Helmreich, R. Who likes competent women? Competence, sex-role congruence of interests, and subjects' attitudes toward women as determinants of interpersonal attraction. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 1972, 2(3), 197-213.

Subjects: 264 men and 343 women college students.

Method: Subjects viewed one of four videotapes of a female stimulus person (SP) being interviewed presumably for a position as orientation advisor to first year students. The SP described either feminine or masculine interests and was either competent or incompetent. Subjects indicated their social liking for SPs on a questionnaire. Subjects' responses were also analyzed by their scores on the AWS and the Femininity Scale of the CPI (Gough, 1969).

Findings: The analysis of variance of liking scores by subjects' sex, femininity of interests, and competence indicated that all subjects preferred the competent SPs. Three of the four interaction terms were significant indicating a different pattern of results for men and women subjects in relation to competent and incompetent feminine SPs: men's liking was less affected by the competency manipulation for these feminine SPs. Subjects were then divided on the basis of their AWS scores into conventional, moderate, and liberal groups. Separate analyses of variance for male and female subjects indicated that a three-way interaction occurred for the men's scores. Conventional men rather liked feminine-incompetent women; liberal men dislike her. Incompetent-masculine women are only liked by liberal men. Competent-feminine women are the favorites of moderates. The Femininity scale was unrelated to liking scores.

Comments: These surprising findings suggest that competent-masculine women are overall judged more positively by men and women subjects. There is also evidence that men's attitudes toward women in general influence their judgments of women displaying these characteristics.

Bass, B. M., Krussell, J., and Alexander, R. A. Male managers' attitudes toward working women. American Behavioral Scientist, 1971, 15, 221-236.

Subjects: 174 men employed full-time in business or industry in lower-, middle-, and upper-level management and staff positions. All were enrolled in graduate school courses in management and ranged in age from 21 to 66.

Method: The measure used was a questionnaire distributed in class consisting of 56 statements with 5-point scales of agreement. Approximately half were administered by a man, half by a woman.

Findings: .The statement with which the managers most strongly agreed was "Women prefer working for a male boss." Strongest disagreement was to the statement "Women don't make good scientists or engineers, because they inherently lack the mathematical and mechanical skills required." Sex of administrator of the questionnaire did not significantly influence responses. Responses to the 40 items which were worded in an unfavorable direction were factor-analyzed and 7 factors were identified. Managers were strongest in their agreement with traditional mores about women deferring to men's ability and initiative and men deferring to the needs of the "weaker sex." They also agreed with statements calling for differential treatment and were unfavorable to some degree toward women's dependability and supervisory potential. They tended to disagree with favorable statements about women's capabilities, emotionality, life style, or lack of career orientation.

Analysis of agreement scores for various subgroups of the men yielded no significant differences by age or number of women co-workers. However, married men were more likely to regard women as lacking career orientation than single men. Those who were high in the organization saw women as more lacking in dependability than did lower-level employees. Men who did not work with women had higher positive regard for women than the men who did; however, the managers who had the lowest regard worked with women subordinates.

Comments: The solution to discrimination against women employees, the author suggests, lies not in simply hiring more women. Rather, managers should examine their own attitudes toward women in the work situation; to look at some of the actual data regarding women, their skills, their dependability, their orientation toward work; and then to put women and men in situations where they can interact as equals.

Beigel, H. G. The evaluation of intelligence in the heterosexual relationship. Journal of Social Psychology, 1957, 46, 65-80.

Subjects: 916 men and women living in Brooklyn and Long Island. Ages ranged from 17-40; mean age for men 23.9, for women 21.5., 41% were white collar workers, 33% college students, 11% manual workers, 6% executives and professionals, and 4% high school students or occupation unknown.

Method: Respondents were asked to describe those characteristics which they considered most desirable in males and females. 581 (67%) spontaneously mentioned intelligence, education, or knowledge. Specific phrases concerning these qualities were then tabulated by sex of respondent and sex of target group.

Findings: More men than women mention factors relating to intelligence, education, and knowledge (344 v. 237). In fact, almost 2/3 of the men's references are to female intelligence. However, the men's responses indicate that they prefer women of average or limited intelligence whereas the women are more likely to prefer men of average or superior intelligence. Being well educated is mentioned as more important for men by both sexes. Remarks drawn from the interviews are used to describe some of the factors underlying men's attitudes toward women's intelligence. The 100 men desiring partners of equal intelligence cite reasons relating to social status, economics, entertainment, understanding, and keeping "overemotionality" in check. The 106 men desiring partners of limited intelligence express many fears that can be summed up as threatening their comfort, their independence, or their pleasure. The 6 men desiring superior intelligence refer to their own inferiority.

Comments: The author discusses these data in terms of sex-roles, asserting that because of the man's need to cling to an "ancient ideal of masculinity" in a "de-heroized civilization," he must select women for inferiority. The qualitative data support this interpretation. The quantitative data are problematic. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to relate the figures in the discussion to the figures in the single table presented.

Cross-references:

Jenkins and Vroegh, 1969   II A
McBrayer, 1960   II A
Clavan and Robak, 1974   II B
Tavris, 1977   II B
Costrich et al., 1975   II C
Deaux and Taynor, 1973   II C
Spence et al., 1975   II C
Hunt, 1976   V B
Taylor and Smith, 1974   IX A

B. Correlates and Causes of Attitudes Toward Women

Pleck, J. H. Males traditional attitudes toward women: Correlates of adjustment or maladjustment. Psychological Reports, 1978, 42, 975-983.

Subjects: 616 men, 18 years of age and older, in a national probability sample.

Method: Individual interviews, including four attitude items concerning women and six measures of adjustment.

Findings: Overall, 22% of the men stated that many or most women don't work as hard on their jobs as men do; however, 46% believe that women are happiest when they are taking care of a home and children. Only 35% believe that women are discriminated against in our society but 59% approve of women's liberation. The negative attitudes toward women were strongest for the older, less well-educated men in the sample.

There were few significant associations between the attitude toward women items and the adjustment measures. For men who were well-educated, marital happiness was negatively associated with devaluing women's work efforts. For these same men and for the oldest subgroup, marital happiness was <u>positively</u> associated with the belief that women are happiest at home. Internal locus of control and trust were negatively associated with devaluation of women workers for all age and education levels. Support for women's liberation was not related to any of the adjustment measures.

Comments: As the author notes, these data suggest only a slight association between attitudes toward women and individual adjustment. Furthermore, this association is strongly influenced by the specific adjustment measures and the content of the attitude toward women items. Pleck concludes that the beliefs about women's happiness in the home and lack of discrimination, both of which are associated to some degree with positive adjustment, may be the dominant attitudinal block against change rather than more overt, hostile attitudes.

Pleck, J. H. Male threat from female competence. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1976, 44(4), 608-613.

Subjects: 91 male undergraduates participating in a larger longitudinal study of dating couples.

Method: Pre-measures of verbal ability were taken in an initial experimental session. Subjects were administered a projective test measuring male threat from female competence (MTFC). In a final session, subjects were given another verbal ability task under two conditions: in the competitive condition they were told that their scores would be compared to their dating partner's; in the cooperative condition, they were told the combined scores of themselves and their

partners would be compared to another couple matched for ability. The MTFC measure consisted of 3 sentence completion stems involving cases of female\competence. Subjects' sentences were scored as threatened, positive, or neutral.

Findings: High-MTFC males in the competitive condition significantly more often preferred to perform in a future task individually rather than with their partners. In addition, there was an elevation in performance in the high-MTFC competitive group and an unanticipated performance elevation in low-MTFC males in the cooperative condition. There were no significant MTFC differences on reports of liking for the task, level of aspiration, task-striving, or evaluation of performance. The discriminant validity of the MTFC measure was assessed by comparisons in correlations with performance and future task preference to several other measures, including fear of success and sex role scales.

Comments: As the author notes this study provides modest validation for a personality construct MTFC. Men high in MTFC perform best under instructions to compete with their partners; men low in MTFC perform best under cooperative instructions. However, after competing with their dating partner and performing as well, these MTFC men were then more likely to say they desired to avoid future task interaction.

Miller, T. W. Male attitudes toward women's rights as a function of their level of self-esteem. In F. Denmark, (Ed.), Who Discriminates Against Women? Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1974.

Subjects: 171 male subjects: 56 from coed college, 95 from all-male institutions; and 20 noncollege men.

Method: Subjects were administered the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale and the Bove and Miller (1970) Women's Liberation Questionnaire.

Findings: Significant correlations ranging from .31 to .49 between self-esteem and attitudes toward women's liberation were found for the men at the all-male institutions and for the noncollege men. The scores of men at the coed institutions were not significantly correlated (-.06, -.14). The noncollege men had the highest mean score on the Women's Liberation Scale followed closely by the men at one of the religious insitituions. Those at coed schools had intermediate scores, and the lowest scores were found at the all-male technical college and one of the all-male religious institutions.

Comments: The author's discussion of these data bear little resemblance to the findings. He discusses the atmosphere at religious institutions when in fact his two samples of these kind of institutions differ. He discusses the liberality of coed campuses when scores from these men are only intermediate.

It is not easy to draw a conclusion from these data since no clear

pattern emerges. They suggest, however, that a relationship between self-esteem and attitudes toward women's liberation exists. It is possible that the scales used were too short and/or transparent in purpose to adequately assess the hypothesis.

Vavrik, J. and Jurich, A. P. Self-concept and attitude toward acceptance of females: A note. Family Coordinator, 1971, 20, 151-152.

 Subjects: 59 male upperclass and graduate students selected for urban background (city of 10,000 or more).

 Method: Ten TAT cards were responded to by subjects in groups of about 20. Subjects wrote 3-minute stories for each card. These stories were then evaluated for self-concept and attitudes toward women. On the basis of their TAT scores, subjects were classified as having a good, fair, or poor self-concept and of viewing females as persons, somewhat stereotyped, or as a sex object.

 Findings: A strong relationship was found between self-concept and attitudes toward women. Thirty-nine percent of subjects with good self-concept indicated positive acceptance of women compared to only 10% of those with fair self-concept and none of those with a poor self-concept. At the other extreme, only 6% of those with a good self-concept wrote negative rejecting stories about women, but 28% of those with fair self-concept and 85% of those with poor self-concept did so.

 Comments: These data indicate a relationship between self-concept and attitudes toward women.

Shomer, R.-W. and Centers, R. Differences in attitudinal responses under conditions of implicitly manipulated group salience. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1970, 15(2), 125-132.

 Subjects: 214 male and female undergraduate psychology students.

 Method: A feminist attitude scale and a parental attitude scale were administered to groups differing in composition: all males, all males with one female, half males and half females, all females, or all females with one male. There was a total of ten groups, one of each composition with a female experimenter and one of each composition with a male experimenter.

 Findings: No differences were found on the parental attitude scale for group composition, sex of subject, or sex of experimenter. However, on the feminist attitude scale, females were significantly more pro-feminist than males, and a significant sex of subject by group composition interaction was found with group composition affecting males' feminist attitudes but not females'. Males expressed the most pro-feminist attitudes when there were a lone female and a male experimenter. Strongest anti-feminist attitudes were expressed in the all-male group with a male experimenter.

Comments: This study demonstrates the importance of the situational
variable of group composition on the expression of attitudes toward
women by men. In the absence of any woman in the group, men express
the most hostile attitudes. However, positive attitudes do not
increase with the number of women. Rather, there is the unpredicted
finding of the expression of most pro-feminist attitudes with the
presence of a lone woman. The authors explain this unpredicted
result as the arousal of a male norm of chivalry toward females. The
absence of this chivalry in the presence of a female experimenter is
explained by her "dominant and characteristically male role." This
explanation for the interesting results of this study is completely
post hoc and needs further empirical demonstration.

Cross-references:

Roszak, 1969 XIV F

C. Interactions With Women in Small Groups

Arles, E. Male-female interpersonal styles in all male, all female, and mixed groups. In A. Sargent, Beyond Sex Roles. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1977.

Subjects: Six groups of 5-7 members, made up of volunteer, white, primarily undergraduates from an Eastern Ivy League school.

Method: Six experimental discussion groups were created: 2 all-female, 2 all-male, and 2 mixed. They met for 5 sessions of 1½ hours with the task of getting to know one another. Interaction styles were analyzed for content and interaction by reducing the 45 hours of tape recordings to 150 minutes (5 min. per 1/2 hour). The resulting sample of 70,000 words was content analyzed by the General Inquiror. Interaction data was gathered by two observers.

Findings: Interaction: In the mixed sex groups males both initiated and received more interaction than females. In the same sex groups, males developed a more stable dominance order over time than the female groups. Males were more likely to address the groups as a whole than females in same-sex settings. In the mixed groups, men tended to do this much less. There was very little interaction between women in the mixed-sex groups. Content: In the same-sex groups, women talked more personally about self, feelings, affiliation, home, and family. Men talked more about sports, physical hostility, action, particularly in the form of anecdotes. Both patterns changed in the mixed-sex groups: men talked more about themselves women talked less about home and family. Women also talked less overall.

Comments: The author concludes that the mixed-group setting seems to benefit men more than women by allowing men more variation in their interpersonal style, while for women it brings more restrictions in style.

Murphy-Berman, V. Effects of success and failure on perceptions of gender identity. Sex Roles, 1976, 2(4), 367-374.

Subjects: Eighty subjects recruited from introductory psychology classes. The 40 women were drawn from a pre-tested sample to represent "success-avoiders" and "success-nonavoiders" as measured by TAT achievement scores.

Method: Subjects were tested in male-female pairs. Each subject was given a series of either more difficult or less difficult anagrams although they were led to believe they were solving the same series. The scores of both partners were loudly announced. Subjects were then asked to rate on a 7-point scale the degree to which their performance was due to luck or skill. After a filler task, they indicated on a 7-point scale their estimation of their partners' rating of their masculinity or femininity.

Findings: The only significant difference reported was that men who succeeded thought their partners would think them more masculine than men who failed. There was a tendency for the successful men to attribute their scores more to skill. Although female "success avoiders" who succeeded seemed to think their partners would judge them less feminine, the author says this result did not reach significance. Female "success-nonavoiders" who failed appeared to attribute their failure to luck, but again not significantly so.

Comments: This study has several problems. First of all, "gender identity" is not assessed and does not deserve to be in the title. Subjects instead are asked what they think their partners think of them in terms of femininity/masculinity. They might well think their partners would be influenced by the recent success or failure but how or what this would mean is not clear. Further, a critical factor would be not only subjects' own success/failure, but partners' success/failure, which is not controlled or reported. The subject might well assume that a successful partner would have a different view of the subject's success than a partner who had just failed. Finally, the author concludes that failure causes men to assume their partners will think them less masculine when the data, if interpretable at all, are that success causes men to think their partner will judge them more masculine.

Zimmerman, D. H. and West, C. Sex roles, interruptions, and silences in conversation. In B. Thorne and N. Henley (Eds.), Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1975.

Subjects: 31 pairs of conversationalists, mainly white, middle-class university students. Ten pairs were male-male; ten were female-female; and eleven were female-male.

Method: Conversational segments were recorded without the speakers' knowledge. Consent was obtained after the recording. Three-quarters of the conversations were recorded in coffee shops, drug stores, and other public places. One-quarter were obtained in private residences. Segments were then analyzed by both authors for speech overlaps, interruptions and silences.

Findings: In same-sex conversations there were 7 interruptions and 22 overlaps. These were about equally divided between the first and second speakers. In cross-sex conversations, there were 48 interruptions and 9 overlaps. Virtually all the interruptions and overlaps were by the male speakers (96% and 100% respectively).

Analysis of the patterns of silence indicated that females in the cross-sex segments exhibited the most silence. The distribution of silence is more nearly equal in same-sex conversations. The data suggest that the female silences in cross-sex conversations were likely to follow delayed minimal responses, overlaps, and interruptions.

Comments: The authors suggest that retarded minimal responses and

interruptions function as topic control mechanisms. The cross-sex patterns of interaction are reminiscent of adult-child conversations and seem to represent the assertion of the male to control topics and to limit the rights of the female speaker to control the conversation.

Heiss, J. S. Degree of intimacy and male-female interaction. _Sociometry_, 1962, _25_, 197-208.

Subjects: Fifty-four undergraduate couples who volunteered for the study. They were divided into 3 groups on the basis of their relationship: casual daters (group I), serious daters (group II), and committed group (group III).

Method: Each couple participated in two experimental sessions. At the first, they completed a number of questionnaires. At the second, they were informed that they had disagreed on a topic in the "Family Opinion Inventory." They were asked to discuss it and perhaps come to an agreement for 20 minutes. Their interaction was scored by the author using four major sections of the Bales System: Section A - positive reactions, Section B - attempted answers, Section C - questions, Section D - negative reactions.

Findings: In total activity, males were more dominant than females. Their dominance occurred predominantly in Attempted Answers and Questions. Although females gave somewhat more positive and negative reactions, these differences did not reach significance. Interaction profiles for each sex did not indicate a great deal of specialization in different kinds of acts: There were differences in interaction patterns for the degree of intimacy of the Groups. In general, interaction patterns became more equal as intimacy increased.

Comments: The author interprets these data in terms of the "posing" necessary when one's own values conflict with sex-stereotyped standards of conduct. Traditional male dominance is more likely to occur among casual friends than committed couples; as intimacy increases the "pose" can be abandoned and equality in interaction is possible.

D. Heterosexual Behavior

Gross, A. E. The male role and heterosexual behavior. Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34(1), 87-107.

This review of the relationship of the male role to heterosexual behavior covers a great deal of literature and includes examples from popular culture as well. Two major themes are discussed: that sex is perceived as more important and enjoyable for men than for women, and that men tend to isolate sex from other social aspects of life. Antecedents and consequences of these beleifs are discussed.

Three aspects of the male sex role and their impact on heterosexual behavior are then examined: (1) goals and success; (2) control and power; and (3) aggression and violence. It is suggested that recent changes away from the traditional "sexual animal" stererotype toward a modern "competent lover" image are largely surface alterations, shaped by the same basic elements of the male sex role.

Spillane, W. H. and Ryser, P. E. Male Fertility Survey: Fertility Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices of Married Men, Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1975.

Subjects: 424 married men living with their families in the greater Pittsburgh area (61% of the 701 contacted).

Method: Questions were projected onto a screen one at a time and read aloud to groups of about 7 interviewees. They recorded their responses on coded sheets. Interviewees were compensated $20 for their participation. There were 135 questions on health, family planning, and other related areas.

Findings: At the time of the study, 79% of the men reported that they and/or their spouse were using some method of contraception. Overall, the condom and the pill were the two most popular methods. Black couples were more likely to be using the pill (34%) than condoms (8%); white couples were slightly more likely to be using condoms (24%) than pills (16%). Men with more than a high school education were more likely to have wives using the pill (33%). Catholics were least likely to be using medical methods. Education was significantly related to contraceptive practices within each racial and religious group. The health care questions indicated that the poorest and the most affluent were most likely to be using preventive health services.

Comments: This study provides information not only about contraceptive practices but about men's attitudes toward family planning, family size, and abortion. One interesting sidelight to the study is in the methodology devised. The group interview using projected questions was adopted because of the reluctance of both the male interviewers and interviewees to discuss these sensitive issues.

Balswick, J. O.   Attitudes of lower class males toward taking a male
birth-control pill. The Family Coordinator, 1972, 21, 195-199.

Subjects: 93 lower-class married males residing with their families
in a southeastern city with a population of 60,000. The average
age was 39; average number of years married was 15; number of
children averaged 2.5. The sample was 41% white and 59% black.

Method: Each respondent was interviewed for approximately 15 minutes
at his home. Questions were asked concerning the desirability of
three types of birth control: the female pill, the male pill, and
vasectomy.

Findings: Respondents were least undecided about the female pill (2%)
and were almost evenly split with 51% objecting and 47% not
objecting to their wives using it. The male birth control pill was
both less objectionable (47%) and less acceptable (41%) with a
sizable number (12%) undecided. Respondents objected most to
vasectomy (59%) and found it least acceptable (33%).

Group differences indicated that younger men and those with
fewest children objected more to vasectomy. The amount of education
was positively related to favorable attitudes toward all three types
of birth control, with the association strongest for the male pill.
Whites objected less to the male pill and vasectomy; blacks objected
less to the female pill.

In providing reasons for their objections, 43% of the men said
the female pill was harmful while only 22% said the male pill was
and none rejected vasectomy for this reason. The major objection to
vasectomy was it's surgical nature.

Comments: The author concludes that reasons for rejecting male con-
traception are more related to a lower-class subcultural definition
of masculinity than to lack of knowledge.

Ginsberg, G. L., Frosch, W. A., and Shapiro, T. The new impotence.
Archives of General Psychiatry, 1972, 26, 218-220.

This article suggests that impotence, formerly a complaint limited
to middle-aged men, is increasing in frequency among younger men and
occurring earlier in relationships. The reasons for this increase are
related, according to the authors, to the increased sexual freedom of
women.

Traditionally, "an acceptable myth separated women into good and
bad," and intercourse was "inflicted upon" good women. Current advances
in medical and social science have caused women to "seek and expect
orgastic release," a change which has broken "the former ecologic
balance in society."

Four brief case studies are presented, and the authors augment these

with other clinical observation. The complaints of the men included not feeling "desired for himself," wondering if maintenance of an erection was necessary for maintenance of a relationship, and questioning "who calls the shots" or "who sex is for." These statements are characterized as role reversal with the man playing the part of the put-upon Victorian woman. These new maladaptions suggest that the mere liberation of drives does not lead to better mental health.

Misra, B. D. Correlates of males' attitudes toward family planning. In D. J. Bogue (Ed.), Sociological Contributions to Family Planning Research, Chicago: Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1967, 161-271.

Subjects: 118 Black couples in a slum area of Chicago, sampled randomly within housing blocks. In order to qualify for the study, they had to be married with at least one living child, the wife had to be younger than 45, and they had to believe they were fertile.

Method: A 28 page scheduled interview on fertility behavior and family planning motivation was administered. Husbands and wives were interviewed simultaneously but in separate rooms by male and female interviewers respectively.

Findings: These men indicated a desire for small families (2-3 children) which was shared by their wives. They had favorable attitudes toward birth control but seemed to lack full information about it; however, they expressed a willingness to learn more. Twelve percent of the males had never used contraception. Condom, suppositories, and withdrawal were the most frequently mentioned current methods. However, condom, diaphragm and jelly, and the oral pill were the best liked methods. The men tended to overestimate the reliability of the methods they were using.

Comments: The author concludes that a number of frequently cited reasons for large families in the lower classes are unfounded. These men indicated a desire to control fertility both because of personal economic and social reasons and because of the population problem. This awareness could be augmented by better information from family planning programs that included men.

Rogers, D. Logitudinal study of the psychosocial effects of vasectomy. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1965, Feb., 59-64.

Subjects: 48 men referred from private-practicing urologists in a large city in California. They were almost entirely middle-class, primarily Protestant or unaffiliated, and the mean MMPI scores closely approached the clutural average.

Method: Preoperatively, subjects completed an MMPI and a questionnaire which included socio-economic, motivational, sexual, and other items. One year postoperatively, subjects were asked by letter to complete

another MMPI and a follow-up questionnaire. Complete data were obtained for 35 men.

Findings: The subjects almost unanimously expressed satisfaction with the operation. A majority (22/35) stated that they enjoyed intercourse more since the operation, and none reported decreased enjoyment. Twenty-five reported that their wives enjoyed intercourse more, two that their wives enjoyed it less. A majority (21) reported no change in sexual functioning; eight reported at least one positive change and seven reported negative changes. The changes did not appear age-related.

Changes in the MMPI profiles were almost all in an upward direction indicating more maladjustment. There were statistically significant increases on seven scales, but changes on four of them were due primarily to a correction for test-taking set. Six of fifteen subjects showing clinically rated negative MMPI changes also reported negative changes in sexual functioning.

Comments: These findings show almost unanimous satisfaction with vasectomy one year postoperatively. Despite enthusiastic reports of the subjects, the author focuses on changes in the MMPI scores. The meaning of these scores is rather difficult to interpret, but the relationship between a negative change in MMPI and sexual functioning was apparent for some. Most subjects, however, reported no decrease in sexual function.

Kirkendall, L. A. Toward a clarification of the concept of male sex drive. Marriage and Family Living, 1958, 20, 367-372.

The author distinguishes between sexual capacity, sexual performance, and sexual drive. Although Kinsey himself recognized such distinctions, popular interpretations often ignore the differences, and an "unfortunate concept of adolescent sexuality" has resulted.

Adolescent boys have a peak capacity for sexual activity in the sense that their recovery time between orgasms is shorter than any other age group. However, sexual drive (a desire to perform) may be totally unrelated to capacity and is much more psychological than physiological. It it, therefore, much more dependent on learning and conditioning. Performance is affected by both of these factors. Illustrative case studies are presented.

This theoretical article has been dated somewhat by recent controlled research on sexual response. However, the main point about male adolescent sex drive is still a very timely one. Although adolescent boys have a short recovery time between orgasms (capacity), there is no reason to assume that they have an unmanageable sex drive which would lead to sexual aggression. In fact, Kirkendall argues that capacity may not even be related to frequency of masturbation, the most common form of "performance" in adolescents.

Cross-references:

Clavan and Robak, 1974, II B.
Olstad, 1973, II B.
Tavris, 1977, II B.
Gronseth, 1971, V B.
Fannin and Clenard, 1966, IX B.
Blanchard, 1959, IX D.
Kanin, 1957, IX D.
Kanin, 1967, IX D.
Kirkpatrick and Kanin, 1957, IX D.
Dentler and Pineo, 1960, XI A.
Kraemer, et al., 1976, XII B.
Schiani and White, 1976, XII B.
Eisenhart, 1975, XIII A.
Bauman and Udry, 1972, XIV B.
Schulman, 1973, XIV B.

E. Nonverbal Behavior Toward Women

Henley, N. M. Body Politics: Power, Sex, and Nonverbal Communication, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.

This is the first book to deal exclusively with power in nonverbal communication. It presents a cogent analysis of this often neglected dimension of social interaction. Based on diverse sources, containing both extensive references and everyday examples, it is scholarly and readable. It provides a coherent structure for understanding the micropolitical gestures that sustain a system of power and privilege, whether based on sex, skin color, or any other arbitrary characteristic.

The book contains chapters on Space; Time; Environment; Language; Demeanor; Touch; Posture, Gesture, and Body Movement; Eye Contact; and Facial Expression. Each Chapter details the processes used by men to keep women "in their place."

Henly. N. and Thorne, B. She said/He said: An annotated bibliography of sex differences in language, speech and nonverbal communication. Pittsubrgh: KNOW Inc., P. O. Box 86031, Pittsburgh, PA 15221. First Published in B. Thorne and N. Henley (Eds.), Language and Sex. Rowley, Mass.: Newburg House, 1975.

This is an invaluable annotated bibliography of over 200 references on sex differences in language, speech patterns, and modes of non-verbal behavior. In the section on nonverbal communication the authors summarize seven sources on eye contact and behavior, six sources on touching, six on use of space, five on posture and movement, six on smiling, and ten more general sources on nonverbal behavior. Many of these references highlight aspects of male behavior toward women: e.g., men touch women more freely than vice versa, take up more space, etc. Men also interrupt women more frequently (4 references), dominate conversations more (18 references), and controlled choice of topics (4 references). The annotations are detailed, accurate, and candid. This collection should be the starting point for any study of nonverbal behavior or speech patterns.

VIII. Relationships With Men

A. Friendship Between Men

Lewis, R. A. Emotional Intimacy among men. The Journal of Social Issues. 1978, 34 (1), 108-121.

This recent review of the literature on male friendships and intimacy cites four important barriers to close male relationships. (1) Male competitiveness often subverts friendly interactions and inhibits disclosures of weakness or vulnerability. (2) The fear of being labelled homosexual prohibits physical contact under most circumstances and other affectionate gestures that might be misinterpreted. (3) The need to appear "in-control" serves to inhibit self-disclosure and candid sharing. (4) Men often lack role models of non-sexual intimate male friendships. Each of these barriers to male friendship appear to be tied to aspects of the traditional male sex role in the United States. The author describes a series of voluntary workshops in which men are working to overcome these barriers and to experience warm, trusting relationships with other men.

Farrell, M. P. and Rosenberg, S. Male friendship and the life cycle. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, 1977.

Subjects: 150 young men and 300 middle-aged men.

Method: Self-administered scales, projective techniques, and in-depth interviews.

Findings: The findings do not support the "classic" notion of the male's isolation and lack of friends. Indeed, 79% reported friends they see regularly. There are, however, changes over the life cycle. Marriage dramatically reduces contacts with friends, and they continue to decline until the first child leaves home when a slight increase is apparent. Discussion of intimate problems follows the same curvilinear pattern. Activities engaged in with friends also change from all-male to couple-oriented. The functions of friendships also vary over the the life-cycle and between social classes. In general, contact with friends heightens the characteristics of a particular age-status group, e.g. middle-class males with friends show less anomie whereas lower-class males with friends show more.

Comments: This paper reveals some of the complexities involved in studying male friendships. Minimally, the variables of life cycle, marital status, and social class must be taken into account when discussing the functions of friendship.

Pleck, J. H. Man to man: Is brotherhood possible? In G. Glazier-Malbin (Ed.), Old Family/New Family: Interpersonal Relationships. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975.

This is the most comprehensive current source on male friendship. In the first section the author reviews a wide range of studies which show that contemporary male relationships are less personal and intimate than those among women. "Male comaraderie" can be seen but seems to result in sociability rather than intimacy. Ties between males at each age level are often responses to common male role pressures and needs rather than to unique personal aspects of another person. In a brief but illuminating survey of changes in men's relationships during the present century, the author describes how male solidarity in a patriarchal society evolved toward earlier marriages, increasing emphasis on heterosexual experience and intimacy, and the diminution of older patterns of male recreation and solidarity. As men today seek to establish more meaningful relationships, three problematic issues are evident: men's relative lack of skills for handling intimate relationships, men's socialized tendencies to compete with each other, and men's crippling anxiety about homosexuality.

Booth, A. Sex and social participation. American Sociological Review, 1972, 37, 183-192.

Subjects: 800 non-institutionalized adults 45 years of age or older residing in two midwestern urban areas, randomly selected.

Method: Respondents were interviewed in detail about their friends, relatives, and participation in voluntary associations.

Findings: The only group of men who had more friends than a similar group of women were healthy, white collar married men. The qualities of the friendships differed, however: men were more likely to have friends of the opposite sex; women were more likely to have friends of the same age, to have weekly contact with them, to engage in spontaneous activities with them, and to confide in them.

Men participate in more voluntary groups than women, but they do not join sexually exclusive groups more often. They do not surpass women in the amount of time spent in participation. Men are more likely to participate in instrumental groups, i.e. economic, political, or military groups, and women in expressive groups, i.e., educational religious, recreational, and health and welfare groups.

Females maintain more kinship ties than males. Men are more oriented to their families of procreation than origin. In every case, men and women with rich kin resources reported richer interpersonal resources in other areas.

Comments: Lionel Tiger's hypothesis that men have a socio-biological propensity to form bonds with other men is disputed by these data. In only one very limited case do men's number of friendships exceed women's, and in every case women's friendships are affectively richer. In addition, these men are not more likely to seek sexually exclusive groups, and in fact have more cross-sex friendships than women. Although social class and age differences are apparent, they do not substantially affect these conclusions.

It should be noted that the author's labelling of groups as "instrumental" or "expressive" is conceptually weak. Working for the Heart Association, here called "expressive, would seem more task-oriented than membership in a veteran's organization, which is labelled "instrumental." This problem does not alter interpretation of the data.

Cross-references:

Olstad, 1973, II B.
Pleck, 1976, II B.
Lewis, 1972, III A.
Sears, 1977, III D.
Knupfer, et al., 1966, XI A.

B. Homophobia and Attitudes Toward Homosexuality

Morin, S. F. and Garfinkle, E. M. Male homophobia. Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34(1), 29-47.

These authors integrate a large number of recent studies on homophobia and discuss their relationship to the male role. Definitions and conceptualizations of homophobia are reviewed including both cultural and personal perspectives. The authors offer a complex conceptualization of homophobia involving several dynamics and levels of fear.

Recent survey studies are reviewed which indicate more positive views toward homosexuality in 1977 compared to 1970. Demographic patterns have produced conflicting results with education, for example, not always associated with more liberal attitudes. A number of studies using direct behavioral measures have indicated that there is a relationship between negative attitudes and interaction with homosexuals. Data on sex differences in homophobia are not clear, but in general the authors suggest that homophobia is stronger in males and toward males.

It is argued that homophobia functions to maintain the traditional male role. The association of homosexuality with "non-masculine" traits encourages the fear of being labelled homosexual and keeps men within the traditional confines of "masculine" behavior. Surprisingly, evidence indicates that homophobic attitudes are rather easily changeable, and the authors offer a number of possible positive outcomes from such changes.

Minnegerode, F. A. Attitudes toward homosexuality: Feminist attitudes and sexual conservatism. Sex Roles, 1976, 2(4), 347-352.

Subjects: 104 undergraduate students, 43 male and 61 female, enrolled in two developmental psychology classes.

Method: Subjects were given booklets which contained several scales: (1) the Dunbar, Brown, and Amoroso Attitudes Toward Homosexuality Scale; (2) the Dunbar et al. Sexual Liberalism-Conservatism Scale; (3) the Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp Attitudes Toward Women Scale in a shortened 25-item version; and (4) the Bem Sex Role Inventory which yielded measures of masculinity, femininity, psychological androgyny, and social desirability.

Findings: Women scored higher on femininity and lower on masculinity and they expressed more profeminist attitudes than men. Attitudes Toward Women and Sexual Liberalism-Conservatism were the two best predictors of Attitudes Toward Homosexuality as indicated by a multiple regression analysis. Positive attitudes toward women and sexual liberalism were associated with positive attitudes toward homosexuals. A larger proportion of men than women were judged anti-homosexual.

Comments: The author suggests that anti-homosexual and nonfeminist attitudes are related because both "homosexuality and feminism represent departures from, and challenges to, traditional definitions of sex roles." He does not speculate on why men were found to be more anti-feminist and anti-homosexual.

Morin, S. F., Taylor, K. E., and Kielman, S. J. Attitudes toward homosexuality and social distance. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Meetings, Chicago, September, 1975.

Subjects: 40/male and 40 female undergraduates

Method: Subjects were interviewed for 10 minutes by either a male or female experimenter who orally administered a specifically designed Attitude Toward Homosexuality Scale. In the experimental condition, the experimenter wore a "gay and proud" button and was introduced as working for the Association of Gay Psychologists. In the control condition, the same experimenter wore no button and was introduced as a graduate student working on a thesis. Social distance was measured by distance of chair placement in inches from the experimenter.

Findings: There was significantly greater distance in chair placement when the experimenter was identified as homosexual in orientation. This result was almost entirely a function of same sex pairings rather than opposite sex pairings of experimenter and subject. Male subjects reacted with greater social distance in interaction with a male experimenter perceived to be homosexual than did female subjects in interaction with a female experimenter perceived to be homosexual. There was a tendency to give more prohomosexual responses on the attitude measure when the button was present, but these differences were not significant.

Comments: These findings indicate one outcome of homophobia, an avoidance of proximity with a person identified as homosexual. Of particular interest is the finding that men prefer greater social distance from male homosexuals.

Dunbar, J., Brown, J., and Amoroso, D. M. Some correlates of attitudes toward homosexuality. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1973, *89*, 271-279.

Subjects: 126 male undergraduates enrolled in an introductory psychology course.

Method: Three types of paper and pencil measures were used. Attitude measures consisted of subscales of attitudes toward homosexuality, a liberal-conservative sexual behavior scale, and a measure of personal sex guilt scale. Each item was judged on a 6-point Likert scale. Sex-role stereotyping was measured by the presentation of 21 personality characteristics, 12 interests and hobbies, and 7 professions for which subjects indicated whether the item was more appropriate for women, men or neither. The measure of imputed homosexuality was a judgment of the

probability that a man was homosexual if he exhibited the character-
istics, interests, or professions labelled feminine.

Findings: All the attitude subscales were moderately but significantly
correlated: sexual conservatism and personal sex guilt ($r=.44$);
sexual conservatism and anti-homosexual prejudice ($r=.39$); sex guilt
and anti-homosexualism ($r=.24$). A comparison of the extreme quartile
groups on the attitudes toward homosexuality scale in terms of their
other attitude items, indicated that the anti-homosexual group was
more conservative in sexual practices and expressed more personal
sex guilt. The anti-homosexual group also differentiated between the
sexes on the sex-role stereotyping measures and were more likely to
judge a man homosexual when he had "feminine" traits, hobbies, or
professions.

Comments: The authors interpret these data as supportive of the idea
that anti-homosexual prejudice is associated with a generally sex-
negative set of attitudes which involves conservatism on heterosexual
practices and a rigid definition of sex-role behavior.

Cross-references:

Segal, 1962, IV C
Etkowitz, 1971, IV C
Clark, 1972, XI A

C. MALE HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND LIFESTYLE

Morin, S. F. An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Lesbianism and Male Homosexuality. JSAS Catalogue, 1976, 6, 15.

This annotated bibliography contains descriptions of the subject population and major findings of 139 empirical studies referenced in Psychological Abstracts from 1967-1974. All articles were included which were indexed under "homosexuality," "lesbianism," and "male homosexuality." Since the focus was on original research, case histories, treatment articles, theories and reviews of research were omitted. This bibliography should be a valuable resource and introduction to research on this topic.

Weinberg, M. S. and Williams, C. J. Male Homosexuals: Their Problems and Adaptations. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

This book reports a large scale sociological study of male homosexuals in three societies, the United States, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Patterns of relating to the homosexual world, the heterosexual world, and psychological problems are investigated and discussed. Homosexuality is conceptualized in terms of social statuses and roles rather than as an individual condition, and the various ways in which the male homosexual adapts to societal expectations and pressures are investigated. Strategies for both societal change and improved individual adaptation are discussed.

Freedman, M. Homosexuality and Psychological Functioning. Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1971.

This book provides a very readable analysis of the relationship between homosexuality and psychological functioning. Of particular interest to the researcher is a critical review of psychological literature on this topic covering several decades. The author adopts a behavioral definition of homosexuality and explicitly rejects the assumption of pathology prevalent in the clinical literature. He also criticizes the definitions of psychological functioning and "normality" in detail and discusses various levels of psychological functioning. Data are presented from a study of the author's which indicated no differences in general adjustment between lesbian and heterosexual women. Throughout the book, brief biographies of individuals are presented.

Cross-references:

Olstad, 1973, II B
Martin, 1976, IX C
Kraemer et al., 1976, XII B
Schiavi and White, 1976, XII B

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IX. ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

A. Studies of Male Aggressiveness

Taylor, S. P. and Smith, I. Aggression as a function of sex of victim and male subject's attitude toward women. Psychological Reports, 1974, 35, 1095-1098.

Subjects: Twenty male undergraduates who had very traditional attitudes toward women and twenty who had very liberal attitudes were selected from a pool of 500 introductory psychology students.

Method: Subjects competed with a male or female (confederate) in a reaction-time test. Prior to each of the 25 trials, each subject would choose the shock level (1 to 5) to be received by the opponent if the subject were faster. Actual win-rates were manipulated, and the subject received shocks on 12 trials. The received shocks gradually escalated in intensity during the experiment.

Findings: Traditional males gave opponents an average shock level of 2.5, liberal males a significantly lower (p .05) average of 1.9. Both groups gave higher intensities to male than to female confederates, and increased their levels in response to increasing levels of provocation.

Titley, R. W. and Viney, W. Expression of aggression toward the physically handicapped. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1969, 29, 51-56.

Subjects: Twenty male and twenty female volunteer 12th grade high school students from an upper-middle-class area.

Method: Subjects were told that the experiment concerned the accuracy with which individuals could estimate the pain threshold of others. Confederates were either male or female and on crutches or not. After being introduced to the confederate, the subject was seated in front of a shock generator and asked to turn up the rheostat switch to a point just below the pain threshold of the confederate. The switch was numbered 0 to 100.

Findings: Male subjects gave significantly greater shock than female subjects. A significant interaction between sex of subject and physical condition of confederate indicated that males gave greater shock to the disabled and females gave less to disabled than "normal" confederates. Another significant interaction indicated that males gave greater shock to females than to males, and females gave more to males than to females.

Comments: The authors suggest a frustration-aggression explanation for these data. Their argument is that handicapped people are frustrating, but that females are conditioned to be maternal and protective, and therefore they do not express aggression while males

are permitted freer expression. Similarly, opposite-sex persons are frustrating to adolescent subjects. The rationale for these assumptions is not given.

As the authors also note, this study may not concern aggression directly but rather judged pain thresholds as the subjects were told. Why male and female subjects should differentially judge the pain tolerance of handicapped persons and of members of the opposite sex is no clearer than the frustration-aggression hypothesis as it is used here. Judgments of pain threshold, of course, could be related to inflicting pain along with a number of other factors.

Nonetheless, the findings of this study, that young men are more likely to give shock to the handicapped and to women are startling and deserve further attention.

Leventhal, D. B., Shemberg, K. M., and VanSchoelandt, S. K. Effect of sex-role adjustment upon the expression of aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 8, 393-396.

Subjects: Ten males and ten females scoring very masculine (90th %) and ten males and ten females scoring very feminine (10th %) on the M-F scale of the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey were selected after screening 400 introductory psychology students.

Method: Each subject was paired with a male confederate who became the 'learner' in a Buss aggression paradigm. Each subject was instructed to give the 'learner' an electric shock for incorrect answers. Each confederate made 31 wrong responses, and shocks could vary from weak (#1) to strong (#10).

Findings: Masculine males (5.8) and Feminine females (5.0) gave higher shock intensities on the average than Masculine females (3.2) and Feminine males (2.9). Only the interaction of subject sex and M-F score was significant.

Comments: The authors refer to Masculine males and Feminine females as having "adequate sex-role identification," and Feminine males and Masculine females as having "inadequate sex-role identification" --a common but unfounded interpretation of the traditional M-F scales. They also considered intense shocking socially desirable. Since subjects were instructed that a shock following an error "usually produces faster learning," the "adequate identification" groups were said to have "the capacity to express aggression in situations requiring an aggressive response." This positive view of high shock intensities will strike most current readers as curious at best.

Knott and Drost (Psychological Reports, 1970, 27, 154) replicated this study with a slightly different procedure in which the subject was first shocked by the confederate, then allowed to counter-shock

as before. Masculine males used significantly higher shocks than the other three groups, who were clustered together.

Cross-references:

Cosentino and Hellbrun, 1964, I C.
Tavris, 1977, II B
Costrich et al., 1965, II C
Connor et al., in press, III B
Hicks, 1968, III C
Sears et al., 1957, III C
Serbin et al., 1973, III C
Gronseth, 1971, V A
Friedman and Rosenman, 1974, XI B
Kreuz and Rose, 1972, XII B
Meyer-Bahlburg, 1974, XII B
Persky et al., 1971, XII B
Elias and Dunning, 1966, XIII B
Schulman, 1973, XIV B
Ember, 1973, XIV D
Whiting, 1965, XIV E

B. MALE ROLE ISSUES IN DELINQUENCY AND CRIMINALITY

Silverman, I. J. and Dinitz, S. Compulsive masculinity and delinquency. Criminology, 1974, 2(4), 499-575.

Subjects: 284 boys ranging in age from 14-19, 54% white, 46% black, in a school for delinquent boys.

Method: A questionnaire was used which included (1) a "compulsive masculinity scale" (tough behavior and sexual athleticism), (2) a measure of impulsiveness, general hostility, and high-risk and excitement-oriented activities, (3) a measure of field dependency, including peer pressure, and (4) ratings of how "manly" or how "tough" he considered himself to be. In addition, the cottage supervisor, two cottage officers, and the cottage social worker rated each boy for toughness and manliness.

Findings: Race differences were significant for both self- and group-ratings of manliness with blacks having the higher mean scores. Toughness ratings were also in this direction but were not significant. Compulsive masculinity and implusiveness were also not significantly different. Blacks scored significantly more field dependent.

Scores on each measure were also examined across five types of household. There were no significant differences on self-ratings of manliness; the highest group-rated mean (mother-based) was significantly different from the lowest (father-based). On toughness the only significant difference was between natural parents and parent-and-stepparent homes. There were no significant differences on any of the other measures.

Comments: These investigators provide elaborate rationales about matriarchy and social status effects on compulsive masculinity for data that provide very few significant differences. In particular one should note that there were no such differences on the "compulsive masculinity" scale. This article must be read with a great deal of care and attention to inferences.

Fannin, L. F. and Clinard, M. B. Differences in the conception of self as a male among lower and middle class delinquents. Social Problems, 1966, 13, 205-214.

Subjects: All 16-17 year old boys in a training school in a mid-western state during the summer of 1962 who had resided in urban areas of at least 300,000 population were assigned a social class rank on the basis of their fathers' or guardians' levels of occupation and education. Of the three resulting groups (lower, working, and lower middle class) 25 boys were randomly selected from the lower and lower middle class groups.

Method: (1) Conceptions of self were measured by presenting lists of 15 traits from which the boys selected traits three at a time to characterize their actual selves, their ideal selves, and how they thought other people believed them to be (looking-glass selves). These traits were then scored 0-4 points. (2) Amount of physical violence, occupational aspirations, and sexual behavior were based on self-reports during a structured interview.

Findings: (1) Almost a third (32.2%) of the means from the first two lists and 22.2% of the means from the second two lists were significantly different by social class. Lower class boys judged themselves to be tougher and more powerful, fierce, fearless, and dangerous than lower-middle class boys. Unexpectedly, they did not judge themselves to be significantly more violent, hard, or pugilistic. Lower-middle class delinquents conceived of themselves as being more loyal, clever, smart, smooth, and bad. (2) Eighty-four percent of the lower class delinquents reported having committed at least one robbery or assault compared to 28% of the lower-middle class; 28% of the lower and 8% of the lower-middle had committed 10 or more violent offenses. Lower class boys fought singly and in groups significantly more often with 20% of them averaging five or more fights per month compared to 4% of the lower-middle class boys. More of them also reported carrying and using weapons. There were no class differences in forcible rape (12% in lower and 16% in lower-middle). (3) Occupational aspirations were manual for 80% of the lower class boys compared to 36% of the lower-middle class boys. (4) Sixty-eight percent of the lower class boys believed intercourse was the normal goal in dating a girl; while 40% of the lower-middle class boys said this.

Comments: It should be noted that despite the title, comparisons in this study do not include a middle class group. Self-conceptions between these two groups of delinquents (lower and lower-middle class) were quite similar. What differences there were the authors labelled as "tough guy" and "loyal and daring comrade" conceptions. The relationship of these self-conceptions to actual behavior cannot really be determined because all "behavioral" measures were partly, or completely based on self-report. Such reports would of course be confounded by the same factors that caused the boys to attribute the traits to themselves in the first place.

Toby, J. Violence and the masculine ideal: Some qualitative data. The Annals of the American Academy, 1966, 36(4), 19-27.

"Compulsive masculinity" is attributed to several sources: the sexual identification "problem" of being raised in a female-headed household; late maturation; and membership in social groups denied symbolic power. The author also presents verbatim interview material with a 25 year old reformatory inmate. Most of the conversation involves the inmate's reactions to the possibility of his wife's infidelity. In brief, he states he would maim or kill her and subscribes to an exaggerated and rigid double standard of sexual behavior.

The interview material presented, although interesting, is irrelevant to the predictions derived from the compulsive masculinity hypothesis. It does suggest a relationship between the masculine ideal and standards for sexual behavior.

Cross-references:

Harrington, 1970, I C
Gronseth, 1971, V A
Herzog and Sudia, 1973, VI D
Blanchard, 1959, IX D
Schuman et al., 1967, XI A

C. Domestic Violence

Steinmetz, S. K. The battered husband syndrome. Victimology, Winter, 1978.

The author argues that husband-beating is a common but ignored problem. To support her contention she cites comic strip data, some historical mentions of husband abuse, and the finding that husbands equal wives as victims of marital homicide.

Turning to a consideration of data more directly relevant to battering, the author cites a study in which 3% of husbands compared to 37% of wives listed physical abuse as a cause for divorce action. A study by the author estimated that 7% of wives and .6% of husbands would be victims of severe physical abuse. Data on types of physical violence used indicated similar overall violence scores for the husbands and wives. The author then argues that not only do a greater percentage of wives use physical violence but they do it more frequently.

Reasons given for ignoring the battered husband phenomenon include embarrassment by the husband and hence under-reporting to authorities and researchers, selective inattention by the media and researchers because of lack of terminology or conceptualization of the problem, and the greater severity of physical damage to women which make that problem more salient. Three causes for the greater severity of attacks by husbands are reviewed: (1) socialization of women away from aggression; (2) superior verbal ability of women which causes men to rely on physical means to assert dominance; and (3) superior physical strength of men. The latter explanation is chosen by Steinmetz as more plausible.

In a final section of the article, the author suggests several reasons why abused husbands might stay in the home. These reasons include psychological weaknesses, economic ties (because of course he would continue to support the family and it is more expensive to maintain two households), emotional attachment to the physical structure of the home, concern for the children (especially in defending them against an abusing wife/mother), and the belief that the family should be kept together for the sake of the children. Husbands do not protect themselves or fight back because of (1) chivalry and (2) recognition of the severe damage they might inflict.

Pleck, E.; Pleck, J. H., Grossman, M., and Bart, P. B. The battered data syndrome: A reply to Steinmetz. Victimology, Winter, 1978.

This critique is primarily directed toward Steinmetz reporting of the empirical data on battered husbands. The authors report that the data presented have several misstatements, such as the statement that wives' use of violence "often exceeds" husbands. The authors find a logical flaw in Steinmetz argument to dismiss data showing wife-beating to be far more common than husband-beating. This critique points

out that there may be an economic incentive for husbands to
report abuse by their wives in divorce action which would
mitigate or even cancel other reporting bias. Steinmetz neglects
to note that although marital homicide rates of husbands and
wives are nearly equal, wives have been found to have been
seven times more likely to have murdered in self defense.

After a brief consideration of other minor and major
flaws and incorrect inferences, the authors turn to the
impact of this line of research. They point out that both the
media and policy-makers are popularizing Steinmetz state-
ments that men are more abused and women more violent. The
authors find that the quality of scholarship becomes a critical
issue in examining this sensitive topic.

Martin, D. The batterer--What makes him a brute? In Battered Wives.
San Francisco, Calif.: Glide Publications, 1976.

In this chapter Martin discusses several factors which may contribute
to the likelihood of a man's beating his wife. Although data are scarce,
the suggestion is made that the batterer may be immature and have
feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. Episodes may be triggered by
the smallest event or indeed by no identifiable incident at all. Although
verbal arguments undoubtedly precede some episodes, this is probably far
less common than ordinarily believed. Histories of violence and
experience in the military, police, or other occupations which foster
and require violence may contribute. The relationship of social class
to violence is not clear because of vastly different reporting opportuni-
ties and requirements. Alcohol may be used as an excuse for violence
and it may trigger arguments that lead to violence, but it is not
necessarily a direct cause. Jealousy and pregnancy are described in the
same way: they may set the occasion for expressions of violence.

Batterers appear to accept very rigid definitions of sex-role
stereotypes. Martin suggests that what psychologists describe as
"adequate role models" actually teach "compulsive masculinity".
Children learn the brutal components of masculinity both in the home
and in contact with the larger society. From her own observations of
gay couples, Martin says that violence may occur in those that accept
stereotyped definitions of the relationship and that physical equality
is not the deterrant to violence one might expect. She believes that
"the potential for disappointment and frustration that can result in
violence is inherent in rigid male/female sex roles that foster the
dominance of one sex or partner over the other" (p. 66).

Gelles, R. J. The Violent Home: A Study of Physical Aggression Between
Husbands and Wives. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1972.

This book presents the results of a study of domestic violence.
Respondents were 66 wives and 14 husbands. Selection of families
focussed on those where violence was known or suspected. Equal numbers
of families were drawn from a private social work agency, police

records, and a control group of neighborhood families. The method
used was informal, unstructured interviews conducted mainly in
the home by either a male or female interviewer.

Descriptive data are presented on the nature and extent of
violence. Physical abuse, primarily by husbands against wives, was
found in 55% of the families. A typology of family violence is
developed by the author. Situational and social structural factors
are examined as well as the interaction between the victim and the
abuser. Gelles argues that the family is a training ground for
violence and that it is neither a series of isolated incidents nor
primarily cause by individual pathology.

Cross-references:

Munroe and Munroe, 1971, XIV E

D. Rape and Sexual Assault

Walker, M. J. Toward the Prevention of Rape: A Bibliography. Center
for Correctional Psychology, University of Alabama, 1975.

This bibliography contains over 150 annotated selections on
both the victim and the assailant as well as general societal issues.
The annotations where possible are taken from other abstracting
services and are therefore not critical or evaluated by the compilers
of the bibliography. There is also a large number of unannotated
selections. The result is an extremely comprehensive orientation
to the literature in the field. Material covered ranges from
research papers and government reports to crisis center publications
and popular articles.

Amir, M. Patterns in Forcible Rape. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1971.

Subjects: 1291 rapists (involved in 646 rape incidents) drawn from
records of the Philadelphia police from 1958-60 (including unsolved
cases).

Method: Records were coded for parties involved; race, modus operandi;
time, date, and location of incident; presence of alcohol; previous
record of rapist; and victim-rapist relationship.

Findings: Analysis of the above data was extensive. Highlights
include: rapists operated in pairs or groups in 43% of the cases.
Seventy-one percent of the rapes were planned. The age group most
likely to commit rape was 15-19 year olds. Comparing rapists with
other criminal offenders, rapists were not a distinctive group with
special characteristics, but rather were typical of youthful
offenders generally. Half had previous arrest records, but only
9% of these included rape as the reason for a prior arrest.

Kanin, E. J. An examination of sexual aggression as a response to
sexual frustration. Journal of Marriage and the Family, August, 1967,
428-433.

Subjects: 341 unmarried male undergraduates.

Method: Subjects were interviewed concerning offensively aggressive
sexual behavior, which was classified as attempted coitus which
the man himself perceived to be disagreeable and offensive to the
woman and which the woman responded to by fighting, crying, screaming,
pleading, etc.

Findings: Offensive sex aggression since entering college was reported
by 25.5% of the respondents. These sexually aggressive men were more

likely to have had sexual intercourse (67.3%) than the non-aggressive ones (37.9%). Aggressive men also stated that "most of the time" they attempted to neck and pet when dating (37.9%) compared to the non-aggressive men (19.3%). Sexually exploitative behavior other than physical aggression was also more characteristic of the aggressive men (80.5% vs. 27.3%); in particular, they were more likely to try to get the woman intoxicated and to falsely profess love.

These sexually aggressive men were more likely to report dissatisfaction (50.6%) than the non-aggressive men (30.7%). They also were more likely to be pressured by their peer groups for premarital experience (23%) compared to the non-aggressives (6%). Those who reported the most pressure indicated the most dissatisfaction.

Comments: Physical aggression appears to be only one of many tactics used by men characterized by the authors as "predatory" in their sexual behavior. This behavior seems to be prompted not by frustration from deprivation of sexual activity but by frustration from exaggerated aspirations supported by their peer groups.

Blanchard, W. H. The group process in gang rape. Journal of Social Psychology, 1959, 49, 259-266.

Subjects: Two groups of boys who had participated in gang rapes: three white members of a five-boy gang and four black members of a five-boy gang.

Method: Interviews were used which included a Rorschach and other psychological tests followed by a "Group Process Rorschach" for each group in which the group discusses and comes up with a single answer for each card.

Findings: Selected evidence is provided to illustrate the dominating qualities of the leader and his ability to influence the group decision as to the description of the Rorschach card. Both groups tended to reject the leaders' descriptions when they were overtly sexual. The leaders' gave more sexual responses in the group than they had individually.

Comments: The author interprets the sexual content of the leader's comments, although overtly heterosexual, as homosexual in meaning. In part this interpretation is because of the increase in sexual material in the group session compared to the individual session. However, these are boys who had shared a violent sexual episode and obviously are accustomed to discussing sexual matters; such material appearing in the group task is not surprising nor is the leadership of the leader. The homosexual attribution of the author does not seem to be supported by the data nor does it appear to add to the understanding of this group behavior.

Kanin, E. J. Male aggression in dating courtship relations. American Journal of Sociology, 1957, 63, 197-204.

Subjects: 262 female first-year college students

Method: The instrument used was a six page questionnaire about forceful attempts at intimacy by male partners which were "offensive and displeasing" to the woman. Five levels of intimacy were included: necking, petting above the waist, petting below the waist, sexual intercourse, and sexual intercourse involving "menacing threats or coercive infliction of physical pain." The women were asked about any such episode in their last year of high school and the following summer. Characteristics of the offended, characteristics of the relationship, some situational factors, and responses to the aggression were also determined.

Findings: Well over half (62.2%) of the women reported offensive episodes, 30% of which were attempted intercourse. Characteristics of the women, the frequency of dating, the number of men dated, and religious participation were not significantly associated with offensive aggression. Parental warnings and having an older brother were more characteristic of the non-attacked group than the victims of attack.

More of the offensive episodes took place in the more permanent relationships (44%) than among occasional daters (30%) or on first dates (26.2%). Episodes were also more characteristic of heterogamous rather than homogamous pairings, especially with respect to age. Twenty-five percent of the attacks occurred abruptly with no prior sex play. The men were "under the influence of alcohol" in 16.1% of the cases; the automobile was the most frequent location (69.3%). The women most frequently reacted by terminating the relationship (31.2%). Appeals to parents and other authorities were least common (15.9%) although parents were much more likely to be confided in if they had cautioned their daughters.

Comments: This article contains many interesting findings. The authors suggest that among the less involved dating pairs offensive behavior may be a consequence of poor communication, erroneous beliefs about female responsiveness to violent attacks, or incorrect information about the particular woman from other men. Among the more serious pairs, offensive behavior indicates exploitation resulting from emotional involvement.

Kirkpatrick, C. and Kanin, E. Male sex aggression on a university campus. American Sociological Review, 1957, 22, 52-58.

Subjects: 291 undergraduate women in various classes.

Method: An eight page questionnaire was used. It contained questions concerning offensive erotic behavior of male partners at five levels: necking, petting above the waist, petting below the waist, intercourse,

and attempts at intercourse involving "menacing" threats or
coercive infliction of physical pain.

Findings: Over half (55.7%) of the women reported offensive episodes
at sometime during the year. Twenty-one percent were offended by
forceful attempts at intercourse and 6.2% by violent attempts.
Seasonally, the more intimate offensive encounters seemed to occur
during the spring. Repltition of offensive behavior was more likely
in the intermediate "petting" categories than the extreme categories.
Emotional reactions predominantly involved anger although fear did
increase with more violent and intimate offenses. In general, the
episodes were discussed with the partner and very rarely reported
to authorities.

Comments: The author concludes that in courtship relationships there
is a progressive pattern of exploitation, involvement, ambivalent
resistance, awareness of shared stigma, and reduced reliance upon
institutional controls.

Cross-references:

Kirkendall, 1958, VII D

X. Some Other Traits Associated with the Male Role

A. Inexpressiveness and Self-disclosure

Allen, J. G. and Haccoun, D. M. Sex differences in emotionality: A multidimensional approach. Human Relations, 1976, 28(8), 711-722.

Subjects: 61 male and 61 female undergraduate psychology students.

Method: The measure used was an "Emotionality Survey" divided into four 16-item subsections labelled "responsiveness," "expressiveness," "attitudes," and "situations." Each dimension covered anger, fear, joy, and sadness.

Findings: Females reported more overall responsiveness than did males, but the differences were significant only for fear and sadness. Females also reported more expressiveness for each emotion, but the sexes differed more in expressing fear and sadness than joy and anger. Males express more joy and sadness to opposite-sex targets and more fear and anger to same-sex targets; whereas females express more of each emotion to opposite-sex targets. In terms of attitudes toward emotion, the only sex difference was females' more positive orientation toward joy. Both sexes preferred expressions of positive emotion from the opposite sex and expressions of fears from females rather than males. In the descriptions of situations in which subjects reported feeling emotions, females gave a somewhat larger percentage of interpersonal responses (60%) than did males (53%).

Comments: These data indicate that males report less emotionality than females, particularly for fear and sadness. Most revealing was the finding that both sexes judge it more acceptable for females to express fear.

Derlega, V. J. and Chaikin, A. L. Norms affecting self-disclosure in men and women. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1976, 44(3), 376-380.

Subjects: 128 male and female students in an introductory history class.

Method: Subjects read four case studies and evaluated the main character on a series of 9-point rating scales. The case study concerned either a male or female stimulus character, who had a personal problem involving either the death of a sister or the psychiatric hospitalization of a mother, and who did or did not disclose that problem to a male or female seat-mate on an airplane. The rating scales included psychological adjustment, liking, and masculinity-femininity.

Findings: The male stimulus person was judged much better adjusted when he failed to disclose, and the female was judged better adjusted when she disclosed. The female stimulus person was liked better under high disclosure than nondisclosure whereas the male was liked about the same under both conditions. Not surprisingly, women were judged more feminine but there was also a main effect for disclosure: highly disclosing persons were rated more feminine. There were no effects for sex of subject.

Comments: The findings of this study indicate the differential norms for disclosing of personal problems for men and women. The results suggest that nondisclosing men are judged better adjusted and more masculine. The authors caution that the topics were limited to personal problems; the norms may not apply were the men to disclose details of a business venture or sexual conquest.

Morgan, B. S. Intimacy of disclosure topics and sex differences in self-disclosure. *Sex Roles*, 1976, 2(2), 161-166.

Subjects: 32 male and 32 female day and evening college students, ranging in age from 18-33.

Method: The 25-item self-disclosure questionnaire (Jourard, 1961) was administered in classes. Ten of the items were counted as low-intimacy, ten as high-intimacy, and five were discarded. Subjects rated on a 3-point scale to what degree they had disclosed information on each topic to each of 4 target persons: mother, father, best male friend, and best female friend. An alternative "x" was provided for misrepresenting such information; it was scored as a "1," no disclosure.

Findings: There were no sex differences in overall amounts of disclosure. However, there was a significant intimacy by sex interaction: males disclosed less on highly intimate topics. There was also a main intimacy effect indicating that both men and women disclosed less on high-intimacy than low-intimacy topics. Friends received more information of all kinds than parents, especially on intimate topics. Fathers received the least information. Age effects were also explored but no consistent patterns emerged.

Comments: The author concludes that men are less expressive and disclosing than women on intimate topics. He points out that had only total scores been examined, this sex difference would have been masked by overall similar disclosure scores. He suggests that fathers receive less information because of this basic sex difference, i.e., they give less information and therefore reciprocally receive less.

Komorovsky, M. Patterns of self-disclosure of male undergraduates. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, November, 1974, 677-686.

Subjects: 62 males randomly selected from the senior class at an Ivy League male college.

Method: The measure was a questionnaire consisting of 56 items grouped under 5 topics: Attitudes, Work or Study, Money, Personality, and Body. Adapted from Jourard and Lasakow ("Some factors in self-disclosure," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958, 56, 91-98)., Administered between first and second interviews of larger study (see Komorovsky "Cultural contradictions..." VII A). Respondents were asked to rate from 0-3 the extent to which they have disclosed information on each topic to various people in their lives.

Findings: The closest female friend was the primary confidante in all areas except Money for which parents were selected. The amount of disclosure to each role partner for the other five areas followed the pattern: female friend, male friend, mother, father, brother and sister. Except for communications to father on the subject of money, father and sister were the recipients of the least information. The main disadvantage of a male friend as a confidante was competition according to the interviews. There was some support for the relationship of sexual intimacy and psychological intimacy based on comparisons between virgins and non-virgins. Mothers received more disclosures than fathers and the relationships were more positive. Sexual behavior was the area of greatest reserve between sons and parents. Respondents from homes where fathers had 12 years of schooling or less did not suffer from a general inability to be open but were less open to their parents.

Comments: The author concludes that cross-sex psychological intimacy may be occurring at a younger age, because these data contradict prior studies. She speculates that women's and men's liberation movements may reverse this trend. In terms of the stereotype of the "inexpressive male," she hypothesizes that although the total disclosure scores of college males may be lower than college females, in their most intimate relationships, the sexes may not differ. Unfortunately, this study provides no data to test these two interesting suggestions.

Cozby, P. C. Self-disclosure: A literature review. Psychological Bulletin, 1973, 79(2), 73-91.

This review describes the instruments used in studies of self-disclosure and some of the validity problems that exist. It then covers literature on self-disclosure as a personality construct and in interpersonal relations.

In summarizing the sex difference research, the author notes that in general it is asserted that females have higher disclosure scores than males. However, just as many studies have found no sex differences. One suggestion has been that there are geographical differences in sex role expectations, but no consistent pattern has emerged. Cozby suggests that since no study has been reported showing greater male disclosure, actual sex differences may exist. Their nature could be determined by examining in detail types of items and situations which reliably discriminate between males and females.

Rivenbark, W. H. III.   Self-disclosure patterns among adolescents.
Psychological Reports, 1971, 28, 35-42.

Subjects: 76 boys and 73 girls in grades 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12.

Method: Self-disclosure was measured by 40 items scored on a zero to
   four point scale across four target persons: mother, father, best
   female friend, best male friend.

Findings: In general, girls disclosed more than boys.   The girls showed
   no significant change in disclosure to parents between the 4th and
   12th grades while males indicated very little disclosure in grades 8
   and 12.   There was a significant increase in disclosure to peers with
   age.   Mothers were the most favored target, receiving significantly
   more disclosures than fathers, female friends, and male friends in that
   order.   Same-sex friends were preferred to opposite-sex friends.   The
   amount of self-disclosure to fathers did not decrease with age relative
   to mothers as had been predicted.

Comments: This study indicates that fathers are the second favorite
   target of disclosure among these children; by 12th grade, however, the
   pattern of father receiving least information of the four targets was
   apparent.

Cross-references:

   Olstad, 1973 II B
   Pleck, 1976 II B
   O'Neill, et al., 1976 III B
   Gronseth, 1971 V A
   Spillane and Ryser, 1975 VII D

B. Self-confidence

Cole, D., King, K., and Newcomb, A. Grade expectations as a function of sex, academic discipline, and sex of instructor. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 1977, 1(4), 380-385.

Subjects: 644 male and 606 female students enrolled in introductory courses in the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

Method: All classes were visited in the first 5 minutes of the first class session, and each student was asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire, indicating the student's year in college, sex, accumulated grade point average, and the grade they expected to get in the class. Sex of instructor was noted: 14 were women and 23 were men.

Findings: Overall, male students predicted significantly higher grades than female students. All predictions tended to be quite high, however: the male mean was 3.52 and the female mean was 3.42 out of a possible 4. The effect was equally true of entering and returning students and was most pronounced in the natural sciences, least evident in the humanities. Neither previous academic performance nor sex of the instructor influenced this finding. In actual achievement, the mean grades were practically identical for the two sexes and were lower than the predictions.

Comments: The authors interpret these data as indicative of male confidence rather than female modesty or sense of incompetence since all predicted a highly competent performance. They suggest that socialization made it easier for the men to voice confidence or boast than it was for the women.

Levine, R., Reis, H. T., Turner, E. S., and Turner, G. Fear of failure in males: A more salient factor than fear of success in females? Sex Roles, 1976, 2(4), 389-398.

Subject: 128 undergraduate students enrolled in introductory psychology, half men and half women.

Method: Subjects competed against one another on an anagram task in same- or mixed-sex pairs. The level of difficulty was such that a winner was prearranged. Afterward, they were asked to attribute their performance to luck or skill and to rate their opponent on a series of dimensions.

Findings: A significant sex of subject by outcome interaction revealed that the men were more likely to attribute their successes to skill and failures to chance; women did not differ by outcome in these attributions. Men's attributions of failure to luck were particularly apparent when partners were male. Ratings of opponents on the series of personality, attractiveness and happiness dimensions indicated none of the predicted stereotypes such as derogation of female winners and male losers.

Comments: The authors suggest that the bias evident in the men's attributions to skill and luck indicates the importance of fear of failure to the male sex-role. They also raise the possibility that traditional sex-role behavior is more difficult to modify in men. The finding that these men did not derogate successful women is an unusual one.

Wallston, B. S. The effects of sex-role ideology, self-esteem, and expected future interactions with an audience on male help-seeking. Sex Roles, 1976, 2(4), 353-365.

Subjects: 99 male high school or college students, age 15-29, recruited through a newspaper advertisement and paid $2.

Method: Prior to the experiment, subjects completed and returned by mail an 18-item modified version of Sherwood's self-concept measure and a 7-item Likert scale on sex-role ideology developed for this study. Scores on these two scales were dichotomized at the median. Subjects were run in individual sessions. The task was to rate taped dialogues for neuroticism and was described as a task that females or males did well on. All subjects thought their responses were being overheard by peers, but half the subjects expected to meet them afterwards. A helper, male or female, was available by walkie-talkie to provide assistance. All subjects were given failure feedback at the end of each dialogue. The procedure was continued until the subject either requested help or completed 8 dialogues. Dependent measures were (1) reported embarassment throughout the experiment and (2) the frequency of help-seeking.

Findings: Subjects with a traditional sex-role ideology sought help in the following way: those with low self-esteem were more likely to seek help on a male-defined task; those with high self-esteem were more likely to seek help on a female-defined task. For subjects with a feminist orientation, self-esteem and sex-label of the task made no difference in help-seeking. The reported embarassment results are complex but fail to confirm the expected relationship of heightened embarassment with expected future interaction and indicate that embarassment is high when seeking help.

Comments: There are many interesting aspects to this article. The author presents a social-learning model of help-seeking. She successfully demonstrates that sex-label of a task is a "central" concept to traditional men but not to feminist men. This general sex-role ideology appears to influence men's ability to ask for help.

C. Irrational Competitiveness

Vinacke, W. E., and Gullickson, G. R. Age and sex differences in the formation of coalitions. Child Development, 1964, 35, 1217-1231.

Subjects: 300 subjects: 30 boys and 30 girls aged 7-8; 30 boys and 30 girls aged 14-16; 90 male and 90 female college students. The youngest subjects were recruited through a park recreation center. Recruitment procedure for the middle groups is not stated. Data for college students were drawn from a previous study.

Method: Same sex triads were formed at each age level. They engaged in a parchesi-like game where power was distributed by random assignment of weights. Three power relations were established: all equal; unequal where any two were more powerful than one; unequal where one was more powerful than the combined other two. The number and kinds of alliances and aspects of bargaining behavior were measured.

Findings: There are strong age effects with younger triads showing few sex differences and behaving in a manner similar to females at all ages. The young adolescent group behaves much like the college-age group but occasionally like the younger group. In terms of overall accommodative strategy, there are no significant differences among females at the three age levels (30%, 20%, 41%), but a significant trend for the males away from accommodation as they got older (60%, 10%, 7%).

Comments: The authors interpret these data as reflecting the socialization of males away from accommodative bargaining strategies and toward more exploitative behavior. As they mention themselves, there are questions about the intrinsic interest of the game and the grasp of its fine points. However, the essential meaninglessness of the game makes the boys' increasing competitiveness with age even more surprising.

Vinacke, W. E. Sex roles in a three-person game. Sociometry, 1959, 22, 343-360.

Subjects: 360 college student volunteers, mostly from psychology courses; half were male and half were female.

Method: 120 same-sex triads were formed to play a parchesi-like game in which six types of power-patterns could be established. Power was distributed by a random selection of weights assigned to each player. The players competed for a prize, but were free to form coalitions if they wished and to make deals concerning the division of the prize. Sixty groups of each six played 18 games, three of each power type, under two conditions of motivation, independent games or cumulative score. Play was analyzed in terms of outcome, initiation of first offer, agreements reached, and bargaining behavior.

Findings: (1) The two sexes, under both motivation conditions, are similar in the general sense that the two weaker members of the triad tend to ally against the stronger in those types of power patterns where members are unequal in strength but any pair can win by allying, and to form few coalitions when one member is all.powerful.

(2) The two sexes differ in the following respects: (a) females more often fail to form coalitions; (b) females more often arrive at triple alliances; (c) females more often form coalitions when none is necessary; (d) females agree upon less disproportionate divisions of the prize. These sex differences do not reach significance in the cumulative score conditions.

Comments: The authors suggest that the differences between the sexes may be accounted for by a male concern with winning, whereas females are more oriented toward working out an equitable outcome, as satisfactory as possible to all three participants. This conclusion must be interpreted within the general context of sex similarities in the game. Especially important is the lack of differences in the cumulative score condition which the authors say may increase the interest of the game for the female subjects.

Cross-references:

Komarovsky, 1974 X A
Friedman and Rosenman, 1974 XI B
Elias and Dunning, 1966 XII1.B

7

XI. Mental and Physical Health and the Male Role

A. Mental Health and Adjustment

Clark, Don. Homosexual encounter in all-male groups. In L. Solomon and B. Berzon (Eds.), New Perspectives on Encounter Groups, Jossey-Bass, 1972.

This chapter describes the use of homosexual concerns and desires in gay and straight men's groups. Clark believes that self-understanding arises in the context of recognizing and exploring a wide variety of male-male affectional ties which are generally unrecognized in this society. He states that such understanding is a necessary facet of male liberation, especially in making the various roles less rigid. In this brief chapter, he suggests some of the methods he uses in male encounter groups.

Knupfer, G., Clark, W., and Room, R. The mental health of the unmarried. The American Journal of Psychiatry, 1966, 122, 841-859.

Subjects: 785 adults drawn from an area-probability sample, representing married and unmarried women and men.

Method: Interviews consisting of precoded and open-ended questions, covering the topics of symptoms of maladjustment, indicators of childhood stress, indicators of personality traits, social isolation, autonomy and conformity.

Findings: More single men describe themselves as lonely and unhappy than any of the other groups; they are more depressed than married men but less depressed than married women. Women report more anxiety and worry and phobic reactions, particularly married women. Single men report the most antisocial tendencies and indicators of severe neurotic symptoms. In terms of childhood stress, single men report the most and single women the least. Single men describe themselves as lacking leadership qualities compared to married men and single women. Single men are also more likely to be socially isolated than single women. Single men rank the value of freedom much higher than all other groups and indicate less moral strictness.

Comments: The authors note that single men, the least happy group, are more stereotypically masculine in their lack of moral strictness and value to do as they choose. Similarly, married women, in many ways also an unhappy group, are more stereotypically feminine in their passivity and phobic tendencies. The authors also suggest that being unmarried creates "expressive hardships" for men.

Mussen, P. Longrterm consequences of masculinity of interests in adolescence. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1962, 26(5), 435-440.

Subjects: 26 of the 39 male subjects of the original study of the correlates of masculinity of adolescent interests (Mussen, 1961) were the subjects for this study 20 years after the original data were collected. Fourteen of them were from the high-masculine adolescent group and 12 from the low-masculine group.

Method: Interviews, lasting from 2-6 hours, and covering a broad range of topics, were conducted by highly trained clinical psychologists. The interviewer, who had no knowledge of other data on the subjects, subsequently made 86 impressionistic ratings of the subjects on a variety of traits including self-expressiveness, sociability, poise, emotional tension, drives, cognitive attributes, sexual and work adjustment, introspection, and self-sufficiency. Seven-point scales were used. Thirty-one of these rated variables were considered relevant to this study. In addition, subjects' occupations were rated by two psychologists as either masculine, feminine, or appropriate for either sex.

Findings: All ratings were dichotomized at the median and Fisher's exact test was applied to the frequency of subjects high and low in masculinity of interests who were rated high on the 31 variables.

There were four significant differences between the groups: more subjects who had scored low in masculinity of adolescent interests were judged sociable, having social leadership, and introspective; more subjects who had scored high in masculinity of adolescent interests were judged sexually adjusted. In addition, there were statistical trends toward high masculine subjects being judged self-sufficient, adaptable to stress or trauma, but less often self-accepting or socially assured.

In terms of occupational choice, subjects high in masculinity of adolescent interests were more likely to have chosen masculine careers.

Comments: These data indicate that high masculine identification during adolescence may have deleterious consequences in adulthood, particularly in terms of social skills.

Mussen, Paul. Some antecedents and consequences of masculine sex-typing in adolescent boys. Psychological Monographs, 1961, 75(2), Whole No. 506.

Subjects: The data were drawn from the longitudinal records of the University of California Adolescent Growth Study begun in the late 1930's. Of 68 male 17- and 18-year-old seniors in high school, 39 were chosen who represented extreme scores on the M-F subscale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank; they were the 20 most masculine and the 19 least masculine.

Method: There were 8 sources of data: (1) TAT scores based on 18 pictures, scored for frequency of father-positive, father-negative, mother-positive, and mother-negative statements and for n Achievement, n Aggression, and negative characteristics. (2) Clubhouse ratings by 3 members of the staff, including a number of expressive character- istics, social orientation, social status, and appearance, attitudes, and activities. (3) Institute ratings by 3 staff members who observed free play and rated personal characteristics and social behavior during periodic visits. (4) Drive ratings of 9 "under- lying" drives made by 3 staff members using accumulated data. (5) The Reputation Test: classmate nominations for word descriptions used to determine subjects' reputation for restlessness, talkativeness, activity, humor, friendliness, attention-getting, etc. (6) The University of California Adjustment Inventory (UCAI), a self-report schedule of 270 items about personality characterisitcs and adjustment. (7) The California Personality Inventory (CPI) administered 16 years later. (8) The Edwards Personal Preference Inventory administered 16 years later.

All data were treated the same: scores on all tests and ratings were dichotomized at the median, and subjects were categorized as either "high" or "low" on each variable. One-tailed Chi-square tests were then applied to ascertain whether or not high scores on certain variables were more frequently associated with one group—those high or low in masculinity of interest—than the other. Although the author reports many trends in the data, only those results reaching the traditional level of significance are reported here.

Findings: (1) The TAT scores indicated that a significantly greater proportion of highly masculine boys scored high on the "father- positive" variable.

(2) Of the TAT scores related to n Achievement, n Aggression, and negative characteristics, only the last indicated a significant difference between the two groups: more of the low masculine interest group attributed negative characteristics to the heros of the stories. The Clubhouse ratings on 15 characteristics indicated 4 significant differences: more low masculine interest subjects were judged emo- tionally dependent on the opposite sex, having social interest in the opposite sex, "talking" interest in the opposite sex, and seeking attention from the opposite sex. Of 9 Institute ratings only one was significant: more high masculine interest subjects were judged as displaying "masculine behavior." Additional Institute ratings indicated more masculine interest subjects were judged to have "good musculature" although "masculine physique" differences did not reach significance. One of the 7 Reputation Test scores indicated a significant difference: more of the low masculine subjects were rated "humorous" by their peers. Of the 7 drive ratings, one was attributed with differential frequency to the two groups: more low masculine interest subjects were judged to be motivated by "recognition."

(3) On the UCAI, there was no significant difference overall nor on the 8 subtests. The Clubhouse Ratings indicated differences in 2/10 variables: more high masculine subjects were judged "carefree" and "content." Similarly, more high masculine subjects were judged "carefree" and "relaxed" in the Institute Ratings. The only significant difference on the Reputation Test was on the attribution of restlessness by peers: 65% of the group low in masculine interest but only 33% of the high masculine group were judged high on this variable.

(4) On the CPI, administered 16 years later, 4/13 variables were significantly different: more of those low in masculine interest scored above the median on dominance, capacity for status, self-acceptance, and social presence. On the Edwards' Personal Preference Inventory, a difference was found on only 1/15 of the needs assessed: more of those whose interests had been highly masculine during adolescence scored high in n Abasement.

Comment: This ambitious study has at least two important strengths. First, there are many different kinds of measures: projective, self-report, and judgments of staff and peers. Second, and perhaps most important, it is a longitudinal study covering a 16-year time frame and involving subjects in their late teens and mid-thirties.

There are some weaknesses, however. One is the statistical procedures used. The division of all scores into high and low and the use of one-tailed chi-squares might have masked some interesting findings. The main problem, however, is that the theorizing and interpretation overwhelm the data. There is an emphasis on trends that support the hypotheses while dismissing contradictory evidence. In fact it is very difficult to untangle the relatively few significant findings from the mass of data reported. An excellent example of this problem is the finding, contrary to the original hypothesis, that in adulthood the men who were masculine sex-typed in adolescence are less well-adjusted than the men who were not so sex-typed. The author suggests several reasons why this finding does not mean what it seems to mean, i.e., that there are long-range negative outcomes of "appropriate" sex-typing. He says that perhaps responses to the "need abasement" items reflect "the ability to face personal problems" and therefore healthy adjustment. Similarly, he suggests that perhaps the low masculine group has developed extensive defense mechanisms by adulthood and are demonstrating these whereas the high masculine group is answering "more directly and frankly." In this article he is reluctant to accept the conclusion he later adopted, that "appropriate" sex-typing in adolescence can have deleterious long-range consequences.

Dentler, R. A. and Pineo, P. Sexual adjustment, marital adjustment, and personal growth of husbands: A panel analysis. Marriage and Family Living, 1960, 22, 45-48.

Subjects: 398 white, middle-class husbands drawn from a panel of 1,000 engaged couples first studied by Burgess and Wallin between 1937

and 1938 (<u>Engagement and Marriage</u>, New York: Lippincott, 1953)

Method: For a description of the marital adjustment and sexual adjustment measures, the reader is referred to Burgess and Wallin (op. cit.). The "personal growth" measure is a 9-item Likert questionnaire asking, "What have you gained from the marriage?" and providing a list of responses, e.g. "made my life more interesting," "made me happier."

Responses were gathered during the fifth and fifteenth years of marriage.

Findings: Dividing scores dichotomously into "high" (approximately 2/3 of the subjects) and "low" (approximately 1/3), marital and sexual adjustment scores for the two periods were compared using contingency tables. The main findings were that adjustment scores are stable over the ten-year period, but when there is a change, it is toward decline and from convergent levels of adjustment in early marriage toward divergent levels in the middle years. Marriage adjustment and sexual adjustment were equally likely to change.

The relationship between personal growth and marital adjustment is more complex. The main finding was that early marital adjustment is a better predictor of later personal growth than early personal growth is of later adjustment.

Comments: These data indicate that, contrary to the hypothesis; general marital adjustment does not determine sexual adjustment but either can influence the other. Early marital adjustment is also strongly related to the later perception of benefits of the marriage ("personal growth").

The strength of this study is that it is concerned with male adjustment to marriage longitudinally, covering a 10-year period. One major problem is that the range of adjustment is limited since those who might not have adjusted, the divorced, are not included in the study.

Green, A. W. The middle class male child and neurosis. <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 1946, <u>11</u>, 31-41.

In this article the author contrasts the child-rearing practices of an immigrant Polish community and white middle class urban practices. He argues that it is neither love-frustration nor the imposition of arbitrary authority that leads to neurosis. In fact, both are present in abundance in the immigrant community and yet the incidence of neurosis is low. Rather, it is several other factors which are unique to modern America: a personality absorption of the child against a background of parental ambivalence, the reiterated threat to withdraw parental love which the child has been conditioned to need; and a discontinuity between the submissive behaviors the child was expected to display to the parents and the independence and assertiveness required in the outside world.

Considerable attention is given to the role of the father in the development of this pattern. Fathers, it is argued, find children social and economic liabilities in urban society in their pursuit of career success. Male children are hypothesized to suffer more from paternal ambivalence and rejection because they are attempting to emulate their fathers. In addition, the discontinuity in expectations is greater for the male children between early ones in the home and later ones outside the home.

Cross-references:

Ehrenberg, 1960 I A
Farrell, et al., 1976 I B
Gutman, 1976 I B
Harry, 1976 I B
Rosenberg and Farrell, 1975 I B
Sears, 1977 I B
Cosentino and Heilbrun, 1964 I C
Gray, 1957 I C
Hartford, et al., 1967 I C
Webb, 1963 I C
Pleck, 1976 II B
Costrich, et al., 1975 II C
O'Neill, et al., 1976. III B
Useem and Useem, 1958 IV A
Cavan, 1959 IV B
Gronseth, 1971 V A
Wilmott, 1968 V A
Booth, 1977 V C
Burke and Weir, 1978 V C
Curtis, 1955 VI A
Lacoursier, 1972 VI A
Lees, 1975 VI A
George and Wilding, 1972 VI E
Pleck, 1978 VII B
Ginsberg, et al., 1972 VII D
Rodgers, 1965 VII D
Harlow, 1951 XII A
Parker and Kleiner, 1969 XIV B
Munroe and Munroe, 1971 XIV E

B. Physical Health

Harrison, J. Warning: the male sex role may be dangerous to your health. Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34(1), 65-86.

This review article examines previous research and current data relevant to the biogenetic and psychosocial explanations for men's shorter life expectancy than women's (68.7 vs. 76.5 years in 1975), and for the increase in the male-female differential in life expectancy from 1900 to 1975 (from 2.0 to 7.8 years). Differential rates of conception and prenatal mortality are considered. Some 1972 data concerning causes of death which show high sex ratios and which account for more than 1% of all deaths are reviewed in detail. The effect of sex role norms on disproportionate sex ratios is considered. It is estimated that three-fourths of male-female difference in life expectancy can be attributed to factors deriving from sex role socialization, of which smoking and "coronary prone" behavior appear to be the largest components.

Waldron, I. and Johnston, S. Why do women live longer than men? Journal of Human Stress, 1976, 2 (March), 2-13 (Part I); 1976, 2 (June), 19-29 (Part II).

The authors review literature related to the sex mortality ratio for all major causes of death and argue that the causes of death with the highest sex mortality ratios all have major behavioral components. In the contemporary U.S. mortality is 60% higher for males than for females. Forty percent of the excess is due to arteriosclerotic heart disease, which is more common among men in part because they smoke cigarettes more than women do, and apparently also because they more often adopt the competitive, aggressive Coronary Prone Behavior Pattern. Men who do not develop this Behavior Pattern may have as low a risk of coronary heart disease as comparable women.

One third of the sex differential in mortality is due to men's higher rates of suicide, fatal motor vehicle and other accidents, cirrhosis of the liver, respiratory cancers and emphysema. Each of these causes of death is linked to behaviors which are encouraged or accepted more in males than in females: using guns, drinking alcohol, smoking, working at hazardous jobs, and seeming to be fearless.

Thus, the behaviors expected of males in our society make a major contribution to their elevated mortality. Together these causes of death account for three-quarters of the sex differential in mortality in the contemporary U.S. The authors conclude that sex differences in behavior are a more important cause of higher male mortality than are any inherent sex differences in physiology. Furthermore, substantial reductions in men's excess mortality can be achieved by cultural and behavioral changes in life style.

Friedman, M. and Rosenman, R. H. Type A Behavior and Your Heart. New York: Knopf, 1974.

This book describes the Type A, coronary-prone behavior pattern and its relation to heart disease. It is written in a popular style by two physicians but contains some data supporting the hypothesis. In general, the authors focus on describing the behavior pattern, offering quick assessment tests, and suggesting alterations in behavior and life-style.

Type A behavior is said to be characterized by a particular complex of personality traits, including excessive competitive drive, aggressiveness, impatience, hostility, and a harrying sense of time urgency. In a prospective study of 3500 men begun in 1960, the authors found that neither diet nor exercise predicted the subsequent coronary heart disease in the 200 participants who developed it. However, Type A men were three times more likely to get heart disease. Laboratory studies with rats indicated that damage to the hypothalamus led to competitive, hostile behavior and to a higher serum cholesterol level. Although Type A behavior occurs more frequently in men, when women do exhibit it, the physiological correlates are the same.

The interesting aspect to the Type A behavior pattern is that its characteristics so closely resemble the prescription for the male sex-role in this culture. Much current research is being done on this topic and the original insight is being refined and delimited. Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that traditional masculine behavior may have serious physiological outcomes.

Schuman, S. H., Pely, D. C., Ehrlica, N. J., and Selzer, M. L. Young male drivers: Impulse expression, accidents, and violations. Journal of the American Medical Association, 1967, CC, 1026-1030.

Subjects: 288 unmarried males, 16-24 years of age.

Method: 30-minute interview conducted at various locations where young men congregate, e.g., drive-in restaurants, beaches, etc.

Findings: 35% reported one or more accidents during the past year; another 30% reported previous accidents but not in the past year. Almost half (44%) reported one or more tickets for moving violations during the past year. Almost half of all first accidents occurred before the legal driving age of 18 and tended to be minor, involving property damage only. Accidents and moving violations both decreased with age. Several questions designed to measure emotional factors in driving also yielded scores which decreased with age. The youngest group said they were more likely to get angry, take chances, and use driving as a way to let off steam. Alcohol use, and confidence in driving skills increased with age along with traffic fatalities and pedestrian involvement.

Comments: This study explores some possible reasons for traffic accidents among an extremely high risk group, young males. It is suggested that males under 21 use driving as an emotional outlet but low mileage and other factors keep accidents limited in consequences. Young adult males are more confident of their driving ability and may take risks which lead to accidents of a more serious sort. Either set of factors are part of a narrow, rigid definition of masculinity.

Lee, R. E. and Schneider, R. F. Hypertension and arteriosclerosis in executive and nonexecutive personnel. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1958, 167, 1447-1450.

Subjects: 1,171 male executives at three levels of responsibility and 1,203 nonexecutives (of whom 563 were female).

Method: For an average of five years all participants were subjected periodically to a complete medical history, physical examination, urinanalysis, complete blood cell count, chest X-ray, and electrocardiogram. Four major clinical categories of hypertension were considered. Patients with arteriosclerosis were separated into three major groups. Percentages of each type of illness within each work category were calculated and compared by Chi-square.

Findings: For hypertension there was a lack of association between the executive state and the disease. Actually, hypertension was almost significantly more frequent in nonexecutives. Females of comparable age had fewer hypertensive ailments. For generalized arteriosclerosis, top executives had a somewhat greater incidence than the other classes but less than nonexecutives of a comparable age (over 40). This same pattern was evident for arteriosclerotic heart disease and for myocardial infarction.

Comments: These data are somewhat surprising given the widespread assumption of a relationship between executive responsibilities and increased cardiovascular ailments. This study indicates that it is nonexecutive men of a comparable age who are more at risk for these types of ailments.

Cross-references:

Gutman, 1976 I B
Cobb, 1974 IV B
Burke and Weir, 1978 V C
Balswick, 1972 VII D
Rodgers, 1965 VII D

XII. Physical and Physiological Factors in Male Behavior

A. Physique and Behavior

Montemayor, R. Men and their bodies: The relationship between body type and behavior. The Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 48-64.

This is a thorough and objective review of the available literature on the relation between physique and male behavior. Various measures of body size and configuration have been correlated with intelligence, math, spatial, and verbal abilities, impulsivity, college major, vocational interests, need achievement, M-F scores, teacher ratings, peer ratings, self ratings, parent ratings, values, and juvenile delinquency. Most of the obtained relationships were low in magnitude and inconsistent from one study to the next. There is some evidence for modest relationships between body type and verbal ability, delinquency, and behavioral ratings of masculine behavior patterns and temperament. The author observes however that most of the significant findings involve behavioral ratings by teachers, parents, or friends. Since research has shown that most individuals have strong prior stereotypes about body types and personality, it is quite possible that the modest relationships obtained in these studies originated in the eyes of the beholders. Montemayor concludes that if there is a relationship between men's bodies and their behavior it is probably quite small in magnitude.

Petersen, A. C. Physical androgyny and cognitive functioning in adolescence. Developmental Psychology, 1976, 12 (6), 524-533.

Subjects: 35 male and 40 female adolescents, mainly white, middle- and upper-middle-class living in small towns or rural areas in Ohio (drawn from Fels Research Institute study).

Method: The cognitive measures for spatial ability were taken from the Wechsler-Bellvue Test and the Primary Mental Abilities Test; those for fluent production were the Digit Symbol and Word Fluency tests from the same instruments. Physical measures were ratings of physical development (muscle development, genital or breast size, and overall body shape) and pubic hair distribution. The ratings were based on nude whole-body photographs from three views and were done by two raters for each individual at each age (median reliability = .71). Measures were taken for each subject at three ages: 13, 16, and 18.

Findings: The usual sex differences on these standard tests were found: males were better at the tests of spatial ability than females at all three ages; females were better at fluent production at ages 13 and 16 but not at 18. The physical measures showed developmental effects toward more masculine body characteristics for the boys and more feminine for the girls.

The relationship between cognitive and physical measures showed spatial ability and masculinity negatively related in males and positively related in females; therefore, it was the least masculine males but most masculine females who demonstrated the most spatial ability. Fluent production was positively related to masculinity in males and unrelated in females.

Comments: Several alternative explanations are presented for these data. The one preferred by the author is that the relationship of cognitive measures and physical development is influenced by the sex hormones. Another possibility is based on spatial ability, late-maturing, and hemispheric lateralization. This reasoning would suggest that it was the immature boys and girls who demonstrated superior spatial ability. In general, developmental effects and variations present many difficulties for testing the hormone hypothesis as the author notes.

Biller, H. B. and Liebman, D. A. Body build, sex-role preference, and sex-role adoption in junior high school boys. <u>Journal of Genetic Psychology</u>, 1971, <u>118</u>, 81-86.

Subjects: Working and middle class 9th grade white boys from a Northampton, Massachusetts junior high school. From a total of 98 boys, 39 were selected on the basis of their clear-cut body build: 13 were mesomorphs (muscular); 13 ectomorphs (thin); and 13 endomorphs (fat). Groups were matched in terms of SES and age.

Method: 1. Classification into groups was done on the basis of the "ponderal index" (height in inches divided by the cube root of the weight in pounds). Ectomorphs were at least 1.5 standard deviations (SD's) above the mean; endomorphs at least 1.5 SD's below the mean; mesomorphs were within 1 SD of the mean and at least 1.5 above the mean on chest girth. 2. The measure of sex-role preference was a 60-item true-false questionnaire drawn from the M-F scale of the MMPI and the Fe scale of the OPI. 3. The measure of sex-role adoption was the mean of two teachers' ratings on a 20-item scale including 10 "masculine" items (e.g., active and energetic, stands up for his rights, daring and adventuresome) and 10 "feminine" items (e.g., sensitivity to others' feelings, displays manners, responsive to authority).

Findings: 1. The preference and role-adoption measures were not significantly related. 2. There was a trend but no significant difference among the three groups on the sex-role preference measure. 3. There was a significant overall difference among the three groups with respect to sex-role adoption. Teachers judged mesomorphs as more masculine and more feminine than either ectomorphs or endomorphs. 4. Masculine and feminine sex-role adoption scores were significantly correlated.

Comments: The authors discuss their results in terms of self-concept, especially self-perceptions of physical inadequacy. They say, "Boys with unmasculine physiques...probably have great insecurity and anxiety concerning masculinity." There is no evidence in this study to support this assertion since there is no measure of self-concept or of insecurity or anxiety. The significant results relate solely to teachers' ratings of the boys on stereotypic traits. These ratings indicate that teachers judged the mesomorphs both more "masculine" and more "feminine" than the others. As the authors note, all traits were worded in a "very positive socially desirable" direction. The attribution of more of all traits to the boys in the socially desirable body-build category leaves open the question of the relationship between body build and masculine characteristics.

Harlow, R. G. Masculine inadequacy and compensatory development of physique. *Journal of Personality*, 1951, 19, 312-333.

Subjects: 40 subjects in all, equally divided between an experimental and a control group. Sixteen of the experimental subjects were recruited from a gymnasium in Boston and four were Harvard undergraduates; the primary criterion was that they have an enthusiastic interest in weight training. Control subjects were matched in method of selection, age, education, SES, and general interest in athletics but no interest in training with weights.

Method: 1. TAT: Six of Murray's cards were used. 2. A sentence completion test was devised using Murray's and MacKinnon's test as a base for the 23-item test. Testing was done individually. Protocols were scored on a 4-point scale by scorers blind to the condition.

Findings: Of the 18 variables scored, there were significant differences between the two groups on 13. Weight-lifters were judged as having more feelings of rejection, hostility toward mother, narcissism and heterosexual and homosexual impulses. They significantly differed from non-weight lifters on one test by having more concern about masculine symbols, hostility in the environment, inability to cope with the environment, social inadequacy, dependency feelings, reaction formation, conflict-autonomy/compliance, and conflict-collapse/counteraction. Interestingly, there were no differences on physical inadequacy nor on insecurity and inadequacy as a child, hostility toward father, aggression toward women, or need for mastering a situation.

Comments: This study attempted to test hypotheses derived from Freudian theory. The specific hypotheses were that weight-lifting men would differ from non-weight-lifting men in terms of the following characteristics: 1. abnormally acute feelings of male inadequacy; 2. exposure from early in life to a depriving and frustrating environment; 3. a failure to identify with an adequate male object; 4. an excessive amount of narcissism; 5. underlying

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dependency feelings. The author concludes that these data vindicate the predictive power of psychoanalytic theory and the validity of projective techniques as well as confirming a personality pattern characteristic of weight-lifters.

Although there are an impressive number of differences between the two groups, the relationship of the variables tested to the hypotheses is not always clear and the seemingly most face-valid reason for lifting weights, physical inadequacy, did not differentiate the two groups.

Seltzer, C. C. The relationship between the masculine component and personality. In C. Kluckholm and H. A. Murray (Eds.), Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture (1st ed.) New York: Knopf, 1948.

Subjects: 258 male college students from the Grant Study at Harvard, classified into two groups of body build by inspection of nude pictures: (1) strong masculine component (90%); and (2) weak masculine component (10%).

Method: Three measures were used: (1) Staff psychiatrists' ratings on various personality dimensions; exact measures not described; (2) achievement tests; (3) self-reports of academic interests and career choice and athletic participation in college.

Findings: (1) The psychiatric ratings are reported in terms of percentages of individuals of each group placed in each category. The general pattern the authors assert is a well-integrated personality with "vital affect" for the strong masculine component group and a less well-integrated personality with creative and intuitive overtones for the weak masculine component group. (2) Those with weak masculine component scored higher on verbal tests and nonsignificantly lower on math tests. (3) Weak masculine component individuals have academic concentrations in the areas of arts, letter, and philosophy rather than the natural sciences or social studies and tend to choose careers in teaching, fine arts, government, and the ministry rather than business. (4) Differences seem to exist between the groups in the kind of athletic participation but not the amount: non-contact sports were chosen by the majority of subjects but a greater percentage of those weak in masculine component made this choice (85% vs. 65%). In the traditional group contact sports were chosen by 20% of those strong in masculine component but only by 1% of those weak in masculine component.

Comments: This early study tells more about the traditional ideal of masculinity than the subjects or the variables under study. It has numerous methodological flaws, the most critical of which is the initial classification of the subjects. Who and how many rated the nude photos, using what specific criteria, is never described.

The author's bias is clear throughout from the initial decision
to label the dichotomy "strong" and "weak" to the conclusions that
"the less masculine variety of individuals" were less athletic
because of their "lack of physical fitness" and "poor muscle
coordination." Since his own data do not support this interpretation,
one can only assume that the author has an additional bias against
noncontact sports.

Gilkenson, H. Masculine temperament and secondary sex characteristics:
A study of the relationship between psychological and physical measures
of masculinity. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1937, 19, 105-154.

Subjects: 204 male students, white, mainly between the ages of 18-22.

Method: The Stanford Attitude-Interest Analysis Test (M-F Test)
was used as the measure of psychological masculinity. Measures of
physical masculinity were body measures, particularly shoulder and
hip width, hair abundance, and pitch of voice.

Findings: Pitch of the speaking voice correlated moderately ($r=.34$)
with the M-F Test; hair abundance and hip-shoulder measures did not.
Interestingly, pitch was also the only physical variable that was
frequently mentioned as part of the stereotype of masculinity:
The various physical characteristics did not correlate with one
another.

Comments: This study, done over 40 years ago, represents an early
concern with the relationship of physical and psychological factors.
The author provides a general discussion of the possible relationships
between masculine secondary sex characteristics and masculine person-
ality with a strong emphasis on the biological underpinnings of
both. The lack of relationship between the secondary sex characteris-
tics of these subjects is interpreted as implying independent,
multiple biological causation suggesting that sex is not a single,
biological entity. Similarly, the author suggests that masculine
attitudes and interests can be attributed either to multiple,
biological factors, taken singly or in combination, or to various
social and environmental factors. He concludes, however, that
masculine personality is not related to physical masculinity
in any simple way and that physical masculinity itself is multi-
dimensional.

Cross-reference:

Harrington, 1970, I C.

because of numerous methodological problems in reported studies.
The data suggest, however, that the effects of castration and
hypogonadal states are quite variable with most men indicating lessened
sexual interest and activity but some showing no changes. Hormonal
replacement studies are based on case reports or group studies that
do not control for experimental bias and placebo effects. Data
relevant to endogenous testosterone variations suggest that sexual
arousal and activity may result in increased testosterone level
rather than being caused by it. The review of studies of impotent
men free from organic disease furnishes inconsistent evidence regarding
androgen function. The review of recent pharmacological research
fails to furnish specific evidence that the administration of androgens
or preparations capable of stimulating endogenous androgen production
have beneficial effects on functional impotence. In terms of
androgens and male homosexuality, the bulk of evidence is against
the existence of abnormalities in plasma testosterone in homosexual
men.

   In conclusion, the authors state that the evidence is contradictory.
They suggest methodological refinements for subsequent studies.

Meyer-Bahlburg, H. F. L., Boon, D. A.; Sharma, M., and Edwards, J. A.
Aggressiveness and testosterone measures in man. *Psychosomatic
Medicine*, 1974, 36, 269-274.

   Subjects: The Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory was mailed to 150
   randomly selected male college students. One dollar was offered
   for responding to it, and 87 (58%) responded. The six students
   scoring highest and lowest respectively on Factor II (see description
   of Persky et.al., this section) of the Inventory were paid $25
   to participate in a laboratory session. One member of the low
   group was later dropped.

   Method: Four blood samples were drawn between 8:30 and 11:00 a.m.
   During this period, testosterone was infused into each subject's
   veins. Plasma testosterone level, production rate, metabolic
   clearance rate, urinary excretion rate, and epi-testosterone
   were determined,

      While receiving testosterone infusion, subjects completed a
   battery of paper-and-pencil tests including the Buss-Durkee Hostility
   Inventory, the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, the Guilford-Holly
   L Inventory, the Megargee Overcontrolled Hostility Scale, and the
   Multiple Affect Adjective Check List.

   Findings: The subjects who had scored very high and very low
   respectively on B-D II showed no difference whatsoever on any
   of the testosterone measures.

Comments: This study was an attempt to replicate Persky et al,
1971. The use of extreme-scoring subjects made it considerably
more likely that a difference in testosterone would be discovered
if such a difference existed.

Kreuz, L. E., and Rose, R. M. Assessment of aggressive behavior and
plasma testosterone in a young criminal population. <u>Psychosomatic
Medicine</u>, 1972, <u>34</u>, 321-332.

Subjects: Twenty-one white male prisoners at Patuxent prison in
Jessup, Maryland. The prisoners were all from working class
backgrounds, had WAIS IQ scores of 90 or above, and ranged in
age from 18-35. All were habitual criminals and had been convicted
of murder (4), armed robbery (8), assault (3), burglary (4), rape (1),
or destruction of property (1). They had an average of 4 previous
imprisonments and had first been incarcerated at ages ranging
from 6 years to 22 years (mean=14 years).

These subjects were selected from the larger prison population
by the device of choosing 11 "fighters" and 11 "non-fighters"
on the basis of their behavior while in prison. Fighters were
defined as prisoners who had been in two or more fights and had
been in solitary confinement two or more times per year. Most
of the non-fighters had never been in a physical fight while in
prison. One "fighter" refused to take part, reducing the final N
to 21.

Method: Six blood samples were taken between 7 AM and 8 AM during
a two week period. Plasma testosterone was determined by the
competitive protein-binding method.

Unusually accurate and detailed records of each prisoner's
social behavior had been maintained by this institution. Prison
records contained specific frequencies of each subject's aggressive
behavior, including: physical fights, verbal aggression with
threats, refusing to obey orders, cursing officers, destroying
property, setting fires, creating disturbances, and possessing
concealed weapons.

During the 2-week test period each subject filled out the IPAT
Anxiety scale, the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale, and
the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory.

The authors also recorded specific data from prison records
on each subject's frequency and type of early criminal behavior.

Findings: Plasma testosternoe level had no relation to frequency of
fighting ($r=-.06$, n.s.), no relation to verbal aggression and
threats ($r=-.13$, n.s.), and no relation to any other index of
aggressive, defiant, or anti-social behavior.

Plasma testosterone level had no relation to the Buss-Durkee scale (r=-.03, n.s.) or to either of the other paper-and-pencil measures. Buss-Durkee scores had no relation to fighting or other aggressive behavior (r=.11, n.s.), but did correlate highly (r=.67) with the IPAT Anxiety scale, supporting suggestions that the Buss-Durkee is functionally a measure of anxiety.

The authors rank-ordered the subjects by plasma testosterone level and examined the criminal records of each. There was no relation to severity of crime: e.g. murderers had average testosterone levels. The 10 subjects highest in testosterone had adolescent convictions for: escaping from an institution (4), robbery (3), assault (1), attempted murder (1), and murder (1). The authors labelled these 5 offenses "More Violent and Aggressive Criminal Behavior", and reported that age of first conviction for a crime in this More Violent category correlated -.65 with present testosterone level.

Comments: An objective reading of this study clearly points to a conclusion that testosterone had no relation to fighting, aggressiveness, anti-social behavior, or type of criminal activity. The reported correlation with age of first conviction for a "more violent" crime is obviously a contrived finding capitalizing on post-hoc inspection of the data. "Escaping from an institution" (e.g., a boarding school for delinquent boys) would not impress most observers as an especially "Violent and Aggressive" offense (as compared to burglary, for example) but the authors apparently included it in this category because the two men highest in present testosterone (and 4 of the top 10) had run away from institutions at a young age. Many reviewers (e.g., Maccoby & Jacklin, p. 246) have uncritically cited the contrived post-hoc correlation as evidence of an androgen-aggression link, while ignoring the excellent behavioral data on current physical aggressiveness which showed zero relation to plasma testosterone.

Persky, H., Smith, K., and Basu, G. Relation of psychologic measures of aggression and hostility to testosterone production in man. Psychosomatic Medicine, 1971, 33, 265-277.

Subjects: (1) 18 male college volunteers, aged 17-28. (2) 15 adult research workers at a medical center, aged 31-66, mean age 45.

Method: Four blood samples were drawn under laboratory conditions between 9:00 AM and 10:25 AM. During this period radio-labelled testosterone was infused into each subject's veins. Plasma testosterone level (PL) was determined by competitive protein-binding. Testosterone production rate (PR) was determined by averaging the radioactivity concentrations of samples 2, 3, and 4.

While receiving testosterone infusion, subjects completed a battery of paper-and-pencil tests, including the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List, the IPAT Anxiety Scale, the MMPI Manifest Anxiety and Depression Scales, and the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory.

Findings: A total of 21 correlations between testosterone indices and psychological test scores were computed for the college sample (N=18); only 3 were significant. The highest was .66 between PR and the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory. The authors then divided the B-D scale into 2 sub-factors and found a correlation of .69 between one factor (B-D II) and PR. They then added three other psychological scores to B-D II and computed a multiple correlation of .90 with PR. The authors concluded that the four psychological indices "accounted for 82% of the variance in the production rate of testosterone for the younger group." (p. 265)

For the sample of research workers (N=15), none of the 24 correlations was significant. (B-D x PR, which had correlated .66 in the first sample correlated .03 in this group.) No multiple R was computed.

Comments: This study has been widely cited as evidence for a link between testosterone and human male aggressiveness. However, the method of data analysis is problematic and thus the conclusion does not seem warranted.

Correlations obtained with samples this small (18) are apt to contain error variance; the authors capitalized on chance variations by generating as many correlations as possible and focusing on the highest single one (r=.66). By splitting the B-D scale into two parts and again choosing the highest number, they were able to get a correlation of .69. By adding the other 3 variables that correlated best with PR, they were able to get a multiple R of .90. With a sample this small and a series of post-hoc selections and revisions of variables, it is quite possible to get an R of .90 through the operation of chance factors alone.

Findings contrived out of error variance tend not to replicate however, and this is clearly what happened in the second sample. While the average age difference might be expected to alter the obtained figures somewhat, the pattern of correlations in the second sample is totally different, and not one approaches significance. Meyer-Bahlburg et al. (1974) also replicated this study with a college sample and found no such relationship (see elsewhere this section).

Finally, it should be noted that this study contained no actual observations or measurements of human male aggressiveness. Despite the word "hostility" in its title, the Buss-Durkee scale has never been shown to have any relationship to aggressive or hostile behaviors. It did not correlate with fighting in a study by Krenz and Rose (see elsewhere this section) or with other paper-and-pencil measures of hostility. Several commentators have concluded that the Buss-Durkee scale is actually a measure of anxiety.

Cross-reference:

Petersen, 1976, XII A.

XIII. Male Role Issues in Institutions

A. Military Service

Arkin, W., and Dobrofsky. L. Military socialization and masculinity.
Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 151-168.

This theoretical article analyzes the military as an important
source of "secondary socialization" for the male role. The dynamics
of military recruitment are examined. Processes in basic training
are explored in detail in terms of imagery or "archetypes" concerning
males, females, the team, and the family. Some attention is paid to the
implications of the current shift to an all-volunteer armed force and to
the military as an occupation.

Stouffer, S. A. et al. Masculinity and the role of the combat soldier.
In D. S. David and R. Brannon (Eds.), The Forty-nine Percent Majority.
Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1976.

In this brief selection from a volume of readings on the American
soldier, the authors describe how combat soldiers regard masculinity.
The common core of the definition involves courage, endurance and toughness,
lack of squeamishness, avoidance of displays of weakness in general, reticence
about emotional or idealistic matters, and sexual competency. Some data
are presented regarding the characteristics attributed by veterans
to combat soldiers of varying ranks.

Eisenhart, R. W. You can't hack it little girl: A discussion of the
covert psychological agenda of modern combat training. Journal of
Social Issues, 1975, 31 (4), 13-23.

Based on personal experience in the Marines, clinical experience
with veterans, and a review of the available literature, Eisenhart
provides an analysis of the components of combat training, its outcomes
for the individual, and its relationship to the Vietnam War. He describes
three interlocking aspects of the psychological agenda of combat training
in Marine boot camp: the acceptance of psychological control, the
equation of masculine identity with a military performance, and the
equation of the entire military mission with raw aggression. This
agenda, along with the encouragement of racism and general cultural
insensitivity, provided a training experience for the recruits which
was dysfunctional in terms of the stated goals of the Vietnam War, and
which was psychologically harmful both during the war and in terms of
readjustment after the war. In particular, the association of violence
with masculinity and sexuality led to what Eisenhart terms "impacted
sexuality".

Wagner, H. The impact of military service on the male adolescent. Adolescence, 1975, 10 (37), 71-74.

This article suggests several beneficial aspects of military service for the adolescent. While dismissing the "five to ten percent" of men who cannot adjust to military life and probably could not adjust to any employer or institution, the author describes military routine as providing "an opportunity to grow up", "a new perspective" on travel and the future while relieved of decision-making responsibilities, and many educational opportunities. Indeed, the author concludes that for the adolescent "seeking to find himself and to master the needed developmental tasks, the military service might just be the institution which can provide the smoothest transition from childhood to adulthood."

This paper provides no data to warrant the assertions of positive impact of the military life style on adolescent development.

Spencer, G. Methodological issues in the study of bureaucratic elites: A case study of West Point. Social Problems, 1973 (Summer), 90-103.

As a case study of commonweal organizations, Spencer describes the nature of the study of military elites, suggests reasons why bureaucratic elites shun research by outsiders, describes the methods used for controlling access to data, and provides some strategies for obtaining data. His own guiding research interest is in the formation of an elite corps that is highly inbred and highly conservative through a process of initial selection and selective attrition. He presents data that show that the percentage of officers with career military fathers increases from 21% of undergraduates to 37% of career officers. Similarly, political attitudes that are conservative are espoused by 32% of entrants but 67% of career officers; twice as many liberals resign. The middle-of-the-road group is about evenly split, and the majority of conservatives remain in the military.

The author suggests five reasons why research by outsiders is discouraged: (1) bureaucratic rigidity and threat to personal careers; (2) the potential threat to the power of the institution; (3) the threat to the subjective reality constructs of the institution; (4) the problem of the legitimacy of the researcher; and (5) the problem of exchange. The techniques of data control involve classification of documents, concealment of available information, lengthy delays, and requirements for written approval. The research strategies suggested include participant observation, entree techniques and the use of informants, and maximal utilization of available documents. The ethical issues involved are discussed in detail within the larger context of access to information in a democratic society.

Goertzel, T. and Hengst, A. The military socialization of university students. Social Problems, 1971 (Fall), 258-267.

Subjects: 136 male cadets enrolled in the Army Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program and 318 male undergraduates randomly sampled at the University of Oregon.

Method: Questionnaires were mailed to 450 male undergraduates; all the ROTC cadets filled out the same questionnaires. They included questions about background and several attitude scales, measures of personality traits, and beliefs relevant to military behavior.

Findings: There were no background differences between the two groups on grade point average, size of hometown, father's education, reported parental income, or father's strictness. The ROTC cadets were significantly less religious on three measures and reported that their mothers had less education and were less strict.

ROTC cadets scored higher on measures of authoritarianism, misanthropy, and punitiveness, but did not differ from the other undergraduates on measures of self-confidence and neuroticism. Opinion questions indicated that ROTC cadets are more likely to favor a strong military posture, including development of stronger weapons and more hawkish views on Vietnam. Surprisingly, 30% of the ROTC cadets agreed that ROTC should not be allowed on campus; 39% of the other undergraduates agreed.

Cadets scored significantly higher on a scale of aggressive nationalism and lower on a scale of peace responsibility than the other undergraduates. Cadets also scored higher on political conservatism and intolerance and lower on political alienation. Although the responses of both groups were in a generally liberal direction, the ROTC cadets scored higher on a belief in imperialism scale and a scale which reflected a view of higher education as providing vocational training rather than a liberal education.

Comparisons across the four years of college indicated that within each group, students in the first two years were more conservative than upper class students. For the ROTC cadets, however, recruitment of the younger students took place in an atmosphere of hostility toward the practice, and the sample may be quite different. In order to determine socialization influences of the university and of ROTC, longitudinal data would be required.

Comments: These findings do not support the assertion that Army ROTC cadets are using the corps as a means of mobility, either from poverty backgrounds or from small town, highly religious communities. Although all these students appear somewhat liberal in their attitudes and opinions, the ROTC students are significantly less so. The authors suggest that the university may have some liberalizing effects on the students and that ROTC cadets may be somewhat insulated from this influence. Further research is required on this point and on comparisons of ROTC students and other officer cadets.

B. Athletics

Stein, P. J. and Hoffman, S. Sports and male role strain. Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 136-150.

This theoretical article analyzes the sex role strain experienced by male athletes and non-athletes in childhood, adolescence, and college. Komarovsky's typology of role strain (Dilemmas of Masculinity, New York: Norton, 1976) provided the basis for this analysis. Athletes experience ambiguity of norms, decreasing internal and external rewards for role performance, structural insufficiency of resources, role conflict, overload of role obligations, and role-intrinsic anxiety and physical damage. Non-athletes experience an incongruity between their personality characteristics and the demands of the male (athletic) role.

Coleman, J. S. Athletics in high school. In D. David and R. Brannon (Eds.), The Forty-nine Percent Majority. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1976.

This author discusses the relative value of athletics and scholarship in high schools. In a study of ten high schools in the midwest, it was found that athletic stars were much more visible and were accorded higher status than scholars. When asked to name the best athlete and the best scholar in their classes, first and second year students in particular were more likely to be able to name the former. When asked how they would like to be remembered at school, first year students were more likely to choose "athletic star" at the end of the year than at the beginning.

In an analysis of the members of leading cliques in four schools, the one attribute shared by every boy in every leading clique in the first year was being out for either football, basketball, or both. In later years, this athletic emphasis was less pronounced. Student ranking of attributes needed for popularity, however, confirmed the importance of athletics for all students; it ranked far above any other item. Another study cited, done in a large New York high school, indicated the generalizability of these results. Of eight fictitious characters, all athletes had higher acceptability ratings than any non-athletes. Brilliance had little effect in increasing acceptability, and studiousness actually reduced it.

This paper describes the importance of athletics in the male adolescent status heirarchy. It is noted that schools as institutions encourage this exaggerated emphasis which is particularly displayed by impressionable first year male students.

Miller, R. L. and Carson, G. L. Playboy stuff and other variables:
Scholarship, athletics, and girl friends. *Journal of Social Psychology*,
1975, 95, 143-144.

Subjects: 169 male dormitory residents.

Method: In a room survey the presence or absence of Playboy-type
pictures was noted as well as the presence or absence of pictures
of young women who might be girl friends. Academic performance
was either high (GPA above 3.0) or low (GPA below 2.0). Participation
in athletics was determined by membership on a regular varsity team.

Findings: Contingency tables indicated that male students with a
GPA above 3.0 were significantly less likely to display Playboy-type
pictures than those with a GPA below 2.0. Athletes were more likely
to display Playboy-type pictures than nonathletes. The presence or
absence of a conventional photograph of a young woman did not differen-
tiate between those with and without Playboy pictures.

Comments: This study suggests not only a focus on females by athletes
but a particular kind of view of woman as symbolized in the nude
photos.

Elias, N. and Dunning, E. Dynamics of group sports with special reference
to football. *British Journal of Sociology*, 1966, 17, 388-401.

These authors attempt to extend the theory of small group dynamics
by application to the special case of football, which includes soccer
and rugby. Key concepts necessary for studying these games are
introduced.

Football is characterized as a type of group dynamics which manages
controlled tensions between two subgroups. Competition between the
groups and cooperation within them are operative at the same time, and
a delicate balance between the two is necessary.

A brief history of football shows a decline in the level of permitted
violence over the 450 years some form has been played. Changes in rules
to limit violence were opposed because the game might become "unmanly,"
Again, a delicate balance between violence and control is struck.

Although this article does not directly address the male sex role
issues in football and related sports, the description of the game
as one of controlled violence and competition played only by men suggests
a relationship.

Cross-reference:

Tuddenham, 1951, III C.

XIV. Sub-cultural, Cross-cultural, and Historical Comparisons

A. Working-class Masculinity

Shostak, A. B. Blue-collar work. In D. S. David and R. Brannon (Eds.), The Forty-nine Percent Majority. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1976.

Among the many status problems-involved in blue-collar work is the desire to interpret the meaning of the work in such a way as to "affirm manhood." The author suggests some of the strategies male blue-collar workers use to compensate for the lack of control and threat of mechanization and meaninglessness in the work place. Sex, race, and class tensions affect worker relationships because of the limited ability of white blue-collar men to use work to assert their masculinity.

Hacker, H. M. Class and race differences in gender roles. In L. Duberman (Ed.), Gender and Sex in Society. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

In this book chapter, the author explores the definition and functioning of sex roles among various social classes (upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, working, and lower) and in the black sub-culture. In the analysis of social classes, Hacker argues that the most change is occurring in the middle classes and that across all classes, the pressure for change is being initiated by women. With regard to black families, data are offered relevant to several dominant aspects of the stereotype: matriarchy, less emphasis on marriage, and less puritannical attitudes. Hacker reviews the problems in attempting to untangle the influences of history, economics, and ethnicity.

Hacker provides a broad overview of sex roles within social classes and between blacks and whites. Although the focus is not specifically on the male role, relevant data and generalizations about varieties of male role experience are offered, particularly in terms of family functioning.

Cross-references:

Farrell et al., 1976, I B.
Tausky, 1969, IV A.
Dublin, 1956, IV A.
Morse and Weiss, 1955, IV.A.
Cavan, 1959, IV B.
Wilmott, 1968, V A.
Parke and O'Leary, 1976, VI B.

Radin, 1972, VI D.
Hoffman, 1961, VI D.
Spillane and Ryser, 1975, VII D.
Farrell and Rosenberg, 1977, VIII A.
Booth, 1972, VIII A.
Fannin and Clinard, 1966, IX B.

B.   Black Males and Masculinity

Staples, R. Masculinity and race: The dual dilemma of black men.
Journal of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 169-183.

   This article delineates the special status of black males in
contemporary society. Some of the common stereotypes about black
males during slavery, specifically their alleged emasculation, domination
by women, and low self-esteem are examined, and alternative explanations
proposed. The socialization process and problems of contemporary
black youth are described. How blacks interpret and carry out the
roles of lover, husband, and father are analyzed. Finally, black
male sexism and the response of black feminism to it are discussed,
as are the future problems and prospects for black men in American
society.

Schulman, G. I. Race, sex, and violence: A laboratory test of the
sexual threat of the Black male hypothesis. American Journal of
Sociology, 1973, 79 (5), 1260-1277.

Subjects: 84 white, male undergraduate volunteers. Their attitudes
   were predominantly liberal, and they had been raised in the
   Pacific states. These subjects were selected, on the basis
   of earlier questionnaires, to represent only those who had not
   sought help for psychological problems in the last 5 years.

Method: Subjects were told the study involved intuition. The
   experimental task was a multiple choice test: subjects had to
   select which answer most people associated with a given word.
   While subjects (five for each session) were providing "baseline"
   data in the waiting room, they learn that another participant,
   Tom, is late. A woman then enters and leaves keys "to the apartment"
   for Tom. She is either black or white. Subjects are escorted to
   individual cubicles for the rest of the experiment, where they
   view what they believe to be live transmissions (actually video-
   tape) of Tom being hooked up to a shock generating machine. Tom
   is either white or black. They then learn that their answers on
   the next series of intuition tests will determine whether or not
   Tom receives shocks. The dependent measure is whether or not they
   cheat on trial five differentially for each of the four victim
   types: a white man dating a white woman (w); a white dating a
   black (wb); a black dating a black (b); or a black dating a white (bw).

Findings: Nearly 61% of all subjects did not cheat. However this percentage varied for victim type: 48% (w); 36% (wb); 70% (b); and 80% (bw). The only statistically significant differences were between bw and w and bw and wb. There were trends for differences between w and b and wb and b. Additional questionnaire data were used to classify subjects into high or low on a Sexual Security Index. The pattern of responses differed for these two groups. Those low in sexual security showed a general pattern of cheating less for blacks than whites; those high in sexual security tended to cheat less for blacks only in the bw condition.

Comments: The author concludes that even educated, nonbigoted, non-southern, nonmentally ill whites allow more pain to be given to a black man than a white man. He argues that this difference is mediated by sexual threat but that there is a threshold difference for those high and low in sexual security. For those low in sexual security, sexual threat is triggered by any black man stripped to the waist as he was in this study: for those high in sexual security, it is only triggered when there is explicit sexual involvement with a white woman. He interprets these findings as supportive of a psychoanalytic interpretation of racism. As the author notes, reactions to sexual competitors from other "out groups" would help to clarify racial issues. He fails to note that the psychoanalytic interpretation does not address female racism in any way, dependent as it is on male competition for female part-ners. Similarly, no speculation is offered as to the reactions of black male subjects to this kind of experimental procedure.

Bauman, K. E. and Udry, J. R. Powerlessness and regularity of contraception in an urban Negro male sample: A research note. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1972, 34 (1), 112-114.

Subjects: 350 married, recent fathers; the sample was drawn from men who were married to women participating in a quality of repro-duction study.

Method: Subjects stated their amount of agreement on a 4-point scale with seven items assumed to reflect powerlessness, including "There is little or nothing I can do toward preventing a world war" and "Being responsible for the development of a little child frightens me." Regularity of contraceptive practice was measured by asking each respondent "how often he or his wife did something to keep her from getting pregnant." Responses could range from "all the time" to "never" in five categories.

Findings: Powerlessness scores were divided into three groups: high (N=32); medium (N=289); and low (N=31). Frequency of contraceptive practice was considered a dichotomous variable, "all the time" and "not all the time." There were dramatic differences between the high and low powerlessness groups in their reports of contraceptive

use: only 10% of high powerlessness subjects responded "all the time" whereas 88% of low powerlessness subjects gave this response. Slightly more than half (57%) of medium powerlessness subjects said they used contraception all the time. A correlation matrix indicated that powerlessness was most strongly related to contraceptive use (r=.26) although number of years of marriage (r=.20), frequency of church attendance (r=.19), and mobility orientation (r=.15) were also significantly related.

Comments: The authors conclude that powerlessness is an important variable that should be considered in fertility research. This conclusion must be tempered by limitations in the sampling which the authors indicate and by lack of validity and reliability tests of the measure.

Hannerz, U. Growing up male. In Soulside, Columbia University Press, 1971.

Hannerz reviews the usual interpretations of male role development in a matrifocal culture, particularly "identification" problems, availability of role models, the function of the peer group, and the contents of the male role reflected in verbal contests, especially rituals of obscenity. In general he takes the position that mainstream norms are well known in the ghetto, their fulfillment is blocked by macrostructural forces, and that alternative ghetto-specific definitions of maleness exist as an entity in their own right.

In terms of socialization in the home, Hannerz questions the assumption that "father absence" means absence of male role models. He also suggests that mothers provide a great deal of information about "appropriate" male behavior through differential expectations and rewards and punishments for their sons and daughters. In addition the behavior of mothers in matrifocal homes may be quite different from that identified as "feminine" in traditional terms.

The assumption that street life and peer groups are but poor socialization substitutes for family life is also questioned given its importance in the ghetto. Because of the necessities of ghetto life, a complex system of role modelling older boys and men and being a role model to younger boys and men provides the means by which concepts of masculinity are culturally transmitted.

Hannerz questions the basic assumption of "pathology" usually applied to both matrifocal social organization and to the ghetto-specific male role, and the attempts to link these two "deviations" within an interpretive framework loaded with mainstream cultural bias about what a man should be like and what socialization processes are most effective in achieving the "correct" result. He argues that proposed "solutions" for the "masculinity crisis", such as more male teachers and social workers, ignore significant cultural and social relationships in the ghetto.

Parker, S. and Kleiner, R. J. Social and psychological dimensions of the family role performance of the Negro male. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1969, 34 (3), 500-506.

Subjects: A subsample of a representative sample of urban blacks between 20 and 60 years of age and a representative group of blacks diagnosed "mentally-ill" in the same age range and same city. The subsample consisted of married males in these two groups: 455 from the community sample and 290 from the "mentally-ill" sample.

Method: A measure of discrepancy between ideal and actual family role performance was derived from responses to four questions about responsibility, decision-making, and communication in the family. Three measures related to psychological stress were assessed by a self-anchored striving scale; perceived achievement, perceived discrepancy between achievement and level of aspiration, and subjective probability of success. A fourth measure was subjective class position. Several social-structural variables were also measured: educational status, occupational status, income status, educational mobility, and occupational mobility.

Findings: In both the community and the "mentally ill" sample, over 90% of the respondents indicated an ideal of decision-making, shared responsibility, and close communication in the family. The "mentally ill" group was much more likely to report discrepancies between this ideal and actual performance. None of the social-structural variables was related to this finding. The psychological stress measures were analyzed in terms of each of the four family-role items for three groups: the entire sample of "mentally ill", and the discrepant and non-discrepant members of the community sample. Of 16 comparisons, 15 were statistically significant in the predicted direction. The "mentally ill" indicated less perceived achievement on each family role item, had a higher discrepancy between achievement and aspiration, tended to indicate a low probability of success, and were less likely to describe themselves as average on social class. Of the 16 comparisons between the discrepant and non-discrepant community groups, 5 were statistically significant indicating less psychological stress for the non-discrepant group.

Comments: The finding of no differences in ideals/norms of family life and its lack of relationship to social-structural variables provides evidence against a "culture of poverty" or black subculture view of family life. These data suggest that black males subscribe to the dominant cultural norms of family roles and that failure to perform in accordance with these norms is a source of psychological stress. The authors suggest that this failure derives from the very real problems of employment, housing, and general social discrimination.

Schulz, D. A. Variations in the father role in complete families of the Negro lower class. Social Science Quarterly, 1968, 49 (3). 651-659.

Subjects: 10 lower-class black families living in a large public housing project in a midwestern city. Five of the families were "complete" (with father), five "incomplete". Age of the parents ranged from 33-55. Eight of the families included teen-aged children. Household size ranged from 6-18 persons.

Method: Participant observation was the method. It included about 250 ten-hour days of interacting in various ways with family members. Extensive biographies were taken of all parents and many of the teen-agers. Particular attention was paid to the role of the father, which was assessed in terms of (1) the strength of the conjugal bond, (2) the support given by the father to the family, and (3) the relationship of the father to the children. A sixfold typology was developed: monogamous, discreet free-man, indiscreet free-man, quasi-father, supportive biological father, and supportive companion.

Findings: This article describes the three types of "complete" families. The "indiscreet free-man" is called the most marginal type of father. He has relationships with women which include children outside the home and divides both his allegiance and his money with the "other" family. The example given describes a home characterized by violence and multiple problems. The "discreet free-man" has more casual relationships outside the home which are known to the family but are not a source of antagonism. The example given is of a warm, cohesive family life. The "monogamous father" is described as an advocate of the patriarchal type of family with a strong focus on teaching the children by example.

Comments: This article suggests some variety to the father role in lower-class black families, a welcome elaboration of the usual father-home/father-absent dichotomy. To some extent, however, it implicitly subscribes to the matriarchy/patriarchy description of family life. The number of families is small (5) and generalizability impossible to determine.

Cross-references:

O'Neill, Fein, Velit, and Frank, 1976, III B.
Misra, 1967, VII D.
Spillane and Ryser, 1975, VII D.
Balswick, 1972, VII D.
Hacker, 1975, XIV A.
Seward and Larson, 1968, XIV E.

C.   Male Role Dynamics in Hispanic Cultures

San Martin, H.   Machismo: Latin America's myth cult of male supremacy.
<u>The Unesco Courier</u>, March, 1975, 29-32.

San Martin describes the stereotypes of men and women prevalent
in Latin America that are part of the oppressive ideology of machismo.
Key concepts of the cult involve the "purity" of women and the desir-
ability and inevitability of marriage as a social goal for women.
The author presents some data from a survey in Chile on reasons for
marriage. Women gave reasons such as getting away from home, submission
to parents' wishes, and being in love or thinking they were in love.
Men gave reasons such as affirming their masculinity, fathering
children, and having a companion. He uses these data as illustrative
of the influence of the ideology. He argues, however, that the most
important outcomes are the limitations on women in terms of economic
activity, a problem that cannot be solved by simply providing work
but only by a restructuring of the society to free both men and women
from dependence, situations created by myth, and alienation.

Fox, G. E.   Honor, shame, and woman's liberation in Cuba: Views of
working-class emigré men.   In A. Pescatello (Ed.), <u>Female and Male in</u>
<u>Latin America:</u> Essays. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1973.

Subjects: 47 working-class emigrés from Cuba, 44 of whom were men.

Method: Interview which focused on reasons for emigrating from Cuba
and, particularly, their views of men's and women's roles.

Findings: The most important qualities attributed to admirable
 men were hardworking and struggling for his family, probably a
 more active variant for hardworking; men should also be honest or
 honorable and refrain from vices. Women should be obedient and
 helpful to their husbands, but the most frequent attribute was
 passive virtue, described as moral, decent, or "of her house."
 Boys should study to learn a trade and girls should study and prepare
 for marriage. Boys should avoid vices and girls should protect
 themselves from boys. The themes throughout these responses were
 male aggressiveness/female submissiveness, male sexual aggressiveness/female
 vulnerability and purity. Questions concerning work, and particularly
 women working, provided responses that referred again to the female's
 danger of losing her virtue, as well as complaints about too much
 independence and freedom and losing femininity."

    This author suggests that "honor" to Cuban men implies both
 "virtue" and "precedence" and is derived primarily from medieval
 Spanish warrior culture. Women are passive objects for the display of
 honor by men to other men; they defend women in their family and accrue
 "honor-virtue" and seduce other women to achieve "honor-precedence."
 "Shame" is assigned to women and involves modesty, purity, and the
 defense of one's virtue against assaults from men. The revolution has

not only challenged these concepts but devised a program of education
and economic independence for women's liberation. Some Cuban men,
unable to define manhood by traditional means, clung to the old
standards and by definition became counter-revolutionaries.

Comments: The emigrants interviewed in this study were usually men
who had initially supported the revolution. The author suggests that
the meaning of men's liberation in Cuba involves a new assertiveness and
ability to shape one's own and Cuba's destiny and an increased emphasis
on cooperation and task-orientation.

Stevens, E. P. Machismo and Marianismo. <u>Society</u>, 1973, Sept./Oct.,
57-63.

The author wishes to "set the record straight" with regard to the
role of machismo in Latin American culture and the supposed suffering
of women.

She describes the elements of machismo in terms of some of the
seven deadly sins. Pride or arrogance is placed first; it is charact-
erized by an overbearing attitude and a necessity to keep others at
arms' length to avoid open hostility. Sports are described as
providing a ritualized outlet for hostility. Wrath and stubbornness
are also part of the code.

She describes life as risky for Latin American men because they
are forced to be aggressive at all times and yet must be cautious
because the outcome could be death, disgrace, or ridicule. The only
safe outlet for aggression is women. Amorous conquests reassure the
man that his sexual potency and therefore his manhood are intact
Lust is considered manly. Children and pregnancy are treated as
visible proof of virility; however, this claim requires limitations
to the woman's contacts with other men. Callousness toward women,
ranging from petty insults to ostentatious cruelty, brings admiration
from other men, as does seduction or trickery in relation to women.

The only exception to this pattern is behavior toward the mother
who is adored and revered. The author calls this the cult of
marianismo or worship of the Virgin Mary. Women must suffer to
become pure and beatified in later life. Self-sacrifice is key, and
women "seem to enjoy their martyrdom."

These two cults provide a stable symbiosis between men and women
in Latin American society. The men have the power and the women have
the love (and the "power" of love, guilt, and self-sacrifice).
The author argues that these clear-cut role definitions satisfy
basic social and personal needs, and there is thus very little
pressure for change.

Adolph, J. B. The South American Macho: Myths and mystique. Impact of Science on Society. 1971. 21 (1). 83-92.

This author traces the various influences on the development of machismo in South America, the blending of native Indian and imported Iberian Catholic ideology, and a black slave subculture. The male image adopted was of the conquistador, the feudal lord, the solitary macho, the tyrannical, paternalistic lord and master of the household. The Latin American brand of masculine supremacy reflects its social (clerical-military) and ethnic (Iberian-Arabic) roots. It includes a strong anti-sexual morality, which is often used to justify racism and prejudice against the Indian and black groups.

The author describes two kinds of idols provided by the movies in the forties and fifties: the city macho, ascot tucked into his shirt, and the Mexican cavalier ("charro") with his wide sombrero. The first is a rebel, a good fellow, a man of high moral standards, a non-conformist, antisocial type, leading a wild and rowdy life, a bohemian who adores his mom and showers blows on prostitutes. The charro is a brave and handsome landowner, good to his friends, generous to the workers on the estate, a sniveller in the presence of hypocritical city women and a vanquisher of enraptured peasant girls. These two images capture the essence of masculinity which, the author suggests, is similar to other countries. He argues, however, that in Latin America male supremacy appears in a particular violent and hypocritical form, which involves, among other traditions, a "nauseating gallantry" with "strings of flowery compliments to women."

Current influences are also described, particularly new forms of socio-economic domination and revolutionary radicalism. He describes the current period as one of neo-colonial neo-machismo. Sexual asceticism of the left is adopted easily by the anti-sexual traditional morality. The attitudes and structures supporting male supremacy are hardly touched and occasionally bolstered by recent trends. The author does suggest that individuals can rise above the ingrained prejudice and, in fact, holds out this hope for the future.

Stevens, E. P. Mexican Machismo: Politics and Value Orientations. Western Political Quarterly. 1965. 18 (4). 848-857.

In this article, Stevens describes the cult of Machismo and suggests various forms of political organization which might reflect such an orientation on a national level. The hallmark of machismo, according to this author, is not violence but intransigence. A macho believes that his way is the only right way, a belief he is willing to enforce with violence if necessary; commonly, he avoids intimacy and possible controversy and is therefore lonely. The political organizations that could be predicted would be authoritarianism, anarchy, or totalitarianism.

Stevens reviews the political history of Mexico for the last hundred years and suggests that although these forms have been evident, the current political structure is characterized by bargaining and maneuvering. Although this might be considered "feminine" behavior, the government assumes a general posture that reflects machismo. The author concludes that psychology and culture cannot be used predictively for determining political structures.

D. Descriptions of Male Role Dynamics in Specific Other Cultures

Gearing, F. O. The big impossible - Being a man. In Gearing, F. O., The Face of the Fox. Chicago: Aldine, 1976.

In this book chapter, the author analyzes the dilemma of the male Fox Native American whose traditional roles in the community of hunter and political decision-maker were obliterated by changed conditions. He describes the activities of a group of fifty Fox World War II veterans in planning and building an American Legion post. This work, according to the author, could be defined as "male work" and restored some sense of clarity of purpose, worth, and involvement in the community to these men. After many months of work and a successful completion of the post/community center, however, the organization was unable to develop other goals and faltered. Ennui and occasional frustration and aggression then returned. It is suggested that these problems were unique to the Fox men because the women were able to maintain their traditional child-bearing and housekeeping roles.

The particular definition of masculine behavior in this culture is interesting. There is an absolute aversion to anything aggressive, including directing another, raising one's voice; or even auctioning off box lunches. Leadership is exercised very mildly, almost casually, and decisions are reached by consensus. Expressions of aggression are met by withdrawal from the offender.

Ember, C. R. Feminine task assignment and the social behavior of boys. Ethos, 1973, 1, 424-439.

Subjects: 28 children ranging in age from 7½ to 16, in a Luo community in Kenya.

Method: Each child was observed nine times for 15 minutes in any natural nonschool setting the child was in. Three major kinds of social behavior were recorded: egoistic behavior; altruistic behavior; and prosocial behavior. Egoistic behavior was further subdivided into aggression, dependency, and dominance.

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"Feminine" tasks were determined by asking 56 children to list tasks appropriate only for women. Mothers were asked to estimate how often each child performed such work.

Findings: A comparison of overall mean scores indicated that boys exhibited more egoistic aggression, dependency, and dominance and girls engaged in more prosocial behavior. Dividing the boys into those who were above and below the median on "feminine work" showed that in every case boys who were high on "feminine work" had scores that fell between the other boys and the girls. They tended to be less aggressive, less dependent, and more prosocial than boys who did little "feminine work." The trend for dominance was not significant. Boys who did "feminine work" inside the home, especially baby-tending, had scores that were even more like those of the girls than boys who did such work outside the home. Further, boys who did "feminine work" outside the home were even more "masculine" in their social behavior.

Brugger, W. The male (and female) in Chinese society. Impact of Science on Society. 1971, 21 (1), 5-19.

This article reviews the relations between the sexes' traditionally and at several points in time since the revolution. It draws on several books and articles on China as well as the author's experience of living in China for two years.

The author discusses the concept of equality both de jure and de facto in urban and rural settings and among various classes. The Confucian ideal of masculinity was that the male was the physical, intellectual, and moral superior of the female. Because of economic conditions, this ideology did not substantially influence relations between men and women in either the poorest or the richest classes. It was in the gentry classes that it was most influential and used as a rationale for the oppression of women. The revolution attacked the problem with changes in the marriage laws, a propaganda campaign, and a reorganization of the economic structure to provide full employment and economic/sexual equality. The ideology embodied partnership between the sexes.

Changes which have encouraged redefinitions of male and female roles include simple conjugal units rather than stem families with more equal treatment of the children, fewer children, later marriages, universal education, and a rising standard of living. Brugger emphasizes that owning bicycles or other forms of transportation has substantially shortened the work day allowing for more contact between husbands and wives and more commonality of interests.

One important adjustment that Chinese men have had to make is in their achievement orientation. Not only has a narrow definition been traditionally fostered in the home for boys, but early revolutionary literature in primary schools stressed model workers and other heroes.

When young men were encouraged to show concern for wider social goals later in their education, there was a crisis in orientation. Introduction of different heroes and ideology earlier in the schools is expected to make the achievement orientation of the two sexes more similar and consonant with the overall goals of the society.

Valabreque, C. The changing status of the French male. Impact of Science on Society, 1971, 21 (1), 75-82.

The author begins by providing anecdotal evidence for the resistance of men to the ideas of women's liberation. She suggests that at least some of the resistance may come from the lack of male initiative in the process, and the consequent posture of defensiveness. Nonetheless, changes in France both in law and in fact are occurring in the status of the French male, emotionally, sexually, professionally and domestically.

Two important pieces of legislation reflect such changes. The matrimonial Law of 1965 removed exclusive control of the family dwelling and its contents from the husband and gave other economic rights to wives. The second law, passed in 1970, replaced paternal power with parental authority and abolished the concept of "head of household".

The author says that almost half of all husbands now help with household chores. Equal numbers of men believe a woman's place is in the home (41%) and favor women working (41%). This attitude is more common in the working class. Middle class men, however, face the potential problem of the wife earning more. The author says that these men associate earning power with virility and strongly resist women in leadership and money-making roles.

French men also interpret women's efforts to gain reproductive control as a threat to male prerogative. Control over procreation is assumed to belong to the head of the family. Perhaps balancing this loss of privilege, however, is increased participation of fathers in childbirth and in caring for young children.

Nelson, C. Changing roles of men and women: Illustration from Egypt. Anthropological Quarterly, 1968, 41, 57-77.

In this article, the author describes the traditional view of the relationship between the sexes in the Moslem culture and describes some of the changing work and marriage patterns that are challenging that view. Illustrations of changing sex roles are drawn from the works of contemporary Egyptian writers - journalists and novelists - and from the author's own five-year experience of living in Egypt.

The traditional ideals are of men and women as complementary and
unequal. Modern changes have particularly affected the urban
middle-classes where women are now more likely to work, to be educated,
and to choose their own husbands rather than to have arranged marriages.
The impact of this last change on the role of the extended family
in providing a retreat from marital problems for the woman is discussed
in detail.

Illustrations of letters written to newspaper advice columns in
1948 and 1955 indicate a preoccupation with marriage customs and sex
roles. Interestingly, more men than women seek advice from the author
of these columns. An examination of marriage advertisements indicates
that men and women seek different qualities in marriage partners.
Women desire men who are well-educated and have a respectable job.
Men seek women who are beautiful and pure but who also either provide
a dowry or have the ability to earn income. The author suggests
that the concept of the ideal woman is undergoing change but that
Moslem men are showing more resistance to this change than the women.

Levine, D. N. The concept of masculinity in Ethiopian Culture.
International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 1966, 12, 17-23.

This author discusses the content of the Ethiopian concept of
masculinity and its place in the value-structure of the country.
He limits his discussion to the Amhara people, the politically and
culturally dominant ethnic group. Masculinity here does not mean
maturity or sexual prowess. It refers primarily to aggressive
capacity, the ability to kill a man or a beast, and secondarily
to the capacity to withstand hardship, to go without food or water for
a long time. The emphasis is on personal bravery and individual
success. There is no complimentary ideal of femininity, and women are
considered inferior, gossipers and deceivers, deserving frequent
beatings. This concept of masculinity is ranked very high in the
hierarchy of values in Ethiopia and is generally considered crucial
to their cultural identity. The author suggests that to some limited
extent the concept may be weakening or changing.

Mead, M. The lake-dwelling Tchambuli. In M. Mead, Sex and Temperament
in Three Primitive Societies. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1935.

In this classic description of another culture, which is often
cited as an example of "role reversal", the author details a complex
definition of masculinity and femininity and male-female relations.
Among the Tchambuli, the men are nominally the heads of their families
and the owners of their homes and wives: the women, however, exercise
most of the initiative and power, including economic power. Men's
work is primarily artistic and decorative. They are credited with
a weaker sex drive and display elaborate courtship rituals.

The men depend on the women for support, food, and affection. Among themselves they bicker and compete for the attention of the women. Yet, it is recognized that they are physically stronger and can resort to physical abuse of the women.

The author maintains that the structural and physical power of the men is less real than the actual dominance of the women. The belief in sex differences is strong in this culture, and the personalities believed to characterize the sexes do represent a reversal of those assigned in western cultures.

E. Comparisons of Masculinity in Two (or More) Cultures

Gottsegen, A. J. and Severance, L. J. Cross-cultural comparison of sex-role identities: Women and men in France and the United States. Paper presented at the Eastern Psychological Association Meetings, Boston, 1977.

Subjects: 190 French, undergraduate university students (78 males and 112 females) at the Sorbonne, Paris, and 162 American university students (61 males and 101 females) at the City University of New York.

Method: The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was administered.

Findings: The androgyny scores yielded a significant main effect for sex with males more likely to characterize themselves as the masculine stereotype and females as the feminine stereotype. A significant sex by culture interaction indicated that Americans were more extreme in their masculine and feminine self descriptions than were the French. American females showed a tendency toward strong endorsements of both the masculine and feminine items, but American males showed a reluctance to endorse cross-sex or feminine items. A higher percentage of French than American males affiliated with a strong feminine stereotype (20.5% vs. 6.6%), and somewhat more French than American females affiliated with a strong masculine stereotype (8.9% vs. 3.0%).

Comments: These data indicate that although there is some commonality of the male and female stereotypes in the United States and France, Americans ascribe more sex-typed characteristics to themselves on the BSRI. As the authors note, the scale may be somewhat culture bound. Nonetheless, the findings do show that American men are more reluctant to endorse cross-sex items than French males or than either American or French females.

Hacker, H. M. Gender roles from a cross-cultural perspective. In
L. Duberman, Gender and Sex in Society. New York: Praeger Publishers,
1975.

The author reviews the theories and data related to the major
societies which have as a matter of public policy attempted to change
the traditional roles of the sexes toward equality: the Israeli
kibbutz, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and Sweden.
Since none of the attempts have fully reached their goals, some critics
have suggested that such change is impossible or "unnatural."

The specific historical, sociological, and ideological forces in
each society are analyzed, and many plausible reasons for the limited
success become clear. In order for sex equality to become a reality,
there must be not only a transformation of the value system to provide
the ideological preconditions, but technological, economic, and political
factors must also support such change.

One interesting contrast between Sweden and the other countries
is that Sweden is the only one to speak not only of "women's liberation"
but of "male emancipation." In the other countries, women were
encouraged to assume traditionally male work roles, and some of the
work of child care and housekeeping was either taken over by collect-
ivized services (all of which were, of course, staffed by women)
or still performed by the women who now worked outside of the home
as well. Only in Sweden is there a recognition that in order to
change women's roles a fundamental corresponding alteration in men's
roles must also take place.

Fay, T. L. Ideal and typical males and females: Stereotypes in three
cultures. Paper presented at the meetings of the American Psychological
Association, Chicago, September, 1975.

Subjects: 192 subjects: 32 male and 32 female college students from
each of three countries: North America, the Phillipines, and Columbia.

Method: Subjects rated 25 bipolar adjectives on 7-point semantic
differential rating scales for each of the target concepts of ideal
male, ideal female, typical male, and typical female. Scores were
then summed for each target concept and could thus range from 25
(totally feminine) to 175 (totally masculine).

Findings: Female subjects rated all targets as significantly more
masculine than male subjects: Male targets were rated as more
masculine than female targets. Ideals were generally rated as
more masculine than typicals.

Significant interactions indicated that American subjects rated male targets as more masculine and female targets as more feminine than the Phillipine and Columbia groups. Americans did not differentiate ideals from typicals while both Filipinos and Columbians rated ideals as more masculine than typicals. Ratings given to ideal females were significantly more masculine than those given to typical females while the ratings given to ideal and typical males did not differ significantly. Another complex interaction indicated that American males tended to feminize their ideal males and females, compared to other groups; American females tended to masculinize their typicals; and Columbian females masculinized their ideals.

Comments: This study presents some evidence that sex-role stereotypes are similar in North America, Columbia, and the Phillipines. Although Americans showed the most differentiation of the stereotypes, they also indicated less discrepancy between ideal and typical males In the other two cultures, the ideal types were significantly more masculine than the typical types. The author concludes that the pattern of masculinizing the female ideal is cross-cultural and reflects a positive evaluation of masculinity. If Americans are becoming more sex-role liberated, it is in their tendency to stop the escalation of the male stereotype to a more masculine position.

Whiting, B., and Edwards, C. P. A cross-cultural analysis of sex differences in the behavior of children aged three through eleven. Journal of Social Psychology, 1973, 91, 171-188.

Subjects: Equal numbers of boys and girls, aged 3-11, observed in Kenya (N=16), Mexico (N=22), Japan (N=24), India (N=24), the Phillipines (N=24), and New England (N=24). Data from a second Kenya sample (N=57) are also mentioned briefly.

Method: This is a reanalysis of observational data collected in 1954-1956. The children were originally observed in natural settings near their homes over a period of 6-14 months, and their behavior later coded into summary categories. The present authors re-coded this data to more nearly correspond to seven stereotypical sex differences, in an effort to assess their validity cross-culturally. They also examined behavior differences in the context of assigned duties and frequency of interaction with adults, peers, and younger children.

Findings: Modest support was found for some stereotypical differences: boys were somewhat more likely to behave aggressively and less likely to be nurturant. These differences were relatively small and inconsistent across the six cultures. The nature of duties performed by boys and girls in each culture appeared to be a major factor in the patterns of behavior observed. Girls were generally assigned infant care and duties in the home. Boys were typically assigned animal husbandry and agricultural duties; boys consequently

Interacted significantly less with adults and infants, and proportionately more with same-sex peers than did girls (p < .01). For both sexes moreover, interactions with infants were typically associated with helping and supporting responses, while interactions with peers were likely to include derogation, insulting, and "rough and tumble play." The effects of assigned duties are clearest in the two samples from Kenya, where many of the younger boys were assigned infant care duties. Stereotypical sex differences in behavior were not evident in these children: boys were equally nurturant and no more likely to display aggression.

Comments: The findings on effects of assigned duties on behavioral sex differences are the main source of interest here. The sample sizes are too small to permit meaningful comparisons of behavior patterns among the six individual cultures. The authors engage in speculation about biological determinants for which no data are presented.

Munroe, R. L. and Munroe, R. H. Male pregnancy symptoms and cross-sex Identity in three societies. Journal of Social Psychology, 1971, 84, 11-25.

Subjects: Three samples were used: (1) 31 males with pregnancy-associated symptoms and 25 males without symptoms selected from 200 white predominantly lower-class families where the wife was attending a pre-natal clinic in Boston; (2) 49 adult Black Carib males from a British Honduran town who had fathered at least one child and lived with the mother during her pregnancy; (3) 20 Logoli males from a community in Western Kenya.

Method: Slightly different measures were used for each group. They involved covert measures of sex-identity (e.g., the Frank Drawing Completion Test, amount of baby care), other measures of sex identity (e.g. Gough Brief Femininity Scale, semantic differential, ratings of behavioral and personality characteristics), and questionnaire items about early experience, particularly father absence.

Findings: (1) U.S. Sample: Of the 200 women attending the pre-natal clinic, 41% reported that their husbands had experienced symptoms. The only difference between symptomatic and asymptomatic men found in the clinic records was a slight but significant educational difference (11.1 years vs. 12.3 years of schooling) with less educated men showing more symptoms. On covert measures of sex-identity, the symptom group produced more "female" drawings and chose more television programs preferred by the wives. On the other measures the symptom group reported they engaged in less housekeeping activities than the control group, and their wives reported they made more decisions. On the semantic differential,

the symptom men judged all-male roles to be stronger than all-female roles, described themselves as closer to their fathers than their mothers. In contrast, symptom males reported more involvement with baby care than the control group. Although all the men expressed positive feelings about the pregnancy, the symptom men were significantly more positive than the non-symptom men. In terms of father absence, 15 of the 53 men in the sample reported some father absence and 12 of these were in the symptom group.

(2) Carib Sample: In this society where couvade is a cultural practice, 92% of the men reported pregnancy-associated symptoms. Therefore, subjects were assigned symptomatology scores based on the number and frequency of symptoms, and these scores were correlated with other measures. Covert measures were not successful with this group. The Frank test had to be abandoned. Involvement with baby care was not significantly related to symptomatology. On other measures there was a strong association between judged strength of male role and symptoms. In addition strong symptoms were associated with cursing, gambling, drinking, and wife beating. In contrast to this hyper-masculine behavior, strong symptoms were also associated with a desire to "be" a mother and to rate other female roles highly. Father absence was not related to symptoms but absence of any adult male was related.

(3) Logoli Sample: The symptom group males (N=13) reported more baby care than the non-symptom groups (N=7). They also were more likely to choose the mother role. The behavioral ratings indicated that the symptoms group males were heavier drinkers and more likely to abuse their wives. There was not enough father or male absence to test the final hypothesis.

Comments: The authors describe their results in terms of cross-sex identity. They suggest that pregnancy symptoms on the one hand and hyper-masculine behavior on the other can both be explained by an underlying identification with the female role. Any behaviors which are relatively public and explicitly sex-typed would elicit defensive responses whereas covert or implicitly sex differentiated behaviors might elicit female-like responses. Assignment to a symptom group was determined by the wife's report; in the U.S. sample, approximately 40% of the "symptom group" denied experiencing symptoms.

Whiting, B. B., and Whiting, J. W. M. Task assignment and personality: A consideration of the effect of herding on boys. In W. Lambert and R. Weisbrod (Eds.), Comparative Perspectives on Social Psychology. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Subjects: 72 boys, 12 from each of six communities; in Okinawa, the Phillipines, Mexico, India, Kenya, and the USA.

Method: Data were based on observations made by a man and a woman field
worker over a period of 6 months to one year in each community.
Of particular importance were responsibility scores, the use of physical
punishment by mothers for disobedience, rate of commands by mothers,
and the amount of obedience of the boys.

Findings: Boys in the two herding societies had significantly higher
responsibility scores than the boys in the other four societies.
This responsibility score was composed of the frequency with which they
made suggestions and reprimanded their peers and siblings. These
differences were most apparent in boys 7-11 when herding begins and not
so evident in boys 3-6. A reanalysis of the Barry, Bacon, and Child
data also indicates that pressure toward responsibility is greatest in
societies whose economic subsistence is based on animal husbandry. Boys
aged 5-11 are much more likely to receive physical punishment for dis-
obedience. They also receive more commands from their mothers. However,
they are more likely to disobey these commands.

Comments: The authors compare the task requirements of herding with those
of going to school in their discussion. They conclude that boys in
herding cultures learn the value of following rules and the dangers
of innovation and individual initiative. Their parents believe that
a child should obey and respect authority and value the welfare of the
family above his own selfish needs. The children expect tasks to
be clearly defined and rewards and punishments predictable and immediate.
Personalities are then learned and shaped within this system of
expectations and values. ⌐

Seward, G. H. and Larson, W. R. Adolescent concepts of social sex roles
in the United States and the two Germanies. *Human Development*, 1968, 11,
217-248.

Subjects: 853 adolescents, aged 16-19, drawn from two locales in the U.S.
and in West Germany and one locale in East Germany; 396 were male
and 457 were female.

Method: The semantic differential technique was employed. A set of 12
bipolar personality scales were administered with instructions
to rate on each scale the concepts of men, women, my father, my
mother, and myself.

Findings: The American groups in comparison with those of either of the
Germanies, ascribed to men more competitiveness and courage but rated
women lower on the cowardly-brave scale. While no differences
appeared in mother concepts, both father and self were regarded by
the United States samples as less active than they seemed to the
corresponding German subjects. East German ratings, in contrast to
those of the West, revealed men as braver, women as more active, and
father as less of a leader.

A comparison of adolescent self concepts and their view of adults disclosed a trend for the youth, regardless of their sex or nationality, to view themselves as different with more emphasis on action, leadership, cooperation, and wisdom. In general, the differences at the national level predominated over those among the ethnic and social-class subcultures within them. In particular, there were not outstanding differences among white and black American youth and 'no evidence for a "matriarchal" view of mother.

Comments: This study indicates a core of similarity among the three countries in their stereotypes of men and women. Cross-nationally men were seen as stronger, more capable of leadership, more active, friendly, and risk-taking, and lacking in softness and sensitivity. However, Americans were more likely to ascribe competitiveness and courage to men than were Germans.

Whiting, B. B. Sex identity conflict and physical violence: A comparative study. American Anthropologist, 1965, 67, pt. 2, 123-140.

The author reviews the relationship of the father to young children and general status differences between the sexes in six societies: Taira, Okinawa; Orchard Town, New England; a Mixtecan barrio in Juxtlahuaca, Mexico; Tarong in the Phillipines; members of the Rajput caste in Khalapur in India; and the Nyansongo in the Gusii highlands of Kenya.

It is hypothesized that violent behavior, specifically physical assault and homicide, occurs at least in part because of protest masculinity and status envy. The argument is that in societies where boys to the age of three spend time almost exclusively with their mothers and other women and where men are of a much higher status, the boys develop a sex-identity conflict when they later join the men. This conflict includes a rejection of femininity and a display of hyper-masculinity, which often involves violence.

Among the six societies studies, the two most violent, the Rajput and the Nyansongo, both have customs which call for the almost total separation of the sexes. Husbands and wives do not eat, sleep, or work together. Thus, young children spend very little time with their fathers. Mothers in these societies also report very little father participation in infant care. Both of these societies also have patrilineage and patrilocal residence, customs which indicate male dominance. The author interprets these findings as support for the sex-identity conflict theory.

Barry, H., Bacon, M. K., and Child, I. L. A cross-cultural survey of
some sex differences in socialization. Journal of Abnormal and Social
Psychology, 1957, 55 (3), 327-332.

Subjects: 110 cultures, mostly nonliterate, were selected from ethno-
graphic reports available in the anthropological literature. Criteria
were (1) the adequacy of the reports of socialization practices and
(2) geographical distribution.

Method: Two of the authors rated the reports for sex differences
in socialization on the following variables: attention and indulgence
toward infants; responsibility, nurturance, obedience, self-
reliance, and achievement training. Only confident ratings are
reported so that the number of cultures considered for each variable
ranges from 31-84. These ratings were then used to dichotomize
cultures in terms of sex differentiation and to relate this char-
acterization to 40 customs.

Findings: (1) 92% of the cultures (n=96) showed no differences toward
male and female infants in terms of attention and indulgence.
(2) Responsibility training showed the strongest evidence of a
sex difference (61% girls; 11% boys; 28% neither; n=84) according
to the authors. However, reliance training seems even more strongly
sex differentiated (0% girls; 85% boys; 15% neither). Nurturance
and achievement training are also sex-linked but the number of
cultures for which the judges had confident ratings is much smaller
(n=33, 31). Obedience most frequently shows evidence of no sex
difference (35% girls; 3% boys; 62% neither; n=69). (3) Of the 40
comparisons with cultural variables, 6 were significantly related
to sex differentiation using a stringent criterion of differences and
4 were related using a more inclusive criterion. Large sex differences
are associated with the hunting of large animals, with grain rather
than root crops, with the keeping of large rather than small domestic
animals, with nomadic rather than sedentary residence, with an imp-
ortance of fishing, and with polygyny rather than monogamy.

Comments: The authors conclude that sex differences in socialization
in our society are not arbitrary customs but a very widespread
adaptation of culture to the biological substratum of human life.
Large sex differences, they say are associated with economics that
place a high premium on superior strength and with customs that make
for a large family group with high cooperative interaction. The fact
that our society lacks these economic and family patterns explains
why we have a "relatively small difference in the socialization of
boys and girls." These differences will not vanish however, because
"the universal pattern of sex difference is an important and inevit-
able ▓▓▓▓ t in any social group" and "biological differences
betwe ▓▓▓ sexes make most appropriate the usual division of those
roles between the sexes." They suggest in fact, that current de-emphasis
on sex-differentiated socialization may be dysfunctional, particularly
for girls, who are inadequately trained for their adult roles.

This article presents some interesting data. Its conclusions
are not supported by these data.

Cross-reference:

Block, 1978, III C.

F. Historical Studies of Male Role Issues
In the U.S. and Europe

Kirschner, A. M. Masculinity in an Historical Perspective. Washington, D.C.:
University Press of America, (forthcoming).

This book is a collection of readings from a wide variety of
sources. It covers definitions of masculinity from the "cave man
image" to present times and is cross-cultural as well as historical.
Since it is drawn from selections used in a course on the history of
masculinity, it offers many stimulants to discussion, including ads
from magazines and questionnaires as well as selections from authors
as diverse as Plato and Marshall McLuhan.

Hantover, J. The Boy Scouts and the validation of masculinity. Journal
of Social Issues, 1978, 34 (1), 184-195.

This article analyzes the success of the Boy Scout movement in
the early twentieth century in the U.S. in terms of increased social
concern over the maintenance of traditional concepts of masculinity.
Changes in the nature of work and the sex composition of the labor
force profoundly affected men's self-identities. Adolescent males were
perceived as increasingly encountering feminizing forces. Scouting was
a means to counteract the perceived feminizing forces in the world of
adolescents. An analysis of the social backgrounds and motivations
of scoutmasters further suggests that the Scouting movement provided
adult men an opportunity to enact the traditional image of masculinity,
denied to them by their occupations.

Fasteau, M. F. Vietnam and the cult of toughness in foreign policy.
In D. S. David and R. Brannon (Eds.), The Forty-nine Percent Majority.
Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976

The author suggests that all the "rational" reasons for pursuing
the Vietnam War appear extremely flimsy on close inspection, but that

a common theme of "compulsive toughness" can be found in the writings of policy makers through three administrations. Key concepts involve avoiding humiliation, never backing away from a confrontation, winning or at least appearing to win, and avoiding the censure of the "real man". Doubt and empathy were dismissed as feminine and pro- and anti-war positions were often characterized as separating the men from the boys. The author concludes that women (and men) who have the self-confidence to exercise authority without a personal compulsion to defend stereotyped masculinity might have avoided the prolonged war.

Dubbert, J. L. Progressivism and the masculinity crisis. Psychoanalytic Review. 1974, 61 (3), 443-455.

This author suggests that an analysis of the Progressive Era would benefit from the use of psychology, particularly recent work on sex roles. Using as an example the life and writings of William Allen White, he describes the period as one of increasing tensions between men and women. Women were not only demanding the vote but were organizing extensive aspects of the reform movement. Men like Theodore Roosevelt represented a return to rugged masculinity with an emphasis on physical prowess, a return to "natural" pursuits of hunting and other outdoor sports, and a rejection of European and feminine sensibilities.

William Allen White and many other men of diverse backgrounds were drawn to this new embodiment of the masculine ideal. In fact, White was quite explicit about the reasons for his admiration for Roosevelt, a representative of that ideal.

The author suggests that this kind of analysis raises many new questions for social historians. By examining a period of profound readjustment between the sexes, one may uncover some of the underlying tensions which are still unresolved.

Roszak, T. The hard and the soft: The force of feminism in modern times. In B. Roszak and T. Roszak (Eds.), Masculine/Feminine. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1969.

It is the thesis of this essay that the struggle for women's liberation during the 19th and 20th centuries has profoundly influenced the course of history. The author analyzes the period before World War I as one of continuing debate about women's rights that was carried on privately and publicly. The ethic of realpolitik and the cataclysmic war represented a reaction of heightened masculinity. Examples from novelists and political leaders show a glorification of masculine dominance, sexual exploitation, and the pursuit of war.

The author argues that men both degrade and idealize women by
assigning many human virtues to "femininity". They then must deny
that they possess such virtues. Although this artificial stereotyping
justifies much male privilege it also emotionally cripples men. He
asserts that "the woman most desperately in need of liberation is
the 'woman' that every man has locked up in the dungeons of his own
psyche."

AUTHOR INDEX