THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN, SELF-ACTUALIZATION, AND CONCEPTS OF ADJUSTMENT

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DEDICATION

To Bob, Darren and Ryan; and to
all those involved in the struggle
for personal liberation.

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ABSTRACT

In accordance with American findings, it was proposed that androgynous individuals would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women and more self-actualizing than sex-typed individuals, and that they would tend to conceptualize the well-adjusted person as androgynous, while the sex-typed individual would tend to conceptualize such a person as masculine. It was further hypothesized that sex differences in favour of the female subjects would be found on the first two variables. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory, Shostrom's Personal Orientation Inventory and Spence and Helmreich's Attitudes Toward Women Scale were applied to 192 school counsellors in training and in the field. The hypotheses regarding an androgynous as opposed to a sex-typed orientation on the variables attitudes toward women and self-actualization were not supported; nor were sex-typed individuals found to conceptualize a well-adjusted person as masculine. Sex differences in favour of female subjects were found on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale and on some of the Personal Orientation Inventory scales, and androgynous subjects were found to hold an androgynous model of adjustment.

INTRODUCTION

> "Most of us have been taught that masculinity and femininity are opposing concepts; it is not more possible for a person to incorporate both of them simultaneously than it is to experience day and night at the same time." (Lips & Colwill,1978, p.126)

This assumption runs deep within our culture to the point where it has shaped not only our everyday thinking but also psychology's approach to the study of men and women. Thus, the earliest research into the nature of masculinity and femininity commenced with an emphasis on the differences between the sexes, a dichotomy which lasted until the early seventies. Males and females were continually compared in research studies; for example, women were found to be more anxious than men (Terman & Miles, 1936) and men were found to be more aggressive than women, as children (Sears, 1965) and as adults (Bennett & Cohen, 1959; Terman & Miles, 1936). There was little or no interest in similarities between men and women and no conception of an overlap of characteristics.

Definition of masculinity-femininity amounted to "that which differentiates males from females" (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.131). Masculinity-femininity was conceptualized as a single bipolar personality dimension, with the presence of one automatically excluding the presence of the other (Woolfson, 1979). Underlying assumptions were that masculinity-femininity was inherent in the individual and at least partially biologically determined, which led to the further assumption that there was little possibility for change through experience. Measurement of masculinity-femininity was, therefore, believed to reflect some fundamental character-

istics of those tested (Constantinople, 1973).

Although unsupported by empirical evidence, such assumptions were commonly upheld (ibid.) and served to re-inforce the cultural stereotypes concerning the differing characteristics of men and women. Such widely held, persistent and biased beliefs made no allowance for individual differences to the point where lack of conformity was generally regarded as deviant, for example, homosexuality.

The traditional stereotypes of male and female, which are still endorsed by many people to this day, were males as competency-based, i.e. independent, rational, self-confident, and females as nurturance-based, i.e. dependent, emotional, lacking in confidence (Bakan, 1966; Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, Vogel, 1970 & 1972; Kagan, in Hoffman, 1964; Williams, Bennett & Best, 1975). Women were generally characterized by an absence of the highly valued male traits and the presence of less highly valued female traits.

The assumption underlying such stereotyping was that it was desirable and behavioural conformity to the norm resulted in better adjustment. Psychologists became prescriptive and evolved theories of sex-role socialization based on traditional stereotypes; empirical studies were similarly based. The two underlying assumptions were polarization and female inferiority (Constantinople, 1973; Lips & Colwill, 1978; Rebecca, Hefner & Oleshansky, 1976).

However, such theories which endeavoured to explain socialization in terms of one or a limited number of factors, e.g. identification, failed to take into account the effects of numerous social and political changes,

and the fact that there are numerous factors which account for socialization (Mussen, 1969; Rebecca et al, 1976).

There have been numerous and significant changes in the female role in particular which have had their origin as far back as the first world war. During both world wars women were forced to take on responsibilities and to move into careers which they might otherwise never have done. Moreover, they did more than just cope; they showed their competence and potential in a variety of areas. As a result, it became acceptable for women to work. Apart from the influence this had upon women themselves and perceptions of their role, studies have since shown that occupational involvement of mothers outside the home has a significant liberalizing effect upon the attitudes of their children (Ambert, 1976; Veevers, 1973, in Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.111); Meier, 1972).

However, during the fifties it seemed as if all that had changed had been lost. It was the decade of the feminine mystique during which women remained in increasing numbers in the home, as housewives and mothers. It was the problems experienced by women during this era, problems of goallessness, vague dissatisfaction and depression which prompted Betty Friedan to write "The Feminine Mystique". This, in turn, was one of the major catalysts of the women's liberation movement, which was largely responsible for the new approach taken to the psychology of women during the last decade (Woolfson, 1979).

Throughout the period of social change psychology's approach to masculinity and femininity and sex-roles had changed very little. Psychology remained male-biased, both in theory, e.g. Freud, and in practice, i.e. the adjust-

ment to the stereotype model of mental health, with the male stereotype the most highly valued.

With the evolution of the women's movement more and more women moved into the field of psychology as clinicians, academics and researchers, and began to question the traditional paradigms upon which theory and practice were based, particularly regarding women. From the early seventies research studies began to reveal convincing empirical evidence that masculinity and femininity are independent, co-existent and complementary personality traits (Bem, 1975a; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Wiggins & Holzmuller, 1978) and new improved measuring instruments permitting independent measurement of masculinity and femininity were developed, e.g. Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Furthermore, there was little empirical support for the assumption that appropriate sex-typing promotes positive mental health. Studies showed a positive correlation between femininity in females and high anxiety, low self-esteem and low social acceptance (Bem, 1977; Bem & Lenney, 1976). Contrary to popular belief, femininity did not seem to be correlated with good mental health in women (Lips & Colwill, 1978; Sherman, 1976). For masculinity the empirical evidence was contradictory, and the situation still remains unresolved. However, it appeared that extremes of either masculinity or femininity could be dysfunctional (Lips & Colwill, 1978). In spite of this Broverman et al's now-famous study of clinicians' judgements of mental health(1970) revealed that those involved in the psychological helping professions endorsed cultural sex-role stereotypes and the adjustment of the individual to his/her sex-appropriate stereotype, and applied double standards of mental health, i.e. the clinicians' ideal of the healthy man was similar to that of the healthy, mature adult,

but their ideal of the healthy woman was different from both, and less positive.

Neulinger's findings (Abramovitz, Abramovitz, Roback, Corney & McKee, 1976, p.71) substantiated those of Broverman et al (1970) regarding clinicians' support of traditional stereotypes, while Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973), Tennov (1976), and Weisstein (1976) all point to the stereotypic attitudes of clinicians. Abramovitz et al (1976) found that even certain countertransference phenomena were sex-linked. The fact that women are viewed by clinicians as less well adjusted than men has been clearly documented by Chesler (1971 & 1976) and Gove and Tudor (1973) and supported by various research studies (Collins & Sedlacek, 1977; Neulinger (Abramovitz et al, 1976, p.71); Schleta (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.29)). Women are described in terms relative to men, such as more submissive, less independent, more easily influenced (Broverman, 1970, p.6). Rice and Rice (1973) draw attention to clinicians' adjustment model of mental health whereby patients are expected to fit into traditional stereotypes. Thus, any inability on the part of a woman, for example, to make such an adjustment to the passive dependent feminine role is viewed as unacceptable and even pathological by clinicians (Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976).

In 1974 Bem introduced the concept of psychological androgyny as an alternate model of healthy psychological functioning. No longer were masculinity and femininity conceptualized as mutually exclusive, bipolar opposites of a single construct, but rather as independent traits. Thus, the androgynous person who could incorporate both masculine and feminine characteristics would be freed from stereotypic role limitations and able to engage in a full range of behaviours, dictated by the

situation alone (Bem, 1974). Such a person would be free to develop to his/her full potential.

Many claims have been made regarding the benefits of an androgynous orientation and researchers have attempted to forge links between androgyny and many aspects of behaviour and personality.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between androgyny and three such variables, namely, attitudes towards women; self-actualization; and concepts of adjustment. As the sample comprised school counsellors,the above variables and their relation to androgyny will be explored with their importance to the counsellor and the counselling situation in mind.

The study will be divided into the following areas:

Chapter 1 - This comprises a review of the literature which provides a theoretical framework for the study, as well as a review of the related research.

Chapter 2 - The focus is on the counsellor, counselling and traditional as well as androgynous models of adjustment.

Chapter 3 - The problem and the research area are defined, the motivation for this study is discussed, and the hypotheses are formulated.

Chapter 4 - The measuring instruments used to test the hypotheses, the method and research design employed are discussed.

Chapter 5 - The results are presented and discussed.

Chapter 6 - Interpretation and implications of the findings are presented, conclusions are drawn and recommendations made for future research.

The writer would, at this stage, like to acknowledge her interest in and leanings toward a feminist orientation. Although at all times she has endeavoured to maintain the objectivity required of an empirical study, nevertheless her confessed interest throughout has been in the liberating possibilities of androgyny for women in particular, given that they are still regarded as "the second sex".

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE :

SEX ROLES, ANDROGYNY, ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND SELF-ACTUALIZATION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical background for the study as well as a review of research relating to sex-roles and stereotyping, masculinity and femininity, androgyny, attitudes toward women and self-actualization.

1. SEX ROLES

There has been considerable confusion over terminology in the literature so that gender, masculine and feminine sex-role behaviours, and the psychological attributes of masculinity and femininity have not only been viewed as tightly intercorrelated, but have generally not been distinguished conceptually or empirically. The result is that they have all, at one or other time, been treated and discussed as sex-roles. Not only is this confusing, but as Spence and Helmreich (1978) point out, psychometric measures of masculinity and femininity purport to measure such varied phenomena as attitudes, motives, vocational interests, leisure activities, home duties, patterns of interpersonal interaction, and personality attributes supposed to distinguish between the sexes.

For the sake of clarity the terminology basic to the area of sex-roles and sex-role development will be defined in the following sections.

1.1 Gender

Biological gender may be defined as "the sexual category" into which we are born, i.e. male or female (ibid.). "Gender identity" on the other hand is conceptualized as "... the individual's private experience of his/her gender: the concept of the self as masculine or feminine" (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.73). Gender identity thus develops after birth and can be seen as the degree to which individuals are aware of and accept their biological sex.

Money and Ehrhardt (ibid.) describe the case of identical twin brothers, one of whom, as the result of an accident, was reared as a girl. This child quickly developed feminine interests and behaviour, e.g. had a preference for dresses, was neater and daintier, and took an interest in dolls. The boy maintained his masculine patterns e.g. was rougher and dirtier, was interested in cars and mechanical devices, his self-concept being unambiguously male. The child whose sex had been re-assigned clearly thought of himself as a girl.

Studies conducted by Money and Ehrhardt (ibid.) with same-sex hermaphrodite pairs indicates that gender appears to be shaped by the sex of assignment and rearing (ibid., p.74). The two deciding factors appear to be the age at which gender is assigned and the lack of ambiguity concerning the child's sex on the part of the parents.

Gender identity has traditionally been viewed as necessary part of the healthy personality (Bem, 1975b).

1.2 Masculinity and Femininity

1.2.1 Problem of Definition

In her now-famous article of 1973, Constantinople highlights the confusion that exists when attempting a definition of masculinity and femininity

> "... we are dealing with an abstract concept that seems to summarize some dimension of reality important for many people, but we are hard pressed as scientists to come up with any clear definition of the concept, or indeed any unexceptional criteria for its measurement." (p.390)

There are certain suspect assumptions underlying the construct masculinity-femininity, for example, that masculinity-femininity, like intelligence, is inherent in the individual, and at least partially biologically determined. This leads to the further assumption that there is little room for change through experience, and measurement of masculinity-femininity is believed to reflect some fundamental characteristics of those tested (ibid.).

Such assumptions are commonly upheld, yet unsupported by empirical evidence. As Constantinople points out, there is even doubt as to whether masculinity-femininity is a single bipolar dimension or whether there are not two separate dimensions, one masculine, one feminine, which exist as well as, or instead of, the masculinity-femininity dimension. There appears to be no doubt that masculinity-femininity does exist but, although there is evidence clearly indicating the importance of sex differences in certain areas of physical, intellectual and even personsality development, there is no similar evidence which clearly relates mascu-

linity and femininity alone to other variables in predictable ways (ibid.). The only empirical evidence available is the fact that most test items are able to discriminate the responses of males from females. As Lips and Colwill (1978) point out, psychology has thus far failed to define masculinity-femininity in any terms other than "that which differentiates males from females" (p.131).

However, Constantinople's telling criticism of masculinity-femininity research and theory has cleared the way for new insights and new approaches. Psychologists such as Bem (1974), Block (1973), Carlson (1972) added their voice to Constantinople's challenge of the bipolar model of masculinity-femininity. New measuring instruments have been devised, e.g. Bem Sex Role Inventory ((BSRI), Bem, 1974); Personal Attributes Questionnaire, ((PAQ) Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974); Personality Research Form ((PRF ANDRO) Berzins, Welling & Wetter, 1978); Adjective Check List ((ACL) Heilbrun, 1976) and subsequent research has indicated that masculine and feminine are virtually independent orthogonal dimensions. When viewed this way, masculinity and femininity can be measured in varying amounts in the same individual, the presence of one not necessarily precluding the presence of the other. An individual who endorses relatively equal numbers of masculine and feminine traits has come to be recognised as androgynous (Bem, 1974).

A second problem encountered when searching for definition is the fact that masculinity and femininity have been assumed to be inextricably linked with sex roles, to the point where they are no longer differentiated, but seen as synonymous by empiricists and theoreticians alike. There is no empirical validation for this assumption (Constantinople, 1973; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

1.2.2 A Definition

Those points which have emerged from the above discussion and which have at least a measure of empirical validation will be put forward as a tentative definition of masculinity and femininity.

It is suggested therefore, that masculinity and femininity are psychological dimensions which, although they differentiate the sexes to a degree, are not bipolar opposites, but in each sex are separate, independent, co-existent and essentially orthogonal personality dimensions. Furthermore, masculinity and femininity should be conceptually distinguished from masculine and feminine sex-roles, which comprise behaviours rather than personality attributes.

1.3 Sex-role : A definition

This has become a particularly difficult term to define since, as mentioned above, so many other terms have been subsumed under this heading. Furthermore, being a concept of particular interest to several disciplines, each has tended to stress a different aspect. Thus, anthropology stresses position; sociology, relationship and psychology, behaviour (Angrist,in Bardwick, 1972, p.102).

Furthermore, such roles are not unitary in nature, but are themselves composed of many roles and role combinations which are diverse and vary across social settings and within a person's life span. Therefore, sex-role may include such diverse behaviours as vocational activities, social interaction, dress, responsibilities within marriage and the home. Judgements about the appropriateness or otherwise of an individual's

behaviour tend to be made, not according to the number of role appropriate behaviours exhibited, but according to their importance in a hierarchy of significance relative to the society/culture in which they live. At the peak of the hierarchy is the role Bates (Bardwick, 1972, p.103) calls the 'dominant' role which tends to supercede other 'latent' roles, e.g. 'male' supercedes 'husband', 'father', 'worker'. Furthermore, correlation between all types of role behaviour may not be high, so that the manifestation of one kind of role behaviour does not necessarily mean the high probability of the occurrence of another (Angrist, in Bardwick, 1972, p. 102).

As Angrist (ibid.) points out, the all-encompassing label sex-role has tended to extend to all the ways males and females may differ, both behaviourally and personality-wise. However, there needs to be a distinction drawn between role taking, i.e. behaviour congruent with the individual's self-concept, and role playing, i.e. behaviour displayed in accordance with an expected set of role expectations, e.g. women concealing their competence and electing to appear helpless and dependent (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972). This will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Individual differences in the acting out of sex-roles is determined both by situational as well as internal factors (Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Finally then, sex-role may be defined as:

> "... the behavioural patterns and attitudes characteristic of members of one sex."
> (Chaplin, 1968, p.452)

1.4 Sex-role stereotyping

Numerous studies have noted the continued existence of sex-role stereotypes, i.e. consensual, rigid, biased beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women (Broverman et al, 1970, 1972; Harris & Lucas, 1976; Rosenkrantz et al, 1968). Such stereotypes are widely held, persistent and highly traditional despite the increasing fluidity of sex-role definition. No account is taken of individual differences; in fact, those who do not conform to the norm are generally regarded as deviant, e.g. homosexuals.

Males are stereotypically viewed as competency-based, i.e. independent, self-confident, aggressive, rational, strong, while the stereotypic perception of women is characterised by an absence of such traits, relative to men, and by attributes referred to as the "warmth and expressiveness" cluster, i.e. dependent, nurturant, emotional, illogical (Bakan, 1966; Broverman, 1972; Kagan in Hoffman, 1964; Williams et al, 1975, p.635).

The implicit assumption underlying stereotyping and the research in this area is that sex-typing is a desirable process; "... that it is good for girls to inhibit aggression and for boys to inhibit dependency; that little girls ought to concern themselves with attractiveness and that little boys ought to concern themselves with achievement." (Bem, 1972, p.3). It is presumed that people will be "better off" if their behaviour

conforms to society's stereotypes of sex-appropriate behaviour. Mussen (1969) for example actually makes the assumption explicit:

> "Parents have two major tasks in promoting their child's sex-typing. The first is tuition, i.e. teaching the child appropriate sex-typed responses through rewards and punishments, and guiding his behaviour, directing it into the proper channels. The second is providing a model of the proper general attitudes and personality characteristics for the child to emulate." (p.728).

Such assumptions are not based on firm scientific evidence but on traditional paradigms which are themselves based on belief rather than fact. Recent research has, in fact, tended to show that such beliefs are totally unfounded and that strict adherence to stereotyped sex-roles, instead of being functional, is dysfunctional and maladaptive (Bem, 1975a; Broverman et al, 1970, 1972; Gump, 1972; Rebecca et al, 1976). For example, it has been found that stereotyping in females is correlated with high anxiety, low self-esteem and low social acceptance (Bem, 1977) and general inadequate functioning (Sherman, 1976). For males, the evidence is contradictory.

Not only have such stereotypes been upheld as the desirable goals for all by laymen and researchers alike, but recent research has shown that psychologists and members of the mental health profession also adhere to these same prescriptive stereotypes and that they utilize them in making professional judgements (Bem, 1972; Broverman et al, 1970). Thus women are seen as undesirable, deviant and mentally unhealthy when compared to mature, healthy men or adults, sex unspecified (Broverman et al, 1970, 1972; Mednick & Tangri, 1972). According to these

clinicians, a woman is to be regarded as healthier and more mature if she is:

> "... more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more susceptible to hurt feelings, more emotional, more conceited about her appearance, less objective and more antagonistic toward math and science; exactly the same description which these clinicians used to characterize an unhealthy, immature man or an unhealthy, immature adult (sex unspecified)." (Bem, 1972, p.3)

There is a very clear indication that masculine characteristics are seen to be more socially desirable by both men and women. Both sexes were found to incorporate both the positive and negative traits of the appropriate stereotype into their self-concept. Since more feminine traits are negatively valued, women were found to have a more negative self-concept than men (Broverman et al, 1970; Rosenkrantz et al, 1968).

Research has highlighted the invidious situation in which women find themselves: if they adopt behaviours designated as suitable for adults they risk censure for not being appropriately feminine; but if they adopt suitable feminine behaviours they are deficient with respect to the general standards for adult behaviour (Broverman et al, 1972; Lips & Colwill, 1978).

1.5 Sex-role development

Traditional theoretical approaches to sex-role socialization, and the related empirical studies, are based on the traditional sex-role stereotypes of society. The two underlying assumptions, therefore, are polari-

zation and female inferiority (Constantinople, 1973; Lips & Colwill, 1978; Rebecca et al, 1976).

Not only do such theories promote sex discrimination amongst psychologists as well as the public in general, but they do not accommodate the rapid and numerous social and political changes of modern society. They have endeavoured to explain socialization in terms of one or a limited number of factors, such as parental influence, identification, conditioning, hormones, without any attempt to integrate the numerous factors which account for socialization presently and those which are likely to be important in the future (Mussen, 1969; Rebecca et al, 1976).

Furthermore, in their insistence upon dichotomization, psychologists have tended to emphasize differences between the sexes and overlook the numerous and important similarities which do exist, thus obtaining a biased and distorted view of masculinity and femininity (ibid.).

In order to place a new model of sex role transcendence in perspective, a model which attempts to redress the above problems, it is necessary to look briefly at the main traditional theories, namely, psychoanalytic, social learning and cognitive development theories.

1.5.1 Psychoanalytic theory

Classical psychoanalytic theory is primarily one of identification with the same-sex parent; defensive identification in the case of boys and anaclitic in the case of girls (Derlega & Janda, 1981). In the former, the process is linked to resolution of the Oedipus complex. The young boy, having libidinous feelings toward his mother, sees his father as

a rival and therefore begins to hate and envy him. But, the boy is afraid that he will be castrated by the latter for his hostility, his sexual feelings toward his mother. This, together with the realisation that he cannot succeed in such a struggle with his father prompts an identification with and imitation of the father, thus resolving the Oedipal complex (Mussen, 1969).

The psychoanalytic explanation of the girl's identification with her mother is not as clear, lacking the focal point of the castration complex. Freud offered the mechanism of anaclitic identification as an explanation, whereby the young girl identifies with her mother due to her love for and dependency on her and her fear of the loss of her mother's love (ibid.).

Both the boy and girl thus internalise the characteristics and behaviour styles of their same-sex parent and begin to consciously or unconsciously react in similar ways to him/her.

1.5.2 Social learning theory

According to this theory the child acquires his sex-role identity through a learning process involving modelling, imitation, generalisation, conditioning and vicarious learning (Lips & Colwill, 1978; Mussen, 1969). The theory is based on the assumption that boys and girls learn their appropriate sex-roles because sex-role appropriate behaviour is rewarded and sex-role inappropriate behaviour is ignored or punished. Many agencies participate in this differential reinforcement for boys and girls which begins from birth, e.g. the use of pink for girls and blue for boys; but the parental same-sex models are seen to be the

most influencial and effective (Lips & Colwill, 1978). As the child is differentially reinforced more and more for doing sex-appropriate things he/she begins to see it as rewarding to think of him/herself as a boy or a girl respectively, and thus behaves more and more in terms of his sex-role.

However, Mischel (1970) goes further to point out that in his view sex-typed behaviour involving observed learning and cognitive processes can occur without any direct reinforcement. Sex-roles are learnt through observation of the structure of the environment and the behaviour of others.

There are numerous studies which support the case for social learning, particularly from parental models. Lewis (1972), for example, cites research carried out as early as from three weeks of life, indicating differential treatment of girls and boys by their mothers in terms of maternal distal or proximal behaviour. Kagan (1964) cites numerous studies where parents hold differential standards regarding aggression, dependency, passivity and conformity in their children.

Lansky's findings (1967) that the parental attitudes of preschool boys and girls differ, i.e. parents of boys had more polarized attitudes, and fathers of boys and girls differed from one another in attitude, would support the thesis of differential treatment of boys and girls by their parents.

David Lynn's (1966) social psychological theory of sex-role identification

is so unique in its welding together of psychoanalytic and social learning theories, that it warrants a particular mention here.

Still using the psychoanalytic term identification to infer the individual's internalization of the characteristics of a person or role, Lynn, however, unlike the psychoanalysts, emphasizes the learning of behaviour through observation, imitation and reinforcement, the basic social learning concepts. Both Freud's and Lynn's theories recognise sex differences, but whereas Freud sees these as inevitable, due mainly to the differential approach to and resolution of the Oedipus complex, Lynn sees them as the direct result of our socialization process (Lips & Colwill, 1978).

The problem of the boy's identification with his daily-absent father is solved by Lynn in his suggestion that the boy becomes masculine, not by modelling his father, but by following the stereotypical prescriptions of the male role spelled out by his mother and teachers. Thus, through rewards for stereotypically masculine behaviour and punishments for stereotypically feminine behaviour, the boy learns to identify with the male role in general rather than with his father in particular. The girl continues to identify with her mother. Furthermore, the anxiety that is created by such punishment and expectations, in the relative absence of a male model, causes the boy to adhere rigidly to the requirements of his role, and to dislike anything feminine (Lynn, 1966).

Two most important aspects of Lynn's theory are:

i) the difference between parental as opposed to sex-role

identification. The former refers to the internalization of characteristics of one's own parent and the latter to the internalization of the role typical of a given role in a particular culture.

ii) the fact that socialization for boys and girls may very well involve different types of learning method, e.g. the girl's learning method involves a personal relationship and imitation. The boy's learning method, however, involves 1) defining the goal; 2) restructuring the field, and 3) abstracting principles.

As Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) and Mussen (1969) are quick to point out, there are shortcomings in both the psychoanalytic and social learning theories. For example, children have not been shown to closely resemble their same-sex parent in behaviour, but may resemble others' fathers or mothers as much as their own. Secondly, the behaviour of children under 6-7 is sex-typed far younger than the age at which their choice of the same-sex models begins to occur. Thirdly, children's sex-typed behaviour does not necessarily closely resemble that of adult models, e.g. boys select all-male play groups, yet do not observe their fathers avoiding females.

Finally, Mussen (1969) expresses grave doubts about the criteria involved in the assessment of sex-role development, for example, what kinds of tests are being used and what they are measuring.

1.5.3 Cognitive Developmental Theory

This theory, of which Kohlberg (1966) is the main author and protagonist, is often referred to as a "self-socialization" process, in that the child him/herself is said to be more actively involved in his/her own sex-role development. Kohlberg (ibid.) stresses that development of the child's sex-role is not simply an accumulation of behaviours which he/she has seen same-sex people perform. Rather, once the child has developed concepts of masculinity and femininity and has understood what his/her own sex is, i.e. constancy of sex identity, then he/she seeks to determine what behaviour is appropriate for his/her own sex, i.e. to match his/her behaviour to his/her conception. The performance of such sex-role appropriate behaviours acquires a meaning which makes them self-reinforcing (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). The child induces organised rules from what he/she has observed and has been told, rules which may, in many ways, be distortions of reality, over-simplified and exaggerated. These generalizations he/she constructs are not 'acts of imitation' but are organizations of information drawn from a wide variety of sources, and limited by the level of cognitive skills he/she has developed. As the child's level of understanding regarding sex-roles changes with changes in his levels of cognition, so does both his/her behaviour change and his/her behaviour towards others in terms of sex-role stereotypes (ibid.).

A problem with this view is that sex-typing of behaviour begins before the child's sex identity is firmly established. However, Maccoby and Jacklin (ibid.) argue that constant sex identity is not necessary for self-socialization into sex-roles to begin. They suggest that by three

years children have begun to develop a rudimentary understanding of their sex identity and will therefore try to match their behaviour to their limited concepts of what is sex-appropriate. Mussen (1969) points out what he feels are the main shortcomings of the theory, viz. an under-emphasis of the potency of reinforcement of sex-typed responses, modelling and identification in the sex-typing process. He suggests further that to understand the acquisition of sex-roles more fully requires a synthesis of all three theories since for most children learning, identification and cognitive organization all contribute to the development and growth of sex-typing and sex-role acquisition.

In direct opposition to the concept of sex-typing, is that of androgyny, seen as a combination of masculinity and femininity. It will be treated in depth in section 1.2 to follow.

1.2 ANDROGYNY

1.2.1 A definition

"It is time for people to free themselves from the sex and gender roles...that for so long have remained as stereotypes in our Western world" (Singer, 1976, p.193). Singer's call for personal freedom from the confines of sex-role stereotypes epitomizes a common assertion in the feminist movement and in recent psychological theory that traditional sex-roles are limiting and that new roles for women will result in more flexible and rewarding options for both sexes (Jones et al, 1978).

Furthermore, the conceptualization of masculinity and femininity as bipolar ends of a single continuum has also been challenged, resulting in the open-

ing up of the possibility that many individuals might be "androgynous", i.e. they might be both masculine and feminine, depending on situational appropriateness.

Bem (1974) introduced the concept of psychological androgyny to empiricists and theoreticians in the last decade as an attempt to redress the bi-polarity issue of masculinity and femininity as well as the hypothesized limitations of stereotyped sex-roles. In an important series of articles (1974; 1975a; Bem & Lenney, 1976) she challenged the popular assumption that persons who adopt a traditional masculine or feminine sex-role are somehow "healthier." She argued that such persons were deprived of a full and satisfying behavioural repertoire, whereas the androgynous person who could incorporate both masculine and feminine characteristics would be freed from any stereotypic role limitations and able to engage freely in a full range of behaviours, dictated by the situation alone (Jones et al, 1978).

> "Thus, the concept of androgyny denotes a person who is flexible, socially competent, able to respond to shifting situational demands, and more complete and actualized in the sense of developing and maximising personal potential." (ibid., p.298).

Androgyny thus defined is a dynamic on-going process rather than a static ideal end-state. Masculinity and femininity are accepted within it as universally co-existent human elements of equal worth (Woolfson, 1979).

1.2.3 Theories of Psychological Androgyny

Theories which suggest that psychological androgyny is the best norm, in terms of healthy adjustment, for human behaviour, rest on two basic assumptions:

1) that adherence to a stereotyped sex-role will inhibit development of the individual's full potential, as well as inhibiting his/her range of situationally appropriate behaviours to those within the limits of the sex-role (Bem, 1975a);
2) the growth or adoption of a psychologically androgynous orientation involves individualism and growth towards self-actualization, as well as situationally appropriate, adaptive and flexible behaviours, all implying psychological health and adjustment (Bem, 1974; Cox, 1976; Woolfson, 1979).

At present psychological androgyny may be interpreted from three different viewpoints; namely, trait theory, sex role transcendence theory, existential theory (Woolfson, 1979).

1.2.3.1 Trait theory

Androgyny is viewed as a combination or balance of stereotypically masculine and feminine traits (Bem, 1974). Bem is the main protagonist of this, the original theory of androgyny. Her trait model reflects a "static dualistic conceptualization" of androgyny, containing a balanced integration of masculine and feminine traits. The assumptions underlying her theory have been mentioned above. To recapitulate briefly they are as follows:

1) that people are limited in development and behaviour by adherence to sex-roles and cannot develop to their full potential; and
2) that an androgynous orientation allows for better adjustment, more flexible, situationally appropriate behaviour and full development of potential. Numerous research studies, most of which validate such assumptions, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

As Bem's research hypotheses also form the basis of her theory, they are mentioned briefly below:

a) Masculinity and femininity are co-existent orthogonal personality dimensions.
b) Sex-typing limits the range of behaviour available to the individual.
c) Psychological androgyny permits adaptable, flexible, effective behaviour.
d) Psychological androgyny is an appropriate new standard for psychological health.
e) The androgynous sex-role orientation is the appropriate ideal for contemporary Western society (Woolfson, 1979).

As always there are critics of any new theory and both Harris (1974) and Secor (1974), for example, have severely criticised Bem for accepting the stereotypic concepts of masculinity and femininity rather than endeavouring to test their validity. Secondly, they accuse her model of perpetuating rather than eliminating sex discrimination in that she

resorts to the very stereotypes she wishes to overcome (ibid.; Kenworthy, 1979). Thirdly, Bem is accused of creating yet another role (androgynous) which is nearly as restricting as the existing stereotypic roles (Collett & Winkler, 1979; Locksley & Colten, 1979).

1.2.3.2 Sex-role transcendence theory

In contrast to Bem's static, dualistic concept of androgyny, this model is developmental in orientation, its main protagonists being Garnets and Pleck (1979); Hefner, Meda and Oleshansky (1975); Rebecca et al (1976). From their perspective androgyny is defined as a dynamic, developmental process, characterised by transcendence of prevailing stereotypes. However, sex-role transcendence still remains as a purely theoretical construct which has yet to be operationalised (Woolfson, 1979).

Hefner et al's theory of androgyny (1975) is a highly complex, dynamic and developmental one which, unlike traditional theories, or that of Bem, stresses sources and outcomes of conflict and the dynamics of transition occuring both within and between developmental stages. Human growth and development are ongoing and continually changing, so that there is no final ideal, as each stage provides the impetus for new conflict. Hefner et al (ibid.) use this dialectical theory, together with Erikson's theory of personality, as a framework for developing their own theory, while Rebecca et al (1976) pattern their model after the stage-developmental models of developmental psychology, most particularly Pleck's (1975) three-stage model of sex-role-identity development. The main difference between the two is that Hefner et al (1975) focus on describing the dynamics of transition whereas Rebecca et al (1976) point out that such transition from one stage to the next is not inevitable (Woolfson, 1979).

The discussion to follow is based upon Rebecca et al's model (1976), unless otherwise stated:

i) Undifferentiated Sex-Roles

Initially this stage is characterised by a globalness and an undifferentiated conception of behaviour, including sex-roles and sex-typed behaviour. Transition from this stage to the next involves the child's growing awareness of societal values transmitted by the parents, and the learning of the dichotomies of sex and gender.

ii) Polarized Sex Roles

The child begins to learn the different options and the requirements in terms of behaviour, thought, attitudes and feelings which go with them. Socialization by parents, schools, and society ensures the adoption of conventional perceptions and behaviours. There is an active acceptance by the child of traditional sex-roles, his/her own according to his/her own sex assignment, and a simultaneous active rejection of the opposite sex-role. Fitting into the stereotype is seen as a necessary and major step in gaining entrance to adult society.

Once this is achieved, adherence to the appropriate sex-role is seen as desirable and necessary to all members of Stage II society, throughout their lives. Transition from Stage II to Stage III is usually difficult to accomplish, and dramatic when it happens in that a crisis is experienced. The individual has some considerable knowledge of both sex-roles but actual performance depends on overt and covert environmental reinforcement. The problem of how to use such knowledge in developing new skills or a new life style only comes to the fore when the individual

is confronted by some crisis which perforce brings about what can only be conceived of "a dramatic paradigm shift" (ibid., p.203). Such a shift from Stage II to Stage III is difficult to accomplish and dramatic in that in our society there is virtually no support for this transition comparable to that of the I to II shift.

iii) Sex-Role Transcendence

The emphasis here is on personal freedom, both of behaviour and of emotional expression. Sex-role stereotypes have been transcended in favour of a reorganization of the possibilities learned in Stage II into a more personally relevant framework. There is the freedom to choose varied occupations, life styles and roles. It is further suggested that Stage III is not the end of a process, but rather the beginning of a new and dynamic orientation towards life, which is in a continual state of flux.

> "Even when firmly entrenched in a Stage III consciousness the process of conflict and conflict-resolution continues. Resolution is only a temporary state which fulfils the requirements for a particular situation, mood, and/or period of time." (ibid., p.205)

Garnets and Pleck (1979) have since developed an eclectic theory of androgyny which combines both the trait theory of Bem (1974), and Rebecca et al's sex-role transcendence theory (1976). This developmental theory again suggests three stages, namely, i) an initial conformity stage; ii) an androgynous stage in which the individual blends both masculine and feminine; and finally, iii) a transcendent stage in which masculine and feminine are transcended. This stage is equated with transcendence of sex-role salience and interpreted in terms of "intrapsychic characteristics differentiating gender role transcendent

from non-transcendent individuals." (Woolfson, 1979, p.72). Sex-role salience is defined as "the extent to which individuals do or do not experience and organize personality characteristics as parts of larger constructs of masculinity and femininity" (Garnets & Pleck, 1979, p.277).

Finally, Garnets and Pleck (ibid.) suggest that it is important to distinguish between sex-role change at societal and at the individual level. At societal level sex-role change is seen as involving changes in the sex-role norms from stereotypic to androgynous, thereby offering men and women a far greater freedom and flexibility of behaviour. At the individual level sex-role change is seen to involve the individual's ability to overcome psychologically the linking of behaviour and characteristics with men and women on the basis of sex or gender (Woolfson, 1979).

As Gerdes (1972) puts it:

> "The qualities of masculinity and femininity should not be seen as role-bound but need to be seen as attributes which can be expressed in virtually any role. Both men and women need to divest themselves of existing role stereotypes ... and so pave the way for their future emancipation and development." (p.35)

1.2.3.3 Existential theory

Androgyny is defined as a universally innate state of being, characterised by the merging and separating of masculine and feminine aspects of the self (Singer, 1976; Woolfson, 1979).

Singer (1976) is the main protagonist of this theory which she bases on Jungian concepts, Laszlo's Systems Theory (1972), and existential philosophy (Woolfson, 1979). She defines androgyny as:

> "... the One which contains the Two; namely the male (andro) and the female (gyne)."
> (Singer in Woolfson, 1979, p.74)

Androgyny is not conceptualised either in terms of Bem's static integration of masculinity and femininity, or in terms of Hefner's (1975) or Rebecca's (1976) sex-role transcendence. Rather, androgyny is seen as a universally innate, unconscious state of being which represents human wholeness (ibid.). She argues that one does not become androgynous, but rather allows oneself to be, whereby one flows between masculinity and femininity rather than endeavouring to maintain a balance between them (Singer, 1976). With obvious influence from Laszlo her focus is not so much on the nature of masculinity and femininity but rather on their organization within the individual.

Jung's influence on Singer is evident in that she regards androgyny as a "universal, primordial archetype", containing both masculinity and femininity, and representing the human striving for unity and wholeness. Singer suggests that once androgyny is recognised as an essential human reality it permits a freedom of choice of roles and behaviour, thus having a liberating effect upon the individual (Woolfson, 1979).

In the same way as Hefner et al (1975) and Rebecca et al (1976), Singer emphasizes the dynamic nature of life, but, whereas the former stress conflict and the imbalance of nature, Singer's existential theory under-

lines its harmony and balance (Woolfson, 1979).

Apart from the importance of Singer's theory in terms of its emphasis on wholeness, it also focuses on the multi-dimensionality of androgyny, i.e. physical, psychological, spiritual and emotional maturity. Furthermore, as androgyny is conceived of as a union rather than a confusion of masculine and feminine energies it offers the individual the opportunity of maximising potential and realising her/his individuality, through transcending stereotypes and becoming more and more self-actualised. Only through removal/transcendence of stereotypes can human beings have the freedom to actualize themselves, where

> "...the person will become at one and the same time tender and firm, flexible and strong, ambiguous and precise, focussed in thinking and diffused in awareness, nurturant and guiding, giving and receiving." (Singer, 1976, p.277)

Similarities with Bem's conceptualization of the androgyne are evident, but in contrast to her static, idealised view, that of Singer's is always dynamic and ongoing.

Conceptualization of androgyny has changed radically since the mid-1970s when Bem first operationalized the construct. From her initial view of androgyny as a balanced integration of masculine and feminine traits, movement has been towards the ability to transcend both the perceiving and experiencing of attributes and behaviours in terms of sex and gender (transcendence theorists) (Woolfson, 1979).

For the purposes of this study Bem's trait theory as well as her

operational definition of androgyny (1977) have been accepted due to the fact that there is no validated alternative at present.

1.2.4 Problems inherent in traditional research into masculinity and femininity

Since research into masculinity and femininity has been a natural and chronological precursor to research into androgyny, it seems appropriate to look briefly at problems encountered prior to the introduction of androgyny. Such problems remain relevant to research into androgyny.

The problems of definition of masculinity and femininity have been discussed in section 1.1.2.1 of this chapter. Obviously what cannot be defined cannot be adequately measured. Yet psychologists have been purporting to measure masculinity and femininity accurately, without adequate definition, as we have seen, for the past four decades. Furthermore, they have been attaching value judgements to their findings, for example, that it is "better" for females to score on the "feminine" end of the masculinity-femininity continuum, and even more important for males to score on the "masculine" end. Scores which have not so conformed have been viewed as "deviant" (Lips & Colwill, 1978). Such interpretations make some extraordinary assumptions about the meaning of masculinity-femininity and raise vital issues concerning the psychological measurement of masculinity-femininity which should be taken into account when attempting or interpreting any empirical work in this area. For example, the validity of the instruments used is questionable; masculinity and femininity (prior to 1974) were considered to be mutually exclusive, opposing and unidimensional concepts; the assumption underlying the tests used was that each test item was worth as much as every other

item and no distinction was made between a male masculine score and the equivalent masculine score of a female (Constantinople, 1973; Lips & Colwill, 1978).

From the discussion above it would appear that psychological testing in the area of masculinity-femininity leaves much to be desired and that, as a result, little credence can be placed in traditional empirical findings. Until recently, psychological research has followed the tradition of regarding masculinity and femininity as opposing poles of existence rather than pursuing the idea of wholeness in the combination of the two. To date psychology has only been able to define masculinity and femininity "in terms of what differentiates men from women" (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.138).

However, Bem (1974) promoted a whole new era of research in this area with her new sex-role inventory (BSRI) which was compiled in order to assess the newly operationalized concept of androgyny, and which attempted to redress the bipolarity issue. However, she has been criticised for ignoring the issue of unidimensionality. Similarly Sechrest and Fay (in Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.138) attempted a new definition of masculinity-femininity by developing a test featuring twelve masculinity-femininity sub-scales. But, although they thereby attacked the unidimensionality problem,the bipolarity issue was not resolved. The ideal test which takes cognisance of both important issues, as well as the others mentioned previously, has yet to be devised.

> "Meanwhile, the psychological approach to masculinity and femininity continues to shape our concepts of what is mentally healthy for women and men." (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.138)

This will be discussed in depth in the following chapter.

1.2.5 Current research into androgyny

1.2.5.1 Change in focus of research

There has been a very significant shift in the last decade from the traditional research approach to masculinity and femininity to an androgynous definition of sex-role, where masculinity and femininity are seen in combination within the same person. Such a shift has been brought about by scientific progress and sociocultural change, and has brought with it a concerted effort to redress many of the problems mentioned above.

Firstly, as empirical research in the area has become more sophisticated, knowledge about masculinity and femininity has increased; for example, it is now recognised that masculinity and femininity are not a single personality dimension and the presence of one does not necessarily preclude the co-existence of the other. Evidence is continually coming to light concerning the detrimental effects of sex-role stereotyping (Bem, 1977; Broverman et al. 1970; Rebecca et al, 1976; Sherman, 1976) and new and improved measuring instruments such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire have been developed (Woolfson, 1979).

Secondly, changes which have appeared in Western society, such as urbanization and the improvement of standards of education for all, particularly women; increased maternal employment and, finally, the women's liberation movement, have all contributed to the changed and ever-changing feminine role in particular (ibid.). (For a fuller discussion see the Introduction).

1.2.5.2 Research on Behavioural and Personality Correlates of Androgyny

Androgyny is a relatively new concept in psychology having only made its entry into psychological research in the seventies. Therefore, in comparison to traditional sex roles, which have enjoyed the scrutiny of psychologists for the last forty years, there is something of a dearth of published studies on personality and behavioural correlates associated with it.

The instrument most commonly used since its inception in 1974, is Bem's Sex Role Inventory, followed by some research using the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence et al, 1974). Since then, several other tests have emerged, for example, the PRF ANDRO Scale (Berzins et al, 1978) and masculinity-femininity scales derived from the Adjective Check List (Heilbrun, 1976). There is still no agreement regarding the scoring procedure to be used to designate androgyny as opposed to sex-typed roles, and it appears that the abovementioned scales/inventories may not be measuring the same characteristics. Where known, their intercorrelations are modest at best, and their psychometric, item selection and construction properties are sufficiently different to create doubt as to whether they are comparably defining sex-typed, androgynous or undifferentiated roles (Kelly & Worell, 1977). This presents a problem when any review of research is contemplated, and will be borne in mind throughout the discussion of research to follow. It is a problem which merits further exploration, and as Kelly and Worell suggest

> "... before the field of sex role functioning becomes inundated with a rash of new scales, the present scales merit further examination, item and scoring refinement,

interaction comparison, and external validation."
(ibid.)

Research studies on psychological androgyny have covered many areas of behaviour and personality functioning, such as social responsivity, anxiety, aggression, dominance, sex-role attitudes, self-actualization, adjustment and self esteem.

1.2.5.2.1 Behavioural Correlates of Androgyny

Research studies in this area have been conducted mainly by Bem and her associates. Based on Bem's assumption (1974) that androgyny is associated with behavioural flexibility, effectiveness and situational appropriateness, Bem and her associates designed a number of research studies. Bem and Lenney (1976) found that, in a situation where both masculine and feminine activities were explicitly available to all subjects, sex-typed individuals were significantly more likely to select their own sex's activities and to reject the other sex's activities than either androgynous or cross-sex-typed subjects were. When forced to perform cross-sex activities it was again the sex-typed subjects who felt the most uncomfortable. They concluded that sex-role stereotyping restricts simple, everyday behaviours.

Two further studies (Bem, 1975a) found that androgynous subjects of both sexes displayed both masculine and feminine behaviour in appropriate situations whereas all non-androgynous subjects displayed behavioural deficits of some kind. They concluded that androgynous individuals are more likely to display sex-role adaptability across situations than non-androgynous individuals. Two follow-up studies (Bem et al, 1976)

supported previous findings that masculine males are low in feminine traits such as nurturance, while the surprisingly low nurturance of feminine females was found to be situation specific, and was not evident in interaction.

Findings by both Heilbrun (in Woolfson, 1979, p.93) and White (1979) tend to support the hypothesis that androgyny is positively related to a high level of social responsivity.

1.2.5.2.2 Personality Correlates of Androgyny

Studies have been conducted into various aspects of personality in relation to androgyny, for example, androgyny and anxiety, aggression, dominance, attitudes, adjustment.

Research findings indicate that high masculinity, with high femininity (Leary,in Woolfson, 1979, p.93; White, 1979), or with low femininity (Block, 1973; Jordan-Viola, 1976) is associated with low anxiety in women; that is, either an androgynous or masculine orientation respectively is associated with low anxiety in women.

In the case of both aggression and dominance there are contradictory findings, some researchers finding androgynous subjects more accepting of aggression and more self-assertive (Leary, 1976; White, 1979), and others finding such traits characteristic of highly masculine subjects (Bem, 1975a and b; Ginn, 1975; Orlofsky, 1977).

Research findings regarding attitudes and androgyny will be discussed in

detail in section 1.3. Findings,however, seem to suggest that androgyny may be associated with a non-traditional definition of the feminine role.

Jones et al (1978) compared androgynous with sex-typed individuals along several behavioural and personality dimensions, e.g. attitudes towards women's issues, gender identification, neurosis, introversion-extraversion, locus of control, self-esteem, problems with alcohol, creativity, political awareness, confidence in one's own ability, helplessness and sexual maturity. Findings indicated that flexibility and adjustment were generally associated with masculinity rather than with androgyny for both sexes. It is research like this,however, that is criticised by Worell (1979) for being atheoretical, in that Bem's assumptions regarding behavioural flexibility are being extended into areas such as the above whereas at no stage did Bem imply that her theory should extend as far.

1.2.5.2.3 Androgyny and Adjustment

There are numerous studies which tend to suggest that androgyny is associated with good adjustment (Baucom & Sanders, 1978; Bem, 1975a & b; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al, 1976; Block, 1973; Heilbrun, 1976; Orlofsky, 1977; Spence et al, 1975; White, 1979), whereas sex-typing is not (Bem, 1977; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Sherman, 1976; Rebecca et al, 1976).

High self-esteem was found to be associated with androgyny (Orlofsky, 1977; Spence et al, 1975), but more recent studies reveal that it is the masculinity of the androgynous individual that is the significant factor in self-esteem (Antill & Cunningham, 1979; Jones et al, 1978).

Findings regarding self-actualization and androgyny are contradictory, the only consistent finding being that females appear to be more self-actualizing than males. Results in this area will be discussed more fully in section 1.4 of this chapter.

Conclusions drawn to date are that androgyny expands the range of behaviour available to the individual, thereby enabling the androgynous individual to cope more adequately and effectively with diverse life situations and demands (Woolfson, 1979).

1.2.6 Androgyny as a Transitional Concept

The direction taken throughout this chapter, namely, from sex-roles and sex-typing to masculinity, femininity and finally their combination in androgyny, has typified the direction of research in this area over the years. From the mid-seventies, however, androgyny has replaced traditional sex-roles as the main focus of research.

However, now that the initial rush of interest is past, some contemporary investigators are questioning the utility of the concepts masculinity, femininity and even androgyny (Bem, 1979; Collett & Winkler, 1979; Lips & Colwell, 1978; Locksley & Colten, 1979; Rebecca et al, 1976; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

> "...society would not necessarily laud the sex-role stereotype of androgyny, which is nearly as binding as the sex-role stereotype of masculinity and femininity. Instead, we would be free of all sex-role norms, even that of androgyny." (Locksley & Colten, 1979, p.144)

It is suggested that it is more useful to have information regarding individual characteristics than to know whether an individual is masculine, feminine or androgynous. As Wiggins and Holzmuller (1978) and Collett and Winkler (1979) point out, the use of a single term "androgynous" to cover a number of dimensions is misleading. Androgyny, like masculinity and femininity, is a term which allows a very general and therefore loose interpretation. Its value as a concept has been to allow recognition that personality traits once thought to be dimensional are not. They suggest that instead of using the language of masculinity and femininity and the term androgyny, it might be more appropriate to drop such terms and focus on the specific personality characteristics found in the factor analyses of androgyny measures.

Even Bem herself makes a plea for multiple regression techniques rather than the classificatory system she instituted, since the former yields more information regarding the relationship between the subjects and the dependent variables (1977).

Garnets and Pleck (1979), Hefner et al (1975) and Rebecca et al (1976) offer dynamic models of sex-role transcendence. They too suggest that androgyny is nearly as restricting a stereotype as masculinity-femininity and look towards a pluralistic society in which individuals could experience the full range of behaviour and emotional choices.

Although this appears desirable in theory, the reality of the situation is that although androgyny may be conceptualized in terms of sex-role transcendence, it is, as yet, still defined in terms of trait theory.

Until there is a revised operationalization of androgyny in terms of sex-role transcendence it appears as if androgyny (and therefore masculinity and femininity), must of necessity be retained in its present form.

1.3 ATTITUDES

1.3.1 A definition

An attitude has been defined as

> "... a relatively stable and enduring predisposition to behave or react in a certain way toward persons, objects, institutions, or issues." (Chaplin, 1968, p.42)

Attitudes involve a tendency to respond to people, events or institutions positively or negatively, and to classify or categorize. Thus, if a man, for example, believes that women are inferior, he is likely to react to all women in this way, regardless of their unique characteristics (ibid.). Attitudes are derived from cultural, familial and personal sources, i.e. people tend to assume many of the attitudes prevailing in their culture, e.g. masculine and feminine stereotypic beliefs. Many attitudes are passed on within the family unit from generation to generation as well as acquired through personal experience (ibid.).

1.3.2 Attitudes Towards Women

Attitudes towards women prior to the seventies are reflected in research into sex differences which was popular in the fifties and sixties. Due to the emphasis on sex differences rather than similarities, masculinity and femininity were seen as mutually exclusive and the ensuing attitudes about men and women were sharply divided sex-wise.

The following information and studies quoted were taken from Woolfson (1979, p.81).

Research indicates that women, when compared with men, were regarded as

i) more anxious throughout their lifespan (Bem, 1975b; Bennett & Cohen, 1959; Cosetino & Heilbrun, 1964; Gray, 1957; Taylor, 1953; Terman & Miles, 1936).

ii) more socially responsive and oriented towards people (Bakan, 1966; Bennett & Cohen, 1959; Carlson, 1971a; McKee & Sheriffs, 1959; Parsons & Bales, 1955).

iii) more dependent (Schopler & Bateson, 1965).

iv) less aggressive generally (Bennet & Cohen, 1959; Carlson, 1971a; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Sears, 1965; Terman & Miles, 1936).

v) less independent and autonomous (Bennett & Cohen, 1959; Carlson, 1971a; Kagan & Moss, 1962).

vi) less self-confident and lower in self-esteem (Bem, 1975b; Bennett & Cohen, 1959; McKee & Sheriffs, 1957; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968).

From the above findings, the dichotomy between male and female is evident:

namely, feminine dependence, anxiety and people-orientation, and the masculine independence, autonomy, aggression, self-confidence and self-esteem.

1.3.3 Current relevant research

Since the early seventies the relatively few studies there are in this area have focused on the implications of androgyny for women's roles. The main measuring instrument used has been Spence and Helmreich's Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) (1972), a Likert-type scale. However, the Women's Liberation Ideology Scale (WLIS) (Goldschmidt, Gergen, Quigley & Gergen, 1974), as well as the Therapists' Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Sherman et al, 1978) have also been used.

Findings have been somewhat contradictory; the results of both Woolfson (1979) and Zeldow (1976)indicate that androgynous individuals are not more liberal in their attitudes towards women than non-androgynous individuals, whereas Baucom and Sanders (1978) found that the former were more liberal in attitude.

A significant finding of several studies, with the exception of Zeldow's results (1976), is the tendency for individuals showing a cross-role identity, namely masculine females and feminine males, to be the most liberal in their attitudes towards women (Bridges, 1978; Ellis & Bentler, 1973; Jones et al, 1978; Tarr, 1978). Conversely, those most strongly adhering to their traditional sex-role stereotypes, namely, masculine males (Bem, 1977) and feminine females, appear to be the most conservative. The only consistent findings to emerge are those on sex differences, which showed females to be consistently more liberal in

their attitudes (Jones et al, 1978; Sherman et al, 1978; Spence, 1972 & 1979; Zeldow, 1976). A full discussion and review of research relating to counsellor attributes is to be found in chapter 2, section 2.1.2.1.2.1, as well as a summary of the main findings also in chapter 2, section 2.1.1.3.

1.4 SELF-ACTUALIZATION

1.4.1 A Definition

The concept of self-actualization was first introduced into psychology by Goldstein (Hall & Lindzey, 1963, p.304) in his organismic theory. It was brought to fruition by Maslow and forms the cornerstone of present humanistic theories.

Self-actualization may be defined as "... an organism's drive to actualize its potentialities " (Olczak & Goldman, 1975, p.415). The focus is on an ongoing process of growth and development which is peculiar to each individual, and dependent on his own unique potentialities.

1.4.2 Humanistic theories

It is not the intention of the writer to give a comprehensive review of any or all humanistic theories, but rather to briefly discuss those in which self-actualization is regarded as particularly important.

1.4.2.1 Rogers

Self-actualization forms one of the basic concepts of Rogers' self-theory and is seen as the goal and motivating force of the individual. Rogers defines self-actualization as the inherent tendency of the individual to

develop all his/her capacities in ways that will maintain and enhance him/her. There is a forward movement in the life of every person, an ongoing tendency to actualize which is not unaccompanied by pain and struggle. These, however, are withstood in the service of the creative urge to grow. However, Rogers warns that a person cannot actualize him/herself unless he/she is able to distinguish between progressive and regressive ways of behaving. When he/she has discovered the path of progress, however, the individual's choice is always to grow rather than to regress (Rogers, in Hall & Lindsey, 1963, p.481).

1.4.2.2 Maslow

It is in the theory of Maslow that the concept of self-actualization is fully developed. His theory shares much with that of Rogers, for example, the basic good nature of man, the focus on change and growth and on self-directed rather than other-directed behaviour. Both are theories of motivation, Maslow's in particular seeing man as driven to satisfy a variety of needs, the highest of all needs being self-actualization. "Man must become what he can be" (Maslow, in Antsyferova, 1973, p.26). His hierarchy of need priorities runs from those aimed at maintenance of the ongoing human organism to those which are growth-directed and aid its development, e.g. self-actualization. Maslow's unique contribution to psychology was his emphasis on the healthy rather than the pathological individual and his intensive study of self-actualizing people, whose wholeness and unity of personality were already apparent, and from whom he formulated his theory of personality. Maslow has been severely criticised for ignoring environmental influences such as the individual's socio-historical experiences (ibid.).

1.4.3 Research studies

The instrument used to assess self-actualization is Shostrom's Personality Orientation Inventory (1964). Although there are some problems regarding its use, particularly as a diagnostic tool in the therapeutic situation (see chapter 4, section 4.2.3.7 for a full critical review) nevertheless it is the only instrument available, and recommendations have been made that it be used as a research instrument (Tosi & Lindawood, 1975).

Research involving self-actualization falls into several areas:

Firstly, regarding the researched relationship between psychological androgyny and self-actualization, findings have been contradictory. Androgynous individuals have been found to be more self-actualizing than traditionally sex-typed subjects (Cristall & Dean, 1976; Nevill, 1977), yet Ginn (1975) did not find this to be the case. Differing research designs and scoring methods appear to account to a large extent for such discrepancies.

Secondly, it has been hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between those holding profeminist views and self-actualization. Doyle (1975) found this to be the case using a mixed-sex college student sample, while Hjelle and Butterfield (1974) found female college students holding profeminist views were significantly more self-actualizing than similar subjects endorsing traditional social attitudes.

Thirdly, sex differences in levels of self-actualizing have been found, significantly in favour of female subjects (Bledsoe, Foulds & Warehime,

in King, 1974; Le May & Damm, 1969; Schroeder, 1973). Shostrom (1966) recorded sex differences on some sub-scales of the POI but did not feel they were significant, while King (1974) found no such differences. He explained this in terms of his having tested married couples, and suggested that self-actualizing people tend to choose other self-actualisers as marriage partners, hence lessening the likelihood of significant differences. Schroeder's finding (1973) that women appear to reach a higher level of self-actualization earlier than men, perhaps ties in with Olczak and Goldman's (1975) findings that there is a high correlation between psychosocial maturity and self-actualization, since the majority of the latter's subjects were female.

Fourthly, it has been suggested that there is a positive relationship between the ability of the counsellor to facilitate constructive change in his/her clients, and his/her psychological well-being or self-actualization. Two studies by Foulds (1969a & b) tend to support such a hypothesis although a replication study by Winborn and Rowe (1973) does not. This important area which is still relatively unexplored begs further research.

One of the most popular areas of research is that of evaluating changes in self-actualization which occur after encounter group experiences. Shostrom (1966, pp.30-33) cited numerous such studies involving many different samples, e.g. high school students (Alperson, Alperson & Levine, 1971); college students (Guinan & Foulds, 1970; Trueblood & McHolland, 1971); teachers (Flanders, 1969); drug users (Knapp & Fitzgerald, in press); and Air Force personnel (Kaats, 1972), all of which indicate changes after such group experiences.

Many further studies are mentioned but comparison is difficult due to differences in statistical analyses and recognised methodological problems.

Having reviewed the background theory and research relevant to sex-roles, sex-typing, androgyny, attitudes towards women, and self-actualization in this initial chapter, chapter 2 will focus on the areas of counselling and adjustment.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE : COUNSELLING AND ADJUSTMENT

The concern of this chapter will be counselling and adjustment in general, but with a particular focus upon women, sex bias in counselling and psychotherapy and the double standards of mental health which appear to be applied by those in the helping profession. In this study, counselling and psychotherapy will not be viewed as conceptually different.

2.1. COUNSELLING : A DEFINITION

Definitions of counselling are numerous and varied, emphasizing many different areas. Fundamental to all, however, are three key elements, namely, participants, goals, and learning of some kind (Gustad, in Brammer & Shostrom, 1977, p.8).

For the purpose of this study, the following definition has been selected:

> "Counselling is a learning-oriented process, carried on in a simple, one-to-one social environment, in which a counselor, professionally competent in relevant psychological skills and knowledge, seeks to assist the client by methods appropriate to the latter's needs...to learn more about himself, to learn how to put such understanding into effect in relation to more clearly perceived, realistically defined goals to the end that the client may become a happier and more productive member of his society." (ibid. p.8).

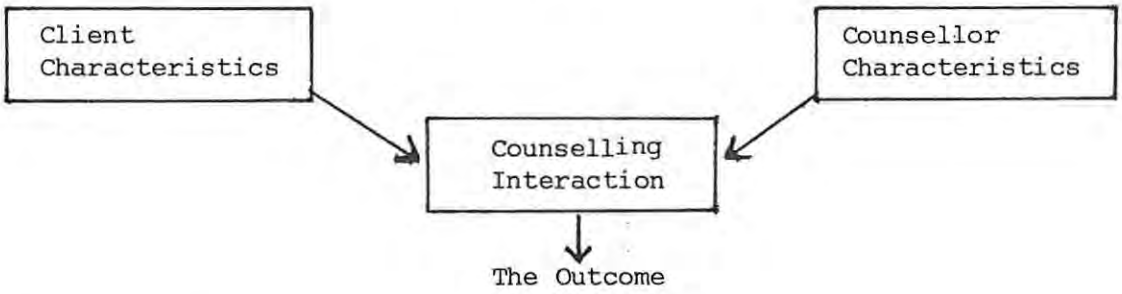
Harway and Astin (1977) compare the counselling process to a chemical process in which the two major ingredients, client characteristics and counsellor characteristics, interact to form a counselling interaction.

The outcome of such interaction is affected by the background characteristics of both client and counsellor. Cannell and Kahn, in Harway and Astin (1977), point out that

> "...each person comes to the interview with many fixed attitudes, personality characteristics, and stereotypes of other groups. Both respondent and interviewer also possess characteristics visible to the other and suggestive of group membership and group identifications- age, sex, race, religious background, income, and educational status." (p.4)

FIGURE 2.1

DYADIC COUNSELLING



(Source: Harway & Astin, 1977, p.4) (adapted)

Background characteristics may affect the counselling process by a) playing a part in determining the psychological characteristics of both client and counsellor, for example, attitudes and motives; and b) providing each with cues about the other. The counsellor's sex or race may affect the counsellee's attitude or behaviour towards him/her and conversely the sex or race of the client may awaken certain expectations in the counsellor regarding the counsellee's ability or motivation (Harway & Astin, 1977).

In view of the obvious importance of background characteristics, the present study will focus on the counsellor, and aspects of his functioning thought to be important in the counselling process, viz. sex and sex-role of counsellor, counsellor levels of self-actualizing, counsellor attitudes and counsellor concepts of adjustment, the latter in particular in relation to counsellor bias, and the application of double standards of mental health.

2.1.1 The Counsellor

Research has clearly indicated that the personal traits of the counsellor are important variables in effective counselling. Combs, in George & Cristiani (1981), concluded from a series of studies that "... the major differences between effective and ineffective counsellors were their personal beliefs and traits." (p.24).

The following were thought to be of particular importance:

2.1.1.1 Sex-role of Counsellor

There have not, to the writer's knowledge, been any studies carried out specifically in the area of sex-roles in the counselling situation; therefore, generalizations will have to be made from existing sex-role research. Such research, together with current research on androgyny, has been reviewed in the preceding chapter and therefore will not be discussed in full again here. Suffice it to say that strong sex-typing in either the masculine or feminine role is associated with restricted behaviour in certain situations, whereas androgyny appears to be

associated with behavioural flexibility as well as good psychological functioning (See chapter 1 section 1.2.5; Lips & Colwill, 1978). To generalize to the counselling situation, the assumption is that androgynous counsellors would exhibit more behavioural flexibility and better psychological health than strongly sex-typed counsellors.

2.1.1.2 Sex of Counsellor

Research results in this area are contradictory and generalizations are impossible due to the use of different populations and different instruments (Tanney & Birk, 1976). However, if anything does emerge from the current confusion it is a) that when clients state a preference, it is either for a male counsellor or for a counsellor of the same sex (Shullman & Betz, 1979). Preferences for male counsellors occurred most often when client problems were of an educational or vocational nature, while preferences of female clients for female counsellors increased only when the problems were of a personal nature (ibid.; Tanney & Birk, 1976); b) that female patients found therapy sessions with female therapists more satisfying than those with male therapists (ibid.; Harway & Astin, 1977); c) that counsellors of both sexes focus more on feeling and are more empathic with same-sex clients while they are more active and directive with less focus on feeling with opposite-sex clients (ibid.); d) that client-counsellor dyads containing a female involve more self-disclosure than all-male pairs and that females appear to disclose more to male therapists and vice versa (ibid.); e) that black clients were able to explore themselves more extensively in initial interviews with female counsellors (Tanney & Birk, 1976). However, Sher (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.75) found that neither sex of

client nor sex of counsellor was related to therapeutic outcome, but that the experience of the counsellor appeared to be related to it.

Even from the above brief review of research it is obvious that counsellor sex has some effect upon the client and upon counselling outcomes. In view of this and in view of the proposal that women would benefit more from having a female rather than a male counsellor (Chesler, 1971; Gardner, 1971; Kronsky, 1971; Rice & Rice, 1973), this important area needs to be much more closely researched. Having looked at the importance of counsellor sex from the point of view of the client and counselling outcomes, the following section will examine counsellor attitudes about their clients. In accordance with the focus of this study only the research concerning attitudes about women will be reviewed.

2.1.1.3 Counsellor Attitudes Towards Women

As the research in this area reveals a strong counsellor bias, findings will be discussed in detail in Section 2.1.2.1.2 of this chapter under 'Counsellor Bias'. In brief, however, findings indicate a) that views of counsellors and therapists alike parallel the sex-role stereotypes of society (Abramovitz, 1976; Broverman et al, 1970; Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976); b) that women are not seen to be as well adjusted as men (Broverman, 1970; Chesler, 1971 and 1976; Gove & Tudor, 1973); c) that counsellors are biased against women entering men's fields (Harway & Astin, 1977; Tanney & Birk, 1976; Vetter, 1973); d) that female counsellors are generally more egalitarian in their views than male counsellors (Tanney & Birk, 1976; Sherman et al, 1978). The assumption that such

counsellor attitudes will have their effect upon client and counselling interactions has some empirical support, although not specifically in the area of counselling. For example, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) found in children that teacher attitudes affect performance which rises as expectancy rises.

2.1.1.4 Counsellor Self-Actualization

Much research has been carried out in the area of self-actualization generally, but little linking counsellor characteristics and the ability to facilitate change. Maslow's suggestion that there is a positive relationship between self-actualization and the counsellor's ability to facilitate change has received support from studies by Foulds (1969a; 1969b). In both studies he found that the counsellor's ability to communicate his/her empathic understanding of the client's 'being' as well his/her ability to be genuine, authentic and non-defensive were related to his/her self-actualization or psychological well-being. Although a replication study conducted by Winborn and Rowe (1973) failed to support Foulds' findings, nevertheless several studies have revealed that the ability of counsellors to offer empathy, positive regard and genuineness is positively and significantly related to positive therapeutic outcome, and that personal attributes in turn are related to the ability of the counsellor to communicate such dimensions. (Allen 1967; Berenson, Carkhuff & Myers, 1966; Carkhuff & Berenson, 1967; Jones & Schoch, 1968; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967; all in Foulds, 1969a, p.87). Indirectly supporting Foulds' findings are studies reporting that counsellor personality disturbance interferes with the quality of the relationships he/she establishes with his/her

clients(Bergin & Solomon and Truax, Silber & Wargo in Foulds, 1969a, p.87). Such data suggests that the ability to offer facilitative conditions during counselling may, to some extent, be dependent upon the counsellor's psychological well-being or self-actualization (Foulds, 1969a)..

2.1.1.5 Counsellor Concepts of Adjustment

Although the terms mental health, healthy psychological functioning and adjustment are used more or less interchangeably in the literature, the term used in this study will be adjustment, implicit in such usage being the conceptual parameters of all alternative terms.

As counsellor concepts of adjustment have been found to be biased, as in the case of attitudes, the main discussion of this area will appear in Section 2.1.2.1.2.3 on sex bias in counselling. In brief, research findings indicate a) that the views of those in the helping professions on adjustment parallel the séx-role stereotypes of society leading to a double standard of mental health (Aslin, in Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.30; Belote, 1976; Broverman et al, 1970; Maslin & Davis, 1975); b) that women are judged to be less healthy psychologically than men (Broverman et al, 1970; Chesler, 1971 & 1976; Rice & Rice, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976); c) that as a result of (b) women become mentally 'ill' more often and need psychiatric and/or therapeutic help more often than men (Chesler, 1971 & 1976; Gove & Tudor, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976); d) that lack of adjustment to stereotypic role expectations is judged pathological rather than seen to be the result of social context (Rice & Rice, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976).

2.1.2 Counsellor Bias

Counsellor bias has been defined as

> "... an opinion, either unfavorable or favorable, which is formed without adequate reasons and is based upon what the bias holder assumes to be appropriate for the group in question." (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973, p.44)

Bias may result due to the age, social class, sex or race of the group or individual in question.

The fact that counsellor values and attitudes are communicated consciously or unconsciously in the counselling situation has been the subject of much debate and much research, but is generally accepted as a reality (ibid.; Broverman et al, 1970; Cook, Patterson, Rosenthal, Samler, Williamson, in George & Cristiani, 1981, p.33; Harway & Astin, 1977).

The assumption that counsellors, like the man-in-the-street, make judgements about behaviours appropriate for different groups of people, has not been supported empirically for all areas in which bias may take place, but certainly has been supported by research findings in the area of bias due to sex of subject or group (Broverman et al, 1970; Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973; Tanney & Birk, 1976).

Given the above, it follows that the biased views of counsellors will be communicated, to a greater or lesser extent, in the counselling situation. Such prejudgements may be important in influencing the

behaviour of the client.

Research by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) illustrate the extent to which attitudes about a child's competency can in fact affect performance. Performance rises as expectancy rises. Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973, p.45) suggest that in the counselling situation the expectations of the counsellor can act "as a self-fulfilling prophecy" as far as the client's behaviour is concerned. For example, if a counsellor believes that someone in his/her sixties is too old to commence a university career, or that a woman's place is in the home, or that blacks do not make good engineers, then this is likely to be reflected in his/her counselling (ibid.).

2.1.2.1 Sex Bias (discrimination)

Sex bias in counselling, which has been defined as "... any condition under which a client's options are limited by the counsellor solely because of gender" (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.1), will form a major portion of the remainder of this chapter. The writer is concerned with sex bias which is practised mainly by males in the helping professions, but sometimes by males and females, against female clients. There is no discussion of nor any empirical evidence of similar discrimination against male clients on the basis of sex alone; therefore, if the review of literature in the pages to follow appears somewhat biased or one-sided, it is because no opposing literature exists. The present review will present the situation as it is, biased and discriminatory.

The writer is of the opinion that the topic warranted thorough scrutiny because of the tremendous implications of findings such as those of Broverman et al (1970) regarding double standards of mental health, for half of the population, viz. the women who are potential clients.

2.1.2.1.1 Sex Bias in Personality Theory

Karen Horney was one of the first to draw attention to the masculinization of psychology:

> "Like all sciences and valuations, the psychology of women has hitherto been considered only from the point of view of men. It is inevitable that the man's position of advantage should cause objective validity to be attributed to his subjective, affective relations to women...the question then is how far analytical psychology also, when its researches have women for their object, is under the spell of this way of thinking, insofar as it has not yet wholly left behind the stage in which frankly and as a matter of course masculine development only was considered...how far has the evolution of women, as depicted to us today by analysis, been measured by masculine standards, and how far therefore does this picture fail to present quite accurately the real nature of women?" (Horney, 1973, p.7 & 8)

At the present time, some sixty years later, there is still no adequate or collated body of knowledge or theory pertaining to the real nature of women. Feminist researchers and clinicians have endeavoured in the last decade and a half to promote an awareness of the extent of the masculinization of psychology, both in theory and practice, and have begun to offer alternatives, both in the practical sphere (Berzins, 1979; Brodsky, 1976; Clinebell, 1976; Jongeward & Scott, 1975; Kaplan, 1979; Kenworthy, 1979; Lang, 1978; Lerman, 1976; Rice & Rice, 1973;

Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Vetter, 1973; Vogel, 1979; Weisstein, 1976;) and in the theoretical arena (Bem, 1974 & 1977; Bardwick, 1971; Kaplan, 1979; Sherman, 1971; Spence & Helmreich, 1979; Vogel, 1979). The tendency, however, to disregard and/or misinterpret what it is like to be a woman in society is general to the whole field of psychology (Jongeward & Scott, 1975). The main personality theories taught are still those formulated by men about men and extrapolated to women (Doherty, 1973; Horney, 1973), the study of women is still significantly absent from many psychology textbooks and journals (Tennov, 1976), and the power of the male psychotherapist is still supreme (Chesler, 1971 & 1976; Rice & Rice, 1973; Weisstein, 1976).

Traditional personality theories have limited women to a biological interpretation whereby their potential is fulfilled by being a companion to man, or by fulfilling their biological function, i.e. having children (Greenglass, 1973). Women are only defined by their attractiveness to men and by their inferior relationship to them e.g. less rational, less independent, more emotional (Doherty, 1973; Weisstein, 1976).

Doherty (1973) suggests that there are two main themes regarding human personality and the relationship between the sexes permeating traditional personality theories.

Firstly, man is seen as the prototype of humanity, with woman being understood or explained in relation to him. Therefore, what is observed in man is human, e.g. intelligence, independence, rationality; the same traits observed in woman, but to a greater or lesser degree, are

classed as feminine, e.g. less intelligent, less rational.

Secondly, the dichotomy between the cognitive and affective aspects of human functioning can be seen to parallel the dichotomy between male and female. The positive valuation of the cognitive aspect parallels similar valuation of the male and the less positive valuation of the affective domain parallels the inferior value placed upon the female (ibid.) Furthermore, the approbation afforded to the rational by Western civilization and the derogation of the sensual places woman in an invidious position since she is closely identified with her sensuality, her body (ibid.).

An examination of Freudian theory in the light of the above reveals Freud's tacit acceptance of man as the prototype of humanity with woman, in relation to man, being conceptualized as inferior and incomplete, both physically and psychically:

> "She has seen it and knows she is without it and wants to have it.... The hope of someday obtaining a penis in spite of everything and so of becoming like a man may persist to an incredibly late age and may become a motive for the strangest and otherwise unaccountable actions." (Freud, 1925/ 1974, p.31)

The different ways in which the two sexes approach the Oedipus complex result in masculine identification and a contempt for or a horror of women among males, whereas among females there is a sense of inferiority, a tendency towards jealousy, a rejection of clitoral sexuality and a wish for a child (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.33).

Resolution of the Oedipus complex, according to Freud, also holds implications for later sex differences. The tremendous fear of castration caused by the complex in males, results in its total destruction which in turn results in the formation of a strong super-ego. Females, not having the same strong motivation to destroy the Oedipus complex, slowly abandon or repress it. As a result, the necessity for developing as strong a super-ego as that of males never arises. Thus, resolution of the Oedipus complex leads to yet another sex difference, namely, differential super-ego strength for males and females (ibid.).

> "I cannot escape the notion...that for women the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in men. Their superego is never so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins as we require it to be in men. Character traits which critics of every epoch have brought up against women - that they show less sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to the great necessities of life, that they are more influenced in their judgements by feelings of affection and hostility - all these would be amply accounted for by the modification in the formation of their superego which we have already inferred." (Freud, 1925/1974, p.36)

Freud's theorizing regarding the rational and emotional natures of men and women respectively is clearly illustrated above. Women are depicted as inferior in terms of their emotionality ("affection and hostility") whereas men are what is termed "ethically normal" by virtue of their rational, impersonal super-ego. By implication men are "normal", women are sub-normal e.g. they have less sense of justice, are masochistic, narcissistic, jealous, envious (Freud, 1933/1973, pp168-169). In this regard, the protagonists of Freudian theory argue that he conceptualized human beings as being inherently bisexual (Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.34).

However, Freud himself destroys such argument by stressing that in the course of "proper" psychosexual development such "inappropriate" sexual tendencies are suppressed in favour of more socially acceptable ones (ibid.).

In Freud's defence, there have been claims that his theories were descriptive rather than prescriptive. Juliet Mitchell (1975) in particular argues that feminism needs psychoanalysis in order to fully understand the oppression of women. She suggests that psychoanalysis is not a recommendation for a patriarchal society, but rather an analysis of one. Psychoanalysis deciphers "how we acquire our heritage of the ideas and laws of human society within the unconscious mind." (ibid., p.xvi). Psychoanalysis is about

> "the material reality of ideas both within, and of, man's history: thus in 'penis envy' we are talking not about an anatomical organ, but about the ideas of it that people hold and live by within the general culture..." (ibid.).

Psychoanalysis provides us with the concepts with which we can comprehend how ideology functions. Since the ideology and laws of human order are patriarchal, Freud's analysis thereof necessarily appears sexist. However, Mitchell argues that Freud's work can, in fact, assist in the understanding of the operation of the patriarchal "law of the father" in the lives of men and women. Psychoanalysis enables man to analyse how men and women live as men and women within "the material conditions of their existence", and it also offers an analysis of the place and meaning of sexuality and of gender differences in society (ibid.).

Freud was the first psychologist who endeavoured to formalize a theory about the nature of women. He has suffered much criticism since, not the least being from fellow psychoanalysts (Gelb, 1973; Horney, 1973; Salzman, 1973; Thompson, 1973; Zilboorg, 1973). His influence on psychology overall, however, both in the past and in the present, is far-reaching.

The theories of Erikson carry much of Freud's influence in the sphere of the psychology of women. His central concern with identity is male-oriented; he attempts to explain identity in women through some accommodation of the male theory. Again, man is the prototype and woman finds some definition in relationship only to him:

> "Young women often ask whether they can 'have an identity' before they know whom they will marry and for whom they will make a home. Granted that something in the young woman's identity must keep itself open for the peculiarities of the man to be joined and of the children to be brought up, I think that much of a young woman's identity is already defined in her kind of attractiveness and in the selective nature of her search for the man (or men) by whom she wishes to be sought." (Erikson, 1969, p.282)

Again, woman is limited by a biological interpretation; Erikson suggests that mature womanly fulfilment rests on the fact that a woman's

> "... somatic design harbors an "inner space" destined to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy." (Erikson, in Weisstein, 1976, p.91)

The pervasiveness of the bias against women is particularly evident in Erikson's theory of personality since he continually emphasized the importance of social context in the shaping of personality; yet his theory about the nature of woman is based entirely on a male model (Doherty, 1973).

The theories of Carl Jung, although breaking new ground in psychological tradition by postulating the possibility and even desirability of the integration of both masculine (Logos) and feminine (Eros) principles within each individual, nevertheless also describes woman in relation to man (Lips & Colwill, 1978; Goldenberg, 1976).

> "It is a woman's outstanding characteristic that she can do anything for the love of a man. But those women who can achieve something important for the love of a thing are most exceptional, because this does not really agree with their nature. Love for a thing is a man's prerogative." (Goldenberg, 1976, p.445)

Although Jung values women for their "remarkable" Eros, yet he confines them to this sphere. Women are seen either as incapable of developing the masculine side of their nature, or this is seen to be undesirable, violating their true nature:

> "No one can get around the fact that by taking up a masculine profession, studying and working like a man, woman is doing something not wholly in accord with, if not directly injurious to, her feminine nature.... When I speak of injury, I do not mean merely physiological injury, but above all psychic injury." (ibid.)

There is similar inequality of Jung's anima-animus model of the psyche which at first sight appears liberating in that it postulates a contra-sexual personality (archetype) in each sex. The anima is man's feminine side, whilst the animus represents woman's masculine side.

> "Since the anima is an archetype that is found in men, it is reasonable to suppose that an equivalent archetype must be present in women;..." (ibid. p.446)

There is obvious hesitation concerning the animus in women; it would appear that Jung has deduced its presence from the presence of the anima in man. Again woman is seen in relation only to man. The main advantages of the combination of the masculine and feminine within the individual seem to apply to males who gain wholeness and completeness by developing the feminine side of their personality. Women, seen as handicapped by their nature in all Logos arenas, are not encouraged to do the same.

It has not been the intention of the writer to engage in a comprehensive review of sex biased personality theories, but rather to compile a brief overview of the traditional theorists who purport to offer a theory regarding the nature of femininity and the functioning of women. The writer is aware of many other theorists who have written on the same topic (Bakan, 1966; Bardwick, 1971; Gelb, 1973; Horney, 1973; Lynn, 1966; Sherman, 1971; Thompson, 1973) but obviously they cannot all be reviewed here. Furthermore, most of them are conscious of the dangers of sex biased theories and many of them criticize Freud particularly, although analysts themselves, for his sexism. Contrary to popular belief, there are many psychoanalysts who hold views about

women that are different from the commonly known formulations. As Jean Baker Miller points out in her introduction to 'Psychoanalysis and Women' "... it is remarkable that many people ... do not seem to know that psychoanalysts who offer alternative ideas did and do exist." (1973, p.xi). Gregory Zilboorg (1973), points to the fact that the psychology of women was the main subject of contention among psychoanalysts during the decade 1925 - 1935 and was also one of the main reasons for the first major division in the field in the U S A in the late 1930s and 1940s (p.98-102).

Finally, if such personality theories, whose relevance and appropriateness for women is being questioned, constitute the rationale upon which counselling and clinical psychologists base their theories and techniques, then these too need to be seriously questioned (Doherty, 1973).

2.1.2.1.2 Sex Bias in Practice

Sex bias occurs in many forms. The attitudes the counsellor holds regarding his (or her) female clients may reflect the sex-role stereotypes of his/her society; he/she may thus be biased in his/her views towards women psychologically, socially, politically, economically, educationally and vocationally (Harway & Astin, 1977; Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973); the counsellor may be guilty of applying double standards of mental health (Broverman et al, 1970; Chesler, 1971; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976) or of using biased tests in the case of careers counselling (Harway & Astin, 1977; Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973).

The stereotyped framework from which the counsellor operates is a

result of the latter's incorporation of biased theory as well as cultural stereotypes (Doherty, 1973; Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973). Both result in the formation of certain attitudes, which are likely to be transmitted during the counselling process and have their effect upon the client (see section 2.1.2.1.2.1 of this chapter). The particular concern at present is the counsellor's attitudes towards women.

2.1.2.1.2.1 Counsellor Attitudes

Although there are several studies which appear not to find counsellor attitudes biased due to either race or sex (Bingham & House, 1973; Hill, 1975; Smith, 1974), nevertheless the majority of findings overwhelmingly indicate counsellor bias towards women. For clarity, the findings are divided into several areas:

a) research studies indicate clearly that the attitudes of counsellors and therapists alike parallel the sex-role stereotypes of society. Broverman et al's landmark study (1970) showed not only that clinical judgements of those in the helping professions differed as a function of the sex of the person judged, but also that they reflected stereotypes no different from general society and also that masculine attributes were more highly valued than feminine ones in line with the greater social value of the masculine stereotype. Broverman's findings relating to the double standards of mental health will be discussed under the section on adjustment to follow. Fabrikant, Landau and Rollenhagen (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.29) found that therapists' views of females were quite negative while Abramovitz, Abramovitz, Roback, Corney and McKee (1976, p.71-73) found that certain countertransference phenomena are sex-role linked,

although they expressed reservations about generalization from their findings. The findings of Neulinger (Abramovitz et al, 1976, p.71) which paralleled those of Broverman (1970) suggest that clinicians not only share but also support the sex-role stereotypes of society. Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973), Tennov (1976) and Weisstein (1976) all point to the stereotypic attitudes of clinicians and counsellors, the former supporting their theory in the vocational sphere (see (c) below).

b) The fact that women are not seen to be as well adjusted as men has been clearly documented by Chesler (1971 & 1976) and Gove and Tudor (1973). Collins and Sedlacek (1977) showed that college counsellors perceived male clients as having vocational-educational problems while female clients were seen as having emotional and social problems. Slechta (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.29) found marked similarities between terms used by counsellors to describe the 'typical woman' and neurotic symptoms. Neulinger, Schillinger, Stein and Welkowitz (ibid.) found that therapists generally rated dominance, achievement, autonomy, aggression and counteraction as male-related characteristics, while patience, nurturance, play, deference, succorance and abasement were rated as female-related characteristics. Again, Broverman's study clearly shows that women are seen by those engaged in therapy and counselling to be less 'healthy' psychologically than men, e.g. they are seen to be

> "more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, having their feelings more easily hurt, being more emotion..." (1970, p.4 & 5).

c) Female counsellors were generally found to be more liberal in their attitudes than male counsellors. Brown and Hellinger conclude that the majority of therapists have ambivalent attitudes towards women, but that female therapists have more contemporary attitudes towards women than male therapists do (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.77). Goldberg (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.29) found female therapists to be more egalitarian in their attitudes towards men and women than male therapists were. Cline-Naffzinger (ibid. p.30) found that both male and female counsellors rejected the notion of limiting women to the family-bound stereotypic role, but that female counsellors in particular rejected traditional roles for women. Sherman et al (1978) similarly found that women therapists were more informed about women and more liberal in their attitudes towards them than male therapists were.

d) Sex bias was found to occur within careers counselling as well as personal-social counselling. Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973) found both male and female counsellors biased against women entering a 'masculine' occupation. Thomas and Stewart (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.30) examined school counsellors' responses to female clients with traditionally feminine (conforming) career goals and traditionally masculine (deviate) career goals. They found that both male and female counsellors rated female clients with masculine career goals to be more in need of counselling than similar clients with feminine career goals. Sex differences among the counsellors in terms of their attitudes were evident. Persons (Tanney & Birk, 1976, p.30) for example found male counsellor trainees consistently predicted higher status occupations for male and white clients,

whereas female counsellor trainees exhibited no such bias. Friedersdorf (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973, p.47) found male counsellors to be more traditional in their attitudes, in that they associated potential college girls with traditionally feminine occupations at the semi-skilled level; they tended to think of women in feminine roles characterized by feminine personality traits; and perceived such girls as having positive attitudes towards traditionally feminine occupations regardless of skill or education involved. Female counsellors on the other hand perceived the potential college girl as interested in occupations requiring a college education, and tended to expand the possibilities of women's work roles into areas presently occupied by men.

Research evidence makes it abundantly clear that counsellor attitudes are biased, unwittingly perhaps, towards women in the personal-social as well as the vocational areas.

The purpose of the section to follow will be to highlight yet one more form of sex bias, namely, that encountered in the materials used by counsellors, particularly in the field of careers counselling.

2.1.2.1.2.2 Counselling Materials

When discussing counsellor bias it is essential to examine counselling materials which are commonly used, especially as tests may greatly affect the life of the testee (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.79). The tests and instruments used comprise one of the best documented areas indicating bias (ibid., p.94)

Bias in tests may occur at three levels, viz. in the inventory itself, in the technical information or in the interpretative information (Harway & Astin, 1977). Tittle, McCarthy and Steckler (ibid., p.79) in their analysis of nine achievement test batteries in common use, found that all but one used male nouns and pronouns more often than female nouns and pronouns. A sex-role stereotyping analysis indicated that women were portrayed exclusively as homemakers or in pursuit of hobbies while some items implied that the majority of professions are closed to women. For example, that "teachers are women while professors, doctors, and company presidents are men" (ibid.). Regarding interest inventories, Tittle et al (ibid., p.80) found that compilers appeared not to base their tests on any theoretical formulation but rather on the world as it is - a man's occupational world. Women's choices, therefore, are significantly limited on many inventories due to the limited occupational scales and the cultural stereotypes reflected in certain scales. They point out that test compilers appear to have no knowledge of, place no importance on, and do not understand the implications of such practices for women.

To indicate the extent of bias Schlossberg and Goodman (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973, p.49) analysed one of the best-known and most often used interest inventories, viz. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank. They pointed out several major limitations, for example, the SVIB includes thirty three occupations for men which are not listed for women, e.g. psychiatrist, journalist; and thirty seven occupations for women which are not listed for men, e.g. art teacher, medical technologist. Secondly, both forms of the SVIB do not yield the same profile for the same person. Therefore, one of the female subjects in a pilot study

scored high as a dental assistant, physical therapist, occupational therapist on the women's profile, and physician, psychiatrist, psychologist on the men's form. Thirdly, the current manual and handbook contain discriminatory statements and guidelines for counsellors which, if followed, could be damaging to female clients, e.g. "Many young women do not appear to have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'premarital occupations'... (ibid., p.50).

Huth (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.81) pointed to the fact that the SVIB contains a bipolar split between traditional and non-traditional careers for women, and does not predict which women will become 'career committed'. Campbell (ibid.) suggests that this is due to a lack of understanding of the role of vocational interests in the career development of women.

Gump and Rivers (ibid.) criticised the SVIB on the grounds that it does not cater for the interests of minority group women. As a result, the responses of the latter are compared with those of white women, resulting in a mismatch of interests. They suggest that both the inventory itself as well as the criterion (the reference group) are biased against the minority woman. Birk (ibid., p.82) found that the status quo regarding women's roles is accepted throughout resulting in limited options for women. The above discussion is merely illustrative of one instrument. However, it would appear that all such guidance material is similarly biased against women and in need of analysis and subsequent revision (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973, p.50).

In other kinds of counselling materials, e.g. university admission

manuals and occupational handbooks and materials, bias against women has also been found (Harway & Astin, 1977, p.87). Tittle et al (ibid.) found that the former address themselves consistently to males rather than to females. Birk, Cooper and Tanney (ibid.) and Vetter (ibid.) found that women were under-represented in occupational handbooks and other such careers literature. Several surveys carried out by the Higher Education Research Institute in Los Angeles supported the belief that women are often stereotypically represented in occupational material as helpful, pleasant and attractive (ibid.). A content analysis of college catalogues revealed that they are aimed primarily at men, with a significantly greater proportion of content devoted to men than to women (ibid., p.95). Although the counselling materials reviewed for bias against women have all been American, there would appear to be no reason why such findings cannot be generalized to the South African situation. The majority of tests and interest inventories used by South African counsellors within the educational setting at least, have been compiled in America. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that South African society is more liberal in its attitudes towards women than American society, and, therefore, that any occupational handbooks or materials are any less biased.

The third and final area to be considered in terms of sex bias in the practical situation is counsellor concepts of adjustment or mental health.

2.1.2.1.2.3 Counsellor Concepts of Adjustment

Adjustment has been defined in many and various ways. As Derlega and

Janda (1981) point out, adjustment is not merely the absence of abnormalities but involves certain well-defined skills and characteristics, e.g. an adequate perception of reality; a balance between past, present and future; healthy social relationships; capacity for wide ranging emotional experience; a positive self-concept; acceptance of self; freedom from threat and anxiety; an ability to cope with life's challenges (p.7). Above all, adjustment is not an absolute, but is relative to the culture in which it is being defined. Adjustment has been seen to be relative to sex so that there are differential definitions and expectations for men and women. Those in the helping professions (psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers) view men and women differentially due to the sexual stereotypes and cultural biases which the former have incorporated (Broverman et al's 1970). Broverman's landmark study (ibid.) clearly showed that a double standard of mental health exists for men and women. They found that the general standard of health for adults, sex unspecified, is actually applied only to men, while women are seen to be significantly less healthy by adult standards. There is, in fact, a powerful negative assessment of women; for example, healthy women are seen to differ from healthy men by being

> "more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, having their feelings more easily hurt, being more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, less objective, and disliking math and science." (p.5)

Belote (1976) has shown that the above profile of the healthy woman closely parallels that of the "hysterical personality" and that of masochism. Thus when women in our culture display behaviour character-

istic of either of the abovementioned she argues that such signs go unnoticed due to their similarity to stereotypic feminine behaviour.

Duplicating Broverman et al's study with counsellor trainees, Maslin and Davis (1975) found that the male subjects continued to hold stereotypic mental health standards for females. Female subjects, however, expected healthy females to be approximately the same as the sample's standard for healthy males and healthy adults. The authors account for the differences between their research and that of Broverman et al, in two ways. Firstly, they suggest that the feminist movement may have had an influence, particularly on females, since Broverman et al's study was performed. This could account for the more egalitarian views of the female subjects. Secondly, Broverman et al's study was not replicated exactly, in that different methods of sampling, scoring and statistical analysis were used. This in itself could certainly account for the differences between the two studies (ibid.).

It is significant that males hold the most stereotypic views concerning women, since apart from the educational and social work settings, males significantly outnumber females in the mental health professions.

Having established that significant bias does exist, Broverman et al (1970) argue that it stems from an 'adjustment' notion of mental health, i.e. that good mental health stems from the individual's adjustment to his/her environment, to his/her behavioural norms or stereotypes for his/her sex. For a male this poses no problem since his behavioural norms closely resemble those for the mature, healthy adult. For a woman, however, to be healthy from an adjustment point of view means that she

must adjust to and accept behavioural norms which are generally less socially desirable and which are considered to be less healthy for the mature adult. If a woman accepts such an adjustment notion of mental health, she is placed in the conflictual position of having to decide whether to display those characteristics and behaviours which are seen to be desirable for men and adults, and thus have her 'femininity' questioned, i.e., be deviant in terms of being a woman; or having to adhere to stereotypic feminine norms and accept 'second-class' adult status, i.e. be mentally less healthy (ibid.).

Rice and Rice (1973) point out that although counsellors and therapists appear to hold individuality in high esteem, nevertheless much effort is expended in the service of helping patients to "fit" into traditional stereotypes. Those whose behaviour differs from such norms are labelled "deviant" (Hargreaves, 1978). As a result, any inability or lack of desire on the part of women to adjust to stereotypic expectations is regarded as unacceptable, and even pathological, by clinicians (Rice & Rice, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976). The role conflict experienced by women is generally interpreted in terms of inner dynamics rather than in terms of their social context (ibid.). As a result of the stultifying limitations of her role, her inability to adjust to it, and the therapist's interpretation of her problem in terms of inner pathology, the female client is made to feel guilty and to look inwards to "what is wrong with me?" rather than outwards to "what does society expect me to be?" (ibid.).

> "Many women with just grievances against the social order considered themselves, and were considered to be, psychologically ill and received "treatment" at

> the hands of practitioners who interpreted their difficulties as the outcome of internal pathology rather than as a reaction to oppressive social forces." (Tennov, 1976, p.220)

Due to the focus on pathology rather than social context in women, psychologists and psychiatrists classify and treat them accordingly, 'treat' implying adjustment to stereotypic feminine norms of dependency and passivity. Cognisance is not taken of the fact that they are women who are having difficulty fulfilling the normal, passive feminine role (Tennov, 1976). Tennov suggests that such categorizations may

> "... represent the emotional reactions of the psychotherapists to their patients' misbehaviour. These women succeed, they assert themselves in their career aspirations, and they attempt to escape household chores. It seems obvious that they are reacting to the impossible conditions imposed on capable women in this society, but the hostility of their male therapists and the general commitment of psychiatry to locating pathology within the patient inhibit a true comprehension of the situation." (1976, p.234)

In support of her argument concerning the importance of social context in women's lives, Weisstein points to experiments conducted by Rosenthal and Jacobson, Rosenthal, Milgram and Schachter and Singer (Weisstein, 1976, p. 96-98), all of which illustrate the influence of social expectation. Weisstein herself says:

> "Meanwhile, the evidence is collecting that what a person does and who she believes herself to be, will in general be a function of what people around her expect her to be, and what the overall situation in which she is acting implies that she is." (1976, p.93)

Finally, culture's definition of femininity leads to another way of labelling women as maladjusted (Lips & Colwill, 1978). Studies show that more women than men are psychiatrically hospitalized, treated in private practice and report more emotional problems (Chesler, 1971 & 1976; Gove & Tudor, 1973). Chesler (1971 & 1976) suggests that the sex-role stereotype of femininity, in allowing for weakness and dependency, makes it more permissible for women than men to seek help for emotional problems and in fact they are even encouraged to do so and to enter into a dependency relationship with male therapists. Thus, women may appear to be more maladjusted and men better adjusted than they really are (Lips & Colwill, 1978). A study by Stein, Del Gaudio and Ansley (Del Gaudio, Carpenter & Morrow, 1978, p.1577) found that male and female patients received differential treatment from clinicians. Females had significantly more therapy sessions and were significantly more likely to be prescribed potent psychotropic medications. This supports findings by Abramowitz et al (1976) differential attitudes of clinicians are a vital element in the psychotherapeutic process. However, Del Gaudio, Carpenter and Morrow (1976) did not find any sex differences in either the number of therapy sessions, or the extent to which medications were prescribed. They therefore suggest that generalizations concerning differential treatment on the basis of sex should be made with caution.

In spite of the apparent pervasiveness of the 'adjustment' notion of mental health, there is little empirical evidence to support it. Bem (1977) cites several studies which show a positive correlation between femininity in women and high anxiety, low self-esteem and low social acceptance. Sherman (1976) cites researchers who have found that the

passivity and dependency characteristic of the stereotypic feminine role were associated with inadequate functioning. In the case of masculinity the evidence is somewhat contradictory. Some findings show masculinity to be positively correlated with adjustment (Lips & Colwill, 1978) while studies by Bem show masculinity to be correlated with high anxiety, high neuroticism, and low self-acceptance (ibid.). As there are still problems with the measurement of both masculinity and femininity, this could account for the contradictory findings. Further research is obviously necessary before any firm conclusions may be drawn.

Finally, there are those who do not accept the existence of sexism among clinicians (Stearns, Penner & Kimmel, 1980). They question the validity of the assumption and of empirical findings on the basis that the latter are based on questionable paradigms ((ibid.); Stricker in Stearns et al, 1980, p.548). The major conclusion Stearns et al (ibid.) draw from their study is that therapists do not stereotype according to sex when other information in addition to sex of client is available to the therapist. As this finding, although in the minority , raises some doubts regarding earlier studies, further research is obviously necessary to clarify the issue. However, the present weight of evidence is very much in favour of the existence of sexism.

The foregoing survey of literature has illustrated the sex bias against women, in both the theory and practice of psychology. Recent developments in the area of masculinity and femininity have seen the evolution of a more egalitarian concept, viz. the concept of androgyny (see chapter 1, section 1.2) to the point where it has been offered as an

alternative model of adjustment (Bem, 1974). The section to follow will consider the literature pertaining to such a model, as well as the implications for counselling and therapy.

2.2 ANDROGYNY, COUNSELLING AND ADJUSTMENT

2.2.1 Androgyny a new model

Research reviewed in the previous section has indicated the extent of sex bias found both in psychological theory and practice and has seriously questioned the popular conception that sex-typing is conducive to healthy adjustment particularly for women. Rather it would appear that the model of androgynous functioning offers more possibilities for healthy adjustment in terms of the freedom and behavioural flexibility it implies for all. Such a model has particular relevance for personality theory and for those involved in counselling and therapy. Firstly, it is promoting a re-consideration of all that has gone before in terms of goals, techniques, theories.

> "... the concept of psychological androgyny emerging from recent reformulations of traditional sex-role standards is highly relevant to psychotherapy and conceptions of optimal psychological functioning. The notion of psychological androgyny invites us to reconsider the extent to which sex-role stereotypes contaminate our assessments and diagnoses of patients; it reminds us that the goals of psychotherapy may be colored by unwitting sexism in ourselves and our colleagues; it even suggests that the means to the goals - our techniques - may be skewed along sex-typed dimensions, e.g. the "instrumental" emphasis on action versus the "expressive" emphasis on feelings." (Berzins, 1979, p.248)

Secondly, it is offering a completely new model of psychological functioning which avoids completely any notion of adjustment to stereo-

typic norms of behaviour. Rather, the androgynous model implies a balance of masculine and feminine characteristics within the same individual, where behaviour as a result is more flexible, situationally appropriate and effective (Bem, 1974). A further implication is that the individual is more integrated and psychologically healthier than one who is strongly sex-typed (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al, 1976; Downing, 1979; Lips & Colwill, 1978).

Research to date has confirmed that the behaviour of androgynous individuals is, in fact, situationally appropriate, flexible and effective (Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al, 1976), and indirectly supports the notion of psychological health in androgynous individuals, a notion which has been further supported by Nevill (1977). Integration, the most difficult component of androgyny to conceptualize and demonstrate, has, as yet, not been supported by research findings (Downings, 1979).

2.2.2 Clarifying the concept for therapeutic use

Although androgyny has established a valid place in the psychological literature, there are nevertheless many problems to be overcome in the application of it to the theory and practice of counselling and therapy. As Kaplan (1979) points out, a direct relationship between androgyny (as measured by one of the existing instruments) and psychological health cannot be assumed. However, androgyny does augur well for "... a world in which sex roles are less rigidly defined, and individuals are allowed greater behavioural diversity." (Vogel, 1979, p.256)

Kaplan (1979) draws attention to certain inconsistencies between the theoretical and empirical concepts of androgyny. For example, although

an individual may appear to be androgynous in that he/she is high in both masculine and feminine traits, yet these can be expressed in inappropriate, inflexible and dysfunctional behaviour e.g. depression or indecisiveness, which obviously cannot be equated with healthy adjustment. As a result, Kaplan (ibid.) visualizes a continuum running between an initial, dualistic notion of androgyny and a more advanced, hybrid androgynous state. In the dualistic state the masculine and feminine traits remain polarized and, whether used appropriately or not, each trait remains independent of the other with the individual alternating between the two. At a point along the continuum, the hybrid stage, the masculine and feminine would unite, be tempered by one another and become truly integrated, e.g. love and anger, dependency and assertiveness could co-exist rather than being mutually exclusive. This implies healthy adjustment; the further along the continuum, the greater the androgyny and adjustment in terms of flexible, effective and situationally appropriate behaviour.

The above clearly indicates that a balance between masculinity and femininity is not in itself sufficient when assessing healthy adjustment. The degree of masculine and feminine characteristics as well as their configuration within each individual could have radically different implications for healthy psychological functioning. For example, high scores on both masculinity and femininity are associated with high self-esteem (Bem, 1977; Jones et al, 1978; Orlofsky, 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1975), suggesting good adjustment, while low scores on each are associated with low self-esteem suggesting lack of healthy functioning. Furthermore, one combination of characteristics might be more functional or healthy than another, for example:

> "Someone who is aggressive, dominant and competitive as well as flatterable, loyal, childlike, presents a very different clinical picture than does someone who is independent, self-reliant and self-sufficient as well as tender, sensitive and understanding." (Vogel, 1979, p.256)

In order to more accurately assess healthy androgyny it would seem necessary to specify more accurately the degree of masculinity and femininity as well as to delineate which particular masculine and feminine characteristics yield the optimal combination (ibid.).

A third limitation of the existing notion of androgyny is that it is based upon stereotypes which seriously limit it. This is due to the exclusion of all those non-stereotypic characteristics which are shared by men and women and which may also be aspects of healthy psychological functioning (ibid.), for example, adaptable, reliable, creative, tolerant, well-organized. Such characteristics need to be identified, as well as their possible overlap between men and women. As White (1979) points out, shared similarities are as important as differences and may yield much valuable information about the client.

Garnets and Pleck (1979) suggest proceeding a step further to the point where traits are no longer psychologically linked with males or females by virtue of their sex. For example, rather than saying "it is alright for women to achieve", achievement would be seen as having nothing to do with the fact that a female is a woman. At this level then, androgyny itself is transcended.

The emancipating possibilities of the foregoing are significant and extensive both for men and women. However, as yet there remains a vast chasm between theory and practice, which the work of those in the field will undoubtedly narrow.

Some of the implications of the above for the practical situation will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.3 Implications for Counselling/Therapy

The adoption of an androgynous model of mental health involves an awareness of the restrictiveness of the traditional model based on stereotypic norms. (It is worthy of note that Broveman et al, (1970) found the double standards of mental health were held by clinicians regardless of orientation). Since masculinity has been equated with mental health (ibid.) and generally seen to be more highly valued than femininity (ibid.; Anthill & Cunningham, 1979; Jones et al, 1978), it could be argued thqt androgyny will have more impact on and benefit for women than for men. For example, men might not view the possibilities for becoming warm and nurturant as particularly important, whereas women might view the possibilities of independence and achievement as particularly exciting and relevant. However, Kenworthy (1979) warns of the social consequences of an andorgynous personality for women. She points out that a balance of masculine and feminine traits - e.g. aggressive, self-reliant, analytical, compassionate, loving of children, loyal, understanding - may be far more acceptable in a man than a woman. In fact, it may be seen to be unacceptable in a woman due to the stereotype of femininity.

The role of the clinician is a particularly complex one. Due to the undervaluing of feminine traits which are not highly correlated with self-esteem (Bem, 1977; Spence et al, 1975) the clinician is encouraging the female client to maintain a negative self-concept if the latter is encouraged to endorse traditional feminine traits. However, if the clinician encourages client development towards androgyny such development perforce includes the development of more masculine characteristics. This may be construed as rebellious or unacceptable by society (ibid.).

If the clinician's goal is such integration then he/she needs to be particularly aware of self and his/her own reactions in terms of the implications of androgyny on the one hand, and the many cultural constraints on the other (Kaplan, 1979). Given that the clients have grown up in a culture which dichotomizes masculinity and femininity, such clients may enter the therapeutic situation unaware of the possibilities of 'opposing' traits within themselves. Such traits have to be brought to the fore before their integration can be considered. Thereafter the clinician needs great flexibility in being able to move with the client from one behaviour to another and back again until integration is finally achieved (ibid.).

Apart from the personal-social area, the implications of androgyny for the area of careers counselling are also very real. Again it would seem that the import of androgyny is greater for women than for men. Most career opportunities, as well as the most valued career opportunities, have always been open to males. Women have filled the positions of lower status, which so often have been viewed as a job

rather than a career. They have also been paid less for doing the same job as a man, purely on the basis of their sex.

The counsellor who has chosen to endorse an androgynous model of adjustment would be alert to discrimination at all levels, and aware of the factors affecting the career choices of women specifically, for example, career-home dilemma; fear of success; prejudice by other women as well as men; the stereotypic belief that a woman's career should be subordinate to that of the significant man in her life; the belief that maternal employment is related to juvenile delinquency in their children; that married women take jobs away from a male bread-winner who is more important (Vetter, 1973). Apart from his/her own awareness, the counsellor would need to be able to help his/her female clients to work through and discard such stereotypic beliefs in order to develop their potential in some chosen area. Clients need to be made aware of the fact that a full range of occupations is open to men and women alike. Suniewick (Vetter, 1973, p.64) points to the fact that women are not being helped to resolve the career-home-marriage conflict. "Rather they are being asked to accept their roles as wives and mothers and to make their career goals secondary to the other 'natural' functions of women in society."

The implications of androgyny for both client and clinician are numerous, varied and significant. Hopefully, the fact that androgyny has come to be associated with feminism will not offend professionals or laymen, for its real value lies not in its associations, but in the fact that

> "... potentially, each person can attain emancipation from rigid, out-moded sex-role standards so that each individual can display a wider range of useful human skills." (Berzins, 1979, p.249)

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING THE PROBLEM: MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY, DEFINITION OF RESEARCH AREA, AND FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

3.1 MOTIVATION FOR THIS STUDY

3.1.1 Personal Motivation

While working as a School Psychologist for one of the Provincial Education Departments the writer became aware of the many inequalities within the education system, particularly regarding women and girls. Not only was discrimination legislated, in terms of unequal salaries and promotion possibilities, but it was there in the form of the 'hidden curriculum', passing on, reinforcing stereotypic assumptions about men and women, boys and girls. These hidden messages took the form of stereotypic beliefs and attitudes which were observed in those in authority in the system; teacher attitudes and expectations, the effects of which have been well-documented by Rosenthal (1968) and Levy (1975); discriminatory textbooks, the effects of which have also been well researched (MacLeod & Silverman, Women on Words & Images, in Harway & Astin, 1977, p.32; Schools Commission Report, 1975, pp.71-76); as well as the influence of peer group stereotypic behaviour. Finally, discrimination, although in most cases unwitting, was seen to occur in the work of the school counsellor, both in guidance lessons, where stereotypic beliefs were confirmed and in the individual situation where sex-biased tests were used and where the counsellor's own stereotypic beliefs (often unconscious) were apparent, particularly in careers counselling. (See chapter 2, section 2.1.2.1 for a full account of sex bias in counselling).

Observation of such pervasive overt and covert discrimination led the writer to read widely in the feminist literature which in turn awakened a desire to explore the emancipating possibilities offered to all by the then new concept of psychological androgyny. Aware of the vital role the counsellor can play in an educational setting, both as a consultant to teachers as well as in alleviating client problems, it was decided to focus upon the implications of androgyny for counsellors, both personally and as a new model of healthy adjustment.

3.1.2 Academic Motivation - Need for Research in Androgyny

Prior to 1974 research in the areas of masculinity and femininity had focussed on sex-role stereotypes, the socialization process of male and female and the resulting sex differences which were 'observed'. The focus was on differences rather than similarities, so that there was little interest shown in the many similarities that do exist between the sexes and the great overlap of many of the characteristics normally considered either masculine or feminine.

In 1974 Bem first operationalized the concept of psychological androgyny which was based on the assumption that it is possible for an individual to be both masculine and feminine, both instrumental and expressive according to the situational appropriateness of these various 'modalities' (Bem, 1975a). Many research studies followed and slowly androgyny has established for itself a valid place in the literature. However, there are still many areas to be researched, or more fully researched, and many questions remain as yet unanswered.

A review of the literature reveals that much research is still needed in

areas such as:

a) Behavioural and personality correlates of androgyny (Bem, 1974, 1975a, 1977; Wiggins & Holzmuller, 1978; Worell, 1978)

b) Androgyny as an alternative model of healthy psychological functioning (Berzins, 1979; Kaplan, 1979; Kenworthy, 1979; Marecek, 1979; Vogel, 1979)

c) Androgyny in the South African context (KWIC Index; Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations).

3.1.2.1 Need for Research into Personality Correlates of Androgyny

The assumption by Bem (1974) that psychological androgyny is associated with behavioural flexibility, effectiveness and appropriateness has been supported by research (Bem, 1975a; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976). There is some support for the assumption that psychological androgyny is also associated with certain personality variables, e.g. self-esteem (Bem, 1977; Orlofsky, 1977; Spence et al, 1975). However, there is no clarity in the area of personality correlates, with many of the findings being contradictory. Such is the case regarding the variables 'Attitudes Towards Women' and 'Self-Actualization'.

1. Regarding attitudes towards women, some research studies comparing androgynous and non-androgynous subjects reveal that the former appear to be significantly more liberal than the latter (Baucom & Sanders, 1978). Other studies, however, have not found this to be the case (Woolfson, 1979; Zeldow, 1976).

Regarding sex differences, female subjects, regardless of sex-type, have been found to be significantly more liberal in their attitudes than male subjects (Jones et al, 1978; Sherman et al, 1978; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Zeldow, 1976).

2. Again, in the area of self-actualization there are contradictory research findings. In some studies androgynous subjects have been found to be significantly more self-actualizing than non-androgynous subjects (Cristall & Dean, 1976; Nevill, 1977), while in other studies this was not found (Ginn, 1975).

   Sex differences in self-actualization in favour of female subjects have been found by some researchers (Bledsoe, Foulds & Warehime, in King, 1974; LeMay & Damm, 1969; Schroeder, 1973), and not by others (King, 1974; Nevill, 1977).

In view of 1 and 2 above, and the fact that the majority of studies dealing with psychological androgyny have utilized an unrepresentative sample, namely, white, middle-class students (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Woolfson, 1979) further research into both abovementioned personality correlates of androgyny seems pressing, to seek clarity in areas of contradiction, and confirmation and generalizability in areas of agreement.

3.1.2.2 Need for Research into the Implications of Androgyny for the Therapeutic Situation

1. The double standards of mental health which are currently employed by those in the psychological helping professions have been clearly documented (Broverman et al, 1970; Neulinger, in Abramovitz et al,

1976, p.71; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976). Research findings in the studies listed above indicate that clinicians not only share but actively support the traditional sex-role stereotypes of society. Furthermore, it appears that the general standard of health for mature adults is actually applied only to men, while women are seen to be significantly less healthy by adult standards. Although their feminine sex-role is negatively valued, nevertheless healthy psychological functioning for them is seen by clinicians as adjustment to it (Broverman et al, 1970; Chesler, 1971 & 1976; Rice & Rice, 1973; Tennov, 1976; Weisstein, 1976). There is also some evidence that such standards which confine individuals to traditional sex-role stereotypes, do not in effect promote healthy adjustment, particularly in the case of women (Bem, 1975a & b; Rebecca et al, 1976; Sherman, 1976).

Bem's assumption (1974) that psychological androgyny is associated with optimal psychological functioning and adjustment has to some extent been empirically validated (Bem, 1975a; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al, 1976; Heilbrun, 1976; Orlofsky, 1977; Spence et al, 1975).

As healthy psychological adjustment is the goal of counselling and therapy it would seem that research on the nature and implications of psychological androgyny is important, both theoretically and practically and particularly for women (Berzins, 1979; Kaplan, 1979; Kenworthy, 1979; Vogel, 1979).

2. The fact that counsellor values, characteristics and attitudes do

have an effect, consciously or unconsciously, upon the counselling interaction, and therefore upon the client, has been clearly documented (George & Cristiani, 1981; Harway & Astin, 1977; Rosenthal, in Weisstein, 1976, p.96; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973) point out how counsellor expectations can affect client performance and behaviour. For example, the belief of a sexist counsellor that women can or should not become engineers is unavoidably reflected in his/her counselling so that a girl interested in taking engineering at university may not be made aware of opportunities open to her, or may be dissuaded from it by such a counsellor. An androgynous counsellor, it is hypothesized, would have no such biases which would be reflected in his/her more egalitarian approach to counselling. Thus the little-researched area of the implications of the androgynous counsellor and his/her androgynous model of mental health would appear to be particularly worthy of research attention.

3.1.2.3 Need for Research into Androgyny in the South African context

A review of the Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations as well as the Kwic Index of the HSRC reveals a dearth of research into androgyny in South Africa. To date only one completed study is recorded, viz. Woolfson (1979). The implications of androgyny have been shown in overseas studies to be beneficial for all in terms of greater behavioural flexibility, adaptability and effectiveness (Bem, 1975a; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem et al, 1976), better adjustment in terms of self-esteem (Bem, 1977; Orlofsky, 1977; Spence et al, 1975), and lower anxiety (Leary, in Woolfson, 1979, p.93; White, 1979), as well as generally more healthy psychological functioning than sex-typed

individuals (Baucom & Sanders, 1978; Bem, 1975a & b; Heilbrun, 1976; Orlofsky, 1977; White, 1979). The potential androgyny offers to liberate both men and women from their restrictive sex-roles appears to be the greatest benefit of all, for all (Bem, 1974; Jones et al, 1978; Singer, 1976). Thus there would appear to be a pressing need to conduct similar studies in this country so that more reliable statements could be made regarding sex-roles, attitudes and mental health in our own particular situation especially in the area of counselling.

3.2 DEFINING THE RESEARCH AREA

Research into androgyny and sex-roles has left few, if any, of the main areas of psychology untouched and has even moved into other disciplines, such as education, pastoral counselling and sociology. Within psychology, the areas with which researchers into androgyny have been most concerned are behavioural validation, measurement, the relationship between androgyny and self-esteem, and the relationship between androgyny and healthy adjustment.

The focus of this study is on: i) sex differences, and ii) variation of sex-role orientation, both in relation to personality variables and models of adjustment.

The theoretical framework of this study comprises the trait theory model of androgyny as it is the only theory in this area that has operationally defined androgyny. The assumptions underlying the theory are briefly:

i) that masculinity and femininity are co-existent orthogonal personality dimensions;

ii) that people are limited in development and behaviour by adherence to sex-roles and cannot develop to their full potential;

iii) that an androgynous orientation allows for better adjustment, more flexible, situationally appropriate behaviour and fuller development of potential. (For a fuller discussion, see chapter 1, section 1.2.2.1).

3.3 PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The aim of this study is: i) to clarify contradictions and confirm previous findings in order to make generalization more possible about androgynous as opposed to sex-typed individuals, in certain areas of personality variables and models of adjustment; ii) to contribute to the as yet limited body of knowledge concerning sex-roles and androgyny, particularly in relation to counselling in the South African context.

Therefore, this study will explore: i) the implications of an androgynous as opposed to a sex-typed orientation in the areas of attitudes towards women's role; levels of self-actualization; and concepts of adjustment held by school counsellors; ii) the implications of observed sex differences in the above areas. Although the concern of this study is not with counselling outcomes, nevertheless the implications of the findings for the counselling interaction will be explored.

3.4 FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

The objectives of this study were:

1. To determine the relationship between sex-role orientation (Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous or Undifferentiated) and sex-role attitudes by investigating the degree of liberal attitudes towards women held by androgynous as opposed to masculine- or feminine-typed subjects.

2. To determine the relationship between biological sex and sex-role attitudes by investigating the degree of liberal attitudes held by male as opposed to female subjects.

3. To determine the relationship between sex-role orientation and levels of self-actualization by investigating the degree of self-actualizing present in androgynous as opposed to masculine- and feminine-typed subjects.

4. To determine the relationship between biological sex and levels of self-actualization by investigating the degree of self-actualizing present in male as opposed to female subjects.

5. To determine the relationship between sex-role orientation and counsellor concepts of adjustment by investigating the models of adjustment held by androgynous as opposed to masculine- and feminine- sex-typed subjects.

In order to attain the above objectives, and on the basis of the literature reviewed in chapters 1 and 2, the following hypotheses were formulated for investigation:

HYPOTHESIS 1 : Androgynous subjects will be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than either masculine or feminine sex-typed subjects will be.

Rationale: Available evidence tends to discredit the notion that individuals need to be strongly sex-typed in order to be well adjusted (See chapter 2, sections 2.1.1.5 and 2.1.2.1.2.3 for a full discussion). Conversely, it has been found that androgynous individuals appear to be far better adjusted than their sex-typed counterparts, and are better able to behave in an effective, adaptive and situationally appropriate way, due to the absence of restrictive stereotypes. As a result of the stability and security which the androgynous individual enjoys due to his/her being well adjusted, it is hypothesized that such individuals would not find non-traditional ideas (e.g. pro-feminist) threatening, but would rather be accepting of them. Furthermore, due to his/her own flexibility he/she would welcome flexibility for others as well, and therefore, in this instance, would not see it necessary for women to be restricted to the confines of the traditional feminine role. Therefore, in line with findings by Baucom and Sanders (1978) and Spence et al (1978), it is predicted that androgynous individuals will endorse liberal attitudes towards women's role more readily than the strongly sex-typed person who is restricted by traditional stereotypic views.

HYPOTHESIS 1.1 : Female subjects will be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than male subjects will be.

Rationale: Sex differences have not, to the writer's knowledge, formed any significant part of androgyny theory. However, the writer felt intuitively that women, who suffer more from the restrictions of a stereotypic sex-role than do men, would therefore be more inclined to

support and hold liberal as opposed to traditional, restrictive attitudes towards themselves. Such theorizing has been empirically supported. Therefore, in line with findings by Jones et al (1978), Sherman et al (1978), Spence and Helmreich (1972 & 1978) and Zeldow (1976), it is predicted that women will be more liberal in their attitudes towards themselves than men.

HYPOTHESIS 2 : Androgynous subjects will be more self-actualizing than either masculine or feminine sex-typed subjects will be.

Rationale : Since the assumption that androgyny rather than sex-typing is associated with healthy adjustment has been empirically validated, and since it is suggested that self-actualization is associated with the well adjusted person (see chapter 1, section 1.4), then it follows that the androgynous rather than the sex-typed individual should be self-actualizing. Research studies by Cristall and Dean (1976) and Nevill (1977) have found this to be the case; therefore it is predicted that androgynous individuals will be more self-actualizing than sex-typed individuals.

HYPOTHESIS 2.1 : Female subjects will be more self-actualizing than male subjects will be.

Rationale: This grew out of an intuitive feeling, as there appears to be as yet no theory to support the significant empirical findings. Because of the rigidity of the masculine sex-role, its avoidance of anything feminine, and the severity with which it is enforced by society (Hartley, in Lips & Colwill, 1978, p.141), it is suggested that males are less likely than females to be able to fully actualize all aspects of their personality. Women, however, although their role is devalued,

nevertheless do not have the same pressure exerted on them to conform at all costs. Therefore, since masculine traits are more positively valued than feminine ones, there is likely to be a striving towards the former by women and thus the development of a greater range of their potentialities. Therefore, it is suggested in line with the definition of self-actualizing as 'an actualization of the individual's potentialities' that females are likely to be more self-actualizing than males. Research by Bledsoe, Foulds and Warehime (in King, 1974), Le May and Damm (1969) and Schroeder (1973) supports this view.

HYPOTHESIS 3 : Androgynous subjects will tend to view the ideally adjusted person as androgynous.

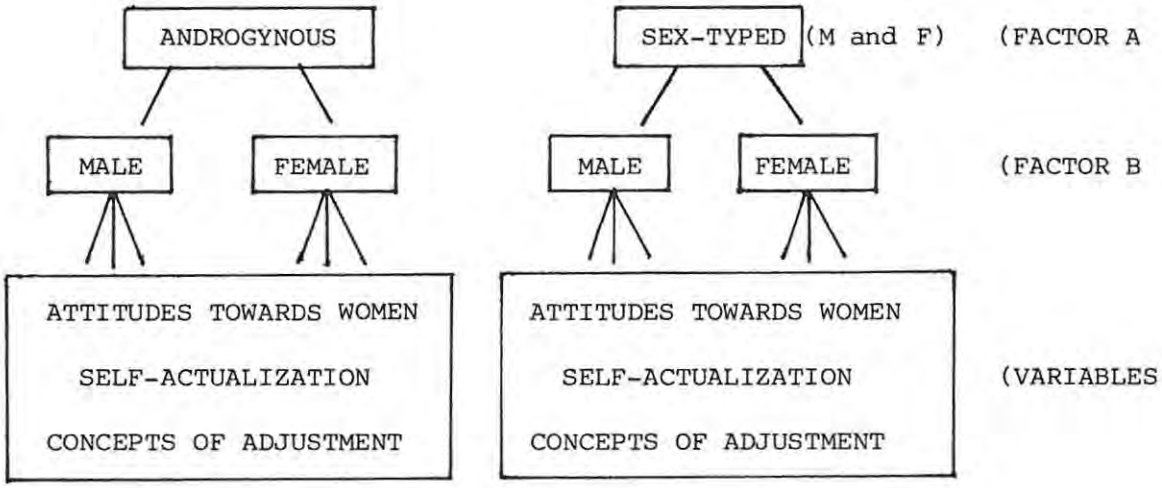
Rationale: Since the assumption that androgyny is associated with behavioural flexibility and healthy adjustment has been empirically validated, evidence that sex-typing is not synonymous with healthy adjustment and behavioural flexibility is mounting. It would appear reasonable to assume that the androgynous individual would endorse a similarly flexible, androgynous model of adjustment rather than endorse the stereotypic restrictions of the traditional model. As this is an exploratory hypothesis, there is no relevant research to which to refer, apart from that of Broverman et al (1970) and Neulinger (Abramovitz et al, 1976) which have indirect relevance. However, on the basis of the findings relating to androgyny mentioned above, it is predicted that androgynous individuals will conceptualize healthy adjustment in androgynous terms.

HYPOTHESIS 3.1 : Masculine and feminine subjects will conceptualize the ideally adjusted person as masculine.

Rationale: The double standards of mental health (adjustment) employed by clinicians have been clearly documented (Broverman et al, 1970). Clinicians appear to equate masculinity with healthy adjustment (ibid.). Therefore, in line with the above findings, it is predicted that all subjects will conceptualize ideal adjustment in terms of the masculine stereotype.

Figure 3.1

OUTLINE OF PRESENT STUDY



FACTOR A = SEX-ROLE ORIENTATION/SEX-TYPING

FACTOR B = BIOLOGICAL SEX

(Due to the focus of this research the undifferentiated group has not been included above)

CHAPTER 4

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS

One hundred and ninety two English-speaking school counsellors-in-training and in the field were subjects of this investigation, in the proportion of one hundred and fifteen females to seventy seven males.

One hundred and twenty five were students registered for the Counselling and Guidance component of the Higher Diploma in Education at the Universities of Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg), Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Rhodes University.

Sixty seven were practising school counsellors at English-speaking high schools in the Eastern and Western Cape and Natal. All were in possession of a Higher Diploma in Education qualification in Counselling and Guidance. All subjects were graduates, having a three-year major in psychology.

Initially it was intended to use only school counsellors-in-training as subjects, but at the end of the first year of data collection only seventy one such subjects had been available during that year. In order to obtain a larger sample more quickly, particularly as the number of such students at Universities fluctuates from year to year, it was decided to extend the sample to include practising school counsellors as well.

This was done during the following two years (1980 and 1981), and at the same time data continued to be collected from the counsellors-in-training. At the time, the writer felt no reason to expect any significant differences between the trainees and those already in the field. Details of subject selection to be found in 4.3.1.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF MATERIALS USED

Three questionnaires were utilized in this empirical investigation, viz. the Bem Sex-Role Inventory; the Attitudes Towards Women Scale; and the Personal Orientation Inventory.

4.2.1 Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

4.2.1.1 Theoretical Rationale

This measure was developed in the United States of America by Sandra Lipsitz Bem (1974). Bem based it on the theory that trans-situational consistencies in individual behaviour should not necessarily be taken as given, and inconsistencies seen as problematic, but that the reverse should be considered. Therefore, consistent rather than inconsistent behaviour begs explanation.

Two specific theoretical assumptions are involved:

i) there are two mutually exclusive categories, one for each sex, each of which is considered to be more characteristic of and desirable for that particular

sex. Such cultural prescriptions are known by virtually all members of the culture. (Bem, 1979a).

ii) Individuals differ from one another in the extent to which they accept the cultural definitions and use them as idealised standards of masculinity and femininity against which their own behaviour and personality attributes are measured (ibid.).

A sex-typed person is strongly aware of such cultural prescriptions and is strongly motivated to keep his/her behaviour in line with them. He/she thus selects appropriate behaviours and avoids inappropriate behaviours. An androgynous person is not as finely attuned to such cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity nor as interested in emulating them.

The BSRI is thus based on a theory about both the "cognitive processing" as well as the "motivational dynamics" of sex-typed and androgynous persons (ibid.).

It was developed:

i) to identify sex-typed and androgynous individuals;

ii) to assess the extent to which the culture's definitions of desirable male and female attributes are reflected in an individual's self-description.

4.2.1.2 Description of the BSRI

The BSRI is a pen and paper questionnaire consisting of a total of sixty personality characteristics, falling equally into a Masculinity Scale, a Femininity Scale and a Social Desirability Scale which is neutral with respect to sex. The sixty items each consist of a single adjective, these being divided into three columns of twenty each. Their placement in the inventory is as follows:

i) the first adjective and every third one thereafter is masculine;
ii) The second adjective and every third one thereafter is feminine;
iii) The third adjective and every third one thereafter is neutral.

4.2.1.3 Item Selection

Initially, a list of two hundred personality characteristics was drawn up on the basis of such characteristics being positive in value and either masculine or feminine in tone. These formed the initial pool from which the inventory items were ultimately chosen. Similarly, a list of two hundred characteristics half positive and half negative in value formed the pool from which the "neutral" characteristics for the Social Desirability Scale were chosen. In line with the underlying theory that sex-typed persons will avoid those characteristics which appear appropriate for the opposite sex, the final items were chosen for the Masculinity and Femininity Scales if they were judged in

American society to be more desirable for one sex than for the other. Judges, half male and half female, were asked to rate the desirability of the four hundred characteristics for a man OR for a woman on a seven-point rating scale. The final twenty masculine and twenty feminine characteristics were selected on the basis that each was independently judged by both males and females in both samples to be significantly more desirable for a man than for a woman, and vice versa. Social Desirability items were selected on the basis that they were independently judged by both males and females to be no more desirable for one sex than for the other.

4.2.1.4 Administration and Scoring

The BSRI carries no time limit, but can usually be completed within fifteen to twenty minutes. The directions are clear and self-explanatory.

The testee is required to rate him/herself on each of the sixty adjectives in order to indicate how true a reflection each of the characteristics is for him/herself. The rating scale runs from 1 to 7 with the following gradations:

1 - never or almost never true

2 - usually not true

3 - sometimes but infrequently true

4 - occasionally true

5 - often true

6 - usually true

7 - always or almost always true

The BSRI may be scored by computer (according to Bem's revised scoring package (1976) and the second edition of the SPSS (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975), or by hand. In both cases the following procedure is essential:

i) Masculine and feminine scores must be calculated for each subject;

ii) Medians for the masculine and feminine scores based on the total sample, sexes combined, must be obtained;

iii) Subjects must be classified according to whether their masculinity or femininity scores are above or below each of the two medians.

i) The individual masculinity and femininity scores constitute the means of each subject's rating of the masculine and feminine adjectives respectively. These scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine or feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive, and are free to vary independently.

ii) When the median masculine and median feminine scores are calculated for the entire sample unequal numbers of males and females should be equalized by statistically weighting one sex more heavily than the other.

iii) On the basis of their individual scores in relation to both median scores subjects are classified as follows:

Androgynous - above median on Masculinity and Femininity

Undifferentiated - below median on Masculinity and Femininity

Masculine - above median on Masculinity; below median on Femininity

Feminine - above median on Femininity; below median on Masculinity

		MASCULINITY SCORE: Above Median	MASCULINITY SCORE: Below Median
FEMININITY SCORE	Above Median	Androgynous	Feminine
	Below Median	Masculine	Undiffer.

A masculine sex-role thus indicates not only the endorsement of masculine attributes, but the simultaneous rejection of feminine attributes. The reverse is true in the case of the feminine sex-role.

The androgynous role indicates the relative amounts of masculinity and femininity that the person includes in his/herself self-description, and a high degree of both; the undifferentiated role is the same but has a low degree of both masculinity and femininity.

4.2.1.5 Statistical data

It must be pointed out at the outset that Bem's psychometric analyses were carried out when the BSRI was first compiled and when scoring took place according to the subtractive method (t-ratio). Further psychometric analyses on the scoring method were undertaken later, resulting in the later additive split-median method, now advocated by Bem as superior (1977). To the researcher's knowledge no further reliability studies were carried out however.

a) Reliability

According to Bem (1974; 1976) reliability studies indicated that Masculinity and Femininity scores were empirically as well as conceptually independent (average $\underline{r}$ = -.03). The $\underline{t}$-ratio was found to be internally consistent (average $\underline{r}$ = .86), reliable over a four-week period (average $\underline{r}$ = .93), and uncorrelated with the tendency to describe oneself in a socially desirable direction (average $\underline{r}$ = -.06).

b) Validity

i) Construct validity

Initial behavioural validation studies using the BSRI (Bem, 1975; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976; Bem & Lenney, 1976) generally supported the hypothesis that androgynous people are less constrained by societal stereotypes and that their behaviour is correspondingly more flexible and adaptable than that of sex-typed persons. Furthermore, they indicated that the sex-role styles assessed by the BSRI are capable of predicting subjects' choices of stereotypical activities, and that cross-sex activities are problematic for sex-typed persons.

However, more recent research has challenged both Bem's theoretical assumptions as well as the validity of the BSRI as a measure of androgyny (Jones et al, 1978; Kelly & Worell, 1977; Locksley & Colten, 1979; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Worell, 1978). Issues have been raised regarding the desirability of direct behavioural validation criteria (ibid.); item selection and scoring procedure (Jones et al, 1978; Kelly & Worell, 1977); and problems in the initial scaling

sample (Strahan, 1975). Three factor analyses of BSRI responses have shown contradictory results and a study which attempted to replicate Bem's original scaling procedure was unable to do so (Jones et al, 1978, p.299).

However, since the BSRI has remained the most widely researched and widely used instrument for assessing sex-role style, and, to this point in time, the most highly validated, it has been chosen for this study in preference to the other lesser-known and as yet, poorly validated scales. Validity studies have not, to the knowledge of the researcher, been reported in South Africa.

ii) Correlation with other scales

Bem (1974) reports a modest correlation between the Masculinity, Femininity and Androgyny scales of the BSRI and the California Psychological Inventory, and no correlation with the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey. Both scales have been utilized previously in sex-role research. However, such results must be viewed in the light of the problems previously discussed concerning the suspect nature of traditional sex-role research and the instruments involved.

Bem concludes that the BSRI is measuring an aspect of sex-roles not tapped by either of the two scales.

Berzins, Welling and Wetter (in Kelly & Worell, 1877, p.1105) report correlations ranging from .50 to .65 between the PRF ANDRO, a more recent measure of sex-role orientation, and the BSRI, concluding that

although they both appear to some extent to be measures of sex-role orientation, nevertheless some different and overlapping characteristics are obviously being tapped.

4.2.1.6 Norms and Interpretation

Norms for the original subtractive method of scoring are provided for masculinity, femininity and social desirability in Bem (1974), and in her revised scoring packet (1976). The latter also contains two tables showing the percentage of subjects in sex-role groups as defined by the median-split and the androgyny t-ratio respectively, as well as a further table containing the cross-classification of subjects by the two methods. Considerable overlap is evident.

A third table giving sex differences on the BSRI supplies the mean scores for the masculinity, femininity, social desirability, androgyny t-ratio and androgyny differences score, for her two original samples. Table four represents item-total correlations for the Masculinity and Femininity scales.

As Bem herself has now advised against using the former subtractive method of scoring (t-ratio) (1977), the median-split method has been utilized in this research. In her paper on this alternative method of scoring Bem (ibid.) supplies median masculine and feminine scores for a new sample as 4.89 and 4.76 respectively.

As the median masculine and feminine scores are likely to be different

for each sample and in each research study, classification and interpretation of subjects' individual scores will revolve around the median scores of that particular sample. Therefore, as comparisons are within the sample rather than against given norms, the fact that it is an American test is not thought to be nearly as significant as if American norms had been used.

An individual who has been classified as feminine (see 2.1.4) may be seen as a person who endorses and has internalized and developed the socio-cultural prescriptions of femininity, e.g. warmth, nurturance, dependence etc. An individual classified as masculine is similarly seen as a person who personifies the masculine stereotypic personality e.g. strong, rational, independent, instrumental.

The androgynous individual is seen as endorsing a high degree of masculinity and femininity and therefore as having a far greater range of personality attributes and a wider, more comprehensive behavioural repertoire.

Finally, the undifferentiated individual has a low endorsement of both masculinity and femininity. Little has been reported on this group apart from a consistent lack of self-esteem (Spence et al, 1975). This was sufficient to form the grounds for their separation from the androgynous group.

The BSRI is the only sex-role scale at present in which the measurement of socio-cultural sex-roles is independent of gender (Worell, 1978).

4.2.1.7 Critical Review of the BSRI

It must be stressed that in spite of the magnitude of the criticism levelled at the BSRI, this does not mean that it is a poor test in relation to other sex-role inventories. Rather, it is to date the most well-known, most widely used, and the most researched of such instruments, and as a result there is both more information as well as more criticism available on it than on any other of the sex-role inventories. None of them has attracted the attention of, nor been subjected to such searching criticism of, as many researchers as the BSRI.

The critique to follow, therefore, needs to be viewed in this light.

The main points of criticism fall into the following areas:

a) Item Selection

The criteria of 'desirability' for the selection of items (see section 2.1.3) has been criticised for its lack of definition and resulting ambiguity (Kelly & Worell, 1977; Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Strahan, 1975). Problems of interpretation for the respondents were likely in that the judgements of desirability could have been made normatively or prescriptively, e.g. "as things are, or as they should be" (Strahan, 1975, p.571).

Secondly, only positively valued sex-typed traits are included; both negative traits e.g. ruthlessness (Kelly & Worell, 1977; Wiggins and Holzmuller, 1978), and neutral traits which may be shared by both males and females e.g. creativity (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979; Vogel, 1979) are excluded. Thus, it would seem as if the BSRI is neglecting poten-

tially important components of sex-roles. Wiggins and Holzmuller (1978) show that only two out of a possible eight major dimensions of interpersonal behaviour are measured by the BSRI.

Thirdly, the findings of Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) suggest that some of the twenty feminine items in the BSRI are negatively valued even when the referent is a woman. The implications of this are particularly significant in the case of a self-report instrument such as the BSRI, since people are reluctant to attribute negative traits to themselves.

Fourthly, trait selection was purely on the basis of statistical tests of significance, therefore the designation of some traits as sex-related or neutral on the BSRI does not agree with the findings of other researchers, who have used different empirical approaches (ibid.).

b) Use of global stereotypes

Locksley and Colten (1979) point to the anomaly inherent in the BSRI in that it is based upon the very stereotypes the theory of androgyny seeks to avoid. They warn of the dangers involved in defining and measuring individual differences in masculinity and femininity on the basis of stereotypically perceived aggregate sex differences. The distinction between actual and stereotypically perceived sex differences is a very real one which is not provided for in the BSRI since it only taps those stereotypic traits which it contains (ibid.).

c) Lack of Construct Validity

According to Locksley and Colten (1979) the construct validity of the

BSRI is often taken for granted, or researchers endeavour to establish it by demonstrating its predictive validity. The latter constitutes the 'truth value' or 'power' of a theory which is continually increased as hypotheses are confirmed. Thus Bem's studies which provide behavioural validation within a limited range for her theory of androgyny demonstrate the predictive validity of the BSRI rather than construct validity for the concept of androgyny. Congruence with situational demands is not a valid criterion, unless the influence of situation can be distinguished from the influence of personality. As Locksley and Colten point out "... there is no a priori reason to assume that situational demands always overshadow the influence of personality dispositions" (ibid. p.1027). Thus, to date, the construct of androgyny has not been satisfactorily validated.

d) Scoring procedures

The question of whether androgyny represents an equal balance of masculine- and feminine-typed characteristics or a high endorsement of each is not yet resolved. Bem has suggested that there is not a significant difference between the two methods (t-ratio or median-split) except on the variable of self-esteem, which has made her opt for the median-split method (1977). However, there are indications of significant differences between the two methods. The literature suggests that,under some conditions, the two scoring methods produce equivalent results, and for other conditions the median-split method yields new data (Bem, 1977 ; Berzins et al, 1978; Jones et al, 1978; Wiggins and Holzmuller, 1978), which may result in the different classification

of the same subjects. Thus, subjects are classified as androgynous or not, according to statistical manipulation rather than on the basis of a score which they have achieved. Furthermore, there are many dangers inherent in the use of median-splits, now the most widely used method of scoring (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979). Perhaps the most significant problem is the danger of classifying subjects with similar scores on both scales as different types, or subjects with relatively dissimilar scores as being of the same type (ibid.). Furthermore, subjects may be classified as being one or other type according to the aggregate of people to which he or she is considered to belong because the BSRI was administered to them e.g. university students, policemen. The problems in this vital area are, as yet, not resolved and need to be further researched.

There are many other factors which have engaged the attention and criticism of researchers in the field of androgyny but which cannot be discussed in detail at this point. They include the following: the contradictory nature of factor analyses conducted on the BSRI (Jones et al, 1978, p.299); the difficulties involved in making behavioural predictions from self-reports (Kelly & Worell, 1977); the unidimensional view of masculinity and femininity (Lips & Colwill, 1978); a need for a knowledge of the profile of masculinity and femininity for each subject (Vogel, 1979) and the relative contributions of each (Kelly & Worell, 1977); the problems attendant on the use of difference scores as a definition of a construct (Pedhazur & Tetenbaum, 1979); the absence of homogeneity across classes of trait terms (Strahan, 1975); and the confusion between traits and behaviours (Locksley & Colten, 1979).

Many of the above problems may be redressed by further research. In the meantime, the BSRI remains the most valid and reliable measure available in the area of androgyny research.

4.2.1.8 Use of the BSRI in this research

The BSRI has been utilized in two different ways in this research, viz.:

i) To classify subjects according to their self-perceptions into a masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated sex-role on a self-report basis;

ii) To establish the same subjects' conceptualization of the ideally adjusted person (sex unspecified). Again, the self-report method was used, but with an ideal in mind, rather than the self. This data was to be classified into masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated sex-roles.

4.2.2 Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS)(Short form)

As the article containing full particulars of the original long version of the AWS is not at present obtainable in South Africa, and as the short version has been used exclusively in this research, only the latter will be discussed in the light of the information available.

4.2.2.1 Description of the AWS(SF)

The AWS-SF was compiled by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1973) in the U S A.

The AWS-SF is a pen and paper scale containing twenty five statements about the rights and roles of women in areas such as intellect, vocational and educational activities, sexual behaviour and marital relationships. Each item has four response alternatives, ranging from 'Agree Strongly' to 'Disagree Strongly'. Subjects are required to express their feelings about each statement.

4.2.2.2 Item Selection

An attempt was made in the initial selection process for the full version to include statements which covered as wide a range of activities as possible in which the normative expectations of men and women could be the same (Spence et al, 1973). The purpose was to gain as much information as possible from the varying responses on contemporary attitudes towards the particular issue. The purpose of the short form, however, is to obtain a numerical score for each individual in a given group, this score reflecting the extent to which he/she endorses traditional or profeminist views. Details of statistical procedures utilized to select out the twenty five items is given in Spence et al (1973, p.219).

4.2.2.3 Administration and Scoring

The subjects are required to express their feelings concerning each of the twenty five statements by writing an A, B, C, or D in the grid provided next to each statement according to the response chosen from a range of four, viz. (A) Agree strongly; (B) Agree mildly; (C) Disagree mildly; (D) Disagree strongly. The scale is untimed but takes

no more than approximately ten minutes to complete. The instructions are clear and self-explanatory.

The AWS may be scored by hand or by computer. Each item is given a score from 0 to 3, according to the response, with 0 representing the most traditional and 3 the most profeminist responses. Scores are totalled and the final score for each subject is interpreted on a continuum of conservative scores ranging from 0 to 75, i.e. most conservative to least conservative.

Scoring by computer, as was done in this case, involves the feeding in of the raw data and the writing of a programme to score it in the way described above.

4.2.2.4 Norms and Interpretation

Decile scores as well as Means, Standard Deviations and Ranges are supplied (ibid.) for the two samples which were used for comparisons between the long and short versions of the AWS, viz. student and parent samples.

If individual scores are viewed along a continuum of conservatism stretching from 0 to 75 then a score of 0 would be interpreted as ultra-conservative whereas a score of 75 would be totally lacking in conservatism, i.e. highly liberal or profeminist. Again the scores obtained are interpreted in the light of their relative significance rather than against a table of norms, so from the point of view of scoring, the fact that the test is American is not of great significance.

4.2.2.5 Statistical Data

No information on reliability and validity studies for the full AWS is available for the reason mentioned in 2.2.

However, Spence et al (ibid.) supply cross-validation data for the short version on their two samples. Correlations average .95 and above for all groups, and the authors conclude that the scores on the short version are almost perfectly correlated with the scores on the long version, and that the whole-part correlations and factor structure are also very similar (ibid.). To the knowledge of the researcher, there is no South African standardized form.

4.2.2.6 Critical review

To the writer's knowledge, there are no critical reviews of the AWS in the literature. However, a general comment from the subjects in this study was that the test lent itself to faking. They felt that they could have purposefully completed it as one with conservative or liberal attitudes as it was obvious from the items what kind of response would be required in each case.

4.2.2.7 Use of the AWS-SF in this research study

The AWS (short form) was used in order to obtain a numerical score of conservatism/liberalism for each subject tested on the BSRI. The mean scores of each of the groups classified according to the BSRI were compared as were the mean scores of the male and female groups.

4.2.3 PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY (POI)

4.2.3.1 Theoretical Rationale

The humanistic theories of Rogers, Maslow and Brammer and Shostrom form the basic theories upon which the POI is based. The focus of such theories is the concept of self-actualization of the individual; the development and utilization of all the unique capabilities of the individual so that he/she may function more fully and lead a richer life than the average person.

The POI was designed to tap the values and behaviours seen to be important in the development of the self-actualizing person.
(Shostrom, 1966)

4.2.3.2 Description

The POI is a pen and paper inventory consisting of one hundred and fifty two-choice positive versus negative items involving value and behaviour judgements. Testees are required to make a choice on each item according to their own opinion of themselves, their scores falling into two major scales and ten subscales. The former constitute 'Inner directed support' (one hundred and twenty seven items) and Time Competence (twenty three items). The Support scale is designated to measure whether an individual's characteristic reaction is "self" or "other" oriented, and the Time scale measures the degree to which an individual exists in the present as opposed to the past or future. The scores for these two scales are normally presented as ratio scores.

Scores for each of the ten subscales which follow below are intended to reflect a characteristic which is important in the development of the self-actualizing person (ibid.):

SAV	self-actualizing value	Sa	self acceptance
Ex	existentiality	Nc	nature of man
Fr	feeling reactivity	Sy	synergy
S	spontaneity	A	acceptance of aggression
Sr	self regard	C	capacity for intimate contact

The POI has wide appeal as the value concepts around which its subscales were constructed have broad social as well as personal relevance.

4.2.3.3 Item Selection

The items compiled for the inventory were selected from observed value judgements of patients in therapy over a five year period. Furthermore, the items were seen to be related both to the empirical and theoretical formulations of many writers in Humanistic, Gestalt and Existential therapy, for example, Maslow's concept of self-actualization. Finally, POI items were designed to reflect commonly held value orientations which are seen to be important to the individual's approach to life and living (ibid.).

4.2.3.4 Administration and Scoring

The POI is an inventory which is self-administered. The one hundred and fifty items are printed in a re-usable test booklet and answers may

be filled in either on the Edits standard answer sheet for hand scoring only or on one of two Edits answer sheets designed for machine scoring. In this study the researcher drew up an answer sheet suitable for use on the computer. The directions on the front of the test booklet are clear and self-explanatory. There is no time limit but the average time taken by testees to complete the inventory is approximately thirty minutes.

The testee is required to indicate which of the two statements in each of the one hundred and fifty items is true to himself by writing A or B in the relevant block for each question. If the testee omits to answer more than fifteen questions his/her inventory is considered to be invalid.

In the case of hand scoring fourteen scoring templates have been provided and a raw score for each scale can be obtained by placing each template in turn over the answer sheet and counting the number of blackened areas showing through the holes in the key. A place is provided on the answer sheet for each raw score. The sum of the first four scales plus the number of unanswered items should total one hundred and fifty. A quick estimate of the individual's level of self-actualizing may be obtained from scales 2 (Time Competence) and 4 (Inner Directed).

Computer-based scoring involved the use of a programme to produce results in the form of the Time Ratio and Support Ratio as well as a score for each testee. The Mean, Standard Deviation and Correlation Coefficient for all scales is also produced.

A Profile Sheet for plotting the raw scores of each individual and for

representing the ratio scores in graphic form is available. This is particularly valuable in the therapeutic situation but was not used in this research where the focus was on the Means of groups rather than on individual scores.

4.2.3.5 Norms and interpretation

Norms are provided for college students in the form of percentiles. Means, Standard Deviations and tests of significance of difference between a male and female sample of students are also presented. Means, Standard Deviations and plotted group profiles are available for selected occupational and clinical groups.

Interpretation of the POI may be accomplished on an individual basis or profile patterns may be interpreted for a group. The latter will be the concern in this study. The groups classified according to the BSRI will be compared according to their Means on each scale to establish whether there is any significant difference between them. Similarly, the group profile may be plotted for each BSRI category and compared in relation to the Mean Standard score line based on the normal adult sample. The majority of scores appearing above this line indicate development towards self-actualization; the converse position indicating difficulties in personal effectiveness. Such differences, if any, will be viewed between groups, not individuals. Since Ratio scores are not being considered in this study, in line with Shostrom's own suggestion regarding statistical analyses (1966, p.6) they will not be discussed here. However, as the scores of each of the scales normally used in the calculation of the Ratio score will be used and later

interpreted in terms of group differences, as well as those of all the sub-scales, each of the scales will be briefly described:

Time Competent vs. Time Incompetent (Scales 1 and 2)

The self-actualizing person is essentially Time competent in that he/she is able to relate both the past and the future in a meaningful way to the present, thereby enabling him/herself to live more fully in the here-and-now.

Non-self-actualizing persons are more or less Time Incompetent in that they are excessively concerned with the past or the future relative to the present.

Inner-directed vs. Other-directed (Scales 3 and 4)

The source of direction for the former is inner in the sense that internal motivations are the guiding force rather than external forces and become generalized as an inner core of principles and character traits.

The other-directed person is motivated primarily by a need to please and receive acceptance from other people, e.g. peers, authority figures, society. Approval by others becomes the highest goal and the primary control feeling tends to be fear or anxiety.

The support orientation of the self-actualizing person tends to lie between the two extremes of inner and other-directed, Shostrom suggests

in the ratio of 3:1.

The following subscales are best interpreted in pairs (ibid.) in order to represent the balance that is crucial to self-actualization.

VALUING : Self-Actualizing Values and Existentiality (Subscales 5 and 6). This pair of scales reflects the general area of valuing, the former measuring the degree to which the individual's values co-incide with those of self-actualizing people; the latter measuring the degree of flexibility in the application of values to life.

FEELING : Feeling Reactivity and Spontaneity (Subscales 7 and 8). Generally reflecting the area of feeling, the former measures the individual's sensitivity to his/her own needs and feelings and the latter measures the ability to express them behaviourally.

SELF-PERCEPTION : Self Regard and Self-Acceptance (Subscales 9 and 10). Self-actualizing requires both of the above, viz. the ability to like oneself, and the ability to accept oneself in spite of one's weaknesses.

AWARENESS : Nature of Man and Synergy (Subscales 11 and 12). The former measures the good-bad dichotomy in man, the latter measuring the individual's ability to relate opposites meaningfully in life. Both are seen as necessary for the self-actualizing person.

INTERPERSONAL SENSITIVITY : Acceptance of Aggression and Capacity for Intimate Contact (Subscales 13 and 14). The former measures the ability to accept feelings of aggression as natural, the latter measuring

the capacity for intimate contact with others. Both are seen as essential.

4.2.3.6 Statistical Data

a) Reliability

Test-retest reliability coefficients were obtained for the POI scales from a sample of forty eight undergraduate students over a seven day period. Reliability coefficients for the major scales Time Competence/ Incompetence and Other/Inner Directed were .71 and .77 respectively with coefficients for the subscales ranging from .52 to .82. These are listed overleaf (Shostrom, 1966).

Test-Retest Reliability Coefficients for the POI based on a sample of forty eight students

Time Competent	.71
Inner Directed	.77
S-A Value	.69
Existentiality	.82
Feeling Reactivity	.65
Spontaneity	.76
Self-Regard	.71
Self-Acceptance	.77
Nature of Man	.68
Synergy	.71
Acceptance of Aggression	.52
Capacity for Intimate Contact	.67

(Shostrom, 1966)

b) Validity

i) Concurrent

Shostrom (ibid.) suggests that the most important test of the validity of the POI is that it should discriminate between observed high self-actualizing individuals and those in whom such development cannot be observed. Results of a study conducted with this purpose in mind (Shostrom, 1964) indicate that the POI does discriminate successfully and significantly between clinically judged self-actualizing as opposed to non-self-actualizing groups on eleven of the twelve scales. Shostrom (1966) cites further studies conducted by various researchers using patients in therapy, hospitalized psychiatric patients, alcoholics and teachers, all of which confirm the ability of the POI to discriminate to a significant extent between self-actualizing and non-self-actualizing groups or individuals. Furthermore, a number of studies cited by Shostrom (ibid.) demonstrate the ability of the POI to measure changes in self-actualization after encounter group experiences, although there are recognised methodological problems in some and differences in statistical analyses employed make for problems in comparing results.

ii) Correlations with other scales

The problem arises here that there are no other measures specifically designed to assess the concept of self-actualization. Therefore, any reported correlations with other personality inventories must be viewed with caution. Correlations with the MMPI, Eysenck Personality Inventory and the Study of Values are modest when found at all, and generally

inconclusive.

4.2.3.7 Critical Review of the POI

Perhaps one of the greatest shortcomings of the POI is the lack of an overall measure of self-actualization. Although Shostrom suggests using the scores of the Time Competence and Inner-directed scales only, he does not indicate what the relationship between them should be, i.e. whether they should be added together, regarded separately or combined in some other way (Damm, 1969). Hence Knapp (1965) and Damm (1969) suggest the use of the Inner-directed scale scores as the best single estimate of self-actualization. However, there are still considerable reservations and there is the need for such a scale to be validated against some external criterion.

Secondly, factor analytic studies reveal a lack of independence between the subscales; Damm (ibid.) reports a differential amount of over-lapping of inter-scale items, varying from 0 to 28.

Thirdly, the Time and Support Ratios are thought to have doubtful utility (Tosi & Lindamood, 1975) and it is suggested that their best use is as a check against pseudo-self-actualization.

Fourthly, the paired dichotomies may very well force inappropriate responses on the basis of hostility or anxiety (ibid.). In the present study one of the main criticisms gleaned from the subjects was that they resented their responses being so limited by the either/or situation. In several cases they felt that neither choice was relevant for them,

and there was no way in which they could express what they felt was a meaningful and relevant response. As a result, numbers of subjects felt considerable frustration, in that they felt they had not had the opportunity to give a true reflection of themselves.

A related problem is that of faking. Studies show that deliberate faking by naive subjects results in lower scores, and that subjects who use high rates of social desirability and repression responses tend to score lower than subjects who do not. However, subjects who know something about psychology in general and self-actualization in particular are able to obtain high scores (ibid.). This is relevant in this study as all subjects had at least three years of training in psychology, and some knowledge of counselling and guidance. The comments of several of the subjects endorsed the recognised possibilities of faking. They felt that the choices to be made in order to appear self-actualized were too obvious and they were tempted to respond in such a manner rather than perhaps as they really felt.

4.2.3.8 Use of the POI in this study

The POI has been used in this study to discriminate between groups originally classified on the BSRI. For example, it has been hypothesized that androgynous individuals are likely to be more self-actualizing than individuals strongly sex-typed; thus, the group of testees classified as androgynous on the BSRI were compared with the group of testees classified as sex-typed on the variable self-actualization in order to determine whether there was a significant difference between them.

4.3 METHOD

4.3.1 Subject Selection

Although the present study was empirical in nature the choice of subjects resembled that of ex post facto studies in that the subjects were already in a select group and therefore no random sample was drawn. Thus control of factors which might contribute to any perceived variance was considerably reduced. A further problem in this regard was the extension of the sample from student counsellors only to include counsellors in practice.

Thus, two groups of subjects (description in 4.1) were tested, their results being finally combined into a single (experimental) group. Firstly, all registered Higher Diploma in Education Counselling and Guidance students present on the day of testing in each centre completed the BSRI, AWS-SF and POI. All listed school-counsellors were sent the three questionnaires and data was used from all those who completed and returned the tests. The combined total of these two groups of subjects was one hundred and ninety two.

4.3.2 Testing Procedure

The student school counsellors were tested in a group in each case, in their normal lecture room in their usual lecture time. The writer, where possible, administered the tests herself but, as all three tests had simple, self-explanatory instructions, it was left to the lecturer in charge of Counselling and Guidance at each University to administer them when the writer was unable to be present.

The only standard preamble to testing was to tell the students that they were participating in research in the area of Counselling at the Master's level; that they would not be identifiable as only a given number, their sex, age and university would be required from them; that none of the tests was limited in terms of time. They were thanked for their willingness to participate. Where the writer was not present, the lecturer concerned with the test administration was requested to make the students acquainted with the above.

The tests were then administered in the following order:

BSRI (for self); BSRI (for ideally adjusted person); ten minute break; POI; AWS-SF

In each case the instructions are self-explanatory; therefore, the administrator's role was minimal, serving mainly to ensure that the tests were completed in the correct order, with the correct break in-between.

In the case of the school counsellors, permission had to be obtained initially from the Natal and Cape Education Departments, and their instructions complied with. These did not interfere with testing procedure.

A letter was drawn up and distributed with copies of the tests to every school counsellor at an English-speaking high school in the Cape and Natal. Instructions contained in the letter were identical to those mentioned above. A time limit was set for the return of the test data. A total number of one hundred and ninety two subjects were tested in the abovementioned ways.

4.3.3. Design

For the purpose of the present study a 2 x 4 Analysis of Variance (Sex X Sex-type) was employed for the variables of self-actualization (POI scores) and attitudes toward women (AWS scores). The SPSS computer package was utilized.

For the concepts of adjustment variable, a Chi-square test of significance of relationship was carried out between the scores on the BSRI (first) administration and BSRI (second) administration. Again the SPSS was used.

In order to correct for the unequal numbers of male and female subjects (seventy seven and one hundred and fifty two respectively), seventy seven female subjects were randomly drawn from the total female group. Their raw scores from the BSRI were combined with the raw scores of the male subjects and the medians were calculated for this group of one hundred and fifty four subjects. These same medians were then used to classify the remaining female subjects.

From a description of the data collected, and the procedure adopted, attention in chapters 5 and 6 will be given to the processing and interpretation of the results of the empirical study. The statistical data will be tabled and interpreted quantitatively and qualitatively and discussion will focus on the implications of the research and the direction it points out for future research.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

A 2 x 4 Analysis of Variance was performed on the raw data relating to Hypotheses 1, 1.1, 2 and 2.1 in order to determine the effects of sex-typing and biological sex, as well as any possible interaction effects. The Chi-square technique was used to analyse data relating to Hypotheses 3 and 4. The reader's attention is drawn to the distinction between masculine and feminine (sex-roles) and male and female (biological sex).

5.1 HYPOTHESIS 1

It was predicted that androgynous subjects would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than masculine or feminine sex-typed subjects would be.

5.1.1 HYPOTHESIS 1.1

It was predicted that female subjects, regardless of sex-type, would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than male subjects would be.

The above hypotheses were tested using the scores obtained on the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS-SF) as the dependent variable. Data was analysed by means of a 2 x 4 Analysis of Variance (Sex X Sex-type).

5.1.2 RESULTS:

Table 5.1 represents the Summary of the Analysis of Variance of the AWS Liberal Scores. Table 5.2 comprises the Means and Standard Deviation

of the AWS Liberal Scores for the four Sex-Role categories and for each sex. The means are graphically represented in Figure 5.1

TABLE 5.1

ANOVA USING AWS LIBERAL SCORES AS THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Significance of F
Sex-type (A)	90.652	3	30.217	0.204	p<0,05 n/s
Sex (B)	2484.379	1	2484.379	16.766	p<0,001
2-way Interaction (AB)	632.147	3	210.716	1.422	p<0,05 n/s
Residual	27264.257	184	148.175		
Total	30600.745	191	160.213		

TABLE 5.2

AWS LIBERAL SCORES

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	50.450	57.750	51.208	50.480
SD	12.684	12.068	15.885	13.355
Female $\bar{X}$	61.885	57.118	58.043	59.281
SD	9.497	12.744	9.058	10.902
Group $\bar{X}$	56.913	57.238	54.553	55.421

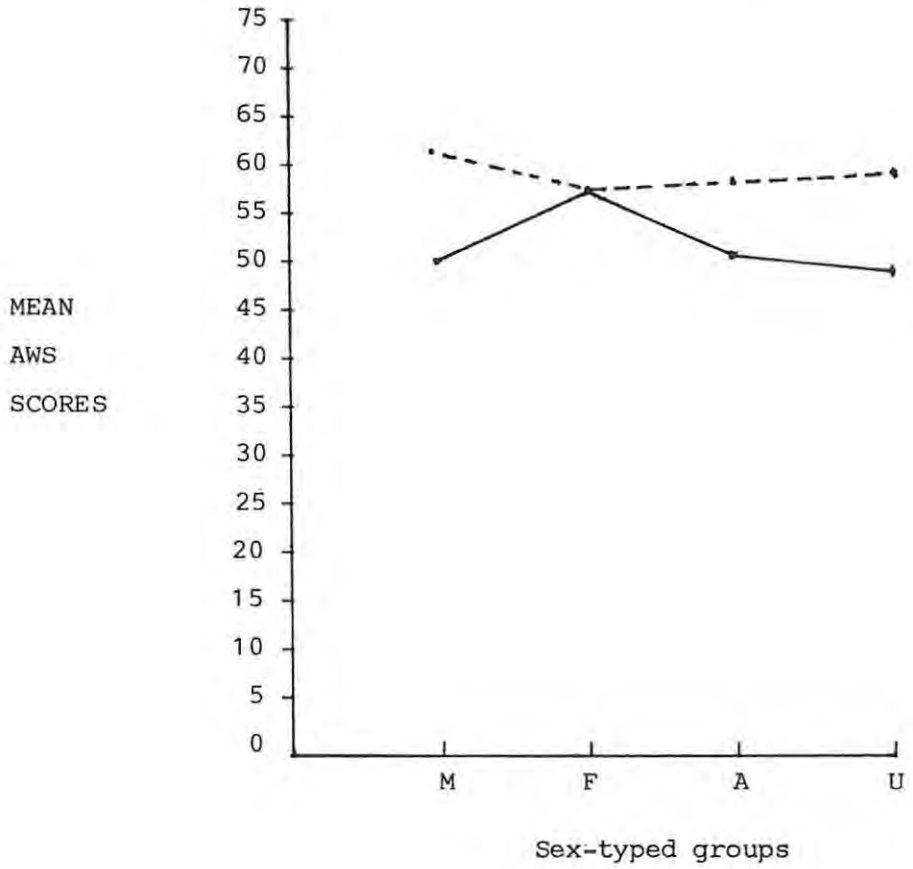


Figure 5.1 Sex-role group means with AWS liberal scores as dependent variable.

Results in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveal that, contrary to expectations, the effect of sex-typing was not significant. However, as predicted, a significant main effect of sex is clearly evident. Although there appears (from Fig. 5.1) to be a significant interaction between the variables due to FF and MF apparently sharing the same mean (i.e. 57) this is nevertheless not the case. The F ratio for interaction effects was not significant (see Table 5.1). Table 5.2 indicates the differences, although slight, between the FF and MF means.

5.1.3 DISCUSSION

1. To commence with the findings relating to Hypothesis 1: it cannot be said that androgynous subjects are more liberal in their attitudes towards women than sex-typed subjects, masculine or feminine.

These findings are supported by those of Zeldow (1976) for males and females, by those of Woolfson (1979) for females only, and by those of Bem (1977) for males only. Baucom and Saunders (1978), however, using the same measuring instruments, found that androgynous women exhibited significantly more liberal attitudes than masculine, feminine or undifferentiated women (males were not included in the sample).

Although the measuring instruments used were the same in the above four studies and in the present study, sample composition was quite different, e.g. college students (Zeldow, 1976); homo- and heterosexual women (Woolfson, 1979); undergraduate psychology students (Bem, 1977), and college students (Baucom & Saunders, 1978) and school counsellors (present study), and could be responsible for the contradictory nature of the findings. Further discussion of this may be found in Chapter 6, p.163.

A significant finding of several studies (Bridges, 1978; Ellis & Bentler, 1973; Jones et al, 1978; and Tarr, 1978) is the tendency for individuals showing a preference for cross-role identity, namely masculine females (MF) and feminine males (FM), to be the most liberal in their attitudes towards women. Conversely, those

most strongly adhering to their traditional sex-role stereotypes, namely, masculine males (MM) (Bem, 1977) and feminine females (FF), appear to be the most conservative. There was a similar indication in the present study, although results were not significant. (See Table 5.2 and Figure 5.1)

2. To consider the findings in relation to Hypothesis 1.1: Tables 5.1 and 5.2 as well as Figure 5.1 reveal that females are significantly more liberal in their attitudes towards women than males are, regardless of sex-type, the one exception being feminine females and feminine males who share the same mean score. The fact of female liberalism in attitudes towards women is supported by findings of Jones et al (1978), Spence and Helmreich (1978) and Zeldow (1976). Although a different attitude scale was used, namely, the Therapists' Attitude Toward Women Scale, nevertheless Sherman et al (1978) also found women therapists more liberal and less stereotyped in their attitudes than men were.

Such findings are not surprising when one considers women's comparative lack of status in society. As an emergent majority group afforded minority group status, it would seem highly likely that women would support and promote change in attitudes towards themselves away from the traditional feminine stereotype in major areas of importance, e.g. their role in society, and their social and economic rights. Men, with such rights assured, would be less likely to appreciate the women's standpoint, and in fact would be more likely to support the status quo.

5.1.4 CONCLUSIONS

1. The hypothesis that androgynous subjects would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than sex-typed subjects would be, was not substantiated by these findings.

2. It would appear that variation in sex-role orientation does not appear to have a significant effect upon attitudes towards women.

3. The hypothesis that female subjects would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women than male subjects would be, was not substantiated by these research findings.

4. Studies regarding attitudes towards women in androgynous and non-androgynous groups reveal conflicting results and therefore a need for further research in this area.

5.2 HYPOTHESIS 2

It was predicted that androgynous subjects would be more self-actualizing than masculine or feminine sex-typed subjects would be.

5.2.1 HYPOTHESIS 2.1

It was predicted that female subjects would be more self-actualizing than male subjects would be.

These hypotheses were tested using the scores of the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) as the dependent variable. As the POI is composed of two major scales and ten sub-scales, it was decided to follow

Shostrom's guidelines (1966) and use the two scales recommended as an estimate of self-actualizing level, namely Time Competence (T_C) and Inner-directed (I), for the purpose of accepting or rejecting the hypotheses. Results from all the sub-scales are subsequently discussed.

Data was analysed by means of a 2 x 4 Analysis of Variance throughout (Sex X Sex-type) and, where appropriate, the Student-Newman-Keuls test was used to establish where the significant differences lay (Appendix 5.4).

5.2.2 RESULTS

Table 5.3 is a summary of the Analysis of Variance of the scores on the Time Competence scale of the POI. As there were no significant F ratios for either variable or for an interaction between them, such scores are not graphically represented. Table 5.4 contains the means and standard deviations of the Time Competence scores for the four sex-role groups, as well as for each sex.

TABLE 5.3

SUMMARY OF THE ANOVA OF THE T_C SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Signif. of F
Sex-type (A)	3.602	3	1.201	0.126	$p < 0.05$ n/s
Sex (B)	18.709	1	18.709	1.969	$p < 0,05$ n/s
2-way Interaction (AB)	29.129	3	9.710	1.022	$p < 0,05$ n/s
Residual	1748.502	184	9.503		
Total	1799.000	191	9.419		

TABLE 5.4

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE T_C SCORES

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	17.300	15.750	17.250	16.160
SD	2.618	2.816	2.723	2.982
Female $\bar{X}$	17.115	17.500	17.217	17.562
SD	3.362	3.058	3.655	3.079
Group Mean	17.196	17.167	17.234	16.947

Results in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 clearly indicate that, contrary to expectations, the effect of sex-typing was not significant on the T_C scale.

A summary of the Analysis of Variance of the Inner-directedness scale scores is to be found in Table 5.5. Table 5.6 comprises the Means and Standard Deviations for the four sex-role groups as well as those for each sex, the means being graphically represented in Figure 5.2.

TABLE 5.5

SUMMARY OF THE ANOVA OF THE (I) SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Signif. of F.
Sex-type (A)	379.971	3	126.657	1.049	$p<0,05$ n/s
Sex (B)	462.008	1	462.008	3.827	$p<0,05$
2-way Interaction (AB)	0.128	3	0.043	0.000	$p<0,05$ n/s
Residual	22211.713	184			
Total	22953.917	191	120.178		

TABLE 5.6

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE (I) SCORES

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	83.650	80.625	83.667	80.960
SD	12.231	13.522	13.531	10.188
Female $\bar{X}$	86.846	83.912	87.000	84.187
SD	8.003	9.491	10.677	11.784
Group Mean	85.457	83.286	85.298	82.772

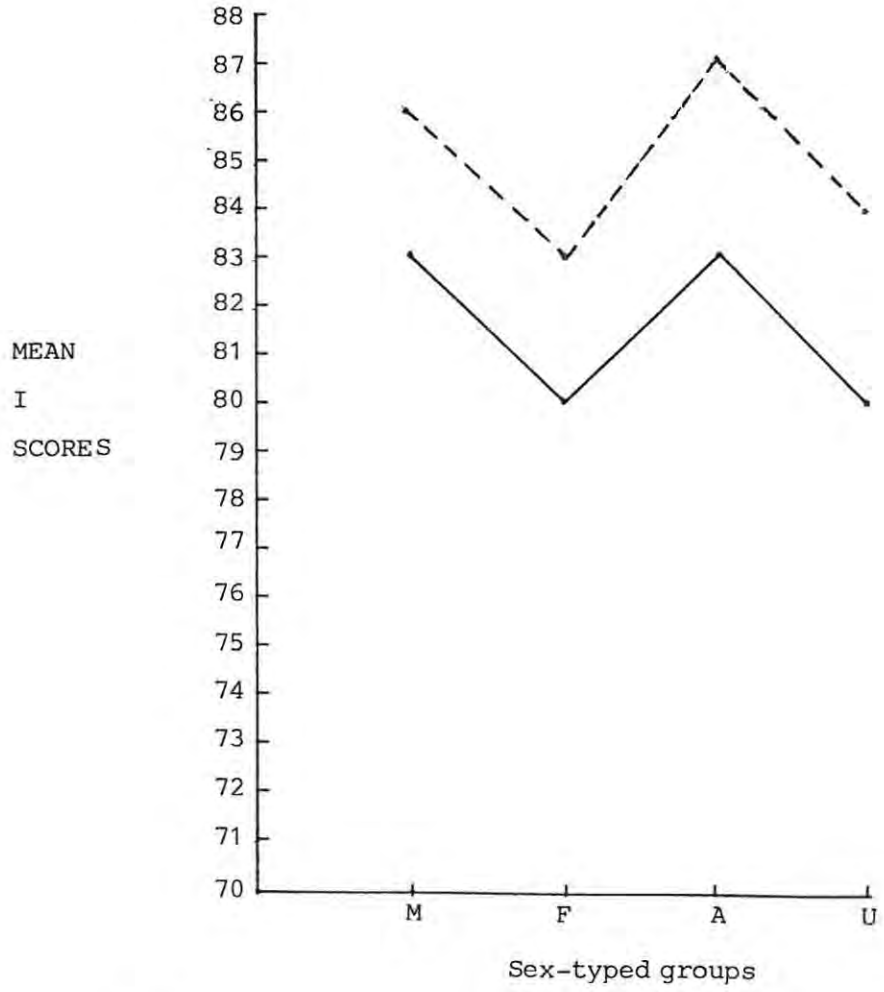


Figure 5.2 Sex-role group means with the I scores of the POI as dependent variable.

However, results in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 indicate that there were significant main effects of sex on the I scale. Graphical representation of the sex differences appears in Figure 5.2.

5.2.3 DISCUSSION

1. To begin with the findings relevant to Hypothesis 2: it cannot be said than androgynous subjects are more self-actualizing than sex-typed subjects, masculine or feminine.

   Few studies have been published in this area, and those that exist appear contradictory. The present findings are supported by those of Ginn (1975) who found that, contrary to prediction, androgynous subjects did not exhibit a higher level of self-actualization than either masculine or feminine subjects. Cristall and Dean (1976), however, found that subjects with a high level of self-actualization were, according to the BSRI, more androgynous than the low self-actualizing group, and more likely to be free from strong sex-role stereotypes. Nevill (1977) also found that,on a majority of the scales of the POI, androgynous individuals scored higher than those labelled non-androgynous.

   It seems likely that differing research designs incorporated in the above studies and different methods of incorporating results obtained into the research design could have accounted to some extent for the contradictory findings. As far as the present study and the abovementioned studies are concerned, the method of scoring the BSRI was not constant; in the former the revised median-split method was

used, while in the latter the original t ratio was used. In the light of differences which have been found between the two methods (Bem, 1977; Spence et al, 1975), this could be a significant factor affecting differences in findings. Most significant of all, however, are Shostrom's findings (1966) that self-actualization among college students is a rarity, with students generally scoring within the normal range. Since university students formed the bulk of the present sample, this in itself could explain the non-significant findings.

2. To consider the findings relevant to hypothesis 2.1: it was found that female subjects appear to be more self-actualizing than males are on the Inner-directedness scales, yet not more self-actualizing on the Time Competence scale. Because of the conflicting findings on these two scales, no firm decision regarding women and self-actualization can be made.

This points to a problem inherent in the POI, namely, the lack of an overall measure of self-actualizing (Damm, 1969). Although Shostrom (1966) suggested the use of the two major scales above as an estimate of self-actualization, he nevertheless did not stipulate what the relationship between the two should be, for example, whether they should be combined in some way, weighted equally or considered separately. Damm (ibid.) and Knapp (1965) have suggested that the raw scores of scale I be used as an overall measure in view of the fact that there is a great degree of item overlap between the I scale and all the sub-scales. This appears logical at first sight, yet in terms of the present study, although

I scale scores were significant, they were only supported by very few sub-scales. Thus it would have been fallacious to find females more self-actualizing than males in this study on the basis of the I scale scores alone.

Figure 5.2 indicates clearly that the pattern of responses between groups is similar for males and females but that, in support of the hypothesis, female subjects exhibited significantly higher levels of self-actualizing, in this case, self-directedness, than males. In other words, females, particularly those not confined by the traditional feminine sex-role, appear to be motivated from within and to a lesser extent influenced by others than males are. This is contrary to the general stereotype of women being dependent upon the opinions and approbation of others, particularly men.

Female findings were also found to be significantly higher than those of males on sub-scales Self-Actualizing Value and Acceptance of Aggression (to be discussed under sub-scales section 5.2.4).

Research findings are generally in support of the present hypothesis. Bledsoe, Foulds, Le May & Damm (in King, 1974, p.602) all report sex differences in favour of female subjects, as do Shostrom (1966) and Schroeder (1973). Although such differences are not necessarily always on the same sub-scales or on the same number of sub-scales, nevertheless they are fairly generalized findings. King (1974),however, did not find significant sex differences but attributed his results to the fact that his subjects were marriage partners and both likely to be self-actualizers, according to Maslow's theory of mate choice.

5.2.4 CONCLUSIONS

1. The hypothesis that androgynous subjects would be more self-actualizing than either masculine or feminine sex-typed subjects was not supported by present findings.

2. From results of the present study it would appear as if variation in sex-role orientation has no significant effect on levels of self-actualizing.

3. The hypothesis that female subjects would be more self-actualizing than male subjects was rejected in terms of the Time Competence scale and supported in terms of the Inner-directedness scale (See 5.2.3).

4. There are so few studies in this particular area that further research is needed to clarify existing contradictions.

5.2.5 DISCUSSION OF THE POI SUB-SCALES

5.2.5.1 Non-significant Sub-scales

Results on the following sub-scales did not yield significant F ratios for sex-typing, or for interaction between the two: Existentiality, Feeling Reactivity, Spontaneity, Self-acceptance, Nature of Man, Constructive, Synergy, Capacity for Intimate Contact. The Tables of Results relevant to each one may be found in the Appendices (5.1 and 5.2).

5.2.5.2 Significant Sub-scales

The following sub-scales produced significant results:

Sub-scales SAV and A in terms of sex and sex-type;

sub-scale Sr (Self-regard) in terms of sex-type.

The results for each of these sub-scales is discussed below.

RESULTS: Table 5.7 represents the summary of the Analysis of Variance of the SAV scores. Table 5.8 comprises the Means and Standard Deviations of the SAV scores for the four sex-role categories and for each sex. The means are graphically represented in Figure 5.3.

1. SELF-ACTUALIZING VALUES (SAV)

TABLE 5.7

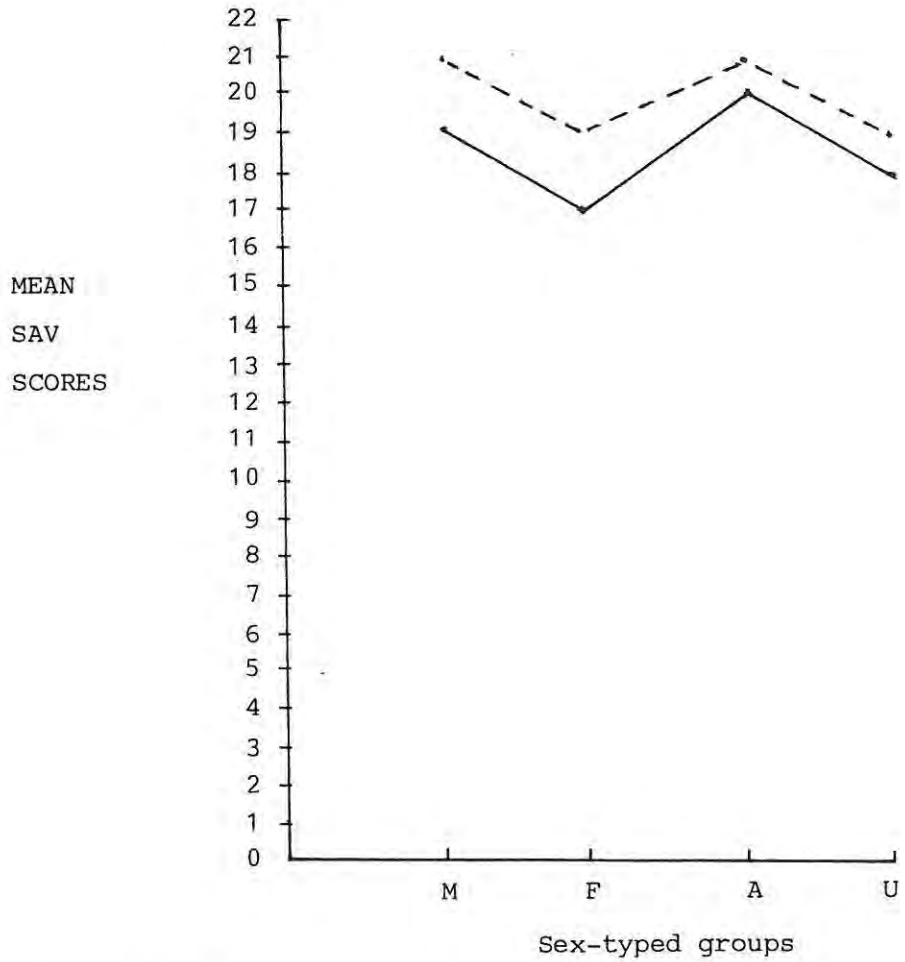
SUMMARY OF THE ANOVA OF THE SAV SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Signif. of F
Sex-type (A)	115.195	3	38.398	4.904	$p<0.01$
Sex (B)	41.513	1	41.513	5.302	$p<0.025$
2-way Interaction (AB)	19.725	3	6,575	0.840	$p<0,05$ n/s
Residual	1440.601	184	7.829		
Total	1598.578	191	8.370		

TABLE 5.8

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE SAV SCORES

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	19.550	17.875	20.958	18.960
SD	2.417	3.944	2.510	2.574
Female $\bar{X}$	21.192	19.765	21.087	19.687
SD	1.550	2.523	3.502	3.487
Group $\bar{X}$	20.478	19.405	21.021	19.368
SD	2.116	2.889	3.004	3.115



------ Females

_____ Males

Figure 5.3 Sex-role group means with the SAV scores of the POI as dependent variable.

Results on Tables 5.7, 5.8 and Figure 5.3 clearly indicate the significance of both sex-type and sex. Regarding the former, the Student-Newman-Keuls procedure indicated that androgynous subjects were found to be significantly more able to hold and live by self-actualizing values than were feminine or undifferentiated subjects (see Appendix 5.4).

Regarding the variable Sex, female scores were found to be significantly higher than those of males, indicating that females tend to hold and live by such values more than males.

There were no significant interaction effects.

2. SELF REGARD (Sr)

RESULTS: Table 5.9 represents the summary of the Analysis of Variance of the Sr scores. Table 5.10 comprises the Means and Standard Deviations of the Sr scores for the four sex-role categories and for each sex. The means are graphically represented in Figure 5.4

TABLE 5.9

SUMMARY OF THE ANOVA OF THE Sr SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Signif. of F	
Sex-type (A)	50.847	3	16.949	3.576	$p < 0.025$	
Sex (B)	11.708	1	11.708	2.470	$p < 0.05$	n/s
2-way Interaction (AB)	10.118	3	3.373	0.712	$p < 0.05$	n/s
Residual	872.074	184	4.740			
Total	939.370	191	4.918			

TABLE 5.10

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE Sr SCORES

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	12.950	11.125	12.833	11.400
SD	2.328	2.696	1.685	2.500
Female $\bar{X}$	13.154	12.235	12.783	12.375
SD	1.782	2.375	1.953	2.225
Group $\bar{X}$	13.065	12.024	12.809	11.947
SD	2.016	2.444	1.801	2.379

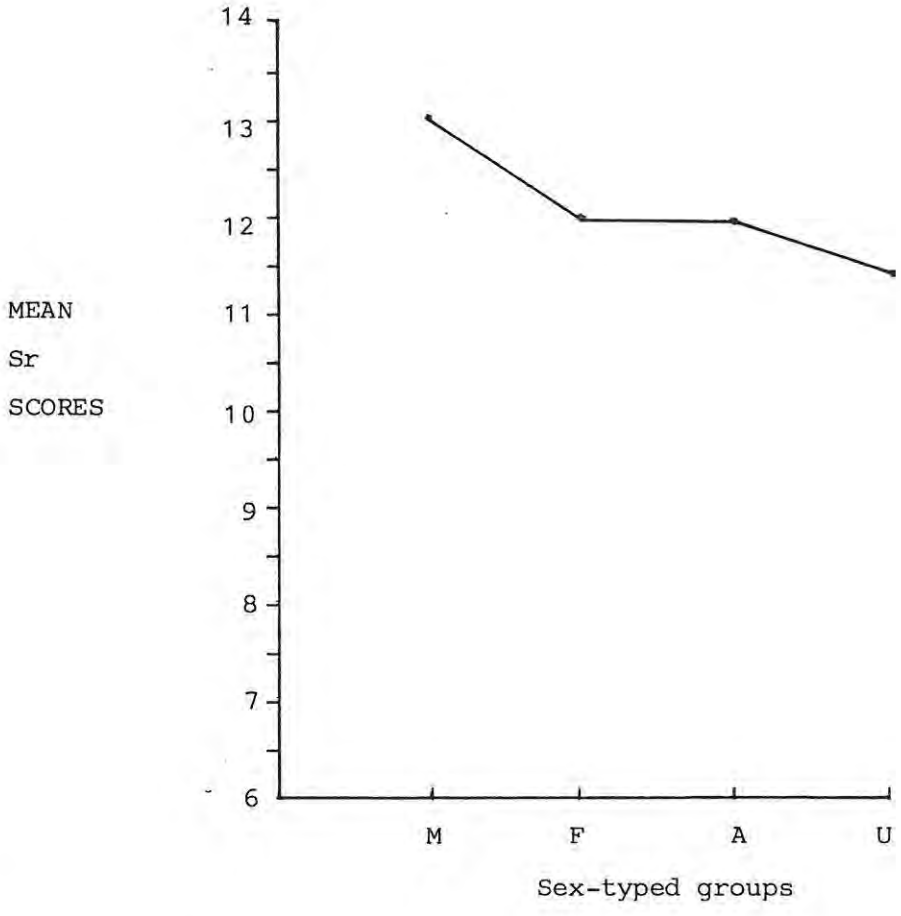


Figure 5.4 Sex-role group means with the Sr scores of the POI as dependent variable.

Results on Tables 5.9, 5.10 and Figure 5.4 reveal significant effects of sex-type, but not of sex. There were no significant interaction effects (Tables 5.9) although the shared mean of 12 by male and female androgynous subjects (Figure 5.4) would make it appear so. In spite of the significance of sex-type, the Student-Newman-Keuls procedure failed to reveal any one group mean as more significant than any other (see Appendix 5.4). Therefore, it cannot be said that the subjects of any one group have greater self-regard than the subjects of any other group. Results of this sub-scale are of interest, however, in that they parallel Bem's findings (1977) and those of Antill and Cunningham (1979), Jones et al (1978) and Orlofsky (1977) regarding self-esteem, namely that undifferentiated and feminine subjects were found to have the lowest self-esteem, and masculine subjects the highest.

3. ACCEPTANCE OF AGGRESSION (A)

RESULTS: Table 5.11 represents the summary of the Analysis of Variance of the A scores. Table 5.12 comprises the Means and Standard Deviations of the A scores for the four sex-role categories and for each sex. The means are graphically represented in Figure 5.5

TABLE 5.11

SUMMARY OF THE ANOVA OF THE A SCORES

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	Signif. of F.
Sex-type (A)	171.225	3	57.075	5.897	$p<0.001$
Sex (B)	57.031	1	57.031	5.892	$p<0.025$
2-way Interaction (AB)	20.474	3	6.825	0.705	$p<0.05$ n/s
Residual	1780.991	184	9.679		
Total	2004.000	191	10.492		

TABLE 5.12

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE A SCORES

SEX	SEX-TYPE			
	M	F	A	U
Male $\bar{X}$	16.900	14.375	15.750	14.520
SD	3.354	3.159	3.590	3.393
Female $\bar{X}$	17.115	15.265	17.826	15.750
SD	2.455	2.700	3.460	2.951
Group $\bar{X}$	17.022	15.095	16.766	15.211
SD	2.848	2.775	3.643	3.183

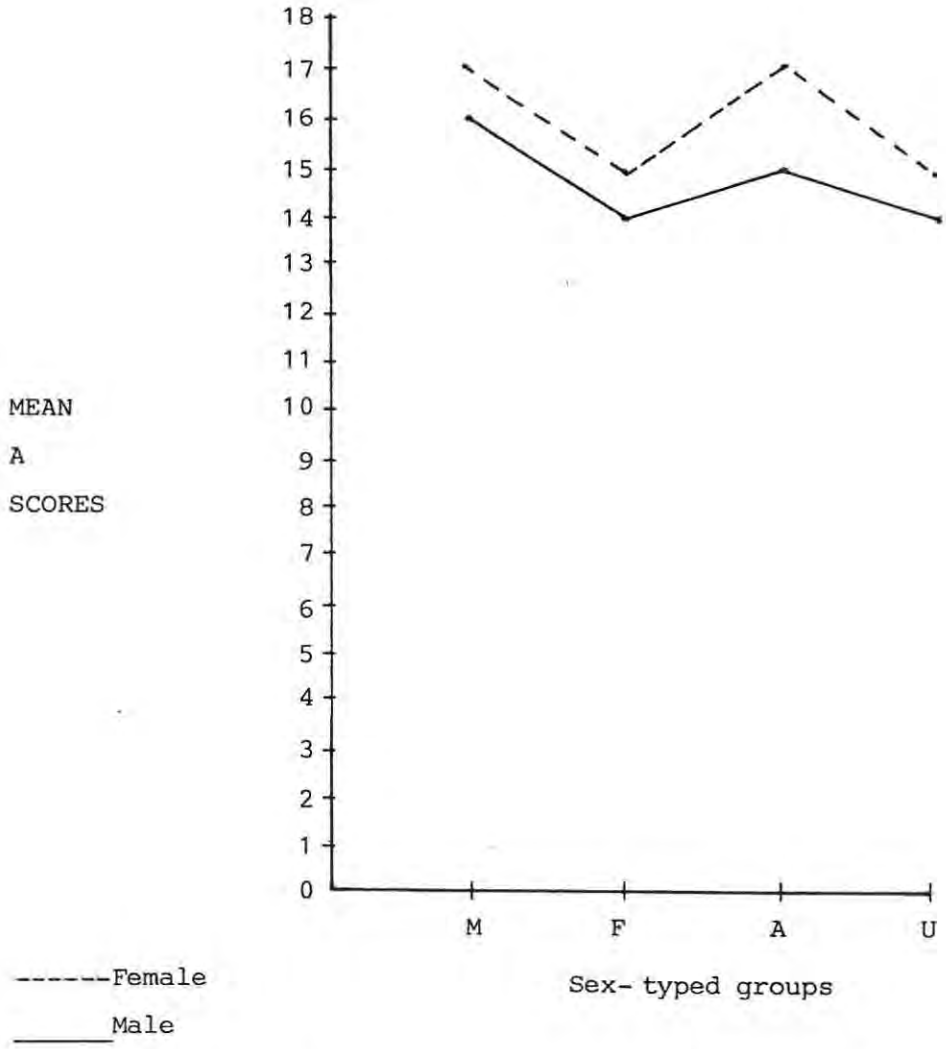


Figure 5.5 Sex-role group means with the A scores of the POI as dependent variable.

Table 5.11 clearly indicates significant main effects of both sex-type and sex. Table 5.12 reveals that the mean A scores vary significantly as a function of variation in sex-role orientation, while Table 5.12 also reveals the consistent and significant difference between the scores of male and female subjects. Thus it may be said on the basis of the above results and results obtained from the Student-Newman-Keuls procedure, that masculine, followed by androgynous subjects, appear to be significantly more able to accept aggression within themselves than either feminine or undifferentiated subjects are. Ginn (1975) also found

that masculine subjects were significantly higher than the other groups in this respect. Secondly, it may be said that female subjects appear to be better able to accept aggression within themselves as natural than male subjects appear to be.

DISCUSSION

Although much research has been carried out in the area of self-actualization, there are few studies connecting psychological androgyny and self-actualization, and none available on sex differences as well. The present study recorded significant sex differences on the major scale of Inner-directedness (see page 143), as well as on the sub-scales SAV and A. In all cases, female subjects scored significantly higher than male subjects. The significant finding that females scored higher on Inner-directedness than males (and conversely that males scored higher on Other-directedness than females) is worthy of note in that it contradicts general findings and beliefs that women are more dependent upon the opinions and approbation of others for their own well-being than men are. Whether this has anything to do with the roles and pressures of South African society is open to question.

In spite of the above significant effects of sex-type recorded for sub-scales SAV, Sr and A, no such significance was recorded on either of the major scales, and it may be concluded that variation in sex-role orientation has no effect upon levels of self-actualizing.

5.3 HYPOTHESIS 3

It was predicted that androgynous subjects would tend to view the ideally adjusted person as androgynous.

This hypothesis was tested using the scores of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (2nd administration) (i.e. subjects were required to complete the BSRI again, in accordance with their concept of an ideally adjusted person) as the dependent variable. The chi-square technique was used for data analysis.

5.3.1 RESULTS

Table 5.13 comprises a Chi-square Goodness of Fit test on the scores of those subjects classified by the BSRI as androgynous. The observed scores, taken from the frequency table (Appendix 5.3), comprise the frequency with which subjects classified as androgynous by the BSRI chose the four sex-role types (masculine, feminine, androgynous, undifferentiated) as their conception of the ideally adjusted person (BSRI2). It was hypothesized that such choices would be uniform, hence the expected scores of 11.8 for each of the four sex-role types. However, it was found that the observed distribution of scores differed significantly from the hypothesized uniform distribution.

TABLE 5.13

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH ANDROGYNOUS SUBJECTS SELECTED THE FOUR SEX-ROLE TYPES AS IDEAL IN TERMS OF ADJUSTMENT

BSRI ANDROG. SCORES	BSRI (2) SEX-ROLE TYPES			
	M	F	A	U
Observed	4	11	27	5
Expected	11.8	11.8	11.8	11.8

$\chi^2 = 28.68$ $df = 3$ $p < .001$

This significant finding led to the construction of Table 5.14 where the hypothesis that the androgynous role would be chosen more often than the other three sex-roles was tested. Again a Chi-square Goodness of Fit procedure was used; the observed androgynous score remained as in Table 5.13 while the scores for the other three sex-roles were added together. The expected score for the androgynous category also remained constant, while the expected score for the M+F+U category became accordinly three times greater, i.e. 35.4. The hypothesis was found to be highly significant at the $p < .001$ level.

TABLE 5.14

ANDROGYNOUS SUBJECTS' CHOICE OF IDEAL SEX-ROLE :

ANDROGYNOUS VERSUS THE REST (M+F+U).

BSRI ANDROG. SCORES	BSRI(2) SEX-ROLE TYPES	
	A	M+F+U
Observed	27	20
Expected	11.8	35.4

$\chi^2 = 26.28$ df = 1 $p < .001$

Table 5.15 comprises a Chi-square test of independence in which the frequency with which male and female androgynous subjects selected the four sex-role types on the BSRI(2) were compared. No significant sex differences were found.

TABLE 5.15

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH MALE AND FEMALE ANDROGYNOUS SUBJECTS SELECTED THE FOUR SEX-ROLE TYPES

BSRI ANDROG. SCORES	BSRI(2) SEX-ROLE TYPES				
	M	F	A	U	
Male	2	4	15	3	= 24
Female	2	7	12	2	= 23
Total	4	11	27	5	= 47

$\chi^2 = 2.43$ df = 3 $p < .05$ n/s

Results reveal that, as predicted, androgynous subjects perceived the ideally adjusted person as androgynous significantly more than any other sex-role orientation (Tables 5.13 and 5.14).

The frequency table (Appendix 5.3) reveals that a significant 57.4% of androgynous subjects (M+F) or 62.5% male androgynous and 52.2% female androgynous subjects chose the androgynous orientation as best conceptualizing an ideally adjusted person. All results were significant at the $p < .001$ level (Tables 5.13 and 5.14).

Table 5.15 reveals no significant sex differences in choices of sex roles among androgynous subjects.

5.3.2 DISCUSSION

Although there has been much research in the area of sex-role stereotyping and clinical judgements of mental health (Bem, 1976; Broverman et al, 1970; Sherman, 1976), there is little to be found concerning the relationship between androgyny specifically and such judgements made by clinicians. Downing (1979) makes reference to studies which appear to have direct bearing on the present study, but unfortunately are not available outside the U S A. Thus, the present findings cannot be compared directly with other findings, but they do support the numerous articles concerning the establishment of psychological androgyny as an alternative model of mental health (Berzins, 1979; Kaplan, 1979; Kenworthy, 1979; Marecek, 1979). Present findings suggest very clearly that those who are not confined by a masculine or feminine stereotype envisage a similarly less restrictive model of psychological health.

5.3.3 CONCLUSIONS

1. The hypothesis that androgynous subjects would select an androgynous model of adjustment was significantly supported by research findings.
2. There were no significant sex differences within the androgynous group.

5.4 HYPOTHESIS 4

It was predicted that both masculine and feminine subjects, as categorized by the BSRI, would conceptualize the ideally adjusted person as masculine.

This hypothesis was also tested using the scores of the BSRI(2) as dependent variable. The Chi-square technique was used for data analysis.

5.4.1 RESULTS

Table 5.16 comprises a Chi-square Goodness of Fit test on the scores of those subjects classified by the BSRI as masculine. The same procedure as described on page 154 for androgynous subjects was followed here. The purpose of the Chi-square test was to establish whether the distribution of masculine scores across the four sex-role categories of the BSRI(2) was significant, regarding their choices of the sex-role categories in terms of the ideally adjusted person.

TABLE 5.16

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH MASCULINE-TYPED SUBJECTS SELECTED THE FOUR SEX-ROLE TYPES AS IDEAL IN TERMS OF ADJUSTMENT.

	BSRI(2)			
BSRI(1)	M	F	A	U
Observed	13	5	9	19
Expected	11.5	11.5	11.5	11.5

$\chi^2 = 9.29$ $df = 3$ $p < 0,05$

In this case the distribution was significant but no further steps were taken as it was obvious from the distribution that undifferentiated rather than masculine, as hypothesized, was chosen most often.

In the case of Table 5.17 the same procedure as above was followed for the scores of the subjects classified as feminine by the BSRI. As the distribution of scores across the four sex-role categories of the BSRI(2) was not significant, no further steps were taken.

TABLE 5.17

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH FEMININE-TYPED SUBJECTS SELECTED THE FOUR SEX-ROLE TYPES AS IDEAL IN TERMS OF ADJUSTMENT

	BSRI(2)			
BSRI(1)	M	F	A	U
Observed	11	15	8	8
Expected	10.5	10.5	10.5	10.5

$\chi^2 = 3.12$ df = 3 $p < 0,05$ n/s

Results in Tables 5.16 and 5.17 indicate that the distribution of masculine subjects over the four categories (masculine, feminine, androgynous, undifferentiated) of the second administration of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory was significant, but that of the feminine subjects was not. However, no significance could be attached to the values within any one category of either Tables 5.16 or 5.17. Therefore, contrary to expectations, it could not be said that either the masculine or the feminine subjects selected the masculine sex-role as a model of adjustment significantly more than any other sex-role.

5.4.2 DISCUSSION

It must be stressed that the research relating to Hypotheses 3 and 4 is no more than an exploratory study, and although based on the classic study of Broverman et al (1970) concerning the double standards of psychological health, nevertheless utilized neither the same questionnaire, subjects nor research design. At no stage was it intended to be a replication of Broverman et al's study.

Present findings did not parallel those which consistently found that masculine qualities are more highly valued than feminine ones (Bem & Lenney, 1976; Berzins et al, 1978; Broverman et al, 1970; Jones et al, 1978; Kelly et al, 1977; Wiggins & Holzmuller, 1978). Differences in sample composition, e.g. under-graduate college students as opposed to school counsellors, could have accounted for this, as well as the fact that preference for the masculine sex-role found by the researchers mentioned above, was not established within the context of models of adjustment. Furthermore, as has already been pointed out, the intention was not to replicate Broverman et al's study (1970), but to use it as a basis for Hypotheses 3 and 4 to test in another way the findings regarding a double standard of mental health.

The fact that a different test was used, viz. the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, that the subjects were different; that the design of the present study as well as instructions to testees were quite different, to the above-mentioned study, could all be factors contributing to results not being as expected.

Finally, an unforeseen problem arose in regard to the use of the BSRI,

namely, that the BSRI contains the items both 'Masculine' and 'Feminine'. Many subjects were confused by this, the possibility of androgyny being unknown to them. Thus they asked for clarification as to whether the ideally adjusted person was to be masculine or feminine. When this information was refused they appeared at a loss to know how to complete both these two items as well as the rest of the inventory. Such confusion could very well have contaminated results overall.

5.4.3 CONCLUSIONS

1. Contrary to expectations, the hypothesis that the masculine sex-role would be seen by sex-typed subjects as an ideal model of adjustment was not supported by present findings.
2. Androgyny and psychological health are receiving much attention at present, both in the literature and in the therapeutic situation (mainly in U S A). Cross-cultural studies would appear to be both necessary and interesting, the main problem being the lack of a suitable test.

5.5 SUMMARY

Androgynous subjects were not more liberal in their attitudes towards women, or more self-actualizing than sex-typed subjects. Female subjects were found to be significantly more liberal in their attitudes towards women than males were, as well as more self-actualizing than males in several areas of self-actualization as measured by the POI.

Finally, sex-typed subjects were not found to conceptualize the ideally adjusted person as either masculine or feminine, but the androgynous subjects were found to select an androgynous model of adjustment.

CHAPTER 6

OVERVIEW OF RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION, IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was i) to test hypotheses derived from Bem's theory of androgyny with respect to attitudes towards women, and self-actualization, and ii) to test hypotheses based on Broverman et al's findings (1970) regarding double standards of mental health.

Present findings did not support the hypotheses that androgyny is associated with greater liberalism of attitudes towards women or with higher levels of self-actualizing than sex-typing is. However, significant sex differences were found in both areas, with female subjects, regardless of sex-type, being consistently more liberal in attitudes and more self-actualizing in certain areas than males.

Androgynous subjects were found to conceptualize healthy adjustment in terms of androgyny, but no support was found for the prediction that both masculine- and feminine-typed subjects would opt for the more highly-valued masculine stereotype as a model of adjustment. No significant sex differences were found in this respect.

6.1.1 Discussion

Several factors emerge regarding the lack of support found for hypotheses relating androgyny to attitudes towards women and to self-actualization, namely, the application of theory to design, problems of measurement, and a gap between theory and reality. It is suggested that such

factors could have been largely responsible for the present findings.

Firstly, the fact that the present findings confirm and are confirmed by the majority of findings regarding attitudes towards women (Bem, 1977; Kamens & Liss-Levinson, in Jones et al, 1978; Woolfson, 1979; Zeldow, 1976) points to the fact that there might be factors other than differences in sample composition alone accounting for the consistently negative findings. The possibility that the link between androgyny and attitudes towards women is based upon a fallacious assumption cannot be discounted. Worell (1978) has put forward a compelling argument in which she criticizes much sex-role research for this very shortcoming. She argues that the establishment of an association between behavioural flexibility and androgyny does not automatically imply generalization to all behaviours and personality traits. Following this argument then, perhaps attitudinal flexibility of androgynous individuals should not be assumed on the grounds that behavioural flexibility has been found to exist. Thus, it would appear as if the theoretical foundations of this particular hypothesis may be somewhat tenuous, resulting in the consistently negative findings of this as well as other studies.

Secondly, the problems of measurement affect all the hypotheses in that the issue regarding the scoring procedures of the BSRI has not, as yet, been satisfactorily resolved. Therefore, since the two methods do not necessarily yield the same results, no generalizations or comparisons can safely be made where the scoring methods are not consistent between studies. This is particularly the case in the area of self-actualization where the use of the two different scoring methods of the BSRI could have

resulted in the differences between previous findings and the present study. (See chapter 5, p.142 for a fuller discussion). The situation is exacerbated by the problems involved in scoring the POI. Some researchers use raw scores, some standard scores, some use ratios, others combine the scores of the two major scales, while yet others consider them separately, in order to obtain an overall measure of self-actualization. While such uncertainty remains regarding the validity of the measuring instruments, any findings in the area of self-actualization need to be interpreted with great caution.

It would appear that contradictory results may be attributed to different research designs and differences in statistical procedures employed as well as the problems of measurement mentioned above. The latter, it is suggested, have contributed significantly to the present findings.

One final point on measurement concerns the use of tests standardized for the country of origin rather than the country of usage. Regarding the BSRI, for example, it is possible that the profile of socially desirable traits comprising the sex-role stereotypes upon which the instrument is based may not be the same in South Africa as in America. The test would, therefore, not be a valid measuring instrument of sex-roles in the South African context. As there is no evidence to prove or disprove the point, and since there are no similar South African tests in existence, the above must remain pure speculation at present.

Thirdly, the fact that Shostrom(1966), in support of Maslow, found that self-actualization among college students is a rarity, is particularly relevant to this study since the majority of subjects were university

students (counsellors in training). According to Maslow, personality develops with maturity; it is not surprising then that a sample of mainly young students yielded no significant results. Regardless of whether such subjects are androgynous or not, they are of an age when high levels of self-actualizing are seldom found. Thus, there may not be any significant differences in self-actualization between groups, because, according to Shostrom (ibid.), such subjects all fall within the normal range.

Fourthly, although the link between androgyny and self-actualization appears in theory to be a logical and natural extension of Bem's theory, it is the contention of the writer (with hindsight) that in reality such an association is tenuous. In theory the flexibility and adaptability of the androgynous individual is conducive to continually developing self-actualization, but in reality it is now suggested that the stress experienced by, and the restraints placed upon, such individuals in a patriarchal, conformist society such as South Africa, retards such development. Kenworthy (1979) has pointed out the many and varied consequences to be endured by the androgynous person in a traditional, stereotype-bound society. The social penalties imposed on the androgynous man or woman who engages in cross-sex behaviour are considerable, and, it is suggested, could result in problems of adjustment rather than growth toward optimal functioning. This is the reality of the situation which makes it unlikely that androgynous individuals, at present, will be more self-actualizing than their sex-typed counterparts who are sheltered from many of the stresses and challenges experienced by the former, due to the protection their role and society affords them. The underlying theory represents the ideal which perhaps may be realised

in the future.

Regarding sex differences, findings were generally in the predicted direction. The assumption that female subjects would be more liberal in their attitudes towards women was verified, in line with previous findings (Jones et al, 1978; Sherman et al, 1978; Spence et al, 1979; Zeldow, 1976). The logic of this has already been discussed. (See chapter 5, p.137).

The assumption that female subjects would be more self-actualizing than their male counterparts was supported on one of the major scales (Inner-directedness) and two of the sub-scales (SAV and A). The problems involved in obtaining an overall measure of self-actualization, if this is possible with a construct as multi-dimensional in nature as self-actualization, were discussed (See chapter 4, p.128; chapter 5, pp.142 & 143). The findings that female subjects were more self-directed (I), more able to hold and live by self-actualizing values (SAV), and better able to accept aggression within themselves (A), might be surprising in terms of traditional attitudes, e.g. that women are more dependent on approbation from others than men. In general it might be expected that women would be more self-actualizing than men in that there might be little incentive or need for men to develop in such areas due to the satisfaction experienced in the highly valued male role, or because of the fear of anything feminine which thus keeps men rigidly within the confines of their sex-role, and disallows the development of a fully-rounded personality. With the devaluation of the feminine role, however, there is every incentive to strive towards growth and development. The reason for positive findings being recorded on only three, and these particular

three,scales of the POI must remain a subject for speculation only, although it is suggested that the problems of measurement mentioned earlier are likely to have considerably influenced all the results in the area of self-actualization.

With regard to the hypotheses based on Broverman et al's findings (1970), it is not surprising to find that subjects classified as androgynous hold an androgynous concept of optimal adjustment. It would be highly unlikely that any individual, having experienced the freedom and flexibility of androgyny, would endorse conformity to a stereotype for his/her clients. However, as an androgynous counsellor it could be expected that he/she would be flexible enough to accept whatever model was in the client's best interests.

Finally, the hypothesis regarding sex bias in favour of masculinity was not supported. Sex-typed subjects appeared unclear about their models of ideal adjustment as there was no evidence of any particular sex-role or combination of sex-roles being favoured. It may very well be that, as the majority of the subjects were trainee counsellors, their ideas in areas such as adjustment were not yet clearly formulated; or, the findings could very well have been a function of the design of this study (see chapter 5, p.160), or a function of the measuring instrument used, i.e. the BSRI. With regard to the latter, Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) point to the fact that the two items "Masculine" and "Feminine" in the BSRI account for the greater portion of the discrimination between the two groups, with the self-ratings on the other items having little further discriminatory power. When these findings are considered in the light of the problems experienced by the subjects in rating

themselves on these two traits (see chapter 5, p.161) then this would appear to be the most significant factor influencing the direction of the present findings.

The writer suspects and suggests that the lack of support for this hypothesis is largely a function of the design of and measuring instrument used in this study.

Since conclusions in chapter 5 were drawn individually for each hypothesis, they will now be drawn together and presented as general conclusions, relevant to the study as a whole.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

1. Since androgynous subjects were not found to be more liberal in their attitudes towards women (Hypothesis 1), nor more self-actualizing (Hypothesis 2), than sex-typed subjects, it may be concluded that variation in sex-role orientation appears to have no significant effect upon attitudes towards or levels of self-actualizing.
2. Since female subjects were found to be both more liberal in their attitudes towards women (Hypothesis 1.1) and more self-actualizing in certain areas (Hypothesis 2.1) than male subjects, it may be concluded that sex differences are significant in these two areas.
3. Since no significant interaction effects were obtain on the Analysis of Variance for Hypotheses 1, 1.1, 2 and 2.1 it may be concluded that biological sex and sex-role orientation are completely independent of one another.
4. Since sex-typed subjects did not select the masculine role in pre-

ference to any other role when considering healthy adjustment (Hypothesis 4), it may be concluded that there appears to be no sex bias in favour of masculinity in this sample.

5. Since androgynous subjects conceptualized healthy adjustment in terms of androgyny, whereas sex-typed subjects appeared to hold no particular model of adjustment, it may be concluded that sex-role orientation appears to have an effect upon models of adjustment held.
6. The fact that subjects classified as androgynous selected an androgynous model of adjustment significantly more than any other model, confirms the existence of a link between androgyny and mental health.

6.3 EVALUATION OF THIS STUDY

The writer's interest in the general area of this research developed years ago as a reaction to observed sex discrimination in the white educational system of South Africa. The idea for this particular study was conceived amid enthusiasm in the hope that the findings would prove relevant and valuable, particularly for the educational guidance and counselling system of the country.

During the course of this study, however, the limitations of the nomothetic paradigm for this subject matter in particular, became apparent. Although this approach was chosen due to the main concern being with group rather than individual differences, nevertheless much information regarding the subjects as people was lost. In fact, such information was never tapped, due to the recognised limitations of pen-and-paper tests. The subjects tended to become scores and numbers on a page, and never emerged as people. This was disappointing given that

the motivating interest of the writer was general equality, the implication, however, being the importance of the individual and his/her personal liberty.

It was the experience of the writer that, by complying with the requirements and constraints of the statistical model, much of the original meaning and relevance of the subject matter was lost. Yet, the endeavour to retain the latter possibly resulted in some statistical oversights. For example, it is recognised that multi-variate statistical procedures might have been better employed than the single tests of significance chosen, since many variables in personality research tend to be correlated, and single tests of significance cannot correct for the common variance in a group of correlated measures (Worell, 1978). Yet, the statistical procedures employed were chosen with a view to comparing present findings with those of overseas studies, the majority of which utilized similar procedures. Furthermore, since the present study involved a certain degree of replication of previous studies, it was thought not only prudent, but essential, to employ similar statistical procedures.

There are several sources of variance, e.g. age and counselling experience, control of which was not adequately provided for in this study. It is suggested that the age of subjects could have significantly affected the criterion variables, particularly self-actualization, in that the student sector of the sample would, in terms of Maslow's theory (Shostrom, 1966), be normal self-actualizers, whereas counsellors in the field, of varying ages, would be likely to be at different stages of self-actualization. Whether their distribution across the four sex-

role groups in terms of age was sufficiently similar cannot now be assessed.

Secondly, differential responses due to age (and, therefore, counselling experience) could have occurred on the scores of the 'concepts of adjustment' variable, due to the fact that student counsellors, having little or no experience in counselling, are less likely than experienced counsellors to have formulated their ideas regarding healthy adjustment.

Thirdly, the possibility exists that differences in motivation between trainees as opposed to counsellors in the field could have existed, which differences could have influenced test results. Not all trainees enter the field of counselling, but complete the course in Counselling and Guidance as part of their teaching diploma requirement. Yet, all those present on the day of testing were required to complete inventories and questionnaires involved in this study.

The counsellors in the field, however, had made a definite career choice, presumably because of interest in the field; and secondly, no constraints were placed upon them to complete any of the test material. As a result, one could conclude that only those interested in the area of research completed and returned all the material.

Fourthly, the fact that the sample of this study was composed of both trainees as well as counsellors in the field has resulted in consideration of the possibility that the sample is not a homogeneous one, but rather composed of subjects drawn from two different populations.

There is no evidence in this regard, but the investigator suspects that differences in maturity, work experience and interest in the job could have significantly affected results. Although it was too late to investigate this in this study, it is suggested that a future study could look into such possible differences. The fact that the sample used is a very specific one makes generalization difficult, although the implications for the field of counselling specifically are obvious.

Finally, the problems encountered with the tests themselves have been discussed in detail elsewhere (chapter 4, sections 4.2.1.7 and 4.2.3.7; chapter 5, pp.142 & 143,and chapter 6, section 6.1.1). They had to be used as there were no other suitable tests in existence, yet the problems associated with valid and reliable measurement, particularly of multi-dimentionsl variables such as self-actualization, again point to the limitations of the nomothetic paradigm.

6.4 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

Although sex bias was not found in this study (the reasons for this are suggested on pages 167 and 168 of this chapter), nevertheless the survey of existing literature and research studies on the subject offers compelling evidence of its existence. The fact that sex-typed counsellors were found to have no clear-cut model of adjustment as androgynous subjects were found to hold, indicates that they are nowhere near a conceptualization of adjustment in terms of androgyny, and, it is suggested, are therefore more likely to endorse a traditional model involving stereotypes, which is part of their cultural heritage. This, together with the fact that only a quarter of the subjects of this study

were classified as androgynous on the BSRI, while nearly one half (46%) were classified as sex-typed, has considerable implications for the field of counselling. Given that sex-typed individuals are likely to have sexist attitudes and values, and that these are likely to be transmitted in the counselling process (Harway & Astin, 1977; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966), then, on the basis of the abovementioned figures, the extent of the influence of sex-typed as opposed to androgynous counsellors becomes apparent. If one can generalize from the present sample, then it is suggested that about one half of the counsellors working within the educational system of white South Africa are endorsing and actively supporting the development of stereotypic attitudes, values and behaviours within the pupils of the school in which they work. It follows from the current findings that only one quarter endorse a model of mental health free of stereotypic norms. The ramifications of such figures are considerable, given that the school counsellor administers aptitude and interest tests to every child in his/her school both in Standard 7 and again in Standard 9, counsels every matric pupil individually regarding career choice, and meets regularly with all classes throughout the school for group guidance sessions.

The implications of the above findings extend further than the school situation, to counsellor training. Counsellor educators need to be made aware that they are likely to have sex-biased attitudes, so that this awareness can be integrated into both the theoretical and practical training of counsellors. Trainee counsellors, similarly, need to have their consciousness raised regarding their biases, through courses offered in women's studies through group techniques, and by being given the opportunity to acquire non-biased helping skills through role-

playing and video taping. They need to be alerted to the bias contained in the tests they will use in the schools, and research into bias-free curricula, tests and training materials needs to be encouraged (Schlossberg & Pietrofesa, 1973).

The promise of androgyny for both males and females, but particularly the latter, has been the main concern throughout this investigation. Given that relatively few androgynous counsellors were found (approximately one in four), nevertheless the fact that they were found to endorse androgynous models of adjustment augurs well for the pupils with whom they work. Perhaps the promise of androgyny is best considered through a discussion of the implications of an androgynous orientation for a counsellor, and thus for his/her clients.

In theory, androgyny allows for better adjustment, more flexible, situationally appropriate behaviour and fuller development of potential. From the findings of this study it would appear that certain of the subjects have, to some extent, realized these ideals. This immediately makes them different from the other three quarters of the population who either adhere to their traditional sex-roles, or appear to have no particular orientation. To be androgynous, and to thus be different from the norm, holds considerable positive but also some negative consequences as Kenworthy (1979) warns. To be different is to be suspect, and within the strictly traditional school setting, a counsellor exhibiting situationally appropriate rather than sex-role appropriate behaviour, for example, would be likely to be viewed with considerable suspicion. Loss of credibility with both staff and pupils, and parents, as a result of different behavioural and value systems, would appear to be one of

the greatest dangers faced by the androgynous counsellor.

On the positive side, however, the possibilities of better adjustment, more effective behaviour and fuller development of potential offered to the pupils by the model of the androgynous counsellor are numerous and exciting. In order to realise such possibilities, however, the androgynous orientation of the counsellor requires of him both an awareness of the restrictiveness of the traditional model of adjustment based on stereotypic norms, as well as a re-assessment of all previous goals, techniques and theories. This enables him/her to free his/her counsellees from the demands made upon them in the traditional counselling or guidance situation to conform to the stereotypes of masculinity or femininity. This, in itself, although viewed by the counsellor as desirable for the pupils themselves, might very well be rejected by them due to peer and ever parental pressure, or due to the importance their sex-role takes on particularly at adolescence, the period of awakening sexuality. It would require all the counsellor's skill to create an awareness in the pupils of the value of, and possibilities offered by, an orientation other than the traditional masculinity-femininity stereotypes. However, the opportunities for the counsellor to do this are there, both in the group guidance sessions, where values can be explored and clarified and the whole range of subject and career choices can be considered, and in the individual counselling situation, where personal-social, educational or career problems and possibilities can be explored without the restrictions of stereotypes.

In this way, the influence of the androgynous counsellor would, hopefully, be able to bring many of the pupils to a realization of the value of not

being restricted by one prescribed set of behaviours, and of not being restricted to subject or career choice because of one's sex. This, in itself, would be an achievement, and a step in the direction of the ultimate goal for all offered by androgyny, namely, behavioural diversity, healthy adjustment and full development of potential.

Finally, it could be argued that the implications of the above hold greater promise for girls and ultimately women, than they do for males. It has been apparent, through the course of this study, that the male role is undoubtedly the most highly valued (Antill & Cunningham, 1979; Jones et al, 1978). Thus, the female, whose role is devalued, has the most to gain in terms of androgyny. In terms of expanding her range of behaviours, her status, her occupational choice, it would appear that such changes would be particularly meaningful. For example, it is suggested that the opportunity for greater independence, achievement and self-assertion might very well be exciting and relevant for a woman, whereas the possibilities of becoming warm and nurturant might not appear as important for a man. Certainly, the advantages androgyny offers to women appear to outweigh the negative consequences (Kenworthy, 1979), yet for men, androgyny might very well be seen as a threat to their advantaged position. In theory then, androgyny offers liberating possibilities for all; it is suggested, however, that its realization in practice will depend on whether individuals wish to avail themselves of such opportunities or not.

In the light of the sexist attitudes of those in the helping professions, which have been discussed at great length during the course of this study, it is encouraging to find the significantly profeminist attitudes of the

female subjects, as well as their tendency towards greater self-actualization than the male subjects. These findings are particularly encouraging, given that female counsellors outnumber the male counsellors in the ratio of 3 : 2 in this sample, and probably do in a greater proportion in the education-system at large. Presumably, the holders of such attitudes would be interested in the practical application of them in terms of greater personal-social, educational and career opportunities for their pupils.

According to the findings of researchers such as Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), which have been fully discussed in chapter 2 of this study, such attitudes and beliefs will exert their influence in the counselling process, thus having some effect upon counselling outcome. Thus all the pupils coming into contact with the counsellors will hopefully be affected to some degree by their liberal attitudes, whether in their own attitudes, relationships with others, or ultimately even in subject and career choice.

The failure of this study to support the contention that androgynous counsellors are more liberal in their attitudes towards women and more self-actualizing than sex-typed counsellors, has been discussed on several occasions in this study in terms of problems of measurement of androgyny. These are undoubtedly considerable, and probably do account for such findings, but given all that has already been argued in favour of androgyny; nevertheless the possibility must be considered that perhaps after all it is the theory that is faulty rather than the measurement thereof. In view of its relative newness to the field of psychology, androgyny has had relatively little empirical backing and what there has been, has been

criticised on the grounds that it is not nearly extensive enough to warrant acceptance of the theory. Bem's studies are criticised on the grounds that they involve behaviours directly tapping the behavioural content of the BSRI masculinity-femininity items (Locksley & Colten, 1979).

In fact, some studies have begun to show that it is possibly masculinity, independent of gender, rather than androgyny that is associated with flexibility and adjustment (Jones et al, 1978; Wiggins & Holzmuller, 1978) and with self-esteem (Antill & Cunningham, 1979). This is in direct contradiction to the theory of androgyny which assumes that sex-typing is dysfunctional and therefore that men are as disadvantaged as women in having to conform to a stereotypic ideal of masculinity. Bem's studies designed to validate her theory of androgyny are further criticised by Locksley and Colten (1979) on the grounds that they show how androgynous subjects display sex-inappropriate behaviour when such behaviour is obviously rewarding, but not what happens if sex-appropriate behaviour is rewarding. They argue that sex is a structural feature of situations and of ongoing life experience so that sex-appropriate behaviours are generally rewarded, psychologically and materially, and vice versa. Furthermore, they argue that individuals classified as psychologically androgynous are no less aware of, nor free from, the social consequences of their sex than sex-typed individuals are. In fact, they argue that psychological androgyny is impossible since

> "Individuals living within a culture in which sex is deeply embedded are inevitably subject to a complex nexus of social relations that locate them in social space partly as a function of their sex." (ibid., p.1029)

Finally, they provide evidence of the behavioural impact of sex-contingent expectations. For example, in a sample of college students, supposedly the least sex-segregated, Zanna and Pack (ibid., p.1026) found that,when a potential male partner was described with desirable characteristics, female subjects' self-descriptions were influenced by information about his ideal woman, but when the male partner was described as less desirable, information about his ideal woman had little impact on the subjects' self-descriptions. This was interpreted in terms of the women students gearing their behaviour to the reward contingencies present in the situation.

Although the argument of Locksley and Colten (ibid.) would not appear to be one that would be acceptable for the supporters of androgyny, nevertheless Bem herself (1979a) agrees that it is not possible for an individual to be completely free of sex-related social effects. However, she suggests that this does not necessarily preclude the possibility that individuals may differ in the extent to which gender serves as a 'cognitive schema' for the processing of information, as a means of perceiving and interpreting social reality. In support of androgyny, she points to the underlying assumption of her most recent research which is that there are wide individual differences in the functional importance attached to the recognition of the gender dichotomy. In particular, sex-typed and androgynous individuals differ from one another in how much they believe the sexes to be basically different from one another and these differences in belief result in differences between the two sex-role groups in both self-description and behaviour, as well as in their perception of others.

There are no definitive answers as yet to the points raised both in favour of and against the concept of androgyny. This study failed in its attempts to validate the concept, and it would appear as if the answers can only lie in the findings of future empirical studies.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Arising from the findings of this study, and from the points raised above, there is clearly an urgent need for further research in the area of androgyny, with validation studies being a top priority. Furthermore, the contradictory nature of many of the findings cited in this study clearly indicates that generalizations cannot yet be made in the area of personality correlates of androgyny. Most of the research in the area of androgyny has been concerned with behavioural validation which, in turn, has been related to androgyny as a model of healthy psychological functioning. Obviously, however, personality is an intrinsic part of mental health and further studies need to be carried out to establish which combinations of personality traits are most conducive to healthy functioning.

2. It is obvious that the measuring instruments used to assess androgyny are not as valid and reliable as they could be. There is a need for the refining of the present tests to remediate some of the present difficulties, e.g. the scoring issue of the BSRI, and/or for the development of new tests which can assess androgyny more directly, without dependence upon cultural stereotypes.

3. Androgyny at the present time is conceptualized in terms of sex-role transcendence, yet operationally defined in terms of trait

theory. There is a need for a revised operationalization of androgyny in terms of sex-role transcendence, so that the gap between the two definitions may be narrowed, and a direct rather than indirect assessment of sex-role transcendence achieved.

4. Since the undifferentiated group of subjects is of a significant size (29% of sample), and since little research has taken them into account, apart from the interest taken in their distinctive lack of self-esteem, it would seem pertinent that further research should focus on them as a group. This would seem particularly important in the light of the fact that they were originally included in the androgynous group (Bem, 1974) and have only in latter years been regarded as conceptually different. The question of whether this group perhaps comprises a different kind of androgynous orientation needs to be explored. In the present study, for example, it would be interesting to speculate on what proportion of the presently classified undifferentiated subjects would, in fact, have been classified as androgynous, or sex-typed.

5. Shortcomings in the present study, e.g. faulty application of theory to design, have pointed to the importance of rigorously designed and controlled studies if their findings are to offer any meaningful contribution to the body of accumulated knowledge regarding sex-roles. Areas such as the theoretical base; sex-role and gender distinctions; sampling procedures; test and construct validation and psychometric and statistical procedures need to be carefully monitored (Worell, 1978).

6. Since the current findings suggest the existence of a link between an

androgynous orientation and an androgynous model of adjustment, further research is needed to investigate differences in counselling interaction and outcomes, with androgynous as opposed to sex-typed counsellors.

6.6 A PERSONAL ENDING

This study was conceived amid great enthusiasm concerning the promise of androgyny for all, but particulary for women. The findings have been both disappointing and exciting, disappointing in that the hypotheses regarding the personality correlates of androgyny were not supported, but exciting in terms of the implications apparent in the area of mental health. For example

> "It is a major advance for women if the therapist can hold out the promise of health through androgyny rather than being able only to promise to help them adjust to their debilities" (Kenworthy, 1979, p.239).

Whether the theory of androgyny is ultimately validated beyond doubt or not is perhaps not as important as the fact that the traditional stereotypes have been questioned, and a liberating alternative offered. However, the writer suggests that it is a theory in advance of its time in that society has not yet evolved to the point where all or most of its members are willing or able to capitalize upon the opportunities offered. It is only with time that the potential of androgyny may, if ever, be fully realized.

APPENDIX 5.1

VALUES OF F FROM THE ANALYSES OF VARIANCE FOR THE POI SCALES.

POI Scale	F Sextype (A)	F Sex (B)	F Interaction (AB)
T_I	0.267	2.573	0.827
T_C	0.126	1.969	1.022
O	1.014	4.755 *	0.097
I	1.049	3.827 *	0.000
SAV	4.904 *	5.302 *	0.840
Ex	0.194	1.132	0.052
Fr	1.245	1.471	0.403
S	0.989	1.146	0.237
Sr	3.576 *	2.470	0.712
Sa	0.376	2.759	1.118
Nc	1.739	3.751	1.273
Sy	1.455	0.817	0.209
A	5.897 *	5.892 *	0.705
C	1.189	0.684	0.235

* $p < .05$

APPENDIX 5.2

POI SCALE MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR SAMPLE GROUPS

	POI Scale			M	F	A	U	Signif.
1.	T_I	Total	M	5.674	5.738	5.532	5.982	n/s
			SD	3.106	3.037	3.355	3.102	
		Male	M	5.650	7.250	5.625	6.760	
			SD	2.601	2.816	2.795	3.045	
		Female	M	5.692	5.382	5.435	5.375	
			SD	3.496	3.015	3.918	3.056	
2.	T_C	Total	M	17.196	17.167	17.234	16.947	n/s
			SD	3.030	3.060	3.177	3.090	
		Male	M	17.300	15.750	17.250	16.160	
			SD	2.618	2.816	2.723	2.982	
		Female	M	17.115	17.500	17.217	17.562	
			SD	3.362	3.058	3.655	3.079	
3.	O	Total	M	39.978	41.929	39.702	42.211	(A)
			SD	10.423	10.165	12.568	10.898	
		Male	M	42.600	45.000	41.708	43.560	
			SD	11.993	14.031	14.583	10.017	
		Female	M	37.962	41.206	37.609	41.156	
			SD	8.747	9.154	9.949	11.587	
4.	I	Total	M	85.457	83.286	85.298	82.772	(A)
			SD	10.066	10.268	12.203	11.134	
		Male	M	83.650	80.625	83.667	80.960	
			SD	12.231	13.522	13.531	10.188	
		Female	M	86.846	83.912	87.000	84.187	
			SD	8.003	9.491	10.677	11.784	
5.	SAV	Total	M	20.478	19.405	21.021	19.368	(A)
			SD	2.116	2.889	3.004	3.115	
		Male	M	19.550	17.875	20.958	18.960	&
			SD	2.417	3.944	2.510	2.574	
		Female	M	21.192	19.765	21.087	19.687	(B)
			SD	1.550	2.523	3.502	3.487	

	POI Scale			M	F	A	U	Signif.
6.	Ex	Total	M	20.674	20.333	20.723	20.719	n/s
			SD	3.813	4.082	4.337	3.890	
		Male	M	20.400	19.500	20.292	20.480	
			SD	3.775	4.071	4.525	4.473	
		Female	M	20.885	20.529	21.174	20.906	
			SD	3.902	4.121	4.185	3.430	
7.	Fr	Total	M	15.935	15.143	16.021	15.474	n/s
			SD	2.533	2.445	3.110	2.854	
		Male	M	15.550	15.625	15.667	15.080	
			SD	2.964	2.875	3.239	2.900	
		Female	M	16.231	15.029	16.391	15.781	
			SD	2.160	2.368	2.996	2.825	
8.	S	Total	M	11.674	11.857	12.298	11.404	n/s
			SD	2.922	2.674	2.734	2.692	
		Male	M	11.150	11.750	12.000	11.360	
			SD	2.889	3.196	2.874	2.752	
		Female	M	12.077	11.882	12.609	11.437	
			SD	2.938	2.591	2.607	2.687	
9.	Sr	Total	M	13.065	12.024	12.809	11.947	(B)
			SD	2.016	2.444	1.801	2.374	
		Male	M	12.950	11.125	12.833	11.400	
			SD	2.328	2.696	1.685	2.500	
		Female	M	13.154	12.235	12.783	12.375	
			SD	1.782	2.375	1.953	2.225	
10.	Sa	Total	M	14.891	15.524	15.574	15.351	n/s
			SD	3.535	3.202	3.786	3.249	
		Male	M	15.300	14.625	14.792	14.560	
			SD	3.948	4.340	3.788	3.441	
		Female	M	14.577	15.735	16.391	15.969	
			SD	3.227	2.916	3.690	3.000	

	POI Scale			M	F	A	U	Signif.
11.	Nc	Total	M	11.304	12.310	11.426	11.316	n/s
			SD	1.812	1.841	2.124	2.229	
		Male	M	11.050	12.250	11.417	10.520	
			SD	2.089	2.435	2.041	2.417	
		Female	M	11.500	12.324	11.435	11.937	
			SD	1.581	1.718	2.253	1.883	
12.	Sy	Total	M	7.196	6.976	7.362	6.842	n/s
			SD	1.586	1.370	1.358	1.320	
		Male	M	7.100	6.500	7.333	6.760	
			SD	2.100	1.604	1.633	1.052	
		Female	M	7.269	7.088	7.391	6.906	
			SD	1.079	1.311	1.033	1.510	
13.	A	Total	M	17.022	15.095	16.766	15.211	(A)
			SD	2.848	2.775	3.643	3.183	
		Male	M	16.900	14.375	15.750	14.520	&
			SD	3.354	3.159	3.590	3.393	
		Female	M	17.115	15.265	17.826	15.750	(B)
			SD	2.455	2.700	3.460	2.951	
14.	C	Total	M	18.913	17.619	18.149	17.947	n/s
			SD	3.431	3.435	3.989	3.308	
		Male	M	18.700	16.500	17.875	17.960	
			SD	3.757	2.673	4.533	3.360	
		Female	M	19.077	17.882	18.435	17.937	
			SD	3.224	3.574	3.409	3.321	

APPENDIX 5.3

CONCEPTS OF ADJUSTMENT-FREQUENCY TABLE

BSRI 2	BSRI 1				
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	ANDROGY-NOUS	UNDIFFER-ENTIATED	ROW TOTAL
1	1	2	3	4	
1	13	11	4	13	
MASCULINE	31.7 28.3 6.8	26.8 26.2 5.7	9.8 8.5 2.1	31.7 22.8 6.8	21.4
2	5	15	11	8	39
FEMININE	12.8 10.9 2.6	38.5 35.7 7.8	28.2 23.4 5.7	20.5 14.0 4.2	20.3
3	9	8	27	10	54
ANDROGYNOUS	16.7 19.6 4.7	14.8 19.0 4.2	50.0 57.4 14.1	18.5 17.5 5.2	28.1
4	19	8	5	26	58
UNDIFFEREN-TIATED	32.8 41.3 9.9	13.8 19.0 4.2	8.6 10.6 2.6	44.8 45.6 13.5	30.2
COLUMN	46	42	47	57	192
TOTAL	24.0	21.9	24.5	29.7	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 46.53510 WITH 9 DEGREES OF FREEDOM SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

APPENDIX 5.4

STUDENT-NEWMAN-KEULS PROCEDURE FOR SAV SCORES

HOMOGENEOUS SUBSETS AT THE 0.050 LEVEL

SUBSET 1

GROUP	GRP 4(U)	GRP 2(F)	GRP 1(M)
MEAN	19.3684	19.4048	20.4783

SUBSET 2

GROUP	GRP 1(M)	GRP 3(A)
MEAN	20.4783	21.0213

A < F and U

STUDENT-NEWMAN-KEULS PROCEDURE FOR Sr SCORES

HOMOGENEOUS SUBSETS AT THE 0.050 LEVEL

SUBSET 1

GROUP	GRP 4(U)	GRP 2(F)	GRP 3(A)	GRP 1(M)
MEAN	11.9479	12.0238	12.8085	13.0652

STUDENT-NEWMAN-KEULS PROCEDURE FOR A SCORES

HOMOGENEOUS SUBSETS AT THE 0.050 LEVEL

SUBSET 1

GROUP	GRP 2(F)	GRP 4(U)
MEAN	15.0952	15.2105

SUBSET 2

GROUP	GRP 3(A)	GRP 1(M)
MEAN	16.7660	17.0217

A and M < F and U

APPENDIX 5.5

NUMERICAL ANALYSIS OF BSRI GROUPS

CLASS	MASCULINE	FEMININE	ANDROGYNOUS	UNDIFFERENTIATED
Number	43	46	47	56
Percent	22.40	23.96	24.48	29.17

ANALYSIS OF CROSS-TYPES

MASCULINE FEMALES		FEMININE MALES	
Number	23		11
Percent	11.98		5.73

	MALES				FEMALES			
Class	Masc.	Fem.	Androg.	Undiff	Masc.	Fem.	Androg.	Undiff.
Number	20	11	23	23	23	35	24	33
Percent	25.97	14.29	29.87	29.87	20.00	30.43	20.87	28.70

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